

FIFTY YEARS
OF PUBLIC WORK
SIR HENRY COLE K.C.B.



E. D. ВѢДОУ.

Brawford 1095



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OF

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1095



FIFTY YEARS OF PUBLIC WORK

OF

SIR HENRY COLE, K.C.B.

ACCOUNTED FOR IN HIS DEEDS

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

"WHATSOEVER THY HAND FINDETH TO DO, DO IT WITH THY MIGHT."

ECCLESIASTES, IX. 10.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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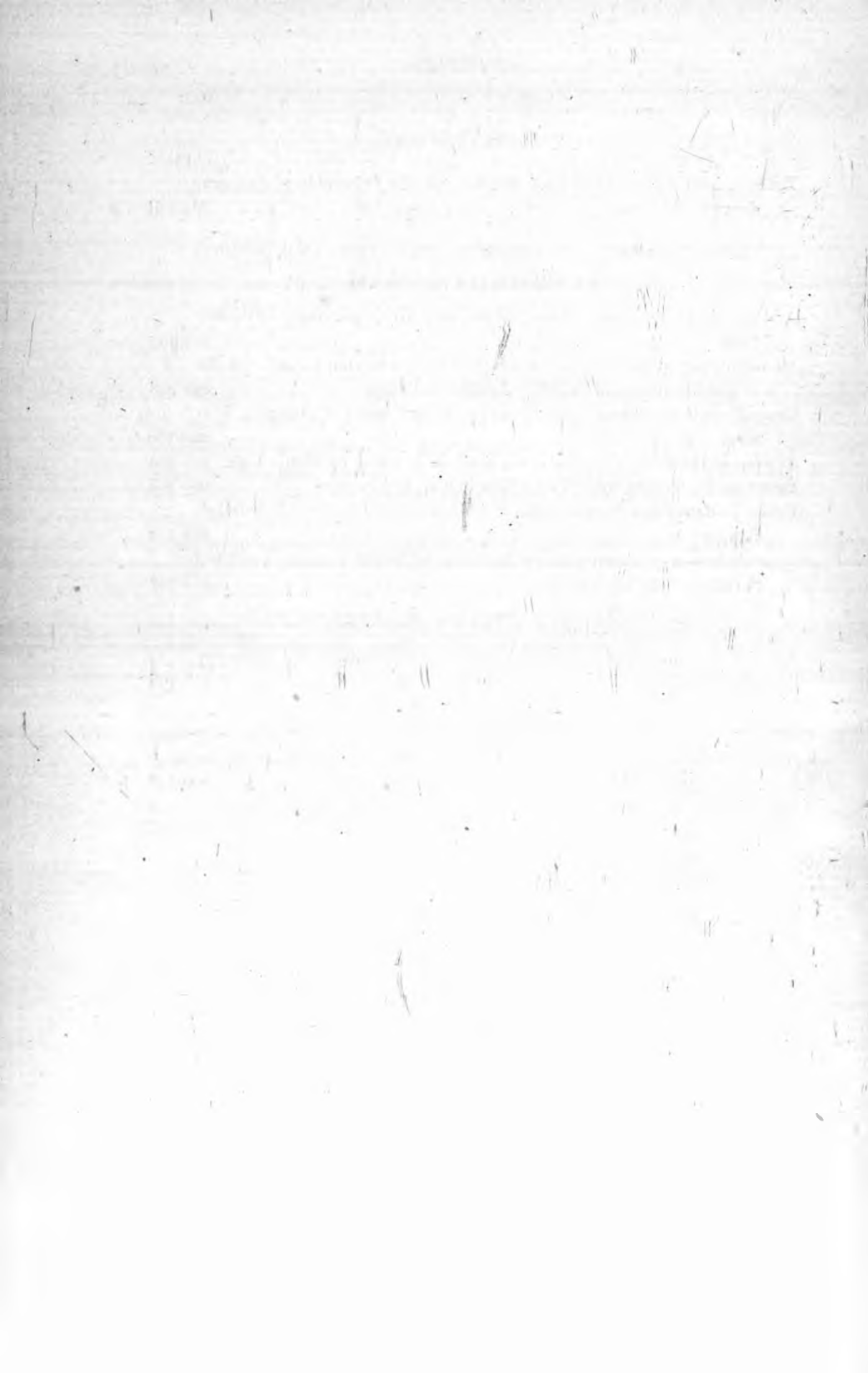
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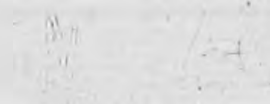
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¹ See Vol. I., p. 103.





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WORK WITH THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

PART II. SELECTIONS.

PARLIAMENTS OF OUR ANCESTORS.

(From the "Westminster Review," vol. xxi., 1834.)

MR. HUME, by the introduction of a Motion during a late Session of Parliament, attempted preparatory measures for procuring a building suitably spacious and commodious, as a place of assembling for the Commons Representatives. To defend the present structure as rendering sufficient accommodation, was impossible, and indisputable evidence proved its excessive unfitness, and especially during discussions of much public interest. Yet the Motion was negatived on several idle pretexts. Any removal was designated by that term of most indefinite import—unconstitutional; and it was argued that the affectionate regard universally entertained towards St. Stephen's Chapel, as a spot consecrated by historical associations, and hallowed by ancient parliamentary usage, would be thereby uprooted. 'Constitutional,' as thus applied, may be interpreted to signify accordant with ancient precedent. Waiving all other reasons, therefore, the present object will be to establish how entirely unconstitutional are successive parliamentary meetings in the same locality, and the present duration of Parliaments, when compared with those of past times;—and from collateral evidence to show, that even the size of the

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1834.
Part II.
Selections.
Mr. Hume
proposes a
new building
for the
House of
Commons.

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Selections.
Parliaments
in 13th cen-
tury.

present building is directly opposed to the spirit of the institutions of wise antiquity.

In the thirteenth century, a Parliamentary debate was carried on more by the eloquence of the fist than of the tongue. The *argumentum baculinum* was the popular argument, and the fictitious value which civilization attaches to words, was very consistently despised. Satisfactory conviction resulted from the cogency of blows. Sir James Macintosh penetrates into the spirit of the legislation of Edward I. in observing, 'it would have been but little to possess the power of the purse, if arms had not been strong enough to grasp and to hold it.' The processes and machinery of legislation in those early periods, whose wisdom shaped the models to which the Constitution still professes with religious scruples to adhere, must of necessity have differed widely from those pursued in modern assemblies.

As might alone would enable its possessor to assert his title to a seat in an olden Parliament, ample elbow-room for the exercise of legislative functions was required and demanded; and barbarous as the manners of Members of Parliament must have been in those days, there could never have existed that patient endurance of crowding and mobbing, of which our own times furnish examples in theatres patent and ecclesiastical,—bear-gardens and Houses of Commons. Indeed to have boxed up an early Parliament in a space not sufficiently capacious to hold half the numbers invited;—to have thereby subjected such Senators as were cooped up, to strong predisposition to typhus fever;—and under those circumstances, to have attempted to express from the assembly its deliberative wisdom, would have been deemed an experiment insulting in the highest degree to a bold Baron of Runymede, and one which no monarch,—not even that pattern of jurisprudential acquirements, the Justinian Edward,—would have dared to repeat. It is impossible, that the question whether a man's body could find a position in a locality whereunto it had been specially summoned, should have been left doubtful at any other period than one of most peaceful refinement and exquisite civilization; during primitive ages, such a question would never have been conceived. Let imagination picture the possibility of smuggling six hundred sturdy Barons, Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, during the time of Edward I., into a space of like dimensions to those of St. Stephen's

Chapel. The manifest absurdity, constrains to the belief in the existence of some hidden and mysterious influence, which conquers any supposed reluctance in Members of the House of Commons, to perform their public duties in an atmosphere of singular destructiveness, and vapours of noxiousness in every variety, from the gouty decrepitude of metropolitan courtiers, to the hale freshness of fox-hunting country squires.¹

A remarkable contrast exists between the Parliament of ancient and modern times, in respect of the difficulties to which the sovereign was driven in collecting the members together;—the apologies which were offered in excuse of the necessity of requesting the subjects' attendance,—the waywardness and menacings of the lieges,—the numerous compromises and conditions made between the king and the subject,—the Christian squabbling of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, respecting each other's precedence, 'super bajulatione Crucis,'² for it appears neither prelate

PUBLIC RECORDS. A.D. 1834. Part II. Selections. Early Parliaments could not meet in St. Stephen's Chapel in 1833.

Difficulties in assembling in old times.

Archbishops' quarrels.

¹ Mr. Hume stated, from his own observation, that several members had fallen a sacrifice to the discharge of their duties in that inconvenient and ill-ventilated place. In the Black Hole of Calcutta, a cube of about 18 feet, were crammed 146 wretches, of whom 123 persons perished. The House of Commons measures 49 feet by 33 feet; and on frequent occasions above 600 persons demand admission.

According to these data, a man in the Black Hole of Calcutta had 18 inches square to stand upon; a Member of the House of Commons in a House of 600 out of 658, has not quite 19½.

It has been often observed, that persons from jails, work-houses, and other places of artificial confinement, though not at the time, and what is still more remarkable, though not observed at any period to have laboured under formal disease, carry in themselves or in their clothes, causes which occasion fever in its most formidable aspect to those who approach near to them. . . . It is to be farther observed,

that the cause thus generated speedily produces a fever in the body of a healthy man, and that the fever so produced is accompanied with such alterations in the secretions of the system, as to generate a cause, occasioning similar disease, through an endless variety of subjects.—*Outline of the History and Cure of Fever, by Robert Jackson, M.D. Edinburgh. 1798.*

² When an archbishop travelled, a cross or crozier was borne before him, as a type of his precedence over all the other clergy. Great jealousy always was created by one prelate passing through his rival's archbishopric, insomuch that it became necessary for each archbishop to obtain a passport from the King. When the archbishop of Canterbury was summoned to parliament at York, 8 Edw. II., the King issued his Letters of Protection in which occurs the following recital;—'Jamque intellexerimus quod occasione dissensionum inter prædecessores ipsius Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et vestros super bajulatione Crucis utriusque ipsorum, in alterius provinciâ ab

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would attend Parliament without the King's letters of protection against the attacks and assaults and depredations of each other;—the personal composition of the Parliament, formed as it was of churchmen and laymen militant,—'great men' of the Jonathan Wild class,—archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, as well as justices and clerks of the council, earls, barons, knights of the shire, citizens, burgesses, and even, on some occasions, merchants and traders,—and, lastly, the debates and general proceedings. In one point only, the performances of old and modern Parliaments, bear that very general similitude to each other, which Stowe thus describes of a Parliament of Richard the Second;—'Nothing,' he says, 'was done worth the memory, but exacting of money of the clergy and common people, to maintaine the men of war.'

'Great taxe ay the Kyng toke through al the lond,
For which the Commons him hated both fre and bond.'

The perpetual holding of Parliaments in the same place, as well as the insufficiency of accommodation, are both of them unconstitutional innovations, and opposed to ancient usage. Parliament held its meetings in all the four quarters of England, and the moral associations of those who stick to St. Stephen's Chapel, can therefore only be the results of ignorant prejudice, and of a tendency in reality quite anti-conservative. Annual Parliaments, in *lieux convenables* in all parts of the kingdom, are, if it comes to that, in strict accordance with the models afforded by our ancestors; and the popular demands for the same are supported by the Parliamentary Records, whereunto is professedly pinned the political faith of those who oppose such a return to constitutional propriety.¹

Attendance
irksome
in early
times.

There is a broad difference between the desires of ancient and modern times for a seat in the Legislature. Formerly, the attendance was considered an irksome business, and a nuisance to be avoided. The strong, the cunning, and the weak, devised respec-

olim subortarum et nondum sedatarum, ad impediendum præfatum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem ad prædictum parliamentum de mandato nostro sic venientem super bajulatione Crucis suæ et aliis, infra provinciam vestram Ebor: diversas insidias præparastis,—graves censuras ecclesiasticas fulminastis.'—*Rot. Claus. 8 Ed. II.*

¹ In a Parliament Roll of Edward II., it is stipulated, that the King should hold a Parliament once every year, or even twice if necessary, and that in a convenient place. 'Que le Roi tiegne Parlement une foiz par an ou deux foiz si mestier soit, et ceo en lieu convenable.'—*Rot. Parl.* vol. i. p. 285.

tive methods to ease themselves of the troublesome duty. In modern times, a seat in Parliament has been an object inordinately coveted, and for its attainment human ingenuity has been taxed. The post held forth so many attractions, and was a tenure so lucrative, that each or all of the ten commandments were cheerfully sacrificed for the possession. Parliaments have at all periods yielded to the people nearly equal advantages. The King, as the most mighty, monopolized all the sweets, until a competitor for a share in the plunder of the nation, grew into sufficient importance to assert and maintain a demand; and then the aristocracy and the 'dignity of the Crown' divided the spoils. The position of the Sovereign amongst the magnates, was that of a Pacha among his minor governors; he pinched to the utmost from all in subjection, and all were in subjection in various degrees. The lesser oligarch had not discovered the modern practice of rewarding his own parliamentary labours out of the plump productiveness of the people, and consequently the attendance was to him, and to all except the Sovereign, a burthensome and unprofitable evil. The earls and barons occasionally refused attendance, or rendered their appearance so unwelcome by approaching in fighting attitudes, that the King not unfrequently declined the honour of their visit and advice, or stipulated that their coming should be unaccompanied with warlike preparations. The Records of Edward the Second furnish many examples of such prohibitions.¹ 'In 1321 the barons,'

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Part II.
Selections.

¹ *Inhibitio pro Rege ne Magnates veniant cum armis ad parlamentum (Rot. Patent, 3 Ed. II., et passim).*—The legislators were very intractable, usurping supreme power, as opportunity offered for the assertion of the superiority of their might.—

'To the Kyng and his Consaile thei sent a messengere
The Kyng sent tham ageyn, his Barons alle thei grette,
At Oxenford certeyn the day of parlement sette.

A gathering
of warriors.

'At York thei tok on hand, ther parlement to sette,
The hie folk of the land, ther alle togidere mette,
The Erle Jon of Surrey, com with grete powere,
Of Gloucestre stoute and gay Sir Rauf the Mobermere,
And his wif dame Jone whilcom Gilberdes of Clare,
Tho Banerettis ilkone fro Dover to Durham ware.'

Peter Langtoft's Chronicle.

'At the parliament then at Westminster next hold,
Erle Thomas, that then was called trewe,
Th'erle Umfrey of Herford, that was bold,

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Selections.

says Holinshed, 'upon knowledge had what answer the King made to their requests, forthwith got them to armour and with a great power of men of armes and other, came to the parlement, which the King had summoned to begin at Westminster three weekes after midsummer. Their retinue were apparelled in a sute of jackets or coats, of colours demi-partie yellow and greene, with a band of white cast overthwart. By reason whereof, that parlement long after was called the parlement of white bands. . . . The King being brought into a streict, durst not but grant unto all that which they requested, establishing the same by statute.'

Excuses for
absence.

The clergy pleaded all sorts of excuse for non-attendance, sickness, fatness, gout, incapacity to ride on horseback or in a litter, bodily infirmity, age, and domestic affairs.¹

Th'erle of Marche, ful manly as men knewe,
The Moubray also Percy and Clyfford drewe
All armed came, and two Spencers exiled
Out fro England, never to be reconciled.

'And at London they headed the Chaunceler
With diuers other, whiche they found untrue,
So dyd they also the Kyng's treasurer,
And there set they a parliament all newe.'

Hardyng's Chronicle, Ed. 2.

¹ The following clergy thus excused themselves from attendance in the 17th of Edward II. The bishop of Bangor, — 'Quia nostri corporis inbecillitate hiis diebus, ut novit Altissimus, aliisque rationabilibus ex causis præpediti in parlamento personaliter interesse non valemus.' The bishop of Carlisle, — 'Ad dictum parlamentum tum propter loci distanciam, tum propter equitaturæ et expensarum carentiam, corporis senescentis impotentiam, necnon infirmitatem in dies invalescentem quibus actualiter affligimur, declinare non possumus in præsentibus ex causis præviis veraciter præpediti, quod si placet pro malo non habeat aut molestum reputet regia celsitudo, sed nos tram potius absentiam habere dignetur benignius excusatam.' The prior of Durham, — 'Propter adversæ valetudinis incommodum quâ jam aliquandiu

laboravimus, nequientes nostram exhibere præsentiam personalem.' The prior of Carlisle, — 'Quia variis et arduis ecclesiæ nostræ negociis, ac aliis causis propter varias nostras distructiones et notorias in instanti parlamento personaliter interesse non valemus.' The abbot of Barlings, — 'Quoniam gravi infirmitate et corporis inbecillitate detentus.' The abbot of Cirencester, — 'Absque gravi corporis mei periculo non valeo personaliter interesse;' and many other excuses of similar description from other persons. In the 18th Edward II., the bishop of Bangor prayed absence, — 'Quia nos in hiis diebus corporis nostri inbecillitate ac ponderositate.' — See the proxies of the clergy for these years, which are printed in the 2nd vol. of the Parliamentary Writs.

If the king or his chancellor failed at any time to send a summons, such an omission was eagerly seized as a plea for future absence. The abbot of Peterborough once shirked the obligation without detection, and when subsequently summoned, urged his non-attendance as a precedent. The service was equally avoided and despised by the 'communitas' of the kingdom. Every knight of the shire, citizen, and burgess, was compelled to provide good and sufficient bail for his appearance in Parliament, which was effected by procuring the manucaption, sometimes of six, sometimes of four, and never less than two persons. Property was, as now, the only direct and acknowledged qualification for legislative capacity. Three hundred pounds per annum is even yet believed to possess a mystical property of endowing the holder¹ with all mental requisites for his duty, while in the thirteenth century the average qualification of a knight of the shire varied from £20 to £40 yearly value in land. The object of selecting the man of money, at that time, was evidently with the intent of seizing it in case of non-attendance. Twenty pounds were then a qualification for being taxed. Three hundred, now, for a qualification to tax. If a knight so chosen to serve in Parliament, chanced to lack property to the amount of £20 whereby he could be distrained, and being thus impervious to the sanction attached to refusal, escaped from the jurisdiction of the sheriff's bailliwick and hied him to another county, the sheriff was obliged to seek a substitute in the place of the fugitive to attend the King's council. If the sheriffs were knavish, and pocketed the sum of money levied from the county for the travelling expenses of its members,—and many such instances are found,—the circumstance became immediately available as an excuse for absence. The Scots had a propensity for paying visits to the boroughs and towns of the northern counties, where they borrowed goods and chattels, domesticated themselves on the lands, and consumed the produce. These visits always served as good excuses for not sending representatives to Parliament. The burgesses of Newcastle often pleaded their poverty and inability, the consequences of these visits, to pay the expenses of their members' journey.²

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Bail for ap-
pearance

¹ Property qualification now abolished.

the 8 Ed. II. for Northumberland is as follows.—

² Return of the Sheriff to a Writ of

'Istud breve ostensum fuit in pleno

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Selections.
Wages of the
Commons.

By the enticement of wages,—those of a knight being usually from five to three shillings per diem, and those of a citizen or burgess from three to two shillings,¹—the bestowal of lucrative appointments to collectorships of talliages and customs, and to the

Comitatu, ubi responsum fuit michi quod omnes milites de ballivâ meâ non sufficiunt ad defensionem Marchiæ: et mandatum fuit Ballivis libertatis Villæ Novi Castri super Tynam, qui sic responderunt quod omnes Burgenses Villæ predictæ vix sufficiunt ad defensionem Villæ ejusdem, et ideo quoad executionem istius brevis nichil actum est.—Orig. in Turr. Lond.

Anno 24 Ed. I. Returns of the Sheriff of Westmorland,—‘Attamen isti ad diem in brevi contentum non possunt venire quia omnes inter quindecim annos et sexaginta in ballivâ meâ, tam Milites, libere tenentes quam pedites, præmuniti sunt quod sint

¹ E Rotulo Clausarum in Turre Londinensi asservato, A^o. 19 Ed. II. memb: 19 d.

‘De expensis } Rex Vicecomiti Northumberlandiæ: Præcipimus tibi quod
Militum. } de Communitate Comitatus tui tam infra libertates quam
extra habere facias dilecto nobis Michaeli de Preffen nuper de mandato nostro
pro communitate Comitatus prædicti ad parlamentum nostrum usque West-
monasterium venienti ad tractandum ibidem super diversis et arduis negociis
nos et statum regni nostri tangentibus *tres libras et decem et octo solidos* pro ex-
pensis suis *pro viginti et sex diebus* veniendo ad dictum parlamentum, ibidem
morando, et exinde ad propria redeundo videlicet per diem *tres solidos*. Teste
Reg. apud Westmonasterium, quinto die Decembris.

Per ipsum Regem.

“Consimilia brevia habent subscripti Vicecomitibus subscriptis, videlicet:—
“Robertus de Barton } Vicecomiti Westmorlandiæ de *septem libris & sex-*
“Robertus de Sandford } *decim solidis* pro *xxvi diebus* cuilibet eorum per
diem III SOLIDOS.
“Willielmus de Bradeshagh, Miles } Vicecomiti Lancastriæ de *septem libris et*
“Johannes de Hornby } *quatuordecim solidis* pro *viginti et duo-*
bus diebus, videlicet præfato Militi per diem III SOLIDOS et præfato
Johanni per diem III SOLIDOS.
“Rogerus le Jeu, Miles } Vicecomiti Devonæ de *octo libris et octo solidis* pro
“Ricardus de Chissebech } *viginti et quatuor diebus*, videlicet præfato Militi
per diem quatuor solidos et præfato Ricardo per diem TRES SOLIDOS.
“Johannes de Lyston } Milites Vicecomiti Essexiæ de *centum et duodecim*
“Robertus de Haghham } *solidis* pro *quatuordecim diebus*, cuilibet eorum per
diem QUATUOR SOLIDOS.

conservation of the peace,—the King managed to convene an assembly of the Commons of the kingdom.

It may be assumed with the greatest confidence, that no impedi-

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“Ricardus de la Bere, Miles } In Comitatu Oxoniæ de *centum et duodecim soli-*
“Johannes de Croxford } *dis pro sexdecim diebus*, videlicet præfato
Ricardo per diem *quatuor solidos*, et præfato Johanni per diem *TRES*
SOLIDOS.

“Michael de Picombe } In Comitatu Sussexiæ, de *quatuor libris et sexdecim*
“Willielmus de Preston } *solidis pro sexdecim diebus*, cuilibet eorum per diem
TRES SOLIDOS.

“Johannes de Walkyngham } Milites, Vicecomiti Eborum de *octo libris et sex-*
“Willielmus de Malbys } *decim solidis pro viginti et duobus [diebus]*
cuilibet eorum per diem *QUATUOR SOLIDOS*.

“Ricardus de Manston, Miles } Vicecomiti Dorset' de *septem libris pro viginti*
“Robertus Clerebek' } *diebus*, videlicet præfato Militi per diem
quatuor solidos, et præfato Roberto per diem *TRES SOLIDOS*.”

The Knights for other Counties obtained their expenses. The above extracts show sufficiently the nature of the writ.

“E Rotulo Claus' in Turre Londinensi asservato. A°. 1 Ed. 3. p. l. m: 15 d.
De Expensis } Rex Vicecomiti Norfolciæ salutem: Præcipimus tibi quod de
Militum } Communitate Comitatus tui tam infra libertates quam extra
habere facias dilectis et fidelibus nostris Roberto Banyard et Constantino de
Mortuo Mari Militibus Comitatus illius nuper ad parlamentum nostrum apud
Westmonasterium in Crastino Epiphaniæ Domini proximo præterito summoni-
tum pro Communitatis Comitatus prædicti venientibus ad tractandum ibidem
super diversis et arduis negociis nos et statum regni nostri tangentibus, *viginti*
et octo libras et octo solidos pro expensis suis veniendo ad parlamentum prædic-
tum, ibidem morando, et exinde ad propria redeundo, videlicet pro sexaginta et
undecim diebus utroque prædictorum Roberti et Constantini capiente per diem
QUATUOR SOLIDOS. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, nono die Martii.

Per ipsum Regem et consilium.

“Eodem modo mandatum est Vicecomitibus subscriptis videlicet :

“Vicecomiti Bedfordiæ pro Hugone Bossard et Johanne Morice Militibus de
xxvi libris pro lxx diebus etc. ut supra. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium
nono die Martii.

“Vicecomiti Middlesexiæ pro Rogero de Brok' et Henrico de Frowyk' Militi-
bus etc. de *viginti et quinque libris et quatuor solidis* pro sexaginta et tribus
diebus [etc. ut supra]. Teste ut supra.

“Pro Expensis } Rex Ballivis Civitatis Roffensis salutem: Præcipimus vobis,
Civium } quod de Communitate Civitatis prædictæ habere faciatis
dilectis nobis Ade Bride et Rogero Chaundeler Civibus Civitatis prædictæ
nuper ad parlamentum nostrum apud Westmonasterium in Crastino Epiphaniæ
Domini proximo præterito summonitum pro Communitate Civitatis prædictæ
venientibus ad tractandum ibidem super diversis et arduis negociis nos et
statum regni nostri tangentibus *decem libras et octo solidos* pro expensis suis,
veniendo ad parlamentum prædictum, ibidem morando, et exinde ad propria
redeundo, videlicet pro *quinquaginta et duobus* diebus utroque prædictorum Adæ

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Feasting pro-
vided by the
King.

ments of any description were offered to deter the people's representatives from appearing and undergoing taxation. On the contrary, all inducements were held out. They were clothed, feasted, and sumptuously entertained during the sitting of Parliament.¹

et Rogeri capiente per diem DUOS SOLIDOS. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tertio die Februarii.

Per ipsum Regem et consilium.

“Eodem modo mandatum est subscriptis pro subscriptis, videlicet :

“Majori et Ballivis Civitatis Ebor: pro Willielmo de Redenesse et Henrico de Bolton Civibus etc. *de quatuordecim libris et duodecim solidis pro septuaginta et tribus diebus* etc. ut supra. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, nono die Martii.

“Ballivis villæ Bedfordiæ pro Hugone Balle et Hugone Cok' Burgensibus etc. *de decem libris pro quinquaginta diebus* etc. ut supra. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo tertio die Februarii.

“Ballivis villæ Huntingdoniæ pro Willielmo de Hemmyford et Johanne Fyn Burgensibus etc. *de decem libris et octo solidis pro quinquaginta et duobus diebus* etc. ut supra. Teste ut supra.

“Ballivis villæ de Launceveton pro Johanne de Lanhum et Roberto de Penleu [Burgensibus etc.] *de duodecim libris pro sexaginta diebus* etc. ut supra. Teste ut supra.”

¹ Many original Records, in the form of indentures between the King and his creditors for the expenses of Parliament, have come to light from amongst *four thousand bushels* of Records belonging to the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, which have been lately discovered in indescribable confusion, embracing all periods from Richard I. to George IV., although there have existed a Keeper and thirty-two clerks to whose custody they were entrusted, and also during thirty years a Commission expressly to inquire into the

state of the public Records. These indentures contain lists of the species and quantities and prices of the provisions furnished. The King addressed his writ to the sheriffs, directing them to make purveyance of victual,—of beeves, sheep, swine, corn, &c.,—to erect temporary buildings, houses of lodgement, kitchens, and other offices,—and to make general preparation for the reception of Parliament. The payment was frequently allowed out of the taxations, before they were paid into the Exchequer.

Extract from an Original Record in the Exchequer :—

“A° 31 Ed. I. Debentur super Officio Mareschalcie in parlamento Regis apud Westmonasterium . CXXIIII^{li}. XIXs. VIII^d.

“Item debentur pro expensis hospicii Regis in parlamento diversis piscatoribus de Marisco et aliunde IIII XIIII^{li}. IIIs. II^d.o.

“Item debentur diversis Carnificibus Londonensibus pro carnibus ab eisdem emptis tempore parlamenti XXVIII^{li}. VIIs. VIII^d.

“Item debentur pro puletriâ [poultry] eodem tempore. CLIIII. VIIs. VI^d.

They were not unwholesomely packed in a space of 49 feet by 33. An insurance against the inconveniences of limited space was always in their own hands; for the knights appeared 'cum gladio cincti,' or else armed with 'battes.'

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There could have been little freedom of debate in an assembly of such armed legislators. The philosophy, coolness, exquisite manners and reverence for the important duties, which so distinguish present parliamentary consultations, must have been wholly absent from their councils. On one occasion the Commons, forgetting the solemn purposes of their assembling, became so riotous and created so great a turmoil, that the Abbot of Westminster, who in 1377 had granted the use of the Chapter House adjoining the Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey, as their place of meeting, waxed indignant at the profanation, and collecting a sufficiently strong party, turned the whole legislative wisdom out of his house, and swore lustily that the place should not again be defiled with a like rabble.²

Expulsion
of riotous
members.

In the 11th year of Richard the Second's reign, Stowe relates, that 'the King caused a great and generall parliament to be sum-

" Item super officio Scutiferorum de eodem tempore	CXXli. IIIs. viid.
" Item super officio Salsariæ de eodem tempore	. XXli. vs. viiid.
" Item super officio Aulæ de eodem tempore	. XLIIIIli. vls. IXd.o.
" Item super officio Cameræ de eodem tempore	. XXXIIIli. XIIIs. viiid.
" Summa debita super expensis hospicii Regis in parlamento	CCCC IIII XIIli. xvS."

¹ The writs of summons of Edw. III. expressly enjoined the appearance of the Knights of the Shires girded with swords.

A. D. 1426. A° 5 Hen. VI. 'This was called the Parliament of Battes, because men being forbidden to bring swords or other weapons, brought great battes and staves on their neckes, and when those weapons were inhibited them, they tooke stones and plomets of lead.'—*Stowe*.

² Sir James Mackintosh characterizes such a House of Commons, 'as being strong, not only by their legal power, but by their moral influence;' and, fortunately, there is here an excellent illustration of the historian's position:—

'In this parlement (27 Edw. III.) there were statutes also made that clothes should in length and in breadth through the realme beare the same assise, as was ordeined in the parlement holden at Northampton. Also, that all weares, milles, and other lets, should be remooved fforth of rivers, that might be any hinderance of ships, boats, or lighters to passe up and downe the same. But these good ordinances tooke little or none effect, by reason of bribes that walked abroad, and the freendship of lords and great men, that should rather their owne commoditie than the Commonwealths.'—*Holinshed*.

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moned at Westminster, where hee caused a great Hall to be builded in the midst of the Pallace betwixt the Clocke Tower and the doore of the Great Hall. . . . To this parliament, all the nobles came with their retinue in armes for fear of the King: the prolocutors were Knights in whom no goodness could be found, but a naturall covetousnesse, unsatiable ambition, and intollerable pride and hatred of the truth. . . . And then licence being had to depart, a great stirre was made as is used, whereupon the King's archers in number four thousand compassed the Parliament house, thinking there had bin in the house some broyle or fighting, with their bowes bent, their arrowes nocked and drawing ready to shoot, to the terror of all that were there, but the King herewith comming pacified them.' Parliaments usually held their Debates—such as they were—either in the Royal Palaces, which were scattered about the country in great numbers, or in Cathedrals, Abbeys, Priors, Chapter Houses, and other Ecclesiastical buildings;—but most commonly in buildings of the Clergy. The Parliament frequently moved from place to place daily during the Session. The parliament at Lincoln in the 9th Edw. II. was holden on the 12th Feb. in the Hall of the Dean, on the 13th in the Chapter-house, and on the 14th at the Convent of the Carmelite Friars.¹

Parliaments
migratory.

No very settled regulations appear to have existed for the united assembling of the Lords and Commons. At times they sat together in the same building, at others separately.

The fixation of a locality whereat Parliament should always hold its meetings, is comparatively of very recent date. This change was not brought about till the beginning of the sixteenth century.

St. Stephen's
Chapel
granted.

Edward VI. granted St. Stephen's Chapel for the use of the Commons. Previously, when the Parliament was holden at Westminster, they sat in the Chapter-house. The Lords, contrary to the great majority of old precedents, had then separated themselves into a distinct branch of the Legislature, and held their meetings independent of the Commons. On various occasions, each branch of the Legislature was supreme;—sometimes the King,—most generally the 'Magnates,' and sometimes the Commons. The historical associations which are lacerated at the pro-

¹ Parl. Roll.

spect of removal from St. Stephen's Chapel, can therefore claim an origin of no greater antiquity than the sixteenth century. Those whose associations are linked to the period of the early Edwards, feel their attachment excited for a very different state of things. In its pristine vigour, the Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons was accustomed to scamper as fast as the state of the roads would permit, all over the kingdom, from Berwick-upon-Tweed to the Land's End. Within one year, it would hold its Parliamentary sittings at Carlisle and at Westminster; on the following year at Exeter and Norwich, or at Lincoln and Worcester.¹ When the

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¹ Number of Parliaments and the places to which they were summoned during the reigns of Edward I. & II.—Abstracted from the Parliamentary Writs.

Anno Regni.	Place of Meeting.	Date.
11 Edw. I.	{ Northampton ¹	} 20 Jan. 1283.
	{ York ²	
11 Edw. I.	Shrewsbury	30 Sep. 1283.
18 Edw. I.	Westminster	15 Jul. 1290.
22 Edw. I.	Westminster	12 Nov. 1294.
23 Edw. I.	{ Westminster	} 13 Nov. 1295.
	{ Prorogued to	
24 Edw. I.	Bury St. Edmund's	27 Nov. 1295.
25 Edw. I.	London	3 Nov. 1296.
26 Edw. I.	London	6 Oct. 1297.
26 Edw. I.	York	25 May, 1298.
28 Edw. I.	London or Westminster	6 Mar. 1300.
28 Edw. I.	York	30 May, 1300.
29 Edw. I.	Lincoln	20 Jan. 1301.
30 Edw. I.	{ London	} 29 Sep. 1302.
	{ Prorogued to	
33 Edw. I.	{ Westminster	} 16 Feb. 1305.
	{ Prorogued to	
34 Edw. I.	Westminster	28 Feb. 1305.
34 Edw. I.	Westminster	30 May, 1306.
35 Edw. I.	Carlisle	20 Jan. 1307.

EDWARD II.

1 Edw. II.	Northampton	13 Oct. 1307.
1 Edw. II.	Westminster	3 Mar. 1308.
2 Edw. II.	Westminster	27 Apr. 1309.
5 Edw. II.	London	8 Aug. 1311.
5 Edw. II.	Westminster	12 Nov. 1311.
5 Edw. II.	Westminster	13 Feb. 1312.
6 Edw. II.	Lincoln	23 Jul. 1312.
6 Edw. II.	Prorogued to Westminster	20 Aug. 1312.

¹ The Counties South of Trent were to assemble at Northampton.

² The Counties North of Trent at York.

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sittings of Parliament, therefore, were made stationary, the whole country must have experienced the great change. Keen as were the appetites of the ancient legislators, what a beneficent and equable influence on production, must they have caused to be dispersed throughout the whole kingdom. If the Parliament, following good old custom, held its sittings once or twice in the year in different places in the country, at Salisbury for instance—what a stir for the supply of provisions would be excited amidst the surrounding districts;—agricultural distress would be no more,—rents would improve,—and even Swing¹ become a respectable poulterer or grazier. The expense of the Coast Blockade would be saved to the country, if a sitting were occasionally held at a seaport; smugglers would thrive as fishermen; and the presence of the Bishops would improve the laxity of female morals too frequently to be found in those localities. A great moral change would thus be effected in the people; and the suggestion to obtain this return

Anno Regni.	Place of Meeting.	Date.
6 Edw. II.	Westminster	18 Mar. 1313.
7 Edw. II.	Westminster	8 Jul. 1313.
7 Edw. II.	Westminster	23 Sep. 1313.
7 Edw. II.	Westminster	21 Apr. 1314.
8 Edw. II.	York	9 Sep. 1314.
8 Edw. II.	Westminster	20 Jan. 1315.
9 Edw. II.	Lincoln	27 Jan. 1316.
9 Edw. II.	Westminster	various dates } Apr. and May } 1316.
10 Edw. II.	Lincoln	29 Jul. 1316.
11 Edw. II.	Lincoln	27 Jan. }
	First prorogued to	12 Mar. } 1318.
	afterwards to	19 Jun. }
12 Edw. II.	York	20 Oct. 1318.
12 Edw. II.	York	6 May, 1319.
14 Edw. II.	Westminster	6 Oct. 1320.
15 Edw. II.	Westminster	15 Jul. 1321.
15 Edw. II.	York	2 May, 1322.
16 Edw. II.	Rippon, altered to York	14 Nov. 1322.
17 Edw. II.	Westminster	20 Jan. 1324.
	Prorogued to	23 Feb. 1324.
18 Edw. II.	Salisbury, altered to London	20 Oct. 1324.
19 Edw. II.	Westminster	18 Nov. 1325.
20 Edw. II.	Westminster	14 Dec. 1326.
	Prorogued to	7 Jan. 1327.

¹ When ricks and homesteads were agitated, it was called the work of fired during the period of Reform "Swing."

to ancient constitutional propriety, is thrown out for the consideration of the Lord Chancellor, whose zeal for public morality is consistently developed in his opposition to the Ballot. If the presence of the Chancellor and his Court were needed at Parliament, as in olden time was the case, the improved means of carriage and transportation would immediately be called into requisition. According to constitutional precedent, the King might address his writ to some Abbot, or not finding one, to some modern pluralist,—commanding the production of a good strong mare, not in a breeding condition, to carry His Honour and His Honour's Rolls.¹ The Reformation took away the Abbots, and the advantages and improvements of modern law have rendered the records of the Chancellor too bulky for a single beast. Yet the difficulty might be remedied; for the King availing himself of the elasticity of his prerogative, need only issue his writ for the provision of steam machinery, and then upon rail-roads the Chancellor and all the officers of his Court, together with all the Records which their keepers have not suffered to become illegible or moulder away, might be transported if necessity demanded.

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The previous note showing the number of Parliaments with their places of meeting during the reigns of Edw. I. and Edw. II., may serve as a specimen for succeeding reigns till Henry VIII.

Duration of
Parliaments.

In the reign of Henry VIII., there were Nine Parliaments; the duration of the longest, five years, five months, and a day; of the shortest, one month and two days.

Edward VI.—Two Parliaments; one lasted four years, five months, and eleven days; the other, one month.

Mary.—Five Parliaments; each averaging three months duration.

¹ 'Rex dilecto sibi in Christo Ab-
bati de Bello loco Regis salutem. Quia
uno equo bono et forti ad rotulos Can-
cellariæ nostræ portandos ad præsens
plurimum indigemus; vobis manda-
mus rogantes, quatenus unum equum
fortem et non *enitum* pro rotulis dictæ
cancellariæ portandis, per aliquem de
vestris de quo confiditis, usque eandem
cancellariam mittatis. Ita quod eum
habeatis apud Staunfordiam die Domi-

nicâ proximâ post festum Sancti Jacobi
Apostoli proximo futuro venerabili
patri J. Cicestrensi Episcopo Cancel-
lario nostro ibidem liberandum. Et
hoc nullo modo omittatis. Et quid
inde duxeritis faciendum, nobis tunc
per prædictum nuntium vestrum con-
stare faciatis. Teste Rege apud Da-
ventre vicesimo quinto die Junii.'—
*Rot. Claus. 2 Ed. II. m. 2 d. in Turr.
Lond.*

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Elizabeth.—Ten Parliaments; of about a year and a half each on an average; the longest continuing seven years, ten months, and ten days; the shortest, one month and twenty-five days.

James I.—Four Parliaments; one extending over seven years, ten months, and twenty-one days; another, about two months; another, a year; and the fourth, two years.

Charles I.—Five Parliaments; the Long Parliament of twelve years, five months, and seventeen days; the others of very short existence.

Charles II.—Four Parliaments; one of the duration of sixteen years, eight months, and sixteen days; the others very short, one lasting only seven days.

James II.—Two Parliaments; one of two years, four months, and sixteen days; the other, one month and four days.

William III.—Five Parliaments; the longest lasted six years, six months, and twenty-two days; the others about two years each.

Anne.—Five Parliaments; none lasting five years.

The Septennial Act was passed 1716, and repealed the Triennial Act, which had been passed in 1641.

Complaint of the frequency of the assembling was made in Richard II.'s time; and, 'in a Parliament,' says Stowe, 'at London was granted to the King, a tenth of the Ecclesiastical Persons and a fifteenth of the secular, upon condition that no other Parliament should be holden from the Calends of March till Michaelmas.' A year's duration for a parliament was considered as a remarkable event in 1606. 'The first of March, a Parliament beganne which lasted nigh one whole yeere, for after the Knights of the Parliament had long delayed to grant the King a subsidie, yet in the ende being overcome they granted the tax demanded.'—*Stowe*.

Insufficient
space in
reign of
James I.

In the reign of James I. a protest against the insufficient accommodation of the present House of Commons was urged, and a representation to the following effect appears on the Lords Journals. 'Whereas the Members of the Commons House of Parliament by reason of more Charters granted by his Majesty as also by their attendance in greater multitudes than heretofore hath been usual, do want convenient room to sit in the place accustomed to their meeting and many are thereby forced to stand in the entrance and midst of the house contrary to order: it is required on the behalf

of the said House that the Officers of his Majesty's works do immediately give order for the erecting and fitting such and so many rooms and seats as the House may sit and attend the service with more ease and conveniency, and this shall be your warrant.'

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Why then are fragments only of constitutional precedent adopted? Professing all the time the most superstitious and immoderate reverence for ancestral wisdom, on what principle is that wisdom sliced and hewn, and made to tell exactly where it is in opposition to the existing interest of the public and nowhere else? Why are not Parliaments ambulatory, and thereby in accordance with strict constitutional propriety? Why does not the King feed his Parliament? Why does not Mr. Hume demand his expenses, as by the present state of Parliamentary Law he is entitled to them? Why are not Parliaments monthly, according to ancient precedent? Why, but because it is not found convenient in modern times? Is it then found convenient, to have an inconvenient house? Why is this to be the excepted case, in which a demand for convenience which is at least as old as James the First, is to be voted nugatory and contrary to good taste? There is a taste concerned, but of a more substantial kind. There is some jobbery to be carried on by the powers of darkness; some way or other in which the existence of a premium against the attendance of Members of the House of Commons, is to work into the hands of the enemies of the people. A ministry does not cultivate stench from pure antiquarian propensities; there is something vastly more home-spun at the bottom if it is looked for. The perpetual presence of the people's watchmen is a nuisance and a bore; and as any given quantity of noxious gas may be more easily breathed by relays of men than by the same small number of individuals, there is a regular system for driving out the people's agents by making the house too hot to hold them.

Ancient
precedents
quoted.



REFORM IN PRINTING EVIDENCE TAKEN
BEFORE HOUSE OF COMMONS
COMMITTEES.

*A Pamphlet privately printed anonymously, and circulated to
the House of Commons, 1837.*

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Mode of
taking evi-
dence.

THE present practice of taking evidence by Committees of the House of Commons is this: The evidence of a witness is obtained by a *vivâ voce* examination, notes of which are made by a short-hand writer; except in the case of Election Committees, a transcript of these notes is sent to the witness usually on the day following his examination, to enable him to correct any accidental inaccuracies, &c. The transcript having undergone the witness' alterations, is received by the Committee-clerk, and by him forwarded to the printer.

Its defects.

Members of Committees and others who have been present at these examinations must have observed certain inconveniences attending this practice. One consequence always liable to ensue, and which sometimes does ensue, from placing the evidence in the power of the witness *before* it is printed, is, that evidence given at a *vivâ voce* examination before the Committee, undergoes such subsequent alterations from the witness, that it assumes when printed an entirely different character, though published as, and ostensibly professing to be, the evidence verbally delivered to the Committee. Another consequence is, that the printing of the evidence and its distribution to the Members of the Committee is delayed, frequently to the serious detriment of the inquiry. There is little or no check on the extent or character of the alterations which a witness may choose to make. The discrepancies created between the real and substituted evidence can be detected only by those present at the examinations, by the Members of the Committee who attend, the Committee-clerks, or any others whom the indulgence of the Committee admits into the committee-room.

The Members of a Committee hearing evidence have few motives to peruse carefully and critically the evidence when printed, more particularly whilst it is fresh in their recollection, and is presumed to be the same as that delivered verbally before them. The Member who draws up the report reads the evidence a long time after he heard it, and wonders at the different effect it assumes in print. He scruples to charge a witness with garbling his evidence; indeed he may not call to mind that a witness has had the opportunity of garbling it. The Committee-clerk is not always present, and as it is not his duty, so he has no motive to notice or complain of the extent of alterations made by a witness. Strangers who are present may have very reasonable suspicions of the character of a witness, but their ears, eyes and mouths are presumed to be shut to all the proceedings passing in a committee-room. The evils of positive falsification of evidence are too palpable to need exposition. But there are lesser evils which attend *any* alterations made in evidence taken *vivâ voce*. Some matters are insusceptible of thorough investigation except by means of a *vivâ voce* examination. Inquiries into a witness' conduct, his character, state of intelligence, competency, and into particular matters of fact, can only be effected by personal examination and verbal reply. The essential worth of such evidence consists in the mode in which it is given. Allow a witness the unbounded and uncontrolled licence of making changes, which the present system allows,¹ and there is no fact ever so clearly stated at the time of examination that cannot afterwards be mystified; no conduct undefended before the Committee which cannot be glossed over and palliated; no ignorance so gross that it cannot be made to assume the semblance of profound wisdom; and no stuttering hesitation that may not be metamorphosed into flippant readiness of speech. Besides, the effect of such changes is not confined to the answers of the witness, but reacts on the questions. The altered answer makes the witness appear very acute and wise, and his examiner very obtuse and foolish. A witness on one occasion, besides changing almost every answer of

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Witnesses'
conduct.

¹ On some occasions Committees have been alive to the necessity of preserving evidence as verbally given. The Committee on General Darling did not permit even any revision. In

such a case, as well as in inquiries into controverted elections, the *vivâ voce* evidence, of whatever character it may be, is alone of value.

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one day's examination, garnished the substituted evidence with such occasional repartees to the Chairman as the following: "You are assuming and stating matters of which you have not an atom of proof;" "That question differs not from the one you have just put, except that it is more verbose;" "This is mere banter;" "That would be rather an Irish mode of proceeding;" "You are manifestly only diverting yourself," &c.

Illustrations
of defects.

A story is current that a Committee desired to investigate the competency of an architect of some celebrity. A *vivâ voce* examination proved that his pretensions were hollow; but when his evidence appeared in print it was found to corroborate and sustain his reputation. The fact was, the architect's business and reputation were managed by skilful subordinates. The *vivâ voce* examination was the evidence of the architect himself, exactly that which the Committee desired to possess; the printed evidence being furnished by his assistants, was the very thing which the Committee did not want.

Similar conduct of other witnesses might also be instanced, but a most complete illustration of the inconveniences of the present system may be seen in the examples which follow these observations. The permission of the Chairman of the Committee on the Record Commission having been obtained, these examples are selected from the *fasciculi* of evidence taken before the Committee, which were circulated more widely than is usual,—to each Record Commissioner, as well as to the Members of the Committee. The discovery occurred by accident, but in time to prevent the final printing off of the greater part, though not the whole, of the altered evidence. The altered evidence of four days' examination was cancelled, and the evidence as actually spoken ordered to be printed verbatim. An explanation moreover is requisite to reconcile some apparent contradictions in the evidence as now published. A Commissioner appeals to the evidence, and states facts which are not borne out by the evidence in its present state, but which are nevertheless perfectly consistent with truth. Mr. Cooper, the Secretary of the Record Commission, is the witness whose evidence affords the present illustrations: He was asked (Ev. 2389), "Will you furnish the Committee with the sum expended in books from March 1831 to March 1833?" He answered thus before the Committee and the Bishop of Llandaff, who was also present,

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“The sum expended in books from March 1831 to March 1833 I have ascertained, in consequence of a report prepared by the Lord Bishop of Llandaff and Mr. Protheroe.” This passage Mr. Cooper afterwards altered to the following, and the evidence so altered, was in the first instance printed and circulated: “I have been at the pains of ascertaining the total cost of books during that period, in consequence of an error into which the Bishop of Llandaff was led by Mr. Protheroe; an error which I should have forborne to mention were his Lordship not now present.”

Mr. Protheroe, a Commissioner, having received only the evidence as first printed and circulated, which was the altered evidence, appeared before the Committee to correct the misstatements he found therein, but which do not appear in the evidence as now published. Mr. Protheroe said (Ev. 7640), “The next question to which I have to revert is 2389. I observed that the Bishop of Llandaff was said to be led into error by a statement of mine. . . . His Lordship says that he was not led into any error by me; . . . and his Lordship says he was as much surprised as I was at the passage alluded to, and which he had not heard when he was in the committee-room.”

Another evil of the present system before alluded to, is the delay caused in printing. Instances could be produced where a witness has to all appearance designedly detained his evidence upwards of six weeks, under pretence of correcting it. Other causes, which need not be particularized,¹ also contribute to delay the transmission of the evidence to the printer.

Delay in
printing.

It is frequently necessary during the progress of an inquiry to refer to the evidence which has been collected, and the practice of delivering the *fasciculi* of evidence to the Committee is intended to provide for this necessity. It must however be obvious that many an occasion of using these *fasciculi* is lost when periods of two months elapse between the giving the evidence and the circulation of it. It is suggested that an easy remedy for these defects would be found in transmitting the evidence direct to the printer, without allowing it to pass into the witness' hands. When printed, a copy of his own evidence only might be sent to the witness, to

Remedies
suggested.

¹ Some evidence delivered on the 5th July appears not to have reached the hands of the printers until the 8th

October following. *Vide* p. 725, Evidence on Record Commission.

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enable him to correct misapprehensions of the short-hand writer or verbal inaccuracies; and the printed evidence so corrected submitted to the Chairman, who would see at a glance, without any trouble, the extent and propriety of the corrections. The integrity of a *vivâ voce* examination would thus be preserved; and in those cases where such a mode of examination is desirable, its integrity is of essential importance. All the inconveniences of delay in printing would likewise be prevented.

It is also submitted for consideration whether this *vivâ voce* mode of taking evidence might not for some inquiries be exchanged for a better. In matters of science and speculative opinions depending on long trains of reasoning and logical deductions, written questions and written answers would be more efficacious than the present mode; and if the facts on which the opinions proceeded appeared disputable, a *vivâ voce* examination might be superinduced. Under all circumstances, both modes should retain their distinctive features. At present the professed *vivâ voce* examination is a mongrel of both, besides being subject to the disadvantages before spoken of.

[Several pages of illustrations of the changes made in the Evidence on the Record Commission were published in the pamphlet, but the following examples are sufficient for the present purpose. They will be read with additional interest with the reminder that the pamphlet was brought before the notice of the House of Commons by SIR ROBERT PEEL himself, and its suggestions adopted.]

Illustrations to Remarks on certain Evils to which the printed Evidence taken by Committees of the House of Commons is at present subject; selected from Mr. Cooper's Evidence, taken before Select Committee on Record Commission. 22, 27, 29 April, and 2 May, 1836.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS originally given.	ANSWERS attempted to be substituted.
<p>2299. Is there no record of payments made at the time of payment?</p>	<p>My clerk keeps no regular account.</p>	<p>Yes; there is the record of the cheques and the aforesaid rough daily book.</p>
<p>2551. At any rate you acknowledge you are as much in debt?</p>	<p>I think it may turn out, including the liabilities of the old board, which we have still to discharge, we are as much in debt.</p>	<p>I acknowledge no such thing. Including even the liabilities of the old board, which we have still to discharge, we are not as much in debt as that board was in March, 1831; of course I now class its liabilities with its debts.</p>
<p>2685. <i>Chairman.</i>] Then, how can you say that Mr. Cole sent this preface on his own responsibility?</p>	<p>Mr. Cole has produced a title-page and a preface to that work, and the work as if it was a complete work, without my sanction or authority; the preface was intended to be a preface to the appendix.</p>	<p><i>(Question thus altered.)</i> Then you do not say that Mr. Cole sent this preface on his own responsibility?—It seems to me quite immaterial whether he did or not. The putting this preface into type may rest either on my responsibility or Mr. Cole's; he may take the alternative best suited to his own views.</p>
<p>2802. Your only motive for the concealment was modesty?</p>	<p>Being secretary to the board, I thought it desirable to give it either anonymously or in a fictitious name.</p>	<p>I am afraid I had no motive so good.</p>

EXAMPLES OF CHANGES.

COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—
ADMINISTRATION BY LARGE
NUMBERS.

Extracts from an article written by me and printed in "London and Westminster Review," vol. V. and XXVII., No. 1, Art. IX., p. 209.

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THE impracticability of transacting business in detail by so rude and cumbrous a machine as the House of Commons, with its 658 members, creates the obvious necessity for subdivisions of its labour and delegations of its power. Hence the appointment of Committees.

Necessity of
Committees.

If we confine our remarks on this occasion to the operation of Committees, it is not that we are unmindful of other defects in the legislative system. The House of Commons, when even a third of its members are assembled, is useless for all purposes of deliberation, and serves only as a mere theatre for rhetorical display. All the real business of the nation is transacted in thin houses; the multitudinous assemblages answer no purpose but to enable parties to muster their strength. We see, that for much of what the House does, and for nearly all that it leaves undone, nobody is responsible; that all its work is the most inefficient kind of work, volunteer-work; that its proceedings are at once hasty and dilatory; that it hardly ever succeeds in expressing its own meaning, for want of mere workmanlike and mechanical execution in the construction and language of its Acts. The means of making the House itself a more efficient instrument for the transaction of business require separate consideration. For the present we shall only direct attention to the working of Public Committees, as emanating from the House under its present imperfect constitution; and shall point out how practical improvements might be introduced into the operation of these Committees, without the

adoption of any new principle, and how materially their value, competency, and efficiency would be enhanced.

The multitudinous composition of Committees, and the evils in their mode of procedure naturally consequent thereupon, together with the absence of any obligation on their part to report the result of their labours, or on the part of the House to notice them, constitute the principal defects of these bodies.

The impotent conclusions of Committees have become proverbial, and the best mode of bolstering up a job or evading the redress of a grievance is supposed to be taken when a Committee is appointed under pretence of investigation.

Some beneficial changes were introduced at the commencement of the Session of 1836, in the constitution and proceedings of Committees, but a necessity for greater improvement must have impressed itself on all who have watched their operation.

The most material of these changes tended to increase in a trifling degree the small modicum of responsibility attaching to each member. The numbers, which before had averaged as many as 30 and 40 members, were, as a general rule, reduced to fifteen. A sort of vague record is preserved of each member's attendance, and of the actual share he takes in the proceedings.

It is argued by those who call themselves practical men, and sneer at theory, that the chances of obtaining assiduous attendance and efficient work are enhanced by the appointment of a numerous body. Fifteen members, it is speciously said, will give a better attendance, and work more effectively than three or five. But how the facts tally with the assertions, a table given conclusively demonstrates. In Committees of the House of Commons, as in all administrative bodies whatever, whether companies, societies, or boards, the management of the business falls into the hands of those who feel the strongest interest in its transaction. It rarely happens that more than one or two persons besides the member who originates the Committee feel any strong interest in the subject. Every one of the Committees of last Session is an example, showing that the real business of the inquiries is virtually conducted by one, two, three, or at most five members. The table shows that great part of the fifteen members are quite superfluous: we shall hereafter point out with what serious detriment to the inquiry the superfluous numbers operate.

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Great numbers an
impediment.

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Work of the
Chairman.

It is customary to elect as chairman of the committee the member with whom the inquiry originates ; he is the person who is most interested in its success, and on whom consequently its management devolves. Such was the case in fourteen of the above-mentioned Committees. In each of these fourteen, the member, and almost the only one, who was punctual at every meeting of his Committee without exception, was the chairman. The exceptions to the practice of electing the mover chairman, occur in the Committees on the *British Museum*, *Joint Stock Banks*, *Aborigines*, and *Port of London*.

Mr. Hawes originated the *British Museum* inquiry, and Mr. Hawes was the *only* member who attended every sitting of it. Mr. Clay, the mover of the *Joint Stock Bank* Committee, was the only member punctual at all its meetings. Mr. Fowell Buxton, though chairman and mover of the *Aborigines* Committee, seems to have left the conduct of it principally to Mr. Lushington, who attended every sitting but one. In the case of the *Port of London*, the chairman was engaged, at the same time, with another more interesting Committee, on *Railway Bills*, of which he attended every meeting.

Throughout the whole 18 Committees there are but *four* instances where *any* members besides the chairmen or movers attended every meeting of the Committee. These occur in the *Arts and Manufactures*, where *one* member attended all the meetings of the Committee. In the *Colonial Lands*, two ; in the *Shipwrecks*, one ; and in the *Public Bills*, two members.

It is clear, therefore, beyond doubt, with whom the management of every Committee rested.¹

Let us look at this matter not in individual cases, but in the aggregate of the whole eighteen. Here again we shall see how curiously the results corroborate the principle that management of business always falls into the hands of a very few persons.

Multiplying the total number of sittings of each Committee by

¹ There is a singular illustration of the extent to which the character of the Chairman influences the proceedings and despatch of the Committee. Mr. Hume moved for an inquiry into the *Coal Trade* on the 1st of June, and he completed it forthwith. His Com-

mittee met daily on several occasions —on the 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 24, 27 June, overcoming all the obstacles which prolong the same number of sittings of other members' committees during three and four months.

the number of members (15) appointed to it, we obtain the number of individual attendances which may be considered as due, if each member had attended every meeting punctually. For example, the Committee on *Public Bills* met seven times; consequently, had each of the fifteen members attended punctually, the total amount of attendances would be 185. But, instead of 185, we find that only 45 attendances were given. It might be said that here the attendance was particularly lax; and it might be inferred that the business was neglected. On the contrary, this Committee was, in reality, one of the most efficiently attended, for it presents the only case, except the *Colonial Lands*, where *three* members are found to have attended every meeting.

We think it must conclusively appear from a register of attendances merely, that these Committees were, in point of fact, conducted by three, four, and five persons, and that two-thirds of the Committee were but ciphers.¹

The case might be put much more strongly than we have stated it, since we have treated every registered attendance as if it were a *bonâ fide* one, efficient for the purposes of the inquiry. The fact is far otherwise. Whether a member attend during the entire sitting of a Committee, or attend just the length of time necessary to read and answer his correspondence (as very many members do), or merely appear for an instant in the Committee-room, his name is recorded in the same way. From personal observation of Committees, though ten or twelve members frequently appear as being present at a meeting, we doubt if a single instance from all the Committees of last session, could be shown where as many as

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Attendance
in Com-
mittees.

¹ The five most punctual attended nearly six times oftener than the five least punctual. Comparing the totals, the five most punctual gave nearly two hundred attendances more than the other ten. The total of the attendances of the seven exceeds that of the eight by one thousand attendances. The three most punctual gave nearly three hundred more attendances than the seven least punctual, and above two hundred more than the eight least punctual. One-fifth of the attendances was the proportion due from these

three, but they rendered more than one-third of the whole number. Lest it should be said that no degree of attention qualifies some heads to work, and that frequency of attendance is not the real test of efficient service, we answer, first, that the House should not delegate its powers to the incompetent; and secondly, that as the powers of each member on a Committee are co-ordinate, the degree of attention is the only test which the House can admit of his fitness to exercise a judgment.

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five members have been all present together during the whole period of any one daily sitting. The entry of the member's name in fact signifies only this, that he was seen by the clerk, on such day, in the Committee-room.

We will now show that great mischiefs are consequent on retaining the useless majority.

Respon-
sibility de-
stroyed.

The first of these mischiefs is the almost entire destruction of all responsibility.

The Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, understood to be the work of Sir Henry Parnell, contains so able a statement of the effect of numbers on responsibility, whether in Boards or Committees, that we prefer quoting it, to stating the argument in our own words:—

Sir H.
Parnell on
Boards.

“ There is another great defect to be noticed belonging to the management of business by Boards, and that is the depriving of the public of the security of personal responsibility for the proper performance of its business. The responsibility of the Board, as a Board, is of no value whatever; and as to the Commissioners, individually, no one of them is responsible for the acts of the Board, as others participate with him in all he does, and as much may be done in which some member of the Board has not acted: so that, in fact, the appointing of a Board of several Commissioners with equal powers, as the head of a sub-department for revenue purposes, completely sets aside all responsibility. . . . Experience of managing business by Boards (a system which in this country is so common) affords a complete illustration of the correctness of the preceding observations. The proceedings of the numerous Boards of Commissioners for Paving and Lighting, and of Sewers, are seldom mentioned but in terms of complaint and condemnation. The conduct of Vestries, which are Boards of a more extended kind, produced so much evil, while they had the management of the poor, that it led to their being set aside by the new Poor Law; and such has been the general bad management of Commissioners of Turnpike Roads, that, by common consent, Parliament is called upon to introduce some great change in the system. When a Board is composed of numerous members, many of them have too many occupations, and many are too indolent, or of too much dignity to attend to the business of it; and thus the apparent management by the

whole body becomes a screen for the measures of a few into whose hands the management practically falls. Thus it may happen that, for want of attendance, want of intelligence, want of economy, or want of some other requisite in the quarter to which the actual management has been left, the most lavish and wasteful expenditure of funds may take place, and the interests of the public be sacrificed in this and a number of other ways."

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We have seen some remarkable instances, even in Parliamentary Committees, of the advantages of bringing home some small share of personal responsibility to the individual members. A recent order directs that, in the minutes of evidence, each question shall be accompanied by mention of the name of the member asking it. Before this order was made, the questions generally appeared a jumble of nonsense, imbecility, and contradiction. But besides rendering the examinations altogether more intelligible, this regulation imposes a salutary check against impertinent and irrelevant questions. We have heard members put questions to witnesses, which the remembrance of publicity caused them afterwards to retract. "No, don't put that question down," was an injunction we heard given to the short-hand writer very frequently in Committees sitting during the last session.

Use of
publicity,

But this is a mere palliation of an evil which ought to be extirpated. The progress of an inquiry, and the trains of investigation, are liable to constant interruption by the impertinent intermeddling and obtrusive questions of a numerous body of inquirers. Few persons are disposed to remain silent when they feel themselves under the obligation of appearing to do something; yet, if every member of a Committee exercised his privilege of asking questions the examinations would be a tissue of disconnected parts.

The numerousness of the body is productive of still greater deterioration in the report than in the evidence. The difficulty of reconciling the opinions and tastes of fifteen persons needs only be stated to be understood; and where it is optional whether a decision shall be made or not, while the public are not likely to know from whom the decision actually proceeds, it must be very clear that private motives, prejudices, and sympathies, will be allowed a pretty large exercise. Few reports are impartial, business-like, and comprehensive judgments; but, on the contrary,

Numbers an
evil

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feeble and imperfect inconsistencies, strung together on the principle of compromise among several dissimilar tastes and views. The Committee sits as a judge, but in most cases pronounces no judgment, and the numbers of a Committee constitute a shield behind which a delinquent escapes. Many culprits would escape if fifteen judges sat on the bench. Under misconception of what constitutes efficiency in a Committee, its numbers are very often proportioned to the degree of interest and importance of the subject matter for inquiry—the greater the interest the greater the numbers. Practically, however, in proportion to the number of the inquirers is the inefficacy of the inquiry. What was the utility of the Agricultural Committee of last Session? No report was made, and it might have been predicted that a Committee, consisting of thirty-six members, would afford a very convenient means of evading the difficulty of making one.

Evil of a
member on
many Com-
mittees.

The appointment of the same person to serve on several Committees at the same time, is an evil incidentally connected with their present multitudinous composition. The House of Commons cannot furnish 200 members qualified to prosecute an inquiry, and yet it makes arrangements which, if fully acted upon, require, sometimes at the same moment, not less than 2,000 members.¹ Accordingly, instead of giving a valuable attendance at one Committee, a member is called upon to give a valueless attendance at several. A rule of the House provides that no member shall serve on more than three public Committees at one time,—but this rule (besides that it is frequently infringed) does not extend to the far more numerous Committees on Private Bills.

Rule
infringed.

Thirteen Select Committees met on one day, besides Committees on Private Bills. On other days eleven, ten, nine, eight, and seven : and the presence of many of the best men of business was required

¹ How essentially inoperative and absurd is the present constitution of Committees in respect of numbers, is seen in this instance likewise. On the 3rd of June eleven public Committees, consisting of 15 members, met. The attendance of 165 members therefore was required. Twenty-three private Committees met on the same day. A private Bill Committee averages in number more than 100 mem-

bers, e.g. the Bedford List Committee counts 126 members; the Berks 118, the Cambridge 131, &c. If every member of the House attended his post, more than 2000 members would be required.

The monstrous constitution and proceedings of Private Committees must be the subject of a separate article [which was not written].

at the same time in at all events three, and sometimes more, different places.

Among the other evils inherent in the operation of Committees as at present constituted, and which have reference more or less to their unnecessary numbers, one of the greatest is the preposterous delay which takes place during the progress of an inquiry.

A Committee does not meet day by day, but once, twice, or thrice a week, and in some cases much less frequently; because it must regulate its days of meeting, the commencement, duration, and adjournment of its proceedings, according to the arrangements of other Committees. We might select any Committee we pleased, as an example of the unnecessary length of time over which its inquiries were spread. It is sufficient to single out the following cases occurring last session, which show how languidly the proceedings must have been prosecuted. The Committee on *Arts and Manufactures* held 21 meetings, which extended over a period of five months. Eleven meetings of the *Controverted Elections* Committee occupied four months. The Committee on *Harbours of Refuge* met 7 times; commenced its labours on the 22nd March, and reported on 16th June. In the case of the Committees on the *Record Commission* and on the *British Museum*, the presence of Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Hawes was considered requisite at both, and the meetings and convenience of the members of both Committees were made subservient to the supposed necessity.

The length of each day's sitting of a Committee has also to be regulated to suit the convenience of its numerous members. A wishes to attend one Committee at 12 o'clock: B and C must leave the meeting at 2 o'clock to give a nominal attendance at another Committee, or vote in a Private Bill Committee which they have not attended at all. Hence an infinite loss of time. The length of each sitting scarcely averages two hours and a half.¹

¹ A correct inference as to the length of time a Committee sat may be drawn from the number of questions asked. There are apparently great extremes in the quantity of business transacted at a single meeting. In the *Arts* Committee (Mr. Ewart, Chairman)

on the 25th Feb. 65 questions were asked, on the 10th March only 58—whilst in the *Coal* Committee (Mr. Hume, Chairman), on the 17th June, 530; and on 20th June 380 questions were put and answered.

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Delay.

Time of meeting.

Arts and Manufactures Committee.

Length of sittings.

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Record
Commission
Committee.

It must be obvious from the examination of a single instance, how much time and labour is thrown away by the present arrangements. The *Record Commission* Committee held a greater number of meetings than any Committee of last Session. Reckoning the business transacted at each of its meetings to have occupied three hours—an estimate much beyond the fact—this Committee was engaged 108 hours, which were prolonged over 36 meetings during 5 months. Suppose each meeting had occupied 4 hours instead of 3, the number of its meetings would have been 27; if 5 hours, 21½; if 6 hours, 18 meetings. Let it be remembered that precisely the same trouble must be expended to give three hours' attendance as five hours. The member must perform his journeys to the House, must hunt out the Committee-Room, and must collect his papers. If members are alarmed at the idea of giving five hours of continuous labour, we beg to remind them that they do so under present circumstances to much less purpose. The member who attends Committees at all, arrives at the House about 11 or 12, and, instead of giving useful attendance in one place and to one subject, is continually fluttering about, bestowing a passing useless glance at many, until 4 o'clock, when the business of the House itself commences.

There must necessarily be some loss of time at the commencement and termination of any meeting, be its duration what it may; it is clear, however, that less time under these circumstances would be lost with three meetings which lasted 5 or 6 hours, than with six meetings which lasted 3 hours.

Delay of
proceedings.

The reform of an abuse depending on such investigations is always postponed, and may be even entirely frustrated by the unnecessary delay of the proceedings. Every Committee of last Session might have completed its labours in a month, and the House might forthwith have acted on their reports. But the inquiries being prolonged to the end of the session, the evils remain unredressed during another entire year of mischief.

Besides, the effect of the unnecessary length of time over which the proceedings are extended, is to fritter away the patience of the members; to weaken, if not destroy, the interest which they take in the result. When it is considered that this interest is the only motive and security for any attention at all, and is a motive of a very precarious nature, it must be evident that it is advisable

to foster it by convenient regulations, rather than destroy it by the interposition of needless impediments.

Another regulation which creates great impediments, and causes great loss of time, is the necessity of procuring a *quorum* before business can be commenced. The ceremony is generally evaded; and were it not so, no Committee could make any progress at all. The quorum is mere fiction, as the business is managed at present. In most cases it is deception—if viewed according to the intention of it, as a guarantee that no business commences until five members are assembled, and that the sitting terminates whenever five members cease to be present. To comply with the farce of causing five members to appear in the Committee-room at its meeting, messengers are despatched into all quarters to hunt for a member, who goes through the pantomime of peeping into the Committee-room, and then vanishes. Demand, it is said, always creates a supply, and so it happens in quorums. Providence has placed some half dozen very useful members in the House of Commons, who are here, there, and every where; and who may always be pounced upon to perform the important duty of saving a Committee's labours from worthlessness; for without the quorum, the whole proceedings are considered invalid. The late Sir M. Ridley was one of these; Mr. Ewart, Dr. Bowring, and Mr. Hawes deserve especial mention for their services in relieving these dilemmas. We have seen whole hours, and even meetings, lost on account of this frivolous and vexatious ceremony. The progress of business is thereby placed very much in dependence upon, and at the caprice of, any member; and we have witnessed instances, where the same member has at one time moved an adjournment because no quorum was assembled, whilst at another he has not scrupled to proceed with business. It is impossible to show that the quorum is productive of the slightest advantage to compensate for so much delay and trouble.

We have now shown that the composition of Committees is too multitudinous, and that their responsibility is loose; that some of their rules are such as cannot possibly be complied with, whilst others are the cause of vexatious and mischievous delay; and it seems unnecessary to do more than mention the slightness of the obligation on Committees to report to the House, and the equally slight obligation on the House to notice the labours of its Commit-

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Quorum too
numerous.

Numbers
too great in
Committees.

tees. We shall therefore proceed to state very briefly the changes we would propose.

First.—The most essential measure for rendering Committees really efficient, would be the reduction of the numbers, from fifteen to three, or at most five.¹

This, as we have shown, would in point of fact be no change in the present practical operation of Committees. The effect would simply be the removal of a number of obstacles, and the gain of the many advantages derivable from a more concentrated responsibility.

The motion for an inquiry is a demonstration on the part of the mover of his inclination to act. If the inquiry be hostile to any existing interest, as most inquiries are, a sufficient check on the mover's conduct would be secured by the appointment of a co-adjutor entertaining a contrary opinion. The addition of a third person, supposed to be impartial, constitutes a machinery perfectly sufficient for all the purposes of the inquiry.

The Report of the Select Committee on *Controverted Elections* recommends the reduction of the numbers of Election Committees from eleven to five, and the grounds of the recommendation are so applicable to the case of all other Committees that we quote them :—

“The increased importance of each man's vote will, it is hoped, induce him to use the power which it gives him, with a fuller sense of the serious nature of the duty which he has to discharge. The same cause will induce the public to watch more narrowly the conduct of each Member of the Committee. The screen of numbers being removed, it is to be expected that every member knowing how much may depend on his single vote, and how exposed his misconduct will be to the public eye, will feel the necessity of taking pains to form accurate conclusions, and of resisting every inducement to swerve from strict justice which party or personal bias may present. Again—It is obvious that business will com-

¹ John Duer, Esq., a counsellor at law in the State of New York, informed the Select Committee on *Public Bills* that ‘Special Committees with us are always appointed by the Speaker, unless where the House otherwise direct: where the House

have confidence in the Speaker it rarely happens that they take from him the appointment of the Committee—which consists of *three* or *five*, according to the importance of the subject—and generally not more.’—[Ev. 94. 5, 6.]

monly be done with greater despatch and care in a small than in a large Committee ; discussions will assume a form less resembling that of debate ; and as the opinion of a small number can be immediately ascertained, superfluous arguments and frivolous objections will be spared."

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We suggest, Secondly,—That no Member should be named on two Committees at the same time.

Suggestions.

Thirdly.—That the quorum should be abolished, and that the proceedings of the Committee should commence when two Members are assembled.

Quorum.

Fourthly.—That it should be compulsory on the Committee to report to the House, and that no member should be entitled to vote on the report unless he had attended two-thirds of the meetings of the Committee.

Report.

And Fifthly.—That after a certain period the House should be obliged to take the Report into its consideration as a matter of course.

Under present circumstances, whatever may have been the object of an inquiry—whether to redress a real or imaginary grievance, to please a constituency, to screen or expose a job, or to satisfy a public demand ; whatever may have been the results of the inquiry, satisfactory or otherwise—it is dependent on individual inclination to call the attention of the House to the proceedings of its Committee. Few investigations cost the public less than £1,000—many a vast deal more. On the score of mere economy, the House should bind itself to notice officially, and as a matter of course, the results, be they what they may, of all investigations prosecuted under its sanction. The matter now ends with the circulation of a blue book, which is thrown aside by the majority of members, or becoming the perquisite of the member's butler, or clerk, is sold as waste paper, and found on the bookstall the day after its circulation.

Official
notice of
Report.

A certainty that the House would call Committees to account for their stewardship would, we believe, exercise a very wholesome influence on their proceedings.

Had these suggested alterations been applied to any Committee of the last Session, we are convinced that the result would have been great saving of time and labour, greater despatch and efficiency, increased responsibility, better reports, and legislative results both more speedy and more beneficial.

HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

(Written in 1841, and published in the "Penny Cyclopædia.")

I.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.

A. D. 1841.

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Definition of
Public
Records.

AUTHENTIC memorials of all kinds, as well public as private, may be considered in one sense as records. Thus the Metopes of the Parthenon are indisputable records of Grecian art; the journal stamp on a letter is a record that it has passed through the post-office; a merchant's ledger is a record of his business; and every lord of a manor may keep written records of his courts, as the chancery, the exchequer, and other courts do of their proceedings. But our present purpose is to give some general account of the public records, properly so called, understanding by the term the contents of our public record offices.

II. Records, in the legal sense of the term, are contemporaneous statements of the proceedings in those higher courts of law which are distinguished as courts of record, written upon rolls of parchment. (Britton, c. 27.) Matters enrolled amongst the proceedings of a court, but not connected with those proceedings, as deeds enrolled, &c., are not records, though they are sometimes in a loose sense said to be "things recorded." (2 Sell., *Abc.*, 421.) In a popular sense the term is applied to all public documents preserved in a recognized repository; and as such documents cannot conveniently be removed, or may be wanted in several places at the same time, the courts of law receive in evidence examined copies of the contents of public documents so preserved, as well as of real records.

III. The course we propose to take, is to treat that as a record which is thus received in the courts of justice. The act, for instance, which abolished Henry VIII.'s court of augmentation (of the revenues obtained from the suppression of the religious houses), declared that its records, rolls, books, papers, and docu-

ments, should thenceforth be held to be records of the court of exchequer; and accordingly we have seen many a document, originally a mere private memorandum, elevated to the dignity of a public record, on the sole ground of its official custody, and received in evidence as a record of the Augmentation-office. On the other hand, numbers of documents which were originally compiled as public records, having strayed from their legal repository to the British Museum, have thereby lost their character of authenticity. ("Proceedings of the Privy Council," vol. v., p. 4, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas.)

IV. "Our stores of public records," says Bishop Nicolson, and, we believe, with perfect accuracy, "are justly reckoned to excel in age, beauty, correctness, and authority, whatever the choicest archives abroad can boast of the like sort." (Preface to the "English Historical Library.") Yet rich as our own country is beyond all others of modern Europe in the possession of ancient written memorials of all branches of its government, constitutional, judicial, parliamentary, and fiscal, memorials authenticated by all the solemn sanctions of authority, telling truly though incidentally the history of our progress as a people, and handed down in unbroken series through the period of nearly seven centuries—the subject of its public records now appears, we believe, for the first time in a work like the present. The amount of public care given to this subject during the last forty years, is shown by the appointment of successive commissions and parliamentary committees of inquiry, by a cost in one shape or another amounting to little less than a million of pounds sterling, and by the passing of an Act of Parliament designed to effect a thorough change in the system of keeping and using the public records.

V. By far the greater part of records are kept as rolls written on skins of parchment and vellum, averaging from nine to fourteen inches wide,¹ and about three feet in length. Two modes of fastening the skins or membranes were employed, that of attaching all the tops of the membranes together book-wise, as is employed in the exchequer and courts of common law, whilst that of sewing each membrane consecutively, like the rolls of the Jews, was adopted in the chancery and wardrobe.

VI. The solution of the reasons for employing two different

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A.D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.

A series of
seven cen-
turies un-
broken.

Different
sorts of
Rolls.

¹ The rolls of the Great Wardrobe exceed eighteen inches in width.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.

modes has been thought difficult by writers on the subject. It appears to have been simply a matter of convenience in both cases. The difference in the circumstances under which these rolls were formed, accounts, we think, satisfactorily for the variation of make. In the first case, each enrolment was often begun at one time and completed at another. Space for the completion of the entry must have been left at hazard. Besides, several scribes were certainly engaged in enrolling the proceedings of the courts, and the roll

Forms of
Records.



was liable to be unbound, and to receive additional membranes after it had been once made up. In the other case, the business of the chancery being simply registration, the scribe could register the documents before him, with certainty that nothing in future would at all affect their length, and he was enabled to fill every membrane, and perfect the roll as he proceeded.

VII. In the *volumina*, or *scapi*, of the ancients, the writing was carried in equal columns, as in the pages of a book, along the

length of the skin, whilst the enrolment in both sorts of our rolls was written across the width of the membrane. Both these kinds of rolls are still used. The rolls of the common law, after the time of Henry VIII., contain so many skins that they cease to be rolls, but become simply oblong books, and, unlike the early rolls of the same series, are exceedingly ill-adapted for preservation and inconvenient for use. There are many of these miscalled rolls of the reign of Charles II., which in shape, size, and weight resemble the largest of Cheshire cheeses, often requiring two men to lift them from the rack. Membranes may be fastened together after the chancery fashion in any numbers, and yet remain a legitimate roll, though imposing much bodily labour in the consultation. The Land-tax Commissioners' Act of 1 Geo. IV. extends, it is said, 900 feet when unrolled, and employs a man three hours to unroll the volume. Other records have the shape of books. Doomsday Book, called both "Rotulus" and "Liber," the oldest and most precious of our records, counting eight centuries as its age, and still in the finest order, is a book; and as occasions presented themselves for adopting this shape without infringing on ancient precedent, the far more accessible shape which we now call a "book" seems to have been employed. A considerable part of the records of the courts of surveyor-general and augmentations, in the reign of Henry VIII., of wards and liveries, and requests, are made up as books. Other documents, those relating to Fines, the "Pedes Finium, or Finales Concordiæ," the writs of "Dedimus Potestatem," and acknowledgments and certificates, writs of the several courts and returns, writs of summons and returns to parliament, inquisitiones post mortem, &c., &c., by tens and hundreds of thousands are filed, that is, each document is pierced through with a string or gut, and thus fastened together in a bundle.

VIII. The material on which the record is written is generally parchment, which, until the reign of Elizabeth, is extremely clear and well prepared. From that period until the present, the parchment gradually deteriorates, and the worst specimens are furnished in the reigns of George IV. and William IV. The earliest record written on paper, known to the writer, is of the time of Edward II. It is one of a series entitled "Papyrus magistri Johannis Guicardi contra-rotulatoris Magnæ Costumæ in Castro Burdegaliæ, anno

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A.D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.

Parchment
and paper.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1847.
Part II.
Selections.
Tallies.

domini M^o. ccc^o. viii." These records are in the office of the queen's remembrancer of the exchequer. Tallies were records of wood.

IX. The handwriting of the courts, commonly called court-hand, which had reached its perfection about the reign of our second Edward, differs materially from that employed in chartularies and monastic writings. As printing extended, it relaxed into all the opposites of uniformity, clearness, legibility, and beauty which it once possessed. The ink, too, lost its ancient indelibility; and, like the parchment, both handwriting and ink are the lowest in character in the latest times: with equal care venerable Doomsday will outlive its degenerate descendants.

X. All the great series of our records, except those of parliament, are written in Latin, the spelling of which is much abbreviated, and in contractions, there can be little doubt, derived from Latin manuscripts. The reader who desires to be further informed on the subject may consult the collection which Mr. Hardy (afterwards Sir Thomas) has inserted in the preface to his "Close Rolls of King John," and Mr. Hunter, in his preface to the "Fines of Richard I. and John." During the Commonwealth, English was substituted; but soon after the Restoration, Latin was restored, and the records of the courts continued to be kept in Latin until abolished by act of parliament in the reign of George II. In certain branches of the Exchequer, Latin continued in use until the abolition of the offices in very recent times. Many of our statutes from Edward I. to Henry V., and the principal part of the rolls of parliament, are written in Norman French. Petitions to parliament continued to be presented in Norman French until the reign of Richard II., whose renunciation of the crown is said to have been read before the estates of the realm at Westminster, first in Latin and then in English. After this period we find English, which had doubtless always remained in use among the lower classes, often used in transactions between the people and government—a sure sign that the distinctions of Norman origin were nearly absorbed among the people at large.

XI. Sir Francis Palgrave's edition of the "Calendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer," some of which were compiled as early as the fourteenth century, are extremely interesting in exhibiting the ancient modes in which records were

Latin and
French used.

preserved. Whilst reading them we may imagine ourselves groping in the dark and damp vaults of the "treasury" of the Exchequer, among the coffers, chests, boxes, and hampers filled with records, and the walls around us covered with small bags and pouches. No uniform system of arrangement seems to have been employed, but a different expedient was used for the preservation of nearly every separate document. Great numbers, judging from the quantity found in arranging the miscellaneous records of the king's remembrancer of the Exchequer, were kept in pouches or bags of leather, canvas, cordovan, and buckram, a mode which is still used in this department of the Exchequer. These pouches, which fasten like modern reticules, are described by Agarde, who was keeper of the treasury of the Exchequer, "as hanging against the walls." The above drawing represents a leathern pouch containing the tallies and the account of the bailiff of the manor of Gravesend in the 37 and 38 of Edward III.



BAG OR POUCH.

XII. When they have escaped damp, they have preserved their parchment contents for centuries in all their pristine freshness and cleanliness. Chests, coffers, coffins, and "forcers" bound with iron and painted of different colours, cases, or "scrinia,"¹ "skippets," or small turned boxes, and hanapers, or "hampers of twygys," were also used.

These several illustrations are about one-third of the size of the originals, which remain in the "treasury" of the Exchequer.

¹ The Romans kept their records in "Scrinia," respectively distinguished as "Scrinia Viatoria; Scrinia Stataria;

Scrinia Palatii; Scrinia Sacra; Scrinia Augusta."

XIII. Inscriptions on labels, letters, and "signs" furnished the means of reference. These signs in most cases bear some

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A.D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.
A Skippet.

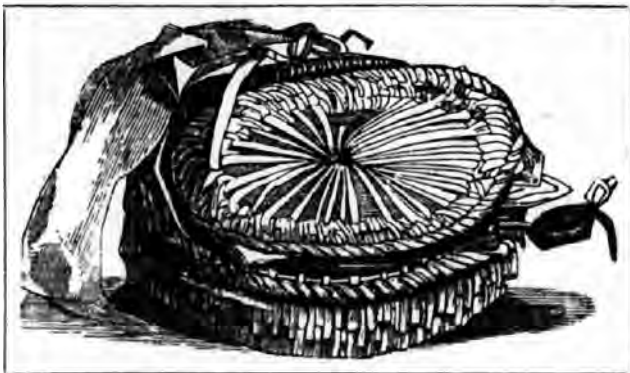


A SKIPPET.

analogy to the subject of the documents which they are intended to mark.

The rolls of the justices of the forest were marked by the sapling oak (No. 1). Papal bulls, by the triple crown. Four canvas

A Hamper.



A HANAPER OR HAMPER.

pouches holding rolls and tallies of certain payments made for the church of Westminster were marked by the church (3). The head in a cowl (4) marked an indenture respecting the jewels found in the house of the Fratres Minores in Salop. The scales (5), the

assay of the mint in Dublin. The Briton having one foot shod and the other bare, with the lance and sword (6), marked the wooden "coffin" holding the acquittance of receipts from Llewelin, Prince of Wales. Three herrings (7), the "forcer" of leather

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.



Signs of
Reference.

SIGNS OF REFERENCE.

bound with iron, containing documents relating to Yarmouth, &c. The lancer (8), documents relating to Aragon. The united hands (9), the marriage between Henry, Prince of Wales, and Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. The galley (10), the recognizance of merchants of the three galleys of Venice. The hand and book (11),

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.
Charters,
Deeds,
Chartularies.

fealty to Kings John and Henry. The charter or cyrograph (12), treaties and truces between England and Scotland. The hooded monk (13), advowsons of Irish churches. And the castle with a banner of the Clare arms (14), records relating to the possessions of the Earl of Gloucester in Wales.

XIV. Our ancestors before the Norman conquest pursued no system of public registration, though there are numerous charters of the Anglo-Saxon kings and deeds between private individuals still existing, and historical events are found chronicled in monastic chartularies. The Anglo-Saxons, whose judicial proceedings were conducted orally, had no records except the "land-bocs" or charters. The transactions of the folk-moots were not registered or *recorded*, and in the administration of justice no reference was made to written precedents. In such a state of society, though the actual possession of land constituted one of the best titles to real property, still the "land-boc" furnished evidence of it also. And so important were these "land-bocs" considered, that when the monks of Ely purchased seven hydes and a half of land, they gave three hydes besides thirty "aurei" to recover the charter or "cyrograph" of the title. Duplicates and triplicates of these "land-bocs" were made, and "one part" was delivered into the custody of the Burthegn, or chamberlain, to be preserved in the "horde" or royal treasury.

XV. When a written account is made of any act, it is clear that it is made not for the exclusive benefit of one party only. In the Domesday-book of the Norman conqueror, we see evidence that his power was far from absolute. The financial registrations (Rotuli Pipæ) of Henry I., in whose reign the earliest example is found—the records of the judicial proceedings of the "Curia Regis," which begin with Richard I.—and the special acts of the monarch himself enrolled on the "close," "patent," and "charter" rolls commencing in the reign of John—are all so many irresistible proofs how gradually public interests were trenching on the will of the king, who formally recognized no other power than his own, in the government of the kingdom. The judicial records of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and the parliamentary records beginning with Edward I., are further evidence of the increasing influence of the nobles and commonalty of the realm. The king was legally considered as possessing the sovereign power. His

Offices of
Record :
Treasury,
Chancery.
"Curia
Regis."
Exchequer.

Queen's
Bench.
Common
Pleas.

peace was broken when the subject fell by the hand of the murderer; his parliament was to be summoned; his honour to be vindicated; and his army to be levied. It was the king's exchequer, the king's wardrobe, the king's court, and essentially the king's chancery; for the chancellor's functions were originally those of a private secretary, combining duties both spiritual and temporal. Holding the keepership of the king's conscience, the chancellor was necessarily of the clerical body, and the chief of the king's chapel. The great seal was in his custody, and the scope of his secretarial duties embraced all those of modern times performed by our secretaries of state for the home and foreign departments; and of all the business transacted, a systematic and orderly registration was preserved in the several enrolments called "patent," "close," "charter," &c. All records of these several departments formed part of the king's treasure; and, like the practice of the ancient Persians five hundred years before the Christian era, when Darius caused a search for the decree of Cyrus to be "made in the house of the rolls, where the treasures were laid up in Babylon" (*Ezra*, vi. 6), were deposited in the king's "treasuries."¹ The mutual interests of all parties naturally made the preservation of the records an object of general solicitude; to the king, as they furnished indisputable precedents for his calls of military service and taxation; to the nobles, in protecting them in their feudal rights and various privileges; and to the commons most of all, in limiting the power both of king and nobles, sheltering them from capricious extortion, and securing to them a certain amount of consistency in the administration of justice.

XVII. The chamberlain of the exchequer was called "une grand office, car il gardera le tresour del roy, s. les recordes." In Henry III.'s reign there were treasuries in the Tower of London and the New Temple. From the latter place, in the 20th of Edward I., out of a chest secured by nine keys, certain records of the Chancery were taken by the king's orders. (*Rot. Claus.*, 20 Edward I., m. 13 d.) The Tower had certainly become a perma-

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.

King's
treasure.

Chamberlain
of the Ex-
chequer.

¹ Certain records of the Chancery followed the king in his migrations over the kingdom as late as Richard II. Religious houses were called upon to provide horses for the conveyance of

them. Edward I., by writ, tested the 4th July, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, commanded the abbot of Furness to provide a strong horse to carry the Chancery Rolls to York.

ment treasury for records in the 33rd of Edward I., when a transfer to it was directed to be made of all the papal privileges touching the crown or kingdom, from the treasury of the exchequer at Westminster. (*Rot. Claus.*, 33 Edward I., m. 3.) Another "treasury" is described by certain "memoranda," made 19 Edward III., as within the cloister of Westminster Abbey near the Chapter-House (thesauraria Regis infra Claustum Abbatia Westmonasterii juxta Capitulum). This "treasury" still remains. A single pillar supports the vaulted chamber, which is yet to be seen, with its double oak doors grated and barred with iron and locked with three keys, and its drawers and "tills" labelled by Arthur Agarde, who was custos of the records it contained. In his "Compendium of the Records in the Treasury," compiled 1610, he says that "the recordes of the kinge's majesties threasury at Westminster, under the custodie of the lord-threasurer and the two chamberlaines, were lay'd up for their better preservacion in fower severall threasuries under three severall kayes, kept by three sondry officers, distinct the one kay from another, and upon each dore three lockes. The first in the Court of Receipt; the seacond in the Newe Pallace at Westminster, over the Little Gatehouse there; the third in the late dissolved abbey of Westminster, in the Old Chapter-House; the fourth in the cloister of the sayd abbey."

XVII. The contents of several "treasuries" at various periods seem to have been consolidated in the Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey, which was fitted up in its present state for the reception of records by Sir Christopher Wren.¹ The only existing depositories of records besides the Chapter-House, which preserve the appellation of "treasury," are the rooms in the Rolls-House, being the "treasury" of the King's Bench Records, and a portion of the Carlton Riding-House as the "treasury" of the Common Pleas Records. The demolition of the old "treasuries" adjoining Westminster Hall, scattered their contents in all quarters of the

¹ Written in 1841. Now, 1881, the Chapter-House has been entirely cleared of Sir Christopher Wren's fittings by Sir Gilbert Scott, R. A. A new roof, giving the form of the supposed original groining, has been erected; also a buttress on the outside, and the

whole put into repair; the original tiled pavement is exhibited, and the early paintings on the walls are exposed, but should be glazed. For further details of the Chapter-House, see Summerly's "Handbook to Westminster Abbey."

metropolis. Thus the records of the king's remembrancer, of the Exchequer, and the Common Pleas, migrated from Westminster Hall to the late Mews at Charing Cross; and thence, to make room for the National Gallery, to Carlton Riding-School. The records of the late lord-treasurer's remembrancer and Pipe-Office, are entombed two stories deep in the vaults of Somerset House. Those of the King's Bench for a time rested opposite St. Margaret's Church, but were shifted to the Rolls House in Chancery Lane to make room for the present Rolls Court at Westminster.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.

XVIII. Thus from time to time have repositories, as well undignified with the ancient title of "king's treasury" as deficient in that careful superintendence which originally accompanied the title, arisen in all parts of London; and in 1837 a committee of the House of Commons reported that it had seen the Public Records, the most precious part of the king's "treasure," deposited at the Tower over a gunpowder-magazine, and contiguous to a steam-engine in daily operation; at the Rolls, in a chapel where divine service is performed; in vaults, two stories underground at Somerset House; in dark and humid cellars at Westminster Hall; in the stables of the late Carlton Ride; in the Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey; in offices surrounded by and subject to all the accidents of private dwellings, as the Augmentation Office and First Fruits. At the present time (1841), besides the offices for modern records attached to each court, we may enumerate the following repositories, with their different localities, as containing the public records:—

Old repositories.

The Tower, in Thames Street. Chapter-House, Westminster Abbey. Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane. Rolls House, Chancery Lane. Duchy of Lancaster, Lancaster Place, Strand. Duchy of Cornwall, Somerset House. Common Pleas, Carlton Ride and Whitehall Yard. Queen's Remembrancer's Records, in Carlton Ride and Tower of Westminster Hall. Augmentation-Office, Palace Yard, Westminster. Pipe-Office, Somerset House. Lord-Treasurer's Remembrancer, Somerset House. Land Revenue, Carlton Ride. Pell-Office, 1, Whitehall Yard. Exchequer of Pleas, 3, Whitehall Yard. First-Fruits Office, Temple.

It would seem that as early as the commencement of the fourteenth century, the officers charged with the custody of the records were found to be either insufficient or neglectful of the perfor-

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1847.
Part II.
Selections.

Master of
the Rolls.

mance of their duties. Since the time of Edward II., scarcely a reign has passed without a special temporary agency being appointed to restore the public records to good order. The necessity probably arose from the functions of the officer charged with the care of the records, being altogether changed, as in the instance of the Master of the Rolls, who was the *bonâ fide* "gardien des roulees" in early times.

XIX. In the 14th Ed. II., the barons of the exchequer were directed to employ competent clerks to methodize the records, which were "not then so properly arranged for the king's and the public weal as they ought to be." Again in the 19th year of Ed. II., certain commissioners were appointed for a similar purpose. In Edward III.'s reign, at least three like commissions were issued (*Rot. Claus.*, Annis 34 and 36; and *Rot. Parl.*, Anno 46). Statutes for the protection of records from falsification, erasure, and embezzlement were passed—8 Rich. II., c. 4, and 11 Hen. IV., c. 3. Other measures were taken by Henry VI., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. Inquiries into the state of the Parliamentary, the Chancery, and Exchequer records, were prosecuted in Queen Elizabeth's reign. James I. proposed "an office of general Remembrance for all matters of record," and a State Paper Office, which Charles II. established. Nor were the reigns of Anne and the two first Georges, wanting in investigations into the subject. Committees of both Houses of Parliament from time to time visited the several repositories, and the fire of the Cottonian Library in 1731 produced a report which describes the condition of most of the public repositories at that period. But the fullest examination into the state of the public records which has been made in recent times, was effected by a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1800, conducted by Lord Colchester, then Mr. Abbot, and the report of that Committee presents by far the most perfect and comprehensive account which has yet appeared of our public records, to which a period of forty years has added very little. This report originated a commission for carrying on the work which its authors had begun. The Record Commission was renewed six several times between the years 1800 and 1831, and altogether suspended at the accession of the present Queen. All the several record commissions during thirty years, recited, one after another, that "the public records of the kingdom were in

Record In-
quiries and
Commission.

many offices unarranged, undescribed, and unascertained;” that they were exposed “to erasure, alteration, and embezzlement,” and “were lodged in buildings incommodious and insecure.” The commissioners were directed to cause the records to be “methodized, regulated, and digested,” bound, and secured; to cause “calendars and indexes to be made,” and “original papers” to be printed. The present state of the Record Offices affords abundant evidence that the Record Commissioners interpreted their directions in an inverse order; expending the funds entrusted to them rather in printing records than in arranging or calendaring them. And it is an undoubted fact that notwithstanding these commissions, records were “embezzled”—and are still lodged in most “insecure” buildings. A very full investigation into the proceedings of the Record Commission was made by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1835, and the reader who is curious to know more than our space allows us to state may consult its report. Certainly during the last half-century there has been no niggard expenditure in one shape or another, in respect of the public records. It is not very easy to ascertain its total amount, or the precise appropriation of it; but the following may be received as an approximation to correctness:—

PUBLIC RECORDS.
A.D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.

Parliamentary Papers show that grants were made on behalf of the Record Commission between 1800 and 1831, to the amount of	£362,400
Between 1831 and 1839 inclusive	125,700
Salaries, &c., for the custody of records	120,000
Fees, estimated on an average of the years 1829, 1830, and 1831, at least	120,000
Removals of records, estimated at	30,000
	<hr/>
	758,100
Irish Record Commission, estimated at	120,000
	<hr/>
	£878,100

Cost of the Public Records.

Of the grants made to the Record Commission, by far the greater part was spent in printing and the expenses connected therewith.

XX. A very important step has recently been taken by the

Reform of old system.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1841.
Part II.
Selections.

Consolida-
tion.

Legislature to provide for the better custody and preservation and more convenient use of the public records. An Act was passed (1 and 2 Vict., c. 49) calculated to remedy effectually what preceding efforts had in vain attempted, by constituting a special agency for the custody of the records; to the want of which, and a sufficient responsibility, all the defects of the old system are attributable. By this Act the Master of the Rolls is made the guardian of the public records, having powers to appoint a deputy, and, in conjunction with the Treasury, to do all that may be necessary in the execution of this service. The Act contemplates the consolidation of all the records, from their several unfit repositories, into one appropriate receptacle; their proper arrangement and repair; the preparation of calendars and indexes, which are more or less wanting to every class of records; and giving to the public more easy access to them. Lord Langdale, the present Master of the Rolls, to whose influence the change of system is greatly due, has already brought the above Act into as full operation as circumstances have allowed. The old custodyship of most of the offices has been superseded, and the offices are constituted branches of one central depository—the Public Record Office, which, until a proper building is ready, is at the Rolls House in Chancery Lane. The Victoria Tower of the new Houses of Parliament has been named as a likely repository for the public records. The arrangement and repair, as well as the making of inventories of records, have been generally begun in most of the offices.



ON THE PERILOUS STATE AND NEGLECT
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

*Extracts from an article published in the "Westminster Review,"
No. C. and No. LXXXV., Art. VII.*

EXTREMES meet. The country was led to spend last year, for buildings and works connected with war, at least £2,000,000, and for buildings connected with civil purposes above £1,000,000; but its financial administrators could not economize one per cent. on this outlay, or even a farthing, to rescue the National Records from jeopardy! The Financial Reform Association, at one of its meetings, very properly denounced this inconsistency. We should naturally look to find a sympathetic regard for the National Records stronger with a government and all its aristocratic interests, than with cotton-merchants and Manchester warehousemen; but strange as it may seem, the Financial Reform Association has been the only public body feeling itself sufficiently interested in the subject, to call public attention to the government neglect of it. In contrasting economical commissions and omissions, it was the chairman, we think, who showed, that whilst hundreds of thousands of pounds can be afforded annually for experimental abortions, such as the Retribution, the Sidon, and other steam-frigates, it was pretended that no sum could be spared to place the national muniments in a place of safety. And so it would appear that this matter, which might be supposed to engage the solicitude of nobility, landowners, lawyers, diplomatists, financiers, statisticians, and those it most nearly concerns, is likely at last to be settled by some disciple of the "Manchester School."

The anomalies of management and instances of feebleness which are connected with the administration of the Public Records and State Papers for years past, are almost incredible. Since 1800, the

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A.D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

nation has paid very little less than a million of pounds¹ for the custody, printing, and administration of the Public Records, Official and State Papers. At the present time, they cost not less than £15,000 a-year, taking the buildings and makeshifts into account; and yet the great bulk of them are exposed to imminent perils of fire, in spite of the warnings of Mr. Braidwood, Superintendent of the Fire Brigade, who says, they are under risks to which "no merchant of ordinary prudence would subject his books of account." It is six years since this perilous state was brought specifically to the notice of Government, in all its respective departments—the Treasury, the Office of Woods, the Home Office; every year since, the ugly warning has been repeated in the dull ears of the House of Commons; and yet, what "no merchant of ordinary prudence" would suffer for an instant, the country endures with silent apathy.

Imbecility seems, for half a century at least, to have paralyzed all attempts to obtain a safe building in which to deposit the public documents of this country. The utter helplessness of every one who affects to be concerned, is only paralleled by the impotent wailings of the Greek chorus. Every one professes his sense of the want, cants about it, and wrings his hands. Reports without end of the danger of the present buildings, are made to Parliament year after year;—periodically, the Treasury institutes an inquiry, and so of course does the Office of Woods;—the Home Secretary is catechized, and promises to learn something. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is always hoping to find funds, and all the while the national Records remain in the state "to which no merchant of ordinary prudence would subject his books of account."

The proverbial working of our Government is, that it follows, and rarely ventures to pilot the intelligence of the people. The apathy which it continues to show for the public documents, does but reflect the ignorance and indifference of the public itself on this subject. The spirit of the time, essentially selfish, cares as little for the past as it does for the future. Of history we are

¹ In parliamentary grants to Record Commissions, salaries to officers, fees from the public, removals, and cost of Irish Commission up to 1839, the expenditure on the Public Records had

been upwards of £878,100. Since 1839, the annual grant alone to the Public Record Office has been about £10,000, which, without incidentals, makes a total of £978,100!

negligent,¹ and though three large editions of Macaulay's "History of England" may be sold in as many months, it is the eloquence of the writer, and not the thing written about, that excites the public interest.

It is but a small fraction of the public who know the extent and value, and comprehend the singular completeness of the historical documents of this country. Our Public Records excite no interest, even in the functionaries whose acts they record, the departments whose proceedings they register; or the proprietors to whose property and rights they furnish the most authentic, perhaps the only title-deeds. Practically, what care my Lords Lyndhurst, Brougham, and Cottenham, to know that there are Records of the Court of Chancery, and the official proceedings of their predecessors, from the time of King John, without intermission, to the decree which the Lord Chancellor made yesterday? Who, among the common law judges, if we except Baron Parke, cares to know that every judgment passed in our Law Courts, has been in some way recorded for the last six hundred and fifty years? What heed my Lord Denman, and Chief Justice Wilde, or their learned brother Sir F. Pollock, of this fact?—and yet our courts are always insisting upon the solemnity of their recorded proceedings.

There is no greater sympathy for financial Records. We venture to assert that neither Lord Monteagle, Mr. Goulburn, nor Sir Charles Wood, either know that there are ledger-books of the national expenditure, which Chancellors of the Exchequer have regulated, unrivalled even for their very physical magnificence, and complete as a series, since the days of Henry II., or that they would suffer a moment's pang of conscience to hear that the parchments had been cut up into measures for Herr Stulz, or that they had eaten them as jellies, stewed by the artist Gunter.

And my Lord Palmerston, who makes treaties so patly, is he aware of the fact that our Record Offices possess the very chirograph between Henry I. and Robert, Earl of Flanders, the most ancient of our diplomatic documents; or that there exists Pope Adrian's privilege to Henry II. to conquer Ireland; or the treaties with Robert Bruce, or the veritable treaty of the Cloth of Gold,

¹ At last, after a gestation of fifteen years, the Government has brought out the first volume of our National

Historians, and halts in proceeding further.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

Indifference
of Lawyers,
Chancellors
of the Ex-
chequer,
Foreign Sec-
retaries, &c.

PUBLIC
RECORDS,
A. D. 1849.
PART II.
SELECTIONS.

illuminated with the portrait of the handsome hook-nosed Francis I., and sanctified by the gold seal, chased by the cunning Benvenuto Cellini himself?

Can the Master-General of the Ordnance, who by a theoretical figment, is supposed to direct the formation of the present Ordnance Surveys, say that he has ever been interested enough to look at the survey of William the Conqueror—the Domesday-book, which Americans, at least, go to the (Westminster) Chapter-House to inspect?—a more perfect survey in its way, though made eight centuries ago, than anything we are even now forming in London.

The brother of the Prime Minister, the Duke of Bedford, inherits the Abbey of Woburn and its monastic rights, privileges and hereditaments; and there are Public Records, detailing with the utmost minuteness the value of this and all the church property which “Old Harry” seized, and all the stages of its seizure; the preliminary surveys to learn its value; perhaps the very surrender of the Monks of Woburn; the annual value and detail of the possessions of the monastery whilst the Crown held it; the very particulars of the grant on which the letters patent to Lord John Russell were founded; the enrolment of the letters patent themselves; but neither his Grace of Bedford, the Duke and lay-impropriator, nor his brother, the Prime Minister and the historian, is moved, even by mere sentiment, to stir a step to have these documents safely housed!

Monastic
Records.

Messrs. Brown, Smith, and Tomkins, buy and sell manors and advowsons, Waltons and Stokes, and Combes cum Tythings, without knowing or caring that there are records of the actual transfers of the same properties between the holders of them, since the days of King John! There is no sympathy for these things, even with those who might fairly be presumed to have a direct interest in the preservation of them, or with the public at large. But this dulness does not lessen the truth of what Bishop Nicholson said in 1714, that “Our stores of Public Records are justly reckoned to excel in age, beauty, correctness, and authority, whatever the choicest archives abroad can boast of the like sort.”

Public Re-
cord Office
Act passed
in 1838.

It is ten years since an Act was passed creating a Public Record Office. The theory of that Act was, to put under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, all legal Records whatever, and into his actual custody all Records which exceeded twenty

years in age. Every year the several Courts—Queen's Bench—Common Pleas—Exchequer and Chancery—thus formally pass over into the Public Record Office, all the Records whose age exceeds twenty years. But in addition to these annual transfers of legal documents, there constantly are transfers of many others which are of the character of state papers. Thus the Admiralty has handed over some hundred barge-loads of its Records. The Treasury has carted away many van-loads of half-putrid ledgers and minute-books to the Public Record Office. Papers of various commissions have been sent to be sorted. The Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, has asked to be relieved of his vastly accumulating documents. Lately, it has been resolved that the State Paper Office shall be a branch of the Public Record Office ; so that already this department is one, not for the charge of legal Records only, but of all public and state documents of every kind. It will become, so to speak—when Government is wise enough to provide a proper building—a national strong-box, and these circumstances alone constitute ample reason against further delay, if the scandalous state of the present several temporary places of deposit, did not make the necessity for a safe building urgent, beyond human patience.

The documents in actual charge of the Public Record Office, are still scattered in six depositories in as many parts of London ;—an inconvenience especially noticed by the Commons' Committee on the Record Commission in 1836. The Tower of London contains the early Chancery Records from the time of John, and the Admiralty Records. One portion is placed in the Wakefield Tower, "contiguous to a steam-engine in daily operation," as witnessed and reported against by the Commons' Committee in 1836. Another portion is piled and packed up most ingeniously in very cramped space in the large square four-turreted keep of the old fortress, called the White Tower. There is barely room for a moderate-sized person to pass between the racks. The recent influx of Admiralty Records, brought from the Dockyard at Deptford, whence they were *expelled to make room for constructing another dock!*—another sign of the public economy, which prefers to build frigates to providing a safe Record Office—has choked up and completely hidden the little chapel in this keep, called Cæsar's Chapel.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

Depositories
still scat-
tered.

Cæsar's
Chapel.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

Without exception, this chapel, with its tufa-roof still quite perfect and semi-circular, is the most complete specimen of a Norman interior which remains in our country; and its present degradation, which has not as yet excited active remonstrances from any quarter, is a proof of how little earnestness there is among our learned archæologists. If Mr. A. Hope feel as keenly on this point as he is said to do, he would hardly remain so silent in his place in parliament. This chapel of Old Bishop Gundulph, ought to be one of the national sights of the Tower.

Gunpowder
at the
Tower.

But it is not upon mere antiquarian or sentimental grounds that we think it discreditable to crowd the White Tower; it is, that the place itself is more than trebly hazardous from fire;—we say nothing of the tons of gunpowder which are stored in its basement, enough to destroy all Tower-hill, and change even the course of the Thames if an explosion took place—risks certainly not worth running, in order to have gunpowder twenty minutes nearer the metropolis, although the Duke of Wellington thinks otherwise. The danger of the White Tower consists in its being partly filled with Ordnance stores of a most inflammable kind. Tarpaulins beautifully pitched for blazing, soldiers' kits, and all kinds of wood-work, among which common labourers, not imbued with extra-carefulness, are constantly moving about: indeed, an eye-witness has related to us that he has seen boiling pitch in actual flame immediately close to this tower. We need not dwell on the danger, for Mr. Braidwood has reported that the insurance of such a building with such stores, would not be taken by the "Sun" or any other insurance office for less than 5s. per cent., the ordinary risks being only 1s. 6d. per cent. If a fire occurred in this tower, the whole would certainly be consumed terrifically, owing to the peculiar construction of the place; and if the fire reached the gunpowder, Heaven only knows where the damage would end. Now a fire *did* happen only some six years ago, within forty feet of this very keep, and burnt down the small armoury, and fire-engines were at work all one night, deluging this very White Tower for its protection. A fire is, therefore, no impossible but a very probable occurrence in the Tower. In the very sight of this dangerous spot, the Government could actually provide the requisite tens of thousands of pounds to build up massive barracks, but none for a Record Office! The peril of the Records in the

Tower makes the neglect of duty on those who ought to remedy it, criminally disgraceful. It is indeed a place "in which no merchant of ordinary prudence would keep his books of account."

Other Records are in Chancery-lane; some in the Rolls House; some in a temporary shed, like a navvie's hut, recently built for the *Treasury* papers! in the Rolls Garden; some in the pews and behind the communion table in the Rolls Chapel!—a place heated by hot-air flues—a very riskful process of warming. The venerable Domesday-book, and certain other Records of the Exchequer, &c., remain in the Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey—the place where the Commons first held their sittings apart from the Lords. This place continues exposed to the same accidents from fire which were so humorously told by the late Charles Buller, when moving for an inquiry into the old Record Commission *fourteen* years ago.

Another storehouse for a very great part of the Public Records, are the stables and riding-school of Carlton-house, in which the Princess Charlotte used to delight herself with horse exercise. This is a sort of huge barn, situate at the east end of Carlton-terrace, in the neighbourhood of the Duke of York's pillar. The chief part of the Common Law Records are deposited here. The inside of this building presents a series of dark alleys—the sides of which are faced with Records reaching up some thirty feet high. It is a wretched makeshift; but it contains National Records from the time of King Stephen to the present day. Hither his Grace of Bedford would resort to make out his title to Woburn Abbey, or the Duke of Beaufort his rights to the score of presentations to livings which his Grace dispenses. Here is a mine of topographical history, from the time of King John: nothing in Europe rivalling the series of "fines," for precision, completeness, and even physical beauty. Here are the great Rolls of the Pipe—the ledger-book of national receipts and expenditure from the days of Henry II. The place which holds these Records is called the "Treasury," so called by tradition as old at least as the time of Darius, who kept his rolls in his "Treasure-house" as part of his *treasures*—and this "Treasury" is a shed so flimsy that a fire would burn it like matches, in twenty minutes, according to Mr. Braidwood's estimate. After the official hours it is consigned to the protection of four thousand gallons of water—fire mains

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

Carlton-
house
Riding
School.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

charged—an officer of the fire-brigade—two policemen—two tell-tale clocks—and two sentries! The fire-risk here, as at the Tower, is estimated at *five shillings* per cent. Such is the state of the repositories which contain our public Records!

Impotent
efforts.

We do not accuse Governments of a deliberate intention of proving what empty wind-bags are the advice of Commissions, the recommendations of Committees of the House of Commons, the decrees of Acts of Parliament, or the urgent entreaties of public functionaries; but if Governments had desired to do this, they could not have manifested the fact more strongly than in their conduct in respect to the building of a Public Record Office, during the last fifteen years. Indeed, the period will be found much longer, even as much as two centuries, if we look back as far. Yet since 1834, not a year has passed without some direct and active remonstrance being made to Government, for its neglect of the subject. We will not detail the repeated advice for which, among other things, the Record Commissions received annually more than ten thousand pounds a-year to give, and which they tendered almost annually previous to 1834; but in that year, Lord Duncannon, on behalf of Government, brought in a bill to empower the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to erect a General Record Office on the Rolls Estate; the bill fell dead.

Scarcely was this Report of the Committee on the Record Commission published, when the Commissioners of Public Records reiterated the same advice—"The opinion of the Commissioners has long been, that the present buildings ought to give way to a General Repository for Records." This advice was tendered to Government in February, 1847; and in the autumn of the same year, the same Commissioners addressed the king to the like effect.

Mr. Buller's
Record Bill.

During the session of 1837, a bill to provide for the safe custody of the Public Records, was introduced by Mr. C. Buller, Mr. B. Hawes, the present Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and by Sir Charles Lemon (who, since that time, have never manifested any useful interest whatever in the matter). Mr. Buller did not proceed with the bill, being assured by Government that they intended to take the matter in hand. In the next year, 1838, the Public Record Act was passed, and the seventh

section of it directs the Treasury forthwith to provide a suitable building.

In the January of 1839, Lord Langdale, who, as Master of the Rolls, became invested with the custody of all the Public Records, losing no time, submitted to the Secretary of State, then Lord John Russell, the necessity of providing a Public Record Office at once, and reiterated the suggestion of the Commons' Committee that the Rolls Estate was a proper site. But the Lords of the Treasury, although they entirely concurred that ONE General Record Office was essential to the introduction of a perfect system, signified that they would not build one until it was seen whether the Victoria Tower of the New Houses of Parliament would do for the purpose. It was very natural, that parliament, having resolved to build a great tower for ornament, the Treasury should try and find a reasonable use for it. This course of proceeding, we may remark, is in accordance with the spirit of the times, which is to view ornament and utility as two separate things. Lord Langdale, however, adhered to his original views that the Rolls Estate was the proper place, and he took occasion to repeat them whenever a suitable occasion presented itself, adding "that it would be convenient, and ultimately a great saving of expense, to establish the Record Office in connexion with, or in the close vicinity of the law offices and the courts."

In 1843, attention was called¹ to the very great and extraordinary risk from fire to which the Records in Carlton Ride and the Tower were exposed, Mr. Braidwood having reported that he considered the risk at both places as more than trebly hazardous. Lord Langdale threatened to pack up the Records safely, even though access should be difficult, rather than run the risk of having them destroyed by fire. Again the New Houses of Parliament were brought forward as a fitting receptacle; and though the Victoria Tower would not be erected and ready for five years, Mr. Barry said he could find "permanent fire-proof accommodation" in other portions of the new palace, and he proposed to put the Records in the roofs! The roofs were accordingly inspected by Lord Langdale and the chief Record officers. The proposition

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A.D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.
Lord Lang-
dale supreme
over the
Records.

Victoria
Tower pro-
posed.

Danger at
Carlton
Ride.

¹ It was assisted at the Office of Works by the visit of Prince Albert with Lord Lincoln, Chief Commis-

sioner, on 17th March, 1842, to inspect the Royal Arms, Furniture, &c.

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RECORDS.
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Selections.

seems to have been as impertinent as could be well thought of. The reports on this notable project describe the roofs as about six feet high, fitted up like hen-coops with 140 cells, each lighted by a little window, surrounded on all sides by chambers or ducts for the foul air of the rooms below—admirable conductors for flames and hot air in case of fire—eighty-six feet above the ground, intricate and difficult of access; in short, the very opposite of what a Record Office should be. Still the Treasury, though the roofs were laughably absurd for the purpose, clung to using the Victoria Tower. The building of it being still in jeopardy, its fitness was asseverated more strongly than ever by Mr. Barry. At last he was constrained to say what quantity the Tower would really hold, when it appeared that the space it would provide would not accommodate a third part of the Records; and it was proved that it would be more costly to erect supplementary buildings at Westminster adjacent to the Victoria Tower, which must necessarily be more or less ornate in their architecture, than it would be to build a plain suitable structure elsewhere. So the Victoria Tower being out of jeopardy, that notable scheme was given up. There are some admirable letters on this matter written by the Master of the Rolls, in which he lectures the Government with dignity and eloquence on its short-comings.

Mr. Protheroe's
motion.

In 1846, Mr. Protheroe moved in the Commons that there ought to be no further delay in erecting a suitable repository. Sir Charles Wood and Sir G. Grey promised their best attention. Accordingly, after some delays, the matter was referred to the Commissioners of Metropolitan Improvement, who recommended a plan prepared by Mr. Pennethorne, for building an office on the Rolls Estate, all authorities now agreeing about the site. Notices were given to tenants in the neighbourhood, and a bill was prepared to be brought in, in 1848, when, unluckily, financial difficulties came on, and the subject was dropped altogether. We cannot exonerate the Government from blame in this decision, for it could spend £3,000,000 on various other works and buildings in that year in spite of the difficulties, but was unable to muster sufficient heartiness to build the Public Record Office, and conclude the matter once and for all by getting a small preliminary grant. One even of £10,000 would have been a useful beginning, but it was not made.

Mr. Monckton Milnes,¹ towards the close of the session of 1848, catechised Sir G. Grey, who said the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no funds. Still the subject did not quite drop, for the Committee on Miscellaneous Estimates in 1848, reported that, "it seems that considerable expense is incurred, owing to the different places in which these documents are kept, and it would be advisable that parliament should *speedily* determine whether any building large enough for their tenure should be erected."

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

Mr. M.
Milnes' ac-
tion.

We observe that Mr. M. Milnes has this year already begun his annual questionings, which we hope he is going to prosecute with a little more energy than before, or he had better give up the matter. We suggest that he should forthwith call attention to the resolution of the Miscellaneous Estimates Committee, coupling it with another, that the House is prepared to vote the necessary funds for commencing the structure forthwith. We have no faith that this recommendation will meet with any better fate than its predecessors have done, unless the attention of ministers is called to it in a way they cannot elude.

If the question were now an open one, and disconnected with economical reasons, which would be the best site of the Public Record Office, we might perhaps hesitate to fix upon the Rolls Estate;—not, certainly, if the convenience of the legal profession were the only consideration. Unquestionably it is that part of the public who have the most occasion to use the Public Records in the way of business, and for them the Rolls Estate is by far the most suitable site, from its adjacency to the law offices and the inns of court. But we apprehend the question of site must be considered as quite settled.²

Since 1834, a very large portion of the ground belonging to the Rolls Estate has been kept unoccupied, for the express purpose of being used as the site of the Public Record Office, when it should be wanted. And the mere delay already has cost some £20,000,

¹ Now Lord Houghton, who, when Mr. C. Buller became a minister, interested himself in the Public Records question in Parliament.

² The longer the question is delayed, the more it creates difficulties. Last year we heard of proposals from parties in Westminster, who wanted

to sell their land at extravagant prices, that the Public Record Office should be in Tothill Fields, and who contended that it was for the public interest that Government should buy their land, rather than use that which it already held.

for it would not be too much to value the annual loss thus entailed by keeping the ground useless, at some £1,200 a-year. The surveyor of the Office of Woods has reported that "The Rolls Estate is indisputably the cheapest site in London, for in no other part could so large an area be acquired except at a cost far exceeding the value of this estate." And we apprehend the argument of greatest cheapness is likely to have most weight at the present time. The Rolls Estate is by far the cheapest site, and one which, if the Record Office be disconnected from metropolitan improvements, requires no outlay at all in the purchase of ground. The ground may be used to-morrow; there is nothing whatever wanting to commence the foundations of the building instantly, but the order and the funds to pay the labour of digging.

Without pulling down a single house, there are these 200 square feet of ground, which, with the houses in the hands of the Crown, would suffice to erect a repository large enough to hold the Records in Carlton Ride and the Tower of London, which are stated by Mr. Braidwood to be in the greatest jeopardy. The cost of erecting all the buildings of the complete office, with all its adjuncts, has been estimated at £206,500; but we apprehend a grant of £50,000 made in the next two years, would be ample to place most of the Public Records in actual safety. We contend that the Government is bound to find £25,000 for doing this in the present session: and if Sir Robert Peel really meant what he said lately at the dinner of the Geological Society, when he candidly avowed that Government had too much preferred expenditure for war over outlays for objects of peace and science, he would be found a supporter of the proposal. In any case, whether it receive the countenance of either the present or the last Prime Minister, we advise some merchant at least "of ordinary prudence"—Mr. T. Baring or Mr. Cobden—to divide the House of Commons on the question, that the nation ought not any longer to subject its Records to perils, to which "no merchant of ordinary prudence would subject his books of account."¹

¹ This was the last article I wrote connected with the Public Records.

LIST OF VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS CONNECTED
WITH THE RECORD COMMISSION AND
PUBLIC RECORDS, &c., WRITTEN
BY HENRY COLE.

1.

EXCERPTA HISTORICA: or, Illustrations of English History. Printed by and for Samuel Bentley, MDCCCXXXI. Articles contributed by Henry Cole—1. Monsters which appeared in the time of Henry III. 2. Conflagration of Norwich Cathedral, 11 August, 1272. 3. Convention between Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I., and Louis IX. (St. Louis), relative to Edward's Crusade to the Holy Land, 53-4 Hen. III. 1269. 4. Attempted Assassination of Edward I. at Acre. 5. Preparations for the Coronation of Edward I. (pp. 251-277).

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D.
1831-1849.
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Selections.

2.

Amplification, by Henry Cole, of Mr. Palgrave's explanatory note, in pages 66 and 67 of his reply. 1832. Pamphlet. 8vo.

3.

PUBLIC RECORDS.—The public advantages of entrusting the Records of the Exchequer belonging to the offices of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and Clerk of the Pipe, to the Irresponsible custody of the King's Remembrancer, determined by the present condition of that officer's own Records. In a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Record Commission, by a Member of the Temple. "Thine own mouth condemneth thee; and not I."—JOB. London: Henry Butterworth, 7, Fleet Street. 1834. Pamphlet. 8vo.

4.

RECORD COMMISSION.—A letter addressed to the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons, as chairman of

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A.D.
1831-1849.
Part II.
Selections.

the Commission on Public Records, on the conduct of C. Purton Cooper, Esq., Sec. Com. Pub. Rec., and the general management of the Commission. By Henry Cole, one of the Sub-Commissioners. London. 1836. Pamphlet. 8vo.

5.

RECORD COMMISSION.—Conduct of C. Purton Cooper, Esq. 1836. Pamphlet, by H. C. 8vo.

6.

REPORT, RESOLUTIONS, and PROCEEDINGS of the SELECT COMMITTEE of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, appointed to inquire into the management and affairs of the Record Commission, and the present State of the Records of the United Kingdom; with illustrative notes, selected from the evidence taken before the Committee, and documents printed by the Record Commission. Edited by H. C. London: James Ridgway & Son, Piccadilly. 1837. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

7.

Remarks on Certain Evils to which the PRINTED EVIDENCE taken by the Committees of the House of Commons is at present subject, by H. C. Privately printed. 1836.

8.

LORD BROUGHAM'S RECORD COMMISSION.—“Things, sire, base.”—CYMBELINE. An article written by H. C. and published in “Fraser's Magazine,” Feb., 1837, Vol. XV., No. LXXXVI. Written with much personal feeling.

9.

THE RECORD COMMISSION. An article written by H. C. and printed in the “Law Magazine,” Vol. XVII., Art. V., p. 80. [Attributed by some to Mr. Charles Buller, but written by H. C.]

10.

Mr. Cole's Report to Lord Langdale, explaining the Plan of his CALENDAR to the Records at the EXCHEQUER OF PLEAS. 1837. Published in Deputy-Keeper's Report.

11.

HENRY the VIII.'s Scheme of Bishopricks. 8vo. Knight & Co. 1838. Only 250 copies printed.

12.

Reports and Particulars of the Decayed Rolls of the Common Pleas in the Carlton Ride, furnished by the Assistant-Keeper (Mr. Cole). 1840.

13.

THE NEW RECORD SYSTEM. From "Law Magazine," No. L. 1840.

14.

THE ANGLO-SAXON LAWS. Art. VI., "Law Magazine," Vol. XXVIII., No. LVIII. 1841.

15.

Extracts from General Reports of the Assistant-Keeper at the Carlton Ride (Mr. Cole). Jan., 1841; also April and Sept., 1841.

16.

History of the Public Records, being an article printed in the "Penny Cyclopædia." 1841.

17.

Mr. Cole's observations upon "Coast Bonds" in Carlton Ride. 1842.

18.

PROGRESS OF THE NEW RECORD SYSTEM.—Consolidation of Records and Offices. A Review of the Second, Third, and Fourth Reports of the Deputy-Keeper, 1841, 1842, 1843. Art. VII. in "Law Magazine."

19.

Extracts and Statements from the Reports of Proceedings of the Assistant-Keeper at the Carlton Ride. 1843.

20.

LEGAL RETROSPECTIONS. Art. III. in Vol. XXXI., No. LXIII., of "Law Magazine;" another article in Vol. XXXI., No. LXIV., Art. V., p. 337, 1843. Article III. gave an inventory of "Bookes of William Rastall, late one of the Justices of the Queens Benche, remaynyng in his late lodginge within Sergeants Inne in London;" and Article V. gave extracts from John Manningham's Diary (No. 5,353 in Harleian MSS.).

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RECORDS.
Part II.
Selections.
A. D.
1831-1847.

21.

OFFICERS OF THE COURT OF CHANCERY, from "Law Magazine,"
Vol. XXIX., No. LIX., p. 22. 1843.

22.

Documents illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer; and edited by Henry Cole, of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, an Assistant-Keeper of the Public Records. London: Printed by George E. Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. Foolscap folio. 1844.

23.

Report on the Measurements of certain of the Public Records, addressed to the Master of the Rolls. By Henry Cole. 1844.

24.

Extracts from the Reports of Mr. Henry Cole, one of the Assistant-Keepers at the Carlton Ride. 1845 and 1846.

25.

Report of Mr. Henry Cole, Assistant-Keeper at the Carlton Ride, of damage to that Repository and the Records therein, by the Hailstorm of 1st August, 1846.

26.

On the Perilous State and Neglect of the Public Records. Article VII. in the "Westminster Review," No. C. 1849.

27.

Extracts from the Reports of the Assistant-Keeper (Mr. Cole), 1846, on the arrangement of the Records of Queen's Bench, Exchequer, Common Pleas, and Augmentation Court; also an inventory of the Seals of the Barons' letter to Pope Boniface on Dominion of Scotland, 29 Ed. I.

28.

Report of Work at Carlton Ride for the year ending 31st Dec., 1847, noticing removals from the Stone Tower, Westminster Hall, and Inventories made of Seals at the Chapter House.

HENRY THE EIGHTH'S SCHEME OF BISHOPRICKS,

With illustrations of the Assumption of Church Property, its Amount and Appropriation, with some notices of the State of Popular Education at the period of the Reformation—now first published from the originals in the Augmentation Office, Treasury of the Exchequer, British Museum, &c. Charles Knight and Co., 22, Ludgate Street. 1838.

Extracts from the Prefatory Remarks.

THE immediate cause of the Reformation has been commonly assigned to Henry VIII. The Reformation, says a modern writer, "was begun by the King in consequence of his desire to put away his wife and marry another."¹ Henry played a prominent part in the Reformation; but that mighty revolution was as little *begun* by him, as the American revolution by Washington,—the French revolution by Napoleon,—or the Reform Bill by William IV. The Reformation was no fortuitous event, but a necessary phasis in the progress of modern Europe. It was the inevitable sequence of a multitude of moral agencies actively working. The tide of public censure had long ago set in against the morals, conduct, and wealth of the clergy.² Direct alienations

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1838.
Part II.
Selections.
Causes of
the Reforma-
tion.

¹ Essay on the History of the English Government, ch. iv., p. 29, by Lord J. Russell.

² See Constitutions of the Councils from the time of Ethelbert, Anno 747, in Wilkins' Concilia.—Dupin's Eccl. Hist. fol. 1724.—Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, fol. 1738;—throughout all,

prohibitions against almost every conceivable crime, specially named, are to be found.—Also Gower's *Vox Clamantis*. Bib. Cott. Tib. A. 4.

This poem still exists in MS. only; a considerable portion is employed in characterising the state of the clergy. The following is a sample, fol. 50, 51.

"Delicias mundi negat omnis regula Christi,
Sed modo prælati prevaricantur ibi:—

of Church property from spiritual to temporal objects, had been openly advocated as a public good during the reigns of Henry IV. and V. ; and avowed scepticism of the Church's dogmas now began to operate.

"There was no small quarrel picked to religion, both for superstition and idolatry ; and in that point not without cause, for it was great. So had covetousness blinded the whole clergy, that they had no grace to reform anything, were it never so vain and foolish, of their own accord. But all was fish that came to the net."¹ The occurrence of the Reformation at this particular

Christus erat pauper, Illi cumulantur in auro :
Hic humilis subiit, Hii superesse volunt :
Christus erat mitis, Hos pompa superbit inanis :
Hic pacem dederat, Hii modo bella ferunt :
Christus erat miserans, Hii vindictamque sequuntur :
Mulcet eum pietas, Hos movet ira frequens :
Christus erat verax, Hii blandaque verba requirunt :
Christus erat justus, Hii nisi velle vident :
Christus erat constans, Hii vento mobiliores :
Obstitit ille malis, Hii mala stare sinunt :
Christus erat virgo, sunt illi rarò pudici :
Hic bonus est pastor, Hii sed ovile vorant :
Hii pleno stomacho laudant jejunia Christi,
Mollibus induti, nudus et ipse pedes.
Et quæ plus poterunt sibi fercula lauta parari,
Ad festum Bacchi dant holocausta quasi
Esca placens ventri sic est, et venter ad escas,
Ut Venus a latere stet bene pasta gulæ.

- p. 71. Vix sibi festa dies sacra vel jejunia tollunt,
Quin nemos in canibus circuit ipse suis ;
Clamor in ore canum, dum vociferantur in unum,
Et sibi campana psallitur, unde Deo
Stat sibi missa brevis, devocio longaque campis ;
Quo sibi cantores deputat esse canes.
Sic lepus et vulpis sunt quos magis ipse requirit ;
Dum sonat ore Deum, stat sibi mente lepus ;
Si agitat vulpis, vulpem similis similemque
Querit, dum juvenem devorat ipse gregem."

See also complaint of John Wickliffe to the king and parliament. Oxford 1608.—Rabelais' satire on monkery,—himself having been educated by the monks of the Abbey of Seville.

—Giraldus Cambrensis, De distinctionibus. Bib. Cott. Tib. B. 13.

¹ Cole's MSS. in the Brit. Mus. vol. xii. fol. 17. "A copy of an old MS. by Mr. Cole, 1745, wrote about

period, like all great events, was the result of an inscrutable concatenation of circumstances; the first link in the chain to be traced rather to Thomas Cromwell than to Henry; to Wolsey rather than to Cromwell; to the Pope rather than to Wolsey; and, most of all, to the state of the clergy rather than to the Pope. Had Henry been equally parsimonious as his predecessor, the Reformation might have been delayed for a season; but his extravagance and wastefulness had exhausted all modes of taxation, and "the people," says Hall,¹ "began to accompt the loanes and subsidies graunted, so that thei rekened the Kynges tresure innumerable, for thei accompted that the Kyng had taken of this realme twentie fiftenes sithe the xiii. yere of his reigne." Funds for the gratification of Henry's sensualities and caprices are not forthcoming,—taxations and subsidies fail,—tamperings are made with the currency—proclamations issued, that the coinage shall be enhanced in value; still no adequate supply.² Fresh imposts attempted, the people grumble and revolt. Henry's necessities must be supplied.—Where is money to come from?—How corrupt, useless, and wealthy are the Monasteries, (especially the smallest and weakest,) becomes a popular idea. A rich priesthood, powerless against attack, lacking popular sympathy, can alone relieve a monarch's dilemma! Precedents for the alienation of Church property were to be found in abundance. It was but a year or so ago, that Wolsey "rather of a vaine desire of glorie and worldlie praise than upon the instinction of true religion and advancement of doctrine,"³ had "obtained a bull⁴ from the Pope to pluck down two small abbeys, (a great light to the overthrow of all the residue,) and with them to build, erect, and set up two colleges, one at Ipswich where he was born, and another at Oxford." At the "pulling down of which abbeys, Cromwell, a sherman's son by occupation, then was servant to the said Cardinall, and put in trust with the spoil of the said two abbeys in his master's behalf, wherein he spied such wealth, and was so misled in the spoyling

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State of the Clergy.

Henry VIII.'s necessities.

Wolsey's schemes.

the year 1591, concerning the destruction of religious houses in England; lent me by Thomas Porter, of Nottinghamshire and Cambridgeshire, Esq."

¹ Chronicle.

² See Herbert, p. 201, also p. 84 of the volume.

³ Hall's Chronicle.

⁴ See the numerous bulls issued since the 16 H. VIII. in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv.

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thereof, that he thought every day a thousand years untill he were in the bowels of all the residue."¹ Wolsey's schemes, sanctioned by the Pope, received no opposition from Henry, who thought, says Herbert of Cherbury,² "that if, for his urgent occasions, he were necessitated at any time to seize on the other religious houses, he might this way discover how the people would take it."

All the alienations of Church property were effected under the sanctions of law and custom. Before Henry's rupture with the Pope, numerous papal bulls were issued, authorising the transmutation of ecclesiastical property from the service of the Church to that of education.³ After that event, Henry and the legislature co-operated together against the Church.

Dissolution
of the Mo-
nastic
Houses.

The dissolution of the Monastic houses appears to have been wholly conducted by Thomas Cromwell, who, (as Stowe's Chronicle describes,) "notwithstanding the baseness of his birth, through a singular excellencie of wit, joyned with industrious diligence of minde, grew to such a sufficient ripenesse of understandynge and skill in ordering of waighty affairs, that he was thought apt and fit to any roomth of office whereunto he should be admitted." Though corruption was practised to render the House of Commons supple to the King's views,—and it gave in truth but the semblance of assent to his propositions,—yet the fact of appealing to the legislature at all, and of securing the appearance of its concurrence, demonstrates the gradual increase of another power besides that of the sovereign and the nobles. The letters addressed to Cromwell (p. 96 et seq.) afford evidence of the pains taken to secure a packed majority in the House of Commons. Numerous writers also bear witness to the extensive parliamentary corruption exercised when the proposition was made for dissolving the Monasteries. Hall⁴ says, "the moste parte of the Commons were the Kynges servauntes." And in a somewhat rare work by Sir Walter Raleigh, the following dialogue is to be found.

Parlia-
mentary
corruption.

"*Councillour.*—Why, sir, doe you not think it best to compound

¹ Cole's MSS. ut supra, p. 13.

² P. 158.

³ e. g. Bulla suppressionis monasterii, et erectionis Collegii Scholarium in oppido Gipswici. Rot. Pat. 20

H. VIII.—See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. passim.—Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, Preface, p. xxxv.

⁴ Chronicle.

a parliament of the King's servants, and others that shall in all obey the King's desires?

"Justice.—Certainly no, for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the King's part nor on the subjects', as by the parliament before remembered your lordshippe may gather; for from such a composition do arise all jealousies and all contentions. It was practized in elder times, to the great trouble of the kingdom and to the losse and ruine of many. It was of latter time used by King Henry the Eight, but every way to his disadvantage."¹

Henry Brinkelow, an author contemporary with the dissolution of the Monasteries, who writes under the name of Roderick Mors, thus describes the popular representatives: "And would to God they would leave their olde accustomed chosing of burgesses. For whom do they choyse but such as be riche or beare some office in the countrey, and can boast and bragge; suche have they ever hitherto chosen, be he never so very a foole, dronkard, extorcioner, advouterer, never so covetous and craftie a person; yet if he be riche, beare any office, if he be a joly craker and bragger in the countrey, he must be a burgesse of the parliament. Alas! howe can any suche studye or geve any godly counsel for the comonwealth?"²

Another contemporary writes:³ "It will not be far amiss to declare more at large how he did bring his purpose about, by means of his parliament men; which were as ready in Queen Marie's time to affirm the same things false and ungodly, as they were before in her father's time to affirm true and godly."—The statement frequently quoted from Spelman's History of Sacrilege, (a work I have never had the fortune to meet with,) "that the bill for conferring on the Crown all religious houses under the

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State of
Parliament.

¹ "The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, proved in a Dialogue (pro et contra) betwene a Councillour of State and a Justice of Peace; written by the worthy (much lacked and lamented) Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, deceased; dedicated to the King's Majestie and to the House of Parliament now assembled: preserved to be now happily (in these distracted times) published and printed at Midelburge, 1628."—p. 56.

² "The Complaint of Roderick Mors, sometime a gray fryre, unto the Parliament House of England, his naturall countrey: For the redresse of certeyne wicked lawes, evil customes, and cruell decrees. Imprinted at Geneve in Savoye by Myghell Boys." chap. 2. (No date.)

³ Cole's MSS. vol. xii. p. 19.

value of £200 per annum, stuck long in the Commons, and would not pass till the King sent for the Commons and told them he would have the bill pass or have *some* of their heads," appears not at all inconsistent with exercise of extensive parliamentary influence on the part of the Crown.

The letters of the commissioners employed to investigate the state of the Monastic corporations, with the view of showing cause for their dissolution, whether regarded as presenting true pictures, or as mere fabrications of interested parties,—a suspicion which the *naïveté* of some of the descriptions contradicts,—cannot but be perused with interest.

Before the Monasteries were dissolved, all education, both of the noble and the peasant, was in the hands of the clergy. A certain amount was given gratuitously. The popular schools appear to have been termed Free Schools. At these, various degrees of instruction were afforded; a Free School for the benefit of the surrounding neighbourhood was attached to almost every religious corporation.¹ "The better promotion of solid learning," was universally urged as a pretext for hastening the dissolution. The extension of learning either by the foundation of colleges and schools, or by exhibitions and scholarships at the universities, was professed by all church reformers as the object most worthy (after providing for the service of God) to which the ecclesiastical funds could be converted. Cromwell and Cranmer at least, sincerely desired and advocated the promotion of popular instruction, as the mode of employing the Church property to the greatest advantage. The disposal of the ecclesiastical confiscations at the King's caprice, and Cromwell's execution, sufficiently account for the failure of the intention. The Church property was squandered by the King on the greedy minions who formed his court, on defraying the charges of warfare, and the greatest part of it "was turned to the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banqueting, bribing, whoring and swearing."² Though much was professed

¹ See Tanner's preface to his *Notitia Monastica*, p. xxxii.—also Fuller's *Church History*.

² *Strype's Memorials*.—See the

Extracts taken from the Ledgers of the Court of Augmentations, &c., in the volume.

for the cause of education by Henry VIII., little was effected until the reign of his son Edward. Even numerous schools attached to the Monasteries sunk when the Monasteries were dissolved; and the revenues already devoted to education were in many cases alienated amidst the general plunder. To the foundation of exhibitions at the universities, to lectures, and schools of various degrees in learning, a large share of revenues apportioned to each bishoprick appears to have been designed. (*Vide* Scheme of Bishopricks *passim*.) "Certain articles, noted for the reformation of the Cathedrall church of Excestr' submitted by them unto the correction of the Kynges Majestie," which are to be found in a manuscript in the Harleian collection, somewhat illustrate the amount and nature of the instruction afforded by the episcopal schools, and also the class of people for whose especial benefit they were established.

The tenth Article submitted. "That ther may be in the said Cathedral church a free songe scole, the scolemaster to have yerly of the said pastor and prechars xx. marks for his wages, and his howss free, to teache xl. children frely, to rede, to write, synge and playe upon instruments of musike, also to teache ther A. B. C. in greke and hebrew. And every of the said xl. children to have wekely xii d. for ther meat and drink, and yerly vi^o viii d. for a gowne; they to be bownd dayly to syng and rede within the said Cathedral church such divine service as it may please the Kynges Majestie to allowe; the said childe to be at comons alltogether, with three prests hereafter to be spoke of, to see them well ordered at the meat and to reforme their maners.

Article the eleventh, submitted. "That ther may be a fre grammer scole within the same Cathedral church, the scolemaster to have xx^{li}. by yere and his howss fre, the ussher x^{li}. & his howss fre, and that the said pastor and prechars may be bownd to fynd xl. children at the said grammer scole, giving to every oon of the children xii d. wekely, to go to commons within the citie at the pleasour of the frendes, so long to continew as the scolemaster do se them diligent to lerne. The pastor to appointe viii. every prechar iiiii. and the scolemaster iiiii.; the said childe serving in the said church and going to scole, to be preferred before strangers; provided alway, that no childe be admitted to the exhibition of the said church, whose father is knowen to be worthe

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Reading,
writing,
music.

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in goodes above ccc^{li}. orelles may dispend above xl^{li}. yerly enheritance."¹

These schools were designed for the instruction of children of the lower ranks of society. The child whose father was known to possess £300 in goods, or spend £40 per annum, was to be excluded. The admission of the ploughman's and poor man's son was advocated by Archbishop Cranmer. A discussion on the very point is described to have taken place at Canterbury.

Cranmer on
Education.

"This year the Cathedral Church of Canterbury was altered from monks to secular men of the clergy, viz. prebendaries or canons, petty-canons, choristers and scholars.² At this erection were present, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop; the Lord Rich, Chancellor of the Court of the Augmentation of the revenues of the Crown; Sir Christopher Hales, Knight, the King's Attorney; Sir Anthony Sent leger, Knight; with divers other commissioners. And nominating and electing such convenient and fit persons as should serve for the furniture of the said Cathedral church according to the new foundation, it came to pass that, when they should elect the children of the Grammar school, there were of the commissioners more than one or two who would have none admitted but sons or younger brethren of gentlemen. As for other, husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort; so that they wished none else to be put to school, but only gentlemen's children. Whereunto the most reverend

¹ Bib. Harl. 604. pp. 135. 137. b.

² A letter from the Archbishop to Cromwell, suggesting the abolition of prebendaries, is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. (Cleopatra, E. iv. fol. 302.) In it the Archbishop writes: "in myn opinion the Prebendaries whiche be allowed xl^{li} a pece yerly, myght be altered to a more expediente use, and this ys my consideration. ffor having experience both in tyme paste and also in our dayes, howe the saide secte of Prebendaries have not only spente thair tyme in moche ydelnes, and thair substance in superfluous bely chere, I thinke it not to be a

convenient state or degre to be maynteyned and established, consideryng firste, that comonly a Prebendarye, ys neither a lerner ne teacher, but a good viander. Than by the same name, thei loke to be cheif, and to bere all the hole rule and prehemynence, in the colleg where thai be resident, by meanes wherof, the young of thair own nature gyven more to pleasur, good cher and pastyme, than to abstynence, studye, and lernyng shall easely be broughte frome thair bookes to folowe thappetite and example of the said Prebendaries being thair headdes and rulers."

father the Archbishop being of a contrary mind, said, 'That he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter; for,' said he, 'poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as, with eloquence, memory, apt pronounciation, sobriety, and such like; and also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son, delicately educated.' Hereunto it was on the other part replied, 'that it was meet for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply the trade of his parent's vocation; and the gentlemen's children are meet to have the knowledge of government and rule in the commonwealth. For we have,' said they, 'as much need of ploughmen as any other state; and all sorts of men may not go to school.' 'I grant,' replied the Archbishop, 'much of your meaning herein as needful in a commonwealth; but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefits of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them as well as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor nowhere else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will and pleasure, who giveth his gifts both of learning, and other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times withdraw from them and their posterity again those beneficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should make as perfect a work thereof as those that took upon them to build the Tower of Babel; for God would so provide that the offspring of our best-born children should peradventure become most unapt to learn and very dolts, as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull and without all manner of capacity. And, to say the truth, I take it, that none of us all here, being gentlemen born (as I think), but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage; and through the benefit of learning, and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen ascend to their estate.' Then it was again answered, that the most part of the nobility came up by feats of arms and martial acts. 'As though,' said the Arch-

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Selections.
Poor men's
children.

Best-born
children.

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Selections.
The poor
man's son.

bishop, 'that the noble captain was always unfurnished of good learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his army rhetorically; who rather that way is brought unto authority than else his manly looks. To conclude: The poor man's son by painstaking will for the most part be learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures that Almighty God raiseth up from the dunghill, and setteth him in high authority. And whensoever it pleaseth him, of his divine providence he deposeth princes unto a right humble and poor estate. Wherefore, if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room.' With words to the like effect. Such a seasonable patron of poor men was the Archbishop."¹

The Government obtained evidence of schools already existing, and received addresses from the people, who, when the Monasteries were dissolved, craved and petitioned that the old free schools should remain, and also for the establishment of others.

No systematic or general provision for schools throughout the kingdom appears to have been designed; but we learn from the public records that numerous representations to the Government of the want of schools were urged. The schools existing at that time were supported by private benevolence, or by the voluntary contributions of the people. Out of the revenues seized from the Church, the Government of Edward VI. made numerous, though not very large grants, for the establishment of several schools.

If our public records were properly searched, there is probability that funds, which have been alienated from their original endowments, might be shown to exist, sufficiently ample to provide for a national system of public instruction.² The public records would have furnished a sub-stratum of information, the authority of which is unquestionable. It is remarkable that all the instances of schools endowed at early periods which I have found in records, are unnoticed in the Charity Commissioners' reports.

¹ Memorials, A. D. 1540. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

² It is a fact within my knowledge, that several of the Charity Commis-

sioners were deterred by the fees from searching the valuable returns respecting Charities, preserved in the Petty Bag Office.

Specimens of some of the presentments made by the people for the establishment or continuance of schools, are given at p. 117 of the volume.

Probably some distinction existed between the "Free School" and "Free Grammar School." The staple of the instruction at the "Free Schools" appears universally to have been reading, writing, and singing. In one, the "yonge begynners were taught onlye to write and syng, and to reade soo farre as thaccidens rules, and noo grammar."¹

The Grammar Schools² endowed before the Reformation presented a system of education consonant with and adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the times. A knowledge of the Latin language was an indispensable qualification for acting in public life; the records of administration and of the courts of justice were preserved in Latin; moreover, the *belles lettres* consisted almost exclusively of the classics. There were very few productions in the English language fitted for study; and there existed ample reason for cultivating the Latin language. With a change of the times little change has overtaken the schools anciently founded. (Written in 1838.)

Our existing Grammar Schools are the dwindled skeletons of the older establishments of that name, and children continue to waste years in repeating by rote a Latin grammar written in Latin; a knowledge of which, even if obtained, finds meagre employment at the present time for any purposes but those of the professions. In the ancient Grammar School, its purpose is always indicated as being "for the vertuouse bryngynge of youth,"—a design little kept in view by its present degenerate successors.

The following letters of the tutor of Cromwell's son, especially the second, exhibit great intelligence and appreciation of the objects of education, and may perhaps be received as samples of the education afforded to the upper classes of that period.

¹ Certificates, Montgomery, No. 13. Grammar than Lily's, 11 H. VIII.—

² It was penal to use any other See Fuller's Church History.

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Part II.
Selections.
Free Schools
and Free
Grammar
Schools.

Writing and
singing.

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No. XVIII.

Letters from the Tutor of Cromwell's Son, describing the course of studies. — (Cromwell's Correspondence, Second Series, Vol. ix. p. 39, in Treasury of Exchequer.)

Training of
T. Crom-
well's son.

Pleasith it your maistershipp to be advertised that M^r Gregory w^t all his companie here are (thankes be to God) in healthe daylie occupied and embusied in the treyne and excersice of lerninge under suche manner and forme as there is no small hope the succeste thereof to be suche as shall contente and satisfie your good truste and expectation, beinge moche more lykelehodde of proffecte and encrease than att any tyme hertofore, partely forcause he is now brought sumewhat in an awe and dreade redy to gyve himself to studie when he shalbe therunto requyred and partelie sithens thinges whiche hertofore have alienated and detracted his mynde from labours to be taken for thatteignement of good lettres now subduced and withdrawne, wherunto (as a thinge nott of leaste momente and regarde) may be addyde the ripenes and maturitie of his wytte; whiche nott beinge of that hasty sorte that by and by do bringe forth their frute, doth dailie growe to a more docilitie and apte redines to receyve that that shalbe shewyd hime by his teachers The order of his studie, as the houres lymtyed for the Frenche tongue, writinge, plaienge att weapons, castinge of accomptes, pastimes of instruments and suche others hath bene devised and directed by the prudent wisdome of M^r Southwell who w^t a fatherly zeale and amitie, moche desirenge to have hime a sonne worthy such parentz ceasseth not as well concerninge all other thinges for hime mete and necessary as also in lerninge texpreste his tendre love and affection towards hime, serchinge by all meanes possible howe he may moste proffitte, dailie heringe hime to rede sumwhatt in thenglishe tongue, and advertisenge hime of the naturall and true kynde of pronuntiation therof expoundinge also and declaringe the etimologie and native signification of suche wordes as we have borowed of the latines or Frenchemenne, not evyn so comenly used in our quotidiane speche, M^r Cheney and M^r Charles in lyke wise endevoireth and emploieith themselves, accompanienge M^r Gregory in lerninge amonge whome ther is a perpetuall contention, strife and conflicte and in maner of an honeste envie who shall do beste not oonlie in the Frenche

French,
writing, &c.,
pastimes.

Reading.

Etymology.

Competition.

tongue (wherin M^r Vallence after a wondresly compendious, facile, prompte and redy waye, nott withoute painfull diligence and labourious industrie doth enstructe theme) but also in writinge, playenge att weapons and all other theire excersises, so that if continuance in this behalfe may take place, wheras the laste somer was spent in the servyce of the wylde goddes Diana, This shall (I truste) be consecrated to Apollo and the Muses, to theire no small profecte and your good contentation and pleasure. Aund thus I beseche the lorde to have you in his moste gracious tuition. At Reisinge in Norff the laste daie of Aprill.

Your feithfull and moste bounden

Servante HENRY DOWES.

To his right honorable

Master M^r Thomas Crumwel
chief Secretary unto the Kinges Majestie.

After that it pleased your maistership to give me in charge not onlie to give diligent attendaunce uppon Maister Gregory, but also to instructe hime w^t good letters, honeste maners, pastymes of Instruments and suche other qualities as sholde be for hime mete and conveniente, Pleasith it you to understonde that for the accomplishment therof I have indevoured myself by all weys possible to invent and axcogitate howe I might moste proffett hime in whiche bihalfe thorough his diligence the success is suche as I truste shalbe to your good contentation and pleasure and his no smal profecte, but for cause it is so moche to be regarded after what fashion yeouth is educate and brought upp, in whiche tyme that that is lerned (for the moste parte) will nott all holelie be forgotten in the older yeres I thinke it my dutie to asserteyne yo^r Maistershipp how he spendith his tyme so that if there be any-thing contrary yo^r good pleasure, after advertisement receyved in that bihalfe it may be amended And firste after he hath herde Messe he taketh a lecture of a dialoge of Erasmus Colloquium called Pietas puerilis, wherine is described a veray picture of oone that sholde be vertuouslie brought upp, and forcause it is so necessary for hime, I do not onlie cause hime to rede it over, but also to practise the preceptes of the same and I have also translated it into englishe so that he may conferre therine both together, wherof as lerned men affirme, cometh no small profecte whiche

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Writing,
reading,
music.

Sports.

translation pleasith it you to receyve by the bringer herof that ye may judge howe moche profitable it is to be lerned. After that he exerciseth his hande in writinge one or two houres and redith uppon Fabians Chronicle as longe, the residue of the day he doth spende uppon the lute and virginnall. When he rideth (as he doth very ofte) I tell hime by the wey some historie of the Romanes or the Grekes whiche I cause hime to reherse ageyne in a tale. For his recreation he useth to hawke and hunte and shote in his longe bowe whiche frameth and succedeth so well w^t hime that he semeth to be therunto given by nature. My Lorde contineweth or rather daily augmenteth his goodnes towards hime. Also the gentlemen of the Countrey as Sir John Dawue, Sir Henry Delves, M^r Massey M^r Brerlton Baron of the Kinges Escheker there and diverse other so gentlye hath interteigned hime, that they seme to strive who sholde shewe him moste pleasures, of all whiche thinges I thought it my dutie to asseraigne yo^r good Maistershipp, most humblie desirenge the same to take in good parte this my rude boldenes, And thus I pray the trinitie longe to perserve yo^r good health w^t encrease of moche hono^r, at Chestre the vith daie of Septembre.

Your humble servnte

HENRY DOWES.

To his moste worshipfull Maister M^rSecretarie.

The first sheets of the volume were sent to the press in the year 1835. The volume, as now published, forms only a portion of the work projected at that time. It was purposed to accompany the publication of Henry the VIIIth's Scheme of Bishopricks, now printed for the first time, with a collection of such original historical documents, illustrative of the scheme, and generally of the seizure of the Monastic possessions, as, having either escaped the vigilance, or not comporting with the views of Burnet, Strype, Dugdale, Tanner, Fiddes, and other commentators on the Reformation in England, were not to be found in their collections. The letter of Archbishop Cranmer, in answer to Thomas Cromwell, who had sought the Archbishop's opinion on the Cathedral establishment proposed for Canterbury, though existing in a volume quoted by most of the above writers, is a specimen of the materials left unemployed by them, as well as by subsequent investigators. "Having experience," writes the good archbishop,

“howe prebendaries have not only spente thair tyme in moche ydelnes and thair substance in superfluous bely chere, I thinke it not to be a convenient state or degree to be maynteyned and established, consideryng firste, that comonly a prebendarye ys neither a learner ne teacher, but a good viander.”

It was the intention of the editor to have prefaced the illustrations, exhibiting the amount and actual appropriation of the Church property seized in the reign of Henry VIII., with some remarks on the mode in which ecclesiastical endowments had been dealt with by the governing powers of the kingdom, from the earliest periods, and on the doctrine of endowments generally; and he meant also to have pointed out such modifications and corrections as these fresh historical documents appeared to administer to existing histories, but these intentions were postponed, and for reasons which are stated in the volume published in 1838.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1838.
Part II.
Selections.





APPENDICES TO PUBLIC RECORDS.

PART III.

SPEECH OF CHARLES BULLER, ESQ., M.P. FOR LISKEARD,

*On Moving for a Select Committee of the House of Commons to
Inquire into the Conduct of the Record Commissioners.*

APPENDIX
TO PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1836.
Part III.
App. I.

Speech of
C. Buller.

Value of the
Public
Records.

Great cost.



THE public records, he presumed it was quite unnecessary for him to remind the House, were, whether they respected private property, or the means of authentic history, of extreme value. Of the first class were, all grants, leases, and conveyances by the Crown to individuals or corporate bodies; of the second, were, ancient records, treaties, and public or national compacts. However carefully these might be treasured up, they were, of course, of perishable materials; and it had been determined by the Legislature that the subject of their preservation, custody, and perpetuation should be referred to Commissioners. The commission had sat now many years, and was established in consequence of an address from the House of Commons in the year 1800. The annual grants to the Commissioners had varied from £5,000 to £20,000. Small as the annual amount was, yet the House would certainly think it a matter worthy of being inquired into, when they found that since the formation of the commission about £400,000 had been voted by Parliament towards its expenditure. But that had not been the sole expense the country had been put to, on account of the public records during that period. The keepers of the principal offices were paid by Government; and it was supposed that, including the expenses of the Irish Commissioners, the whole amount bestowed on the public records, was not

less than £600,000 or £700,000. Besides this enormous expenditure, it now appeared that this commission was actually in debt to the amount of £20,000. It was obvious to a common observer that a considerable portion of this expense had been unnecessarily, if not blamably, incurred by the Commissioners, who seemed in most instances to have lost sight of the objects which had occasioned their appointment. Of one thing they had, however, been very laudably tenacious; and that was, to take all possible pains to render themselves generally known to all the countries, and in almost all the languages, of Europe. A portion of the public money entrusted to the Commissioners, had been devoted to publishing in the various languages of Europe, an account of the nature of the commission, and a full detail of the names and titles of the Commissioners. He held in his hand a Portuguese pamphlet on the subject, in which the names of the Commissioners were given, no doubt in the purest Portuguese. [Laughter.] The honourable member for Montgomery (Mr. C. Wynn) was designated 'O muito nobre Carlos Williams Wynn.' [Laughter.] The honourable baronet, the member for Oxford, had a most romantic title, 'Sir Roberto Harry Inglis.' [Loud laughter.] That was one of the ways in which the public money was spent—making the style and title of the Commissioners known all over Europe, from Lisbon to Hamburgh. Even the Secretary to the commission is immortalized in the printed proceedings of the Board as 'Viro illustri, excellentissimo, clarissimo, doctissimo C. P. Coopero equiti Anglo.' [Roars of laughter.]

"The principal objects of the commission were the care of the records, their preservation, and perpetuation by means of transcription of such as had become nearly defaced by time or accident. How these objects were provided for, he should briefly state to the House. He need scarcely inform the House that the public records were of great importance to suitors in the courts of law and equity, and were also of great public importance, as forming the genuine materials of the history of England. In this point of view he should not of course be otherwise than the advocate of liberal expenditure, provided it were directed, and efficiently directed, to the proper objects. The first great object was, that those records should be kept in a convenient place in security and good arrangement; the next, that there should be proper calendars and indexes; the third, that all records which were in any danger of perishing should be transcribed, and, in cases where printing happened to be not too expensive, that such records should be printed. He had every reason to believe that if the Committee were granted him, he would make it appear that the Commissioners had neglected the principal of those duties. It appeared by the last parliamentary returns of the Commissioners' expenditure, that only £1,500 had been spent on what he would call the most im-

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App I.
£ 400,000
Spent by
Commission.

Misdeeds.

Publish their
names to
Europe.

Objects of
the Com-
mission.

Security.
Arrange-
ment.
Calendars.

APPENDIX
TO PUBLIC
RECORDS.

A. D. 1836.

Part III.

App. I.

Records
scattered
in different
parts of
London.Stalactites
found in
offices.

Dampness.

Some 650
sacks.Proper
repository
wanted.

portant object for which they were appointed, namely, on the arrangement of the records. What was the present state of those important documents? Considering that the object of the commission was the preservation of the records, and the affording easy accessibility to them, the method in which the records were kept was perfectly scandalous. They were scattered about in eight or ten different offices, in different parts of the town. Those at Somerset-house were in underground vaults, where the light of the sun never penetrated. Fires were lighted in these vaults for the purpose of dispelling the damp; and the result was, that the records were alternately damp and dry, the destructive effects of which changes he need hardly point out: he feared they might have operated extensively already. A very picturesque description had been given in a report of some stalactite found in one of these vaults by the honourable baronet [Sir R. INGLIS]; stalactites were interesting objects to the geologist, but he [MR. C. BULLER] thought a Record-office an inappropriate place for their growth. [Laughter.] MR. ILLINGWORTH, who was very familiar with these records and their situation, stated in a letter that he was afraid to touch them, on account of their dampness, lest he should catch the rheumatism in his hand. [Laughter.] In these same vaults the records were placed so high on shelves, some sticking out like bottles, that a ladder must be obtained to reach them; and then there was the chance of falling from the top, with the roll upon the adventurous individual who made the experiment: no very pleasant predicament. [A laugh.] Surely, nothing could be more evident than that the public records of a nation ought not to be left in such circumstances, but should be placed in commodious and suitable apartments, in accessible situations, and under a perfect system of arrangement. As to the miscellaneous records lately at the Mews, and now at Carlton-ride, the method of keeping them was most ridiculous. They did not talk there of books, and manuscripts, and rolls, like other people; but they described the records by sacks and bushels. [A laugh.] They would tell you that they had six hundred and fifty sacks of records, containing eight bushels each. [Laughter.] The commission had begun some little good here; which, being good, was mysteriously suspended. The papers were sorted by years in sacks; so that, if you wanted a document for such a year, you went to such a sack. The records to which he was now alluding had previously been kept, as the House might remember, in the temporary sheds which till lately stood in Westminster-hall.

“One of the fittest objects of the commission would have been to provide a proper repository for the reception of the records. He had seen a very fair estimate for a building, but no repository had been built. The money spent in temporary buildings and removals would have gone a great way towards realizing this object.

The sum actually expended in fitting up the vaults of Somerset-house was £16,000; and the various migrations of the records from the old buildings in Westminster-hall, to the King's-mews and Carlton-terrace, had cost £12,000; so that these two sums, making £28,000, would have formed a fund sufficient to build a very good record-office. [Hear.]

“Another object, of course, of great importance, was, that these records should be safe. Ever since 1732, it had been reported to the House of Commons that there were a brewhouse and washhouse at the back of the Chapter-house, where the records were kept, and by which the safety of the Chapter-house was greatly endangered by fire. In 1800 this brewhouse and this washhouse were again reported as dangerous. In 1819 this brewhouse and washhouse again attracted the serious notice of the Commissioners. In 1831 it was thought expedient to send a deputation to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and to request his Majesty's Surveyor-general to report upon the perils of this brewhouse and washhouse [a laugh], and endeavour to get the Dean and Chapter to pull them down. [Laughter.] But the Dean and Chapter asserted the vested rights of the Church, and no redress was obtained against the brewhouse and washhouse. [A laugh.] In 1833 another expedition, headed by the right honourable baronet opposite, was made to the Chapter-house, but the right honourable baronet, desiring not to come into collision with the Church, omitted all mention of the brewhouse and washhouse. [Loud laughter.] And thus the attention of the Commissioners had been constantly directed to this eternal brewhouse and eternal washhouse without any avail. There they still remain as a monument of the inefficiency of the Commissioners, and of the great power and pertinacity of the Church of this country. [Loud laughter.] It seemed however to him (Mr. C. Buller), that the honourable baronet had not consistently exhibited that attachment to the Church which the world gave him credit for, as in 1833 it was reported, that the records in the Augmentation-office (in which the great bulk of the records relating to the Church were deposited), were in great danger from fire. The praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Protheroe to reform the condition of the Augmentation-office, and especially his representations of the dangers likely to arise from fire, were practically disregarded, though the burning of the Houses of Parliament,¹ which occurred since, bore ample testimony to the value of his suggestions. The result of not attending to his advice was, that the records at that period were all thrown out of the windows, to be preserved from the ravages of fire by the mire of Palace-yard, and soaked by water from the fire-mains. He had

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App. I.

Danger from
Fire.

Power of the
Church.

Burning of
the Houses
of Parlia-
ment.

¹ As already stated, I was present during the fire on the 16th of October, 1834, and some account of the event

will be found at Vol. I., p. 8. The reports of details in the newspapers were inaccurate.

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App. I.

Rats.
Glue.
Jellies.

Records
sold.

heard that the records made admirable rat-traps. It was astonishing the quantity of remains of rats [a laugh] which were found amongst the records. On one occasion the skeleton of a cat had been found amongst them. [Laughter.] Evidence too appeared that the public records had served a better purpose than rat-traps, The public records had been boiled down for glue, and the cleaner and better sort had been converted into jellies by the confectioners. [Laughter.] He had heard too that the embezzlement of records had been carried to a serious extent, and that at the sale of a deceased virtuoso a lot of this kind fetched above £600. They were also to be found, as matters of course, in curiosity-shops through the town. The disorderly course of keeping the records in large masses scattered on tables, amongst which it was necessary to hunt for any specific document, might perhaps be accounted for, by the knowledge of the fact that the searchers were paid by the time spent in these hunting-matches. [Hear, hear.] An attempt was made to arrange the records in the Augmentation-office by a late Secretary (Mr. Caley), who bound those of similar sizes together without regard to subject or date—leases, grants, and rentals, all together—of which an index of contents, compiled at the public expense, was kept by the Secretary at Spafields, where it could be consulted on payment of a fee [hear, hear]; but, owing to the imperfection of this arrangement, three days had been frequently spent, with the help of this index, hunting for a single class of documents. This was not at all surprising, for he found one volume labelled 'Rentals,' which contained seventeen sorts of records, yet not a single one of that class. [Hear.]

Heavy
fees.

"The Commissioners were especially expected to report on the subject of fees, a matter of great import, which still lay quite neglected, though Sir Harris Nicolas had, in his valuable work, exposed the enormity of the prevailing practice. It appeared that any one wishing to look at a single record must pay 16s. 8d.; if a transcript were taken, additional fees were required; if a full copy, higher still. A general search cost five guineas; and in the Rolls' Chapel even eight guineas is not an unusual charge. There, they would not allow a copy of part of a document to be made or examined by an applicant. A person wanted a few lines of a particular instrument transcribed, and applied to be permitted to copy them himself. He was told he must, to obtain them, order an office-copy of the entire record, the expense of which would be 140 guineas [hear, hear]; and this abuse was yet unreformed. Again, if a document was required in a court of law, a guinea per day was charged for bringing it from the Tower; if ten records were required at once, ten guineas were charged; and so on. The effect of this might be estimated from the fact that in a single case instituted to try the right to the Barony of Stafford, the charge was eighty guineas. [Hear, hear.] In this case the sum of eighty guineas

was paid for taking certain rolls from the Tower to the House of Lords, and, as the House did not sit that day, they went back again, to be produced on other occasions, with other payments of fees.

“As he had already said, the great object which the Commissioners ought to hold in view, should be to make those records accessible for purposes connected with the history of the country; to have them well and carefully arranged, with good indices, so as that all learned men might enjoy easy access to them; to have them so deposited as that there should be no injury from damp, and no danger from fire. But the preservation of the records seemed to be entirely neglected in the eagerness of the Commissioners to print certain costly works, and in reprinting of essays. Amongst the works of the present Commissioners, was a supplement to the ‘Valor Ecclesiasticus,’ a work given to the public as completing the previously published volumes. In less than a month after this publication appeared, fresh supplementary matter was found in sufficient quantity to make another volume. [Hear.] He held in his hand a volume, entitled ‘Rotuli Selecti,’ as a specimen of the accuracy of the present commission’s editorship. The work contained a patent roll twice printed by the present commission, and other rolls of Henry III., transcripts of which were twice made at the public expense. In this work there were more mistakes than might be expected to occur in proof-sheets sent to an author for correction. Those blunders were not only numerous, but somehow always occurred in the most important words. Thus, in one place it ought to have stated that a certain payment was made to the King, but the word ‘King’ was left out, and it therefore became impossible to say to whom the payment was made; then, certain ladies were mentioned who were heiresses of some person, but the word ‘heiresses’ was omitted. [A laugh.] In one publication by the old commission, the transcript called ‘Testa de Neville,’ there were 120 variations from the original roll in 22 lines. [Hear, hear.] And what made this negligence the more alarming, was, the announcement in a printed work of the present Commissioners, that it was intended to apply for an act to make this correct and authentic copy a sufficient proof in courts of law. [Hear, hear.] The commission was enjoined to print the ‘more valuable and ancient of the records,’ and yet they had expended £634 on reprinting Sir Henry Ellis’s Introduction to Doomsday; —£300 having been paid for the editorship of the two octavo volumes to that gentleman. Then there was an ‘Account of the Public Records,’ printed at the public cost, and appearing as a private work, without the title and dignity of the commission attached thereto. [Hear.] Another work printed, and not an ‘ancient record,’ was a ‘Proposal for building a Record-office and Judges’ chambers.’ [Hear, hear.] Another work, not an ‘ancient

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Printing preferred to
other work.

Blunders.

Testa de
Neville.

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App. I.

record,' was an Essay reprinted from the 'Quarterly Review.' Another work was a Report on the Chancery Proceedings. Such was the curiosity and value of this work, that it was presented as a beautiful specimen of typography, printed in red and black letter, and the name and style of every Commissioner was printed in his own copy. [Hear, hear.] These items reminded him (Mr. Buller) of the celebrity which the Irish Commission had obtained in printing.

Irish Record
Commission.

"In the Irish Record Commission, some surprise was expressed at seeing a charge for the collection of ancient and valuable works in England, by Mr. Rowley Lascelles. It appeared, on applying to that gentleman for an explanation, he had (on a quarrel amongst the Irish Commissioners) been deputed to select materials at this side of the water, and certainly he had brought together some 'ancient and valuable records,' amongst which appeared a pamphlet of Mr. Croker's on the state of Ireland, and Mr. Thomas Moore's 'Captain Rock.' [Hear.]

Moore's
"Captain
Rock"
printed as a
record.

Continental
proceedings.

"Another complaint against the commission arose from their proceedings on the Continent. He thought the Commissioners had rather gone out of their way in sending to Belgium to procure the copy of a document which was itself a copy of an original record existing in the Tower of London [hear]; and could not understand how they could find occupation for similar embassies in Germany, Portugal, Russia, Italy, &c., except to furnish a justification for expending £5000 in making themselves known. [Hear.] He also saw an item of £1500 for books, and was rather surprised that the Commissioners should think it necessary to gratify Continental curiosity at such an expensive rate as was indicated by a present sent to one learned individual,—Dugdale's 'Monasticon,'—a work which originally cost above 100 guineas. [Hear.] He thought the system very unwise and dangerous which placed £10,000 a-year at the entire disposal of a secretary to pay away at his discretion, without any order from the Commissioners; which was the system until lately. [Hear, hear, hear.] Things had gone on in this way for thirty-six years, notwithstanding the representations of Mr. Protheroe—a commissioner to whose exertions for reform the public was much indebted; and it was only when a Parliamentary inquiry was talked of that any reform was perceptible.

Presents.

£10,000 a-
year at dis-
posal of
Secretary.

Constitution
of the Com-
mission.

"He decidedly objected to the constitution of the commission. It was said, in its defence, that it was composed of men of high honour and respectability; but it was well known that individuals of such character were not so remarkable for conducting business well, as for leaving it to be done by others. [Hear.]

Commission
in debt.

"In conclusion, this commission had expended a large portion of the public money, and was now deeply in debt. It could not show that it had done anything towards having the records of the

country well lodged, well housed, or more accessible to the public ; it could not show that it had done anything towards reducing the fees ; it could not show that it had done anything towards rendering the records available by means of good calendars or indices ; but it could show that their money had been expended in very useless and imperfect works. It was for these reasons that he asked the House for, and it was on these reasons that he thought they would not refuse to grant, the Select Committee. [Cheers.]

APPENDIX
TO PUBLIC
RECORDS.
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App. I.
Money spent
in useless
works.

APPENDIX II.

PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

Sir Francis Palgrave, a great authority on Constitutional History and Parliamentary proceedings, objected to the proposed Report of the Select Committee on the Record Commission, and presented the following Petition.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE
OF COMMONS UPON THE RECORD COMMISSION.

THE Humble Petition of Sir Francis Palgrave, K.H., one of the Witnesses examined before the said Committee, and a party named in their draft report, SHEWETH, That the draft Report prepared by your Committee contains several passages relating to your Petitioner, conveying imputations upon his character and conduct as Keeper of the Records of the Treasury of the Exchequer in the Chapter House, and as a Sub-Commissioner of Records, which passages, as appears by the Statement hereto annexed, are not warranted by the evidence taken before your Committee (although professing to be supported by evidence), and as such, calculated to mislead the House of Commons and those members of His Majesty's Government who are your Petitioner's lawful and official superiors, and to whom he is responsible, and to injure him in their esteem and opinion.

That furthermore, according to the recent orders of the House of Commons, Reports of Committees are no longer confidential communications to the House, and, as such, protected by its lawful privileges, but publications for sale ; and that the statements contained in the said passages of the draft Report, are such as tend to the damage, derogation, and injury of the character. credit. &c.

App. II.
Sir F.
Palgrave's
Petition.

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RECORDS.
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Sir F.
Palgrave's
Petition.

fame and reputation of your Petitioner, and to impair and hurt him in his lawful employments, gains, and livelihood, and, as such, cognizable before the ordinary tribunals.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that the said passages in the said Report may be expunged; and that your Petitioner may be heard by himself, his counsel or agents, before your Committee, in support of this Petⁿ.

(Signed) FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

The following extract from the Proceedings of the Committee shows how the Petitioner was dealt with by the Committee.

Veneris, 5^o die Augusti, 1836.

Mr. CHARLES BULLER in the Chair.

Mr. Pusey.

Sir Charles Lemon.

Dr. Bowring.

Mr. Hawes.

Sir Robert Inglis.

Mr. Charles Villiers.

Sir R. Inglis'
Resolution

Resolution proposed (by Mr. *Hawes*), "That a Member (Sir Robert Inglis) of this Committee having read a communication from Sir Francis Palgrave, commenting on the Draft Report presented to the Committee, and it appearing to this Committee also that a printed paper of observations on the Report alluded to had been circulated, which was produced, this Committee is of opinion, that such a proceeding is a breach of the usage of Committees of this House in such cases, and that it is highly inexpedient in the slightest degree to sanction it." Amendment proposed (by Mr. *Pusey*), To leave out the words after "That," and to insert the following words:—"Sir Francis Palgrave be now summoned before the Committee."

Question put, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question.

lost.

Ayes, 3.

Noes, 3.

Mr. Hawes.

Mr. Pusey.

Mr. Charles Villiers.

Sir Robert Inglis.

Dr. Bowring.

Sir Charles Lemon.

The Chairman gave his casting vote in the negative.

Mr. Hawes'
Resolution
lost.

Question put, "That Sir Francis Palgrave be summoned before this Committee." Amendment proposed (by Mr. *Hawes*), To leave out after the word "That," in order to insert the following words,— "The Draft Report presented to the Committee having been submitted to Sir Francis Palgrave, and amended in consequence, it is the opinion of this Committee, that in order to do

justice to other witnesses, the Report in question be submitted to such as shall desire to see it, if they shall think fit, with a view to amend such questions as shall personally affect themselves."

Question put, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question.

Ayes, 3.

Dr. Bowring.
Mr. Pusey.
Sir Charles Lemon.

Noes, 3.

Mr. Hawes.
Mr. Villiers.
Sir Robert Inglis.

The Chairman gave his casting vote in the affirmative.

Question again put, "That Sir Francis Palgrave be summoned before this Committee."

Ayes, 2.

Mr. Pusey.
Sir Charles Lemon.

Noes, 4.

Mr. Hawes.
Mr. Charles Villiers.
Dr. Bowring.
Sir Robert Inglis.

Motion made (by Dr. *Bowring*), "That the Draft of the Report be now taken into consideration." Amendment proposed (by Sir *Robert Inglis*), To leave out from the word "That," in order to insert the following words,— "Under the circumstances of the case, as stated in the Resolution proposed to the Committee on the 3d instant, it is not expedient to proceed with the consideration of the Draft of the Report."

Question put, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question.

Ayes, 5.

Mr. Hawes.
Mr. Charles Villiers.
Dr. Bowring.
Mr. Pusey.
Sir Charles Lemon.

Noes, 1.

Sir Robert Inglis.

(So the consideration of the Draft Report was proceeded with.)

Sabbati, 6^o die Augusti, 1836.

Mr. CHARLES BULLER in the Chair.

Mr. Pusey.
Dr. Bowring.

Mr. Hawes.
Mr. Charles Villiers.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
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Sir F.
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Petition.

Sir R. Inglis
in minority.

APPENDIX III.

MR. BRAIDWOOD ON FIRES.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1846.
Part III.
App. III.
Mr. Braid-
wood on
Fires.

COPY of a letter from Mr. Braidwood to Henry Cole,
Esq. :—

68, Watling Street, October 30, 1846.

SIR,—Having inspected the model of a room for the preservation of Records, in which you have adopted the dimensions I suggested, and having been asked by you for the reasons for recommending such dimensions, to enable you to submit them to the Right Honourable the Master of the Rolls, and to make any other suggestions, I have pleasure in acceding to your request.

To make what follows intelligible, I must explain some of the difficulties of making any building fire-proof.

Principle of
Safety.

In the first place I have assumed that a Record Office must be so built that no fire in any one compartment can by possibility affect another; also, that the safety of the building, as a whole, against fire must not depend on the care and attention of any one, or on any outward appliances.

Floors.

I am not aware of any incombustible material which can be used for the support of floors, so as to allow a tolerable size of apartment, with sufficient light, except iron.

Fairbairn on
Iron.

Iron, however, must be used with the greatest caution, as, of all building materials, it is one of the most rapidly and most seriously affected by fire. Mr. Fairbairn, engineer of Manchester, in his interesting experiments on the strength of cast-iron, published in the Seventh Report of the British Association, page 409, states that, on raising the temperature of cold blast cast-iron from 26° to 190° Fahrenheit, the loss of strength was 15 per cent.; and in raising the temperature of hot blast from 21° to 190°, the loss of strength was 10 per cent. Taking the average of the above-mentioned examples, it gives a loss of 12½ per cent. of strength, on a rise of temperature of 166°.

The fusing point of cast-iron is differently stated in different works, but it may be safely taken as not less than 3000° Fahrenheit; therefore, according to the above experiments, less than one-half the heat required to melt cast-iron would completely destroy its strength. I have now by me two specimens of cast-iron which have been melted at fires which took place this year (22nd February and 10th September); and some time ago I sent

to the Official Referees some pieces of cast-iron and wrought-iron melted also at a fire (7th September, 1844).

As iron pillars are much more exposed to the action of the draft, and, in consequence, the intensity of the heat, I did not think it advisable to recommend them. Iron ties are still more easily affected by the heat, as a comparatively slight rise of temperature will so expand them, as to prevent them acting as ties—in fact, make them totally useless, or rather worse, as what power they might exert would, in consequence of the expansion, be the reverse of ties.

Iron girders, if of considerable length, are apt to unsettle the brickwork by their expansion, if heated to any extent.

Again, it is a very common thing to have the mortar in the first course of bricks completely pulverized by the heat. In one instance, a great part of the first or lowest layer of bricks in an arch fell down of themselves (15th July, 1843); therefore, the brick arches in the proposed building ought not to be less than 9 inches thick.

It is now a generally admitted principle by all who have turned their attention to the subject, that, as the cubic contents of any building or compartment of a building (if properly divided) increase, so does the intensity of the heat increase, and, of course, the loss of strength in the iron would increase in the same proportion. It must also be considered that, although a Record Office may be constructed without any combustible materials in the building itself, still, even in the size of the apartment proposed, say $27 \times 17 \times 15$, there would be at least 12 tons of Records in many of the rooms of the above size, disposed so as to have a thorough draft round them in every direction for the purpose of preservation; but, at the same time, this thorough draft would cause the ignition to proceed with greater rapidity, and very much increase the intensity of the heat.

For these reasons, I proposed that the bearing of the girders should not exceed 17 feet; to this extent they might be made, I have no doubt, perfectly secure, if protected from the effects of the heat, as they may easily be to a certain extent, and also that each compartment should not exceed $27 \times 17 \times 15 = 6885$, the height being intended to give two sets of shelving.

This appears to me the largest size of room that could be used with perfect safety. I would even advise the room to be divided into two, with iron window shutters, for the more precious description of Records.

One very great advantage, from the small size of the rooms, would be that, should a fire take place, the loss would be in proportion to the size of the room.

I may here state, that what are commonly called fire-proof buildings (cast-iron girders and brick arches) are not so, if the

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1846.
Part III.
App. III.
Mr. Braid-
wood on
Fires.

Use of
Bricks.

Cubical
Contents
and Limits
of Spaces.

PUBLIC
RECORDS.
A. D. 1846.
Part III.
App. III.
Mr. Braid-
wood on
Fires.

compartments are large, and a sufficient quantity of combustible materials to raise the iron to a certain temperature be introduced.

If, for any reasons independent of safety (which I am not aware of), it were thought expedient to have either the rooms larger, or the whole building three stories instead of two, I would prefer the latter alternative; but still it does not appear to me that the same safety or convenience would be obtained from three as from two stories.

It has been suggested that, in case of fire, the upper floor might be reached by ladders. Such an arrangement appears very injudicious, as there would be always chances of the ladders not being ready, or not in good condition, when wanted.

Open
Fireplaces.

Respecting the mode of heating the building, I strongly recommend open fire-places (two in each room) for safety.

There are many objections to heating by hot air or hot water:—

1st. A considerable number of fires have been caused by both modes.

2nd. Either mode induces a general communication through the building, not only by means of the pipes, but it is next to impossible to pass a pipe which is alternately heated and cooled through brick or stone-work air-tight, owing to the contraction and expansion of iron, without expansion joints, which are a considerable expense, and require constant attention.

3rd. The heat required for heating so great an extent of building must be generated in one or more furnaces, and these, with their flues, are such constant causes of risk and trouble, that no furnace or close fires should be permitted within any premises which are meant to be absolutely safe from fire.

Ventilation.

4th. I have been given to understand that a thorough ventilation is believed to be the most efficient means of preserving Records; and it is submitted that two open fire-places in each room, with independent flues, would better effect that end than either hot air or hot water. These fires could be lighted at pleasure in any one or more rooms that might most require drying or draft; at present I am not aware that heating is at all necessary for the preservation of Records, except under peculiar circumstances, when the fires could be lighted.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servant,

(Signed) JAS. BRAIDWOOD,¹

*Superintendent of London Fire Engine Establishment, and
Associate of the Institution of Civil Engineers.*

HENRY COLE, ESQ., Carlton Ride.

¹ See Great Exhibition of 1851 and Kensington Museum (*postea*) for his remarks.



UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

PART II.

A REPORT OF AN IMAGINARY SCENE AT WINDSOR CASTLE RESPECTING THE UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

Council Chamber in Windsor Castle—Her Majesty is sitting at a large table, on which are lying the Parliamentary and Commissioners' Reports on Postage ; Copies of the Post Circular ; Annual Reports of the French and American Post-Offices—Her Majesty in deep study over " Post-Office Reform " by Rowland Hill—Lord Melbourne, at the Queen's right hand, is watching her Majesty's countenance.



THE QUEEN (*exclaiming aloud*).—Mothers pawning their clothes to pay the postage of a child's letter ! Every subject studying how to evade postage without caring for the law ! Even Messrs. Baring sending letters illegally every week, to save postage ! Such things must not last.—(*To Lord Melbourne.*) I trust, my Lord, you have commanded the attendance of the Postmaster-General and of Mr. Rowland Hill, as I directed, in order that I may hear the reasons of both about this Uniform Penny Postage Plan, which appears to me likely to remove all these great evils. Moreover, I have made up my mind that the three hundred and twenty petitions presented to the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament, which pray for a fair trial of the plan, shall be at least attended to. (*A pause.*) Are you, my Lord, yourself, able to say anything about this postage plan, which all the country seems talking about ?

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.
Part II.
Selections.
A. D.
1838 1841.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

Part II.
Selections.

A. D.
1838-1841.

Lord Melbourne.—May it please your Majesty, I have heard something about it, but—

The Queen.—Heard! So I suppose has every one, from the Land's End to John o' Groat's house: I wish to ask your Lordship's advice upon it.

Lord Melbourne.—May it please your Majesty, the Postmaster-General tells me the plan will not do; and that, to confess the truth, is all I know at present about the matter.

Enter Groom of the Chamber.

Groom.—The Postmaster-General and Mr. Rowland Hill await your Majesty's pleasure.

The Queen.—Give them entrance.

Enter Lord Lichfield and Mr. Rowland Hill, bowing.

Scene at
Windsor.

The Queen.—I am happy to see my noble Postmaster-General and the ingenious author of the Universal Penny Post Plan. Gentlemen, be seated. My Lord Melbourne has told you why I wished for your presence on this occasion. I have been reading carefully, and with great interest, the late discussions and evidence on the postage question, and I now wish to hear what is my Postmaster-General's opinion on this plan, which I therefore beg you, Mr. Hill, to describe in a few words.

Rowland Hill.—With your Majesty's leave I will say nothing of the dearness and hardship of the present Post-Office rates, or of Post-Office management itself, but confine myself, according to your Majesty's commands, to the plan you have honoured me by noticing. My plan is, that all letters not weighing more than half an ounce should be charged one penny; and heavier letters one penny for each additional half ounce, whatever may be the distance they are carried. This postage to be paid when the letter is sent, and not when received, as at present.

Lord Lichfield.—Please your most gracious Majesty, "of all the wild and visionary schemes which I have ever heard or read of, it is the most extravagant."¹

The Queen.—You seem, my Lord, to adhere, not only to your opinions, but your very words. If I recollect rightly, the very same expressions were used a year and a half ago, by you, in the

¹ "Mirror of Parliament," 15th June, 1837.

House of Lords. Pray abstain, my Lord, from calling names, and use argument.

Lord Lichfield.—“Since I made those observations I have given the subject considerable attention, and I remain, even still more firmly, of the same opinion.”¹

The Queen.—I must again beg of you, my Lord, to state reasons.

Lord Lichfield.—I have no objection to some reduction of postage, and I believe all Postmasters-General before me, agree that some reduction is necessary.

The Queen.—Why, allow me to ask, has the reduction been delayed so long? Proceed, Mr. Hill, to say why you fix so low a sum as one penny.

Rowland Hill.—Your Majesty will see that the cheaper the postage the easier it will be for the poor, (who are nearly debarred from the use of the post at present,) and all classes, to use the post. Though a penny seems very low, I beg to say that the Post-Office would get at least a halfpenny profit on each letter, after paying all expenses. It does not cost the Post-Office a quarter of a farthing to carry a letter from London to Edinburgh, which is 400 miles.

The Queen.—I perceive, Mr. Hill, the Post-Office authorities, his Lordship, and the inspector of the mails, admit you are correct in that estimate.

Lord Lichfield.—It would be unjust to charge a letter going 100 miles a penny, and a letter going 400 miles only a penny. And, may it please your Majesty to remember that, though according to Mr. Hill's mode of reckoning it does not cost us a farthing to carry one letter to Edinburgh, 400 miles, it does cost us nearly a halfpenny to carry a letter from London to Louth, which is only 148 miles.

The Queen.—Indeed!—How much, then, is the postage to Edinburgh and to Louth?

Lord Lichfield.—To Edinburgh, 1s. 1½d. To Louth, 10d.

The Queen.—It appears, therefore, you think it just to charge my people the highest price for the cheapest business. If an Edinburgh letter cost you a farthing to carry, and a Louth letter a halfpenny, I think in justice the Louth letter should be dearest,

¹ “Mirror of Parliament,” 30th Nov., 1837.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A. D.
1839-1841.

Part II.
Selections.

Imaginary
scene at
Windsor
Castle.

and not the cheapest, because all the other expenses on both letters are the same. My agreeable Prime Minister will have this looked to.

Lord Melbourne (*aside*).—My dear Lichfield, I fear the Queen has found you in a scrape.

The Queen.—It is quite clear, from these instances alone, that postage cannot be justly charged according to distance; and I must say, that as the cost of carriage is so trifling in both cases, and its difference so small, whether a letter goes one mile or 500 miles, I think it would be fairer not to consider it at all, and then the rate on all letters would be uniform. Every letter, as you know, my Lord Lichfield, must be put into a Post-Office—must be stamped—must be sorted—must be carried where directed to—and must be delivered. Postage is made up of the expenses of doing all this, and a tax beside. All the labour, except that of carriage, is the same. The carriage being so cheap now-a-days, is hardly worth regarding. Any one can send 1,000 letters, packed in a parcel or bag, as they are in the Post-Office, from London to Edinburgh for *2s. 6d.* by steam-boat, which travels as fast as the mail. The tax should be equal on all letters, and not, as at present, the heaviest on letters going the greatest distance. The people who live at York, or at Exeter, or London, pay all other taxes equally, and so they should the postage tax. Mr. Hill, I agree with you that there should be a UNIFORM rate; but before I assent to a penny charge, I am bound not to neglect the public revenue. I am afraid that at a penny a great loss will follow. It is true the Post-Office revenue is very bad at present, because it has scarcely increased for these twenty years, though I am sure the numbers of my people, their knowledge, and their commerce, must have increased largely.

Rowland Hill.—I trust your Majesty believes the evidence taken by the House of Commons respecting the revenue. Every witness says he should rejoice to engage to pay as much postage at a penny rate as he does at the present charges. I reckon that a six-fold increase of letters would suffice to yield the present amount of revenue. Many witnesses say the increase would be fifteen-fold; some twenty-fold; and some even a hundred-fold. The present high rates cause at least three times as many letters to be sent illegally as are sent by the post. No one thinks it sinful

to defraud the Post-Office. There are numerous smugglers in almost every country town, who carry letters, and charge only a penny for each letter; and if a private person can carry letters for a penny, with a profit, I think a public body could do so. Moreover, there are above 1,900 penny posts all over the kingdom, which carry letters sometimes as much as 38 miles, and deliver them for a penny; and these penny posts altogether yield nearly 50 per cent., or a halfpenny profit on each letter.

The Queen.—That, with the fact of the carriage of a letter 400 miles, costing only half a farthing, certainly proves, Mr. Hill, that all letters, taking one with another, could be carried for a penny, with large gain. I wish to learn, however, if this great increase of letters takes place, what would be its effect on the expenses of the Post-Office management.

Lord Lichfield.—Effect, indeed! as your Majesty wisely considers; “the mails will have to carry twelve times as much in weight, and therefore the charge for transmission, instead of £100,000 as now, must be twelve times that amount. The walls of the Post-Office would burst, the whole area in which the building stands would not be large enough to receive the clerks and the letters.”¹ Then —

The Queen.—Then it would appear, my Lord, that the mails already are full every night?

Lord Lichfield (*with surprise*).—Not quite, your Majesty.

The Queen.—How much weight will the mails carry, according to their contract?

Lord Lichfield (*hesitating*).—From eight to fifteen hundred weight.

Rowland Hill.—His Lordship has given a return of the weights carried on several nights.

The Queen.—I find, in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee, that the Leeds mail on the 20th April weighed only 158 pounds, of which the letters weighed only 38 pounds, the rest being newspapers and letter bags; so that this mail then might have carried at least twenty-four times the weight of the letters, without overloading the mail. On the 5th April the letters of the Stroud mail weighed less than 10 pounds; so that they might be increased from fifty to a hundred-fold. I find that the

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A.D.
1839-1841.

Part II.
Selections.

Imaginary
scene at
Windsor
Castle.

¹ “Mirror of Parliament,” 18th December, 1837.

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PENNY
POSTAGE.

A. D.
1839-1841.
Part II.
Selections.
Imaginary
scene at
Windsor
Castle.

average weight of the letters and newspapers of all the mails leaving London nightly, is not three hundred weight, and that the average weight of all the letters is only 74 pounds to each; so that it is proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that letters might be increased twelvefold without increasing the expenses twelvefold, as you thought.

Lord Lichfield.—I submit myself entirely to your Majesty's compassionate correction. Your Majesty is much more enlightened about the Post-Office than your Majesty's most humble servant the Postmaster-General. With your Majesty's leave I will retire. [*Exit Lord Lichfield.*]

The Queen (*to Lord Melbourne*).—It is clear to me that his Lordship had better retire from the Post-Office.

Lord Melbourne.—Certainly, your Majesty; we all thought him the best man to be Postmaster-General, but he has not realized the fond hopes we cherished of him.

The Queen.—It appears to me, my Lord, that the loss of Colonel Maberly to the Post-Office would be another great gain to the public. I thought that Colonel Maberly was appointed Secretary to the Post-Office in order to set it to rights. There is a singular coincidence between the opinions and arguments, if I may so call them, of the Postmaster-General and his Secretary. The Postmaster-General seems to me unable to defend a single position. This interview, and what I have read, have convinced me that a Uniform Penny Post is most advisable. Sure am I that it would confer a great boon on the poorer classes of my subjects, and would be the greatest benefit to religion, to morals, to general knowledge, and to trade—that uniformity and payment in advance would greatly expedite the delivery of letters, and simplify the troublesome accounts of the Post-Office—that it would effectually put down the smuggling postman, and lead my people to obey and not disobey the law.—(*The Queen rises, and in a most emphatic manner*)—My Lord Melbourne, you will please to bear in mind that the Queen agrees with her faithful Commons in recommending a Uniform Penny Post. If there be any tax at all on Postage, it should certainly be the lightest possible. Lord Ashburton is wise in pronouncing the Postage tax “the worst of our taxes.” His lordship says, with great force and truth, “that communication of letters by persons living at a distance, is the same as a

communication by word of mouth between persons living in the same town. You might as well tax words spoken upon the Royal Exchange, as the communications of various persons living in Manchester, Liverpool, and London." I strongly advise your Lordship to read, as I have done, with great benefit, Lord Ashburton's evidence, as well as that of Mr. Samuel Jones Loyd, of Mr. Brown, and Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Moffatt, and, in short, of all the witnesses examined before the Parliamentary Committee. One word of advice. If your Lordship has any difficulty in finding a Minister among your party able to carry the measure into effect, I shall apply to my Lord Ashburton or my Lord Lowther, as circumstances may require. Mr. Hill, the nation will owe you a large debt of gratitude, which I am sure it will not be unwilling to repay. I wish you good morning, gentlemen.

[Exeunt Lord Melbourne and Rowland Hill, bowing.]

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A. D.
1839-1841.

Part II.
Selections.

Imaginary
scene at
Windsor
Castle.

COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS IN AID OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

JOSHUA BATES, ESQ., *Chairman.* (*A partner in Messrs. Barings'.*)

D. COLVIN, ESQ.

JOHN DILLON, ESQ.

WILLIAM ELLIS, ESQ.

J. H. GLEDSTANES, ESQ.

G. G. DE H. LARPENT, ESQ.

GEORGE MOFFATT, ESQ., *Treasurer.*

JAMES PATTISON, ESQ., M.P.

JOHN TRAVERS, ESQ.

W. A. WILKINSON, ESQ.

SMITH, PAYNE, AND SMITHS, *Bankers.*

THE Mercantile Committee are desirous to open communications with Local Committees, and to hear of their formation where they do not already exist, and of any local effort that may be made. They are also at liberty to reprint the whole, or any portion of these Suggestions for local circulation.

A. D. 1838.

The London Committee intend, at their own expense, to transmit copies to the principal mercantile houses in each town; but they will be glad to be made acquainted with the intention of any gentleman, or body, disposed to aid the efforts of the Committee, by subscriptions and distribution, and to be favoured with any local papers that may contain useful matter on the subject: addressed to

GEORGE MOFFATT, ESQ.,

28, Fenchurch Street, London.



GREAT WEIGHT AND NO PRICE! LITTLE
WEIGHT AND ALL PRICE!!

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A. D.
1839-1841.
Part II.
Selections.
Mail to
Edinburgh.

THE "Post Circular" gave the following details of the weight of the mails to accompany the woodcut:—

"Lord Lichfield, if the 'Mirror of Parliament' speaks truly, declared in the House of Lords, on the 18th of December, 1837, that 'If the number of letters under the uniform penny post be increased twelvefold, the mails will have to carry twelve times as much in weight; and therefore the charge for transmission, instead of £100,000, as now, must be twelve times that amount.'

"Lord Lichfield never asked himself what makes the 'WEIGHT' of the mail;—and, besides confounding the 'letters' as the 'whole weight,' when only a part, and the least part, he assumed that the mails were all filled, and that the cost would be twelvefolded. We pray the Postmaster-General to study our sketch, in which we have placed the letters on the top of the mail, the better to con-

trast them with the newspapers, their usual place being in the hind boot. Is the bag of 40 lbs. of letters the whole weight of the mail? Does the total weight of newspapers, stamps, franks, and letters, which, with that of their bags, is 531 lbs., exceed the whole weight of a single mail, stated by the superintendent of the mails to be 1,680 lbs.? On the contrary, are there not 1,149 lbs. weight to spare? and will twelve times, or even twenty-four times, the little bag of letters of 40 lbs. fill up this spare weight of 1,149 lbs.? Alack! alack! his lordship has to learn the A B C of his craft, besides the four simple rules of arithmetic!

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.
A. D.
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Part II.
Selections.
Mail to
Edinburgh.

“Lest it be supposed that the Edinburgh mail is not a fair sample of the other mails, the five first other cases are taken from the Post-office returns:—

Mails.	Date when weighed.	Wt. of Bags.		Wt. of Letters and Franks.	Weight of Newspapers.	Total Weight.	Weight to spare.	Letters might increase, with-out over-loading.	Postage charged on Letters only.	Cost of carrying Newspapers, Franks, & Letters.
		lbs.	lbs.							
Louth . .	3 Mar.	25	16	126	167	2513		95 fold	£ 14 18 2	£ 2 0 9
Brighton .	22 do.	39	75	147	261	1419		20 fold	49 7 3	0 9 9
Bristol . .	23 do.	61	79	387	527	1153		15 fold	68 9 8	0 18 0
Hastings .	3 April	33	23	109	164	2516		70 fold	25 8 5	0 15 4
Stroud . .	5 do.	17	10	56	83	2597		150 fold	11 8 0	1 4 6

“The whole of the thirty-two mails going out of London were weighed, and the average weight of each was found to be 463 lbs., divisible in these proportions:—

	Pounds Weight.	Per Centage.
Bags	68	14
Letters, Franks, &c. .	91	20
Newspapers	304	66
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	463 lbs.	100
	<hr/>	<hr/>

“2,192 lbs. are the total weight of all the chargeable letters, franks, and parliamentary papers, carried by all the thirty-two mails. Half only, or 1,096 lbs., are *chargeable* letters; consequently, the chargeable letters of all the mails out of London are 684 lbs. less than the weight which a single mail is able to carry.”

MATERIALS FOR THE AGITATION.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A.D.
1839-1841.

Part II.
Selections.

Illustrative
collection
of materials
for the
agitation.

A VOLUME was formed in 1840 which is to be offered to the British Museum after my death. The following memoranda written at the time were placed in it:—It is stated to contain the most perfect collection of the different papers issued by the Mercantile Committee on Postage, which is now to be made. I believe only *one* large placard announcing the first public meeting, is wanted to complete the series. Besides this collection, there are various other papers which illustrate the Progress of the Postage Question, and the modes of Charging Postage. The whole furnishes a history showing how the measure was carried, and in what space of time. Rowland Hill issued his first pamphlet at the beginning of 1837; a committee of the House of Commons reported in favour of the plan in 1838, and an Act for giving effect to the measure was passed 17th August, 1839. In the year 1837, five petitions were presented to Parliament; in 1838, 320; in 1839, above 2,000. The Mercantile Committee was formed chiefly by the exertions of Mr. George Moffatt in the spring of 1838; Mr. Ashurst conducted the Parliamentary Inquiry; and upon myself, as Secretary, devolved the business of communicating with the public. A printing committee consisting of Mr. Travers, Mr. G. Moffatt, and Mr. F. L. Cole was formed at the first meeting of the Mercantile Committee. On some few occasions Mr. Travers was consulted—about the issue of the “Post Circular” for example—but generally the issue of papers was decided by Mr. George Moffatt and myself jointly, or myself on my own responsibility.

The illustrations of the “Anomalies of Postage” are perhaps unique. When Circulars were to be sent to Members of Parliament, instead of delivering them by hand, which would have cost about 30s. or £3 3s. through the vote office of the House of Commons, or several pounds by the twopenny post, a messenger was despatched to Gravesend or Watford, being the first general post towns out of London, to post them there; they then came *free!* and the cost to the Committee was only 6s. or thereabouts for the messenger’s expenses. Newspapers were taken free of charge by the

twopenny post *out* of the three mile circle, but were charged if brought into it. Instead of sending a messenger to Kensington with any lot of papers to be addressed, the twopenny post took them free,—they were addressed for the country and put into the Kensington post. On one occasion twenty papers were addressed to Mr. Wallace, M.P., at Greenock, where they would have gone *free*, but being sent with his other papers to the Reform Club by his directions, they were charged twopence or a penny each.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A. D.
1839-1841.

Part II.
Selections.
Illustrative
collection of materials
for the
agitation.

A LIST OF THE PAPERS ISSUED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
MERCANTILE COMMITTEE ON POSTAGE IN 1838 AND
1839, BY MR. ASHURST, PARLIAMENTARY AGENT,
AND MR. H. COLE, SECRETARY.

Mr. Ashurst's papers are marked A, the rest are Mr. Cole's.

1. Circular, accompanying Suggestions. (A.)
2. Suggestions, probably prepared by Mr. Moffatt, distributed to Mercantile Firms throughout the country, to Houses of Lords and Commons, &c. (A.)
3. Circular, soliciting information, &c., distributed with the last. (A.)
4. Circular, for Subscriptions, addressed to Fire and Life Offices, Companies of the City, and other Corporate Bodies.
- 5 to 18. Thirteen numbers of "The Post Circular"—the average number printed of each number was about 1750—the whole set was sent from time to time to every newspaper in the United Kingdom—about 250 of every number to the friends of the Postage Cause, and the Mercantile Committee. One or more numbers were sent to every Town Council, Chamber of Commerce, Public Library, News Room, Mechanics' Institute, Board of Guardians, Clerk of Poor Law Unions, Minister of Religion, Church of England (above 12,000) or otherwise, Country Bankers, &c., throughout the kingdom.
19. Circular, accompanying Petitions.
20. Letter to Scotch Newspapers.
21. Window Bill for Petitions.
22. Petition Bill for Institutions.
- 22 b. Letter to Printers about Petitions.
23. Specimen letter of Single and Double Postage, 500 copies distributed.
24. Do. sent to about 44 Mechanics' Institutes.
25. Scene at Windsor Castle, 2,000 printed, sent to Lords and Commons, &c.
26. Another Edition, 2,000 printed.
27. Cheap Editions, nearly 100,000 of these were either sold or distributed.
28. 40,000 were stitched in "Nicholas Nickleby."
29. Postage Report, printed by "Spectator," 3,000 copies generally circulated to every newspaper, &c.
30. Circular to every Newspaper in the United Kingdom.
31. Letter, about Subscriptions to Chambers of Commerce, &c.
32. Subscription list.
33. Letter to Printers, &c., about Petitioning.
34. Bill for Petitions.
- 34 b. Do. of another size.

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35. Bill for Petitions, 500 circulated in Franks about the country.
36. Advertisement of Petition for Newspapers.
37. Do. (inserted gratuitously in most Country Papers).
- 37 b. Letter to Traders. (A.)
38. Summons for West End Committee.
39. Specimen of Stamp.
40. Explanation of Stamps.
41. Second Edition of 1st Specimen of Stamp.
42. Another Specimen of Stamp, addressed particularly to the Paper Makers.
43. Report of Mercantile Committee (very generally circulated.) (A.)
- 44 a. Report of Manchester Meetings.
44. Deputation to Lord Melbourne.
45. Woodcut of Mail, about 3,000 printed, sent to Lords and Commons.
46. McCulloch answered by R. Hill, prepared for "Post Circular," but not issued.
47. Specimen of Post Charges, 1,500 circulated.
48. Bill for 1st Public Meeting, 500.
49. Handbill for Public Meeting, 30,000.
50. Hustings Ticket, 500 printed.
51. Invitation, 500.
52. Postponement Notice (Mr. Moffatt).
53. Bill for 2nd Meeting, 500.
54. Hustings Ticket, 500.
55. Invitation, 500.
56. Another form of Invitation, 50.
57. Broadside Summons to Meeting, 500.
58. Broadside Summons about Petition, 500.
59. Second Broadside about Petition.
60. Resolutions passed at Meeting.
61. Petition adopted at Meeting.
62. Instructions for signing Petition.
63. Form of Westminster Petition.
64. Summons to M.P.'s whilst the Bill was in the House of Commons.
65. R. Hill's paper on Stamps.
66. Facts and Estimates on Increase, sent to Lords and Commons.
67. Letters to Town Councils, &c., which had petitioned once.
68. What fresh Legislative Powers are required, sent to Lords and Commons.
69. Summary of Petitions for Newspapers.
70. Analysis of the 2,007 Petitions.

The volume containing a specimen of each of these papers and other illustrations, will be found, I trust, after my death, in the British Museum.

THE FOLLOWING ARE SPECIMENS OF SOME OF THE PETITIONS
WHICH WERE PREPARED AND DISTRIBUTED.

UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

(FORM OF PETITION.)

Specimens
of Petitions.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL [or, THE COMMONS, *as the case may be*] IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED:—

The humble Petition of the Undersigned [*to be filled up with the name of Place, Corporation, &c.*]

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners earnestly desire a Uniform Penny Post, payable in advance, as proposed by Rowland Hill, and recommended by the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

That your Petitioners intreat your Honourable House to give speedy effect to this Report.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

MOTHERS AND FATHERS that wish to hear from their absent children !
 FRIENDS who are parted, that wish to write to each other !
 EMIGRANTS that do not forget their native homes !
 FARMERS that wish to know the best Markets !
 MERCHANTS AND TRADESMEN that wish to receive Orders and Money
 quickly and cheaply !

MECHANICS AND LABOURERS that wish to learn where good work and high wages are to be had ! *support* the Report of the House of Commons with your Petitions for an UNIFORM PENNY POST. Let every City and Town and Village, every Corporation, every Religious Society and Congregation, petition, and let every one in the kingdom sign a petition with his name or his mark.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A. D.
1839-1841.

Part II.
Selections.
Specimens
of Petitions.

THIS IS NO QUESTION OF PARTY POLITICS.

Lord Ashburton, a Conservative, and one of the richest Noblemen in the country, spoke these impressive words before the House of Commons Committee—"Postage is one of the worst of our Taxes ; it is, in fact, taxing the conversation of people who live at a distance from each other. The communication of letters by persons living at a distance, is the same as a communication by word of mouth between persons living in the same town."

"Sixpence," says Mr. Brewin, "is the third of a poor man's income ; if a gentleman, who had £1,000 a year, or £3 a day, had to pay one-third of his daily income, a sovereign, for a letter, how often would he write letters of friendship ? Let a gentleman put that to himself, and then he will be able to see how the poor man cannot be able to pay Sixpence for his Letter."

READER !

If you can get any Signatures to a Petition, make two Copies of the above on two half sheets of paper ; get them signed as numerous as possible ; fold each up separately ; put a slip of paper around, leaving the ends open ; direct one to a Member of the House of Lords, the other to a Member of the House of Commons, LONDON, and put them into the Post Office.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

*The humble Petition of the undersigned Bankers, Merchants, Traders, and
Others of the City of London,*

SHEWETH,

That the present Rates of Postage fetter Commercial Transactions ;—are prejudicial to the Interests of the General Revenue ;—check the Education and the Moral Progress of the People, and tempt all Classes to Systematic Violations of the Law.

That the Plan proposed by MR. ROWLAND HILL for establishing a Uniform Postage of One Penny for each half-ounce weight, to be paid in advance, through the medium of small adhesive Stamps, would, in the opinion of your Petitioners, increase the General Revenue, and ultimately, realize the present Amount of Post-Office Receipts, and prove a source of great social and moral benefit to the whole Community.

Your Petitioners, therefore, pray that no consideration of an assumed temporary deficiency in the Revenue, will induce your Honourable House to delay the introduction of so important a National Measure.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.

A. D.
1839 1841.

Part II.
Selections
Specimens
of Petitions.

UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

The following Petition to the House of Commons, to Pass this Important Measure without delay, Lies here for Signatures.

READER,

Sign the Petition without a moment's delay, because it must be presented before Friday next, July the 12th.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of Westminster.

SHEWETH,

THAT, an Englishman having invented the Uniform Penny Postage Plan, your Petitioners feel that the United Kingdom should not be behind France, and Belgium, and Prussia, and the United States, in getting it : they, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House to give effect to the Uniform Penny Postage, payable in advance, *during the present Session of Parliament.*

And your petitioners will ever pray.



LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE LORDS COM-
MISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S
TREASURY,

In Reply to the Treasury Minute, 23rd Aug., 1839,

BY HENRY COLE.

24, Notting Hill Square,
30 Sep., 1839.

MY LORDS,

I. **O**F your lordships' invitation to artists, men of science, and the public in general, to submit proposals relative to the use of the postage stamps, I beg leave, as one of the latter class, to avail myself. And I trust that the statement I am about to address to your lordships, may not prove unacceptable, inasmuch as I do not come before you as an inventor advocating the exclusive employment of his own invention, or as a paper maker or stationer contending for his own narrow interests against those of the public, or as a printer or engraver or other person seeking to share in the manufacture of any peculiar stamp, but as one of the public, whom circumstances have led to examine and judge of the plan of uniform postage in its several branches.

II. Some expressions in the Treasury Minute of 23rd August, seeming to me to convey the inference that your lordships have not yet finally decided upon the adoption of prepayment of postage by means of stamps, I hope it will not be judged irrelevant if I submit a few additional reasons to those given in the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Postage, which appear to me to strengthen the expediency of adopting that mode of collecting the postage revenue, before I proceed to discuss the question of the stamp itself.

III. When the expediency of payment in advance is considered, the question to be determined appears to be, not whether it would be advantageous to apply such a mode to the collection of the *present* rates of postage, but of a *penny* rate of postage. "The want

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Doubtful
whether
prepayment
is decided
on.

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Selections.
Prepayment
necessary for
the penny
rate of
postage.

of check in the taxation of letters," the "nominal controul" over the deputy postmasters, and the frequent differences between "the office account" and the charges of the provincial postmasters noticed in the Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of Revenue Inquiry; the delay occasioned by the collection of postage in the delivery; the loss sustained by the Post Office by the carriage of letters which are misdirected and refused, are evils of the system, which any increase in the number of letters would certainly augment—evils attendant not so much upon the amount of postage as upon the *number* of letters. Indeed, should it be your lordships' determination that prepayment and its consequent simplification of the machinery of the Post Office, be unnecessary in the collection of a penny postage, it may be a question whether a *penny* postage will do much more than pay the expenses of the penny letter, however the number of such letters might increase.

Prepayment
without
stamps only
a partial
remedy of
the defects
of present
system.

IV. Prepayment of postage *without stamps* would afford only a partial remedy for these defects. The "want of check" and "nominal controul" over the deputy postmasters would still remain. The tardiness of the present system of delivery would be abolished, but the liability to those frauds which are committed by dishonest messengers and servants sent to the post office with letters, would be greatly augmented.

Additional
arguments
for prepay-
ment with
stamps to
those used
in the Par-
liamentary
Report.

V. I propose to class the additional arguments in favour of PREPAYMENT BY STAMPS under separate heads, as respects the interests of the public and the general revenue.

I°. *As regards the Public.*

Time
economized
in paying
postage.

VI. The present number of letters has been estimated to be about 75,000,000; in other words, postage is collected in 75,000,000 of individual sums of a penny and upwards. The greater part of this postage is paid by the mercantile interests of the country, in the management of which loss of time is loss of capital. Merchants, with the present number of letters, already complain of the inconvenience and loss of time occasioned by the demands of letter carriers for postage in small sums, which, by agreeing to pay at fixed periods, instead of at every delivery, they in some measure get rid of. In many parts of the metropolis—about the neighbourhood of the Bank, in particular—few postages

are paid on the delivery of the letter : the postmen are capitalists enough to give credit. If it would be a convenience to the mercantile interests to pay the postage even on the present number of letters, in a few large, rather than in many small sums—and the fact above mentioned proves that it is a convenience—any great increase of correspondence will convert the convenience into a necessity. The act of paying a penny or twopence consumes as much time as paying a larger sum, and equally interrupts the clerks' business and the occupations of the domestic servants. This consumption of time and interruption to business, would be increased in proportion to any increase in the number of letters. It is possible to conceive that this present mode would grow into a perfect nuisance under a penny post. To all extensive mercantile firms, whose correspondence will certainly be largely augmented, the payment of a thousand penny postages in one sum, rather than in a thousand, is an economical convenience which your lordships cannot fail to appreciate. The opportunity to make a payment of several penny postages at one time would be equally acceptable in different degrees to every class of the community.

VII. The *Prevention of Frauds* is another consequence of prepayment with stamps. The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, notices at some length that the use of stamps would get rid of the inconveniences of trusting messengers with money to pay the postage. This is an important moral consideration. It is equally desirable to protect the servant from the temptation to fraud, as the master from its consequences.

VIII. The evidence taken by the Parliamentary Committee, appears to establish the fact quite conclusively that although prepayment should be compulsory, advertisers would avail themselves of a penny postage to an immense extent, to make known their numerous inventions for the good of mankind. Without prepayment, the public would be perpetually teased by advertisers clamouring for notice and patronage. Release the hungry quack from the obligation of paying the postage of his request, and no delicacy will deter him from inflicting a penny. The public have a right to claim protection, if possible, against being made to pay for the impertinences of the Joseph Adys and the Doctors Morrison of the day. Prepayment gives this protection. It may be thought that the wholesome restrictiveness of prepayment, though

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Prevention
of frauds by
messengers
sent to post
letters.

Prevention
of annoyance
properly
checked.

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good for the public, would be bad for the revenue. I believe the revenue would lose more by *refused* letters, than it would gain by the increase in quantity. The Post Office would never recover the postage from the low advertiser. The evil—if not prevented by prepayment—would speedily cure itself. It would soon be the custom to refuse unpaid letters. And after the Post Office had sustained great losses on returned letters, it would be driven, even in its own defence, to exact payment in advance.

Speed in the
delivery of
letters.

IX. ECONOMY OF TIME IN THE DELIVERY of letters is important both to the public and the Post Office. From a case of the early delivery in London, mentioned in the Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, it appears that the public would get prepaid letters in about one twenty-fifth part of the time of letters paid on delivery. The inspector of letter-carriers states that 570 letters, on which no postage was collected, were delivered in half-an-hour; whilst 67, on which the postage was collected, occupied about an hour and a-half in delivery. It follows that, had no postage at all been collected on the whole of the 637, all would have been delivered nearly in the half-hour. Had the postage been collected on *all* the 637 letters by the same means, some would not have reached their destination for above twelve hours. The same witness says, that if all the letters were delivered in the ordinary way, from seventy to eighty additional letter-carriers would be required to execute the duty in two hours and fifteen minutes. The postage being collected or not in delivering even this small number of letters, affords sufficient proof how great would be the difference, not only in point of delay or expedition to the public, but to the Post Office, of increased or reduced expense.

II°. *As regards the REVENUE.*

REVENUE.
Loss on re-
fused letters
prevented.

X. Under the present system of collections of the Postage Revenue, amounting to about £2,500,000, estimated on 75,000,000 of letters, above 4 per cent. is lost on letters overcharged,¹ refused and misdirected; that is to say, the Post Office is subjected to a loss equivalent to a gratuitous delivery of at least three millions of letters. Retain this system to collect a penny postage—the letters augmenting six-fold—and the losses of this kind will be

¹ Third Report.

equal to a gratuitous delivery of eighteen millions of letters, and perhaps a proportion much greater, because it is not the price of postage so much as the number of letters which affects this question. Prepayment *without* stamps would prevent these losses, and the revenue would be collected in *daily* instalments. Under prepayment *with* stamps, the Postage revenue will be forestalled for a much longer period. In the case of a large correspondence, the prepayments would be made certainly not oftener than once in a week. Many persons would supply themselves with a stock of stamps for a month or a quarter of a year. A six-fold increase of letters, and a stock of stamps laid in for a month, on the average for the whole kingdom—the Postage revenue will therefore be forestalled upwards of £200,000, the compound interest on which is worthy of regard. As the letters increased in number, the more profitable would these forestalments become. At the first outset (proper means being taken to familiarise the people to the use of stamps beforehand), the stock of stamps laid in by the whole kingdom will probably be so large as to have a very considerable influence on the first year's receipts, and diminish a loss which may be reasonably anticipated. Prepayment of postage by stamps seems to be a rare instance where payment before value received, is a good thing to both parties.

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Revenue
forestalled.

XI. The postage stamp is a *receipt* acknowledging the payment of the postage, which, besides yielding certain conveniences to the public, affords means much wanted of *checking the actual amount of postage paid by the public*. At page 39 of the Third Report on Postage, there is evidence proving that the actual receipts of the Post Office, as now collected, cannot be determined with accuracy. Had prepayment no other merit than of remedying this defect, it would be great, as at once protecting the Government from fraud and the deputy post-masters from the temptation to commit it.

Security in
collection
conferred.

XII. The superior economy of collecting the postage by stamps has been demonstrated by Mr. Hill. He shows that the cost of collecting postage by money payments on delivery, would be six times as great as the cost of collecting postage by stamps, even at the higher of two estimates, which I believe will be found to approximate very closely to the facts.

Superior
economy in
collection.

XIII. Stamps destroyed by accident, or lost by negligence, though a loss to the public, will be a gain to the revenue.

Gain to re-
venue from
destruction
of stamps.

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POSTAGE.

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Selections.
Additional
advantages
of receipts
for letters
besides
security of
delivery.

Every fire which happens will tend to augment the postage revenue.

XIV. The general subject of prepayment by stamps, would be here incomplete, if I omitted to notice the fears which have been raised in the public mind, that prepayment will lessen the safe delivery of letters. Mr. Hill has recommended the use of certain receipts, and supported his suggestion by arguments, which it is unnecessary to repeat, but which I believe have both dispelled all such fears and proved that the delivery of letters would be much more secure than at present. I allude to these receipts, for the purpose of pointing out certain other advantages, besides the security of delivery, which I think will result from them. Mr. Hill, in his evidence (824), proposes "that every person desiring a receipt, should, on taking the letter to the receiving-house, present a copy of the superscription, on which the receiver should stamp a receipt, with the date and his own address. Precisely such a stamp as is placed on the letter would suffice. I propose that the charge for such receipt should be a halfpenny, and that as a means of collecting the same, it should be required that the copy of the superscription should be made on a printed form to be provided by the Post Office, and to be sold to the public at the rate of a halfpenny each by the receiver, either singly, or in books, as might be required, a certain profit on their sale being allowed by the Post Office as a remuneration to the receiver."¹

XV. Government will, of course, preserve to itself the exclusive manufacture of these receipts. And, as some protection against the illegal manufacture of them, it would be necessary to place some slight difficulties in the way of its being attempted. I would propose that a receipt somewhat in the form of the present specimen, should be adopted. Other difficulties afforded by engine-turning might be inserted.

XVI. I would propose that they should be sold by all licensed vendors of stamps as well as postmasters, as Mr. Hill suggests.

XVII. Books of them, of various sizes, to suit the taste of the public, might be made up by the vendors, to whom they would be distri-

Specimen
of receipt
inclosed.

Sold by post-
masters and
licensed
vendors.

A plainer
pattern than
this was sent.

¹ This suggestion for issuing forms of receipt, has not yet been properly worked out by the Post Office, and I venture to suggest that Mr. Fawcett,

now Postmaster-General, should cause the subject to be again fully investigated.


buted in sheets. As they proved convenient to the public, so the sale of them would become an increasing source of revenue.¹

XVIII. It seems worth while dwelling on the practical working of these probabilities. All persons able to afford it, would possess a receipt book, as a register of all letters of importance and value, which would at the same time check the receipt of the letter at the post office, and the delivery of the letter by the messenger sent to post it. This check on the punctuality and

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Selections.
Would serve
as registers
of corre-
spondence.

Would check
messengers
sent to the
post.

¹ The Receipts suggested by me were in the following form :—

<p>SPECIMEN OF PROPOSED RECEIPT. DIRECTIONS.—Copy the name and address of the letter on this receipt. Show the letter and this receipt to the Postmaster, who will return the receipt stamped.</p>	<p>POST OFFICE RECEIPT. [For a penny letter only.]</p>
	<p>NAME</p>
	<p>ADDRESS</p>
	<p>N. B.—Observe that this receipt is stamped at the Post Office when returned.</p>
	<p>POSTMASTER'S RECEIPT </p>

I am afraid it did not find favour with some officials, who had no difficulty in persuading the higher officials of a past ministry, that the scheme was impracticable; that it interfered with the registration—altogether a different sort of thing; and so it was partially abandoned, to the loss of the revenue

and the inconvenience of the public, to be put right some day when wisdom presides in the judgment-seat.

At the present time the Post Office is experimentalizing with this form, which I do not find noticed in the Post Office Guide.



CERTIFICATE OF POSTING.

Embossed
Halfpenny
Stamp.

* Here insert
Letter, Newspaper,
or Book Packet.

A* _____ not Registered,
addressed as under has been posted
at this Office.

Address in full.


Date Stamp.

INSTRUCTIONS.

The address entered in this Certificate must be exactly the same as that on the Letter, Newspaper, or Book Packet, and it must be plainly written in ink.

The issue of this Certificate is not to be regarded as effecting Registration, and the Letter, Newspaper, or Book Packet to which it refers will be treated precisely as if posted in a Letter Box.

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accuracy of messengers would be highly advantageous. Those who did not keep a receipt book—chiefly the poorer classes—would purchase a single receipt at the post office when they posted their letters, and the accommodation of copying the address at the same time might be allowed.

Prevention
of many
errors of bad
writing and
spelling.

XIX. The comparison which it would be the postmaster's duty to institute between the address on the receipt and the superscription of the letter, would prevent many inaccuracies arising from badly spelt and badly written addresses.

Cost of pro-
duction and
profit
thereon.

XX. Receipts like the specimen would cost the Government, printing and paper included, about 1*s.* 8*d.* per 1,000, and, after allowing 25 per cent. to the retailer, say 1 per cent. for carriage, 3 per cent. for wholesale distribution, which might be conducted by the stamp distributors, and 1 per cent. for extras, they would produce 28*s.* for 1,000, or a profit of about 2,500 per cent. on their original cost.¹ Twenty-five per cent. is the usual allowance made

Estimate in
detail.

¹ This estimate is not quite correct, but was made so.

ESTIMATE OF THE COST OF STAMPS.

Printing 1,000 sheets, each sheet holding 48 receipts like the specimen (contract price)	£	s.	d.
	0	15	0
Paper for 1,000 sheets, 2 reams at 30 <i>s.</i> per ream.	1	10	0
	£	2	5

1,000 sheets or 48,000 receipts, at £3 5*s.* = 1 6½ per 1,000.
Add 1¼*d.* per 1,000 for packing . . . = 0 1¼

1 8 per 1,000, cost of production.

1,000 receipts, at a halfpenny each, would be sold to the public for	£	s.	d.
	2	1	8
Deduct 25 per cent. to retailers—postmasters and licensed vendors	s.	d.	
	10	5	
3 per cent. on the price to retailers for wholesale distributors' allowance—also 1 per cent. carriage—1 per cent. for extras—the total 5 per cent., or say	1	7	
	12	0	
Deduct	0	12	0
	£	1	9
Net price per 1,000	£	s.	d.
	1	9	8
Deduct cost of production	0	1	8
Net profit per 1,000	£	1	8

in the book trade, and I think it would be advisable to give the same in this instance, in order to encourage so profitable a sale, and besides give the postmasters a strong motive to work the new plan with vigour. Let it be assumed that in the first year the letters will be three-folded, that is to say, become 225,000,000 in number; if upon 5 per cent. only of this number receipts are taken, the receipts will return a net revenue of £17,150.

XXI. I am informed that in Germany, upon the payment of four kreutzers (about equal to 2*d.*), the Post Office authorities, independently of the Government, will insure, under a penalty of 40 florins (rather more than £3 6*s.* 8*d.*), the safe delivery of any letter. If the letter be lost, whatever may be its contents, the Post Office pays the penalty. The insured letters are kept apart by themselves, and a receipt is taken from the party to whom they are delivered.

XXII. Perhaps something of this sort might be superadded to Mr. Hill's system of receipts. It certainly does not appear sufficient merely to prove that a letter has been posted, without adopting some ulterior measures. Some recompense for injury inflicted by negligence or dishonesty is required. I think some system might be established, which should reward or punish the sorters and those officers through whose hands the letters must actually pass. The insurances for letters might be added to, and the penalties deducted from their salaries. Every officer would thereby be furnished with a motive, not only to do his best himself, but to watch that his brother officers did not abuse their trust. It does not appear necessary on an occasion like the present, to do more than glance at this subject.

XXIII. But in addition to this plan of receipts, another arrangement which Mr. Hill has suggested to promote public convenience, appears to me as one which would tend to enhance security in the delivery of letters. It has been argued that the letter carriers in the metropolis and in large towns, will destroy the letters to save themselves the trouble of going their rounds. Let an order be issued that the letter carriers in delivering letters should also carry a bag to receive any letters brought or given to him at the doors, and let him announce his progress by ringing a bell, like the general postmen in the evening. The public would thus be warned of the letter carrier's arrival, and, to save themselves the trouble of

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Selections.

Nature of
post office
receipts in
Germany.

Further
check on
postman's
delivery of
letters.

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Prepayment
optional on
one sort of
letters only.

going to the post offices, would watch his appearance. The postman's failure to traverse any street or district, would thus be noticed and immediately complained of.

XXIV. Though for certain reasons it may be convenient to allow an option of prepayment, *it seems desirable that the option should be limited to one class of letters only—that is, to letters lowest in the scale of weight.* Such a limitation is desirable for the sake of the Post Office, and should be sufficient to meet those cases where an option is needful. The letter of the least weight, under the new system, will correspond to the single letter at present, and will even comprehend many double letters, if the weight be half an ounce. Ounce letters are rare at present in the general post. And most of the public will regard letters above the weight of half an ounce, as one of the novelties of the penny post. There will be no hardship in subjecting all the novelties to prepayment absolute. Those who employ the increased weights of the new system cannot complain of its conditions.

XXV. The principle of assessing the postage of *unpaid* letters, should be determined at a price to cover the additional expenses of unpaid letters. If the public, for any reason, will have unpaid letters, they must pay for the accommodation.

THE GENERAL QUESTION OF FORGERY.

XXVI. There are some peculiarities about the postage stamps which seem to me to add very great security against forgery, to that which artistical difficulties of imitation may give.

XXVII. The forgery of a *penny* stamp does not offer a temptation like that of a bank note, being 240 times more profitable. It is not because a *penny* stamp *cannot* be forged, but because it cannot be forged with profit as well as impunity, that it is most securely protected against forgery.

1. *That it cannot be forged with profit.*

XXVIII. In Mr. Joplin's essay on Banking, it is stated in the sixth edition, "that a couple of shillings per one pound note is the most, probably the utmost, that the forger obtains." Forged bank notes being thus sold for the tenth part of their professed value,

Small
temptation
in a penny.

The low
price at
which the
stamps must
be sold is a
protection—
complete as
respects the
stamped
covers.

there seems no reason for supposing that the forger of a penny stamp would be able to get more than the tenth part of *its* value.

XXIX. The very cheap price at which the stamped covers (being one of the proposed three modes of stamps) could be sold wholesale to the public by the stamp office, seems to secure them from the attempts of the forger. It is calculated that the half-sheets of paper, together with the stamping, costing the Government about fifteen a penny, could be furnished to the public at about fifteen for sixteen pence, including fifteen penny postages. The forger selling the covers like the bank notes at one-tenth of their intrinsic value, must offer them for sale at about ten for a penny. This is a price which would not only deprive him of any remunerating profit on the sale, but prevent even the manufacture of them on a small scale except at an actual loss. A wealthy capitalist may sell fifteen covers a penny to the Government, whilst a miserable forger in a garret could not make half the number at that price. To be forged at all, they must therefore be forged by large capitalists. Possessing the dies for printing *one* adhesive stamp, and the necessary paper, one man could print by the hand-press about 400 impressions a day. By selling these at ten a penny, he would gain 3s. 4d., a sum *less* than he would realize as an honest printer.

XXX. The same writer says it is doubtful whether the greatest success, even in circulating *five pound notes*, would be found sufficient to induce forgers to venture upon an expenditure of £200.

XXXI. The stamps I shall submit to your lordships to be produced in any numbers with profit, must be manufactured by machinery. A capital of £200 would not nearly suffice to produce the machinery required for either of the two adhesive stamps, and a very much larger capital would be needed for the production of the stamped covers. Besides £5 offer a temptation to the capitalist of £200 which a *penny* does not. But objectors still urge that the enormous consumption of these stamps will tempt the employment of large capital to forge them. Let it be granted for the sake of argument, and against all probability, that paper makers with their paper mills, engravers with their turning engines, printers with their printing machines, and other mechanics will league together to forge the stamps. The stamp is made, but how is it to be disposed of? It will be seen that the risks which must

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The amount
of capital
required to
produce the
stamps would
also be a
protection.

Difficulty in
uttering
penny
stamps.

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be run, and the obstacles to be surmounted before the stamp can be uttered, constitute in themselves a very great protection.

XXXII. There are none of the facilities for uttering forged postage stamps which attend bank notes. A postage stamp is to be used once, and then done with. It will not, like a bank note, go out of your possession for a while, and then perhaps return to you; it will not be taken in exchange from an accidental stranger, but bought at an appointed place, of an appointed person, and for an appointed purpose.

XXXIII. I propose, for reasons stated fully in another part of this paper, that postage should be collected by means of stamped covers and adhesive stamps, but *not* by stamped letter paper.

Regulations
proposed as
necessary
for the sale.

XXXIV. Certain simple regulations should be established for the sale of these stamps, which would be a great hindrance to the utterance of counterfeits. The stamps should be retailed by all post offices, and the public in general subject to fixed rules. The names and residences of the vendors should be enrolled, and an express license granted for selling postage stamps. The price of the license should be very small, even if sold at all, so as to be no impediment whatever to the sale of the stamps. It should be renewable at certain periods, like the licenses of appraisers and hawkers, and the vendors should be ordered to expose it publicly in the windows of their shops. Persons selling without a license, to be subject to a penalty. The stock of the licensed vendors would also be subject to unexpected visits and inspections from the Stamp Office authorities.

Consequent
difficulties
in selling
the stamped
cover and
adhesive
stamps.

XXXV. It cannot be supposed that any one would forge postage stamps for his own exclusive use. If forged at all, they would be forged for general sale. The offer of sale could only be made to the licensed vendors or the postmasters, unless we are to conceive that the forger would prowl about the country like the vendors of smuggled goods, to offer them indiscriminately to the public, in the full knowledge that the very act of doing so, particularly with stamped covers and adhesive stamps, would subject him at once to the suspicion of their forgery. The public sympathy towards smuggled goods would not extend to forged stamps. A purchaser of smuggled silk or tobacco is liable to no detection, which the buyer of a forged stamp would be.

XXXVI. The stamped cover and adhesive stamp would be

wholly manufactured by the Government, consequently the profit on the sale would be the allowance made to the purchaser of large quantities. As the allowance would be equal, of course, to all purchasers, no one could have an honest motive in offering them for sale *below*, or even at the wholesale price. But on the sale of stamped paper, if adopted, there would be a joint profit arising from the Government allowance and the profit on the letter paper; and this latter profit might induce a plausible competition in the sale of paper ready stamped. The offer to sell stamped covers and the adhesive stamps in quantities, would be *prima facie* evidence that they were counterfeit; but in the offer to sell stamped letter paper there would be no such evidence. The price of the adhesive stamp, *minus* the Government allowance, would always be a *fixed* price. The wholesale price of the cover would also be fixed, but the price of the stamped sheet of letter paper would not be invariably twopence, or three-halfpence, or any fixed sum. It might be plausibly offered for sale at any price, not less than the penny, without exciting suspicion. It would be reasonable to order the postmaster and the licensed vendor to purchase stamped covers and adhesive stamps only from the Government, and they would not disobey these orders at the risk of losing their offices. But as it is not proposed that the Government should sell stamped letter paper, the small vendors could not procure supplies of stamped paper without being exposed to the liability of purchasing forged stamped paper? As the forger would never venture to propose the traffic in forged stamped covers and adhesive stamps to the postmasters and licensed vendors, it would therefore only be in the sale of stamped letter paper that he would have any chance of finding a market.

XXXVII. It may be objected that forged receipt stamps are sold, and even, it is supposed, by the licensed vendors. This may be true, yet it is pretty certain that forged postage stamps would not, because they differ from receipt stamps and bank notes in the facility and opportunity they offer of detecting their genuine character. A receipt stamp is used by private individuals, and never seen by the authorities except by some very rare accident indeed. A bank note circulates for months and years before it reverts to the party which issued it. But there are *two* parties to the use of the postage stamp—the one the private individual, and

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Selections.

Not appli-
cable to the
stamped
letter paper.

Suspicion
raised by the
offer to sell.

Difference
between
postage
stamp and
the receipt
stamps which
are said to
be forged.

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POSTAGE.A.D. 1839.
Part II.
Selections.Postage
stamp sub-
mitted to
official in-
spection.The security
conferred by
the letter-
writer's name
and address.Shown by
the case of
valuable
bank notes.Enumera-
tion of the
processes of
detection.

the other the public functionary; the letter-writer and the Post Office. As soon as the postage stamp leaves the private hand, it undergoes a public examination, even though a hasty one—first by the postmaster who receives it, and next by him who delivers it. Here is a tribunal at which its accuracy will be immediately tested. It is obvious that a forged postage stamp could not remain undiscovered for a week, after it was issued.

XXXVIII. The easy and ready means which the postage stamp affords of tracing all the parties through whose hands it may have passed, is another protection against forgery. This circumstance prevents the forgery of bank notes of value. In passing even a £5 note, it is customary to endorse it with the name and address of the party who issues it. Few £5 notes are forged in consequence, compared with the forgery of £1 notes, to which the endorsement is not so habitually applied. Thus, although the premium to forge a valuable note is more tempting, yet its forgery is coupled with a larger risk, which protects it. It appears in the Appendix to the Report of the Constabulary Force Commissioners, that the number of forged notes (being of £5 value and upwards) presented at the Bank of England during a period of eight years (from 1830 to 1837, both years inclusive) amounted to no more than 2,873, being an average of only 361 a year. The risk of detection being equal in forging £5 notes and penny stamps—in reality the risk with the penny stamp is the greater, and the prizes being so disproportion-able—it certainly seems fair to infer that not 2,873 forgeries of penny stamps will be detected in the same space of time. I beg your lordships to reflect how easily such forgeries may be traced, and detection insured. A forged stamp is discovered at the post office. The letter is stopped and opened, and the writer's name and address is discovered; or, if there be no address, the letter is delivered, and the receiver tells the name and address of his correspondent. That person is required to state where he bought the stamp. Perhaps he has forgotten, or refuses to answer; in either case, and in the latter especially, he raises suspicions which should place him under surveillance. He would not run the risk of a *second* detection; but he bought them at such a post office, or of such a licensed vendor. The fact thus brought home would, in that case, be evidence of a guilty collusion, because a forged cover

or label could only have come into the possession referred to in defiance of orders. The little medicine stamps, some of which cost above 2s. and even 4s., offer some premium to forge them ; but the certainty of *tracing the fraud to the guilty party*, if the forgery be found out, amply protects them and even the common newspaper stamp, though nothing could be easier than the forgery of the latter, so as to baffle official detection. Yet a forgery of the newspaper stamp has never, I believe, been discovered or even suspected, and the medicine stamp has been forged only in Germany, where means of printing them exist. It may also be remarked that a forged *frank* is never heard of, although requiring no capital for that purpose, the temptation being not a penny, but a shilling or so ; but the risk is too great.

XXXIX. In addition to all these safeguards, the number of letters passing through the Post Office, if disproportioned to the issue of the stamps—facts easily ascertained—would at once awaken suspicion and put the authorities on the watch for offenders.

XL. To sum up these general remarks on forgery, I submit that the small temptation, the regulations of sale, the difficulty of uttering, the certainty of official examination, the clue to detection conferred by the address of the letter, and the check of the number of letters passing through the Post Office, present an aggregate of impediments to forgery which would prove so protective as to render the artistical difficulties of the stamp itself, in this case, a matter of little anxiety. To make assurance doubly sure, the stamp itself should present all the difficulties that could be attached to it ; and of what sort these stamps had best be, is the subject I have next to bring to your lordships' notice.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE STAMPS.

XLI. The papermakers, engravers, and printers, are the parties chiefly interested in the manufacture of the stamp. In the progress of my inquiries and observations during the last eighteen months on the subject of the stamp, I have found all papermakers say, "There is no security in any stamp ;" and all printers, that "There is no security in any paper." Each individual papermaker, engraver, and printer, equally asseverates that the nostrum for security is known only to him. It would be folly and presumption

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Check of the
number of
letters and
number of
stamps.

Summary of
arguments.

Introductory
observations.

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to assert to your lordships, that what one human agency has done cannot be effected by another. "I have not indulged" (to apply the words used in the Report of the Commissioners for the Mode of preventing the Forgery of Bank Notes to the Penny Stamp) "in the vain expectation of finding any plan for a 'penny stamp' which shall not be imitable by the skill of English artists;" but calling in the aid of the papermaker, the engraver and printer, I believe a sufficient preventive to forgery may be obtained in the stamps, specimens of which I offer to your lordships. At the same time, I shall be glad to have my faith in those proved fallible, and to learn that the public can have stamps of a safer description. May I take the liberty of suggesting that these specimens should be submitted to the judgment of a disinterested tribunal of artists, competent to pronounce a verdict. Cheapness is an element in the production of penny stamps which must not be forgotten. It would be preposterous to collect a penny by a stamp which should cost twopence, or even a penny. I have, as I think, a well-grounded belief that nothing so cheap as the stamps I propose, will be found to yield an equal amount of security.

THE KIND OF STAMP OR STAMPS BEST FOR USE.

XLII. Three sorts have been spoken of in the Treasury Minute, and have been proposed by Mr. Hill.

1. Stamps impressed on letter paper furnished by the public.
2. Labels or adhesive stamps.
3. Stamped covers.

STAMPS ON LETTER PAPER.

Stamps on
letter paper.

XLIII. Besides Mr. Hill, Mr. Wood, the late Chairman of the Board of Stamps, has suggested the use of this sort of stamps. It is with great deference and reluctance that I venture to express an opinion contrary to that of these authorities; but I confess that stamps on letter paper seem to me to be neither desirable nor necessary.

Misrepresentations
of the stationers
answered.

XLIV. I do not in the least participate in the grounds of the opposition made by the papermakers and stationers to stamped paper. They have raised a false clamour, that the retail stationers "will be *required* to sell this stamped paper, which they will be

compelled to purchase of a Government office." (See Stationers' Resolutions, as advertised). "That the trade will be ruined;" that the sale of the stamped paper "would require a dead capital of £500,000," &c. I have never heard of any proposal to *compel* the purchase or the sale of stamped letter paper. The proposal was to "*allow* the public to send letter paper" (purchased at any mart) to the Stamp Office, and that those might sell it who pleased. If the public at large should *demand* and thereby "*compel*" the stationers to keep stamped paper, it is obvious that the stationers have all the power in their own hands to compel the public to pay for such demand. The assumption that £500,000 capital will be wanted at all, is founded on a misrepresentation that stamped paper only, to the exclusion of covers and labels, was to be used as the means of collecting postage. I venture to object to the use of stamped paper, not indeed on grounds like these, but because it appears to me that stamped paper would not be sufficiently secure from forgery, and because public convenience does not appear to require it.

XLV. (1°) The security conferred by a peculiar paper is obviously sacrificed, and its loss will not be compensated by increased difficulties in the stamp itself, rather the reverse.

XLVI. (11°) I have already shown that the distribution of the stamped covers and labels through certain authorized channels, and the *surveillance* to which they may be subjected, constitute very great protection against forgery, by enhancing the risk of detection, and bringing it almost to a certainty. The Government will be able to watch all the authorized depôts for stamps throughout the kingdom. But these wholesome restraints are given up, if the public at large are at liberty to send letter paper in any quantities to be stamped, and "its distribution left to the ordinary commercial channels, as Mr. Hill proposes." The inspection of a licensed vendor's stock is a proper regulation, and will be cheerfully submitted to; but it can never be proposed to watch the *premises* of all who may choose to possess themselves of quantities of stamped paper, whether it be for sale or not. And yet without some such inspection, nothing will be easier than to mix and sell forged stamps with genuine.

XLVII. (III°) It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments I have already submitted, on the insecurity arising out of the fluctuations

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Objections
to the use of
stamped
letter paper.

No security
from forgery
in the paper.

No restraints
on the sale.

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The imitability of the stamp likely to be used.

of price to which the stamped paper (and stamped paper only) may be liable.

XLVIII. (iv^o) The imitability of the stamp itself (from the nature of the stamp which must be used) would be lessened. Damping the letter paper to receive a stamp, and thereby extracting the size would injure it; therefore it would be necessary to use a *dry* stamp. As the paper would be sent in small sheets, the only sort of stamp which could be used, compatible with the necessary rapidity, would be an embossing stamp. An embossment can be forged for a few pence, and in a few minutes, and if uncoloured, like the receipt stamps, it would not be conspicuous enough to be identified in the rapidity of sorting at the Post Office. The embossed stamps most secure from imitation are made by Messrs. Perkins, Bacon & Petch, of Fleet Street; but want of conspicuousness is also a defect in them as regards this purpose.

XLIX. It is true that the use of colours with the common embossment makes it distinct, and increases the difficulties of imitation; but even then, its security is just equal to that of an elaborately engine-turned plate. There is no printing machine in readiness capable of working a stamp on small sheets of letter paper, with sufficient speed.

L. (v^o) The fewer the kind of stamps necessary for public convenience, the more certain will be both its own and the postmaster's judgment of their genuineness, and the greater will be the facility of the latter in detecting counterfeits.

LI. (vi^o) Practically, there will be little, if any, difference in point of cost or convenience to the public, whether it sends sheets of letter paper to be stamped at the Stamp Office, or to be prepared with a small adhesive stamp. A short review of the operations in both cases will make this apparent. A merchant in London (the most convenient place for getting the paper stamped) desires to have each sheet of a ream of particular paper prepared for the post. In the case of the stamped letter paper, a messenger must be sent during particular hours to take the paper to the Stamp Office. Some hours, perhaps a whole day, must elapse before the paper can be returned as stamped. The messenger must attend again at the Stamp Office to fetch it away. In the other case, the merchant buys 500 adhesive stamps (on which, if he

Why desirable to have as few sorts of stamps as possible.

Difference to the public between the convenience of stamped paper and adhesive stamps examined.

buys them at the Stamp Office direct, he will get some discount), and he employs his clerk to affix them to the paper—a work of three hours—or he sends them to a stationer's to be done.

LII. (VII^o) The sacrifice of the security of the paper—the comparatively easy imitability of the stamp itself—the absence of surveillance over the possessor of stamped paper in large quantities—the facilities of issuing forgeries—seem to me to counterbalance the difference in the cost of collecting the postage by means of the stamp on letter paper, and that of the adhesive stamp—the difference being between .012*d.* and .035*d.* as estimated by Mr. Hill. For these reasons, I respectfully submit to your lordships, that the use of the stamped letter paper is neither necessary nor desirable.

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POSTAGE.
A. D. 1831.
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Selections.
Recapitulation of arguments
against the
use of it.

LIII. (2 & 3.) ADHESIVE STAMPS AND STAMPED COVERS.

I presume to recommend to your lordships to adopt *both* these means of collecting the postage, and for reasons which I shall class under the respective heads marked out by the Treasury Minute, viz.: 1. The convenience of the public. 2. Security from forgery. 3. The facility of being checked and distinguished in the examination at the Post Office. 4. The expense of production and circulation of the stamps.

Adhesive
stamps
and stamped
covers
recom-
mended.

1. *The convenience of the Public.*

LIV. The use of *both* these stamps seems desirable, because each has its peculiar advantages, and supplies that which is wanting in the other. The *adhesive stamp* is preferable to the stamped cover in respect of portability—all the conveniences of which it possesses in the highest degree. A thousand postages, in the shape of adhesive stamps, may be carried almost imperceptibly in a pocket-book. It will be a traveller's own fault if he do not possess a postage in this shape at all times and ready for every emergency. They may be attached to any letter paper fancied by the letter writers, either with a wafer or washed at the back with glue, which causes them to adhere by means of a very trifling moisture. A very slight wash of glue is shown by the specimens¹ to be sufficient to attach these

Their re-
spective con-
veniences to
the public.

Those of the
adhesive
stamp.

¹ The specimens attached to this report were manufactured by Mr. Charles Whiting, printer, of Beaufort

House, Strand, the site of which is now occupied by Rimmel's Perfume Manufactory, and adjoins the new Savoy

stamps, of whatever thickness of paper they may be made. They may be transmitted direct from the metropolis to every part of the kingdom with which the post communicates. Their extreme lightness subtracts in a degree scarcely sensible from the authorized scale of weight. Oftentimes the stamped cover would turn the scale when the adhesive stamp would not. Though a letter writer may not possess an adhesive stamp, still he need only make one journey to the post office (which he must make under any circumstances), because he may purchase the stamp and fasten it at the post office to his letter, already written and directed. If he were restricted to the use of stamped covers, being without one, he must fetch one and enclose his letter in it, or write upon it, because he could not do so at the post office. The post office journal stamp would identify the posting of a letter franked by an adhesive stamp, but not one *enclosed* in a stamped cover. The adhesive stamp would supply a very convenient medium for the transmission of small sums of money, much wanted and not at present existing. An order for a threepenny pamphlet might thus be

Theatre. They were printed by what was called "compound printing," *i.e.*, printing in *two* colours, blue and red, or black and red, simultaneously and intermixed. Similar stamps may still be seen in use on medicine boxes, such as those containing Cockles' Pills, and on the corks of bottles. They were engraved with complicated machine patterns. I have heard that the process was invented by Sir William Congreve, of Rocket fame, and that his patents descended to Mr. Whiting, who, I believe, married his widow. Mr. Whiting took great trouble about submitting his stamps—and obtained one of the hundred pound prizes, but he was greatly disgusted when he found that the process of steel engraving invented by Messrs. Perkins and Bacon was adopted for the postage stamp instead of his suggestion. I have quoted (vol. i. p. 60) Rowland Hill's description of Perkins' stamp. Mr. Whiting frequently told me that it was he who

first recommended the issue of his stamps to Mr. Charles Knight, as a method of *prepaying* the postage of *printed* papers, and that it was Knight who told Rowland Hill ("Life of Sir Rowland Hill," vol. i., p. 218 *et seq.*). The steel engraved stamp first used in 1840, has now been superseded by one electrotyped and manufactured by Messrs. De La Rue. They are printed by the usual typographical process. Chemical science has been applied with advantage to the inks used, and I apprehend it is nearly impossible to clean off the obliterated stamp without detection, and certainly it cannot be profitable to attempt it to any extent. Messrs. De La Rue's stamps are a triumph of science applied to productive industry. I have reason to know that new halfpenny stamps are likely to be of a smaller size than the penny stamps, so that the liability to mistake in the dark will be removed.

accompanied, without extra cost, by three adhesive stamps. Their extreme cheapness of production would enable the Government to give the people a *penny* postage; whilst the exclusive use of *stamped* covers would probably make every postage cost from $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ to $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, because no one could expect to receive *half* a sheet of paper gratuitously, together with a *penny* postage. The ability of always buying a *penny* adhesive stamp for a *penny*, would be a wholesome check upon the price of the *stamped* covers, without which, in remote villages, the price might be extortionate. Lastly, the adhesive stamp would be found more suitable to small and large packets than the stamped cover. Illustrations of this, accompany this letter,¹ not only to show the convenience of the adhesive stamp, but the practical working of the new system of weight, and the great changes which it will necessarily introduce in the mechanism of packing the mail. Every facility should be given to the public to employ the Post as much as possible, not only to promote public accommodation, but the interests of the postage revenue. The Post will become both a letter and a parcel Post. The rates of price for the gradations will soon determine the average weight of parcels which the public will find it worth their while to send; and therefore no *limitation of weight* seems necessary which does not already exist, I believe, at present. The larger the parcel, the greater will be the profit on its conveyance. The Post Office would incur much less trouble in delivering one parcel weighing a thousand half-ounces at one place, than a thousand individual half-ounce letters.² Even should a maximum of weight be fixed upon, so low as half-a-pound, parcels of every variety of size and shape will be sent. Samples of all produce—coffee, tea, sugar, spices, indigo, drugs, flax, cotton, silk, seeds, beaver, feathers, minerals, policies of insurance, law papers, proof sheets, &c. The post would be the cheapest conveyance for many articles of dress, millinery, &c.; and many a London hat and hat-box will find their way from the metropolis to Inverness, by the mail.

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Selections.

Illustrations
of its suitability
to
parcels.

Alterations
which *weight*
will super-
induce in the
system.

Is a limitation
necessary?

¹ Specimens interesting to any curious investigator may be seen in a volume of all kinds of experimental postage papers, which I made.

² I may express a hope that the pre-

sent restriction as to size and weight will be removed, when the Post Office undertakes a real PARCEL POST in friendly concert with our railways, and all nations.

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POSTAGE.
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Selections.
How bulky
light parcels
are to be
dealt with.

LV. Whilst, on the one hand, it is not fair that the Post Office should be burthened with the additional trouble arising from very *bulky light* parcels without *extra* remuneration, so, on the other hand, the public have a right to ask if the Post Office takes its parcels, that they should not be damaged in the conveyance, an accident they would be exposed to. This is a point of detail which the Post Office must be prepared to meet. The accompanying illustrations are of sufficient variety to make it clear that they could not be mingled together without mutual injury. It would not be very easy to fix a limit upon the size of the parcel; and, on the whole, I am inclined to think it would be better not to do so. There would also be a difficulty in assessing postage, according to the *bulk* of the parcel, even if a power of doing so existed. Perhaps the best way of meeting the case, would be to let the public send what they pleased, and to allow the Post Office to guarantee the safe conveyance of the parcel upon the payment of a small additional charge, proportioned to the bulk, as an insurance from damage. This would pay the Post Office for its additional trouble, and be a satisfactory arrangement for the public, who would have the option of insuring or not. An insured parcel would go safely, an uninsured parcel would take its chance. The result would probably be that all *bulky light* parcels would afford an increased profit, instead of a loss.

Limited
transmission
of parcels.

LVI. Perhaps the best mechanical arrangement for the Post Office, would be to keep parcels of a certain size by themselves: to despatch letters and small parcels (such as would enter a certain uniform sized letter-hole) by *every* mail (see pp. 84 *passim*, on Railways), and reserve the bulky parcels for a particular mail. From London, for instance, the rule might be to send all parcels by the morning mails; at the same time, to meet emergencies, large parcels might be carried by the evening mails, upon the payment of an extra charge. The railroads will smooth all difficulties in these arrangements.

Change re-
quired in the
Post Office
journal
stamp.

LVII. Prepayment should be compulsory on all parcels of a certain weight and bulk. The Journal Post Office stamp, certifying the posting, and obliterating the postage stamp, must not be struck with much force, as it will chance to penetrate into a box of pills or lozenges, and to crush and crack the contents of many parcels. To produce an elastic stamp does not appear to be a matter of much difficulty.

LVIII. The chief advantage of the *stamped cover* (and it is a most important one), arises out of the facility it offers to the poor man of getting a cheap piece of paper to write his letter on. In remote and rural districts this will be a great boon, and will undoubtedly exercise some influence on the number of letters written, a consequence valuable to both the revenue and the people. The *stamped cover* enables an advertiser to print his name upon it, and thus secure its use to himself. The adhesive stamp has no such peculiarity. Many witnesses described how circulars like the specimen, would be used. These circulars would be transmitted with a request that it should be returned through the post to the advertiser.

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POSTAGE.
A. D. 1839.
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Selections.
Conve-
niences of
stamped
covers.

LIX. The stamped covers being themselves free from liability to forgery, are a convenience to the public, which may be mentioned in this place.

2. *The Security from Forgery.*

LX. Though there are various peculiarities attending the use of the postage stamp, such as the small temptation which its low intrinsic worth offers, the difficulties of utterance, and the ease of detecting its forgery, still I would employ every mechanical difficulty which its necessary cheapness would admit of.

LXI. As respects the *paper* on which it is to be printed, there seems to be strong evidence that a water-marked paper is the best protection. Specimens of all kinds of paper for preventing the forgery of bank notes, some of which I possess, were submitted to the Commissioners for preventing the Forgery of Bank Notes; but they reported, "with respect to the paper we are of opinion that it will not be advisable to make any alteration in that now used by the Bank;" in other words, they reported that the water-mark of the bank note was the best protection. It is a fact, which I believe will be confirmed by inquiry, that forged bank notes have never been made on real water-marked paper. I venture, therefore, to submit to your lordships that a water-marked paper should be used, both for the stamped covers and the adhesive stamps, which I herewith transmit. Each cover and each stamp having the words "Post Office" inserted as a water-mark. I am informed that there are no mechanical difficulties to oppose this proposition.

LXII. *Two* kinds of paper for stamped covers were submitted to the Parliamentary Committee on Postage—one by Mr. Dickinson, the other by Mr. Stevenson. The peculiarity of Mr. Dickinson's paper consisted of the insertion of straight lines of silk or thread into the woof of the paper; that of Mr. Stevenson in the employment of some chemical agent, which prevents the obliteration of any writing upon it, and affords a ready means of testing its genuine character. Mr. Dickinson's idea is an old one. I am in possession of a specimen of paper manufactured many years ago for a bank note, by a person of the name of Hayes, in which, not a single thread, but a complete web, is thrown. There is no secrecy, and, it would seem, no difficulty in making Mr. Dickinson's paper. Mr. Magnay, a large Government paper contractor, says (Evidence 11,300) that the imitation of it, by various modes which he describes, "was as easy a thing to be done as could be." Imitations of Mr. Dickinson's paper, deceptive to the touch and sight, may be made by ruling faint lines, or sticking sheets of paper together.

LXIII. As respects the handicraft difficulties of making Mr. Dickinson's paper and a water-mark paper, I have not heard a difference of opinion amongst papermakers, who unanimously agree that the water-marked paper presents far greater difficulties than Mr. Dickinson's paper.

LXIV. The act of making Mr. Dickinson's paper would become an overt offence, if the Government should assume an exclusive right to it; but though no person could then legally manufacture Mr. Dickinson's paper, any one whatever could, without the least liability to suspicion, rule *lines* upon paper which would effectually answer in many cases the purposes of forgery. On the other hand, no one could make a water-marked paper but a papermaker who united in his own person the abilities of a mould maker, a vat man, a coucher, and a layer of paper. Assuming such a person to be in existence, *he* could not insert the words "Post Office" in his paper, without being conscious of the fraud intended. A forger of Post Office stamps need have no accomplice *in ruling lines* on paper, but must certainly have *one or more* to obtain a *water-marked paper*.

LXV. The merit of Mr. Stevenson's paper consists in the nature of its ingredients being unknown and kept secret. The Commissioners for preventing the Forgery of Bank Notes, "con-

sidered that it would be utterly unsafe to rely for security against forgery upon the employment of any process, the chief merit of which was to consist in its being kept secret" (First Report, page 3). However, should your lordships not concur with the Commissioners, there seems to be no reason why the peculiarity of Mr. Stevenson's paper, and that of a water-mark, should not be united.

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Selections.

THE ADHESIVE STAMP.

LXVI. I do not consider the security from forgery in this specimen, to rest in any one of its peculiar features, but rather in the combination of them all. The water-mark in the paper, the design of the stamp, its compound printing, and the colours, all these in union appear to me to be a sufficient protection. Whatever number of these stamps may be printed on a single piece of paper, I propose so to join one with the other as to prevent a single stamp from being sufficient to print the whole sheet. If one person attempted to forge this stamp by himself, he must possess an unexampled assemblage of skill and knowledge, in order to make his own paper—to cast and mould the plates, engrave the design, and print it—or have recourse to the assistance of others, to every one of whom the work itself would reveal the fraud.

LXVII. I have already enumerated the departments of the paper making. In manufacturing the stamp, one person makes the plates, another engine-turns it, a third engraves the lettering, and a fourth prints it, every one of whom would be necessarily an accomplice.

LXVIII. That a skilful imitation of one stamp could be produced by other means than those which would be required to produce numbers, is not at all disputed. But to print numbers profitably, plates like the original must be employed; and I have reason to believe, that, excepting the recent patentee of compound plates, from whom the specimen has been procured, Mr. Robert Branston, son of the partner of Sir William Congreve, and one or two others, the most eminent engravers in London, there are no other persons throughout the whole kingdom who are as yet accustomed to such work. Plates for *one* impression would only serve for single impressions. The cost of plates for *one* impression is about £10. To make *two* impressions on the same paper, two more plates would be requisite, *three* for three, *four* for four, &c.

LXIX. Compound printing gives a protection against lithographic or zincographic imitations, because, though a design may be most accurately transferred to stone or zinc, it can only be printed in *one colour*. Precision and rapidity in working compound plates, can only be attained by very peculiar machines, worth from £300 to £500 apiece. The Government at the Stamp and Excise Offices, are already in possession of machines of this sort. There are none others in the whole kingdom, except at Beaufort House. The colours, blue and red, are selected because either one destroys the other by accidentally overlaying it, an effect very likely to follow in any clumsy imitation. The only objection to this stamp is its size; and I had hoped to have laid before your lordships specimens of another stamp only *one-fourth* of the size of this specimen, but there has been an unavoidable delay in its preparation, and I am unwilling any longer, on the chance of succeeding with the stamp in projection, to postpone the delivery of this statement. Should the stamp be effected in time, and seem to me worthy of your lordships' notice, I shall claim the indulgence of transmitting it.

LXX. Should the objection of size prevail with your lordships, I still have reason to hope that a stamp on the principle of compound printing, much smaller than the present specimen, though not equally secure from forgery, but sufficiently so for its purpose, may be accomplished.

LXXI. For the sake of simplicity, and to reduce the temptation to forgery, I propose that adhesive stamps of *only one sort and one price* should be used.

THE STAMPED COVER.

LXXII. The very *low price* at which the stamped cover may be sold, affords a perfect security from forgery. The accompanying specimen was prepared for the Mercantile Committee on Postage. Messrs. Sylvester, engravers, in the Strand, who supply many country bankers with their notes, report to me that they are unable to get a plate engine-turned precisely in the same manner.

LXXIII. Mr. Bacon, a high authority on such points, of the firm of Perkins, Bacon, and Petch, of Fleet Street, informs me that he thinks the work is sufficient to protect a *penny* stamp; but Mr. Robert Branston tells me that he can produce such patterns from

his engine, though he did not favour me with the sight of any. Mr. John Thompson, admitted to be (at this time, 1840,) the first wood-engraver in the world, and for some years employed by the Bank in the prevention of forgeries, thinks that though *part* of the pattern might be imitated on wood by the hand, there are other parts upon which he is doubtful whether they could be successfully done. These inquiries seem to be conclusive of the merits of this stamp, as far as engine-turning is concerned. It is obvious that the larger the space covered by engine-turning of various kinds, the more difficult the imitation is rendered. I should, therefore, propose that, with the adoption of patterns similar to the specimen, others should be introduced to cover the whole surface, in which case, in order not to conceal the water-mark, I think the *centre* ought to be left *blank*. Some engine-turners uphold that an engine-turned pattern which is the result of chance, so that he who executed it could not reproduce it, is a better protection against forgery than patterns like those of the specimen. The objection to chance patterns is their want of distinctness; and though an engine-turner may not be able to produce a perfect facsimile, yet he may so nearly approach it that the want of distinctness confounds the two together. Besides, though perhaps safe against the engine-turner, it is less so against the wood-engraver and the lithographer, it seems desirable that the use of the stamped cover should be limited to letters of the lowest gradation in weight, both for the convenience of the postmasters, and for security from forgery. There would be no objection to using papers of different value, all having the water-mark; so that if one person did not like an envelope at 1s. 4d. he might go to the price of 1s. 2d.¹

3. *The Facility of being Checked and Distinguished in the Examination at the Post Office.*

LXXIV. Should both stamped covers and adhesive stamps be used, though a different sort of stamp will be required for each, the postmasters and letter sorters will have to acquaint themselves with only these two kinds of stamps, and their peculiarities will be

¹ After full consideration it was resolved to have a work of fine art prepared, and the envelope, after several

experiments, was eventually printed from the design of Mr. Mulready, R. A. (See vol. i., p. 64.)

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Selections.

sufficiently obvious at a glance. For example—in the adhesive stamp, the accurate intersections of the work upon the two colours ; in the stamped cover, the reversed epicycloidal patterns, &c. The water-mark in the adhesive stamp, though a guide to the public in purchasing them, will be none to the postmaster, as it becomes hidden by the stamp being affixed to a letter. The water-mark of the stamped cover, will, however, remain visible. The limitation of stamped covers will dispense with a good deal of weighing. All letters *above* the lowest gradation of weight, should be *franked* by the adhesive stamp, not, however, to the exclusion of the lowest being franked—one stamp for each gradation, which seems to be the simplest sign that can be used. When attaching more adhesive stamps than one, it should be a rule to the public not to dis sever them from one another, in order that it may be seen they were printed from more than one stamp, and, therefore, most probably genuine.

4. *Expense of the Production and Circulation of the Stamps.*

LXXV. *Estimate of the cost of adhesive stamps per 1,000 stamps.*

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Printing	0	6
Paper (a water in each stamp), say	0	2½
Circulation through the post, as estimated by Mr. Hill	0	1
Glutinous wash	0	0¼
Expenses for making up parcels, &c.	0	0¾
	<hr/>	
	0	10½

Expense of the production and circulation of the stamps. Estimate of cost of adhesive stamps per 1,000.

Price of printing includes the cost of plates.

Mr. Hill's estimate of the cost of labels per 1,000.

Machines for printing compound plates at present existing.

The price of printing includes the cost of producing the plates and keeping them in order.

LXXVI. Mr. Hill has estimated that 1,000 labels, a trifle less than the specimen, would cost 3½*d.*, which would be nearly the price, if the machines for printing compound plates could print sheets double the size they are able to do. The machines at present existing, can only print, as I am informed, sheets whose dimensions do not exceed fifteen inches by seven and a half. Consequently, with a stamp an inch square, or about the size of the

specimen, not more than sixty stamps could be printed on a sheet at one revolution of the cylinder of the machine. The price of printing is fixed on so much per 1,000 revolutions made by the machine. In case the Stamp Office should be unable to print these stamps, I am informed that the proprietor of the only other machines which can print them, would be willing to enter into a contract, finding the plates, and keeping them in order, to print at the rate of 30s. per 1,000 sheets. The price per sheet is not much affected by the number of stamps to be printed on one sheet. Consequently, should your lordships prefer a smaller stamp, of which a sheet would hold 120 or 240 in number, the price of printing would be reduced accordingly. These machines print something above 700 sheets per hour; the machine working ten hours a day, with sixty stamps on a sheet, would produce in that time 420,000 stamps, and 126,000,000 in a year of 300 days; or, with 240 stamps on a sheet, 504,000,000 in a year. The application of the glutinous wash can be easily and speedily done. Perhaps, as the stamps would be liable to some moisture in their distribution, which might cause them to stick together, it might be desirable to leave that operation to be done by the post offices and the licensed vendors.

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Price of printing estimated on the number of revolutions made by the machine.

Price per sheet little affected by the number of stamps on each.

Smaller stamps producible at less cost than that of the specimens.

Estimate of the production of one machine working 10 hours a day. Application of the glutinous wash.

ESTIMATE OF THE COST OF STAMPED COVERS PER 1,000.

LXXVII. The cost of engraving the original plate would be in proportion to the character of the engine-turning upon it. Allow fifty guineas. When done, an unlimited number of stereotypes might be cast from it, not exceeding ten shillings a cast.

The number of covers which could be printed at one revolution of the machine, determines the cost of printing. At Beaufort House printing-office, where probably the greatest amount of printing engine-turned plates by the letter-press process, is done in the whole kingdom, it is thought that as many as sixteen plates may be printed at one time.

Good machine printing of books may be done at 10s. per 1,000 sheets for long numbers. But as greater care and larger machinery are required to work engine-turned plates, sixteen shillings per 1,000 sheets, or for first 1,000 covers, would be a very fair price.

Estimate of the cost of stamped covers per 1,000.

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Cost of
stamped
covers per
1,000.

	Per 1,000 covers. s. d.
Printing covers, per 1,000	1 0
Paper for covers per 1,000, each containing a water-mark ¹	4 7½
Packing per 1,000	0 1
For average carriage per 1,000 covers to the dis- tributors, allow	0 4
	6 0½

Add 1,000 pence for the postage, add two per cent. as allowance to the distributor, and the 1,000 stamped covers would be sold by the distributor to the licensed vendor, for £4 11s. 0½d.

LXXVIII. The price of a stamped cover to the public might then be left to be regulated by competition. A stamped cover sold for 1¼d. (the lowest price) by the licensed vendor to the public, would bring him a profit of about fourteen per cent.

LXXIX. This proposal somewhat varies from that of Mr. Hill, who thinks it unnecessary to require the stamp distributors to keep the covers. I think they *should be so required and that their poundage should be fixed*. As in Mr. Hill's proposal, so according to this statement, the Government need be at no cost whatever for collecting the postage revenue by means of stamped covers.

OBJECTIONS TO ADHESIVE STAMPS AND STAMPED COVERS ANSWERED.

Objections
to adhesive
stamps and
stamped
covers an-
swered.

LXXX. The subject of stamps would be left incomplete if the objections so publicly and pertinaciously urged against both kinds of them, were left unanswered. And though I cannot believe that these objections have made any deep impression on your lordships' minds, it seems to me that some notice should be taken of them. Mr. Dickinson, who aims at furnishing a certain description of paper for the stamped covers, which will require a great deal of it, opposes adhesive stamps, which will require a very little of it. The papermakers, who like to regulate their own prices for

¹ Viz., 18 a penny being the mean of an estimate given by M. Magnay.

paper, war against stamped covers, which will be sold as a very cheap paper, beyond their power of controlling the price.

With your lordships' leave, I will first reply to Mr. Dickinson. "It has been proposed," writes this gentleman, "that if the writer of a letter were by accident not supplied with a stamp or label, *the postmaster might be required*, on payment of the postage, to *paste on* a post office label, of which he would always be required to keep a stock;" and to this imaginary proposition, conceived only by Mr. Dickinson, his "*serious objection*" is, "*that the postmaster might take the money and not affix the stamp* or forward the letter." It has never been proposed that "*the postmaster should be required to paste on the label.*" The sender of the letter would pay the postage and receive back the label from the postmaster, which the sender *himself* would affix to the letter. Mr. Dickinson again says, "The friction in carriage and the disfigurement arising from the journal stamp, would prevent the effectual discrimination of their genuineness;" but he forgets that *before* the "friction in carriage" and the "disfigurement" had taken place, "the effectual discrimination of their genuineness" would have been made. The postmaster would not place the journal stamp, and thereby disfigure the adhesive stamp, until it had appeared to him to be genuine. Mr. Dickinson further says, "But the main objection to these labels is the facility of their forgery," and thus condemns his own paper, because at one time it was proposed to use it for adhesive stamps. Now a *small* piece of Mr. Dickinson's paper would exhibit its genuineness as well as a large piece. I think I have already shown that there is little danger of forgery (see p. 118) in the adhesive stamps. "That country shopkeepers and postmasters would obtain their supplies from illicit sources," and that "the revenue would be defrauded by spurious stamps, without the chance of discovering the fraud," are allegations made by Mr. Dickinson which, I believe, I have anticipated and answered. But, again, he says: "The Stamp Office allowance, added to the cost of stamps, would be a charge on the revenue of not much less than five per cent. average, or nearly £50,000 per annum." This estimate is given on the assumption that the adhesive stamps will be used to the exclusion of all others, an assumption in defiance of fact.

LXXXI. The papermakers object to *stamped* covers upon pri-

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POSTAGE.
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Part II.
Selections.
Mr. Dickin-
son's ob-
jections.

Paper-
makers' ob-
jections to
stamped
covers.

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Selections.

vate grounds, because "it creates a monopoly, and gives to one individual, or a limited number of individuals, an unfair advantage over their competitors in trade." A monopoly is an advantage to one party at the expense of another party. When stamped covers are bestowed upon the public for *posting their letters in*, they are not taken from the papermakers or stationers, because these covers are, almost for the first time, called into being for such a purpose. The papermakers hereby actually presume to make a request to the Government that it should abstain from doing something beneficial to the public, which request, if made to any one of their own body, would be jeered at. If Sir James Williams or Mr. Gubbins proposed to sell half-sheets of paper to the public at the rate of twelve or fifteen for a penny (and this is the part of the proposition of stamped covers which constitutes the odious "monopoly"), would Mr. Charles Pearson head a deputation to them, and beseech them not "to create such a monopoly?" Sir James Williams and Mr. Gubbins would answer, "If you are afraid of my making cheap letter paper for the public, I advise you to protect the public from what you call a 'monopoly,' which you can do, if you please, by making a paper cheaper than ours." The papermakers and stationers have long enjoyed "the monopoly" of charging the poor man a penny for each single sheet of paper, and they see the downfall of *their* "monopoly" in the stamped cover, which the poor man will buy for a farthing—hence their alarm. I venture to hope that your lordships will intimate to the papermakers who so earnestly oppose this "monopoly," that they already have full power to destroy it, by selling half-sheets of paper lower than the stamped covers. There is nothing to prevent them from selling the poor man a *whole sheet* or two or three half-sheets for a farthing, and thus upset the "monopoly." The poor man's letter of a whole sheet, with an adhesive stamp, will then be cheaper and more tempting to him than a stamped cover.¹

LXXXII. The outcry about "unfair advantage over their competitors in trade," can be silenced at once by throwing open the contract for the stamped cover paper to the whole trade.

¹ The absurdity of these fears of monopoly is shown by the facts now existing. I have before me a packet of "Superior Cream-laid Note Paper," called the "one pound packet, 6½d.":

It weighs over a pound, and is issued by wholesale stationers with the cover marked with the retailer's name and address!

LXXXIII. The papermakers and stationers object "on public grounds, because it is inconvenient, expensive and unnecessary ; it is inconvenient, for it leaves the consumer subject to the usual evils of a monopoly, both as respects quality, price and supply." The "quality, price and supply" are to be regulated, not by the monopolist, but by the Government. If the "quality, price and supply" are disliked by the public, they may betake themselves to paper "quality, price and supply" of which, are chiefly regulated by the papermakers. "Expensive, for the duty, which will have to be remitted, will amount to upwards of £50,000." The duty will *not* have to be remitted.

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PENNY
POSTAGE.
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LXXXIV. Before concluding this long, though still very imperfect statement, I presume to touch on a point which late experience has taught me ought not to be neglected. I allude to the instruction of the public in the details of the new system. In introducing a great and total novelty like the Penny Postage, large allowances must be made for popular stolidity and prejudices. Notwithstanding all that has been said and written, during the last two years, on this subject, public comments are rarely made that do not betray ignorance or wilful misrepresentation.

Conclusion.

The pains taken to teach the people will assuredly not be thrown away. The revenue will speedily show the result. The public must, of necessity, be told of your lordships' decision on the subject of weight, and the particular kind of stamps to be used. Advertisements will not be sufficient. There are hundreds of parishes, in Ireland especially, where a newspaper is never seen. Advertisements, too, avail far less than notices inserted in the body of a newspaper. Imperfect as is the instruction obtained by chance from a newspaper, still, on the whole, whatever may be said to the contrary, the newspaper is the most effective instructor of the people. As newspapers *must* be used, they had better be used in the best way. The public feeling in behalf of Penny Postage, would not be what it is, if the good offices of the Press had been neglected. When your lordships' decisions are formed, may I respectfully observe, that I think the success of the plan would be highly promoted by distributing a very brief and popular explanation of the rules and regulations of Penny Postage, far and wide, throughout the kingdom. A notice should be publicly exhibited at every post office, and distributed by every post office.

Instruction
of the people
in the new
system
necessary.

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One should be sent to every newspaper in the United Kingdom—to the resident clergymen and churchwardens of every parish—to every commercial association—every poor law union—municipal corporation—and to all mechanics' and literary institutions, &c.¹ When the forms of stamps are settled, specimens of them should also be widely distributed. And the country postmasters, having been instructed themselves by special agents, might be directed to teach the people the use and application of the stamp. A thousand pounds thus spent, would be returned with compound interest.

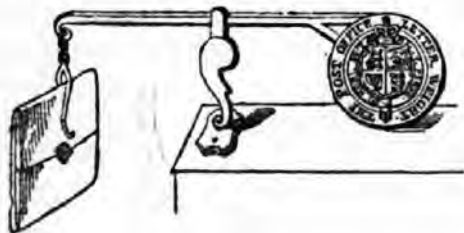
LXXXV. Should no loss of revenue accompany this great social improvement—a contingency not altogether improbable, but greatly dependent on its management—the public gratitude, hitherto alloyed with fears of new taxes, will be unmixed, and Her Majesty's Government will have the distinguished honour of giving, both to its own people and to all civilized Europe, the liberty of freely watching the experiment, and cheaply communicating with each other—a boon affecting not less the best interests of mankind than the invention of printing.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords, &c.,

HENRY COLE.

THE FIRST LETTER-WEIGHT MADE FOR THE PENNY POSTAGE.
Suggested by H. C.



A large quantity of these letter-weights were sold, but after a short time they were superseded by scales and movable weights which were supplied to the Post Office.

¹ A million notices of the size of an 8vo page, filled on both sides, would not cost more than £200.

WORK WITH THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE,
ARISING OUT OF UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

A.D. 1839-1840.

ALTHOUGH unable to join the Anti-Corn Law League actively, I had the pleasure of doing service to its organ, the "Anti-Corn Law Circular," when first started, and evidence of this I feel may be introduced in this volume, because they give the reader some of the earliest illustrations drawn by Thackeray, who, at that time, was aiming to be rather an author than a painter, having lately left Paris, where he had been studying for the Fine Arts. Cobden suggested as a subject, Poles offering bread on one side of a stream, and people starving on the other; a demon in the centre preventing the exchange. I gave the idea to Thackeray, and he returned a sketch which I have now before me, with a letter. "Dear Sir, I shall be glad to do a single drawing, series, or what you will for *money*, but I think the one you sent me" (I am not sure that it was not Cobden's own, but very rude) "would not be effective enough for the Circular: the figures are too many for so small a sized block, and the meaning mysterious—the river to be a river should occupy a deuce of a space." (Here he introduced a loose sketch.) "Even this fills up your length almost. What do you think of a howling group with this motto, 'GIVE US OUR DAILY BREAD;' the words are startling. Of course I will do the proposed design if you wish it." The design alluded to was kneeling figures, which was introduced as a heading of the "Anti-Bread Tax Circular," Wednesday, 21st April, 1841.

Mr. John Morley, in his "Life of Cobden" (p. 214), is not quite accurate in saying:—"Cobden had, at the beginning of the movement (the new Corn Law), been very near to securing the services, in the way of pictorial illustration, of a man who afterwards became very famous. This was Thackeray, then only known to a small public as the author of the 'Hoggarty Diamond.'" Thackeray's services were secured, and he made several designs. And then a letter of mine is quoted, in which I wrote to Cobden (22nd June,

ANTI-CORN
LAW
LEAGUE.

A.D.
1839-1840.

Part II.
Selections.

Thackeray's
illustrations
in "Anti-
Corn Law
Circular."

Cobden's
suggestions.

Thackeray's
objections.

ANTI-CORN
LAW
LEAGUE.

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Selections.

My letter
to Cobden.

New sketch
serg.

Thackeray's
writing and
drawing.

1839):—"Some inventor of a new mode of engraving (a Mr. Schönberg, of Hatton Garden), told Mr. Thackeray that it was applicable to the designs for the Corn Laws. Three drawings of your Anglo-Polish allegory have been made and have failed. So Thackeray has given up the invention, and wood engraving must be used (which was done by Mr. John Thompson). This will materially alter the expense. . . I hope you will think as well of the accompanying sketch—very rough, of course—as all I have shown it to, do. It was the work of only a few minutes, and I think, with its corpses, gibbet, and flying carrion crow, is as suggestive as you can wish. We both thought that a common soldier would be better understood than any more allegorical figure. It is only in part an adaptation of your idea, but I think a successful one. Figures representing eagerness of exchange, a half-clothed Pole offering bread, and a weaver, manufactures, would be idea enough for a design alone. Of course there may be any changes you please in this present design. I think for the multitude it would be well to have the ideas very simple and intelligible to all. The artist is a genius, both with his pencil and his pen. His vocation is literary. He is full of humour and feeling. Hitherto he has not had occasion to think much on the subject of Corn Laws, and therefore wants the stuff to work upon. He would like to combine both writing and drawing when sufficiently primed, and then he would write and illustrate ballads, or tales, or anything. I think you would find him a most effective auxiliary, and perhaps the best way to fill him with matter for illustrations, would be to invite him to see the weavers, their mills, shuttles, et cetera. If you like the sketch, perhaps you will return it to me, and I will put it in the way of being engraved. He will set about Lord Ashley (now Earl of Shaftesbury,) when we have heard your opinion of the present sketch. Thackeray is the writer of an article in the last number of the 'Westminster Review' on French caricatures, and many other things. For some time he managed the "Constitutional" newspaper. He is a college friend of Charles Buller. We think the idea of an ornamental emblematical reading of the Circular good. The lower class of readers do not like to have to cut the leaves of a paper. Another, but a smaller class, like a small-sized page, because it is more convenient for binding. Corn Law readers lie, I suppose, chiefly among the former. Will you

ANTI-CORN
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DESIGNS SUGGESTED BY RICHARD CORDEN, DRAWN BY WILLIAM M. THACKERAY.

ANTI-CORN
LAW
LEAGUE.

A. D.
1839-1840.

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Selections.
Circular to
Carlyle.

Letter of
Thackeray.

Cobden on
Corn Laws,
Railroads,
and Penny
Postage.

send your circular to Thomas Carlyle, Cheyne Street, Chelsea? He was quoted in last week's Circular, and is making studies into the condition of the working class."

The trials alluded to were thus related in an undated letter from Thackeray to me :—" My dear Sir,—I am very sorry to tell you of my misfortunes. I have made three etchings on the Schönberg plan, of the Anglo-Polish Allegory ; and they have all failed : that is, Schönberg considers they are not fit for his process ; that is, I fear the process will not succeed yet. I shall, however, do the drawing to-morrow on a wood-block, and will send it you *sans faute* : unless I hear from you that you are not inclined to deal with a person who has caused so much delay. Yours ever, (signed) W. M. THACKERAY." The first woodcut of the "Poles offering Corn," No. 1, is now republished as well as a second woodcut, "The Choice of a Loaf," No. 2¹ (see page 145).

I cannot leave this subject without reprinting an extract from a letter to George Combe, in which I entirely sympathize, which Mr. Morley quotes in his most interesting "Life of Cobden." "It is because I do believe that the principle of Free Trade is calculated to alter the relations of the world for the better, in a moral point of view, that I bless God I have been allowed to take a prominent part in its advocacy. Still, do not let us be too gloomy. If we can keep the world from actual war, and I trust railroads, steamboats, CHEAP POSTAGE, and our own example in Free Trade will do that, a great impulse will from this time be given to social reforms. The public mind is in a practical mood, and it will now precipitate itself upon education, temperance, reform of criminals, care of physical health, &c., with greater zeal than ever" (p. 411). And I fully agree in the opinion expressed by a colleague of Sir Robert Peel's, who, Mr. Morley says, "had unrivalled opportunities of seeing great public personages." Cobden was the most laboriously conscientious man he had ever known, and that "allowing for differences in grasp and experience, the Prince Consort was in this respect of the same type."

¹ These cuts were first printed in the "Anti-Corn Law Circular," No. 8, 23rd July, 1839, and the second in No. 18, 10th Dec., 1839. They were not republished in the volume of Thacke-

ray's drawings. The name was altered to "Anti-Bread Tax Circular" on 21st April, 1841. These engravings are rare, but can be seen in the British Museum.

SPECIMENS OF RAILWAY CHARTS.—*The South Western Line, 1845* (see page 71, Vol. I.).

17½ **Weybridge** offers scenery more varied than any other spot within the same distance of the metropolis. Hills almost as steep as mountains at the



Weybridge Lock and Bridge, near Chertsey.

south of the line—the park of Oatlands—meadows towards Chertsey—the Thames ever sparkling, musical, peaceful yet animating.



Horshill Church.



Font at Worplesdon.

Worplesdon church possesses relics of its ancient state which entitle it to a visit;—remnants of stained glass—a painting of St. Christopher, &c.



Worplesdon Church.



Worplesdon Church.

COBHAM 2 miles
HORSHILL 1
To Southampton and Gosport.

Woking

PYRFORD 2 miles
RIPLEY 3
WOKING 1

Knapp Hill to

Feeder of

Chalk begins to appear.



24

Woking

25

the Wey.

26

Whitmoor Pond

22 **Woking** is an attractive centre for the botanist, who will find hill and bog plants, and the geo-



Newark Abbey.

logist, who may, within a short distance, examine the Bagshot sand and the Weald formations. The visitor to **Newark Abbey**, about three miles from



Woking Church.



At Woking Church.

the station, if in the enjoyment of archaeological or artistic taste, will at the same time see **Woking church**, the ruins of the royal palace on the banks of the Wey.



Send Church.



At Woking.

SPECIMENS OF RAILWAY CHARTS.—*Birmingham Line, 1846* (see page 71, Vol. I.).

Little Brickhill—now a poor place, with less than 100 houses, was the assize town for Bucking-



Great Brickhill.

hamshire in the sixteenth century, and had the celebrity of possessing a gallows of its own, on the



Little Brickhill.



Woburn Market-house.

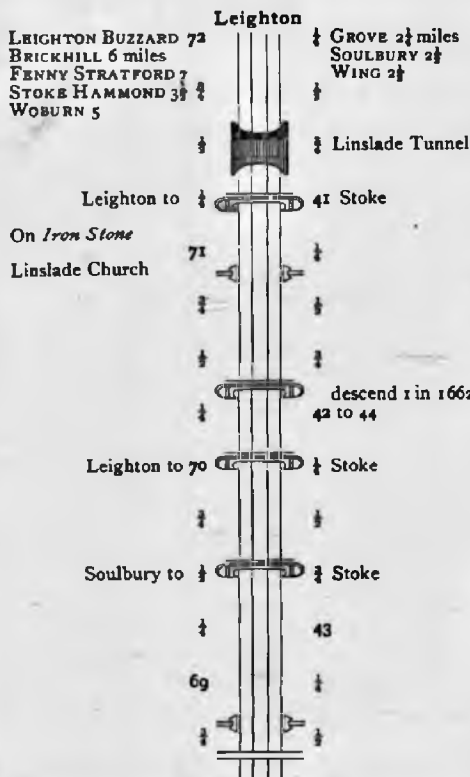
heath towards Woburn. It seems always to have been of more consequence than Great Brickhill.



Simpson.



Woburn.



Wing was of much more importance in the 15th century than at present.



Mentmore.

A priory of Benedictine monks existed at Ascot; where the park remains, though the house has disappeared. The church is perpendicular, and has some features of interest—as, indeed, what old church has not?

The country is varied, wooded and hilly.



Liscombe House.

Soulbury parish possesses one of the most ancient mansions in the county—**Liscombe House**.

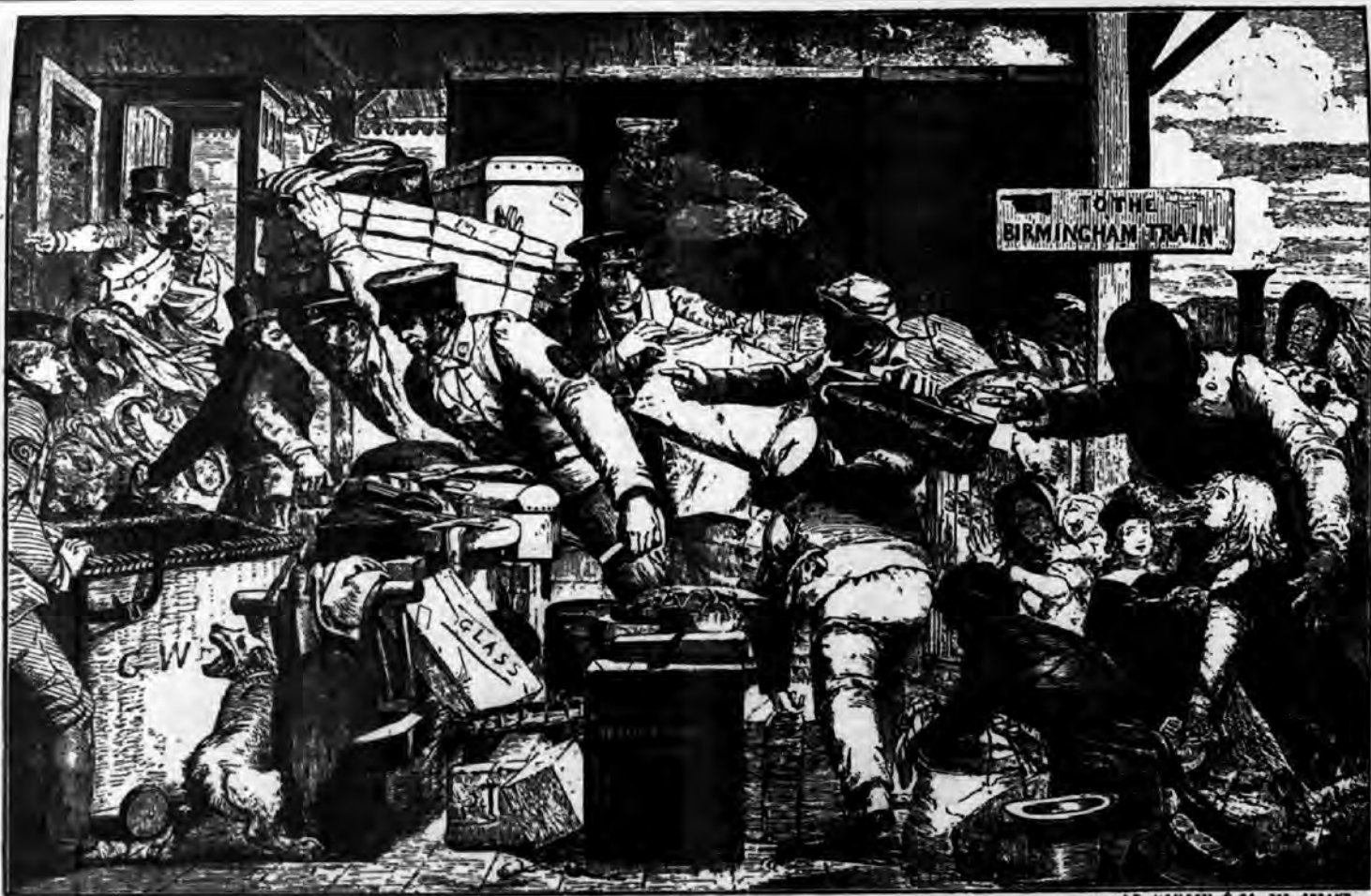


Soulbury.

The chief part is not earlier than Queen Elizabeth's time, but the chapel is as old as the 13th century.

Newton Longville church is one of William of Wykeham's, or his scholars' structures,—

worth going out of the way to see.



Designed by J. H. TOWNSHEND, engraved by THOMPSON, and published in the "Illustrated London News," 1845 (see par. VII. page 82, Vol. I.).

UNPOR-
MITY OF
GAUGE.
A.D. 1845-
1849.
Part II.
Selections.

UNIFORMITY OF GAUGE.

(See par. VII., page 82, Vol. I.)

JEAMES ON THE GAUGE QUESTION.

*"Punch," vol. x., No. 253, 16 May, 1846.*UNIFORMITY OF GAUGE.
A. D. 1846.
Part II.
Selections.

MR. PUNCH has received from that eminent railroad authority, Mr. Jeames Plush, the following letter, which bears most pathetically upon the present Gauge dispute:—



"You will scarcely praps reckonize in this little skitch the haltered linimints of I, with woos face the reders of your valluble mislry were once familiar,—the unfortnt Jeames de la Pluche, fomly so selabrated in the fashnabble suckles, now the pore Jeames Plush, landlord of the Wheel of Fortune public house. Yes, that is me; that is my haypun which I wear as becomes a publican—those is the checkers which hornymment the pillows of my dor. I am like the Romin Genral, St. Cenatus, equal to any emudgency of Fortun. I, who have drunk Shampang in my time, aint now abov droring a $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of Small Bier. As for my wife—that Angel—I've not ventured to depigt

her. Fansy her a sittn in the Bar, smilin like a sunflower—and, ho, dear 'Punch!' happy in nussing a deer little darlint totsytowsy of a Jeames, with my air to a curl, and my i's to a T!

"I never thought I should have been injuiced to write anything but a Bill agin, much less to edress you on Railway Subjix—which with all my sole I *abaw*. Railway letters, obligations to pay hup, ginteal inquirys as to my Salissator's name, &c. &c., I dispize and scorn artily. But as a man, an usbnd, a father, and a freebon Brittn,

my jewty compels me to come forwoods, and igspress my opinion upon that *nashnal newsance*—THE BREAK OF GAGE.

“An interesting ewent in a noble family with which I once very nearly had the honer of being kinected, ocourd a few weex sins, when the Lady Angelina S——, daughter of the Earl of B——res, presented the gallant Capting, her usband, with a Son & hair. Nothink would satsafy her Ladyship but that her old and atacht famdy-shamber, my wife Mary Hann Plush, should be presnt upon this hospicious occasion. Capting S—— was not jellus of me on account of my former attachment to his Lady. I cunsented that my Mary Hann should attend her, and me, my wife, and our dear babby acawdingly set out for our noable frend's residence, Honeymoon Lodge, near Cheltenham.

“Sick of all Railroads myself, I wisht to poast it in a Chay and 4, but Mary Hann, with the hobstenacy of her Sex, was bent upon Railroad travelling, and I yealded, like all husbinds. We set out by the Great Westn, in an eavle Hour.

“We didnt take much luggitch—my wife's things in the ushal bandboxes—mine in a potmancho. Our dear little James Angelo's (called so in complament to his noble Godmamma) craddle, and a small supply of a few 100 weight of Topsanbawtems, Farinashious food, and Lady's fingers, for that dear child who is now 6 months old, with a *perdidgus appatite*. Likewise we were charged with a bran new Medsan chest for my lady, from Skivary & Moris, containing enough rewubub, Daffy's Alixir, Godfrey's, with a few score of parsles for Lady Hangelina's family and owsehold. About 2000 spessymins of Babby linning from Mrs. Flummary's, in Regent Street, a Chayny Cresning bowl from old Lady Bareacres (big enough to immus a Halderman), & a case marked 'Glass,' from her ladyship's meddicle man, which were stowed away together; had to this an ormylew Cradle, with rose-coloured Satting & Pink lace hangings, held up by a gold tuttle-dove, &c. We had, including James Hangelo's rattle & my umbrellow, 73 packidges in all.

“We got on very well as far as Swindon, where, in the Splendid Refreshment room, there was a galaxy of lovely gals in cottn velvet spencers, who serves out the soop, and 1 of whom maid an impresshn upon this Art which I shoodn't like Mary Hann to know—and here, to our infanit disgust, we changed carridges. I forgot

UNIFORMITY OF GAUGE.
A. D. 1846.
Part II.
Selections.

to say that we were in the secknd class, having with us James Hangelo, and 23 other light harticles.

“Fust inconvenience ; and almost as bad as break of gage. I cast my hi upon the gal in cottn velvet, and wanted some soop, of coarse ; but seasing up James Hangelo (who was layin his dear little pors on an Am Sangwidg) and seeing my igspresshn of hi—‘James,’ says Mary Hann, ‘instead of looking at that young lady—and not so *very* young, neither—be pleased to look to our pack-idges, & place them, in the other carridge.’ I did so with an evy Art. I eranged them 23 articles in the opsit carridg, only missing my umbrella & baby’s rattle ; and jest as I came back for my baysn of soop, the beast of a bell rings, the whizzling injians proclayms the time of our departure,—& farewell soop and cottn velvet. Mary Hann was sulky. She said it was my losing the umbrella. If it had been a *cotton velvet umberella* I could have understood. James Hangelo sittn on my knee was evidently unwell ; without his coral : & for 20 miles that blessid babby kep up a rawring, which caused all the passingers to simpithize with him igseedingly.

“We arrive at Gloster, and there fancy my disgust at bein ableged to undergo another change of carriages ! Fancy me holding up moughs, tippits, cloaks, and baskits, and James Hangelo rawring still like mad, and pretending to shuperintend the carrying over of our luggage from the broad gage to the narrow gage. ‘Mary Hann,’ says I, rot to desperation, ‘I shall throttle this darling if he goes on.’ ‘Do,’ says she—‘and *go into the refreshment* room,’ says she—a snatchin the babby out of my arms. ‘Do go,’ says she, ‘youre not fit to look after luggage,’ and she began lulling James Hangelo to sleep with one hi, while she looked after the packets with the other. ‘Now, Sir ! if you please, mind that packet !—pretty darling—easy with that box, Sir, its glass—pooooty poppet—where’s the deal case, marked arrowroot, No. 24?’ she cried, reading out of a list she had.—And poor little James went to sleep. The porters were bundling and carting the various harticles with no more ceremony than if each package had been of cannon-ball.

“At last—bang goes a package marked ‘Glass,’ and containing the Chayny bowl and Lady Bareacres’ mixture, into a large white bandbox, with a crash and a smash. ‘It’s My Lady’s box from

Crinoline's!' cries Mary Hann; and she puts down the child on the bench, and rushes forward to inspect the damidge. You could hear the chayny bowls clinking inside; and Lady B.'s mixture (which had the igsack smell of cherry brandy) was dribbling out over the smashed handbox containing a white child's cloak, trimmed with Blown lace and lined with white satting.

"As James was asleep, and I was by this time uncommon hungry, I thought I *would* go into the Refreshment Room and just take a little soup; so I wrapped him up in his cloak and laid him by his mamma, and went off. There's not near such good attendance as at Swindon.

* * * * *

"We took our places in the carriage in the dark, both of us covered with a pile of packages, and Mary Hann so sulky that she would not speak for some minutes. At last she spoke out—

"'Have you all the small parcels?'

"'Twenty-three in all,' says I.

"'Then give me baby.'

"'GIVE YOU WHAT?' says I.

"'Give me baby.'

"'What haven't y-y-yooooo got him?' says I.

* * * * *

"O Mussy! You should have heard her squeak! *We'd left him on the ledge at Gloster.*

"It all came of the break of gage."

MR. JEAMES AGAIN.

"*Punch*," vol. x., No. 257, 13 June, 1846.

"DEAR MR. PUNCH,

AS newmarus inquiries have been maid both at my privit ressddence, The Wheel of Fortune Otel, and at your Hoffis, regarding the fate of that dear babby, James Hangelog, whose primmiture dissapearnts caused such hagnies to his distracted parents, I must begg, dear Sir, the permission to ockupy a part of

your valuble collams once more, and hease the public mind about my blessid boy.

“Wictims of that nashnal cuss, the Broken Gage, me and Mrs. Plush was left in the train to Cheltenham, sougtring from that most disagreeble of complaints, a halmost *broken Art*. The skreems of Mrs. Jeames might be said almost to out-Y the squeel of the dying, as we rusht into that fashnable Spaw, and my pore Mary Hann found it was not Baby, but Bundles I had in my lapp.

“When the old Dowidger, Lady Bareacres, who was waiting heagerly at the train, that owing to that abawminable brake of Gage, the luggitch, her Ladyship's Cherrybrandy box, the cradle for Lady Hangelina's baby, the lace, crockary and chany, was re-juiced to one immortal smash; the old cat howld at me and pore dear Mary Hann, as if it was huss, and not the infunnle Brake of Gage, was to blame; and as if we ad no misfortns of our hown to deplaw. She bust out about my stupid imparence; called Mary Hann a good for nothink creecher, and wep and abewsd and took on about her broken Chayny Bowl, a great deal mor than she did about a dear little Christian child. ‘Don't talk to me about your bratt of a babby,’ (seshe); ‘where's my bowl?—where's my medsan?—where's my bewtiffle Pint lace?—All in rewins through your stupiddaty, you brute, you!’

“‘Bring your haction against the Great Western, Maam, says I,’ quite riled by this crewel and unfealing hold wixen. ‘Ask the pawters at Gloster, why your goods is spiled—it's not the fust time they've been asked the question. Git the gage haltered against the nex time you send for *medsan*—and meanwild buy some at the Plow—they keep it very good and strong there, I'll be bound. Has for us, *w're* a going back to the cussid station at Gloster, in such of our blessid child.’

“‘You don't mean to say, young woman,’ seshee, ‘that you're not going to Lady Hangelina: what's her dear boy to do? who's to nuss it?’

“‘*You* nuss it, Maam,’ says I. ‘Me and Mary Hann return this momint by the Fly.’ And so (whishing her a suckastic ajew) Mrs. Jeames and I lep into a one oss weakle, and told the driver to go like mad back to Gloster.

“I can't describe my pore gals hagny juring our ride. She sat in the carridge as silent as a milestone, and as madd as a march

Air. When we got to Gloster she sprang hout of it as wild as a Tigris, and rusht to the station, up to the fatle Bench.

“ ‘My child, my child,’ shreex she, in a hoss, hot voice. ‘Where’s my infant? a little bewtifle child, with blue eyes,—dear Mr. Policeman, give it me—a thousand guineas for it.’

“ ‘Faix, Mam,’ says the man, a Hirishman, ‘and the divvle a babby have I seen this day except thirteen of my own—and you’re welcome to any one of *them*, and kindly.’

“ As if *his* babby was equal to ours, as my darling Mary Hann said, afterwards. All the station was scrouging round us by this time—pawters & clark and refreshmint people and all. What’s this year row about that there babby?’ at last says the Inspector, stepping hup. I thought my wife was going to jump into his harms. ‘Have you got him?’ says she.

“ ‘Was it a child in a blue cloak?’ says he.

“ ‘And blue eyes!’ says my wife.

“ ‘I put a label on him and sent him on to Bristol; he’s there by this time. The Guard of the Mail took him and put him in a letter-box,’ says he: ‘he went 20 minutes ago. We found him on the broad gauge line, and sent him on by it, in course,’ says he. ‘And it’ll be a caution to you, young woman, for the future, to label your children along with the rest of your luggage.’

“ If my piguniary means had been such as *once* they was, you may emadgine I’d have ad a speshle train and been hoff like smoak. As it was, we was obliged to wait 4 mortal hours for the next train (4 ears they seemed to us), and then away we went.

“ ‘My boy! my little boy!’ says poor, choking Mary Hann, when we got there. ‘A parcel in a blue cloak,’ says the man? ‘No body claimed him here, and so we sent him back by the mail. An Irish nurse here gave him some supper, and he’s at Paddington by this time. Yes,’ says he, looking at the clock, ‘he’s been there these ten minutes.’

“ But seeing my poor wife’s distracted histarricle state, this good-naturd man says, ‘I think, my dear, there’s a way to ease your mind. We’ll know in five minutes how he is.’

“ ‘Sir,’ says she, ‘don’t make sport of me.’

“ ‘No, my dear, we’ll *telegraph* him.’

“ And he began hoppersating on that singlar and ingenus elect-

UNIFORMITY OF GAUGE.
A.D. 1846.
Part II.
Selections.

tricle invention, which aniliates time, and carries intellagence in the twinkling of a peg-post.

“ ‘I’ll ask,’ says he, ‘for child marked G. W. 273.’

“ ‘Back comes the telegraph with the sign ‘All right.’

“ ‘Ask what he’s doing, sir,’ says my wife, quite amazed. Back comes the answer in a Jiffy—

“ ‘C.R.Y.I.N.G.’



“ This caused all the bystanders to laugh excep my pore Mary Hann, who pull’d a very sad face.

“ ‘The good-naterd feller presently said, ‘he’d have another trile;’ and what d’ye think was the answer? I’m blest if it wasn’t—

“ ‘P.A.P.’

“He was eating pap! There’s for you—there’s a rogue for you—there’s a March of Intaleck! Mary Hann smiled now for the fust time. ‘He’ll sleep now,’ says she. And she sat down with a full hart.

UNIFORMITY OF GAUGE. A.D. 1846. Part II. Selections.

* * * * *

“If hever that good-natered Shoopintendent comes to London, *he* need never ask for his skore at the Wheel of Fortune Hotel, I promise you—where me and my wife and James Hangelo now is; and where only yesterday, a gent came in and drew this pictur of us in our bar.

“And if they go on breaking gages; and if the child, the most precious luggidge of the Henglishman, is to be bundled about in this year way, why it won’t be for want of warning, both from Professor Harris, the Commission, and from

“My dear *Mr. Punch’s* obeajent servant,

“JEAMES PLUSH.”

A LIST OF BOOKS, MAPS, &C., ILLUSTRATIVE OF LINCOLNSHIRE AND THE ROUTE TO GREAT GRIMSBY, &C. Collected on the occasion of Prince Albert’s visit to Great Grimsby, and arranged in the Prince’s saloon for consultation during the journey. (See par. XVII., p. 93, Vol. I.)

GRIMSBY DOCKS. A.D. 1849. Part II. Selections.

1. Britton’s Lincoln Cathedral, with Wild’s plates.
2. Britton’s Peterborough Cathedral.
3. Sir Charles Anderson’s Guide to the County of Lincoln.
4. Plan of the City of Lincoln.
5. Plan of Roman Lincoln.
6. Geological Map.
7. Case of Geological and Fossil Specimens.
8. Copies of Sidney’s Agriculture and Railways.
9. Copies of Railway Charts to Rugby and Cambridge. (The latter superfluous, as no part of Eastern Counties is used on this occasion.)
10. Account of Grimsby Docks printed on Vellum.
11. Plan of the Docks prepared by Mr. Rendel.

ORDER OF THE CEREMONIES
FOR LAYING THE
FIRST STONE OF GREAT GRIMSBY DOCKS,

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT,

On Wednesday, 18th April, 1849.

The Corporation of Great Grimsby will present an Address to the Prince at Great Grimsby Station.

A Procession will be formed of a train of carriages to convey the Prince, the Directors and Officers of the Dock Company, the Corporation of Great Grimsby, the Visitors at Brocklesby, and Military Band, to the Docks.

Upon arrival at the Entrance of the Dock Works, the Prince's Carriage will stop immediately in sight of the Vista of Masonry. The Engine will be dismissed, and the train drawn along the Works by fifty of the "Navvies" of the Docks.

(Salutes to be fired upon entering the Works.)

The Procession will proceed along the Outer Line of Railway, in sight of the Fleet under the command of Admiral Elliott, C.B., and of the Dock Works.

Upon arriving at the Amphitheatre, the Prince, &c., will alight from the carriages, and the procession will proceed down the centre of the Amphitheatre to the first stone.

(Salutes to be fired upon arrival at the first stone.)

THE CEREMONIES AT THE FIRST STONE WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:—

All the military bands will play the National Anthem.

The Secretary of the Company, Colonel Humfrey, will take charge of the Inscription, or Depositum Plate; Mr. Fowler, of the Glass Vessel to hold the Coins; Mr. Cole, of the Purse and Coins; Mr. Adam Smith, of the Trowel; Mr. Rendel, of the Plan of the Docks.

H.R.H. Prince Albert will place the Coins in the Glass Vessel, and close the stopper.

The Earl of Yarborough will hand the Trowel to the Prince and state the object of the Works.

The Prince will lay the Stone and place the Glass Vessel in the place of deposit.

GRIMSBY
DOCKS.
A.D. 1849.
Part II.
Selections.

Mr. Rendel will read the following Inscription :—

“The first Stone of the Great Grimsby Docks was laid by H.R.H. Prince Albert on the 18th day of April, in the Year of our Lord 1849, and in the twelfth year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.”

MAY GOD PROTECT THESE DOCKS!

Prayer by the Bishop of Lincoln.

The Bands will play the National Anthem.

(Salutes to be fired.)

The Procession will form and conduct the Prince to his tent. The Company having tickets will take their seats in the Pavilion.

The Prince will enter the Pavilion when the Company is seated.

At the appointed time the Prince will leave the Pavilion and return by the same train, drawn by the Navvies.

The Bands will play “Rule Britannia.”

(Salutes to be fired.)

(See par. XVII., p. 93, Vol. I.)



WORK WITH TECHNICAL ARTS AND ART MANUFACTURES.

FELIX SUMMERLY'S HOME TREASURY OF BOOKS,
PICTURES, TOYS, ETC.,

EDITED BY FELIX SUMMERLY.

*Purposed to cultivate the Affections, Fancy, Imagination, and
Taste of Children.*

(See par. IV. page 101, Vol. I.)

ORIGINAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE HOME TREASURY.

TECHNICAL
ARTS AND
ART MANU-
FACTURES.

A. D.
1841-1840.
Part II.
Selections.

THE character of most Children's Books published during the last quarter of a century, is fairly typified in the name of Peter Parley, which the writers of some hundreds of them have assumed. The books themselves have been addressed after a narrow fashion, almost entirely to the cultivation of the understanding of children. The many tales sung or said from time immemorial, which appealed to the other, and certainly not less important elements of a little child's mind, its fancy, imagination, sympathies, affections, are almost all gone out of memory, and are scarcely to be obtained. Little Red Riding Hood, and other fairy tales hallowed to children's use, are now turned into ribaldry as satires for men; as for the creation of a new fairy tale or touching ballad, such a thing is unheard of. That the influence of all this is hurtful to children, the conductor of this series firmly believes. He has practical experience of it every day in his own family, and he doubts not that there are many others who entertain the same

Announce-
ment of the
Home
Treasury.



“Old Mother Hubbard
Went to the cupboard
To give her poor dog a bone.”

By THOMAS WEBSTER, R.A.

REDUCTIONS OF DESIGNS

made by

DISTINGUISHED ARTISTS

for

Summerly's Home Treasury.



“‘To bed, to bed,’ says Sleepy Head ;
‘Let’s stay awhile,’ says Slow ;
‘Put on the pot,’ say Greedy Sot,
‘We’ll sup before we go.’”

By JOHN LINNELL.



“Bye, O, my baby.
When I was a lady,
O, then, my poor babe didn’t cry.”

By RICHARD REDGRAVE, R.A.





“The King was in the Counting House
Counting out his money.”

By J. C. HORSLEY, R.A.

REDUCTIONS OF DESIGNS

made by

DISTINGUISHED ARTISTS

for

Summerly's Home Treasury.



“The Cat sat asleep by the fire ;
The Mistress snored loud as a pig ;
Jack took up his fiddle, by Jenny's desire.
And struck up a bit of a jig.”

By JOHN LINNELL.



“Jack and the Bean-stalk.”

By C. W. COPE, R.A.

opinions as himself. He purposes at least to give some evidence of his belief, and to produce a series of Works, the character of which may be briefly described as anti-Peter Parleyism.

Some will be new Works, some new combinations of old materials, and some reprints carefully cleared of impurities, without deterioration to the points of the story. All will be illustrated, but not after the usual fashion of children's books, in which it seems to be assumed that the lowest kind of art is good enough to give first impressions to a child. In the present series, though the statement may perhaps excite a smile, the illustrations will be selected from the works of Raffaele, Titian, Hans Holbein, and other old masters. Some of the best modern Artists have kindly promised their aid in creating a taste for beauty in little children.

In addition to the printed Works, some few Toys of a novel sort, calculated to promote the same object, will from time to time be published.

The works published were :—

1. Holbein's Bible Events. First Series, 8 Pictures. Coloured, 4s. 6d. These were coloured by Mr. Linnell's sons.

2. Raffaele's Bible Events. Second Series. 6 Pictures from the Loggie. Coloured, 5s. 6d. Drawn on stone by Mr. Linnell's children and coloured by them.

3. Albert Durer's Bible Events. Third Series. 6 Pictures from Durer's "Small Passion." Coloured by the brothers Linnell.

4. Traditional Nursery Songs. 8 Pictures. 2s. 6d. Coloured, 4s. 6d. Designed: "The Beggars coming to Town," by C. W. Cope, R.A.; "By, O my Baby!" by R. Redgrave, R.A.; "King in the Counting House," by J. C. Horsley, R.A.; "Mother Hubbard," by T. Webster, R.A.; "1, 2, 3, 4, 5," "Sleepy Head," "Up in a Basket," "Cat asleep by the Fire" (all four by John Linnell).

5. The Ballad of Sir Hornbook. Written by Thos. Love Peacock, with 8 Pictures by H. Corbould. Coloured, 4s. 6d.

6. Chevy Chase. The Two Ballads with Notes and Music. 4 Pictures by Frederick Tayler, President of the Water Colour Society. Coloured, 4s. 6d.

7. Puck's Reports to Oberon. Four New Faery Tales. The Sisters. Golden Locks. Grumble and Cheery. Arts and Arms. Written by C. A. Cole. With 6 Pictures by H. J. Townsend. Coloured, 4s. 6d.

TECHNICAL
ARTS AND
ART MANU-
FACTURES.
A. D.
1841-1849-
Part II.
Selections.

List of
Works in the
Home
Treasury.

TECHNICAL
ARTS AND
ART MANU-
FACTURES.
A. D.
1847-1849.
Part II.
Selections.

8. Little Red Riding Hood. With 4 Pictures by Thos. Webster. Coloured, 3s. 6d.
9. Beauty and the Beast. With 4 Pictures by J. C. Horsley, R. A. 2s. Coloured, 3s. 6d.
10. Jack and the Bean Stalk. With 4 Pictures by C. W. Cope. 2s. Coloured, 3s. 6d.
11. Cinderella. With 4 Pictures by Wehnert. Coloured, 3s. 6d.
12. Jack the Giant Killer. With 4 Pictures by C. W. Cope, Coloured, 3s. 6d.
13. The Home Treasury Primer. Printed in Colours. With Drawing, on zinc, by W. Mulready, R.A.
14. Alphabets of Quadrupeds. Selected from the Works of Paul Potter, Karl du Jardin, Teniers, Stoop, Rembrandt, &c., and drawn from Nature.
15. The pleasant History of Reynard the Fox. With 40 Etchings by Everdingen. Coloured, 31s. 6d.
16. A Century of Fables. Selected from Æsop, Pilpay, Gay, La Fontaine, and others. With Pictures by the Old Masters.
17. The Little Painter's Portfolio. With 10 Coloured and 4 Plain Pictures by Giotto, S. Del Piombo, Holbein, Everdingen, and Modern Artists. 7s. 6d.
18. Colour Box for Little Painters. With 10 best Colours (including Cobalt, Lake, and Indian Yellow), Slab and Brushes. Hints and Directions and Specimens of Mixed Tints. 6s. 6d. Soon after the production of this box the Society of Arts issued a Prize for a colour-box, and obtained one as good as this, which sold for one shilling!
19. Tessellated Pastime. A Toy formed out of Minton's Mosaics with Book of Patterns. 6s. Double Box, 7s. 6d.
20. Box of Terra Cotta Bricks. Geometrically made, one eighth the size of real Bricks, by Minton, with Plans and Elevations.

EXPERIMENTS IN TECHNICAL PROCESSES.

(See p. 102, Vol. I.)

When the handbook to the National Gallery was projected, Mr. Linnell contracted with me to execute a fixed number of Engravings in Glyphography, which was much cheaper than Wood Engraving and had the advantage of being the work of the artists. A copper-plate was covered with a thin layer of wax, and the draw-



THE FIRST CHRISTMAS CARD, ISSUED IN 1846.





ing was cut through the wax with a graver and then an electrotype taken. The following are the first trials made, and then Mr. Linnell engraved Titian's "Venus and Adonis" (p. 164). His sons were his sub-contractors, and they made efforts with the

TECHNICAL
PROCESSES
AND ART
MANUFACTURES.

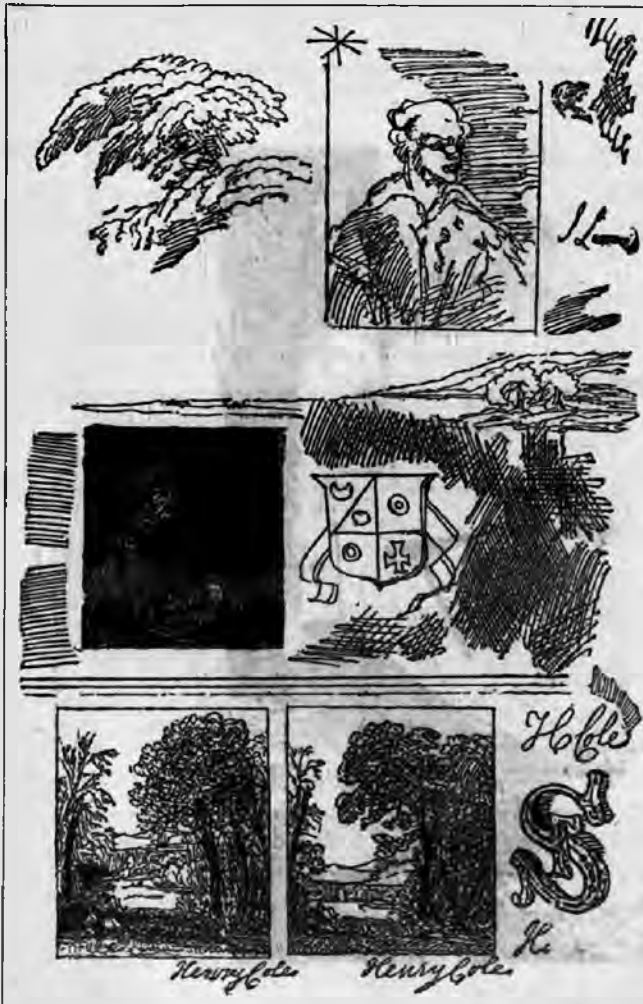
A. D.
1841-1849.
Part II.
Selections.

A. D. 1843.

Technical
processes.

Experiments
by J. Lin-
nell, senior.

By H. Cole.



EXPERIMENTS IN GLYPHOGRAPHY.

process, but were disgusted with it, and actually taught themselves wood engraving to fulfil the engagement. They adopted the manner of Bewick, a very natural method, which was to blacken the surface of the wood block and cut the forms in white. They succeeded admirably.

TECHNICAL
PROCESSES,
AND ART
MANUFACT-
TURES.

A. D.
1841-1849.
Part II.
Selections.
A. D. 1843.

By John
Linnell,
senior.



VENUS AND ADONIS. By Titian.

By John
Linnell,
senior.



MERCURY AND WOODMAN. By Salvator Rosa.

By James
Linnell.



A BACCHANALIAN DANCE. By Nicholas Poussin.



HOME TREASURY SERIES.

SPECIMENS OF MULREADY'S ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE MOTHER'S
PRIMER.





HOME TREASURY SERIES.

MULREADY'S EXPERIMENTS IN GLYPHOGRAPHY.

TECHNICAL
PROCESSES
AND ART
MANUFACTURES.

A. D.
1841-1849.

Part II.
Selections.

A. D. 1843.



BACCHUS AND ARIADNE. By Titian.
Engraved on Wood. By James Linnell.



THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.
On Wood. By James Linnell, 1843.

ALBERT DURER'S "SMALL PASSION."

(See p. 102, Vol. I.)

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THE earliest examples of mediæval wood engraving were produced on pear-tree wood, cut across the grain at the sides. Albert Durer's works were so engraved. Mr. Josi, keeper of the Print Room in the British Museum, brought to my notice the woodcuts of Albert Durer's "Small Passion," and obtained permission to have stereotypes made of them. I published them in an edition of the "Small Passion" in 1844, and reprint here the preface to the work.¹

Albert Durer's *early* life, like that of many of the most eminent mediæval Artists, was passed in the workshop of a *Goldsmith*. He was the son and grandson of a goldsmith, but he left his father's craft in his sixteenth year, to become a *Student of Painting* under *Michael Wolgemuth*. He was an indefatigable Artist in all branches of Art up to the time of his death. We find his well-known monogram on Paintings,² Sculptures,³ Engra-

¹ "The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, pourtrayed by Albert Durer, edited by Henry Cole, an Assistant-Keeper of the Public Records. London: Joseph Cundall. 1844."

² The Paintings of Albert Durer are by no means common in this country. The best specimen in the metropolis is an altar-piece in three parts, in the Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace, which formerly belonged to Charles I., and is described in James the Second's Catalogue as "Our Lady with Christ in her lap with a coronet on her head; two fryars by them and two doors." Mrs. Jameson has given a full account of it in her *Companion to private Picture Galleries*, p. 23. There is a Portrait of a Youth by him (No. 303), and a St. Jerome, said to be after Albert Durer (No. 563), at Hampton Court Palace. In the Sutherland Gallery is a small paint-

ing on copper of the Death of the Virgin. (See Mrs. Jameson ut supra, p. 204.)

³ In the Print Room of the British Museum is a specimen of Albert Durer's wonderful powers of sculpture in lithographic, or hone-stone, not quite eight inches high, and about five and a half wide. In this small space are sculptured in very high relief, an interior, with a woman lying in bed, called St. Elizabeth, and as many as eight figures, besides a dog, furniture, &c. the scene being intended to represent the Naming of St. John. A figure of a young man entering is said to represent Albert Durer himself. The expression and character given to heads not larger than the size of a little finger's nail, are a most marvellous exhibition of executive power; of itself refuting the idea that the same hand should have engraved so rudely

vings,¹ Etchings (which process he is said to have invented), Drawings on Wood, Ornamental designs of all kinds. In the practice of all he obtained an eminence, which places him at the head of the Artists of his own country, and in the first rank of his Italian contemporaries, Raffaele, Michael Angelo, and Leonardo da Vinci, &c. Like these great men, Albert Durer was not *only* a Painter. He left treatises on *Fortification*, *Mensuration*, and the *Proportions of the Human Body*, the chief part of which have been published oftentimes; and his *original manuscripts* of them, fancifully written in party-coloured inks, exist in the *British Museum*. (Nos. 5228 to 5231 of Additional MSS.) His journals, &c. show him to have been in communication with most of his great contemporaries; Raffaele, Mabuse, Lucas van Leyden, Quintyn Matsys, Melancthon, Erasmus, Luther, &c. Of the two last he bequeathed to us portraits. Nuremberg was the place of his birth and of his death. He was born on the 20th May, 1471, and died 6 April, 1528, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Those, who may desire further information on Albert Durer's life, will find many details of it given in the "Treatise on Wood Engraving," published by Messrs. Knight, and Dr. Nagler's works hereafter noticed.²

The engravings of the present work are called by Albert Durer himself the "*Small Passion*," "*die Kleine Passion*," to distinguish them from a set of larger engravings of the same subject—

the wood cuts attributed to him. This sculpture bears the date of 1510, the same as a woodcut (No. 93, Bartsch) of the Life of the Virgin, to which it has a strong general resemblance. It was purchased by Payne Knight at Brussels, for five hundred guineas, and bequeathed by him to the British Museum, of which it is one of its choicest treasures, alone well repaying a visitation.

¹ The Print Room of the British Museum possesses a volume of Albert Durer's original sketches and drawings, in chalk, charcoal, pencil, pen and ink, on paper of all sizes and colours. Of all subjects; portraits, sacred compositions, anatomy, natural history, ornaments. It is numbered

5,218 of the additional MSS. and in the Catalogue it is stated to have "belonged to Lord Arundel, and that the genuine drawings by Albert Durer were probably part of the collection of Bilibald Pirkheimer," a friend and correspondent of Albert Durer, who engraved his burly-looking portrait on copper. The second edition of this work was thus dedicated by the monk Chelidonius: "Vnildualdo Pirchamero viro patricio litteris & græcis & latinis doctissime erudito."

² See the History of the Life of Albrecht Durer by Mrs. Charles Heaton. London, Macmillan & Co., 1870. Also, Albert Durer, his Life and Works, by W. B. Scott. London, Longmans, 1869.

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"the *Large Passion*,"¹ "*die Grosse Passion*," and another set of small engravings on copper, of exquisite beauty of execution, which the author names the "*Passion in Kupffer*."² The "*Small Passion*" appears by the dates (A. D. 1509 and 1510) on several of the subjects,³ to have been executed whilst Albert Durer was in the meridian of his practice as a designer on wood. For though his wood engravings of the *Apocalypse*⁴ were published as early as 1498, his most important and best works, *The History of the Virgin*,⁵ the *Large Passion*, and the *present work* were executed between 1509 and 1512. The present work, with the exception of two subjects, is taken from the original engravings drawn by Albert Durer himself on the wood, and engraved under his own superintendence. Two editions at least of these engravings were printed by Albert Durer in Germany; a third edition a century later, at Venice; and the present, it is believed, makes the fourth edition of the *genuine* blocks. I say *genuine* blocks, for so great was the popularity and estimation of the work, that there has been more than one obvious imitation of them, besides several avowed copies constantly circulating throughout Europe. The "*Small Passion*" is stated by all

¹ Passio Domini nostri Jesu, ex Hieronymo Paduano, Dominico Mancino, Sedulio, et Baptista Mantuano, per fratrem Chelidonium collecta, cum figuris Alberti Dureri Norici Pictoris. Eleven cuts, each $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and varying from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, besides the title-page.

² A series of sixteen subjects, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; bearing the dates of 1508, 9, 11, 12, 13.

³ Bartsch (*Le Peintre Graveur*, vol. vii. p. 120) says, "Toutes ces pièces

Nr. 18, l'annee 1510" (Adam and Eve driven forth from Paradise), "et Nr. 31, l'annee 1509" (Jesus brought before Herod of present edition). This is not correct, for there are two others with dates, namely, Jesus bearing his Cross, 1509, and St. Veronica, 1510.

⁴ This work, entitled in ornamental German letters, "*Apocalipsis cum figuris*," was Albert Durer's first publication of wood engravings. It consists of sixteen subjects, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 and $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was printed at Nuremberg 1498.

⁵ The second of his most important works on wood: a series of twenty cuts (see Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, vol. vii. p. 131, Nos. 76 to 95 inclusive), each $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, executed in 1511. On the last, "*Impressum Nurnberge per Albertum Durer pictorem. Anno Christiano Millesimo quingentesimo undecimo.*"



portent le monogramme de Durer" [which is correct], "mais il n'y en a que deux qui aient une date savoir :

writers on the subject, Bartsch, Heinecke, Ottley, Nagler, &c. to have consisted originally of thirty-seven subjects. Not one of these writers seems himself to have seen, or compared together all the editions he speaks of; and there is some confusion in their various accounts of them. All agree that the *earliest* edition was published without any accompanying letter-press. Dr. Nagler thus describes the title-page of the first edition: "Nach Heinecke," says he, "wäre folgende die erste Ausgabe. Ueber dem Holzschnitt mit dem leidenden Heiland, ist mit beweglichen Lettern gedrückt

Figuræ
Passionis Domini
Nostri Jesu Christi.

Und am Ende: finit impressum Nornbergae 1511."

(See—*Neues Allgemeines Künstler. Lexicon bearbeitet von Dr. G. R. Nagler* band, p. 537. München, 1836-7.) I have never been able to meet with a title-page so arranged, except in an imitation of the *Small Passion*, of which mention will be made hereafter. Of all the engravings of this work, the *sitting Christ* on the frontispiece is by far the most rare. There are two sets of impressions from the *original* blocks in the *British Museum*. The title-page of one of these sets, (that in the volume bequeathed by *Mr. Nollekens* to *Mr. Douce*, with reversion to the *Museum*), is arranged as follows:

FIGURÆ PASSIO
nis Domini nostri Jesu
Christi

above the figure of the *sitting Christ*. It is different in character and paper, is very inferior to all the rest of the set, and certainly is not an impression from the *original* block, but from the copy. The set itself consists of a miscellaneous collection of impressions, all without any letter-press. The other set, formerly in the *Crachode* collection, has no letter-press, and wants the title-page. A search has been altogether vain to discover a *first* edition, bound as a volume, and consisting of the thirty-seven cuts apparently issued originally together. The *second* edition of the genuine blocks was published with the title, of which an exact copy is given in this edition. On the reverse I have printed a copy of the last page of the *second* edition, which shows the date of its publication, and denounces *piracies* of the work, directed doubtless against

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Various
editions of
Albert
Durer's
"Small Pas-
sion."

Marc Antonio. The verses of Chelidonium were printed at the back of the Engravings. A perfect set of this second edition is also very rare. Neither the *British Museum* nor the *Bodleian*, nor any *Oxford Library*, nor even the late *Mr. Douce's Library* possesses a copy; and the only *complete copy* I have been able to find after a long search, belongs to Col. Durrant. The *third* edition of the genuine woodcuts was published at Venice, in 1612, by a Librarian who, according to Heinecke, purchased them in the Netherlands. The following is its title, "La Passione di N. S. Giesv Christo d'Alberto Durero di Norimberga. Sposta in ottava rima dal R. P. D. Mauritio Moro, Canon. della Congr. di S. Giorgio in Alega. In Venetia M.DCXII. appresso Daniel Bissucco." This edition wants the figure of the *sitting Christ* on the title-page, and a *copper-plate engraving* of Albert Durer's portrait is substituted for it, with the legend, "Imago Alberti Dureri 1553. Ætatis suæ LVI." I have never seen but one perfect copy of this edition, which is in the possession of Mr. Pickering. There is no copy in the *British Museum*, or at *Oxford*. Bartsch (*le Peintre Graveur*, vol. vii. p. 122.) mentions it, but does not appear ever to have seen it; and he raises the doubt whether the blocks used in it were not copies. But this conjecture is unfounded, for a comparison of this edition with the finest and earliest impressions establishes beyond a doubt that it was printed from the *original* blocks:¹ it is no less certain that the Engravings republished in the present volume are from the *same* blocks. Thirty-five out of the thirty-seven of them have found a secure resting place in the *British Museum*. They were purchased in 1839, by *Mr. Josi*, the present keeper of the prints, from the *Rev. P. E. Boissier*, whose father bought them many years ago in Italy. The *Rev. P. E. Boissier* informs me that his father accidentally met with them at *Rome*: but that he knows no other particulars of their history. It is certainly quite possible that they may have travelled from *Venice* to *Rome* since 1612; but in the absence of any precise information about them, it seems most likely that *Mr. Boissier* may have

¹ Among many curious evidences of the fact may be instanced the *cracks*, which cause certain *white* lines in the cut of the *Mount of Olives*;—one passing just through the right shoulder

of *St. Peter*, and the other through the rock near the left arm of *Christ*. These lines will be found in *all* the editions of the genuine blocks, but not in the spurious copies.

bought them at *Venice*, and not at *Rome*. They are the same blocks which *Mr. Ottley* mentions (*v. History of Engraving*, p. 5.) as having been in the possession of *Mr. Douce*. The blocks have suffered somewhat from age and wear. Some are worm-eaten, and the border lines throughout are broken. The four impressions of these blocks which were printed by *Mr. Ottley* in his *History of Engraving* (p. 730) show the extent of the damage which the blocks have suffered. But in the present edition of them, the defects have been remedied by using *stereotype* casts of the blocks, which have been taken by a special permission of the trustees of the *British Museum*. New border lines have been added, the worm-holes stopped, and those parts skilfully recut by *Mr. Thurston Thompson*, who has also re-engraved with full feeling, the subjects of the *Sitting Christ*, and of *Jesus parting from his Mother*. The process of *stereotyping* has had the good effect of restoring almost the original sharpness and crispness of the lines, and of rendering the present impressions nearer the state of the earliest impressions than they would have been had they been taken from the blocks themselves. This statement may seem paradoxical, but it will be seen that it has a reasonable explanation. In order to take a metal cast of a woodcut, a cast is first taken in moist plaster of Paris. This is thoroughly dried by baking, which causes it to shrink throughout, sometimes as much as the eighth of an inch in a cast of six inches in length. The result of this slight shrinkage has been to *reduce* these thickened lines nearly to their *original fineness*, and several of the present impressions are so crisp and clear that they will not suffer by a comparison with choice early impressions. An incident in point, which occurred during the progress of printing this edition, may be related: a professional critic of engravings compared some of these stereotype impressions with some old impressions from the wood-blocks, and he concluded that the first being printed on new paper were *modern* copies. He pronounced them excellent, even improvements on the originals in some respects, owing, doubtless, to the better printing. When he was told what they were, he said that had they been printed on old paper, he should have taken them to be some of the earliest impressions.

The professed imitations and copies of the *Small Passion*, so far as I have been able myself to ascertain them, are now to be

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Stereotypes
restored by
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Copies of
the "Small
Passion."

enumerated. I have before me a volume, apparently in its original state, which is a facsimile of the whole *thirty-seven* engravings. It belongs to *Mr. Pickering*. Its title-page agrees in substance with that of the *first* edition described by *Heinecke*; possibly also in arrangement. There is no date or place of publication to the volume. Though an inferior, it is throughout a very close copy of the original work, each engraving having *Albert Durer's* monogram, and it must have been intended to pass for the original. *Bartsch* (*Le Peintre Graveur*, vol. ii. p. 121) appears to have seen three of the engravings in it (Nos. 16, 17, 18), and he says he is ignorant whether the other blocks were copied, but thinks it likely. He thus enumerates other copies of this work, the three first executed by *Virgile Solis*. (*Bartsch*, *Virgile Solis*, vol. ix. p. 316.) "1. La Passion de Jesus Christ. Copies en contrepartie des gravures en bois Nr. 16—52 de *Durer*. Suite de dix-huit estampes. Hauteur 4 p. 4 lig. largeur 3 p. 2. La Passion de Jesus Christ. Autres copies d'après les gravures en bois d'Albert Durer Nr. 16—52. Suite de trente-sept pièces, dont chacune porte le chiffre.¹ Hauteur 4 p. 2 lig. Largeur 3 p. 3 lig. 3. La passion de Jesus Christ. Autres copies d'après les gravures en bois d'Albert Durer. Nr. 16—52. Suite de vingt-quatre estampes qui portent presque toutes le chiffre de V. Solis. Hauteur 3 p. Largeur 2 p. 3 lig." The next copy is by an engraver who used the monogram G. S. (*Bartsch*, G. S. vol. ix. p. 439. Nr. 104 des monogrammes.) "La passion de Jesus Christ. Suite de trente-sept pièces (Nous n'en avons vu que sept pièces) qui ont été copiées d'une taille lourde d'après les numéros 16—52 des pièces gravées en bois d'Albert Durer. Le chiffre et l'année 1569 se trouvent marqués sur la pièce que représente le corps de Jésus Christ au pied de la croix, pleuré par les saintes femmes. Hauteur 7 p. 11 lig. largeur 5 p. 4 lig." *Dr. Nagler* gives the following as the arrangement of the title-page of this edition :

Figuræ

Passionis Domini

Nostri Jesu Christi. 1569.

He proceeds: "Eine andere Ausgabe ist betitelt, 'Historia passionis Dñi nři Jesu Christi ab Alb. Durero delineata. Bruxellae, exc. Johan Mommartius 1644.' Auch Martin Rota und N. Nelli

¹ Can this be the imitation already described?

copierten Mehrere Blätter oder vielleicht die ganze Folge." It is well known that *Marc Antonio Raimondi* copied this "*Small Passion*" on copper, as well as *Albert Durer's Life of the Virgin* and other works, and he is accused of selling his copies for the originals. According to *Vasari*, *Albert Durer* went to *Venice* to stop the piracy; but the event is shown by *Bartsch* to have been very improbable, as there is no evidence to prove that *Albert Durer* ever visited *Italy* after his journey thither in 1506.¹ In *Marc Antonio's* copies of the "*Small Passion*," *Albert Durer's* monogram is omitted. The copies are close and excellent imitations of the originals, considering the difference of material in which they are executed. There is also another set of copies (which may be seen in the print room of the *British Museum*) engraved on copper, apparently by a *German Artist*, in which *Albert Durer's* mark is retained. They are very inferior to *Marc Antonio's* copies, and great license has been taken, especially in the shadows. It is entitled (below the figure of the sitting Christ), "*Passio Christi ab Alberto Durer Nurenburgensi effigiata. I. A. Colom. exc. AB. Waesbergen excudit.*"² I have also seen twenty-one subjects of the "*Small Passion*" copied in reverse on copper, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches, which belonged to the *Strawberry Hill Collection*, and are in the possession of *Mr. Willement*. The "*Sitting Christ*" is copied, and below it are the latin verses of the title-page of the second edition. *Albert Durer's* monogram does not appear on any of this set. There is another copy on copper of the "*Sitting Christ*" in the

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Marc
Antonio's
copies.

¹ Several authorities say that *Marc Antonio* copied the whole thirty-seven subjects (see *Ottley*, *History of Engraving*, pp. 711 and 816; also *Bartsch*, vol. xiv. p. 402), but I cannot hear of the existence of an impression of the *Sitting Christ* by him anywhere; and it may be remarked that *Marc Antonio* numbered the "Adam and Eve" as the first of the series. Coupled with the facts already stated, some suspicion is raised that *Albert Durer* could not have issued this subject with the first edition of the "*Small Passion*."

² The only copy of any book of *Albert Durer's* wood engravings in the

reading room of the *British Museum* is a work thus entitled: "*Alberti Dureri Noriberg German. Icones Sacræ. In historiam salutis humanæ per Redemptorem nostrum Jesum Christum Dei et Mariæ filium instauratæ. Quas singulas selectissimi flores ex verbo Dei et S. Patrum Scriptis decerpti exornant. Nunc primum e tenebris in lucem editæ.*" *Franckfort 1604*. This work contains a series of thirty-eight small wood-cuts, about 3 inches by 2 inches, bearing *Albert Durer's* monogram, but of poor design and worse engraving. They do not appear to be acknowledged as *Durer's* works by any authorities.

British Museum, in which the figure is placed between pilasters. The reader will find some further notices of other copies in Dr. Nagler's *Lexicon*, already quoted, and in his '*Albrecht Dürer und seine Kunst.*' München, 1837.

Many writers on Art (*Mr. Ottley* among the most recent) have concluded that *Albert Durer*, *Holbein*, and others not only *drew* their own designs on wood, but were also the *actual engravers* of them. We have *Albert Durer's* own words that he was accustomed to draw himself on wood. "Item hab dem von Rogendorff sein Wappen auf Holz gerissen dafür hat er mir geschenkt vii. Eln Sammet." (See *Von Murr.*) But it is not easy to believe that he was his own wood engraver. The chief ground for believing him to be, seems to rest upon the assumption that in the fifteenth century, no competent workmen could be found to execute engravings so excellent and containing such especial difficulties of "*cross hatching.*" The merits of the woodcuts of *Albert Durer* and other early artists, certainly do *not* consist in the engraving, but in other quite distinct qualities. And those who praise them as engravings, do not sufficiently discriminate between these qualities and the mechanical translation of them. Early wood-cuts are generally very *inferior* as engravings, and certainly contain no difficulties beyond the accomplishment of ordinary skill. As for the execution of "*cross hatchings,*" it was less difficult in *Albert Durer's* time, when they were cut on the side of the grain of the wood, than at present, cut on the end of the grain; the process is more a labour of carefulness and patience than of skill; *apprentices* of our own time cut much clearer *cross hatchings* than any to be found in *old wood-cuts.* It is taking a very narrow view of art, to suppose that workmen could not be found to engrave *Albert Durer's* or *Holbein's* wood-cuts in an *age quite equal* if not *surpassing* our own in the execution of the most *delicate ornamental work.* Was sculpture on wood (it is not necessary to look beyond *St. George's Chapel* at *Windsor*) inferior to that of our own times? And if we are to be sceptical about the capacity of wood-engravers, how shall we account for the skill which executed the exquisite chasings and engravings in jewellery, armour, &c.; engraving of monumental brasses; ornamental tools for bookbinding; and, above all, the delicate workmanship of the seals, which every noble or citizen appended to his charter or chirograph; and in all of which we are

now trying to *imitate* the fifteenth century? But in addition to these general reasons, and others which might be brought forward against assuming that *Albert Durer* was his own wood-engraver, the works themselves furnish conclusive evidence, which seems to have escaped *Mr. Ottley*. Let any one compare the corresponding engravings of the same subject executed on wood and copper: we know the latter to be the work of *Albert Durer* himself. The copper-engravings exhibit the exquisite sensitiveness of the artist to the expression of important parts, carried sometimes to an affected exaggeration, besides the most delicate and charming finish. In the wood-cuts, on the contrary, there is oftentimes an unnecessary coarseness, with a feebleness and misunderstanding of the lines, especially in the extremities (*e.g.* the left hand of Adam in the Fall of Man in the present work), which prove them to be the works of bungling and ignorant awkwardness. It is impossible not to see that it was not the same hand designing and engraving. But the question is placed beyond all doubt by an examination of the cuts themselves. They show that they must have been engraved by not less than *four* different persons. *Mr. John Thompson*, by universal concurrence, the most skilful engraver which the art has yet witnessed, and therefore the best authority on all its technicalities, has examined the blocks especially with reference to this question; and he has pointed out those varieties of mechanical execution, as apparent as the varieties of different hand-writings, which conclusively prove the fact contended for. The following subjects may be instanced as exhibiting the workmanship of four different artists: 1. The Scourging. 2. Jesus nailed to the Cross. 3. Jesus appearing to his Mother after his Resurrection. 4. Jesus appearing to Mary Magdalen. And the curious may refer to the blocks themselves, and be convinced, as the Editor is, that although *Albert Durer* designed and *drew* these wood-blocks, he never *engraved* them.

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Several en-
gravings of
the "Small
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Jesus praying on the Mount of Olives.

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Re-engraved
by Thurston
Thompson.

Jesus parting from his Mother before his sufferings.

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SUMMERLY'S ART MANUFACTURES.

THE system of producing Art-Manufactures may be said to have arisen out of the prizes offered by the Society of Arts, and the Exhibitions which began in 1846 and were continued in 1847-1848.



The TEA SERVICE which obtained the Silver Medal of the Society of Arts in 1846.

I find the following Memorandum in the handwriting of Mr. S. Davenport, the zealous accountant and main support of the Society from 1843,¹ which describes this Tea Service.

"To accompany Specimens of Earthenware marked F. S.

"Model of a plain and cheap Earthenware Tea Service in one Colour, consisting of Tea-pot, Basin, Milk Jug, Cup and Saucer, Plate, and Sugar Basin.

"These articles have been modelled expressly for the present purpose. They could be manufactured at a very cheap rate, as cheaply as the blue articles which accompany them, marked Z.

"The white earthenware set would be even cheaper. These blue articles are sent in order to demonstrate that elegant forms may be made not to cost more than inelegant ones. Of course it must be borne in mind that all forms, where the beauty depends on the

¹ Mr. Davenport died in 1876.

truth of the lines and variety of parts, must of necessity be somewhat more costly than where beauty is less considered. For instance, the handle of the Tea Cup involves the making of two mouldings and two additional operations to put it on. 1. The handle. 2. The vine leaves, which are put on separately. Its greater cost over the simplest kind without ornament would be, perhaps, less than a farthing for each cup in wages.

“The aim in these models has been to obtain as much beauty and ornament as is commensurate with cheapness. A higher standard in the ornamental parts would have led to much greater cost.

“The forms in principle are new combinations of those of the best Etruscan Pottery, with ornaments at the handles, &c., super-added and designed so as not to interfere with the simplicity of the outlines.

“The Cup being *deep* rather than *wide*, offers least scope for the radiation of heat and will keep the tea warm.

“The Milk Pot has three lips like some articles of Etruscan Pottery, enabling the liquid to be poured at both angles, right and left, which requires only a motion of the wrist, whilst the usual method needs the lifting of the arm. The plate is smaller than usual in the rim, because much size in that part is needless. The red clay being unglazed is calculated to exhibit the forms of the Tea Pot, Sugar Basin, and Milk Pot to most advantage. The forms are sent in ‘biscuit’ in order to show the difference which the nature of the body or material causes in their appearance.”

THE following is a list of the works which were produced in 1846-7-8, and exhibited at the Society of Arts Exhibitions.

The Annual Exhibition of British Manufactures of 1848, included Works in Gold, Silver, Bronze, Ivory, Glass, China, Earthenware, Mosaics, Marbles, Carved Wood, Ornamental Iron and Brass Work, and was open in the Society's Large Hall during March and April, every day except Saturday. The admission was by tickets, obtained free from Members of the Society, and of the Retailers of Art-Manufactures named in the Catalogue. On Saturday, for general convenience, and especially of those who dislike crowds, admission was obtained by payment of 1s. at the Society's House, in John Street, Adelphi. A descriptive Catalogue was published. Nearly one hundred Specimens of Summerly's Art-Manufactures were exhibited at the Society of Arts on this occasion.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.
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Selections.

The *principle* adopted in producing *Art-Manufactures*, was, that their execution should be entrusted only to the *most eminent British Manufacturers*; at the same time, it was to be understood that the production was *not* limited to the firms named in the Catalogue.

They were classified under *materials*, which more or less accurately marks the technical producers or trades, and even the localities of production. The specimens which may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, are marked S. K. M.

POTTERY.

I. E. EARTHENWARE, TERRA-COTTA, PORCELAIN, AND PARIAN.

EARTHENWARE.

The "Hop Story." BEER-JUG, in Earthenware, plain (and Palissy glaze) and Parian; designed by H. J. Townsend, price 18s.;



Modelled by H. J. TOWNSEND.
Minton's make.

or with extra Figures, 36s. The bas-reliefs represent the picking, packing, and storing the hop, and the cooper at the beer-cask; "Labour refreshed" is one, and "Intemperance" the other supporter of the handle. "John Barleycorn" surmounts the lid. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

••• The Gold Medal of the Society of Arts was awarded to Messrs. Minton and Co., the Manufacturers, for the Union of Superior Art and Manufacture which this Jug displays.

"The Two Drivers." BROWN EARTHENWARE JUG. Ornamented with bas-reliefs emblematical of travelling; designed and modelled by H. J. Townsend. Made by Minton in Palissy ware. S. K. M.

SHAVING POT, in Earthenware. "Heroes bearded and beardless." Price 4s., 5s., and 6s. 6d., mounted in metal, designed by Richard Redgrave, A.R.A., with brush handle, price 1s., and brush dish, price 1s. *en suite*.

"By the length of his beard can you measure a man?
Poet or Hero?—I doubt if you can.

Bearded or shaven—Wit comes from Heaven."

Old Proverbs.

Manufactured by Wedgwoods. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

SALTCELLAR, in coloured Earthenware. A Dolphin with a Shell; designed by J. Bell. The intention is to produce a work of art, simple and cheap. Price 6s., and plain 3s. 9d., also in Stone ware. S. K. M.

Inlaid jasper HANDLES FOR TABLE-KNIVES, designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A. The ornament represents "Fish, Flesh, Fowl and Game," produced by the encaustic process, by Minton and Co., fitted by Joseph Rodgers and Sons, and all cutlers. S. K. M.

SPILL CASE, "Cupids at a Bon-fire," designed by J. Bell, 3s., and upwards.

TERRA COTTA.

The "Legend" BRACKET, in Terra-cotta; designed by J. Bell, to support statuettes, made by Willock and Co., at the Ladyshore Terra-cotta Works, near Bolton. Price 16s. The same design carved in Wood, made by the Machine Carving Company, which executed by machinery the principal part of the carvings in the Houses of Parliament.

The "Twins." TRUSSES or BRACKETS made in Terra-cotta at the Ladyshore Works, Bolton; designed and modelled by J. Bell. Price £3 each. Also in Wood by the Machine Carving Company at various prices.

ART MANUFACTURES.
A.D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.



Designed by R. REDGRAVE.
Wedgwood's make.

PORCELAIN.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.A. D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.

"The Oak's Guests at Night," ornamenting CANDLESTICKS; designed and modelled by H. J. Townsend. The design represents shepherds, with their dogs and flocks, asleep, at the base. In the upper part, as among the foliage, are sprites playing with the owls, squirrels, &c. In coloured Porcelain, manufactured by Mintons in various bodies. Price 15s., the pair. S. K. M.

THE BRIDE'S INKSTAND, Porcelain tazza with Parian Cupid; designed and modelled by John Bell, sculptor, price £2 2s. and upwards. The Tazza is coloured in various blues and the lizards gilt. The Inkstand also is published separately in Bronze in the ancient Florentine mode; in



verd'-antique, and gilt, price £6 6s. and upwards, with marble tray or *papier maché* Tazza, made by Jennens and Bettridge. Copies may be had in silver at various prices. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

Modelled by J. BELL.
Mintons' make.

The MILK JUG AND TEA SERVICE, and other objects were also made in the Porcelain "body" by Messrs. Mintons.

PARIAN.

CLORINDA, wounded by her lover. Designed by J. Bell. Companion to Dorothea. In Parian, manufactured by Mintons, £2 2s. S. K. M.

The SHAKESPEARE CLOCK, designed and modelled by J. Bell, and made in Parian by Minton and Co. Suitable works can be obtained from B. L. Vulliamy, 68, Pall Mall, and the most eminent Clock Makers. The case will also be executed in Bronze.

The Dial is placed between two figures representing Tragedy and Comedy, as typical of Time, which passes between Joy and Grief.

“Joy absent, grief is present for that time.” *Ric. 2.*

“The time of life is short :
To spend that shortness basely, were too long
If life did ride upon a dial's point
Still ending at th' arrival of an hour.”

First Part of Hen. 4th.

The legends being taken from Shakespeare, a statuette of the bard has been thought to be appropriate for surmounting the composition. The likeness is founded upon the Poet's bust at Stratford, which the designer thinks bears internal evidence (stated at length in the “*Athenæum*,” 1845, p. 695), of having been executed from a cast taken after death. A full-length Statue of the same figure was exhibited by the Artist in Westminster Hall. Of this, the “*Athenæum*” says, it was “one of the noblest works in the Exhibition.”



DOROTHEA. Modelled by J. BELL.
Mintons' make.

DOROTHEA, a statuette, in Parian. Modelled by John Bell, made by Mintons. Price £2 2s. This will also be published in Bronze. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

SHAKESPEARE, a Statuette in Parian, £3 3s.; also in Bronze, £26 5s. By J. Bell. S. K. M.

TRAGEDY AND COMEDY, Statuettes in Parian, each £3 3s. By J. Bell. S. K. M.

ART MANUFACTURES.
A.D. 1846-7.
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Selections.

The INFANT NEPTUNE. Designed and modelled by H. J. Townsend, 27s. in Parian. The same is executed in Silver by B.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.
A.D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.



Designed and Modelled by H. J. TOWNSEND.¹
Mintons' make.

Smith, and Electro-silver by B. Smith, at various prices, and is suitable for a salt-cellar. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

PURITY, OR UNA AND THE LION, a Statuette. Designed and modelled by John Bell; a companion to Danecker's Ariadne, or "Voluptuousness," price £3 3s.

"The Lyon would not leave her desolate,
But with her went along, as a strong gard
Of her chaste person."

Spenser's Faerie Queene, Booke I. Canto III.

Manufactured in Parian by Mintons. S. K. M.

¹ The Neptune was drawn and engraved by Richard A. Thompson, whose technical and artistic ability recommended him for employment

under the Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851, and then for the post of Assistant-Director at the South Kensington Museum.

THE GREEK SLAVE, a Statuette by Hiram Power, in Parian, £2 2s., first exhibited full-size in the Great Exhibition of 1851. Manufactured in Parian by Mintons. S. K. M.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.
A.D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.

"THE DISTRESSED MOTHER." A Statuette of the celebrated work by Sir R. Westmacott, erected as a memorial to Elizabeth Warren, 1816, in Westminster Abbey, West Aisle, 224 in "Sumner's Westminster Abbey." Manufactured in Parian by Mintons. S. K. M.

THE LORD'S PRAYER, a Statuette of a Child, designed and modelled by J. Bell. Manufactured in Parian by Mintons, 24s.; or with coloured base, 30s. The original is 9 inches high and 5½ inches at the base. S. K. M.

THE BELIEF, a Statuette of a Child, designed and modelled by J. Bell. Manufactured in Parian by Mintons, 24s.; or with coloured base, 30s. The original is 9 inches high, and 5½ inches at the base. S. K. M.

THE WATERLOO BUST OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON¹ in the

¹ During the preparation of this bust, I received a message from Count D'Orsay, who was in retreat at Gore House, asking me to call upon him. Upon my doing so, a servant looked through the wicket, and said, "The Count is not at home." I disputed the fact pertinaciously, and he said he would go and see. Taking my card, he crossed the court-yard, and returned saying, "The Count is at home." He admitted me with caution, and piloted me to the door of the house, and passed me safely between two enormous mastiffs. I found the Count pacing up and down Lady Blessington's drawing-room, in a magnificent dressing-gown. He said, "You are a friend of Mr. Minton's; I can make his fortune," and calling for his man, he said, "François, go you to my studio, and in the corner you will find a bust. Cover it over with your pocket handkerchief, and bring it here with the greatest care." François entered with the bust, carrying it like a baby. He placed it, and the Count took off the pocket handker-

chief, standing before it with looks of enraptured admiration. "What do you think of that?" I said, "It is a close likeness." "Likeness! indeed, it *is* a likeness. Douro, when he saw it, exclaimed, 'D'Orsay, you quite appal me with the likeness to my father!' He added, "The Duke had given me four sittings, which he refused to that fellow Landseer. The Duke came to see it. He was as great in Art as he was in fighting, and always went first to the finest thing in a room to look at it. He marched up to the bust, paused, and shouted, 'By G—, D'Orsay, you have done what those d—d busters never could do.'" The Count then proceeded to say, "The old Duke will not live for ever, he must die. I want you to advise your friend to make ten thousand copies of that bust, to pack them up in his warehouse, and on the day of the Duke's death to flood the country with them, and his fortune is made." The Count hinted that he expected £10,000 for his copyright. Mr. Minton did not quite enter into his views: he saw

ART MANU-
FACTURES.
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Selections.

prime of life. Modelled by S. Joseph, price £1 11s. 6d. Manufactured in Parian by Mintons. S. K. M.

MATCH-BOX, "The Crusader's Altar Tomb," in ormolu; designed by J. Bell, made by Dee and Fargues, price £6 6s.; also in Parian by Mintons, price 3s. 6d.

"The Knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust;
Their souls are with the Saints, we trust."

S. K. M.

The ANGEL NIGHT LAMP, modelled by John Bell. Manufactured in Parian by Mintons. S. K. M.

The "Bitten Tongue." A MUSTARD-POT, in Porcelain and Parian, manufactured by Mintons. Modelled by John Bell, price 9s. The figure will also be applied to a Silver and Plated Metal Mustard-pot. S. K. M.

FLOWER VASE. Designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A. Manufactured in Parian, by Mintons, 24s.; also in coloured China, 42s. S. K. M.

The "Una" BROOCH, a bas-relief of Una and the Lion in Parian, by Mintons, and Gold; designed and modelled by John Bell.

The "Dorothea" BROOCH, manufactured in Parian by Mintons, and Gold.

KISSING CHILDREN, surmounting a Paper Weight; modelled by John Bell. Manufactured in Parian by Mintons, 9s.; also in Gilt Bronze, £3 3s., as top of a Loving Cup; price 18s. 6d. S. K. M.

GLASS.

The "Flask" DECANTERS, with gilt Enamel, designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., and Parian Stopper, modelled by John Bell, and made by Messrs. Richardson. Gilt Enamel, price £3 3s. each, plain at various prices. WINE GLASS, with gilt Enamel, by the same artists and manufacturers, to match, price 6s. S. K. M.

The "Well Spring." A WATER-JUG, in Glass, with double handles, designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., price £2 12s. 6d.; with single handles, £1 15s.; without handles, £1 5s. The ornament is of water-plants, coloured and enamelled on the glass, with gilt handles. The Vase on a smaller scale is executed in Porcelain and Parian. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

him, and proposed that the Count should accept a royalty upon every copy sold—an offer which the Count indignantly rejected. The bust was

eventually made by another manufacturer, and I know nothing more of its production.

The Water Lily GOBLET to match, designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., price 10s. The flower is enamelled in colours and gold upon the glass. S. K. M.

ART MANUFACTURES.
A.D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.

WATER CARAFE AND TUMBLER in enamelled glass, 17s. 6d. S. K. M.

The "Tendril" WINE GLASS and FINGER GLASS; designed and



Designed by H. J. TOWNSEND.
Christie's make.



Designed by H. J. TOWNSEND.
Richardson's make.

ornamented in enamelled colours by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., at various prices. Manufactured by Messrs. Christie. S. K. M.

CHAMPAGNE GLASS, "Bubbles Bursting," designed by H. J. Townsend. Enamelled in Colours and Engraved. Various prices. The same design printed with gold on glass, 31s. 6d. each, by Christie. S. K. M.

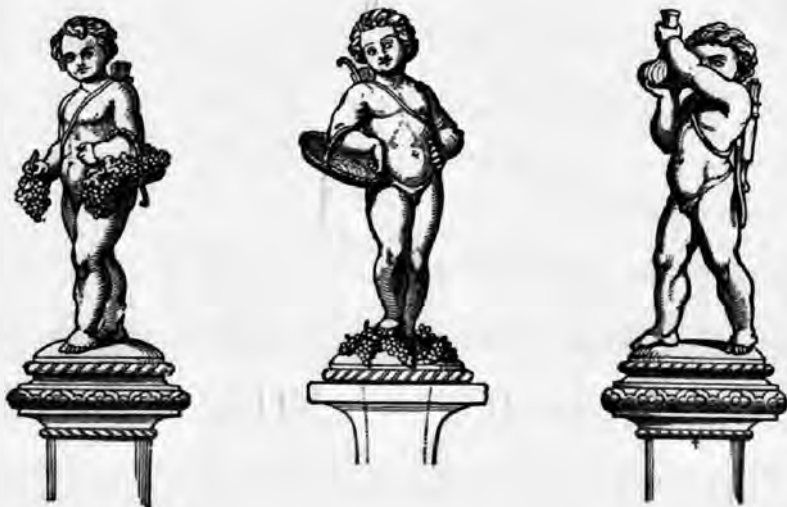
ART MANU-
FACTURES.
A. D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.

NEW HYACINTH GLASS. Designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A. S. K. M.

Summerly CREAM JUG, in Opal Glass, 7s. 6d. and upwards ; in Parian, 2s. 6d. S. K. M.

SILVER.

"The Vintagers," a series of DECANTER STOPPERS, designed by



Designed by J. C. HORSLEY, A.R.A.
B. Smith's make.

J. C. Horsley, executed by B. Smith, in Silver, Silver-gilt, and Electro-gilt, at various prices. S. K. M.

The SHAKESPEARE SALVER or CARD DISH, designed by D. Maclise, R.A. To be executed in Gold and Silver, and Porcelain.

The Artist has now completed a series of eight compositions for this dish, which have been unanimously pronounced to be his most successful ornamental work. The Seven Ages of Shakespeare have furnished the subjects of the designs. These designs were engraved and published by the Art Union.

The SALVER, in precious metals, will aim to be worthy of the best days of Benvenuto Cellini, the well-known Florentine designer. Only a limited number of copies will be made in precious metals, when the models will be destroyed, and for these, subscribers' names will be received by P. and D. Colnaghi, 13, Pall Mall East, and J. Cundall, 12, Old Bond Street, where the designs may be seen.



DESIGN OF A BRACELET, BY D. MACLISE, R.A. 1846.
MADE FOR SUMMERLY'S ART MANUFACTURER.
executed by Goss & Son, London.

The Porcelain dishes will be specimens of enamelling in Colours, of which it may be said, they have never been previously equalled in English Art. They will be produced at the eminent factory of Minton and Co.

ART MANU-
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Part II.
Selections.

Mr. Maclise's design was never executed, because my attention became wholly absorbed by the Great Exhibition of 1851.

"Salt and fresh water fishers." A FISH KNIFE AND FORK, designed by John Bell, sculptor, executed by Joseph Rodgers and Sons. On the blade, boys are spiking an eel and landing a trout. On the handle, the fisherman is hauling a net from the sea. Price 10 guineas, executed wholly in Silver, 11 guineas in Silver-gilt; in Silver and Plated Metal, £3 10s. and upwards. Same blade and fork, fitted by J. Rodgers and Sons to a Parian handle, at various prices. S. K. M.

A BRACELET, designed by D. Maclise, R.A., and worked in *Niello* on Gold and Silver, by Messrs. Gass and Son. The design (see illustration) represents in compartments, the history of the bracelet. In the first, the lover measuring his mistress's arm; in the second, giving the order to the jeweller; and in the third, fixing the bracelet. S. K. M.

The MILK JUG which received the Prize awarded by the Society of Arts in 1846, designed by Felix Summerly; executed in Porcelain, 2s. 6d., and Glass, 8s.; also in Silver, with gilt handle, £9 10s., by Messrs. Hunt and Roskell, 156, New Bond Street. S. K. M.

INFANT NEPTUNE, by H. J. Townsend. See *PARIAN*.

"Guardian Angels," a CHRISTENING CUP in Silver. "He shall defend thee under His wings and thou shalt be safe." By R. Redgrave, A.R.A., made by Hunt and Roskell. S. K. M.



FISH SLICE AND FORK.

Designed and modelled by John Bell, sculptor, and made by Rodgers and Sons, Sheffield.

IVORY.

The "Flax" PAPER KNIFE, designed and modelled by J. Bell. The ornamentation is allegorical of paper-making. The boy, fish, and vase represent water, and the blade the flax, both most important ingredients in the manufacture of the best paper. With Parian handle and gilt blade, including a case, £2 5s.; the handle is also carved in Ivory at advanced prices. The blade fitted by Joseph Rodgers and Sons, Sheffield. S. K. M.



Modelled by
J. BELL.

CARVING KNIFE AND FORK. Roman handles, carved with deers' heads. £2 2s. the pair. Manufactured by J. Rodgers and Sons, Sheffield. S. K. M.

TYPE METAL.

ORNAMENTAL HEADINGS and INITIAL LETTERS for typography, designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A. The letters were not executed, but the ornamental headings are still used by the Society of Arts, and head in a reduced size the chapters in these volumes. S. K. M.

CUTLERY.

DESSERT KNIVES AND FORKS, with coloured Handles, designed and modelled by John Bell; representing Currants, Cherries, Filberts, Raspberries, Strawberries, and Mulberries, with plated blades, 16s. the pair, executed by Minton and Co., and Joseph Rodgers and Sons, respectively. S. K. M. See BREAD KNIFE, BUTTER KNIFE, CHEESE KNIFE.

IRON.

A HALL STAND in iron, for cloaks, gloves, umbrellas and clogs, with looking-glass and ink-stand, &c. Manufactured by the Coalbrookdale Company. S. K. M.

The EAGLE SLAYER, by J. Bell, cast by the Coalbrookdale Iron Company. The full-sized figure was exhibited at the Exhibition in Westminster Hall, 1844, under the patronage of the Commissioners of the Fine Arts for the Houses of Parliament, chiefly promoted by the Prince Consort. In grounds of S. K. M.

An English CERBERUS, "Welcome to come, but not to go." The heads are those of the bulldog, blood and deer hounds; a DOOR PORTER and FIRE-DOG, designed and modelled by J. Bell, and cast in Iron by Stuart and Smith, Sheffield. S. K. M.

ART MANUFACTURES.
A.D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.

*BRITANNIA METAL AND
WHITE METAL.*

CAMELLIA TEAPOT, in Britannia Metal, surmounted by Parian figure, 16s.; in Silver, 20 guineas; or Plated Metal, 40s. Designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., and executed by Dixon and Sons, Sheffield. S. K. M.

A TEA CADDY SPOON, the ornament formed of the common tea plant. Designed by H. G. Rogers, made by B. Smith, London. In Plated Metal, 2s. 6d., in Silver, at various prices. S. K. M.

SALTCELLAR, in Metal, ornamented with Shrimps and Seaweed, with Spoon. 20s. the pair.



DOOR WEIGHT.
Modelled by J. Bell. Stuart and Smith's make.



Designed by R. REDGRAVE, R.A.
Dixons' (of Sheffield) make.



Modelled by J. BELL.
Broadhead and Atkins' make.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.
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Part II.
Selections.

Modelled by J. Bell and manufactured in white metal by Broadhead and Atkins, Sheffield. S. K. M.

WOOD.

The "Camellia" TEA CADDY, in various Woods, made by Holland and Sons. The figure on the lid, a Chinese Fairy examining the tea plant, is designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., modelled by J. Bell, and made in Parian by Mintons. Wood and Ivory. Various prices.

A BREAD PLATTER, ornamented with carvings of wheat, rye, barley, and oats; in Wood, price £2 2s., and in Porcelain at



Modelled by J. BELL. Joseph Rodgers and Sons' make.

various prices; designed by J. Bell. The platter is also fitted with an electro-plated rim. Manufactured by J. Rodgers and Sons, Sheffield. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

This bread platter revived the use of wooden bread platters or trenchers, and created a new industry still existing. Its history is worth recording. When John Bell's plaster model was sent to Sheffield, Messrs. Rodgers hesitated to reproduce it, not believing that it would sell. They were persuaded to have one carved in wood. When done they fixed the price at £4 4s., which seemed prohibitive of a large sale. An essay was then made to have a platter executed in London, and it was proved that it could be sold for £3 3s., with a good allowance for

distribution. This put Sheffield on its mettle : the London copy was sent to Sheffield, and after a short time, a platter was forwarded to London by Messrs. Rodgers, who stated that it could be sold retail for £2 2s. From the year 1848 to the present time, the Summerly platter has been sold—besides innumerable other versions produced at the lowest possible prices ; in fact, a new branch of industry was established at Sheffield, and, being easy of manufacture, at places more or less throughout the kingdom.

ART MANU-
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A.D. 1846-7.
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Selections.

POTATO BOWL, modelled by J. Bell, the plant forming the handles. Manufactured at Sheffield by J. Rodgers and Sons.

The "Endive" SALAD SPOON AND FORK, in carved Wood, £2 2s. the pair ; Ivory and Silver, at various prices ; with ruby glass Salad Bowl in keeping, designed and modelled by J. Bell.

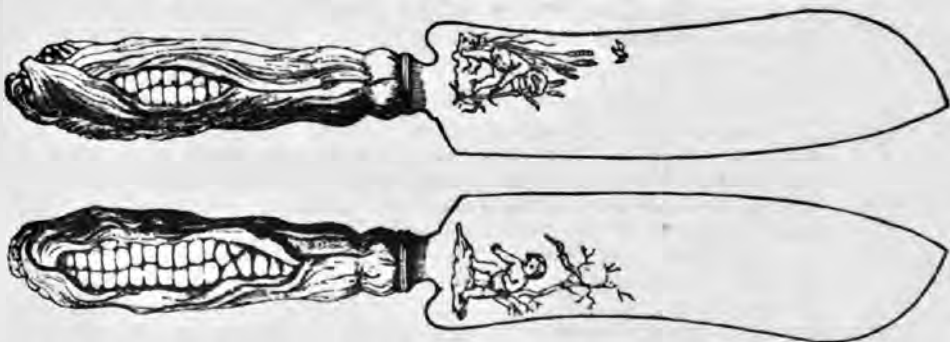
The Bird, Flower, and Fruit BRACKETS, designed by S. Delor, and carved by machinery in Wood, in the style of Grinling Gibbons, by Taylor, Williams and Jordan, price £5 5s. the pair, and upwards.

A CELLARET in carved Wood, designed and modelled by John Bell, executed by J. Webb, of Old Bond Street.

ARM CHAIR and OCCASIONAL CHAIR, designed and modelled by J. Thomas ; the figures designed by J. C. Horsley. The ornaments are suggestive of repose. The bas-relief consists of three Angels, one as guardian, and the others playing musical instruments, protecting a sleeping mother and child and old man. The flowers are the lily, passion flower, and poppy.

WOOD AND IVORY.

BREAD KNIFE, with a carved Wood handle, representing an ear of Indian corn, and boys sowing and reaping, etched on the blade,



BREAD KNIFE.

Designed and modelled by John Bell, sculptor, and made by Rodgers and Sons, Sheffield.

designed by J. Bell, price 17s. plain, and 20s. etched. Carved Ivory handle, 27s. plain, and 30s. etched ; also with a porcelain

ART MANU-
FACTURES.
A.D. 1846-7.
Part II.
Selections.

handle. With a Parian handle, 12s., and 15s. etched. Manufactured by J. Rodgers and Sons, Sheffield. Society of Arts Exhibition, 1848. S. K. M.

CHEESE KNIFE. With carved Wood handle, 17s.; Ivory handle, 27s.

BUTTER KNIFE. With carved Wood handle and Plated blade, 20s.

BUTTER DISH. In carved Wood, with lining of Glass or China, 21s.

CHEESE DISH. With carved Wood border, 42s., and upwards.

PAPIER MACHÉ.

WINE TRAY, in Papier Maché, on a new principle, which especially prevents the decanters from shifting among the glasses; designed by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., made by Jennens and Bettridge, price, without figures, 50s., with figures, and inlaid mother-of-pearl, at various prices. S. K. M.

"Castles in the Air," DOOR FINGER PLATES, in Papier Maché; designed by J. Morgan, and executed by Messrs. Jennens and Bettridge.

PAPIER MACHÉ CLOCK CASE, at various prices, designed by J. Bell; manufactured by Jennens and Bettridge.

PAPER HANGINGS AND DECORATIONS.

A PAPER expressly to hang pictures on, by R. Redgrave, A.R.A., made by W. B. Simpson, 345, Strand. S. K. M.

Catherine Douglas, or "Loyalty," the first of a Series of PAPER HANGINGS. The present subject is intended to decorate an Entrance Hall, and is the centre of three compartments, the first representing the Conspirators at the door, the second Catherine Douglas, the third the Queen protecting the King. After the Fresco exhibited in Westminster Hall, by R. Redgrave, A.R.A.; made by W. B. Simpson, Strand, London.

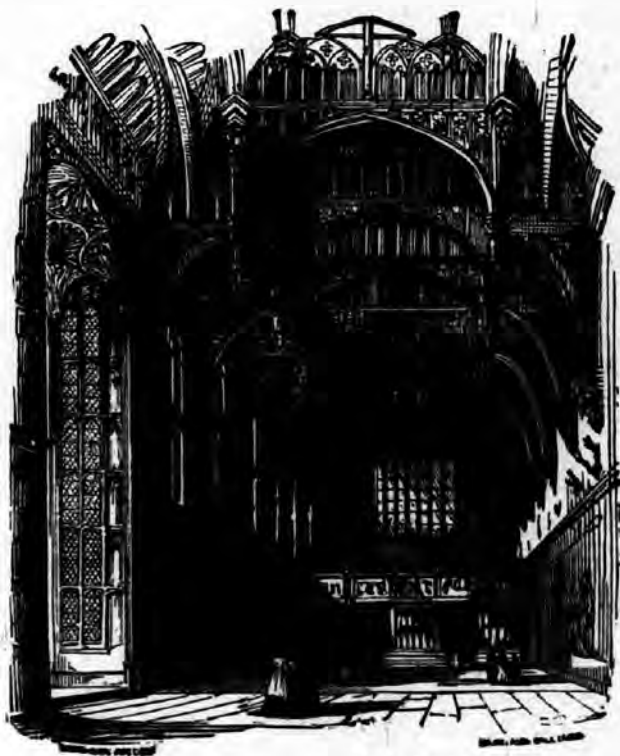
"Unattended even by a body guard, and confiding in the love of his subjects, James the First of Scotland was residing within the walls of the Carthusian monastery at Scone, which he had founded and endowed. Graham of Strathearn seized the occasion, and brought down a party at night to the neighbourhood. Seconded by traitors within, he gained possession of the gates and interior passages. The King's first intimation was from his cupbearer, William Stratton, who, on leaving the chamber in which the King and Queen were at supper, found the passage crowded with armed men, who answered his cry of alarm by striking him dead. The noise reached the King's chamber, a rush of the assassins ensued, and Catherine Douglas, one of the Queen's maids of honour, springing forward to bolt the door of the outer apartment, found the bar had been clandestinely removed; with resolute self-devotion, she supplied the place with her naked arm."—*Catherine Douglas.*

TECHNICAL ARTS IN HAMPTON COURT.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.

A. D.
1841-1849.

Part II.
Selections.
Hampton
Court
Palace.



HENRY VIII.'S "NEW" HALL IN 1531.

Hampton
Court,
stone and
wood.



THE KITCHEN COURT; BRICKWORK IN 1596.

Brickwork.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.

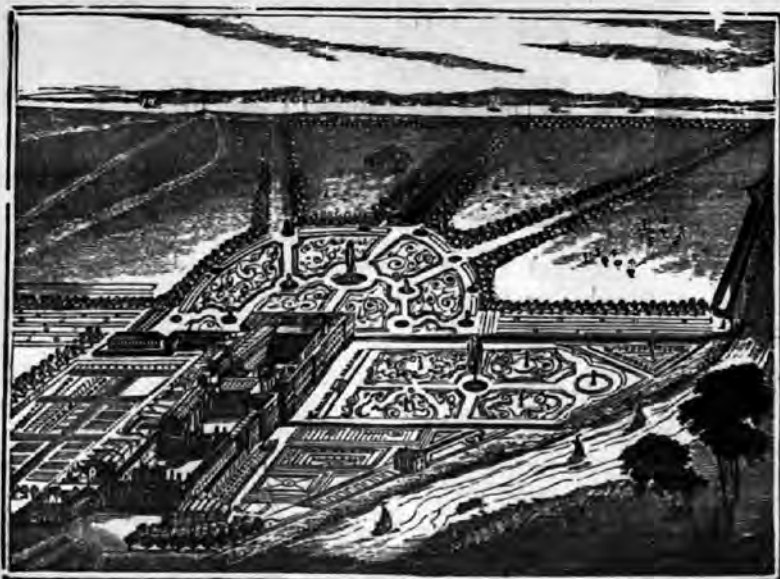
A. D.
1841-1849.
Part II.
Selections.
Hampton
Court
Palace.

Stone and
brick.



THE FOUNTAIN COURT.

Plan of
buildings
and grounds.



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE PALACE GARDENS AND GROUNDS IN
THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

These cuts, taken from Felix Summerly's Handbook to Hampton Court, are intended to convey some idea of the various architectural phases in the buildings.



ART MANU-
FACTURES.
A. D.
1841-1849.
Part II.
Selections.
Westminster
Abbey.

Westminster
Abbey,
stonework.

STONE CARVING, EARL OF PEMBROKE, 1325.

EXTRACTS FROM FELIX SUMMERLY'S HANDBOOK.

INTRODUCTION.

SIX centuries have passed since Henry the Third piously raised the many-clustered shafts and pointed arches of the present Abbey of Westminster. Rude has been the treatment of them during the last half of this period, yet they still point high to

Introduc-
tion.

ART MANU-
FACTURES.A. D.
1841-1849.
Part II.
Selections.
Westminster
Abbey.

heaven, in undiminished grace, and lightness, grandeur, and strength. Strange tales of the contrasts between their first and last days might the old grey walls tell : and a glance at some of these seems to us to be not altogether an unsuitable preparation for contemplating the endless wonders of the Abbey, or an inappropriate means of reviving so much of its early history as comports with the scope of this work, which aims at avoiding the needless repetition of what may be found in all fulness of detail in Dart, Widmore, Keepe, and Brayley.

In one of the quietest nooks of the whole building, in the corner sanctified to our poets, we pass the threshold of the Abbey. We may have crossed Westminster Bridge without toll ; perchance in a public carriage, to which a shilling and a statute have given us right of use, hardly less absolute than our Queen has in her own state-coach ; or we may have walked across Old Palace Yard, in perfect freedom, even without fear of pickpockets, thanks to the street police,—having landed at the stairs from an iron steamer, which brought us swiftly against the tide from London Bridge. We now enter the Abbey in a cold spirit of dilettante-ism, rather to see than to pray,—thinking of past days—of the heroes in divinity, poetry, eloquence, and war, who rest here ; of architectural splendour, of sculpturesque beauties and monstrosities, of the fine pictorial effects on the many-tinted stones, which flickering gleams of light and deep impenetrable shadows present at each of the thousand points of view. All these may, happily, lead us into a reverential tone of mind ; yet who will deny that curiosity, rather than devotion, brings us hither ? Among the tombs of the poets in the Abbey, as well as in the Nave and North Transept, we are free to wander at all times, thanks to the liberality of the Dean and Chapter ; the tribute is sixpence to explore the gloomy and picturesque mysteries of the sacella or sepulchral chapels.

Two centuries ago the Westminster ferry-boat—one solitary bridge then served all London—had brought no meditative amateur of art within the portals of the sacred edifice ; but, iconoclast ! you had found a greeting among the rollicking troopers of the Commonwealth, who, having pawned the organ pipes, were enjoying the profits in a carousal over the ashes of Edward the Confessor. The chapels of the saints were defiled as barracks,

and it was good loyal service to the state to mutilate every ornament, no matter how beautiful, tainted with any fancied superstition. Yet another hundred years before, art was still more sacrilegiously treated. We may excuse the blind fury of the Puritan, as the offspring of a diseased conscience ; but at the dissolution of the monasteries, the ecclesiastical fabrics—which the church was unable to defend—were plundered and heaped in ruins, because Harry the Eighth was a spendthrift, and his courtiers hungry sycophants. Poor Oliver Cromwell (let us never forget that we owe the preservation of Raffaele's cartoons to his rough gentleness) is blamed for much of the rapacity of the uxorious tyrant. Vulgar report attributes to the Protector the theft of the silver head from the monument of Henry the Fifth in the Abbey, though "Howes' Chronicle" relates that "about the latter ende of King Henry the Eyght, the head of the Kinges image, being of massie silver, was broken off and conveyed cleane awaic." In Harry the Eighth's time, the visitor to the Abbey was a huckstering broker, who came to barter for the metal chasings of the shrines, and the lead of the roof.

The contrast between the scenes enacted in the Abbey in the first and last three centuries of its existence, is very striking. In the first period, no dilettante sight-seers, or fanatics, blinded with pious fury against pictures and images, or greedy spoilers, entered its walls. Men assembled beneath the "fretted roof" to behold and hear all with reverential awe ;—gave the best of their worldly goods to the church ;—laid down their lives for it,—and were too ready to burn yours out of you, if you doubted its perfect infallibility. Faintly are we able to conceive the impressive pomps and ceremonies acted here. Censers smoked with fragrant perfumes ! Universal decoration of pictures and tapestries ! Not a superficial inch of wall left naked ! Statues of "martyr, or king, or sainted eremite," resplendent with precious stones and enamels ;—bosses, capitals, mouldings, every sculptured ornament "picked out" with gold, and ultramarine, vermilion, and all positive colours ! Perpetual lights, like the fires of the vestal virgins, illumined the altars ! The black vests of the Benedictine monks, enriched by contrast the snow-white robes of the incense-bearers, and the jewelled and gold-braided vests of the officiating priests ! The swelling voices of the choir chaunted the

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"Kyrie Eleison!" to the sublime and simple harmony of the Gregorian tones! Borrowing Wordsworth's lines,—

— "Every stone was kissed
By sound, or ghost of sound in mazy strife,
Heart thrilling strains, that cast before the eye
Of the devout a veil of ecstasy!
They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build!"

Yet these fair substantial realities could not sustain the tottering rottenness of the Romish church. It had fulfilled its mission, and became before men, at least, Englishmen, a hollowness and a lie; and in fulness of time, was swept away as all hollownesses and cheats, sooner or later, always are.

"Bulls, pardons, relics, cowls, black, white, and grey,
Upwhirled,—and flying o'er the ethereal plain
Fast bound for Limbo Lake."

Towards the latter period of the Romish church, the holy men, like Peachum and Lockit, fell out, and chiselled gross caricatures of one another, even on their very altars. Reformation was ripe indeed! Here—the Evil One carrying off a monk, a woman wringing her hands in despair, and an assistant sprite tattooing for joy—is a sculpture, one of the least gross, from the seats in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, which, like several of our cathedrals, abounds in such like profanities.

Further retrospect of two centuries brings the period of the "woman-hearted Confessor" into notice. Edward, an exile in Normandy, made a vow he would go a pilgrim to Rome, in honour of St. Peter, should he be restored to his kingdom; but when the time of fulfilment arrived, the vow was found inopportune, and Pope Leo absolved him from it, on condition that he erected or restored a monastery to St. Peter. St. Peter himself, to guide the Confessor's choice, appeared in a vision to one Wulsinus, a monk, and declared as follows:—"There is a place of mine in the west part of London, which I chose and love; which I formerly consecrated with my own hands, honoured with my presence, and made illustrious by my miracles. The name of the place is Thorney; which, having for the sins of the people been given to the power of the barbarians, from rich is become poor,—from

stately, low,—and from honourable, contemptible. This let the king, at my command, restore as a dwelling for monks, stately build, and amply endow; it shall be no other than the House of God and the gate of heaven." And so Edward rebuilt, with massive circular arches,—“more Romano,” called Anglo-Saxon—the “West Minster” of London, about A.D. 1050, said to have been the first church in the shape of a cross in England; and endowed it plenteously with relics, a specimen of which may be quoted from Dart. He gave “part of the place and manger where Christ was born, and also of the frankincense offered to him by the Eastern magi; of the table of our Lord; of the bread which he blessed; of the seat where he was presented in the Temple; of the wilderness where he fasted; of the gaol where he was imprisoned; of his undivided garment; of the sponge, lance, and scourge, with which he was tortured; of the sepulchre, and cloth that bound his head; and of the mountains Golgotha and Calvary; great part of the Holy Cross inclosed in a certain one particularly beautified, and distinguished with many other pieces of the same, and great part of one of the nails belonging to it; and likewise the cross that floated against wind and wave over sea from Normandy, hither with that king. Many pieces of the vestments of the Virgin Mary; of the linen which she wore; of the window in which the angel stood when he saluted her; of her milk; of her hair; of her shoes; and of her bed; also of the girdle which she worked with her own hands, always wore, and dropped to St. Thomas the apostle, at her assumption; of the hairs of St. Peter’s beard, and part of his cross.” Edward became abstracted from fleshly delights, and did many miracles. At his prayer, the nightingales, whose

“Skirmish and capricious passagings,
And murmurs musical with swift jug, jug,
And one low piping sound more sweet than all,”

were hushed into silence because they broke his devotional retirement. His miracles so multiplied, that at last they compelled Pope Alexander the Second to enrol his name in the calendar; and about A.D. 1163, Edward the Confessor was made a Saint. The sculptures on his screen will furnish another opportunity of relating other incidents of his life. Sir Christopher Wren has

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translated out of an old MS. the following account of the Confessor's building. "The principal area or nave of the church being raised high, and vaulted with square and uniform ribs, is turned circular to the east; this on each side is strongly fortified with a double vaulting of the iles in two stories, with their pillars and arches. The cross building, contrived to contain the quire in the middle, and the better to support the lofty tower, rose with a plainer and lower vaulting; which tower, then spreading with artificial winding stairs, was continued with plain walls to its timber roof, which was well covered with lead."

If we look before the Confessor's time, we shall hardly find any history of the Abbey existing, unless legends and traditions may be admitted to be such. Facts, fictions, and probabilities raise many knotty points among the learned, which it does not seem my vocation to untie. It is pleasant to encourage a belief in each and all the legends of the old West Minster at Thorney, without much scrutiny. What shall it profit us to decide whether the British king, Lucius, in A.D. 184, or King Sebert, of the East Saxons, about A.D. 616, first built a church to the honour of God and St. Peter, on the west of the city of London, in a terrible place, "loco terribili," on Thorney Island, "overgrown with thorns and environed with water?" Does not the vicinity—a bird's eye view may be had for sixpence from the Duke of York's column—at this day denote a spot for the generation of rushes and thorns? Is not the "West Minster" close to "Milbank," or the bank where a water-mill may have played? Is it not written indisputably, in evidence of Parliament, that the water in St. James's Park is one foot below the level of the high water of the river? Why not believe that King Lucius' church was changed into the temple of Apollo, and that it *did* stand on Thorney Island, and was ruined by an earthquake in the time of Antonius Pius? Sceptics may agree with Sir Christopher Wren, who gravely disputes the fact. Such belief does not militate against the legend that St. Peter subsequently consecrated *the* Minster of the West. John Flete, a monk, relates "that in the year 1231 there was a lawsuit between the monks of Westminster and the minister of Rotherhithe, in Surrey, for the tithe of the salmon caught in this parish; the plea of the monks being that *St. Peter himself* had given them the tithe of salmon caught in the Thames, at the time he had *consecrated*

their church!" Nothing here can be done to resolve these points ; and having thus carried our retrospect into periods over which only the society of antiquaries has dominion, let us at once cut short all further historic allusions, and proceed on a pilgrimage around the exterior and the interior of the Abbey itself. About three hours are requisite to pursue the course of survey laid down in this Handbook. Three whole days, or weeks—even years—perhaps lives—would not suffice to exhaust all the sights and associations of the venerable structure. Yet a three hours' visit makes an impression indelible ; and if you are moved by such matters at all, it will not be the only visit you will make. Commence your survey about noon-tide, and you will be in time to attend the afternoon service, which begins at three and ends before four o'clock. On no account miss the service, which is the happiest termination possible to your visit. An incidental good in your attendance is, that your presence helps to sustain the performances of the choir, now excellent, but which are threatened, in these times of church changes, with deterioration,—some say with extinction.

For picturesque richness, the inside surpasses the outside of the Abbey ; but the exterior, with the adjacent buildings—crumbling and mutilated remnants of its abbatial grandeur,—not wanting, too, in the finest effects of colour and light and shade—is, as an object of meditation, if possible, more interesting. Among the cloisters and gloomy passages you may wander uninterruptedly, pausing when and where you list ; with nothing to remind you of the showman who unavoidably haunts the nooks and corners within the walls, yet many whom curiosity leads to visit the Abbey, entirely neglect everything but the showman's portion—a truly imperfect inspection, which it is our aim to make more perfect for the future. Much has been done to spoil the effect of the outside ; and when we look at the Abbey on the north side, the aspect oftenest seen, we are unwillingly disposed to admit a foreigner's remark to be true, that the Abbey, a specimen of our architecture somewhat national, is far less impressive than St. Paul's Cathedral—a Roman ("Pagan," says Mr. Pugin) temple turned into a Christian church. Granting thus much, it by no means follows, that a "Gothic" structure is in its nature inferior to one whose proportions are regulated by any of the five orders of classical architecture. It is no part of our business here to discuss the abstract excellences of

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different styles of architecture, but rather to attempt to show why the exterior of Westminster Abbey is less effective to the eye than it ought naturally to be. Ask any of our great landscape painters where the best views of the outside of the Abbey are to be seen ; and, without a doubt, they will refer you to some part where a modern street builder would say it was smothered with buildings—buildings the said builder would be eager to raze to the ground. The grand Abbey gains by contrast with meanness. I doubt if the Houses of Parliament, that work of modern confectionery, as Carlyle calls it, improves the views of it. How fine the sight must have been through the old Holbein Gateway which once stood at the end of King Street ! No satisfactory view of the Abbey can be obtained from any point in the large open space between Palace Yard and the Westminster Hospital ; and yet this space, within the memory of many, was opened expressly to show the Abbey to advantage, and the "handsome ancient houses," spoken of by Sir Christopher Wren as close to the north side, thrown down : a mistake no one who felt the spirit of pointed architecture, could have committed. Vast areas that are consistent with one style of architecture may be altogether inconsistent with another. The direction of the principal lines in a Greek temple is horizontal ; in an English cathedral it is perpendicular and vertical. Since this was written, I find nearly the same words in an article in the "Quarterly Review," for December, 1841, on Gothic Architecture :—"Horizontalism, if the expression may be used, is the characteristic of the Grecian—verticalism, of the Gothic." In a Greek temple, the simultaneous and full development of its complacent and harmonious proportions, which admit of no addition or subtraction without injury, are essential to its full effect. Hence the Greeks raised their temples (like the Athenæum on the Acropolis) on eminences best suited to display to most advantage fully, at one view, their horizontal lines against the wavy outline of distant mountains. But principles diametrically the reverse, prevailed with the ecclesiastical buildings of the Middle Ages, which rather sought seclusion than exposure, and broke, with tall pointed arches and lofty spires, the horizontal flats surrounding them. In them, splendour and impressiveness arise from an aggregation of details, heaped one upon another, without much reference to a general design ; in-

creasing in magnificence as they increased in extent, and developing themselves gradually and not instantly. The vast height of our church buildings was a necessary connexion with the moral feelings of the times, aided by circumstances and climate. The lines of the structure devoted to the Christian Faith, pointing to the boundless blue above, were a fit, perhaps an inevitable, symbol of that faith which taught man to look from earth to heaven, and filled him with aspirations after an indefinable eternity. Then, not to omit the influence of material circumstances if we look at an old plan of any of our cities, we find the church seemingly protected by houses close upon it, with little else to be seen save the spire pointing upwards. Cities and towns, when cathedrals were built, were encompassed for safety by walls, and the space within was most valuable. The roofs, too, were acutely pointed, in order that they should afford the least possible retention of the constant rains and snows, as Mr. Hope has suggested. The churches marked their pre-eminence over surrounding buildings chiefly in height. If we take away the surrounding buildings, we not only lose a scale necessary for estimating the churches' elevation, but the eye sees at a glance, with disappointment, as finite, what was designed to appear infinite. The pointed spires and gables aimed to be impressive, too, by their height. But height is lost amidst great breadth, and this was forgotten when a large vacant area was made about the Abbey. In like forgetfulness, a committee of taste selected a lofty column to decorate the wide space before the National Gallery. The value of St. Margaret's Church, long in danger of being removed by those who forget that vacancy is not necessarily picturesque, is very great in the view of the western front. By contrast with the church, the height of the Abbey is rendered much greater. Distant peeps of the Abbey towers, springing lightly above the trees, may be caught on the rising ground of the Green Park, and from the bridge over the Serpentine; and the superior elevation of the whole Abbey is seen with great effect from the hills about Wandsworth and Wimbledon. Approaching the Abbey from the west, through St. James's Park, it is well worth while to turn out of the Bird Cage Walk into Queen Square, of Queen Anne's days, and pass on to Tothill Street. This old square affords a relief from the everlasting barrack-look of modern streets, in its handsome carved canopies still standing over most

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of the doors,—the grinning masks,—the lofty roofs,—prominent gables of the garrets,—the long windows, and deep-toned bricks. Those who may cross the park from the north should pass out of Storey's Gate, and through an archway nearly in the centre of Great George Street on the south by the side of the Guildhall, which now stands on the site of the Ancient Sanctuary.

Westminster
Abbey,
bronze.



HENRY THE SEVENTH'S TOMB, IN BRONZE GILT.

Wood
carving.



WOOD CARVINGS, TEMP. HENRY VII.



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Stone
statues.

STONE CARVING.





EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE TO THE
CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION
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THE activity of the present day chiefly develops itself in commercial industry, and it is in accordance with the spirit of the age, that the nations of the world have now collected together their choicest productions. It may be said without presumption, that an event like this Exhibition, could not have taken place at any earlier period, and perhaps not among any other people than ourselves. The friendly confidence reposed by other nations in our institutions; the perfect security for property; the commercial freedom, and the facility of transport, which England pre-eminently possesses, may all be brought forward as causes which have operated in establishing the Exhibition in London. Great Britain offers a hospitable invitation to all the nations of the world, to collect and display the choicest fruits of their industry in her capital; and the invitation is freely accepted by every civilized people, because the interest both of the guest and host is felt to be reciprocal.

But the consideration of the wide moral agencies which have contributed to produce the present Exhibition must be postponed, and we proceed at once to trace the course of the more direct influences which have led to its establishment.

Fairs,¹ which are one sort of exhibitions of works of industry,

¹ Sir Theodore Martin says:—"In the celebrated Frankfort Fairs of the 16th century, may be found the germ

of the Industrial Exhibitions of our era," and he refers to "La Faire de Frankfort (Exposition universelle et

have been established for centuries in every part of the United Kingdom; but exhibitions resembling the present institution, in which the race is for excellence, and direct commerce is not the primary object, have taken place only during the last century, and have been originated by individuals, or societies, independently of any Government assistance. As early as the years 1756-7, the Society of Arts of London offered prizes for specimens of manufactures, tapestry, carpets, porcelain, &c., and exhibited the works which were offered in competition. About the same period, the Royal Academy, as a private society, patronized by the Sovereign, more in a personal capacity than as representing the head of the Legislature, had organized its exhibitions of painting, sculpture, and engraving.

The first exhibition of industrial productions in France, recognized as a national institution, occurred in 1798; a second took place in 1801, a third in 1802, and a fourth in 1806. But it was not until the year 1819, that the expositions of French industry have taken place systematically; and it is only since that time that the influence of them has been markedly felt in Europe.

During the last thirty years, in each of the metropolitan cities of the United Kingdom, and the most important manufacturing towns, one or more exhibitions of machinery and manufactures have been held; and it may be recorded that, as early as 1829, the Royal Dublin Society had founded an exhibition of works of art, science, and manufacture, to be held triennially, to which, however, Irish productions only, were admitted until the year 1850. But the local exhibition of Birmingham, held in the autumn of the year 1849—originating with individuals, self-sup-

permanente au XVI^e Siècle), par Henri Estienne," published in 1574, and translated by M. Isidore Lisieux, Paris, 1875. Sir Theodore proceeds to say, "The French were the first to adopt the idea of bringing together great public collections of works of art and industry, with a view to the improvement of both," and mentions that an Exhibition of this nature took place in Paris in 1798, the sixth year of the first Republic.

Mr. Digby Wyatt, in his report on

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the eleventh French Exposition of the Products of Industry, submitted to the President and Council of the Society of Arts, 1849, shows that an attempt was made to form an exhibition at St. Cloud, of Gobelins tapestry, Savonnerie carpets, and Sèvres china, by the Marquis d'Avèze in 1797, which was prevented by the Revolution, but was carried out by him in 1798, and its success induced the Minister of the Interior to promise *annual* exhibitions, which did not take place.

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Local Ex-
hibitions in
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porting in its management, and comprehensive in the scope of the objects exhibited—may be said to have most nearly resembled the Exhibition of the present year. All similar exhibitions, in fact, have been essentially of a private and local character, none of them receiving any kind of Government or national sanction, if we except the exhibition of manufactures applicable to the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, which was instituted by the Fine Arts Commissioners.

To follow the links of the chain which have connected the present Exhibition with the national sympathies and support, we must revert to the French exposition in 1844. The great success of that exposition caused several representations to be made to members of the Cabinet, of the benefit which a similar exhibition would be likely to confer on the industry of the United Kingdom, and some efforts were made to obtain the assistance of the Government, but with no apparent results. No hopes whatever, were held out that the Government would undertake any pecuniary liabilities in promoting such an exhibition. It may be mentioned that, even so late as the year 1848, a proposal to establish a self-supporting exhibition of British industry, to be controlled by a Royal Commission, was submitted to his Royal Highness the Prince Albert, and by him laid before the Government; still, the Government hesitated to take up the subject, and it became quite evident to those parties who were most desirous of witnessing the establishment of a national exhibition, that if such an event should ever take place, it would have to be carried out independently of any Government assistance.

It is a marking feature in all the institutions and great works of our country, that they are the consequence of great popular wishes. It is not until wants become national, and that combined action becomes essential to success, that people seek the aid of the Government. The great constitutional freedom which this country enjoys, may be ascribed in some measure to the reluctance which the Government always shows, to act on behalf of the people in any case where it is possible they can act for themselves. A great part of the success which has attended the institution of this Exhibition, may be attributed to its independence of the Government; and it may be the boast of our countrymen that the Exhibition was originated, conducted, and completed independently of any

Government aid whatever, except its sanction. Assistance has only been sought from the Government when it was indispensable, as in correspondence with foreign countries, the provision of a site for the building, the organization of the police, &c., and wherever such assistance, when granted, would have entailed expense, the cost of it has been defrayed from the funds of the Exhibition.

Step by step, the subject of a national exhibition, and the means of realizing it, became connected with the Society of Arts. In June, 1845, a committee of members of that Society was formed to carry out an exhibition of national industry, and funds were subscribed by the individuals forming the committee, to meet the preliminary expenses. An inquiry was set on foot to ascertain the disposition of manufacturers to support the Exhibition, but the attempt failed and was abandoned. In 1847, the Council of the Society substituted action for theory, and in the midst of discouragement, established a limited exhibition of manufactures, professedly as the beginning of a series. The success of this exhibition determined the Council to persevere, and to hold similar exhibitions annually. Accordingly, in the next year, the experiment was repeated with such greatly increased success, that the Council felt warranted in announcing their intention of holding annual exhibitions, as a means of establishing a quinquennial Exhibition of British Industry, to be held in 1851. Having proceeded thus far, the Council sought to connect the Schools of Design, located in the centres of manufacturing industry, with the proposed exhibitions, and obtained the promised co-operation of the Board of Trade, through the President, Mr. Labouchere; moreover, with a view to prepare a suitable building, they secured the promise of a site from the Earl of Carlisle, then Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, who offered either the central area of Somerset House, or some other government ground. In the year 1849, the exhibition, still more successful than any preceding, consisted chiefly of works in the precious metals, some of which were graciously contributed by Her Majesty. To aid in carrying out their intention of holding a National Exhibition in the year 1851, the Council of the Society caused a report on the French Exposition, held in 1849, to be made for them and printed. A petition was also presented by the Council to the House of Commons, praying that they might have the use of some public building for the exhibition

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of 1851, which was referred to the Select Committee on the School of Design.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT, as President of the Society, had of course been fully informed, from time to time, of all these proceedings, which had received His Royal Highness's sanction and approval; but immediately after the termination of the session of 1849, the Prince took the subject under his personal superintendence. He proceeded to settle the general principles on which the proposed exhibition of 1851 should be conducted, and to consider the mode in which it should be carried out.

His Royal Highness has himself fully expressed the views which prompted him to take the lead in carrying out the Exhibition, and on the occasion of the banquet to promote the Exhibition, given by Mr. Farncomb, the Lord Mayor of London, to the municipal authorities of the United Kingdom, His Royal Highness declared these views in the following terms:—

“It must, indeed, be most gratifying to me, to find that a suggestion which I had thrown out, as appearing to me of importance at this time, should have met with such universal concurrence and approbation; for this has proved to me that the view I took of the peculiar character and requirements of our age, was in accordance with the feelings and opinions of the country. Gentlemen, I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person closely to watch and study the time in which he lives; and, as far as in him lies, to add his humble mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained. Nobody, however, who has paid any attention to the particular features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to the accomplishment of that great end to which, indeed, all history points—the realization of the unity of mankind. Not a unity which breaks down the limits, and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity the result and product of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities. The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe, are gradually vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible ease; the languages of all nations are known, and their acquirement placed

within the reach of everybody; thought is communicated with the rapidity and even by the power of lightning. On the other hand, the great principle of division of labour, which may be called the moving power of civilization, is being extended to all branches of science, industry, and art. Whilst formerly the greatest mental energies strove at universal knowledge, and that knowledge was confined to the few, now they are directed to specialities, and in these again, even to the minutest points; but the knowledge acquired becomes at once the property of the community at large. Whilst formerly discovery was wrapt in secrecy, the publicity of the present day causes that no sooner is a discovery or invention made, than it is already improved upon and surpassed by competing efforts; the products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose which is the best and cheapest for our purpose, and the powers of production are intrusted to the stimulus of competition and capital. So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs His creation, and, by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer Nature to his use—himself a divine instrument. Science discovers these laws of power, motion, and transformation; industry applies them to the raw matter, which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge; art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our productions forms in accordance with them. Gentlemen,—The Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions. I confidently hope the first impression which the view of this vast collection will produce upon the spectator, will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which He has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render to each other—therefore, only by peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth.”

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Meeting at
Buckingham
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On the 29th June, 1849, the general outlines of the Exhibition were discussed by His Royal Highness; and from that day to the present time, accurate accounts of all proceedings have been kept, and the greater part of them printed and published. The minutes of a meeting of several members of the Society of Arts, held at Buckingham Palace on the 30th June, set forth as follows:—His Royal Highness communicated his views regarding the formation of a Great Collection of Works of Industry and Art in London in 1851, for the purposes of exhibition, and of competition and encouragement.

His Royal Highness considered that such Collection and Exhibition should consist of the following divisions:—

Raw Materials.

Machinery and Mechanical Inventions.

Manufactures.

Sculpture and Plastic Art generally.

It was a matter of consideration whether such divisions should be made subjects of simultaneous exhibition, or be taken separately. It was ultimately settled, that, on the first occasion at least, they should be simultaneous.

Various sites were suggested as most suitable for the building; which it was settled must be, on the first occasion at least, a temporary one. The Government had offered the area of Somerset House; or, if that were unfit, a more suitable site on the property of the Crown. His Royal Highness pointed out the vacant ground in Hyde Park, on the south side, parallel with, and between, the Kensington drive and the ride commonly called Rotten Row, as affording advantages which few other places might be found to possess. Application for this site could be made to the Crown.

It was a question whether this exhibition should be exclusively limited to British industry. It was considered that, whilst it appears an error to fix any limitation to the productions of machinery, science, and taste, which are of no country, but belong, as a whole, to the civilized world, particular advantage to British industry might be derived from placing it in fair competition with that of other nations.

It was further settled that, by offering very large premiums in money, sufficient inducement would be held out to the various

manufacturers to produce works which, although they might not form a manufacture profitable in the general market, would, by the effort necessary for their accomplishment, permanently raise the powers of production, and improve the character of the manufacture itself.

It was settled that the best mode of carrying out the execution of these plans would be by means of a Royal Commission, of which His Royal Highness would be at the head. His Royal Highness proposed that inasmuch as the home trade of the country will be encouraged, as many questions regarding the introduction of foreign productions may arise—in so far also as the Crown property may be affected, and Colonial products imported—the Secretaries of State, the Chief Commissioner of Woods, and the President of the Board of Trade, should be *ex officio* members of this Commission; and for the execution of its details some of the parties present, who are also members or officers of the Society of Arts, and who have been most active in originating and preparing for the execution of this plan, should be suggested as members, and that the various interests of the community also should be fully represented therein.

It was settled that a draft of the proposed Commission, grounded on precedents of other Royal Commissions, be prepared, and that information regarding the most expeditious and direct mode of doing this be procured, and privately submitted to Her Majesty's Government, in order that no time be lost in preparation for the collection when the authority of the Government shall have been obtained.

It was settled that a subscription for donations on a large scale, to carry this object into effect, would have to be organized immediately. It was suggested that the Society for Encouragement of Arts under its charter possessed machinery and an organization which might be useful, both in receiving and holding the money, and in assisting the working out of the Exposition.—(*Minutes of the Meeting on the 30th June, 1849, at Buckingham Palace.*)

In the minutes of a second meeting held on the 14th July, at Osborne, it appears that:—His Royal Highness stated that he had recently communicated his views regarding the formation of a Great Collection of Works of Industry and Art in London in 1851, for the purposes of exhibition and of competition and encouragement, to

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some of the leading statesmen, and amongst them to Sir Robert Peel.

His Royal Highness judged, as the result of these communications, that the importance of the subject was fully appreciated, but that its great magnitude would necessarily require some time for maturing the plans essential to securing its complete success.

His Royal Highness communicated that he had also requested Mr. Labouchere, as President of the Board of Trade, to give his consideration to this subject. Mr. Labouchere was now at Osborne, and His Royal Highness expressed his desire that he should be present at this meeting. Mr. Labouchere was accordingly invited to be present.

His Royal Highness gave it as his opinion that it was most important that the co-operation of the Government and sanction of the Crown should be obtained for the undertaking; but that it ought to be matter for serious consideration how that co-operation and sanction could be most expediently given.

Mr. Labouchere stated that the whole subject would have the very best consideration he could give it; and on behalf of the Ministry, he could promise an early decision as to the manner in which they could best give their co-operation.

He suggested that if, instead of a Royal Commission being formed, to include some of the chief members of Her Majesty's Government, those same ministers were to be elected members of a Managing Committee of the Society of Arts, this object might perhaps be as well accomplished.

It was explained to Mr. Labouchere that the exertions of the Society of Arts would be given to the undertaking, to the utmost extent to which they could be useful, but that these functions would necessarily be of an executive and financial nature, rather than of a judicial and legislative character.

It was further urged by three members of the Society, that one of the requisite conditions for the acquirement of public confidence was, that the body to be appointed for the exercise of those functions should have a sufficiently elevated position in the eyes of the public, and should be removed sufficiently high above the interests, and remote from the liability of being influenced by the feelings of competitors, to place beyond all possibility any accusation of partiality or undue influence; and that no less

elevated tribunal than one appointed by the Crown, and presided over by His Royal Highness, could have that standing and weight in the country, and give that guarantee for impartiality that would command the utmost exertions of all the most eminent manufacturers at home, and particularly abroad: moreover, that the most decided mark of *national* sanction must be given to this undertaking, in order to give it the confidence, not only of all classes of our own countrymen, but also of foreigners accustomed to the expositions of their own countries, which are conducted and supported exclusively by their Governments. It was also stated that, under such a sanction, and with such plans as now proposed, responsible parties would, it was believed and could be proved, be found ready to place at the disposal of the Commission sufficient funds to cover all preliminary expenses and the risks incidental to so great an undertaking. Mr. Labouchere expressed his sense of the great national importance of the proposal, and wished such further communication on the subject as might enable him fully to understand it, to be able better to consider the matter with his colleagues in the Cabinet.

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At the same time the following general outline of a plan of operations was submitted:—

Plan of
operations.

I. A Royal Commission.—For promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Industry, by means of a Great Collection of Works of Art and Industry of All Nations, to be formed in London, and exhibited in 1851. President, His Royal Highness Prince Albert.

1. The duties and powers of the Commission to extend to the determination of the nature of the prizes, and the selection of the subjects for which they are to be offered.

2. The definition of the nature of the Exhibition, and the best manner of conducting all its proceedings.

3. The determination of the method of deciding the prizes, and the responsibility of the decision.

II. The Society of Arts.—To organize the means of raising funds to be placed at the disposal of the Commission for Prizes, and to collect the funds and contributions to provide a building and defray the necessary expenses to cover the risks of the collection and exhibition; and to provide for the permanent establishment of these Quinquennial Exhibitions.

The prizes proposed to be submitted for the consideration of

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the Commission to be medals, with money prizes so large as to overcome the scruples and prejudices even of the largest and richest manufacturers, and ensure the greatest amount of exertion. It was proposed that the first prize should be £5,000, and that one, at least of £1,000, should be given in each of the four sections. Medals conferred by the Queen would very much enhance the value of the prizes.

Mr. Labouchere finally stated that the whole matter should be carefully considered; but that there was no use in bringing it before the Cabinet at the moment of a closing session—that the Cabinet would now disperse, and not meet again until the autumn. The interval from now to October or November, might be most usefully employed by the Society in collecting more detailed evidence as to the readiness of the great manufacturing and commercial interests to subscribe to and support the undertaking, and he promised to employ that interval in further informing himself, and endeavouring to ascertain the general feeling of the country on the subject.—(*Minutes of the Meeting of the 14th July, 1849, at Osborne.*)

Pecuniary
arrange-
ments to
ensure exe-
cution of the
proposal.

In this stage of the proceedings, it became necessary to place the accomplishment of the undertaking, as far as possible, beyond a doubt. Having acquired experience, in 1845, of the difficulties to be encountered, the Council of the Society of Arts felt that the proposal must not be brought a second time before the public as an hypothesis, but that the only means of succeeding was to prove that they had both the will and the power to carry out the Exhibition. The Society had no funds of its own available for the advances necessary to be made. The outlay for a building upon the scale then thought of, and for preliminary expenses, was estimated at the least at £70,000.

After much fruitless negotiation with several builders and contractors, an agreement was made between the Society of Arts and the Messrs. Munday, by which the latter undertook to deposit £20,000 as a prize fund, to erect a suitable building, to find offices, to advance the money requisite for all preliminary expenses, and to take the whole risk of loss on certain conditions. It was proposed that the receipts arising from the Exhibition should be dealt with as follows:—The £20,000 prize fund, the cost of the building, and five per cent. on all advances, were to be repaid in

the first instance; the residue was then to be divided into three equal parts; one part was to be paid at once to the Society of Arts as a fund for future exhibitions; out of the other two parts all other incidental expenses, &c., were to be paid; and the residue, if any, was to be the remuneration of the contractors, for their outlay, trouble, and risk. Subsequently the contractors agreed that instead of this division, they would be content to receive such part of the surplus, if any, as, after payment of all expenses, might be awarded by arbitration. This contract was made on the 23rd August, 1849, but the deeds were not signed till the 7th November following.

For the purpose of carrying the contract into execution on behalf of the Society, the Council nominated an Executive Committee of four members, who were afterwards appointed the Executive in the Royal Commission, and the contractors their own nominee. In thus making the contract with private parties for the execution of what, in fact, would become a national object, if the proposal should be entertained by the public, every care was taken to anticipate the public wishes, and to provide for the public interests. It was foreseen that if the public identified itself with the Exhibition, they would certainly prefer not to be indebted to private enterprise and capital for carrying it out. A provision was made with the contractors to meet this probability, by which it was agreed that if the Treasury were willing to take the place of the contractors, and pay the liabilities incurred, the Society of Arts should have the power of determining the contract before the 1st February, 1850. In the event of an exercise of this power, the compensation to be paid to the Messrs. Munday for their outlay and the risk, was to be settled by arbitration.

The Society of Arts having thus secured the performance of the pecuniary part of the undertaking, the next step taken was to ascertain the readiness of the public to promote the Exhibition. It has been shown that the proof of this readiness would materially influence her Majesty's Government in consenting to the proposal to issue a Royal Commission to superintend the Exhibition. The Prince Albert, as President of the Society of Arts, therefore commissioned several members of the society, in the autumn of 1849, to proceed to the "manufacturing districts of the country, in order to collect the opinions of the leading manufacturers, and further evidence

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Visits to the
manufacturing
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with reference to a Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations to be held in London in the year 1851, in order that His Royal Highness might bring the results before Her Majesty's Government." Commissioners were appointed, visits made, and reports of the results submitted to the Prince, from which it appeared that sixty-five places, comprehending the most important cities and towns of the United Kingdom, had been visited. Public meetings had been held, and local committees of assistance formed in them. It further appeared that nearly 5,000 influential persons had registered themselves as promoters of the proposed Exhibition.

EXTRACT FROM FIRST REPORT OF
COMMISSIONERS FOR THE
EXHIBITION OF 1851.

Contract
with Messrs
Munday.

"THE Society of Arts, not having at their own disposal any funds which they could apply to the purposes of the Exhibition, had found it necessary, at the very outset of their proceedings, to make arrangements for procuring money on the security of the profits which they anticipated might arise from the undertaking; and having met with a firm (Messrs. James and George Munday) willing to advance the sums likely to be required, had entered into an agreement by which the firm bound themselves to advance whatever amount might be necessary, in consideration of receiving a proportion of the profits of the Exhibition, which proportion was in the first instance fixed, but afterwards, at the request of the Society of Arts, was left to be decided at the close of the Exhibition by arbitrators chosen on either side.

"Into this agreement a clause had been introduced, giving the Society of Arts the power to cancel it, if requested to do so by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury within a specified period, provision being at the same time made for the repayment to the Messrs. Munday of any sums that might have been advanced by them, together with a fair compensation for the outlay and risk which they might have incurred."

LETTER OF MR. DREW ADDRESSED TO
H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT ON THE
CONTRACT.

7th December, 1849.

TO the two proposals mentioned, respecting, first, the willingness of the contractors to place a limit on their possible profits, and, secondly, to assent to a further extension of the term for determining the contract, I have to inform your Royal Highness, that I am authorised by the contractors Messrs. Munday, to reply on their behalf as their nominee.

Before considering the first proposal, I submit it is necessary to dispose of the obvious preliminary question, whether the Minute implies that the Government or the Society of Arts, or anybody else, in desiring to limit the possible profits, is prepared to limit the possible losses that may be sustained under this contract. As the Minute does not allude to this contingency, I have taken it for granted that no one is so prepared. Under this view I proceed to discuss the proposal, which I am authorised to say the contractors are quite prepared to consider in accordance with your Royal Highness's suggestion, because they fully sympathise in the desire of your Royal Highness to protect to the utmost the public interests in this matter. They admit the full force of the fact, that the undertaking now appears under an aspect very different from that which it wore in July last, when it was first propounded by your Royal Highness. At the same time, the contractors submit it should be borne in mind, in considering their position, that, before the proposition for holding the Exhibition, accompanied with the offer to the world of prizes to the amount of £20,000 could be published, it was obviously necessary that there should be some guarantee that the proposal would become a reality. The contractors apprehend there can be no doubt that the Government, the Society of Arts, or some one, must have taken the preliminary risk before any public steps whatever could be taken, and the contractors, for certain considerations, were then willing to undertake that risk. If a contract had to be made now, in the month of December, for the first time, the present information as to the expression of public feeling might, perhaps, cause the terms of that contract to be different.

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on the con-
tract.

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The contractors, however, do not wish to take advantage of the state of uncertainty which existed in July last, and are willing that the better knowledge and experience in this matter, which have been obtained at their risk and by their expenditure, should be fairly considered. But in so doing, I submit that the circumstances of the early period when the agreement was made, ought not to be forgotten. In July there was no evidence at all to indicate how far the public would respond to the proposal; and there was no pecuniary guarantee whatever to secure its eventual success, as indeed there is none certain even now.

The contractors were invited to enter into an engagement binding themselves to carry out this great work, involving a certain liability of £75,000; to be prepared at once when called upon to deposit £20,000 for a Prize Fund; to advance all necessary capital for preliminary expenses; and to make an outlay immediately without any tangible commercial security whatever. If they had viewed this proposal simply as tradesmen, they would probably have declined it, as I knew that others had already done, but they were induced to entertain it principally by my knowledge (obtained from the perusal of minutes of meetings held at Buckingham Palace and Osborne House, and shown to me by Mr. Fuller) of the interest taken by your Royal Highness in the plan, and of the confidence displayed by your Royal Highness in this matter in Messrs. Cole, Fuller, and Russell, from whom, (then personally unknown to the contractors) the latter received an assurance of willingness to co-operate in the Executive.

Upon such moral rather than commercial security, the contractors entered into this arrangement, binding themselves to carry out the proposal, which was not indeed defined in its extent, but was to be carried out to such an extent, and in such a way as your Royal Highness, or a Royal Commission if issued, should direct.

The receipts by which the outlay was to be repaid, either as respects the amount, or the regulations for obtaining them, were to be altogether beyond their control. How and whence they should arise they could not determine; this point resting with the public themselves and with the Royal Commission. It was agreed, when the receipts were sufficient to repay the £20,000 advanced for the Prize Fund, the expenses of the building, and some expenses mentioned in the deed, that the residue of the receipts, if

any, should be divided in certain proportions between the Society of Arts, as trustees for the public in this matter, and the contractors. Out of their share the contractors undertook, further, to pay the expenses, necessarily very considerable, of all management, salaries, offices, advertising, printing, &c. ; and the Society of Arts, I understood, would hold their proportion in trust for future similar exhibitions ; so that, even after the Prize Fund and the building had been paid for, the contractors still had a risk, whilst the public were sure of a future fund, if the receipts from the undertaking afforded any surplus whatever, beyond the outlay for prizes and the cost of the building. During the preparation of the deeds for giving effect to the arrangements already mentioned, a still further protection of the public was asked of them, and they consented to the proposition made by Mr. Cole, that the contract should be altogether cancelled upon arbitration before February 1st, 1850, if the Government desired it : thus practically agreeing that, if a better arrangement for the public could be devised, there should at least be an opportunity of making one.

I have now to state to your Royal Highness that, as the contractors still entertain the same confidence towards the undertaking and its promoters as they did when they came forward in July, and by so doing enabled the proposal to be announced to the world, so they are now willing that an arbitration shall determine, when the Exhibition is closed, the proportion of any surplus, after payment of all expenses whatever, to be allotted to them as remuneration for the capital employed, the risk incurred, and the exertions used.

With regard to the wish of your Royal Highness, that the contractors should agree to a still further extension of the time within which Her Majesty's Government shall be at liberty to determine the contract, and the suggestion made, as I understand by your Royal Highness, that the period of extension should be the end of two months after the first meeting of the Royal Commission, I have to state that the contractors consent that the contract shall be liable to be determined at any time within the period suggested, upon the desire expressed by the Lords of the Treasury, in the manner in all other respects provided in the deed.

In conclusion, I beg leave to submit to your Royal Highness, that, while I have no wish to parade the willingness of the contractors

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thus to make further concession or to submit to further modification in the terms of the contract for the public benefit, I think it only fair to call to mind the position in which they now place themselves.

Your Royal Highness has the guarantee that the proposal will be carried out in such a way as a Royal Commission may direct. The Society of Arts have the honour of being the organ for executing the proposal, without any risk or loss to themselves. The public not only have no risk or loss, but will have in fact all the profits of the undertaking, because I submit that a fair remuneration for risk and employment of capital cannot be considered as any other than an ordinary charge. In fact, the contractors are the only parties unprotected, and are liable to all the risks whatever.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your Royal Highness's

Most obedient and faithful Servant,

GEORGE DREW.

LETTER FROM COLONEL PHIPPS ON THE CONTRACT.

10th December, 1849.

Colonel
Phipps's
answer.

SIR,—I am commanded by His Royal Highness the Prince Albert to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th December, and to express to you His Royal Highness's sense of the public spirit and confiding readiness which were displayed by the contractors in the original acceptance of the contract, at a time when the risk of the undertaking could in no way be ascertained or limited.

His Royal Highness has no hesitation in acknowledging that it was owing to liberality and public spirit, thus displayed, that it became possible for him to bring the scheme of the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations before the Government and the public, in a shape insuring the practicability of its execution.

His Royal Highness is happy to trace the same feelings in the answer which he has received from you on the part of the contractors, under the present much altered circumstances of the

undertaking; and the Prince is induced to hope that the position in which the present contract can be laid before the Government and the public, will prove satisfactory to both.

Firstly. Because the present agreement enables the Royal Commission, should it decide that the present contract will not be conducive to the public benefit, to determine that contract, within a limited time, upon equitable terms.

Secondly. Because the contractors have consented to an arrangement by which the share to be assigned to them of any profits that may result from the Exhibition, after payment of their expenses, shall be determined by arbitration, under the then existing circumstances of the case, whilst they still remain liable for any possible losses, trusting solely to the liberal support of the public of a scheme which they have already so warmly received.

It is in appreciation of this fact that His Royal Highness feels it a duty to furnish to them the earliest information with regard to the scheme in which His Royal Highness, as President of the Society of Arts, in conjunction with the British public, stands now morally pledged to the world; and therefore the Prince is pleased to direct that the contract, with the modifications agreed to in your letter, together with this answer written by His Royal Highness's command, shall be published without delay.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

C. B. PHIPPS.

EXTRACT FROM FIRST REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

BEFORE the issue of the Royal Commission, an Executive Committee had been appointed by the Council of the Society of Arts, to carry into effect the contract which has already been alluded to. This Committee had been afterwards confirmed in Her Majesty's Commission of the 3rd January, 1850. It then consisted of the following members: Mr. Robert Stephenson, Mr.

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Executive
Committee.

Appoint-
ment of Col.
Reid as
Chairman of
Executive
Committee.

Henry Cole, Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, Mr. F. Fuller, Mr. G. Drew, Mr. M. Digby Wyatt (Secretary). Of these, Mr. Drew had been nominated by Messrs. Munday to represent their interests, according to the provision in the contract.

“Immediately on the Commissioners availing themselves of the power to annul the contract, and thereby assuming a different relation to the management of the Exhibition, the then Executive Committee considered it becoming to leave the Commissioners wholly unfettered in the choice of their Executive Officers, and accordingly tendered their resignations. Under these circumstances Mr. Robert Stephenson retired, and was nominated a Commissioner by a supplementary warrant from Her Majesty; and Lieut.-Colonel, now Colonel Sir William Reid, R.E., was appointed by Her Majesty’s warrant dated February 12, 1850, to succeed him in the Executive Committee. The other Members of the Committee were requested to continue their duties, but Mr. Fuller and Mr. Drew stated that they were unable to devote the whole of their time to the service of the Commission, and the principal part of the duties fell therefore upon Sir William Reid, Mr. Cole, and Mr. Dilke. It then became their duty practically to carry into effect all the decisions of Her Majesty’s Commissioners, and to exercise that continued watchfulness in every department which was requisite in so vast an undertaking, and which could only be secured by the agency of persons constantly engaged in its management, and possessing authority to dispose of such questions of detail as could not conveniently be delayed for the consideration of the Commissioners. The Executive Committee have been engaged in this manner without intermission until the present time. Sir W. Reid more particularly undertook the duties of communicating with the public departments, Mr. H. Cole the questions of space and arrangement, and Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke the charge of the correspondence and general superintendence. The services of Mr. Fuller and Mr. Drew were principally employed in organizing the collection of subscriptions in the earlier period of the labours of the Commission.” . . .

“The Commissioners having, by the determination of the contract, taken upon themselves the responsibility of finding the sums necessary for carrying on the Exhibition, proceeded forthwith to invite the public to contribute to this great national object.

A subscription list was immediately opened, and in announcing to the public the step they had taken, the Commissioners stated that they would hold themselves exclusively responsible for the application of the funds which might be subscribed, and would proceed without delay to establish regulations for ensuring an effectual control over the expenditure, and a satisfactory audit of the accounts.

“The subscriptions promised to the undertaking were made public from time to time as they were announced. The total amount reported was £79,224 13s. 4d., of which sum £67,896 12s. 9d. had been actually paid to the credit of the Commission on the 29th February, 1852. A portion of the subscriptions received in some of the provincial districts, was retained to defray the expenses of collection and local management.”

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Subscription
opened.

MR. COLE'S REPORT ON THE SECURITY OF THE BUILDING FROM FIRE.

IN the estimate of the probable cost of the Exhibition, I have assumed that the Commissioners, in declaring that the building will be fire-proof, intend the term “fire-proof” to be interpreted in a comparative, rather than a positive sense, and I ventured on making this assumption, because the inquiries into the best means of making a building fire-proof, which it has been my duty to prosecute for some years past, conjointly with Mr. Braidwood, Superintendent of the Fire Brigade, in reference to the Public Record Office, have led me to the conclusion that a building, fire-proof in a strict sense, would not only be far too costly for the object proposed, but would be, in the very nature of its construction, unsuitable for the purposes of the Exhibition.

Fire-proof
buildings.

It is generally admitted by all authorities that the degree of “fire-proof” in a building containing combustible materials is regulated chiefly by the amount of cubical space enclosed; and that in proportion to the smallness of the area, and its complete air-tight insulation, so will the draught be minimized, and the intensity of any fire be diminished. Mr. Braidwood has stated that “he had seen

Regulation
of fire-proof
character of
buildings.

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Houses
containing
numerous
rooms more
secure from
fire than
warehouses.

a warehouse 450 feet long and 110 feet broad, and that if that building, although constructed on the fire-proof principle, was on fire, there would be no chance of dealing with it, though it would generally be considered safe. The draught of a fire in such a building would melt the iron away like lead." To go to the other extreme, instances might be adduced where small wood and plaster chambers, sufficiently air-tight, although their contents have been on fire, have resisted the spread of fire for want of draught.

The superior security of smaller compartments is fully proved by the lesser rate of insurance taken for dwelling-houses than warehouses, although the first are much more exposed to fire.

In devising fire-proof security for the Public Record Office, it was considered advisable, in order to insure the greatest amount of safety, that the building should consist of a series of chambers unconnected with each other, and each one should not contain more than 7,000 cubic feet. The walls being of brick and the floors stone, there was a security that even if one chamber took fire the volume of fire would not ignite the adjoining chamber. But such moderate-sized spaces would obviously be so ill-adapted to the Exhibition, that they need not be further noticed. At a late discussion before the Institution of Civil Engineers, the questions of space and materials, in reference to fire-proof buildings, were brought forward; Mr. Braidwood reiterated his opinion, expressing his conviction, "from upwards of twenty-two years experience, that the intensity of a fire, the risk of its ravages extending to adjoining premises, and also the difficulty of extinguishing it, depend, *ceteris paribus*, on the cubic contents of the building which takes fire." Professor Hosking, the official referee of metropolitan buildings, said that the law provided that the contents of warehouses should be restricted to 200,000 cubic feet. Even if this rule were applied to the building for the Exhibition, assuming the building to be only twenty feet high, it would consist of upwards of eighty separate chambers. Mr. Rendel, C.E., agreed "that small warehouses for containing inflammable goods were safer in every point of view."

Materials
which con-
duce to
security
against fire.

In respect of those materials which conduce to security against fire, all authorities agree with Mr. Farey's remark, that "the old Roman system of strong pillars of masonry supporting groined arches affords the best security." Professor Hosking said, "he

had carefully examined the results of many of the great fires of London within the last few years, and had observed the general insecurity of buildings, depending on either cast or wrought iron, in cases of fire occurring." He added, "that the use of thin metal as a covering to wood liable to be exposed to heat was a fatal error, as the metal rapidly conducted the heat, and prevented the contact of water in any attempt to extinguish the combustion. Nothing was more common in London than to endeavour to meet the objection of exposing wood to fire by covering it with metal, and nothing was more certain to be productive of mischievous consequences." Mr. Piper, the builder, said, "It appeared to be understood that, for the class of buildings intended to contain combustible goods, the construction should be of fire-proof materials, but entirely omitting metal . . . and he had never seen a sound brick wall nine inches in thickness burnt through."

The conditions of the building for the Exhibition, are, that it is to be temporary, that it must not be too costly, and that the chambers in it must be spacious.

But as these conditions appear to be incompatible with positive "fire-proofedness," and as I have reason to believe that no species of building possible, under the circumstances, would sensibly affect the *rate of insurance*—an infallible gauge of security—I venture to submit that the security from fire should be obtained by vigilant watching, and efficient preparations to extinguish fire, if it should unfortunately happen, and that the materials and mode of construction ought therefore to be selected solely for their fitness and economy.

The Record Office at Carlton Ride, having a very large chamber, is so insecure that it would not be insured at treble the ordinary rate of insurance, but, by the joint agency of the fire brigade, the police force, and tell-tale clocks, it has been most efficiently watched for years, and after a long experience of the system, I beg leave to recommend that principle of security to the notice of the Commissioners.

HENRY COLE.

April 2, 1850.

I have perused the foregoing Report and fully concur in it.

JAMES BRAIDWOOD,
*Superintendent of the London Fire
 Engine Establishment.*

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Effects of
 conditions of
 building re-
 quired for
 the Exhibi-
 tion, upon
 insurance.

Watching re-
 commended
 instead.

To be done
 by fire
 brigade,
 police force,
 and tell-tale
 clocks.

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Mr. Braid-
wood's
advice.

Since the foregoing remarks were written, I have had the advantage of a lengthened conversation with Mr. Braidwood on the subject. He recommends that iron supports should be used, perhaps covered with cement, and that the walls be of lath and plaster. By this means "the building would be the most manageable in case of fire." For security, he would greatly prefer this mode of construction to iron, which would give very great difficulty in case of fire, and, in his opinion, be very dangerous. He suggests "that as many of the draughts between the outside and inside lath and plaster as possible, should be stopped;" that there should be provided the most "easy access possible to and along the roof, so that in case of fire the glass may be broken," and the draught of air and fire led upwards. Fire mains should be laid on; the pipes should be large, "certainly not less than nine inches diameter, along the building." Unless the water could be laid on at all times, cisterns ought to be provided. The summary of Mr. Braidwood's advice, is, that the security will consist in having efficient means to suppress a fire, if it should happen, instantly. His words were, "it must be extinguished in a *few minutes*, or there will be great trouble."

HENRY COLE.

EXTRACT FROM FIRST REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

Royal
Charter.

AT the commencement of the Commissioners' proceedings, while they were incurring no expenses beyond those of the remuneration of their officers, and the necessary outlay on printing, advertising, and other comparatively small items, the subscriptions received from time to time were amply sufficient for their wants; and they did not experience any inconvenience from the want of a more definite legal position than that of a mere Commission of Inquiry. But when, in the month of July, 1850, the plan for a building estimated to cost £79,800 had been approved, and it became necessary that a contract should be made for its erection, questions naturally arose as to the power of the Commission to

enter into and to enforce such a contract,—as to the person or persons by whom such contract should be signed, and the individual responsibility which, by so signing it, they would incur,—and as to the mode in which the money that would be required beyond the amount of the subscriptions received, was to be provided.

“These considerations led to the Commissioners’ soliciting and obtaining from Her Majesty a Royal Charter of Incorporation, dated 15th August, 1850, under which they at present exist as a corporate body. Having thus obtained a legal status, they found themselves in a position to enter into the necessary contract for the erection of the Building, and were also enabled to procure from the Bank of England an advance of such sums as they required, on the personal guarantee of certain individual members of the Commission, and other well-wishers to the undertaking. The sums so advanced from time to time by the Bank of England, amounting in the whole to £32,500, were repaid, with interest, on the 22nd of May last (1851), out of the receipts at the doors, after the Exhibition had been open for three weeks.”

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Guarantee.

EXTRACT FROM THE “LONDON GAZETTE,” TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1851.

WINDSOR CASTLE, OCT. 28.

THE Queen was this day pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon Joseph Paxton, Esq., Fellow of the Linnæan Society, Horticultural Society, and the Society of Arts.

Honours
conferred.

The Queen was this day pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon Charles Fox, Esq., of New Street, Spring Gardens, in the County of Middlesex.

The Queen was this day pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon William Cubitt, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Society.

DOWNING STREET, OCT. 25.

The Queen has been graciously pleased to give orders for the appointment of William Reid, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel in the

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Corps of Royal Engineers, Companion of the Most Hon. Order of the Bath, formerly Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Bermuda Islands, and in and over the Windward Islands, sometime Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, to be an Ordinary Member of the Civil Division of the Second Class or Knight Commander of the said Most Hon. Order.

Her Majesty has also been graciously pleased to give orders for the appointment of Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Bart, sometime one of the Secretaries of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, of Dr. Lyon Playfair, sometime one of the Special Commissioners of the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations for communicating with Local Committees, and one of the Members of one of the Committees of Sections of such Exhibition, and of Henry Cole, Esq., sometime one of the Members of the Executive Committee of the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, to be Ordinary Members of the Civil Division of the Third Class or Companions of the said Most Hon. Order of the Bath.



LECTURE XII.

SECOND SERIES.

DECEMBER 1, 1852.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL RESULTS OF THE
EXHIBITION OF 1851.

BY HENRY COLE, ESQ., C.B.

I N looking at any result, great or small, we are generally disposed to attribute it to some solitary cause, instead of viewing it as the consequence of many, in fact innumerable, antecedents—each one forming a link in the chain. We look upon Guttenberg's invention of moveable types as the cause of printing, overlooking the fact that the number of scribes in the sixteenth century was inadequate to supply the demand for written books. Manuscripts could not be produced in sufficient numbers to meet the wants of readers—readers created by increased knowledge; so mechanical repetition, or printing, came in aid of writing; and the earliest books were partly printed and partly written, and were sold as manuscripts. Guttenberg's and Schöffer's little bits of metal were merely the mechanical answer to a want, without which they would not have made them. In like manner, historians have attributed the Reformation in this country to Harry the Eighth's desire to exchange his wife—no doubt a link in the chain of causes, but a far less important one than the corruption of the clergy and the alienation of the sympathies and adhesion of the laity. The King might have quarrelled with the Pope, but he would not have seized the monasteries unless the people had been alienated from them. You will smile, perhaps, if I were to attempt to connect the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations with the invasions of Roman Cæsar, of Danish Hengist and Horsa, and Norman William. But a moment's reflection will show that there are some relations which may be really traced, between the holding of the first cosmopolitan Exhibition of Industry by the most cosmopolitan nation in the whole world, and the character

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of that nation. What more natural than that the first Exhibition of the Works of Industry of *all* Nations should take place among a people which beyond every other in the world is composed of *all* nations? If we were to examine the various races which have been concerned in the production of this very audience, we should find the blood of Saxons, Celts, Germans, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Hindoos, and probably even Negroes, flowing among it. To repeat a passage from one of the many philosophical essays that adorn the columns of the newspaper press at the present time,—a passage from *The Times*—I have seen it remarked that—“The average Englishman is a born cosmopolite, and to that mixed composition he owes the universality of his moral affinities and mental powers. No country in Europe has harboured so many migrations, whether as conquerors, as allies, as refugees, or simply as guests, and no people are so free as we are from the follies of nationality.”

Free Trade.

To come to causes nearer at hand which produced the International Exhibition, and placed in this country that first of the long series of Exhibitions, which I have no doubt will follow, I think must be named Free Trade, or, to substitute Latin for Saxon words, “unrestricted competition.” It would have been a folly to have proposed an International Exhibition before that great statesman, Sir Robert Peel, had loosened the fetters of our commercial tariff, so that it might be the interest of foreigners to accept the invitation to show us the fruits of their Industry. Had an International Exhibition of Industry been proposed in the good old times, when our manufacturers of silk, and cotton, and metals, were protected from the competition of their foreign neighbours, we should have rejected the idea just as the French manufacturers did, whose development is still cramped by protective tariffs. But it was decidedly the interest of England to adopt the idea, and she did so on that account, and because she was ripe for it, which France was not, and is not, although she may be certainly advancing to that point of reason.

M. Buffet's
proposition.

You are all well aware that the honour of the first idea of an International Exhibition does not belong to England. Like many other theories, it came from France, having been proposed by M. Buffet, the Minister of Commerce after the Revolution of 1848, and was submitted by him to the several Chambers of Commerce. He said to them :—“It has occurred to me, that it would

be interesting to the country in general, to be made acquainted with the degree of advancement towards perfection attained by our neighbours, in those manufactures in which we so often come in competition in foreign markets. Should we bring together and compare the specimens of skill in agriculture and manufactures now claiming our notice, whether native or foreign, there would, doubtless, be much useful experience to be gained; and, above all, a spirit of emulation, which might be greatly advantageous to the country." He then requested that the Chambers would "give their opinion on the abstract principle of exhibiting the productions of other countries, and, if they should consider that the experiment ought to be made, to enumerate to him officially the articles they thought would most conduce to the French interest when displayed." No doubt it would have been interesting to our neighbours to see the best we were doing; but the French manufacturers were not prepared to let the French ladies see the printed calicoes we were able to produce at fourpence and fivepence a-yard, or to allow the French gentlemen to examine the cutlery of Sheffield, the plated wares of Birmingham, or the pottery of Staffordshire in Paris. So the French Chambers of Commerce gave no encouragement to the abstract proposition of M. Buffet. They would not throw off their armour of protection, and will not do so until the French people themselves become more imperative in their desire to have a sight and taste of foreign manufactures. It appears to me that the proposition of M. Buffet was a very *naïve* one as respects ourselves. It was an invitation to our Whitworths, Maudslays, and others, to show their machinery, simply for the honour, but not the profit, of the thing, saying, as it were, "Show us what you are doing, and we shall be happy to benefit by the experience gained; but we really cannot agree to buy of you on equal terms, or that you shall have any advantage from your acceptance of our invitation." It was saying to Messrs. Dixon of Sheffield, and Messrs. Minton of the Potteries, "Pray show us your teapots of Britannia metal, which our tourists mistake for silver, and your cheap and tempting earthenware, nearly as hard and white as our Sèvres porcelain; but if you attempt to sell them here, we must confiscate them, and commit you to the Bastille." It was a French version of our English nursery ditty of Mrs. Bond's invitation to the ducks to come and be killed. But the experiment

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was not tried, because the French manufacturers themselves had no wish to enter upon an international competition. On the part of British manufacturers I venture to say, that when the French Government offers them a fair stage, and abolishes its commercial prohibitions, they will be quite prepared to accept the invitation to an industrial contest in Paris.

In France an International Exhibition was a philosophical theory, and must remain a bauble to be talked about until she alters her commercial tariff. But in England the idea at once became a practical reality, receiving universal welcome as soon as our Royal President directed that it should be submitted to our manufacturers for their consideration. As part of the history of the growth of the International Exhibition in this country, I would read to you a few opinions which I collected and submitted to Prince Albert in 1849:—

Committee
of cotton
printers.

A committee of Manchester cotton-printers, consisting of Mr. H. Thomson, Mr. Hargreaves, and Mr. Herz, concurred in thinking that "It is very necessary that all parties should know what the French and all nations are doing, and should compare their manufactures with our own. The comparison would show what our manufacturers could do, and by generating increased knowledge and appreciation in our consumers, would induce the production of a much higher class of work."

Mr. Nelson, of the firm of Nelson, Knowles, and Co., of Manchester, said,—“One great argument for universality is that manufacturers ought to know all that is doing. Most manufacturers have much too high an opinion of their own excellence, and it is desirable they should measure it by that of others.”

Messrs. Hoyle and Sons agreed unanimously that the Exhibition ought certainly to be international. “The Lancashire feeling eminently is,” said Mr. Alderman Neild, “to have a clear stage and no favour.”

Messrs. Kershaw and Co., of Manchester, said, “Open the Exhibition to receive the productions of all nations, certainly.”

Opinions ex-
pressed by
manufac-
turers.

Messrs. Dixon, of Sheffield, thought “that manufacturers would certainly lose nothing by the Exhibition, and would probably gain a great deal. They preferred universality to nationality; the first is by far the grander idea, and more useful.”

Mr. Wailes, the eminent glass-painter of Newcastle-on-Tyne,

said, "The laying the Exhibition open to the Continent was the most important part of this scheme."

Messrs. James Black and Co. considered it "highly desirable to compare our productions not only with those of ourselves, but with those of foreigners. The Exhibition would be well worth all the money it might cost."

Mr. Paterson, of the firm of Messrs. James Black and Co., of Glasgow, observed, that "as there had been great benefit from small Exhibitions, there would be greater benefit from large. The work was especially appropriate to Great Britain, as being the centre of manufactures. Manufacturers would be glad to get that new information which a comparison with other countries would afford."

And even in those manufactures where our own inferiority would probably be demonstrated in the Exhibition, manufacturers certainly welcomed the opportunity which would thus be afforded for comparison. Thus,—

Mr. J. Jobson Smith, of the firm of Messrs. Stuart and Smith, of Sheffield, grate-manufacturers, thought "it most desirable to see the best metal work of all nations; but that England would be behind in ornamental metal work, particularly where the human figure is involved."

I do not think the Exhibition itself will have altered these opinions uttered two years before.

As England, beyond any other nation, was prepared, by the cosmopolitan character of its people and by its commercial policy, to be the first nation to carry out an International Exhibition of Industry—so the continuous labours of the Society of Arts in promoting National Exhibitions of Industry, naturally led to its being the agent for carrying out such a work. I will not detain you with details of the Exhibitions which had been held in Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, and other provincial towns, or in Dublin; or of the eleven successive National Exhibitions which had been held in France, between 1798 and 1849. All of these, doubtless, had an important influence in directing public attention to the subject in this country.

But we must recollect that, even as early as 1756, nearly a century before, this Society had held Exhibitions of Manufactures; and for six years immediately preceding 1851, had, year by year,

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held Annual Exhibitions of some kind, each one growing in importance.

The idea of a National Exhibition became a common property. The wants of an age are perpetually suggesting similar ideas to many minds. Sometimes ideas arise before their time, and are even patent for years before they turn to account. Coals and chalk had been carted on railways for fifty years or more, before a railway was thought of to carry cotton to Manchester. Even locomotives had been used twenty years before. There existed both the railway and the locomotive, and a new want made a new union of them. The value of an idea depends on its concurrence with a public want. Mr. S. Carter Hall, Mr. G. Wallis, Mr. F. Wishaw, Mr. Theophilus Richards, were all avowed public advocates of some kind of National Exhibition of Manufactures, and perhaps others whose names I do not know, before this Society pledged itself to hold a National Exhibition in 1851. Public conviction of its importance was of slow growth. So slow, that even after several Exhibitions had been proved to have been successful in these walls, the Government could not be induced to promise any assistance. But in 1848, the Council of the Society made some little way with the Government in obtaining the promise of a site for the building. In 1849, the Paris Exhibition was held, and M. Buffet's idea of internationality was brought to England. Our Royal President, always interested in the subject, spontaneously took the proposed Exhibition of 1851 under his own personal direction, and inscribed with his own hand the following passage on the Minutes of a Meeting held at Buckingham Palace, on the 30th June, 1849. It ran thus:—"It was a question whether this Exhibition should be exclusively limited to British industry. It was considered that, whilst it appears an error to fix any limitation to the productions of machinery, science, and taste, which are of no country, but belong, as a whole, to the civilized world, particular advantage to British industry might be derived from placing it in fair competition with that of other nations." Then followed the proofs of the concurrence of manufacturers in the expediency of internationality, and the issue of the Royal Commission confirming the idea. And thus that International feature was conferred on the Exhibition of 1851, the results of which I have now to attempt to examine.

First idea of
internationality.

Soon after the Royal Commission of the Exhibition was issued, communications were opened with all the Governments of the civilized world, except the Celestial Empire. The Commissioners wrote to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and he wrote to our ministers and consuls abroad, directing them to bring the subject of the Exhibition before the Governments of the respective countries: each Government thereupon appointed the most eminent persons in Arts, Science, and Commerce, to be a committee representing the country, and to communicate direct with the Royal Commissioners. Subsequently, for the purpose of awarding the prizes, other eminent persons, distinguished for special knowledge, were named and placed in *direct* communication with the Commissioners independently of their Governments. And thus the Foreign Commissioners and the Foreign Juries constituted Committees of the men most distinguished in the arts of peace in the civilized world. If you glance down the list of these our foreign friends, you will find in the list of each country its aristocracy of Art, Science, and Commerce—men who have raised themselves into distinction, or, rather, been elected to their position by the unsolicited suffrages of their fellow-citizens. It would be superfluous to read to you these several hundred names, certainly a fair representation of the most eminent in the world. Thus, for the *first* time in the world's history, the men of Arts, Science, and Commerce, were permitted by their respective Governments to meet together to discuss and promote those objects for which civilized nations exist. The chief business of politicians, lawyers, and soldiers, is professedly to protect the results of men's industry; and up to this time, Governments, for the most part consisting of politicians, lawyers, and soldiers, have had the chief voice in regulating the interests of industry. The men of Art, Science, and Commerce, have hitherto had but a very subordinate voice in the regulation of their own interests, which had been too much left to the professional superintendence of their brethren of Politics, Law, and War. But a new principle was introduced by the Exhibition of 1851, and questions of Art, Science, and Commerce were permitted to be discussed in a Parliament of Art, Science, and Commerce. I believe the recognition of this principle is of the first importance for the progress of mankind, and is one which will be likely to stand each nation in good stead as

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tions with
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Principle of
International dis-
cussion.

occasion arises. To endeavour to illustrate its great value, I take leave to glance at one or two questions of international interest at the present time. So far as the public are permitted to know, the question of the American Fisheries is still unsettled. Now, this question, look at it in any way, is mainly a question of the commercial interests of two great nations. Before we introduce war-steamers into the question, I venture to say, apply the principle of international discussion. Instead of the matter being discussed in solemn diplomatic secrecy between the Foreign Departments in Washington and Downing Street, which really cannot know as much of commerce as American and British merchants, let us invite an international jury to arbitrate the dispute in question. Take a case nearer at hand, Belgium. Newspapers discuss the probability of Belgium being united with France; whence arises the idea? Surely because some interests would be benefited by it, and therefore moot it. If we look into the question, shall we not find that the idea hinges much more on the interest of the Belgian manufacturer, eager for an enlarged and unfettered market among the whole French nation, than the desire of the French Government for an enlarged territory? Suppose a majority of the Belgian people, moved by a feeling of commercial interest, sought annexation with France, I venture to suggest with all humility, that before the men of the sword take the matter in hand, the merchants of the respective countries be permitted to discuss the proceeding. Perhaps even the uneasy interest itself, might be accommodated without appeal to the sword. And I believe the Exhibition has opened the way to this kind of treatment,—more reasonable, more civilized, less costly and more consistent with religious convictions, than the most scientific arguments of parks of artillery and squares of infantry, which in the long run do not settle any questions, or we should not see dynasties restored which we have paid millions to depose. Success in war among civilized nations, after all, now resolves itself ultimately into the length of the purse; and the length of the national purse depends upon the strength of the national industry. We are the richest people in the world, and, I fear, the most pugnacious, partly in consequence of our superior wealth. I think I may say, we have spent more for war than any other nation, and that we cannot boast of many practical results from our expenditure. I submit

that we have spent much on behalf of Belgium, and Spain, and Portugal; and I apprehend it will be found that they, taking advantage of our friendship, have imposed as great, if not greater, impediments on our commercial relations with them than even France has done. I believe the Exhibition has had a tendency to prevent such mistakes in future, and to keep nations from going to blows as hastily and foolishly as they have been accustomed to do; and if this result follows, we shall owe it to the extended application of the great principle of international discussion of questions by parties most informed and most interested in them, which the Exhibition caused to be recognized by all the civilized nations in the world. Thus the old-fashioned, narrow suspicions and secrecy of diplomacy will be exchanged for public confidence and public discussion.

And there are other influences actively working to produce this change. In days gone by, the courier of the Government could probably be the first in the race to convey intelligence, but now electric telegraphs and newspapers put the governors and governed on the same level, and the foreign departments of nations are informed of events through these channels long before they receive communications through their own ministers. In fact, the old systems of foreign diplomacy are virtually superseded. I feel confident that Lord Malmesbury first heard of the proclamation of the French Empire through the electric telegraph, and not from the despatch of our minister at Paris. And diplomacy itself, seems conscious of the changes which are taking place, and appears willing to go gracefully hand in hand with them. For instance, both the past and present Ministers of Foreign Affairs have consented that Downing Street shall afford facilities of communication between this Society, and similar societies abroad. And we owe our best thanks both to the Earl Granville and the Earl of Malmesbury, in respect of those communications which we have commenced with foreign countries; whilst in regard to the colonies we are no less indebted to Earl Grey and Sir John Pakington, for the facilities we have received. I view it as a most auspicious sign for the progress of arts, manufactures, and commerce, that noblemen, when they have ceased to be Secretaries of State, are not unwilling to be the Chairmen of the Committees for Foreign and Colonial Correspondence in this Society. I trace in this

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Postal Com-
munication.

willingness one effect of the Exhibition of 1851, and the fruits are beginning to be visible in the friendly and important communications which this Society is establishing abroad, and in our colonies.

Foremost among the immediate and most practical of the international results of the Exhibition, I rank the consent—nay, eagerness, of all countries to discuss and revise their system of *Postal Communication*, which is now established as a great fact. The Postage Association was formed during the Exhibition, and arose out of the convictions that men of all countries entertained, of the vital importance of a perfect and easy interchange of thought by means of writing, and of their sense of the indefensible impediments which now prevent it. Instead of the present postage treaties, the products of bureaucracy only, in which it appears to have been the aim of each nation to huckster and overreach one another, the object of the Postage Association is to have a uniform and intelligible system, based upon a due recognition of the importance of freedom of communication. To this principle, France, America, Austria, Belgium,—in fact, almost all civilized countries, have already sent their adhesion, and upon this basis the discussion of a future international postage system, I cannot doubt, will proceed. If the United Kingdom is sincere in its own convictions, it must begin with a postal reform between itself and its own colonies; and I believe it requires only a single effort to obtain a uniform penny rate which shall transmit a half-ounce letter from any part of the United Kingdom to the ports of any one of our colonies. It would be out of place to discuss now, either the loss of direct revenue, but with the great indirect commercial profit, or the political wisdom of thus cementing the union between the colonies and the mother country, which would attend the adoption of this step. I have only to ask you to agree with me that freedom of international correspondence when it does arrive will have to be considered as one of the earliest results of the Exhibition.

Reform of
Patent
Laws.

The beginning of the *reform of our Patent Laws*, or laws for the recognition of the rights of intellectual labour, which I foresee may have great international results on industry, is due to the Exhibition. I say the beginning, for we have only just entered on the very threshold of the subject. Almost as soon as the Exhibition was announced, every one was sensible of the manifest absurdity

of inviting exhibitors to display the fruits of their intellectual exertions, whilst at the same time they should be subjected thereby to pillage. So our Legislature promised inventors that they should not be liable to be robbed, at least, until the Exhibition was over, and a law was made to keep men from picking and stealing for a few months. Wonderful morality!—found to be so consistent with common sense, that the law was renewed for a few months longer. You will find an interesting account of the working of the Inventions Act during the Exhibition, in the Report made by Mr. P. Le Neve Foster to the Commissioners of the Exhibition, and printed in their first Report (p. 109). Six hundred and twenty exhibitors obtained certificates or cautions against robbery. At last, after many struggles, our Legislature has passed a permanent law which forbids the robbery of inventions, provided that the inventor can muster some £5 or £10 to purchase the privilege. How great was the want of this reform may be seen in the fact, that since the 1st October last—a period of only nine weeks—upwards of 765 applications have been made for “protection” against robbery. Imperfect as this law is, it will have important results on industry, both abroad and in our colonies, and will affect inventive rights, more or less, over the whole world. I am happy to say, that we cannot now go to the Continent, pillage an invention in use, and introduce it here as a novelty; and that we cannot prevent a Belgian or French inventor from giving our own colonies the benefit of his skill. It must be obvious that in the proper administration of a wise Patent Law, and in order to prevent fraud and useless litigation, it will be necessary that ample means should exist for ascertaining in this country what inventions have been patented abroad. The American Government prints its own specifications, so I believe does the Belgian; and if the French Government does not, it, at least, gives every facility in the consultation of them. We ourselves are now bound to print the patents of the United Kingdom. With these facilities for doing so, it appears to me there ought to be an international exchange of printed Patents, and I think it would be a right work to be undertaken by our Government; but I am afraid there are little hopes of this being done so long as the administration of Patent Law is treated in a legal rather than an industrial point of view. This Society, as the principal author of the new Patent Law, may

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Robbery of
Inventions.

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very properly come in aid ; and I would suggest to the Council at once to take measures for impressing on the Government the necessity of mutually exchanging copies of printed Patents with foreign countries, and of establishing, as early as possible, an International Library of Reference for manufacturers. We may take a lesson from the United States' Government, which yearly issues above 40,000 copies of the Annual Report on Patents, at a cheap rate ; and also from France : one of the great features of the *Conservatoire des Arts et M^{ét}iers* in Paris being its *Salle du Portefeuille*, which contains about 12,000 drawings of machinery and 20,000 *brevets* of Inventions, all of which are accessible to the public at any time, and free of cost, to be copied or to be traced.

Further
results.

Interna-
tional
Sanitary
Congress.

International Postage and Patent Reform may be said to have originated in England, but I have now to notice two results of an international bearing, both springing out of the Exhibition, but due to French perception of its international spirit. I allude to the institution of the *International Sanitary Congress* to discuss quarantine, and the magnificent *international hospitalities* which took place at Paris last year. During the preparations for the Exhibition, France invited the nations of Europe, each to send one of their most eminent hygeists with a consul to Paris to discuss the question of quarantine. England, Austria, Spain and Portugal, and the Italian States, joined in this Congress. To ask men of science to discuss points of science was a novelty on the old bureaucratic plan of treating medical questions. It was an admirable example on the part of France, not to be forgotten on future occasions, and will ultimately be attended with beneficial results. Although the men of science of Europe have settled the question, I believe their opinions are too violent to be admitted by the authorities in this country, who, whilst they are not men of science, have some interests in maintaining the system of quarantine, which the International Sanitary Congress has exploded. The success of this Congress on special and well-defined objects, was so marked, as to suggest of itself to the members the application of the like procedure to other objects, such as uniformity in the monetary systems, also in weights and measures ; in duties imposed on navigation ; and in legislation in regard to passports.

Interna-
tional
Hospitali-
ties.

France has been the first to institute *international hospitalities* ; and I feel certain I should underrate the gratitude of my own

countrymen if I did not believe that they intended to return them at an early period. The functionary who chiefly conducted the Paris fêtes was the prefect of Paris. We have no similar officer in this metropolis, and no "Hôtel de Ville;" but it would not be difficult to form a Committee, representing the City of London, the great Mercantile Corporations, the Scientific Institutions, &c., and obtain their co-operation in offering our French neighbours a return visit to this country. Probably no occasion would be more appropriate than next year, which is the centenary of this Society, the founder of the first International Exhibition, and next year the second International Exhibition will take place in the capital of the sister kingdom. I think I may venture to say that the Council of this Society are prepared to move in this matter, and even in the more important one, of promoting the facilities of international travelling, especially among artisans. Last year, when I was at the Royal Porcelain Manufactory at Meissen, I observed an ingenious machine for turning large oval dishes. A friend, remarking upon its utility, said such a machine could not be used among our own potters, without the probability of a strike throughout all the Staffordshire Potteries. No amount of talking to the potter artisan would induce him to use the machine and give up his trade prejudice; but if he were to visit the Dresden and Berlin manufactories, to see with his own eyes the machine at work, and to hear with his own ears the price at which the dish was produced, and at which it could be imported into this country, I think his self-interest would instantly convince him of the foolish impolicy of allowing his brother German to have the exclusive use of it. This is only one of many similar instances, where an extended knowledge of handicraft would be of great value to all who live by it. What a lesson even the Exhibition afforded to the hundreds of thousands of artisans, each in their own craft, and how much more impressive would such lessons be if the workmen were able to receive them in the factories! This may be done by foreign travel, and among the means of promoting industrial education and progress, I expect foreign travel will find a place; and if in future years we should be able to point to the operative potters or iron-smelters of Staffordshire, who have visited the factories of France and Germany, I think we shall be able to show that their visits were partly due to the influence of the Exhibition of 1851.

GREAT
EXHIBITION
OF 1851.

A. D.
1849-1852.

Part II.
Selections.

Foreign
Travel a
means of
promoting
Industrial
Education
and Pro-
gress.

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This will be a convenient place to notice the increased number of *visits from foreigners* which the Exhibition provoked, sowing the seeds of mutual benefit.

An analysis of the number of foreigners who arrived in England between 1st April, and 30th Sept., 1851, shows the following results:—

Visits from
Foreigners to
the Exhibi-
tion.

COUNTRY.	Number of Arrivals.	Population.	Proportion of Arrivals to 10,000 inhabitants.
Holland	2,952	3,128,841	9·43
Belgium	3,796	4,335,319	8·75
France	27,236	35,400,486	7·69
Germany	10,440	15,813,022	6·60
Switzerland	734	2,113,248	3·47
United States	5,048	23,138,454	2·18
Spain and Portugal	1,774	15,699,441	1·13
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark .	648	6,650,938	0·97
Prussia	1,489	16,171,564	0·92
Italy (including Lombardy) . .	1,489	22,740,344	0·65
Austria	672	32,862,770	0·20
Russia and Poland	854	60,362,315	0·14
Turkey and Egypt	86		
Greece	94		
China	8		
Not ascertained	1,107		
Total	58,427		

The Lists of Aliens in the Home Office are prepared under the Alien Act, which requires the commander of every ship having foreigners on board, to deliver, under a penalty of £20, to the officer of Customs, on the arrival of the vessel at an English port, a list of all foreigners. The following are the numbers since 1848:—

In 1848	19,340
1849	21,588
1850	28,801
1851	58,427, from 1st April to 30th

September, being an excess of 42,913 over the arrivals of the corresponding period of 1850, when the numbers were 15,514. I am indebted for these facts to Mr. A. Redgrave's report to the Royal Commissioners.

I need not dwell on the advantages conferred by friendly intercourse, how mutual prejudices are dispelled, and friendly confi-

dences established. The actual number of foreigners visiting this country may appear small, but the usual numbers were tripled ; and I think this increase would be found to bear about the same proportion to the increase which took place in the number of country visitors who came to the Metropolis.

It is time that I should turn to the *Exhibition itself*, and endeavour to point out any international features which it possessed. Each of us might possibly be able to show some errors of commission and omission in the judgments of the Jurors ; yet, on the whole, I presume we shall agree, that the verdicts of those eminent men, who so cordially and generously presented the world with an immense amount of patient investigation and labour, represented on the whole the results of the Exhibition itself very fairly,—as fairly, indeed, as could reasonably be expected in the execution of a task so difficult and so novel, and as the event has proved, so unnecessary. Making due allowance for the fallibility of human judgments, and the errors we are all liable to fall into from prejudice, I think the list of the Council Medals indicates to us the most noticeable objects which the Exhibition displayed. Although some Council Medals may have been given which may be questionable, there are very few objects which ought to have received Council Medals and did not. I would only notice one : the Catalogue of all the books published in Egypt, exhibited by the Egyptian Government. Most of the European Governments have wished for a printed catalogue of their national literature, and here is a semi-civilized nation setting the first example. I venture to think a Council rather than a Prize Medal should have been awarded here.

If we look down the list of 164 Council Medals, and the objects to which they were awarded, I confess it seems to me that there is but ONE object with which the world became acquainted for the first time, and that as a direct result of the Exhibition. I am not speaking of the results which are deducible from the combination of the innumerable objects then displayed, but am looking only to the individual objects. I need not go through the list, but if I were to do so, I feel sure that as each object was mentioned, except a solitary instance, some one of this audience would be able to say, "I was acquainted with *that* object before the Exhibition." That solitary one, which no one was acquainted with,

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Selections.

International
features of
the Exhibi-
tion itself.

Council
Medals.

Catalogue of
Egyptian
Books.

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EXHIBITION
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Selections.

Novelty in
the Building
itself.

was the building itself which Paxton suggested. The Exhibition has taught the world how to roof in great spaces: how to build with glass and iron in a way never done before. This is another instance of the logical mode in which supply follows demand: in which invention is shown to be the child of necessity. The one material thing absolutely necessary for an international exhibition was an adequate building, to be erected in six months. And after many galvanic struggles to get it one was obtained. Nothing very novel in iron columns resting on concrete foundations,—nothing novel in Paxton girders, which half-a-dozen persons claim to have invented, and possibly may have done so, but something very novel indeed in covering twenty acres with glass as an exhibiting room, a feat the world had not seen performed before. I look upon this building as one of great importance in its way, calculated to have vast beneficial influences on the occupations, health, and amusement of all northern nations. But how slow and progressive has been such a result in building?—evolved just at the time when it was wanted from little antecedents, as was printing, the steam-engine, and in fact all great results. Even in the material Glass house, as in the possibility of an International Exhibition, Sir Robert Peel appears as an agent. Had the excise duties on glass still remained, it is certain we could not have had the Crystal Palace.

Looking at the list of Council Medals from another view, I am led to consider that they prove a result which is not duly recognized in this country. It is said that the industrial progress of this country is not at the present time commensurate with that of other countries. To my view the Exhibition proved the contrary. If you admit the Exhibition as any evidence at all, I say it was proved by the reports of the Jurors, that certainly the *Industry*, and perhaps even the *Art* of the United Kingdom, took the first place in the race. You are aware that half the exhibiting space was occupied by foreign productions, and half by British. Foreigners were represented by about thirty countries. Each country sent its best productions. The quantity of articles exhibited did not influence the award of Council Medals, and although the space of any one foreign country was less than that occupied by England, there was no reason why each country should not obtain as many Council medals as England. But what is the fact? Let us look

at an analysis of the Council Medals according to countries, excluding the few Council Medals unclassified.

COUNCIL MEDALS.

COUNTRY.	Total.	Raw Materials.	Machinery.	Manu- factures.	Fine Arts.
United Kingdom . . .	78	6	52	18	2
British Dependencies :—					
Australia, India, West Indies, Mediterranean, South Africa					
America	5	1	3	1	
Austria	4	1	1	2	
Belgium	2	...	1	1	
China, Denmark, Egypt .					
France	54	11	22	20	1
Greece, N. Germany . . .					
Netherlands	1	...	1		
Persia, Portugal	9				
Prussia and Zollverein . .	...	2	3	3	
Bavaria	3	...	2	1	
Rome	1	...	...	1	
Russia	3	3	1
Sardinia, South America, Sweden and Norway . . .					
Switzerland	2	...	2		
Tuscany	2	1	1		

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Analysis of Council Medals.

Thus, out of a total of 164 Council Medals awarded among 13,937 Exhibitors, thirty foreign countries obtained 86 among 7076, whilst Great Britain, one country, obtained 78 among 6861 Exhibitors.

But the position I take seems to me corroborated by another fact, namely, the superior value of the British over the Foreign goods exhibited. The value of the articles on the Foreign side was estimated at £670,420, on the British side at £1,031,607. The data in both cases were furnished by the Exhibitors.

Superior value of British over Foreign Goods.

If time permitted, and it was not considered too great a departure from the subject, I would examine our industrial position with reference to Exports and Imports, and in neutral markets. It is no proof, to my mind, of our state of peril in the present industrial race between nations, when the manufacture of locomotives in Bavaria is pointed out with alarm. Until the Bavarians learnt to make them, we supplied their market, notwithstanding heavy transport charges and high tariffs; but having learnt to make

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Selections.

British
Industry.

them, it would be surprising indeed if they, having no carriage to pay, and "protected" by heavy import duties, could not make them cheaper than we can.

I have seen no satisfactory proofs of our industry being beaten in perfectly neutral markets, or at present any signs of its being likely to be. The recent Memorial of the Silk Manufacturers in Manchester, praying that protective duties might be altogether abolished in their trade, is one of many evidences that our manufacturers are not apprehensive that they shall be beaten. It may be true that other nations are advancing more rapidly than ourselves in the prosecution of science and education in art. It is true that in many parts of the Continent, children are more generally educated than our own in reading and writing, but I suspect this education turns to little account, as when they become men, they are not free to read and write what they please; and, it is said, they even lose those accomplishments for want of practice. I do not question the value of science; but science appears to me only one of many ingredients which are necessary for the prosecution of successful industry. The idea of an International Exhibition was one of abstract science; as I have shown, it was in itself of no use without other favourable circumstances enabling it to be realized. As respects the industrial progress of this kingdom, I look with no alarm at the progress of science abroad, but with satisfaction; because I feel certain, that in the present state of the world, and with that advancing unity of nations, if our neighbours produce science, and we want it, we shall be able to obtain it from them on equitable terms, and turn it to account. It gives me unmixed satisfaction to know that French and German chymists and artists are employed by our manufacturers. Again, to turn to the Exhibition for an example—the French suggested, but we realized the abstract idea. Do not infer that I think we ought not to encourage science among ourselves; quite the contrary. I go heartily with my friend Dr. Playfair, the most zealous of its advocates; and will help all I can to enable manufacturers to be educated to understand the principles upon which their operations are based; but I would do so for the merits of science itself, rather than in alarm at the progress our neighbours may be making in it. The value of science depends on its practical application, and that, I submit, depends on the public want for it. At present I see no

reason to doubt that we are prepared, in this country, to supply well and cheaply whatever the world wants; and if we supply the practical execution, and our neighbours the philosophical theory, it may, after all, be only a proper division of labour between friends.

I have ventured to say that I think that the Exhibition has proved that England, even in the *question of Art*, was not behind other European nations. I am aware this is not the popular opinion, but I think, if time permitted, I could make out the truth of my position. Let me remind you of one fact. The work of Art in the Exhibition, which, if submitted to public auction, would have realized the greatest value, was by an Englishman. I allude to Gibson's Statue of the Greek Hunter. That, I submit, in a free competition among the sculptors of all nations, was the finest work of sculpture shown. I freely admit, that in the execution of art applied to industry, the French are, upon an average, better educated and better workmen than ourselves. But if we separate the almost mechanical execution of art from its general sentiment as displayed in the Exhibition, we cannot but remark the universal likeness which pervades the art of all Europe at the present time. You might have taken works of art from Russia, Saxony, England, France, Belgium, Austria, and Italy, and it would have been impossible to tell the country where they originated. But this feature is no novelty, for it has been the case for many centuries. At the time of the first empire in France, a revival of the Classical Greek was in the ascendant. So it was in England. Flaxman and others were working in the same direction, and we were considering Greek temples as the fittest types for our dwelling-houses and public buildings. If we look at the preceding century, we trace the same predominant sentiment of art in the furniture of Queen Anne and of Louis the Fourteenth; in the porcelain of Dresden, of Sèvres, and of Chelsea. With certain modifications, we find a spirit of the age common to the most advanced nations of Europe at all periods, and the present is not an exception, as the Exhibition proved. At one period, whether the country was Protestant or Roman Catholic, we find equal neglect and ruin in the ecclesiastical buildings. At a subsequent period, all countries are found restoring their churches and putting them in order.

In respect of art among the nations of Europe, it appears to me

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British Art.

Similarity in
Art in all
Europe.

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that much was not taught by the Exhibition which was not known before by the few, although a great deal was probably taught to the many. It was from the East that the most impressive lesson was to be learnt. Here was revealed a fresh well of art, the general principles of which were the same as those in the best periods of art of all nations—Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, Byzantine, Gothic. And turning from artistic to industrial objects, and speaking generally, I venture to submit whether our American cousins did not, in their reaping and other machines adapted to new wants and infant periods of society, teach us the next most valuable lessons.

Prospective
benefits from
the Exhibi-
tion.

Having glanced generally at the most remarkable international results of the Exhibition already secured, I will briefly enumerate some of the many prospective benefits which that great event seems naturally to promise. The substitution of Open Council for Secret Diplomacy, in discussing international questions, has been mentioned; and it seems to me that there are several topics of international interest on which men's minds are fixed, and to which the recognized principle of open discussion among nations might be applied.

Interna-
tional Com-
mercial Law.

I begin with the policy of an *International Commercial Law*, upon which the Law Amendment Society is already engaged. That Society is now employed in assimilating the Commercial Law of the United Kingdom and its dependencies, and is in reality doing the work for France, Holland, and Spain, because throughout our dependencies, the commercial laws of those countries still prevail:—in our colony of the Mauritius, the Commercial Code and the *Code de Procedure* of the Code Napoleon; in St. Lucia, the ancient French law; in Trinidad, the law of Spain; in British Guiana, Ceylon, and Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch law and law of the Batavian republic. I understand the Law Amendment Society scruple of themselves to enter upon this enlarged field, but as commercial law is a work for merchants and lawyers mutually to consider, and as our Society especially represents Commerce, I would propose that we should fraternize with the Law Amendment Society on this point, and give them the benefit of the foreign relations we have established, so that the question may become recognized as an International one. Next I might mention an *International system of Weights, Measures, and Coinage*, and with that reform would certainly be connected an *Interna-*

Weights,
Measures,
and
Coinage.

tional system of Scientific Classifications of all the materials, instruments, and productions of human art and industry, by means of which, as Dr. Whewell showed so well in his Inaugural Address, "the manufacturer, the man of science, the artisan, the merchant, would have a settled common language, in which they could speak of the objects about which they are concerned." Next a more consistent system of *International Commercial Tariffs and Customs Administration*, the abolition of *Passports*, and increased facilities for *international intercourse*: and a general system of *International Copyright*, both in the *Arts* and in *Literature*. Here I would mention somewhat more in detail an *International Catalogue of Printed Books*, suggested some two years ago by Mr. Dilke in the *Athenæum*. These are the arguments and details as prepared by Mr. Dilke:—

"The idea of such a Universal Catalogue may seem, at the first suggestion, somewhat wild and visionary; but the more closely it is examined, the more distinctly, we have assured ourselves, will it grow into a reality, simple and practicable. What we propose is this:—let Mr. Panizzi proceed, without interruption, to complete his Catalogue,—let him have additional assistants, one, or two, or three, as may be desired, who shall, under his direction, consult libraries, catalogues, bibliographical works, and prepare, on the same uniform system, the titles of all works *published in the English language*, or *printed in the British territories*, but not at present in the British Museum. Think, for a moment, what would be the literary value of such a Catalogue! Judge of it by the uses of Watt's 'Bibliotheca Britannica,' notwithstanding its multitudinous errors and omissions; and remember that the Catalogue proposed would be, so far as English literature or the English language is concerned, all but perfect. This would be the contribution of the British nation to the universal Catalogue. Meanwhile, communication should be opened with the principal Governments of the world, and a proposal made to each of them to co-operate with the British nation in publishing a universal Catalogue;—that each should undertake to have prepared, and within a specified time, on a common principle to be agreed on, a Catalogue of all the books ever printed, so far as known, by and in all the several nations and languages under their respective governments. . . Here, then, is each nation possessed, not only of a Catalogue of its

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International
Catalogue of
Printed
Books.

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Selections.

national library, more useful and serviceable for the humblest practical purposes than any Catalogue it could hope to possess by any other means,—but with a Catalogue, or the means of producing one at little cost, of every library within the limits of that nation,—useful as the most simple of finding Catalogues for the local purpose, yet embracing the literature of the world. The several librarians would have simply to affix the press-marks to make it a perfect finding Catalogue to their several libraries; and an initial letter prefixed to the title would tell at once, if the book were not in that library, which was the nearest public library where the student might be sure to find a copy. We will further direct the reader's attention only to the consequent perfection of the Catalogues of Classes. Never was there a period when so beneficial a project could have been entered on with such probability of success. The large and liberal spirit in which the Governments of the world have welcomed the proposal of Prince Albert for a great World Exhibition, is an earnest of success: and we hope that those with whom this great World Catalogue might so honourably originate will not be deterred by the fears of the timid, the doubts of the ignorant (or worse, of the learned), and the indolence of the indifferent or interested. Let no one be apprehensive of the great labour or the great cost of this World Catalogue. It might certainly be prepared in less time and at less cost to each individual Government, than each Government could produce for its own sole use a Catalogue of the contents of its one national library. Look at England, for example. At present the Museum Catalogue must include every work in the collection, and be prepared at the sole cost of the British public; whereas the expense of preparing the universal Catalogue would be divided amongst half-a-dozen nations. The British Government is by our plan relieved at once from the necessity of cataloguing all foreign works contained in the Library—one-half or one-third the collection—because the titles of all such would be contributed by foreign nations. . . Let us also observe, lest the difficulty should suggest itself to others, that this Universal Catalogue would not be of that prodigious bulk which might at first be supposed by those who calculate the number of titles by the number of volumes said to be contained in the libraries of the world. We are of opinion that these numbers are monstrously exaggerated; and are confident that any speculation

as to the number of duplicates, which under this system need not be catalogued at all, would fall far short of the truth. Take, for example, the library of St. Petersburg—said to contain eight hundred thousand volumes. Now, persons better informed than we pretend to be, doubt if it contains one half that number. But no matter what the number,—is it not reasonably certain that three-fourths of its contents consist of French, German, Italian, English, and other foreign works? Away then goes three-fourths of the great Petersburg library:—three-fourths of it add not a single title to the bulk of the universal Catalogue. We indeed do not believe, after the best consideration that we can give to the subject, that this Universal Catalogue would be one-half the size of the proposed Catalogue of the British Museum, if that Catalogue is to be in manuscript; and not, even if printed, one-half of what it must be in twenty years if the system of marginal additions be persevered in:—besides that, it will then have all to be done over again. Here we conclude. We do not profess to have improvised a great scheme to which objections may not be raised by the super-subtle and the over-refined; but simply to have indicated a course which, in our opinion, would do honour to the nation, and help the peaceful world in its onward progress,—one which may easily be elaborated and perfected if those in authority be pleased to countenance it. The learned librarians of the Museum may have a good-humoured laugh at it; but they should remember that if the world has its ignorances, learned bibliographers have their prejudices,—and that a laugh will not settle the question one way or the other. They cannot laugh louder than did certain other officials when Mr. Hill proposed to reduce all postage charges to one uniform rate, and that rate one penny; yet that idea spread and strengthened, and has become ‘a great fact.’”

And I will conclude this list of *Agenda*, the prospective fruits of the Exhibition, by mentioning the impulse which better *education*, and particularly *industrial education*, is likely to derive from it. Already the intention exists of making drawing a part of our national education, and thus we shall be learning a universal and international language, intelligible, as Mr. Redgrave recently pointed out, alike to the European as to the Chinese or South American. Already we have the School of Mines developing itself into a school of practical science. In a few years, on a site

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Industrial
Education.

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Industrial
University.

opposite that where the Exhibition stood, I hope we shall witness the foundation of an *Industrial University*, in the advantages of which all the nations of the world may equally share, which has been suggested by Prince Albert as the most legitimate application of the pecuniary success of the Exhibition. But beyond every result, I trust that the Exhibition will have tended to make ourselves a less quarrelsome and meddlesome people with other nations than we have been accustomed to be, and will have taught us that our true policy in international disputes, should they unfortunately arise, is to stand on the defensive, and in that attitude to be as well prepared as possible, and to be content with being so.

This lecture, the last of that series which the Prince suggested, has been but an attempt to point out some of the details comprehended in the remarkable address which His Royal Highness delivered at the Mansion House in 1850. I hope you will agree with me that that most philosophical condensation of the objects of the Exhibition ought to be preserved in this course of lectures, and will be an appropriate conclusion to the last of them. I beg leave therefore to repeat it, not as it was delivered as a prophecy, but now as a successful fulfilment. [The passage here quoted in the Lectures appears on pages 212 and 213.]

I am sure you will all agree that the Prince's hope was realized, and that "the first impression which the view of that vast collection produced upon the spectator, was that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which He has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render to each other, therefore, only by peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth."



EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF MR. COLE
ON THE GENERAL MANAGEMENT OF
THE PARIS EXHIBITION, 1855.

ON THE POLICY AND EXTENT OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE
IN FUTURE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITIONS.

THE utility of the London and Paris Universal Exhibitions in teaching nations the comparative strength and weakness of their respective industries, and showing their mutual means for supplying each other's wants, in dissipating the prejudices of ignorance, and awakening desires for improvement, has been so manifest and generally admitted, that, notwithstanding the cost and trouble of them, and the great interruption they cause to ordinary trade, it is probable these Exhibitions will extend and become periodical, at least in some of the principal capitals of Europe. Before the Paris Exhibition had closed, it was rumoured, with some appearance of authenticity, that the next Universal Exhibition would take place at Vienna, in 1859; and preparations were also discussed for holding such Exhibitions at Berlin and Turin.

It seems desirable, therefore, to inquire whether the principles on which the British Section of the Paris Exhibition was organized and conducted, are applicable to future Exhibitions in which the United Kingdom may be invited to take a part, or are to be regarded as exceptional merely to the Paris Exhibition.

The ultimate purpose of all Industrial Exhibitions is commercial. It is true that various motives, besides those of direct trade, induce some few exhibitors to display their productions, but the bulk of exhibitors will be always attracted by the hopes of extending commerce.

It is also true that a great feature of the London Exhibition was its comprehensiveness, embracing, as it did, the display by foreign exhibitors of numerous classes of objects not directly matters of general commercial interest,—such as the Queen of

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EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D. 1856.
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Selections.
Future
Industrial
Exhibitions.

Extension of
commerce
the inducement
to
exhibit.

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EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D. 1856.
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Selections.

Spain's jewels, the Austrian furniture, the malachite of Prince Demidoff, &c. Such objects were more rare in the Paris Exhibition. There was no Royal jewellery from Spain; malachite from Russia could hardly be expected. There was very little costly Austrian furniture, but an increased quantity of Austrian cloth. The tendency of future Exhibitions, in their foreign departments, will be to exhibit not rare and costly productions, required by very few purchasers, but manufactures; and especially those manufactures the use of which is universal, and not merely national or peculiar.

Exhibitions
will become
international
fairs.

Exhibitions will therefore lose in completeness, but gain in utility. Nations by this means, will learn how each one may best exchange with the other, the productions in which they naturally excel, and these Exhibitions will become international fairs. Thus, England is likely in any future Universal Exhibition, to send more cotton and woollen goods than furniture or stained glass, more common earthenware than decorated porcelain, and more tools and cutlery than polished steel grates.

The French Government, looking to the commercial utility of the Paris Exhibition, introduced for the first time an exceptional Customs' tariff of 20 per cent. *ad valorem* in favour of all goods exhibited, and took every means, short of compulsion, to induce exhibitors to affix prices to their goods.

Liberality of
the French
authorities
in permit-
ting sales.

The Imperial Commission, the French Customs, and the French Government, all behaved most liberally in admitting large quantities of British goods to the Exhibition, which were not very necessary to it, but which were allowed to enter to oblige exhibitors and to gratify the desires of the French purchaser, who eagerly sought to make the Exhibition the channel for obtaining those things which were otherwise prohibited. Of course, British manufacturers were not backward to avail themselves of these concessions, and were only too eager to supply any quantity of pottery, alpacas, woollen cloths, cotton goods, agricultural machinery, &c., which the French consumer would purchase.¹ Even the large

¹ Upwards of 296 crates of pottery, weighing 58 tons, were introduced into the Exhibition after its opening; and 100 crates, weighing about 15 tons, were admitted by the French

Government even after the close of the Exhibition. The Manchester Committee, keeping the object of the Exhibition strictly in view, preferred rather to discourage than permit sales

quantity sent, supplied but a very limited amount of the orders (especially for prohibited articles of the cheapest kind) which were given by all classes, from the lowest to the very highest, in France. Large purchases of earthenware were made. The delicate cotton quiltings of Manchester and cotton fustians attracted great notice, even from the nobility of France, and all the population of Paris seemed willing to clothe themselves in black alpacas. But many more orders were refused than executed.

My instructions from the Board of Trade being to limit the admission of British articles, as far as possible, to the real object of the Exhibition, the payment of the transport of articles at the cost of the public, was stopped soon after the opening of the Exhibition; but the French people were urgent to buy, the British producer was not unwilling to sell, and the Imperial Commission relaxed their rules in the most lenient way, although British traders still thought them too stringent. It is almost needless to add, that, having to stand at least neutral between buyer and seller, both eager for action, the position of the British authorities was difficult, and, to say the least, unusual for officers of the British Government to be placed in.

A second Universal French Exhibition, conducted under the same rules as the last, would be very different. The British producers, made wise by experience, would send chiefly, if not wholly, those manufactures which were likely to sell at the close of the Exhibition, such as cotton goods, cloths, flannels, pottery, machinery, &c. They would pile up the space allotted to them in the building, from the floor as high as the authorities would allow them, and no authority could practically control the extent of transmission without preventing the Exhibition altogether.

Thus, the Exhibition would be overflowing with certain kinds of goods, and destitute of others, unless a moderate Customs' tariff were made a permanent law, and not adopted for the occasion. Then exhibitors would send samples, and take orders, and the Exhibition would be carried out strictly as an Exhibition and not as a fair. The relations therefore should be settled directly between the two parties—the foreign Government which invites

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

A future
French Ex-
hibition
would over-
flow with
manufac-
tures in
general de-
mand.

of cotton goods. The Bradford exhibitors thought a wide distribution of alpacas among the French, would be most useful to both parties.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D. 1856.

Part II.

Selections.

The inducement to exhibit only the most saleable articles increased by the distance of the Exhibition.

Non-interference of the Government in the London Exhibition.

the Exhibition for the benefit of its people, and the exhibitor who accepts the invitation for his own honour and profit.

If such are likely to be the future results, under a prohibitory or a special temporary tariff, in France, the nearest neighbour to England, they would be still more exaggerated at a greater distance. For example, at Vienna, a Universal Exhibition, in which British Industry should be adequately represented, must be nearly, if not quite, a failure, unless one of two courses were adopted. It would either be for the Austrian Government to furnish adequate motives to exhibitors, so that the British action might be voluntary; or, for the British Government to purchase specimens of manufactures, and exhibit them on its own responsibility, a course that would hardly seem to be feasible.

It is not likely that such an interference with commerce as this, would be supported by public opinion in England. Even the interposition of Government in the management of the Paris Exhibition, was the reverse of its course with the London Exhibition, where the voluntary principle was carried so far, that the expenses of the Police and the Sappers were not defrayed out of the public Exchequer, but out of the funds of the Exhibition. The partial interference in the Paris Exhibition, I submit, can only be justified as exceptional, and should not be treated as a precedent for future Exhibitions.

But it may be said that Austria and the various Governments of Europe courteously assisted in the London Universal Exhibition, and the question may be asked, Can the British Government decline the invitations of other Governments in future? The answer would seem to be, Certainly not; provided the circumstances under which a foreign Exhibition is invited, are the same as those under which the British Exhibition took place. There, however, is this material difference, that foreign exhibitors were invited in 1851, having a full knowledge of their chances of future commerce under a free trade. Therefore, until foreign tariffs are placed on the same footing as the tariff of the United Kingdom, every application for the assistance of the British Government in a foreign Exhibition, may fairly be dealt with on its own merits.

It would seem, however, to be far better to have some general principles for the future, regulating the nature of the assistance to be given on the part of Government, and the course

to be followed in managing foreign Exhibitions, which should be as self-acting as possible, and consistent with the ordinary practice pursued by Government in commercial matters; and I will endeavour to submit such principles to your Lordship's consideration.

It is admitted to be a maxim of sound politics, at least in England, that Government should do only those things for public advantage which the public is unable to do for itself, and that the less it interferes in trade, so essentially regulated by private enterprise and intelligence, the better. The least possible interference with all future Universal Exhibitions would be most in accordance with the usual Government action and public opinion in England. And in truth, very little interference would be necessary for success, if foreign Governments held out adequate inducements to producers to exhibit. The function of Government would then be limited to receiving the invitation of the foreign Government, organizing preliminary measures, and reporting the results of them to the Government issuing it.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A.D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

Interference
unnecessary
if the inducements to
exhibit are
adequate.

POLICY OF NAMING JURIES.

Should the Government decide to take no part in the actual management of future Exhibitions, still it may be requested to name British Jurors. Its consent to do so, I submit, is a point open at least to grave doubt.

The decision of your Lordship that neither Mr. Redgrave nor myself should act as Jurors, or take any part in their proceedings, enabled me to watch the working of the juries dispassionately, and I beg leave to lay before you the conclusions I have formed on the subject.

First arises the question of expediency of juries, and next their practicability in any Universal Exhibition. The institution of a jury in such Exhibitions, is based upon the assumption that the public is unable to discover merit and to judge rightly for itself, but wants the assistance of an authoritative judgment. Is this assumption, in the present state of public intelligence, founded on facts? Do the judgments of these juries do anything more than affirm the judgments already made by the public? A glance at the names of those who have received the Grandes Médailles

Expediency
of juries
considered.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

The public
will not sur-
render the
right of
private
judgment.

d'Honneur, will show that they do not. Among the 138 recipients, is there one who is now revealed for the first time to the public? I venture to think not one. The judgment therefore merely follows and confirms public opinion to a certain extent, but in so far as serious omissions are made, and they are many, it is absolutely in this respect in arrear with public opinion, and becomes unjust.

Even conceding the point that the public at large do not judge rightly for themselves, it cannot be affirmed that they are willing to surrender their right of judgment, and be led by any jury in this question of buying and selling,—the most commonplace business of every day,—upon which everyone is practically the absolute and irresponsible judge. It would seem at the present time that private judgment, at least in the United Kingdom, hesitates to submit itself to authority in forming opinions on subjects of more vital importance than the quality of a cotton print, or a piece of pottery, or the beauty of a picture. The very terms “civil and religious liberty” show that the spirit of the times is not to bow, even in political or religious faith, to the verdict of any human tribunal.

Authoritative judges in investigating discoveries and experiments, in which the world has little or no experience to guide it, may be, and often are, useful. But the principle of juries in Industrial Exhibitions hitherto, has not been thus limited. On the contrary, juries in Universal Exhibitions are called upon to investigate the most trifling of details, and determine the relative merits as well of a discovery in electro-magnetism as the make of a lady's corset; while the fact is, that every one assumes the right, and exercises it, of judging for himself what articles he shall purchase for his subsistence or enjoyment.

Juries, if
expedient,
are imprac-
ticable in
working.

But should it be granted that the principle of juries in an Exhibition is expedient, the experience of their working is conclusive that they are impracticable means for arriving at impartial, comprehensive, and correct judgments.

I hope it will not be inferred that these remarks arise from any feeling that injustice was done to British productions at the late Exhibition. On the contrary, I am led to believe that, compared with other foreigners, more than ample justice was done to our exhibitors, and that if any complaint were to be made in the

general interest, it would be that British exhibitors received too many rewards.

The theory of the judgments given in an Universal Exhibition, is that all countries are treated alike, and the best works are eliminated for reward, without respect to country; but the steps taken do not insure this result. On the contrary, the estimation of the goods of each country is ultimately determined very much in proportion to the number of its Jurors.

The juries were summoned to assemble on the 15th June, and the greater part of them met, and proceeded to organize themselves for working, excepting the Fine Art jurors, who were adjourned to the 1st, and again to the 15th October. Nearly all of the British Jurors were present at the summons on the 15th June, and attended punctually during the months of June, July, and August, when, for the most part, they left Paris, having examined at least the British goods, as well as the circumstances permitted, and agreed with their colleagues upon the decisions.

The examination of French articles was continued till the very close of the Exhibition, being rather more active at the close than at the beginning; thus the final decisions assumed a different phase from what they had at the commencement of the work, when the foreign Jurors were present in the greatest numbers. This was, no doubt, unavoidable. It is not to be expected that men of business should neglect their own affairs, to act as *dilettante* judges incessantly for six months, and it is obvious that the decisions could not fail to be influenced by all kinds of accidents, the fortuitous absence or presence of the Jurors being one of the principal; and even the very residence of the Jurors on the spot, becomes a material ingredient in judgments, which take several months to form.

The work of a Juror is excessively laborious and irksome. To begin work as early as eight in the morning—to wait for companion Jurors who are not punctual—to pace literally over miles of exhibiting ground—to examine stalls and cases, and meet with no exhibitor or agent present to show or explain them, or to find the glass-case locked and no key producible—to haunt committee-rooms and get no quorum for business,—and to do this day after day is what most of the British Jurors did scrupulously for many weeks, and one at least throughout the whole period of the Exhi-

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

Judgments
depend on
the numbers
of jurors
assigned to
a nation.

The labours
of juries too
great to be
continuous
and given
gratuitously.

Impedi-
ments.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

bition, without missing a single day or a single meeting. But to expect that judgments can be satisfactorily formed with justice by four hundred persons, of all nations, subject to all the difficulties enumerated, virtually irresponsible, liable to numerous accidents beyond control, and impeded somewhat by the difficulties of language, in an Universal Exhibition, is to expect what human nature cannot perform. The work becomes impossible.

Inadequate
knowledge
of techni-
calities in
the juries.

Another defect in the system of juries, is the incompetency of the tribunal to deal satisfactorily with all the numerous technical subdivisions necessarily grouped under one heading. Not thirty juries, but at least a hundred are wanted. It must be admitted that the judgment should be based upon technical knowledge, or it is of little worth. It would be difficult to name many classes in which the variety of technical knowledge possessed by their juries, was adequate to pass judgment on all the technical subdivisions of the class. Besides, the very national varieties—each one peculiar to its own country—which exist in every subdivision of every class, render it impossible to fix any standard of excellence.

. . . . To revert to the subject of juries, it may be said that juries are found to act well in agricultural and flower shows, but the work is of small and manageable extent, occupying only a few days, whilst similar work in an Universal Exhibition occupies months, and practically gets beyond control.

Awards
made and
revised.

The most remarkable instance of this was furnished in the Paris Exhibition. The awards had been made by the several juries, confirmed by the groups of juries, and revised by the Council of Presidents of Juries, strictly according to decrees. The labours of five months seemed to have ended, and almost everyone had departed. Totals were made of the number of gold medals which had thus been awarded, when they were considered much too numerous by the Imperial Commission. This information was obtained only within a fortnight of the ceremony of distributing the prizes, and it was thought absolutely necessary to appoint a new committee of seven persons—four being French, and three foreigners,—to classify the *Médailles d'Honneur* into two grades, and to resolve who should receive the higher or the lower grade.

Thus the work of several hundred persons, possessing all kinds of knowledge, who had been brought together from all parts of Europe, was finally revised by a very small committee,

created at the last moment, and whose knowledge was necessarily limited.

In conclusion, I proceed to lay before your Lordship a brief summary of the measures which, I submit, might be taken in any future Universal Exhibition.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

I. THOSE ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT.

a. Having received the invitation to co-operate from the foreign country, it would be for the Board of Trade to make known the terms of the proposed Exhibition to Chambers of Commerce, &c., to assist in forming committees, which should consist rather of exhibitors and those having a *status* in the Exhibition, than of persons or bodies not contributing to it.

Measures to
be taken by
the Govern-
ment in
future Ex-
hibitions.

b. When committees had been formed, to induce them to agree in constituting a central management for themselves.

c. To accredit such management to the authorities managing the proposed foreign Exhibition.

d. To assist in causing reports on the departments of the foreign Exhibition to be made, inducing the preparation of them rather by commercial and scientific authorities than direct nominees of the Government. First editions of such reports should be certainly published whilst the Exhibition was open, as their utility would be much increased. It was found that such reports were much wanted both in London and Paris.

e. Should the Government think fit itself to exhibit such objects as national surveys, models of ships, or other objects in which it acts as the producer, it would do so as a simple exhibitor conforming to the ordinary regulations.

f. With respect to the Colonies exhibiting, the Government would accredit the agents named by the Colonies, and in like manner induce the agents to elect a general manager among themselves.

g. It would prevent difficulty if the Board of Trade should undertake to divide the space between the United Kingdom and the Colonies, in case such space should be allotted in bulk by the foreign Government.

h. To obtain facilities from the Customs in returning goods at the close of the Exhibition.

i. To decline to appoint Jurors.

II. ON THE PART OF THE EXHIBITORS.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

Measures
to be taken
by exhibitors
in future
Exhibitions.

a. To form themselves into trade committees.

b. The committee to elect, in concert with the Colonial committees, a manager, with ample powers, to proceed to the foreign country. When there, he must be invested with full authority to deal with defaulters, and do whatever is necessary to complete the Exhibition, and insure punctuality. In spite of all efforts, some few exhibitors will be unpunctual, and such parties always contend for the reservation of privileges, which if conceded, would render the Exhibition imperfect.

c. To print a list of the proposed exhibitors and their addresses as soon as they are ascertained. This will be found of great convenience in shipping the goods, in receiving them abroad, and making the arrangements in the Exhibition, and in conducting correspondence. It was one of the most useful steps taken in the Paris Exhibition, and should be carried out at as early a stage of the proceedings as possible. It is very important to keep the exhibitors fully informed of the necessary regulations as they are made in the progress of the work. It saves much correspondence with individuals, secures uniformity of action, and creates in the minds of the parties interested, an accurate sense of the necessities of the work. Moreover, short documents issued frequently, attract more attention than lengthy ones issued at long intervals. These, collected together when the work is done, may appear numerous, and many of them superfluous; but their utility is to be judged by the general result. A list of those issued on the present occasion is appended, and it may be safely asserted that the economy of twenty per cent. effected in the management, would hardly have been obtained without a generous outlay in distributing information. It is hardly possible to err on the side of giving information too fully, where it is important to enlist voluntary assistance.

d. To organize for the shipping of the goods. The employment of a single agent at only one port of departure, will be found both economical and convenient.

e. Before any goods are shipped, it will save much cost and trouble to ascertain that the Exhibition buildings abroad are quite ready to receive them, and to send no goods until there is satis-

factory assurance of this fact. At least two months' delay and vexation would have been spared in Paris, if no goods had been sent until the floor, the shafting, and galleries of the Annexe had been completed; and it would be best for all parties to decline courteously to send goods until the building is quite fit to receive them.

f. It may be somewhat costly, but will prove cheapest in the end to send abroad a sufficient staff of workmen and tools, especially carpenters and men accustomed to place machinery. The importation of one or more moveable cranes would have been most useful. Not a single one was employed in Paris to assist in unloading the goods. The safest course is to be self-reliant for executing all such details. This was followed especially in the exhibition of the Fine Arts, where English workmen were employed. Had it been different, the arrangement and closing of the British part of the Fine Arts Exhibition would have been much delayed.

g. To engage a separate warehouse in the foreign country, to store the empty packing-cases during the Exhibition. This will be found a convenience well worth paying for. The extent of accommodation should be regulated by the number of cases likely to be returned at the close of the Exhibition.

h. An effort should be made to obtain sufficient office accommodation in the Exhibition building itself, which supersedes the necessity for separate offices out of it.

i. The preparation of cases, stands, &c., will be best left to each exhibitor or group of exhibitors who may please to act in concert. The fewer rules on this point, the better; glass cases, in fact, are undesirable. In the Exhibition of 1851, the fewest possible rules were prescribed to exhibitors in the preparation of their glass cases, the principle being to allow as much freedom and exercise of individual judgment as possible; on the contrary, in 1855, the Imperial Commission were very anxious that glass cases and frames for exhibiting, should be adopted of an uniform character, and in the nave of the Palais it was absolutely enforced upon British exhibitors to use cases of a particular height and size, and pattern, as the condition of occupying that position, however unsuitable they might be for displaying their goods. The exhibitors submitted, and incurred some thousands of pounds expense to prepare them, although quite against their own judgment. These cases proved

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A.D. 1856.
Part II.
Selections.

to be most unsuitable for their purpose, and were a serious defect in the general appearance of the nave. This was apparent in those parts where French exhibitors having been less obedient to the rules of the Imperial Commission than British exhibitors, had declined to erect the prescribed form of case. In 1851, the rule was to prohibit glass cases in the nave. In 1855, the contrary rule prevailed, and notwithstanding every effort was made to prevent the flat, dusty tops of the cases from being an eyesore from the galleries above, by erecting a kind of roofing to them, they were felt to be a great defect throughout the whole period of the Exhibition. The result proved the superiority of the plan in the London Exhibition, and has confirmed the wisdom of the rule that glass cases and high stands should be avoided as much as possible; indeed, except where absolutely necessary, it would be better to prohibit them. Another lesson taught by the arrangement of the Paris Exhibition, was to keep high erections rather to the sides than place them in the centre of galleries.

Estimated
cost of par-
ticipation in
any future
foreign Ex-
hibition.

Upon the basis of the expenditure incurred by the Government for the Paris Exhibition, namely, £40,000 out of the vote of £50,000; it may be estimated that the cost of management of any future Exhibition, excluding the Fine Arts Division, ought not to be more. It would not be *less*, as expenses can be controlled all the more in proportion as the executive management is central, and the responsibility individual. Should the course of action now pointed out be adopted, an expense of £10,000 might be defrayed by the Government for preliminary expenses, distributing information, and assistance in preparing reports on the Foreign Exhibition, on condition that the balance of £30,000 should be undertaken by exhibitors, in order to pay the expenses of transit and general management. A guarantee fund exceeding this amount should be obtained from intending exhibitors, and a deposit paid, each committee or exhibitor contributing in proportion to the amount of space allotted to them.



MEMORANDUM UPON A SCHEME OF ANNUAL
INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS OF
SELECTED WORKS OF FINE AND
INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND
NEW INVENTIONS.

I.

INTERNATIONAL Exhibitions of Industry, although much diverted from their original intention, as lately happened at Paris,¹ afford such valuable means of comparing each Nation's progress in works of art and industry, that they ought not to be abandoned, but should be reorganized with the light of past experience.

2. With the view therefore of deriving the greatest practical advantage from such displays, it is desirable to revert to some such annual exhibitions as were held by the Society of Arts in several years previous to 1851, under the presidency of the Prince Consort. Accordingly, it is proposed to hold every year an Exhibition of some few classes of manufactures which have been prepared expressly to show novelty, invention, or special excellence. From such an exhibition objects obtainable in ordinary commerce and those which have been already exhibited would be excluded. The Exhibition would therefore be very select and limited in size: and it is considered that in five [seven or ten?] years the whole circle of the chief products of human industry would be exhibited.

3. But every year there might be exhibited illustrations of very remarkable discoveries in Science as well as works of Fine Art and manufactures in which Art is the express feature.

4. It is proposed that all works should be admitted by the award of competent Judges: that no prizes should be awarded, but that discriminating reports should be made and published as soon as possible after the opening of each year's Exhibition to serve as guides during its existence.

5. A sum of money might be annually devoted to make pur-

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.
A. D.
1868-1874.
Part II.
Selections.
Value of International Exhibitions.
Exhibitions of selected objects only.

Science and Art annually.

No prizes, but reports.

Purchases.

¹ In 1867.

INTER-
NATIONAL
EXHI-
BITIONS.

A. D.
1868-1874.
Part II.
Selections.
Use of Royal
Albert Hall.

Musical and
Horticultural
Exhibitions.

Promoters.

chases of remarkable works, which might be sent to Local Museums throughout the United Kingdom.

6. One of the objects of the Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences now in course of erection at Kensington Gore is that of holding International Exhibitions.

7. It is therefore proposed to seek the co-operation of the Provisional Committee of the Royal Albert Hall; of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851; of the Royal Horticultural Society, and of the Society of Arts.

8. International musical performances might also form part of these exhibitions, and annual exhibitions of flowers and plants might be held by the Horticultural Society at the same time; and it is believed that the Hall, and other buildings, which would complete the gardens of the Horticultural Society, and may easily be erected on part of the grounds now in the hands of that Society, will afford every facility that can be devised for the permanent establishment of such exhibitions on the scale now proposed.

9. The following persons have agreed to promote the above-mentioned plan:—

THE RT. HON. THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., President of the International Exhibition of 1862, and Vice-President of the International Exhibition of 1851.

THE RT. HON. H. A. BRUCE, Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Royal Albert Hall, one of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.

GENERAL THE HON. C. GREY, Vice-President of the Royal Horticultural Society.

HENRY COLE, ESQ., C.B., Vice-President of the Society of Arts, and Vice-President of the Royal Horticultural Society.

E. A. BOWRING, ESQ., C.B., M.P., Secretary to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.

SOMERSET A. BEAUMONT, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

J. M. BENNETT, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester.

WALTER BERRY, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Leith.

WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, ESQ., C.E., late President of the Society of Mechanical Engineers.

JOHN FOWLER, ESQ., C.E., late President of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

SIR FRANCIS GRANT, President of the Royal Academy.

GEORGE HARRISON, ESQ., Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Edinburgh.

MICHAEL D. HOLLINS, ESQ., Chairman of the Potteries Chamber of Commerce.

THOMAS H. HUXLEY, LL.D., F.R.S., President of the Geological Society.

CHARLES LAWSON, ESQ., late Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

AUSTEN H. LAYARD, ESQ., M.P.

J. W. LEA, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Worcester.
 DARNTON LUPTON, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Leeds.
 EDWARD P. MAXSTED, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce and Shipping, Hull.
 PHILIP W. S. MILES, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Bristol.
 JOHN MORGAN, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Cardiff.
 A. J. MUNDELLA, ESQ., M.P., Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of Nottingham.
 ROBERT NAPIER, ESQ., C.E., late President of the Society of Mechanical Engineers.
 JOHN PATTERSON, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool.
 WILLIAM H. PAYN, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Dover.

JOHN PLATT, ESQ., M.P., Oldham.
 RICHARD QUAIN, ESQ., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons.
 HENRY W. RIPLEY, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Bradford.
 JOHN H. ROCKETT, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Goole.
 RICHARD RUSSELL, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Limerick.
 GENERAL SABINE, R.A., President of the Royal Society.
 HENRY THRING, ESQ., one of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.
 A. C. TWENTYMAN, ESQ., President of the Chamber of Commerce, Wolverhampton.
 JOSEPH WHITWORTH, ESQ., D.C.L., late President of the Society of Mechanical Engineers.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.
 A. D. 1868-1874.
 Part II. Selections.

30th March, 1868.

CLASSIFICATION OF MANUFACTURES, MACHINERY, ETC., TO BE SHOWN THROUGHOUT THE SERIES OF INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

Classification of products, &c., for Exhibitions.

1871.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Pottery</i> | <i>b.</i> Books, Maps, Globes, Instruments, &c. |
| <i>a.</i> Earthenware | <i>c.</i> Appliances for Physical Training, including Toys and Games |
| <i>b.</i> Stoneware | <i>d.</i> Specimens and illustrations of modes of teaching Fine Art, Natural History, and Physical Science |
| <i>c.</i> Porcelain | <i>e.</i> Specimens of School work, serving as examples of the results of Teaching |
| <i>d.</i> Parian, &c. | |
| <i>e.</i> Terra Cottas for Building, &c. | |
| <i>Woollen and Worsted Fabrics</i> | |
| <i>Machinery for the group</i> | |
| <i>Raw materials for the above-mentioned objects</i> | |
| <i>Educational Works and Appliances</i> | |
| <i>a.</i> School Buildings, Fittings, Furniture, &c. | |

1872.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Cotton</i> | <i>Acoustical Experiments</i> |
| <i>Jewellery (say)</i> | <i>Paper, Stationery, and Printing</i> |
| <i>Musical Instruments</i> | <i>a.</i> Paper, Card, and Millboard |

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.

A. D.
1868-1874.
Part II.
Selections.

Classification of products, &c., for Exhibitions.

- | | |
|--|---|
| b. Stationery | Machinery for the group |
| c. Plate, Letterpress, and other modes of Printing | Raw materials for all the above-mentioned objects |

Any modifications in the year 1873 or the following years will be duly announced.

1873.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Silk and Velvet</i> | c. Wine, Spirits, Beer and other drinks, and Tobacco |
| <i>Steel, Cutlery, and Edge Tools</i> | d. Implements for drinking, and use of Tobacco, of all kinds |
| a. Steel Manufactures | <i>Cooking and its Science</i> |
| b. Cutlery and Edge Tools | Machinery for the group |
| <i>Surgical Instruments and Appliances</i> | Raw materials for all the above-mentioned objects |
| <i>Substances used as Food</i> | |
| a. Agricultural Products | |
| b. Drysaltery, Grocery, Preparations of Food | |

1874.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Lace, hand and machine made</i> | <i>Leather, including Saddlery and Harness</i> |
| <i>Carriages not connected with Rail or Tram Roads</i> | a. Leather, and Manufactures of Leather |
| <i>Civil Engineering, Architectural, and Building Contrivances and Tests</i> | b. Saddlery, Harness |
| a. Civil Engineering, and Building Construction | <i>Artificial Illumination by all methods, Gas and its Manufacture</i> |
| b. Sanitary Apparatus, and Constructions | <i>Bookbinding of all kinds</i> (say) |
| c. Cement and Plaster Work, &c. | Machinery in general for the group |
| | Raw materials used for all the above-mentioned objects |

1875.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Woven, Spun, Felted, and Laid Fabrics (when shown as specimens of Printing or Dyeing)</i> | <i>Hydraulics and Experiments. Supply of Water</i> |
| <i>Horological Instruments</i> | Machinery in general for the group |
| <i>Brass and Copper Manufactures</i> (say) | Raw materials used for all the above-mentioned objects |

1876.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Works in Precious Metals and their imitations</i> | <i>Philosophical Instruments, and Processes depending upon their use</i> |
| <i>Photographic Apparatus and Photography</i> | <i>Uses of Electricity</i> |
| <i>Skins, Furs, Feathers, and Hair</i> | Machinery in general for the group |
| <i>Agricultural Machinery and results</i> | Raw materials used for all the above-mentioned objects |

1877.

Furniture and Upholstery, including Paper Hangings and Papier-Maché
a. Furniture and Upholstery
b. Paper Hangings and General Decoration

Health, Manufactures, &c., promoting, with experiments
 Machinery in general for the group
 Raw materials used for all the above-mentioned objects

1878.

Tapestry, Embroidery, and Needlework

Glass

a. Stained Glass used in Buildings

b. Glass for household purposes

Military Engineering, Armour and Accoutrements, Ambulances, Ordnance and Small Arms

a. Clothing and Accoutrements

b. Tents, Camp Equipages, and Military Engineering

c. Arms, Ordnance, and Ammunition

Naval Architecture—Ships' Tackle

a. Ships for purposes of War and Commerce

b. Boats, Barges, and Vessels for Commerce, Amusement, &c.

c. Ships' Tackle and Rigging Additional

d. Clothing for the Navy

Heating and Combustion, with Experiments

Machinery in general for the group
 Raw materials used for all the above-mentioned objects

1879.

Matting of all kinds, Straw Manufactures

Flax and Hemp

Iron and General Hardware (say)

a. Iron Manufactures

b. Tin, Lead, Zinc, Pewter, and general Brazing

Dressing Cases, Travelling Cases, &c.

Horticultural Machinery and Products

Uses of Magnetism

Machinery in general for the group
 Raw materials used for all the above-mentioned objects

1880.

Chemical Substances and Products, and Experiments, Pharmaceutical Processes

a. Chemical products

b. Medical and Pharmaceutical Products and Processes

c. Oils, Fats, Wax

Articles of Clothing

a. Hats and Caps

b. Bonnets and General Millinery

c. Hosiery, Gloves, and Clothing in general

d. Boots and Shoes

Railway Plant, including Locomotive Engines and Carriages

Machinery in general for the group
 Raw materials used for all the above-mentioned objects



PATENT REFORM AND THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

EXTRACTS FROM FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF JURISPRUDENCE WHICH SHOULD REGULATE THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF INVENTORS.

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BRITISH subject has no rights of property whatever in that intellectual labour which produces invention or scientific discovery, excepting such as he can obtain by petition from the Crown. He may have bestowed years of mental exertion and manual toil in perfecting a discovery most beneficial to mankind, still he is not in the position of being able to claim even the recognition of the fruits of his labour as his own. He must become a petitioner for the right to the Crown, which is absolute and irresponsible, and may refuse it without any power whatever of appeal. Many and well-settled as are the rights of British subjects compared with those of other nations, the suppliant inventor has no rights of his own in his invention. The inventor in France, in America, in Holland, and in Belgium, even in Austria and Spain, has his rights recognized by declared law; but the Englishman has none. By passing through a series of formulas, so antiquated that the origin of them is lost in the obscurity of past centuries—so empty and frivolous, that common sense revolts at them—so numerous, that they can hardly be reckoned accurately—so intricate, that every one seems a pitfall to discourage scientific invention to the utmost—so inexplicable, that the utmost diversity of opinion obtains in interpreting them—so costly, as to place scientific intelligence

Rights of
inventors
abroad and
in England.

wholly within the power of capital ; an inventor may at last obtain a mere recognition of his right, which he is then at liberty to protect as he may be best able.

Thus the United Kingdom presents the anomaly, that whilst it is the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, possessing boundless capital and most active industrial energy, combined with a vast amount of inventive ability, to which the genius of the people gives the most practical development, the principles of jurisprudence, which should regulate its inventive science and its manufacturing skill, are very far behind those of other nations inferior in civilization to herself.

The peculiar circumstances under which inventors are placed will be first examined. "It may be impossible," as a recent Treasury Report states, "to ascertain with certainty when grants of letters patent for the sole use of inventions were first made in this country," just as it would be impossible to ascertain when any Englishman made the first invention ; but it is not difficult to see that the existence of the present power of the Crown of granting or refusing rights to inventors, took its rise in a very early and barbarous period, and that it is only the remnant of a system of absolute monarchy, of which scarcely a vestige except that of granting letters patent remains at the present time. The earliest letters patent enrolled among our unrivalled series of public records, belong to the reign of King John ; and if we do not find letters patent conferring rights for manufacturing invention recorded at that time, it was not because the Crown did not possess the power of granting them, but because the wants of mankind did not call for the recognition of them.

The origin of letters patent of all kinds, was part of a system of absolute monarchy : numerous personal rights continued for ages to belong to the royal prerogative, until they were gradually taken from it, whilst the privileges for inventions were left still to be regulated by it, simply because the "inventors' rights" were not important enough to secure for themselves direct legislative recognition, as numerous other rights had done.

It must be clearly borne in mind, that no inventor, or discoverer, or proprietor of any invention, is in any position to claim any right whatever, until he has passed through all the following thirty-five official stages of cost and delay :—

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Earliest
letters
patent.

Origin of
letters
patent part
of a system
of absolute
monarchy.

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REFORM.A. D.
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stages to be
gone through
by an in-
ventor.

A Recital of the Official Stages, so far as they can be made out, which an Inventor must undergo in obtaining Letters-Patent for an Invention in England only, provided his application is unopposed.

Stage 1st.	Inventor prepares humble petition to the Crown,	
2nd.	Which he must fortify by a declaration taken before a Master in Chancery, and pay	£0 1 6
3rd.	He delivers petition and declaration to the Home Office, in Whitehall, and pays	
4th.	Home Secretary signs petition after some days, and refers it to Attorney or Solicitor-General	2 2 6
5th.	Petition taken to the Attorney or Solicitor-General, at their Chambers, and the fees paid to them and Clerks are	4 4 0
6th.	Attorney or Solicitor-General reports in favour of petition, as a matter of course, unless opposed	
7th.	Report taken back to the Home Office, in Whitehall	
8th.	Home Office prepares a warrant, which echoes the report, and is	
9th.	Sent to the Queen to sign	7 13 6
10th.	Returned to Home Office, and	
11th.	Home Secretary countersigns warrant, and the fees paid are	
12th.	Warrant taken to Patent Office in Lincoln's Inn	
13th.	Clerk of the Patents prepares a draft of the Queen's bill and docquet of the bill, and the fees paid are	5 10 6
14th.	And engrosses two copies of bill, one for the Signet Office and one for the Privy Seal Office, fees	1 7 6
15th.	Stamp-duty on each	6 0 0
16th.	Engrossing Clerk of the Patent Office engrosses Queen's bill for signature, fees	1 1 0
17th.	Stamp for the same	1 10 0
18th.	Queen's bill taken to Attorney-General or Solicitor-General and signed by them, fees	6 0 0
19th.	Taken back to Home Secretary	
20th.	Sent by Home Secretary to the Queen	
21st.	Signed by the Queen	7 13 6
22nd.	Returned to the Home Secretary, and the fees paid are	
23rd.	Queen's bill taken to Signet Office, in Somerset House	
24th.	Clerk of the Signet prepares a signet bill for the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, fees	4 7 0
25th.	Clerk of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal prepares a Privy Seal bill for the Lord Chancellor, and stamp, fees	4 2 0

26th. Privy Seal bill delivered to the Clerk of the Patents	}	5 17 8	PATENT REFORM. A.D. 1848-1852. Part II. Selections.	
27th. Clerk of the Patents engrosses the patent, and fees paid are				
Stamps for the patent, &c.				30 0 0
28th. Clerk of the Patents prepares a docquet thereof				
29th. Stamp for the docquet of patent				
30th. Boxes for the patent				0 9 6
31st. Fees to the deputy (?), the Lord Chancellor's Purse-bearer				2 2 0
32nd. Fees to the Clerk of the Hanaper				7 13 0
33rd. Fees to the Deputy Clerk of the Hanaper				0 10 0
34th. Receipt of the Lord Chancellor for the Privy Seal bill, which he signs				1 11 6
35th. Fees to the Deputy-Sealer and Deputy-Chaff Wax	0 10 6			
		£100 7 2		

Exclusive of fees in cases of opposition and for enrolment of the specification.

The stages are somewhat less complicated for obtaining letters patent in Scotland, but the cost is somewhat more in Ireland: the fees in Scotland being £62 3s. 7d. and those in Ireland £116 17s. 7d., whilst there are other fees to be paid and some other processes undergone, to make letters patent applicable to the Colonies. These payments are increased if there be any opposition made to the issue of the patent, and are exclusive of the charges which are payable to the agent, who undertakes to guide an inventor through the labyrinth of offices and officers and forms. So that the total amount of official fees only exacted to obtain the chance of rights in the United Kingdom and its Colonies, may be estimated to be about £300.

Fees for letters patent less in Scotland, more in Ireland.

Grave and valid objections may be taken to any compulsory system of *petitioning* for rights of invention, but the notice of these may be postponed until the present system, as shown by the preceding table, has been examined on its own merits. An examination of the ancient petitions presented to "Le Roi" only, or to "Le Roi et son Conseil," shows that a petition to King John, or Harry the Eighth, or even James the First, was a substantive reality. The sovereign granted it at his own personal will, but the Queen now has no personal responsibility in acceding to any petition from a subject, and in respect of an invention, no personal feeling or knowledge whatever, or individually any power whatever

No personal responsibility now rests with the Queen.

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to grant or withhold it. Her Majesty is simply troubled to sign her name twice over to every Patent for Inventions, and is obliged to do so on an average thirteen hundred times in the course of a year. The spirit of this formula is not at all analogous to affixing the royal signature to a patent for an office or a dignity, which is the symbol of the sovereign's approval of the minister's choice. In Letters Patent for inventions, neither her Majesty, nor the Home Secretary, nor even the Attorney-General, virtually exercise any discretion at all. As soon as the Attorney or Solicitor-General reports in favour of the Patent, the Home Secretary's clerk sends the warrants to her Majesty, who signs them, and every other stage is passed through mechanically.

Time con-
sumed by an
inventor
getting a
Patent.

An average period of about two months is consumed in going through all the forms, at each of which the most scrupulous observance is exacted, and the petitioner at last gets his Patent. But this, as the Clerk of the Patents has observed, "is drawn as obscurely as the specifier thinks consistent with the legality of the Patent." In fact the Patent, before last November, was a privilege to possess a something which was *afterwards* to be defined; for it was not until after several months, usually six, that the authorities or public really knew what the Patent had been granted for. Great abuses were the result. The Attorney-General, the Home Secretary, the Queen, the Lord Chancellor, recognized what might be simply "a blind title," as it has been called. The recent order of Sir John Romilly, compelling petitioners to specify on presenting the petition, is calculated to remove one of the evils of the present system; and the Committee would congratulate the public, that the offices of Attorney and Solicitor are now filled by such known friends of law reform as Sir John Romilly and Sir Alexander Cockburn.

At last, however, the petitioner completes the process by specifying his invention, and it rests entirely upon him to substantiate its validity, for the Crown and its hosts of officers, Attorney-General, Privy Seal, Hanaper, Chaff-wax, &c., have really *assured* him nothing.

As the onus of proving the novelty of the invention rests solely upon the petitioner, it might be reasonably expected that there should be some system to enable him to ascertain the existence of the Patents and Specifications enrolled before his applica-

tion. Even here he is met with insuperable difficulties. Until within the last few months, the Specifications were enrolled at three separate offices, and excepting at the Rolls Chapel—for which public thanks are due to the present Master of the Rolls, Lord Langdale—the means of reference were most difficult and imperfect, indeed practically useless.

After the whole process has been completed, the petitioner's rights are entirely at the mercy of the interpretations which the law may put upon his claim, and next to the idle forms and great cost, the legal insecurity of the whole system is justly complained of.

Upon the subject of the cost of Patents, public opinion is unanimous that it is far too great even for the purposes of revenue, and that the cost operates mischievously and unequally in discouraging invention.

Owing to the complexity of the system, and the obvious reluctance to be precise in information, there is much difficulty in ascertaining the actual amount which the public pay in fees for Patents for Inventions. It does not appear to exceed the annual sum of £70,000, exclusive of the cost of the private agency connected with it; so that when the period of reform arrives it is satisfactory to know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not be asked to sacrifice in any possible case £65,000 at the very outside. So far as the facts can be collected and digested from various parliamentary papers, the results appear to be, that annually the public revenue derives about £46,000; the fee fund of the Court of Chancery about £2,500; and that something less than £18,000 is paid in fees to individuals as private emoluments for services, which we have already shown have no business-like purpose about them.

During the last twenty years, many efforts have been made in Parliament to amend the Patent system, but without success. Bills have been introduced to determine who shall be considered inventors,—what shall be considered inventions,—how an inventor shall draw up his specification,—how a little more or less of the present antiquated forms may be simplified,—how some "sealings" and declarations may be dispensed with,—how the duration of the Patent may be shorter,—how the sovereign may be released from signing, and so on; but as all previous efforts

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Petitioner's
rights at the
mercy of the
law.

Amount
paid in fees
for Patents
for Inven-
tions.

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have proceeded upon the amendment of a system which is irreconcilable with sound principles of jurisprudence and rights of property as now understood, they have signally failed ; and, with the exception of some simplifications of the proceedings before the Privy Council, accomplished by Lord Brougham, Parliament hitherto has been altogether impotent in dealing with the subject.

Change in
the system
imperative.

All experience has proved, that it is hopeless to effect amendment of the present system of obtaining Patents. Every one, indeed, agrees that some change is imperative. Even the Patent lawyers and Patent agents in the most extensive practice, denounce parts of the present system, and all have amendments to suggest ; but there is great difference of opinion on the extent to which any of the thirty-five stages may be superseded. Whilst the whole superstructure rests upon the fallacy that inventive rights are boons to be granted or withheld, and not rights of intellectual labour, it is idle to attempt to amend the details of the system. Public opinion and common sense pronounce the present forms empty pretences. It appears a waste of time to discuss whether we shall keep one pretence more or less, or argue what forms are best to protect the rights of inventors, until it is clearly settled whether there shall be any rights at all ; and if so, how they shall be defined.

Is it the policy of a civilized state to grant any rights to inventors? The question may startle many, seeing that the practice of all civilized nations recognizes them, and that we have done so, even through the awkward medium of Patent laws, for several centuries. But still it is a question mooted by those whose opinions demand respectful attention.

Inventive labour is a right which no power in the State ought to have any option in the recognition of.

The rights of property in literary or artistic labour, or of mechanical skill in respect of "form or configuration," are not determined in any respect by their merits. Even the present system of Patents virtually does not recognize the intrinsic value of an invention to be any ground for granting them. The spirit of our institutions is, to leave the public the utmost latitude of judging for itself upon all questions of merit, and it may, therefore, be concluded that there are no sufficient reasons for making the question

of merits any ground to refuse acknowledgment of the rights of invention.

In fact, upon the intrinsic merits of an invention, the public at large are the best and only judges.

It would thus appear that it is simply the business of the State to provide an easy means of registration of claims, which the law should regard as valid until they were proved to be otherwise, as is the case in almost every civilized country but our own; and the establishment of any tribunal to investigate claims, either before they are disputed or afterwards, appears altogether a separate and distinct question, quite independent of the policy of recognizing the rights of inventors to the fruits of their labour.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SECOND REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS UPON THE RIGHTS OF INVENTORS.

Resolutions passed to form the heads of a Bill.

1. That everything in respect of which a patent may now be granted should be registered.
2. That the benefits afforded by Registration should extend to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Channel Islands.
3. That the Registration should be considered merely as a record of claims, and not as any determination of rights between parties.
4. That it should be competent to an Inventor to make disclaimers and to rectify errors in his Specification at any period.
5. That Registration of Inventions¹ should be obtainable for a period of one year on payment of £5, and should be renewable for four periods of five years each; on payment of £10 at first renewal; of £20 at second renewal; of £50 at third renewal; and of £100 at fourth renewal. [The principle of renewed payments, increasing in amount, is

¹ It is interesting to note as these pages pass through the press, that the intention of the simplifications, especially in respect of registration, advocated in 1850, have been adopted in

the Patents for Inventions Bill now (1883) before Parliament. The rate of fees for a four years' patent is considerably reduced in that Bill.

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Heads of a
new Patent
Bill.

- proposed as a means of testing whether an invention is in use, and of removing useless inventive rights that might otherwise be obstructive of improvements.]
6. That there should be penalties for using the title of "patent" or "registration" where none has ever existed.
 7. That the present tribunals are insufficient for the trial of subjects of design and invention.
 8. That it should be permitted to commence actions for infringement of the rights of Inventors in the County Courts.
 9. That inasmuch as, contrary to expectation, very little litigation has been created by the rights conferred by the Designs Act of 1842 and 1843, this Committee is of opinion that a fair trial should be given to the working of the proposed system of Registration of Inventions before any special tribunal to determine inventive rights is substituted for the existing tribunals.
 10. That any tribunal before which proceedings are commenced, should have power to refer any case for report and certificate to the Registrar, assisted by competent and scientific persons.
 11. That upon the illegality of the Registration being established by the judgment or order of any competent tribunal, the Registration be cancelled.
 12. That there should be only one Office for the transaction of business connected with the Registration of Inventions, and the payment of Fees in respect thereof.
 13. That every person desiring to register an Invention should submit two copies of the Specification of his claim, accompanied, in every case where it is possible, by descriptive Drawings.
 14. That the mode and procedure of Registration should be regulated by the Board of Trade, subject to a Report to Parliament.
 15. That an Annual Report of all Specifications registered, with proper indices and calendars, should be laid before Parliament.
 16. That a Collection of all the Specifications should be made, calendared, and indexed, and deposited for public information in the British Museum.

17. That it is highly desirable that such a Collection should be printed and published.
18. That the surplus profits, after paying office expenses and compensation, should be directly applied to some public purpose connected with invention, but not carried to the Consolidated Fund.

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Although the Committee, in their first Report, have discussed the principles of jurisprudence which, it appears to them, should govern the rights of inventors (see § 32, *passim*), they think it right to point out that the reforms which they suggest, are essentially those of *procedure*, their object being to afford simpler and cheaper means of obtaining rights already recognized by all civilized countries, and of protecting them when obtained.

Principles of
jurisprudence should
govern the
rights of
inventors.

The Committee are unanimously of opinion that there ought to be no needless formalities, which the proprietor of an invention should be compelled to pass through to obtain a recognition of his right. There should be only one office for the transaction of all business connected with the Registration of Inventions and the payment of the fees in respect thereof.

The argument is unsound, that the present great cost of Patents, by rendering the rights few, is a benefit to manufacturers. The money test does not determine the merit or legality of the invention, but simply proves that the inventor could either afford to pay the fees, or that he could induce some one else to pay them for him. In short, the very reverse of the inconveniences prophesied may be expected from cheap registration of invention. Make little rights respected, and a better tone of morals is fostered towards all rights, both large and small. What would be our state of society if the law repudiated cognizance of any thefts below a pound in value? No one will contend that the public has not derived great benefit from the easy recovery of small debts, and that since the County Courts Bill has been passed there has been a tendency to incur small debts. Quite the contrary. The same beneficial results would follow with registrations of small inventions. The manufacturer too, who dreads too much invention, would be the first to avail himself of the facility of registration, because he would at once register every slight improvement in process or otherwise, and he would never look at the cost of doing so. The public advantages in the progress of science and dis-

Present cost
of Patents, a
benefit to
manufacturers
an un-
sound argu-
ment.

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Invention
should be
elevated into
a science.

covery would be very great, by the facility thus given to record anything whatever that seemed to be of practical worth. Every scientific man is now obliged to ask himself, Is the discovery worth £300? and when he decides that he cannot get the Patent without infinite trouble and cost, his discovery goes unregistered—probably to be revived again and again by others richer and more adventurous than himself. Recognize the rights of inventors, and invention will be elevated into a science. Those who fear such a result are those who fear the spread of education, and are like those who, in the middle ages, would have burned astronomers or metallurgists as witches; and who, even in the memory of the present times, denied the pretensions of geology or political economy to the rank of sciences.





EXTRACTS FROM AN
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS ON THE FUNC-
TIONS OF THE SCIENCE AND
ART DEPARTMENT.

BY HENRY COLE, C.B., SECRETARY AND GENERAL
SUPERINTENDENT.

(Delivered on 16th Nov., 1857.)



It has seemed right to the Lord President of the Council and the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, to direct that a series of introductory explanations of the Science and Art Department should be given to the public during the present session, when, since the occurrence of several changes, most of its functions may be said to have come fairly into action. At the beginning of this year, the Department was a branch of the Board of Trade, now it is a division of the Committee of Council on Education. Its offices, schools, and the Museum of Art were at Marlborough House, now they are at South Kensington. Moreover, the Department has become charged with the general superintendence of a Museum embracing many other objects besides those of Art, and several collections which are the property of private bodies.

Some who have but recently paid attention to the subject, have thought that the Science and Art Department is a new creation of the Government, and have commented on the important item which its expenses make in the parliamentary estimates

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MUSEUM.

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Part II.
Selections.
Functions of
the Science
and Art De-
partment.

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SCIENCE
AND ART
AND SOUTH
KENSINGTON MU-
SEUM.

A.D. 1857.

Part II.
Selections.
Institutions
under the
Science and
Art Depart-
ment.

of the year. The Science and Art Department is rather a consolidation of institutions, most of which have been long established, than the creation of any new ones. The oldest institution connected with the Department is the Royal Dublin Society, which as early as 1800 received an annual public grant of £15,500, a sum it disbursed without being subject to much parliamentary control. The School of Mines, Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, and Geological Survey were in process of organization from 1837 to 1851, and were placed under the Chief Commissioner of Public Works. The Industrial Museum of Ireland owes its origin to Sir Robert Peel in 1845, and was also subject to the Chief Commissioner of Works, whilst the School of Design, which is the parent of the present Schools of Art located in all parts of the United Kingdom, and supported mainly by local authority and action, was founded in 1837 by Mr. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, and was subject to the authority of the Board of Trade.

All these institutions had in view the promotion of scientific and artistic knowledge of an industrial tendency, at the expense of the State, but they acted in different ways, independently of each other, and were subject to different kinds of ministerial responsibility. It can hardly be said that they reported their proceedings systematically to Parliament, but they made occasional returns, which were called for spasmodically and very much from accidental causes.

There are still other institutions for promoting Art and Science at the expense of the State, which in principle are the same as the institutions constituting the Department, and which might perhaps be usefully brought under more precise parliamentary responsibility, and be at least prevented from clashing with one another.

The Science and Art Department now constitutes the division of the Committee of Council on Education, charged with the duty of offering to the public increased means for promoting secondary or adult education. All the functions attaching to primary education remain as a separate division of the Committee of Council, and are carried on at Whitehall. The recent transfer of the Science and Art Department from the Board of Trade, has not affected them, except to enable the President and Vice-President to render

Secondary or
adult educa-
tion.

the working of any points of contact between primary and secondary education harmonious and consistent.

The teaching of the applied sciences—chemistry, physics, natural history, mechanics, navigation, and the fine arts, taking drawing as an indispensable beginning,—constitutes the precise object of secondary education, developed in various ways by means of museums, schools, public examinations, payments for results, and the preparation of examples. Whatever advantages the Department is enabled to offer to the public, may be obtained without requiring any denominational test which the primary division of the Education Board at the present time demands. Except in the case of the public museums, which the public enter without payment at certain times, the aid tendered by the Department can only be obtained by a voluntary co-operation on the part of the public, and moderate payments, varying according to the means of the applicants for instruction, afford the test that the assistance sought is really valued. To obtain the assistance of the Department in establishing schools, there must be subscriptions from the benevolent to provide a capital for starting—the fees of students provide in great measure the current expenses and a partial payment to the teachers, whilst the Department comes in aid in various ways in paying for the instruction itself. Under this system all classes are enabled to take their proper share in it, and equal opportunities are afforded to the whole people for developing any talents they may be endowed with. The work thus done is mainly done by the public itself on a self-supporting basis as far as possible, whilst the State avoids the error of continental systems, of taking the principal and dominant part in Secondary Education.

Passing from the question of general education to the specific action of the Department, it will be right to give some instances of its functions which could not be carried out by any private agency. Neither Navigation Schools nor Schools of Art, in the present state of public intelligence, could well exist without the assistance that the State affords to them. The collecting of casts and examples of art from the national museums of other countries, could only be systematically carried on by a Government agency. Already the French Government have permitted electrotypes and casts to be taken of the finest original works in the Louvre, Hôtel de Cluny, and Musée d'Artillerie, at Paris, and these repetitions

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Selections.

Co-operation with the Department, on the part of the public, necessary.

Repetitions of works of art from foreign museums.

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AND SOUTH
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SEUM.

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Local
museums of
Art.

Educational
museum

originated
by Society of
Arts.

Science.

may be seen in the Museum. Arrangements have been made to obtain similar privileges in Dresden, Berlin, Frankfort, Vienna, &c. Thus in a few years copies taken by means of electricity and photography of the great Art-treasures in Europe, will be collected for the benefit of this country; and, by a self-acting process be distributed as prizes to local museums and schools, and thus will lay the foundations for the establishment of local museums of Art, wherever the people themselves may make the necessary arrangements for housing and preserving them. Another instance of the necessity for a central action, which may be open to public criticism, and be above the suspicion of partiality in administration, is shown by the establishment of the Educational Museum. This Museum is for the most part, the assemblage of voluntary offerings of books, objects, and appliances for aiding education, produced, by different agencies, all competitors with one another. The producers of educational books and apparatus, here willingly submit in competition to the public the publications they have issued. The public here may consult and compare together the different models of schools recommended by the National Society, the Home and Colonial Society, the Homerton College, and others. The Society of Arts, at the instigation of Mr. Harry Chester, originated the Educational Museum, and devoted several hundred pounds to its maintenance for a few months; but the loss arising from this useful enterprise, proved that no private agency could maintain an Educational Museum. Whilst, for the benefit of general literature, the copyright law obliges the publisher to send to the British Museum Library a copy of every work that he issues, the Educational Museum accomplishes for national education, a similar object almost wholly by the voluntary contributions of producers. The State provides the house-room and custodyship, whilst the public themselves supply the contents.

A somewhat narrow defence of State interference in promoting Science and Art, may be found in the influences which they exercise upon the material prosperity of the country. It seems almost a truism to say that the successful results of all human labour depend upon the right application of the laws of science, which are not the less necessary because they may be unknown. In the early life of a people those laws are employed empirically. The savages of Lahore or Delhi have been great adepts in the

application of the laws of colour to manufactures, and have had no Schools of Art. The hides of oxen, in all quarters of the globe, were made into leather by means of scientific principles, long before chemistry had been matured into a science. But in these days of the scientific discovery of Nature's laws, the value of production, in all its infinite varieties, is materially affected by the right application of those laws; and such is especially the case among the more modern nations. Follow the history of the sheep, for example, in all its details, as shown in the Animal Museum. Liebig has taught us how essential to success are the proper relations between the earth and the food of the sheep, and the mutual reaction of each of them. The Duke of Richmond and Mr. Jonas Webb know well enough how to apply scientific laws that influence the production in the same animal of the greatest quantity of the best wool for manufactures, and of the largest amount of mutton for food. In every stage of the preparation of wool, chemistry and mechanics are brought to bear. The combing, the carding, the drying, the felting, the spinning and weaving, are all good or bad in proportion as scientific laws are obeyed or not. And then, whether or not the garment, the hangings, the tapestry, and the carpet gratify the taste, is altogether dependent on the application of the laws which regulate beauty. To offer to every one in this kingdom the elementary knowledge whereby his labour may have the best chances of fruitful and profitable development, appears to be the aim, in its broadest sense, of all public expenditure on behalf of Science and Art.

I say elementary knowledge, because some years' experience and earnest efforts have now shown conclusively that State interference in any special technical teaching, founded upon the assumption of trade requirements, does not succeed. I confess myself to have been at one time of a contrary opinion, and to have thought that it was both possible and expedient that effect should be given to the professions originally made in establishing the School of Design.

The total national expenditure for promoting Public Education and Science and Art in every way through the primary division of the Education Board, the British Museum, National Gallery, grants to Universities, and Grant to this Department, may be taken, at the present time, to be in round numbers a million of pounds

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Museum of Animal Products.

Special technical training.

National expenditure for Public Education.

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sterling, which divided among our population, say, of 30,000,000, makes the contribution of each to average eight pence per head per annum. It is difficult to calculate the annual value of the production of this country; but I think, seeing that our imports and exports last year amounted to £288,545,680, it is not an over estimate to place it as being worth £400,000,000 a year. The State contribution towards Education, Science, and Art, which vitally influences this enormous amount, bears therefore the proportion of the outlay of one pound on behalf of Education, Science, and Art for every £400 of production, or one penny in every £1 13s. 4d. The annual Parliamentary vote for the Science and Art Department only, being under £75,000, is less than a five-thousandth part of the estimated annual production, and is about a thousandth part of the annual taxation of the country. It is as if a man with £1,000 a year devoted £2 6s. 3d. a year to the general education of his children, and gave them the additional advantages of drawing lessons and a little navigation, at a cost to himself of 3s. 9d. a year. In the same proportion the agricultural labourer, who earns only £25 a year, devotes 1s. 3d. to the education of his family, and has to deny himself the luxury of half a pint of beer a year, in helping his children to a knowledge of drawing, and enabling them to cut and rule straight lines.

Government
co-operation
with local
efforts.

It may be pointed out, at least as a coincidence worthy to be remembered by any who oppose State aid towards education, that whilst democratic power in this country has increased, so a demand upon the Government to exercise certain new functions has increased also. As the people have felt their wants, and have had power to express them in Parliament, so the central authority has been called upon to administer to these wants, and it is the Government itself rather than the people which has endeavoured to obtain and preserve as much local co-operation as possible. This has been the case especially with the subjects of public education, in which, so far as I have observed, it is the complaint of localities, and particularly where the jealousy of local authority is hottest, that the Government does not do enough for them.

Indeed, it is proved that as a people become intelligent and free, so are they likely to demand Public Education and to be willing to pay for it. Manchester, the scene of the Peterloo riots in 1814, where the democratic feeling has certainly not diminished,

although it is perceptibly tempered by increased intelligence, is among the first places in this country to agree to a local rate to support a Free Library, and this willingness to tax themselves for Education is remarkable chiefly on the part of largely populated manufacturing centres, where the politics are what may be termed ultra-liberal. Salford, Bolton, Sheffield, Norwich, Kidderminster, Preston, all tax themselves for Free Libraries.

The Department fully recognizes the broad principle that, in all its proceedings, it is itself the servant of, or rather perhaps a partner with, the public. Having essayed to discover what appear to be public wants in the promotion of Science and Art, the course of the Department is matured by the Committee of Council on Education and published; and it rests wholly with the public to accept or not the offer of assistance thus made. In the main the assistance is offered to the poor; in some instances, as in grants for examples, it is absolutely limited to the poor; but where arrangements can be made so that all classes may benefit, and the richer be induced to help the poorer, the aid and encouragement are open to all. The various prizes offered by the Department are taken absolutely on merits by all classes, and the tendency in the administration of the Department, as far as it may be possible, is rather to expend the public funds in paying for successful results secured, leaving the public free to produce the results in any way, rather than to dictate systems or to undertake to carry them out by a direct agency. The Department makes no pretence to infallibility. In proportion as the public will acquire Science and Art in their own way, so does its interference become unnecessary, and its greatest triumph would be the day when every working man will be able and willing to pay the necessary cost of teaching his child to add two to two, and to draw a straight line, without any State assistance. In the meantime, accuracy in addition and straight lines are a national want, and, through the Department, the public seek to obtain State help in the production of them.

It has been said that the contents of the Museum here are very heterogeneous, although Science or Art is the basis of all the collections. The remark is just. These collections come together simply because space was provided for their reception. For years they had been for the most part either packed away unseen, or were very inadequately exhibited, and the public deprived of the

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Hetero-
geneous
character of
collections
of the Mu-
seum.

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Architec-
tural
collection.

Patent
Museum.
Educational
collection.

Trade col-
lections.

Prospective
accommo-
dation for
and arrange-
ment of the
various col-
lections.

use of them. The architectural collections belonging to the Department for years were buried in the cellars of Somerset House, and were but most imperfectly shown at Marlborough House. The prints and drawings possessed by the Department had never been seen by the general public. The casts of the Architectural Museum are surely better displayed here than in Cannon Row. The union of these collections, and the addition of the models of St. Paul's and various classical buildings, betoken what an Architectural Museum may become, if the individuals and the State will act together. Every foreigner who has seen this commencement sees in it the germ of the finest Architectural Museum in Europe, if the public support the attempt. But for this iron shed, a Patent Museum might have remained a theory. The educational collections were packed away for three years unused, awaiting only house-room to show them. Since the Exhibition of 1851, the Commissioners had been compelled to store away the Trade collections which either are so attractive here, or have been usefully distributed to local museums. The Iron Museum is only to be regarded as a temporary refuge for destitute collections.

Besides proving the public value of these collections, the provision of space has signally demonstrated the willingness of the public to co-operate with the State when space is found. But even the present collections, crude and imperfect as they are, have sufficiently attracted public attention, to confirm their public utility; and it may be expected that the public will not grudge that proper house-room for their more systematic arrangement and development should be provided. It was prudent at least to try the experiment, which has been fully justified by success. Distinct buildings of a permanent and suitable character are wanted for the Patent Collection; for the products of the Animal Kingdom, which logically seems to be an appendix to the national collection of the animals in the British Museum; and for the collections of Education and of Art, as well architectural as pictorial, sculptural, and decorative. For each of these collections prudence would provide very ample space, as they must continue to grow as long as they exist. Models of patented inventions, specimens of animal produce, architectural casts, objects of ornamental art, and sculpture, cannot be packed as closely as books or prints in a library. They require to be well seen in order to make proper use of them; and

it will here be a canon for future management that everything shall be seen and be made as intelligible as possible by descriptive labels. Other collections may attract the learned to explore them, but these will be arranged so clearly that they may woo the ignorant to examine them. This Museum will be like a book with its pages always open, and not shut. It already shows something like the intention which it is proposed to carry out. Although ample catalogues and guides are prepared and are preparing, it will not be necessary for the poor man to buy one, to understand what he is looking at.

Every facility is afforded to copy and study in the Museum.

It has been the aim to make the mode of admission as acceptable as possible to all classes of visitors. Unlike any other public museum, this is open every day, on three days and two evenings, which gives five separate times of admission, making in summer an aggregate of thirty hours weekly free to every one. On the other three days and one evening it is free to students whose studies would be prevented by crowds of visitors; but, on these occasions, the public is not turned away, as a fee of sixpence gives every one the right of admission as a student.

The working man comes to this Museum from his one or two dimly lighted, cheerless dwelling-rooms, in his fustian jacket, with his shirt collars a little trimmed up, accompanied by his threes, and fours, and fives of little fustian jackets, a wife, in her best bonnet, and a baby, of course, under her shawl. The looks of surprise and pleasure of the whole party when they first observe the brilliant lighting inside the Museum show what a new, acceptable, and wholesome excitement this evening entertainment affords to all of them. Perhaps the evening opening of Public Museums may furnish a powerful antidote to the gin palace.

But it is not only as a metropolitan institution that this Museum is to be looked at. Its destiny is rather to become the central storehouse or treasury of Science and Art for the use of the whole kingdom. As soon as arrangements are made, it is proposed that any object that can properly be circulated to localities, should be sent upon a demand being made by the local authorities. The principle is already fully at work, and its extension to meet the public wants depends altogether upon the means which the public may induce Parliament to furnish. It may be hoped

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Admission of public to the Museum.

Opening in evening.

The Museum as a central treasury of Science and Art for the whole kingdom.

Circulation of objects.

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by this principle of circulation to stimulate localities to establish museums and libraries for themselves, or at least to provide proper accommodation to receive specimens lent for exhibition.

An essential condition to enable this plan to be carried out satisfactorily is ample space, and fortunately this space is provided by the present site, which could not be obtained without enormous cost at any nearer point to the centre of London. Of course, any other spot, at Birmingham or Derby would serve equally well as a centre for radiation. But the present site has in addition the public advantages of having a larger resident population than any provincial town, and it may be borne in mind that half the population of the metropolis is made up of natives of the provinces.

The number of works of the highest art is limited, and it cannot be expected that every local gallery can possess many of them, but the mode of circulation alluded to would afford to every local gallery the qualification of having each some in turn.

In conclusion, I may say that the Department maintains two principles of administration which are essential to all sound management, and both of nearly equal importance. All administration carried on either by central governments, or parish vestries, or joint-stock companies, to be good, must insure, first, responsibility as direct, clear, and as defined and individual as possible, and, second, full publicity; without these all *corporate* action must become corrupt and torpid, let the body consist of legislators, or local tradesmen, or mercantile adventurers. Without tight responsibility and the wholesome check of publicity, human frailty is too apt to indulge in its own selfishness uncontrolled. It may be asserted that there is not a single detail in the action of this Department—in its schools, examinations, award of prizes, museums, and libraries—which does not invite the fullest publicity. Every purchase in the Museum and Library is publicly exposed, and may be criticized. Even the prices of the articles are published. The schools, both metropolitan and local, are open to all, and the course of teaching seen. The works produced are publicly exhibited in town and country. The prizes, awarded by judges beyond suspicion, court public criticism. All the rules upon which payments in aid are made to localities and masters, &c., are amply set forth in a Directory, a counterpart of which is furnished only, I believe, by one other Government department, namely, the Post

General
aspect of
administra-
tion of the
Department.

Office. So far, indeed, from being open to the charge of any concealment, I believe the Department may be, if anything, chargeable with needless publicity. If this be error, it is one on the safe side. I am sure I represent correctly the views of my superiors, the Lord President of the Council and the Vice-President of the Education Committee, in declaring their feeling to be that, as the Department is subjected to public investigation, so will its action be healthy and the fulfilment of its functions be complete.

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MEMORANDUM ON MEASURES

TO BE ADOPTED FOR PREVENTING EXCESS OVER THE
ORIGINAL ESTIMATES OF THE COST
OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

I.

THE system of paying an architect by a percentage on the sum expended on a building, places him at once in a wrong position with regard to his clients. An architect's interest and his duty are thus diametrically opposed.

2. Again, if he be at all eminent, however well disposed he may be to consult his clients' interest in preference to his own, he has, in the present day, so much work on hand that it is absolutely impossible for him to pay proper attention and to do justice to all that he undertakes. Hence arise the constant complaints of ill-arranged buildings—ill-adapted to their objects because ill-considered. His designs, of which all but the general outline are probably the perfunctory work of pupils and assistants, require constant alterations and additions as the work proceeds, and eventually the original estimates are enormously exceeded, to the architect's pecuniary advantage.

3. In a private building, the strong personal interest of those who have to pay does to some extent keep the architect in check. In the case of a public building there is no such interest, nor is there a sufficient concentration of authority or technical knowledge in the department for whom the building is being constructed, to have any control. It is therefore essential in the case of a public building, not to leave the whole matter in the hands of the architect, but to appoint some competent person to act on behalf of the department concerned, to formulate its views and requirements,

and to see that they are complied with, not only in the original design, but as alterations suggest themselves in the progress of the work.

4. For this purpose, it would appear most desirable to select an officer of the Royal Engineers. The Government can always obtain information as to the qualifications of officers of Engineers, their services can be commanded at a moderate cost, and they can return to their corps when no longer required.

5. It would appear then that the requirements of all public buildings should be definitely laid down by the heads of departments who are to occupy them, in concert with some officer of Royal Engineers. These should then be placed in the hands of an architect, the officer of Engineers being responsible for seeing that the architect duly provides for the requirements.

6. Or, it would be still better, before any architect had been engaged, that preliminary plans and sections should be prepared by the officer of Engineers; and that a rough block model should be made, to enable the unprofessional persons who are interested, to understand what is meant by the plans and sections.

7. After it is agreed that such plans, sections, and block model fulfil the requirements of the case, then and not till then, the architect should be called upon to enter upon the artistic completion of the exterior and interior.

8. The officer of Royal Engineers and the heads of departments for whose use the buildings are made, would see that in any change proposed by the architect the necessary conditions are all maintained.

9. Tenders might be obtained for as much of the construction of the buildings as would not be likely to be modified during the progress of the work, accompanied with schedules of prices sufficiently full to embrace all the trades likely to be required for the building.

10. At different stages of the progress of the work, a surveyor should measure up the work and advise whether the contract in respect of cost is being maintained, and no deviations from the contract should be allowed which had not received the previous authorization of the officer of Royal Engineers.

11. The contracts should be drawn in such a manner as to render the decision of the officer of Royal Engineers and the

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Engineer
officers sug-
gested.

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plans and
sections
should be
prepared by
an officer of
Engineers.

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Remunera-
tion of an
architect.

surveyor on the value of the deductions from and additions to the original contracts, binding on the contractor.

12. The remuneration of the architect should not be based upon a percentage of cost. He should have a fixed liberal salary, to last for a definite period.

13. As well for artistic as economical considerations, it is important that his whole time should be at the service of the Government, and that he should not undertake any other work whatever during the period of his engagement with the Government. It would be preferable to have the whole time of a talented young architect, than a portion of the time of an architect in full practice, much of whose best time must be spent in travelling by railway, and who must trust to assistants. If, as is probable in some cases, an architect must be employed whose whole time cannot be given to Government, then care should be taken to have a talented architect who can be constantly supervising the work.

14. The payment for all drawings, models, &c., made by the architect's assistants, should be paid direct by the Government to them.

15. The mode in which it is the custom to prepare plans and models of the buildings at South Kensington Museum, is described at page 200, Appendix D. 15th Report of the Science and Art Department for 1867-8.

H. C.

27 January, 1869.



GENERAL METHOD

OF EXECUTING BUILDINGS AT THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

I.

GENERAL principles of the nature of the accommodation required in the buildings, such as size of courts, corridors, lighting, &c., are discussed between the director and the engineer. [A Royal Engineer.]

2. The engineer then prepares experimental plans and sections, having regard, primarily, to the above requirements, and secondly, to decorative construction subject to these requirements. At this stage, the engineer consults with the artists and modellers to be subsequently employed on the architectural details. [Several plans generally prepared.]

3. Block models are then made, but without inserting architectural details. [Several models are generally made, and experiments tried and discussed with the director.]

4. When the block model has been settled, the structural plans are finally made by the engineer, and the working drawings proceeded with.

5. To obtain the architectural and decorative details, structural plans with sketches are sent to the studios of artists, who are as well both modellers and painters.

6. The engineer, in concert with the artists, settles the architectural details, which are generally submitted to the Inspector-General for Art, for suggestions, but the engineer remains solely responsible. [Many experiments by drawings and models are made.]

7. Architectural models with details are prepared. [Numerous experiments are made, frequent discussions are had with the

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General
principles for
execution of
buildings at
South Ken-
sington
Museum.

Experiments
in drawings
and models.

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Inspector-General for Art and others, and no trouble or cost is spared at this stage before the decision is finally made.]

8. If necessary, an architectural drawing to the full size in perspective, is made, and put up and subjected to criticism.

9. Plans being finally settled, quantities are taken out by the surveyors, and a limited competition among contractors invited.

10. Models of the architectural details are made in the artist's studio, superintended by the engineer.

11. By taking all this trouble, and incurring the cost of experiments, failures and alterations are very much avoided and final economy is insured.

Cost of build-
ings at South
Kensington.

12. The highly decorative buildings at South Kensington, in terra-cotta and red brick, have cost under 1s. the cubic foot, exclusive of mosaics, decorative paintings, and the like. This is below the cost of an ordinary London house of the first class. After six years, the surfaces and colour, terra-cotta, and brickwork are but slightly affected by the smoke and atmosphere, compared with Portland stone.

December, 1867.



ÉCOLE CENTRALE ET SPÉCIALE D'ARCHITECTURE.

3^È SÉANCE D'OUVERTURE.

ANNÉE 1867-68.

L'ÉCOLE centrale d'Architecture a ouvert sa troisième année d'études le lundi 11 novembre 1867.

La séance était présidée par M. Henri Cole, directeur du *South-Kensington Museum*, assisté de M. Emile Trélat, directeur de l'Ecole et de M. Ch. Goschler, directeur des études.

Sur l'estrade, autour du bureau, se trouvaient MM. Charles Robert, secrétaire général du Ministère de l'instruction publique; Guillaume, directeur de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts; Arlès-Dufour, membre de la Commission impériale de l'Exposition universelle; Darimon, député; Pompée, membre du conseil de l'instruction publique; H. Love, directeur du chemin de fer des Charentes; MM. Cretin et Viollet Le Duc, membres de la commission de surveillance de la Société; et MM. les professeurs de l'Ecole: Emile Müller, member du conseil de l'Ecole; Bocquillon, Victor Bois, E. Boutmy, Delbrouck, De Dion, Deherain, Janssen, Ulysse, Trélat, etc.

A deux heures, le Président ouvre la séance et prononce l'allocution suivante :¹

MESSIEURS,

Lecteurs de la Bible à votre Exposition universelle,—grâce à l'Empereur,—vous savez parfaitement que nul n'est prophète dans son pays.

¹ The revision of the French translation of this speech was kindly undertaken by Mons. C. P. Haussoullier, a gentleman connected with the French Ministry of Commerce, who rendered

valuable service to the British Commission during the Exhibition of 1867, in respect of the visits of artisans to Paris, and to centres of manufacture in France.

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Mr. Cole's
speech at the
Ecole Cen-
trale d'Arch-
itecture at
Paris.

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Si le Musée de South-Kensington était doué de vie, il vous exprimerait, aujourd'hui, tout à la fois sa surprise et sa reconnaissance de la gracieuse consécration que vous lui donnez dans ma personne.

Dans son propre pays, le Musée a à lutter pour sa propre conservation ; le Parlement paye, mais discute sérieusement son existence ;—opposition d'ailleurs salutaire.

Un public ignorant se plaît, il est vrai, à encombrer nos galeries ; mais, en Angleterre, nos grands prêtres de l'architecture ont crucifié l'auteur du projet des constructions du Musée de South-Kensington,—feu Capt. Fowke,—à qui le jury international de votre exposition a cependant accordé une médaille d'or de première classe.

Me trouvant au milieu d'amis du Musée, comme je me félicite que vous l'êtes, permettez-moi, malgré la qualité de mon français, et bien que je ne sois pas architecte, de vous dire quelques mots sur l'architecture.

Je me demande pourquoi vous m'avez fait l'honneur de vous présider, et je m'imagine en avoir trouvé la raison dans une certaine analogie qui existe entre votre Ecole centrale d'Architecture et notre Musée. A Kensington, nous mettons, je crois, en pratique les principes théoriques que vous enseignez ici.

Si je ne me trompe, vous considérez la Construction comme constituant l'ossature des monuments ; nous de même ;—vous posez en principe fondamental que le monument doit être approprié à sa destination ; de même que nous ;—vous pensez que la nature des matériaux règle la forme ; nous aussi ;—ce n'est qu'alors et seulement alors que vous vous occupez de la Décoration ; nous de même ;—vous subordonnez la Décoration à la Construction ;—de même faisons-nous à Kensington.

Est-ce donc une hérésie d'agir ainsi ?

Les dispositions d'un Musée public que fréquenteront des milliers de blouses et de vestes courtes, diffèrent de celles d'un temple religieux, qu'il soit égyptien, grec ou romain ; elles diffèrent de celles d'une cathédrale ou d'une église réformée ou non réformée ; elles ne sont pas non plus celles d'une forteresse, d'une tour crénelée, d'un palais impérial ou de quelque château féodal.

Les musées sont, pour ainsi dire, une espèce de monument socialiste moderne, où le niveau est le même pour tous. Là, ni

dais, ni places réservées, et l'architecture du passé ne nous fournit que de rares indications sur leur installation.

Londres ne jouissant pas de la brillante clarté du climat de Paris, nous avons cherché à obtenir le plus de lumière possible ; celle-ci obtenue, nous la réglons au moyen de stores.—Il est facile d'intercepter le jour, mais non de le faire.

Il nous faut donner de la chaleur sur une grande échelle, et nous avons des kilomètres de tuyaux modérément chauffés.

Nous avons, dès nos débuts, éclairé le Musée, en allumant chaque soir *quatorze mille* becs de gaz, et nous espérons arriver à *quarante mille* becs.

Notre ventilation se fait par ce procédé primitif, qui consiste à introduire en abondance de l'air frais ou de l'air chauffé, selon les exigences de la saison, et à laisser l'air vicié s'échapper par les plafonds.

N'ayant pas cette magnifique pierre de taille de Paris, qui se taille comme . . . du fromage, nous employons la brique rouge et les terres cuites ; et la terre cuite, vous le savez, si la terre est bien cuite, résiste mieux aux influences atmosphériques que le granit lui-même.

Vous avez remarqué peut-être, à l'Exposition, un plein-cintre et un travail en briques que le despotisme d'une classification logique a placé dans la galerie des machines. Nous avons eu l'honneur d'offrir ces spécimens au Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, où ils seront placés dans le jardin.

Nous imitons à Kensington l'exemple que vous nous donnez à Paris, en osant appliquer le fer aux supports des charpentes et aux planchers. Nous laissons même voir plusieurs fermes en fer que nous décorons de dorures.

Sur les murs, nous plaçons des majoliques et des mosaïques de carreaux en faïence, innovation sur laquelle je me permets d'appeler votre attention, parce qu'elle offre le moyen de donner une durée éternelle aux peintures murales.

Messieurs, si vous voulez braver les terreurs de la Manche, avoir foi dans toutes les recettes contre le mal de mer, et venir visiter le Kensington-Museum, nous serons heureux de vous servir de guides, et vous verrez, j'ose l'espérer, que nous sommes fidèles aux véritables principes de l'architecture, principes qui vous sont si hautement, si brillamment enseignés à l'École centrale d'Architecture.

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AND SOUTH
KENSINGTON MU-
SEUM.
A. D. 1857.
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Peut-être y trouverez-vous quelques idées, quelques indications utiles, que vous accepterez en échange des remarquables spécimens de vos études, qu'il nous a été permis d'obtenir de votre Ecole.

Il me semble que l'architecture, de même que bien d'autres choses, est aujourd'hui dans une période de transition.

L'architecture, de nos jours, n'est pas étudiée dans les cloîtres pour élever des cathédrales, des forteresses ou de nombreux palais pour les rois. Elle doit, de par le monde entier, suffire aux besoins d'une démocratie civilisée; et ne peut progresser qu'en s'appuyant sur le sens commun, dirigé par la science et inspiré par l'art; encore l'architecture doit-elle s'y dévouer en toute humilité.

Puisse M. Hausmann continuer à respecter longtemps encore ces tranquilles jardins de l'Ecole centrale d'Architecture, qui me rappellent les paisibles ombrages d'un cloître, et vous permettre d'y poursuivre des études si pacifiques, si utiles, d'un caractère si élevé et qui contribuent tant au bonheur de l'humanité!

Messieurs les élèves, je suis heureux de vous dire que votre directeur a bien voulu me permettre de vous offrir, pour la fin de la présente année scolaire, un prix qui sera décerné à l'élève le plus fort en dessin de figure; ce prix sera voté par les élèves eux-mêmes.

[Ces paroles, souvent interrompues par les plus vifs témoignages de sympathie et d'approbation, sont accueillies à la fin par de longs applaudissements.]



A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR
OF THE "TIMES" ON PUBLIC
ARCHITECTURE.

SIR,—Do the public and Parliament realize the fact that, at the present time, more than £2,000,000 sterling is pledged to the erection of public buildings, the architecture of which has been decided in the most absurd and hap-hazardous fashion? Never has the violation of common sense, in the determination of what our public buildings are to be, been so conspicuous as at the present time. To mention only great public-buildings, arrangements are made, or being made, for building the Law Courts, the public offices in Downing Street, the National Gallery, the South Kensington Museum, the Natural History Museum, and the Post Office. The plans for the War Office and Admiralty are being considered, Heaven only knows how, or by whom.

I am not going to say anything about styles of architecture, or to express any preference for imitating Greek or Roman temples, Gothic cathedrals or castles, Renaissance palaces, or any new and eclectic mixture of all these styles; but I ask for a little space to prove the utter want of system, control, and responsibility which now prevails. The words which Mr. Gladstone used, in reply to Mr. Ayrton (*mirabile dictu*) in 1860, are still as applicable as then. There is still a "lamentable and deplorable state of our whole arrangements with regard to the management of public works. Vacillation, uncertainty, costliness, extravagance, meanness, and all the conflicting vices that could be enumerated are united in our present system. There is a total want of authority to direct and guide."

We have a First Commissioner of Works, who is sometimes in the Cabinet and sometimes not. He takes his orders from the Treasury, which by fits and starts lets him have his own way. If by chance the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a great connoisseur

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Architecture
of our public
buildings.

Want of
system.

First Com-
missioner of
Works.

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of architecture, or thinks himself so, then there arises a little friction between these functionaries, but the Treasury is the constitutional authority for finance, and if it goes into architecture it steps beyond its province. Theoretically, the First Commissioner for Public Works is a minister accountable directly to Parliament; he is not chosen, and ought not to be chosen, for any professional qualifications. His business is to be responsible to Parliament for the administration of a proper system. But the working of the present "no system" is to permit the First Commissioner for the time being, to indulge in any whims of his own. At one time, it may be "costliness and extravagance," as Mr. Gladstone says. He may be succeeded by a minister who acts with "vacillation and uncertainty," and then may come a minister to whom Mr. Gladstone would impute "meanness." During the reign of Lord John Manners, the public were threatened with a period of Gothic buildings. The public offices in Downing Street were designed as Gothic, and the harlequin wand of Lord Palmerston (not, by the way, First Commissioner of Works, but First Lord of the Treasury) turned them into what was intended to be Italian renaissance. The building for the University of London was actually begun as a Gothic building, and it, too, turned into an Italian one. Just the opposite occurred with Captain Fowke's designs for the Natural History Museum. He obtained, by unanimous consent, the first prize in an open competition for an Italian building. He dies; Mr. Cowper Temple, with delightful innocency, puts the execution of it into the hands of a Gothic architect. Lord John Manners reappears in his favourite character as First Commissioner, and puts aside the design chosen by a public competition, for one in a style of Gothic which it is difficult to characterize, and approved by no one but himself. Some people call the style Byzantine, and others Norman. It is said that Mr. Ayrton is going to be responsible for the execution of it, if Parliament allow him. It is supposed that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer is the architectural authority for the Law Courts, having once recommended the House of Commons to adopt the style of Inigo Jones.

Is there no cure for this? Is it beyond the administrative capacity of this country to find one? I think not. In a constitutional country like our own, we cannot have any Pope in architecture; but it does not follow that we are to have public buildings

Captain
Fowke's de-
signs for the
Natural His-
tory Mu-
seum.

Design put
aside.

inflicted upon us by such a system as I have described in the words of Mr. Gladstone. I submit that the cure can be found in the watchfulness and expression of an enlightened public opinion acting upon Parliament and the government of the day. I have shown that the responsibility of the First Commissioner of the day lasts only for a little time, and then passes on to a successor, while the administration of public buildings is continuous. Even in the administration there is no continuity of the same individuals to act. Within four years, the permanent adviser of the First Commissioner has been changed three times, and he has been an architect competing in practice with his fellow architects, an architectural author, and a Royal Engineer.

But, although the public has to pay for ugly, unscientific buildings, produced by "vacillation, uncertainty, costliness, extravagance, meanness," and to have its taste corrupted by them, the public has no real voice at all in the work. At this very moment, what does the public know of the outside of the Law Courts, which it will see daily, and future ages will have to look upon for centuries? It was at the fag-end of last session only, that plans were put up in the library of the House of Commons, which jaded members would not look at. The architectural newspapers have published woodcuts. But these two modes of publication are wholly insufficient. Parliament should insist, before the elevation is commenced, upon having a model upon the same scale as Wren's model of St. Paul's. We are going to spend at least £750,000 on these courts. A proper model only, can show what we are to get for our money.

At the very last possible day of last session, £30,000 were voted on account of £350,000, the estimated cost of a Natural History Museum. Some half-dozen members of the House of Commons, remaining in town to pass the Appropriation Act, were just able to obtain a glimpse of the designs for this museum, in the library of the House of Commons, and this is all the public know of that architectural scheme. But in this, as in a former case, a model should be made and exhibited before the structure is begun. Many thousands of pounds are being spent upon public buildings in Downing Street, of which the public has not an idea. The works at the National Gallery are a mystery.

While the internal arrangements of a public building may be

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A permanent
council of
advice.

determined by those who have to use it, and may be considered to come within strict official routine, the outside is a property in which every passer-by is interested. Let the First Commissioner of the day have the undivided responsibility for the economy and fitness of the inside of a public building; but as respects the outside, let him have the advice of a permanent council, whose report should be submitted to the First Commissioner, and by him laid before Parliament, with his observations. Let this permanent council consist of three architects—one named by the government, one named by the Royal Academy, and one named by the Institute of British Architects; of three artists named by the government—one a painter, one a sculptor, and one a decorative artist; together with three laymen—one being a member of the House of Lords, and another a member of the House of Commons; in all nine persons. To insure responsible attendance to the duty, let this council be paid. A very moderate proportion on an expenditure of three millions spent on public buildings, say a farthing in the pound, would amply suffice. This council would act as a jury, to give a verdict on behalf of the public, and the First Commissioner would be the judge, to adopt it or to give good reasons for refusing it.

Respon-
sibility of First
Commis-
sioner of
Works.

Council of
Taste.

The operation of this plan would be as follows:—The planning of the building, its adaptation to site, its cost, and its execution, would rest upon the sole responsibility of the First Commissioner of Works. He would get the plans, either through his own office, or through an architect, or by public competition. The plans, with a sufficient model, would be laid before the Permanent Council of Taste. Their report would be made and published, and the model and plans exhibited to the public. The First Commissioner would then report to the Treasury, and the cost of the proposed building would be submitted to Parliament. By this means, the caprices of the past ten years, with their "extravagance, vacillation, and meanness," would be prevented. Parliament would be made fully aware for what it has to vote public money, and the public would have its proper voice of authority, and the means of expressing its opinion on buildings which are always to be before its eyes, to gratify or disgust them.

SEXAGINTA.

February 3, 1872.

PUBLIC GALLERIES AND IRRESPONSIBLE BOARDS.

In Edinburgh Review, No. 251, January, 1866.

ART. III.—*Irresponsible Boards.* A Speech delivered by Lord HENRY GORDON LENNOX, M.P., in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, 18th March, 1862. Chichester and London : 1862.

IT was not until some time after the passing of the Reform Bill, that the nation began to interest itself actively in demanding public institutions for promoting science, art, and education. The contrast between the positive apathy on these subjects which existed half a century ago, and the feeling which is now shown both in and out of Parliament, will appear very striking when we recall a few of the circumstances of the last fifty years. At the beginning of that period, the sole public repository which existed for preserving objects of art and science, the property of the nation and supported by Parliament, was the British Museum. It is only about thirty years since the late Mr. John Wilson Croker and others, when the British Museum was discussed in Parliament, used to jeer at Bloomsbury as a *terra incognita*, and Charles Buller's wit sparkled in an article describing a voyage to those parts, and the manners and customs of the natives. About a hundred visitors a day on an average, in parties of five persons only, were admitted to gape at the unlabelled "rarities and curiosities" deposited in Montague House. A very small public, indeed, studied or even regarded them as illustrations of the fine arts or of science, and of human culture and intelligence. The state of things outside the British Museum was analogous. Westminster Abbey was closed, except for divine service and to show a closet of wax-work. Admittance to the public monuments in St. Paul's and other churches, was irksome to obtain, and costly: even the Tower of London

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British
Museum.

Montague
House.

Westminster
Abbey.

Tower of
London.

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Schools of
Art or
Science not
in existence.

National
education a
bone of con-
tention.

could not be seen for less than six shillings. The private picture-galleries were most difficult of access, and, for those not belonging to the upper ten thousand, it might be a work of years to get a sight of the Grosvenor or Stafford Collections. No National Gallery existed, and Lord Liverpool's Government refused to accept the pictures offered by Sir Francis Bourgeois, now at Dulwich, even on the condition of merely housing them. The National Portrait Gallery, the South Kensington Museum, and the Geological Museum were not even conceived. Kew Gardens were shabby and neglected, and possessed no Museum. Hampton Court Palace was shown, by a fee to the housekeeper, one day in the week. No public Schools of Art or Science existed in the metropolis, or the seats of manufacture. The Royal Academy had its annual exhibition of modern art on the first and second floors of Somerset House, in rooms now used by the Registrar-General, whose functions had then no existence. It was only at the British Institution, or at Christie's auction rooms, that a youthful artist like Mulready could chance to see the work of an old master, as he has often told us. Dr. Birkbeck had not founded the present Mechanic's Institute in Southampton Buildings, and the first stone of the London University in Gower Street, was not laid. Not a penny of the public taxes was devoted to national education, which was only a bone of contention between churchmen and dissenters. Architecture, the mother of the arts, had not raised itself from the bald meanness of Baker Street, even to the stucco conceits of Regent Street; and the inspiration of architectural genius had only arrived at the invention of transferring the portico of a Greek temple from a hill like the Acropolis, indiscriminately to adorn a St. Pancras Church or a Unitarian Chapel, a General Post Office or a British Museum. Mr. Savage's new Chelsea Church, the first of the revivals of Gothic art, was not erected till 1820. Very few were the facilities of locomotion to induce the public to visit the exhibitions of art which existed. Cabs and omnibuses had not been invented to compete with the lumbering two-horse hackney coaches and chariots. No steamer had ascended the Thames even so far as the rapids of old London Bridge. Gas had not penetrated St. James's Park, and did not reach Grosvenor Square till 1842. The average postage of a letter was sevenpence, and penny postage was not even a theory. It

was "life" in London, as represented by "Toms" and "Jerries," to floor "old Charlies," whom Peel's Police had not yet superseded. Hard drinking was as much a qualification for membership of the Dilettanti Society, as the nominal one of a tour in Italy. Men's minds were more anxiously engaged with Bread Riots and Corn Laws, Thistlewood's Conspiracy and Peterloo Massacres, Catholic Emancipation and Rotten Boroughs, than with the arts and sciences, for the advancement of which, in truth, there was hardly any public liking, thought, or opportunity.

But an immense change has taken place within a recent time. No topics excite such warm and animated debates in Parliament as the purchase and preservation of pictures and sites of museums, and the public give manifestations of their wishes throughout the country, which are apparently in advance of the temper of Parliament. Above thirty members of Parliament, introduced by a future Chancellor of the Exchequer, last year appealed to the Lord President of the Council, for greatly increased public expenditure in aid of local efforts to promote Art. The exhibitions of works of spontaneous growth over the whole kingdom, during the past year, have been numerous, and many provincial towns have desired to seek aid from the possessions of the Crown, or the national collections in the metropolis.

There has been an International Exhibition of Works of Fine Art and Industry at Dublin, which obtained some of its resources from the munificence of the Queen, from the National Gallery and the South Kensington Museum. Other exhibitions of a like sort, to which have been added specimens especially of art by workmen, have lately taken place, at Lambeth, Islington, Bow, the Tower Hamlets, and Greenwich, in the metropolis; at Alton Towers, Birmingham, Bristol, Dorchester, Nottingham, Reading, Wakefield, Tonbridge Wells, &c. None of these obtained any superfluous objects from the British Museum or National Gallery; but Alton Towers, Dorchester, Nottingham, and Reading procured some additions from South Kensington. This movement, so spontaneous and widely spread over the whole of the United Kingdom, will undoubtedly increase, and it betokens that at some period our principal cities and towns will have their local museums and galleries, as in France and Germany, in friendly connection with the national institutions as the parent establishments. Before

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Purchase
and preser-
vation of
pictures now
topics of
interest in
Parliament.

Exhibition
of Fine Art
at Dublin.

Similar ex-
hibitions in
the metro-
polis and
provinces.

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such an union can be effected, great changes must take place in the constitutional government of the principal institutions, which is altogether behind the requirements of the times. The several national institutions, although necessarily 'planted in the metropolis, ought to be so organized as to help local museums throughout the United Kingdom, and be the culmination of a whole system. Fine works of art and science are limited in number, and are not to be created like food and raiment according to the ordinary principles of supply and demand. The British Museum, the National Gallery, the Kew Museum and Gardens, the South Kensington Museum, the Geological Museum, the Patent Museum, the National Portrait Gallery, and others which may be established, should each be centres for rendering assistance to local museums of a like nature.

Origin of
British
Museum.

How the British Museum originated, we venture to think is now little known, and it will surprise many, even perhaps Dr. Longley, Lord Cranworth, and Mr. Denison themselves, to be told that their predecessors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, were appointed trustees of a *Public Lottery* for raising the necessary funds to start the British Museum, in the year 1753, when it was deemed expedient to nominate the highest dignitaries in the kingdom, as the chosen instruments for accomplishing what would now be regarded as illegal and immoral. Although Parliament of late years, with doubtful policy, has sanctioned Art Union lotteries for circulating works of art, public feeling now would never entertain the idea of founding a National Museum of Science and Art with the profits of a lottery, and certainly no Archbishop, or Lord Chancellor, or Speaker, would be invited to superintend the management of it.

Public
Lottery for
raising funds
to start
British
Museum.

Sir Hans
Sloane.

In the year above-mentioned, Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., a very old physician, lived in the Manor House near to old Chelsea Church, where his monument—an urn embraced by serpents—erected to his memory by his daughters, may still be seen. He was the President of the College of Physicians, and founder of the Apothecaries' Gardens, where the cedars make so fine a feature in the landscape at Chelsea Reach, and he gave his names to "Sloane Street" and the adjacent little square called "Hans Place." Sir Hans Sloane bought this house from Lord Cheyne, and it was

bequeathed by him to Lord Cadogan, who married his daughter, and in this house, to employ the words of the black letter Act of Parliament (26 George II. cap. 22)—the same which legalized the lottery—he had “through the course of many years, with great labour and expence, gathered together whatever could be procured, either in our own or foreign countries, that was rare and curious,” at a cost, it is said, of £50,000. In 1749, he had made a codicil to his will, in which he expressed a desire that his collection, in all its branches, “might be, if it were possible, kept and *preserved together whole and entire in his Manor House* in the parish of Chelsea,” *i.e.*, half a mile further west from Charing Cross than the site where it has been proposed to locate his Natural History Collections! The Collection, or “Museum,” as it is called, consisted of “his library of books, drawings, manuscripts, prints, medals and coins, ancient and modern antiquities, seals, cameos and intaglios, precious stones, agates, jaspers, vessels of agate and jasper, chrystals, mathematical instruments, drawings and pictures, more particularly described and numbered, with short histories or accounts of them, with proper references in certain catalogues by him made, containing thirty-eight volumes in folio and eight volumes in quarto.” We beg our readers to note the precise method of cataloguing, which, as will appear hereafter, has been altogether superseded by the trustees. He appointed trustees to sell his collection for £20,000—also “to obtain a sufficient fund or provision for maintaining and taking care of his said collection and premises, and for repairing and supporting his said Manor House waterworks coming from Kensington and premises.” His trustees were in the first instance to apply to Parliament, and, if Parliament declined the offer, they were to sell it, for the use of certain foreign academies, which were named; and in case the said offer should not be accepted by either of the said foreign academies, his executors were at liberty to sell it “with all convenient speedy and advantageous manner.” The Act of Parliament which was passed to sanction the purchase of this collection for the nation, is still the basis of the constitution of the British Museum. The trustees of that institution then first received their powers and title from Parliament. The office of “Principal Librarian” was then created with the powers and the salary of £1,000 a year, which he retains to this day. The Archbishop of

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The Sloane
Collection or
Museum.

Trustees for
the collection.

Act of Par-
liament sanc-
tioning the
purchase of
collection for
the nation.

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Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker were invested with the patronage and control of this establishment; and for 113 years this strange constitution has not undergone any material alteration or improvement. The first act of the trustees appears to have been to waive the condition of the site, and to consent to the removal of the Museum from the Manor House at Chelsea, to any proper place, "so as the said Collection be preserved *entire without the least diminution or separation*, and be kept for the use and benefit of the publick, with free access to view and peruse the same at all stated and convenient seasons." For the Act provided that the collection should only remain there until a general repository should be provided for the same, after which the Manor House of Chelsea was to follow the general disposition of Sir Hans Sloane's landed estate. The preamble of this statute ran in the following terms:—"Whereas the said Museum or Collection of Sir Hans Sloane is of much greater intrinsic value than the sum of twenty thousand pounds: and whereas all arts and sciences have a connection with each other, and discoveries in natural philosophy and other branches of speculative knowledge for the advancement and improvement whereof the said Museum or Collection was intended, do and may in many instances give help and success to the most useful experiments and inventions: Therefore, to the end that the said Museum or Collection may be preserved and maintained, not only for the inspection and entertainment of the *learned and curious*, but for the general use and benefit of the publick," Parliament covenanted to pay for it the sum of £20,000 to his trustees, and the Act we have already described became the law of the land.

Cotton
MSS.

But this Act did much more. Powers were obtained to remove to a general repository the Cotton MSS. still remaining "at Cotton House in Westminster in a narrow little room, damp and improper for preserving the books and papers in danger of perishing, and not made sufficiently useful to British subjects and all learned foreigners;" also to purchase the Harleian Collection of MSS. for £10,000, to be placed in the same repository with the Cottonian Library. The Act created about forty trustees for these several collections, and incorporated them by the name of "the Trustees of the British Museum," and gave powers to provide a general repository, in which "the said Museum or Collection of Sir

Harleian
MSS.

Hans Sloane, in all its branches, shall be kept and preserved together in the said General Repository, *whole and entire*, and with proper marks of distinction, and to which free access to the said General Repository and to the Collections therein contained shall be given to all studious and curious persons at such times and in such manner as the trustees shall appoint." The Act also legalized the lottery to raise £300,000 for these purposes. There were to be 100,000 tickets of £3 each, of which 4,159 were to be "fortunate tickets," giving prizes as follows:—1 of £10,000, 1 of £5,000, 2 of £2,000, 10 of £1,000, 15 of £500, 130 of £100, 1,000 of £20, and 3,000 of £10, or a total of £99,000. The Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker were appointed the managers to see fair play, and the lottery was drawn in Guildhall on the 26th November, 1753, wagers on the chances of the drawing of tickets being specially prohibited.

Thus things "rare and curious" constituted Sloane's Museum, for the use of "studious and curious persons." The objects enumerated are as miscellaneous in character as the contents of the old curiosity shop of some small provincial town. Is there to be found at this time one and the same collector hungry for "chrystals, mathematical instruments, drawings, and pictures"? This original vagueness and multiplicity still haunt the British Museum. Whilst commerce has found it convenient and useful to separate the dealers in books from those in prints, and keep medallists and picture-dealers and mathematical instrument makers apart, the British Museum Trustees look with horror on any one that shall divide their heterogeneous collections, although they themselves have violated all the conditions of Sir Hans Sloane's will, and separated his "mathematical instruments from chrystals, drawings, and pictures"! In a volume in the Sloane MSS., several versions of a plan or proposal for managing the collection are given in detail. It was to be divided into "1° books, prints, drawings, pictures, medals, and the most valuable of the jewels; 2° MSS.; 3° natural and artificial curiosities," which were assigned to different rooms in old Montague House. "Thus the whole collection will be kept together without the other collections interfering." Does Lord Derby, who is one of the Sloane Trustees, know that the whole collection, in spite of Act of Parliament, codicil, and trust deeds, is all dispersed? Not even the thirty-seven catalogues are

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Public
Lottery legalized for
the purchase
of Sloane
Collection.

Miscellaneous
character of
collection.

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kept together ! Or have the trustees given due effect to the following injunction of the testator "to prevent as much as possible persons of mean and low degree and rude or ill-behaviour from intruding on such who were designed to have free access to the repositories for the sake of learning or curiosity, tending to the advancement and improvement of natural philosophy and other branches of speculative knowledge" ?

History of
the British
Museum.

Pursuing the history of the British Museum, we find that in the year following the passing of this Act, it was proved to be difficult, if not impossible, to get the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, and Speaker to meet, and so Parliament passed one of its curious hotch-pot Acts, "for punishing persons destroying turnpike locks;" and "making Acts for erecting courts of conscience publick Acts," and "preventing persons driving certain carriages from riding on such carriages," and in it gave powers to render the presence of two of these high functionaries as valid as three, and made seven of the trustees as good as forty !

Towneley
Collection of
marbles.

For fifty years the Museum slumbered on, spending about £2,500 a year on management, and a few hundreds a year on purchases, chiefly books and antiquities ; but in 1805, an Act (45 George III. cap. 127) was passed to purchase the Towneley Collection of ancient marbles for the sum of £20,000, to be "open to the inspection of artists and the curious in the fine arts," on condition that the whole of the said collection should be kept together, and Edward Towneley Standish, of whom the purchase was made, or of his heir or nominees, was made a trustee of the property sold.

Elgin
Marbles.

In 1816, another great acquisition was made. The invaluable Elgin Collection of marbles and sculptures was purchased by a vote of £35,000, and here again the vendors, Lord Elgin and his successors, were added to the trustees, again increasing the number. This appears to be the last purchase which was accompanied by the creation of a trustee to protect the property he had sold. From the foundation of the British Museum to this period, about £120,000 had been expended on purchases, chiefly consisting of books, MSS., and antiquities. Natural history was hardly recognized by the trustees, for only about £2,500 had been spent upon it. Nothing had been expended for minerals and fossils, or zoology, or botany, or prints and drawings. After that year, some

some slight purchases were made for objects in these classes, but it was not until after Mr. Hawes' Committees of the House of Commons, in 1835-6, that funds have been systematically devoted to procuring objects of science.

At this time, Parliament having been reformed, public interest began to manifest itself, through Parliament, in the management of the British Museum, which has gone on increasing to the present time. In 1835 and the following year, an inquiry was made into the state of the British Museum which presented ponderous blue-books to the House. The effect of these reports was to cause a largely increased expenditure, both for salaries and purchases, in the several neglected departments, but these committees did not give greater distinctness to the object of the institution than Sir Hans Sloane's of "rare and curious," and they failed to point out that the origin of all defects in the institution was to be found in its irresponsible management by numerous trustees.

A second Select Committee sat, and in 1847, a royal commission of inquiry was appointed, and a supplementary commission "for considering various and grave subjects" was added in 1848.

In 1859, Mr. Gregory obtained another Committee, which directed its inquiries into the state of the British Museum as being in "hopeless confusion, valuable collections wholly hidden from the public, and great portions of others in danger of being destroyed by damp and neglect," a state which Mr. Gregory assured the House, in 1865, had not been remedied.

A decisive definition must be made of the scope and objects of the Museum. The old loose tradition of "rare and curious," and "rarities and curiosities," can no longer be accepted as the vague object of the principal repository of our national collections. The very idea of such a centralization as now exists, is adverse to all progress. The Royal Society and the Society of Arts were very good and sufficient institutions a century ago; but these societies no longer monopolize all the subdivisions of human intelligence in science and art, and they have given birth to a numerous progeny of other societies. Nor can the British Museum do so, without falling altogether behind the times. As well might the human race have been confined to the Garden of Eden, as well might England forbid emigration to the colonies, as that all that is "rare and curious"—which is now interpreted to mean all

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Management of British Museum.

Appointment of royal commission of inquiry.

Scope and objects of Museum.

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Patent Mu-
seum.

South Ken-
sington
Museum.

National
Gallery.

Division of
the present
collections of
the British
Museum.

objects illustrating all the arts and sciences—should be confined within the narrow walls of Bloomsbury or any single spot. Since the period when the “few rare and curious things” were first assembled in old Montague House, the Zoological Gardens and Kew Gardens have been made the living representatives of zoology and botany. The Geological Museum has taken charge of geology, if not of mineralogy. The Museum of the Commissioners of Patents and the Institute of Civil Engineers have appropriated objects of mechanical science and Sir Hans Sloane’s “mathematical instruments.” The South Kensington Museum is devoted to illustrate the application of the fine arts to works of industry. The Ethnological Society and the Crystal Palace have assumed the charge of showing the history of mankind. A National Gallery for pictures and a National Portrait Gallery have been created. The India Office has founded a museum for works of Eastern origin. The Institute of British Architects the Architectural Museum, and other architectural societies have their collections of objects of architectural art. In fact, every class of objects which the British Museum has collected as “rare and curious,” is now studied from a distinct and scientific point of view, by numerous independent associations which had no existence when the Museum was founded. No conceivable extent of space would enable the British Museum adequately to house and represent all desirable objects of science and art for all time. As science and art extend, so is the tendency to subdivide, classify, and re-arrange their boundaries, and it is adverse to all scientific development to insist upon principles of concentration and limitation accidental in their origin and antagonistic to all progression. If the nation desires to have collections worthy of it, the present collections of the British Museum should be forthwith divided into the following distinct branches, each sufficiently enlarged :—

1. Books and MSS.
2. Pictures and Drawings.
3. Antiquities ; including Vases and Coins.
4. Zoology, and perhaps Mineralogy together.
5. Botany.
6. Ethnology.

7. Mechanical Science, with Mathematical Instruments, and the like.

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Not only would the development of each division be promoted by separation under a proper executive management, but the utility of the collections would be greatly increased. They would be vastly more useful even to the few chosen scientific persons that use them, and a hundred times more used by the public at large. The connection of the objects with the library, always put forward as necessary, cannot be logically maintained, and is only a pretence.

Moreover, there is a metropolitan view of the local position of such collections which must not be overlooked. Although the collections are national, being made for the use of the nation at large and not for the metropolis only, still the metropolis, with its three millions of population, being a seventh of the whole country, has peculiar claims to have its convenience consulted. However theoretically central the British Museum may appear on the map, it is gradually ceasing to be convenient of access to the greatest numbers. It matters little to those who seriously study the collections where they are placed, but to the public at large, it is important that the respective collections should be distributed in different sections of the metropolitan district where they can be seen most conveniently by the greatest numbers, and opportunity will be afforded to these greatest numbers by the railways which will encircle London in two years. Places on these lines will be within reach by trains starting every five minutes, and there is no doubt that if the Natural History Collection were transferred to the Regent's Park, the Ethnographical Collection to the Victoria Park, the Portraits sent to the National Portrait Gallery in the South of London, and the Mediæval Antiquities to South Kensington, these objects would afford instruction and pleasure to thousands rather than to hundreds only, in Bloomsbury. The drawings of the old masters should be transferred to the National Gallery, when we have one worthy of the name. The library and the sculpture galleries, with the vases, coins, and other antiques, would then appropriately occupy and fill the present edifice, with one of the noblest collections in the world.

Metropo-
litan view of
local position
of such col-
lections.

[The article then proceeds with detailed criticisms of the

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Institutions
under Par-
liamentary
responsi-
bility,

compared
with those in
the hands of
a board.

Absolute
abolition of
trustees not
advocated.

management by Boards of Trustees of various public collections. It refers to the opinions given on this point by Parliamentary Committees, the efforts of individual members to bring about a reform, and concludes as follows:—]

The foregoing rapid survey proves conclusively that those institutions for which there is a Minister of the Crown responsible in Parliament, and where individual direction exists for the management, as at the Kew Botanic Gardens and Museum, the South Kensington Museum, and the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, are flourishing and progressive, whilst in those where there is no direct parliamentary responsibility, and the management is in the hands of a board, as at the British Museum, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, and "Patent" Museum, confusion, discord, languor, incompetency, and extravagance are found.

It is idle to discuss such questions of details as separation, space, site, buildings, and internal management, until the one cardinal basis has been established of a clear direct parliamentary responsibility. Parliament should peremptorily refuse to consider any of these questions until it has a Minister who can stand up and say, "I, on behalf of the Government, am responsible for the recommendations I make, and the estimates I submit, and if you don't accept them, find a substitute for me." The failures of board management for the last fifty years, are all concisely summarized in Lord Henry Lennox's speech in 1862; and it is puerile in those who advocate reform in these institutions, not to have got rid of the multifarious boards as they now exist.

We are by no means advocates for the absolute abolition of trustees, as some have proposed. Such a proceeding would seem to be as ungracious as impolitic—unwise as well as unnecessary. All might be retained, and the numbers even increased by the names of the highest representatives of science, literature, and the arts, so as to consolidate the representatives of the several institutions into a council for science and art. Put at their head the Lord President of the Council, who would summon them to meet either in general assembly or in select committees to advise on special subjects as consultative bodies only, when their services would be truly valuable. It should, however, be made quite clear that they

have no voice whatever in the management of the expenditure of any institution, which would rest sole and undivided in the charge of a responsible Member of the Government.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons will probably acknowledge that it is impossible they can efficiently administer the expenditure of £100,000 a year in Bloomsbury, and that they are not aided in the work by the presence of any standing committee, still less by the whole body of trustees. Surely these high officers are indifferent to the patronage of appointing some few worn-out butlers to the post of attendants, which would be much better filled by policemen. At the time when the Legislature created the British Museum by lottery, and trustees out of the vendors of the property purchased, the management and purchases for many years, exclusive of the cost of buildings, did not exceed the income which the endowment from the lottery (£30,000) and Major Edwards' bequest (about £20,000) provided. But whilst the Parliamentary votes have gradually crept up to £100,000 a year, the old vicious mode of board administration has not only remained unchanged, but become rather worse as an executive, by additions to the numbers of the trustees. No one will venture to contend that it is beyond the competency of Parliament, or would be the slightest breach of faith with the family trustees or the elected trustees, to relieve them from the business of expending the annual vote of £100,000. They were never made trustees for the work which by imperceptible degrees has passed into their hands. Take away this money and the Sloane, Harley, Towneley, Elgin, and Payne Knight trustees will still remain fully possessed of their original powers and duties.

Judging from the past, we have little hope that any Government will take up this most necessary administrative reform of its own motion. It cannot become a party question, and seems to be crossed by all sorts of personal influences. But the work might be done at once, if those members of Parliament who complain annually at the present most unsatisfactory state of things—if Lord Elcho, or Lord Henry Lennox, or Mr. Gregory, or Mr. John Stuart Mill, a man who thoroughly understands the evils of Board Management, would only follow the example of Mr. Hume, who, in 1840 organized an association of members of Parliament

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Administra-
tion of the
annual vote
for British
Museum.

Board ad-
ministration
unchanged.

Hopeless-
ness of any
administra-
tive reform.

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Circulation
of super-
fluous
objects in
central in-
stitutions.

and others, to promote the opening of national monuments to the public, which succeeded, and do the like for abolishing the executive management of public collections through boards of trustees. Another *fulcrum* to act on both Government and Parliament, might be found in an association of the local museums and institutions throughout the country, to participate in the use of the superfluous objects and pictures, at present an incumbrance to the central institutions themselves. But such a circulation of superfluous objects is just one of those measures altogether dependent on the administrative reform of the parent institutions, and cannot be dealt with separately. If local institutions will persuade their county and borough members to take an interest in it, the Government may be emboldened to grapple with the anomalous constitutions which at present retard the progress and sound organization of our institutions of science and art, and to substitute the Parliamentary responsibility of a Minister for the ineffective administration of irresponsible boards.



EXTRACTS FROM A MEMORANDUM ON THE
CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS AS CIVIL
SERVANTS OF THE CROWN.

I.

THE late Lord Taunton, President of the Board of Trade for several years, was accustomed to say that whenever the Government was in a difficulty in finding an officer of high capacity for civil administration, the right man was sure to be obtained among the officers of Royal Engineers. He recommended the Prince Consort to secure the services of the late Lt.-Gen. Sir William Reid, R.E., as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Exhibition of 1851, and this led to the appointment of Royal Engineer officers as Governors of the Royal Princes. My introduction to the Corps of Royal Engineers commenced by serving under Sir Wm. Reid, and from the year 1849 to the present time, I have preserved uninterrupted relations with the Corps. I have had the good fortune to have had as colleagues, officers of Engineers, in the administration of the Paris Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867, and the London Exhibition of 1862, and have also witnessed their valuable assistance in the Science and Art Department since it was organized in 1853, until the present time. I have thus had continued personal experience of the great public usefulness of that Corps in the civil service of the country, having watched it during ten different Governments, ten different Secretaries of State for War, and three Commanders-in-Chief. During these twenty years, therefore, I have been led to form conclusions respecting it, and I hope it will not be viewed as presumptuous in me, to attempt to point out how the regulations of the Corps are injurious to the public service of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies, as well to the civil as the military services.

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Sir William
Reid, R. E.

The Corps
both a mili-
tary and civil
service

II. That the Corps of Royal Engineers is at once both a

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Antagonism
of military
and civil
elements in
the Corps.

military and civil service, of great national importance, appears as yet but imperfectly recognized. The military and civil elements are often in antagonism to one another, instead of working harmoniously and strengthening one another. It has been so ever since the War Department was created. The present rules of the Corps are in many respects opposed to the political tendencies of the time, and keep up and increase this antagonism. They regard the Royal Engineers, even in time of peace, entirely from a military point of view, in the same way as they would a regiment of the line; whilst the general public interests I believe, demand that the civil should receive as much consideration as the military element. Hence illogical and indefensible results ensue, to the damage of the general public service as well the Corps itself. The army appears destined to become more and more connected with the industry of the people, and less and less a distinct class, and it will soon be the theory of a by-gone age to place the two, the army and civil service, in opposition to one another.

Military ser-
vice as per-
formed by
Engineer
Officers.

IX. What constitutes military, and what civil service as performed by Royal Engineer Officers, appears to be determined by merely arbitrary and illogical rules. The Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, a purely civil work of general public utility, no doubt, and useful¹ for the defence of the country in case of war, is treated as military service, and an officer is allowed to remain on that duty for twenty years and more, without being recalled to his Corps for military duties. A Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey and a Governor at Bermuda, are treated as military officers, but a Governor of Madras or in South Australia, is a civil officer. An officer who teaches the cadets at Woolwich or the probationary officers at Chatham, may be passed from post to post and continue to be employed on such scientific duties far beyond the ten years period of seconding, without being turned out of the Corps, because his scholastic duties are called military.

X. In what is called the purely civil service of the country, as

¹ The Ordnance Survey is not a *military* survey, nor of the kind *necessary* for military purposes, a survey of a much less local nature, but showing the features of the country (such

as the survey of country round London made under direction of Col. Jervois and published by O. S. Dept.) is what is *necessary* for military purposes.

distinguished from the semi-military service, an officer of Engineers is employed as the Governor of a Royal Prince; as an Inspector of Railways under the Board of Trade; as a Director of Convict Prisons, and a Commissioner of Police under the Home Secretary; as a Commissioner of Public Works in Ireland under the Treasury; as an Inspector for Science, as an Engineer and as an Architect under the Committee of Council on Education; as a Colonial Governor or Colonial Surveyor General, or Master of a Mint, or Colonial Controller under the Colonial Secretary; as a Foreign Consul-General under the Foreign Secretary; as a Director of Works under the Admiralty. Almost every Minister of a Government finds it advisable to employ them. And the military rank assists in the civil offices, by giving a recognized status and position, which are especially useful where persons are brought into an office with which they have not previously been connected. Royal Engineer Officers furnish a ready means of trying experiments in administration. New actions can be tried without creating a new office for life, or entailing the cost of retirement and superannuation on the State. But under the present system of seconding such officers, always selected for their ability, they are in the prime of life cut adrift from their military profession, whilst their comrades remain performing services oftentimes less responsible, like the repairs of barracks at the Cape of Good Hope, Barbadoes, or Ireland. Is it reasonable that all these several ministries should allow the public service for which they are respectively responsible, to be damaged by old world rules founded upon an affectation of military exigencies which are merely fanciful?

XV. I should recommend then that the Corps of Royal Engineers, in time of peace, essentially performing scientific and civil, and not military services, should be so organized that the officers composing it may individually be treated without difficulty as civil servants; and that in payment for services, superannuation should be regulated by the ordinary civil service principles; and that only in time of war, should the Corps be treated as a purely military service. In time of peace, the civil service should have perfect freedom in borrowing officers from the War Department, and the officers should be allowed to retain their rank in their Corps. Possibly it might be advantageous that all promotion

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Civil service.

The Corps
in time of
peace to be
treated as
civil ser-
vants.

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Corps re-organized to be public scientific servants of the Crown.

from grade to grade should be regulated, as at present, by length of service. If an officer remained in civil service there should be no military half-pay or retirement, but his years spent in military service should be counted, if he ever became superannuated.

XVI. Some such a change might, I apprehend, be at once adopted at the present time even with the Corps in its present organization, but great economy and good to the public service would ensue, if the Corps were re-organized to be the public scientific servants of the Crown, and connected with all branches of the public service where scientific knowledge and engineering ability were wanted. At the present time; it may be said with truth, that great waste would be prevented, and saving of professional labour at out-stations effected, if all the public buildings of the country, those for Post Offices, Custom Houses, &c., as well as the Public Offices in the metropolis, were placed under the inspection at least, of officers of the Royal Engineers. Had there existed the control of a Royal Engineer officer during the building of the Houses of Parliament, the badness of the stone and many other deficiencies would probably have been found out, and again recently, the new Foreign and India Offices would probably have been far better in arrangement, far more useful, and far cheaper in cost. The employment of the Royal Engineers on the State Telegraphs, and as Local Inspectors of Schools, are other fields of public service.

Return to military employment after civil service to be regulated by the military authorities.

XVII. There can be no doubt that it would not be right for an officer to leave his corps duties, and sever all connection with military studies or duties for twenty or thirty years, and then at his own choice have a right to military employment with high rank and command. To guard against this, it is only necessary to have it clearly laid down that after a certain period of civil service, he should have no *right to military employment*. The question of his military employment should rest entirely with the military authorities, according to the officer's capacity and the exigencies of the service. All officers might be required to serve for short periods at Chatham, and this would be useful both to the establishment at Chatham and to the officers, and would ensure efficiency of the Corps in field engineering operations, more effectually than the present system.

XVIII. If some such a plan were carried out, the Engineer

force remaining essentially a military force, would be directly responsible to the Secretary of State for War, whilst a certain number of officers would be assigned to military service under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, and thus the dual government, which, since 1856, has produced constant difficulties and friction, by no means ended yet, would be virtually abolished ; public economy would be promoted, and increased usefulness afforded by the Corps to the general public service of the country. There would be no invidious distinctions between military and civil service.

XIX. The corps of officers might be enlarged beneficially, and might thus be fused in time of peace, with the whole civil service of the country, and would form the best possible reserve of military officers in case of war, the reserve costing nothing to the War Department from first to last. Selected by open competition for ability, trained scientifically, subjected to military discipline, with an *esprit de corps*, and imbued with a sentiment of honour as public servants, the perfection of organization and administration might thus be attained through the instrumentality of the officers of this Corps.

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The corps
of officers
might be
fused with
the civil
service of
the country.





EXTRACTS FROM A PAPER READ BY HENRY COLE, ESQ., C.B., ON
17TH FEBRUARY, 1869, BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF ARTS,
ON THE EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY OF A
NATIONAL ARMY.

I.

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SOCIETY
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Selections.



Increased
efficiency
in our army
compatible
with reduced
expenditure.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advancing civilization throughout the world, the increasing communications of one country with another, the extension of free-trade, and the spread of Christianity, it must be admitted that nations still require armies and navies to protect their Industry, their Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. I am therefore desirous, at the outset of these observations, to guard myself against the imputation that I advocate the weakening, much less the abolition, of our country's defences. On the contrary, I desire to see greatly-increased efficiency in our military organization, and I believe this is not only compatible with, but that it can only be secured through, greatly reduced expenditure. The adoption of a complete change in our present military system, which shall connect it—I may say re-connect it, as in old times, not the least glorious in the history of England—with the interests and occupations of the whole people, appears to me as necessary for its own sake as for economy's and efficiency's sake. It is a common fallacy, urged by advocates of the present costly system, to argue that, considering the enormous value of our exports and imports—say, in round numbers, something like four hundred and fifty-five millions of pounds a year, which was the amount in 1867—the insurance is cheap at about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which is the proportionate cost of our annual military and naval expenditure. Last

Annual cost
of our army.

year it amounted to twenty-six millions, *i.e.*, about £15,000,000 for the army, and only £11,000,000 for the work at sea. Such a charge, even if necessary, is in itself wholly unproductive.

2. And it is said that it is good political economy to effect this insurance through the agency of a special class forming a large standing army, which employs rather than rejects the scum of our population. I deny that the amount of £15,000,000 a year, is at all necessary. I assert that at least half is an unnecessary expenditure, and therefore a tax upon industry. I repudiate the idea, and it is only a modern one, not much more than a century old, that our soldiers should be a distinct caste, formed by hiring for the most part, the outcasts and roughs of the people. On the contrary, I say our private soldiers ought to be able to read and write, as well as Prussian and Swiss soldiers, and, if you like it, to be as devout, going into battle with their Bibles, as our ancestors did under Cromwell. In the progress of the times, I am sure, if you don't have educated and civilized soldiers, England will be distanced in its race with other nations wiser than ourselves.

3. I shall attempt to show that the country may have a more efficient army than at present, at about half the present annual cost, leaving about seven millions either in the pockets of the taxpayer, or to be appropriated to national objects more productive than war, such as the education of the people, and the promotion of those things that advance Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. I venture to say that even warlike training and expenditure may be usefully connected with the health and occupations of the people; may be a great assistance to the labour market and civil service of the country, rather than a drag upon them, and be made to elevate the national character. With this aim, I hope that the subject is worthy of serious investigation, especially at the present time, and by this Society, which, like the army itself, has nothing to do with party politics. But as a political question I agree with Blackstone, from whose "Commentaries" I have extracted a few passages. This old Conservative judge says, "The laws and constitution of these kingdoms know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier bred up to no other profession than that of war."

4. The subject of military organization has almost fathomless details, but I do not propose to discuss them. My paper is in-

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Present un-
necessary
expenditure.

Soldiers a
distinct
caste.

Cost might
be reduced
to eight
millions.

Blackstone
on armies.

Discussion
of details
avoided.

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Purchase of
promotion.

Recruiting
system.

Sir Charles
Trevelyan
on recruit-
ing.

Half-pay.

tended to deal only with broad principles, and I will avoid details except when they touch my argument. I do not propose to enter upon the numberless vexed questions connected with the army administration, which army reformers are discussing. Those who wish to go into this subject, I refer to the numerous pamphlets of the day. I will not stay to inquire why purchase of promotion should not be adopted in all the branches of the army, if in some, and those which require high scientific attainments like Engineers and Artillery, or various practical work, like the Marines, and why it is applied only to those branches of the cavalry and infantry which demand inferior attainments, and where the duties in the time of peace are so light, that they only employ a subaltern one hour in the day, leaving him the remaining twenty-three hours for dress, meals, sports, and pleasure. I do not stay to ask what is the reason why there should be purchase in the army and not in the navy; or to ask why the British army requires one officer to every twenty-eight men, such officer depending upon a serjeant virtually to do his duties, whilst the French army has only one officer to thirty-three men, and makes him do his work himself; and whilst Prussia requires only one officer to forty-nine men. I will not discuss the system of recruiting, as people generally now agree with the late Sidney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea, who said recruiting for men to defend the honour of the country, was done "by every kind of cajoling and inducement we can devise, and in our necessity we descend to those means which men do not have recourse to till they think all others are exhausted;" or with Sir Charles Trevelyan, who truly writes that "Our pot-house system of recruiting, the soldier's long term of service, and the restrictions upon his marriage, act as a direct encouragement to drunkenness and debauchery in a great national establishment which might, under different arrangements, be converted into a popular training-school of the highest intellectual and moral value." I entreat the meeting to abstain from discussing these topics. I will not ask why half-pay for a whole life is necessary for the hard work which many officers undergo—that of only one hour a-day for a few years. I will not investigate the whimsical paradox by which railway engineers, untrained as soldiers, are made colonels, with military rank, whilst officers of Royal Engineers, thoroughly trained, are compelled to resign the army

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if employed in civil service for more than ten years. I will not say whether or not it is better to have one military school or many; whether or not an enormous centre for all military stores is cheaper and better than regimental management of them; whether or not there should be Government manufactories; whether or not military men alone ought to be sole judges of scientific and mechanical inventions; whether or not the progress of practical science, and its effect upon warfare, be sufficiently appreciated by our English military authorities; whether or not, in these days, when every year seems to add a mile to the range of great guns, it is good sense to spend millions upon most costly fortifications. Nor will I discuss what is called the "dual" system of government by Horse Guards and Pall Mall. All these are questions of administration, and there are many others of a like sort, any one of which is of sufficient importance to be discussed separately if the present system is to be maintained, but, as I advocate a thorough change of system, and would shut up the present one as soon as possible, I pass them by.

5. Let me say, once for all, that I consider the management of the army in India, quite a distinct subject from the army for the United Kingdom and its other dependencies. Whether we employ too many soldiers there or not, whether or not the service in India should be connected with the whole army, whether or not India should be treated as a real military training school for the United Kingdom, are questions, too, which I pass by; but this I will venture to say, that the cost of the Indian army, be it little or much, ought not be charged upon the taxpayer of this country, but should be supported by India, whatever that cost may be.

India to have
a distinct
army.

6. Putting aside, therefore, merely administrative details, and leaving the case of India out of consideration, I come to our home army in its present state. We had last year, a standing army of about 125,000 men, besides about 130,000 militia and yeomanry, and 150,000 volunteers; of this force, exclusive of militia, &c., I calculate that about 40,000 were distributed over the colonies. But the size of this great standing force is not to be defended on the ground of its efficiency; and many of the highest military authorities frankly admit that it is most imperfectly organized for immediate action when war arises. Our officers and men, I believe, are unrivalled for their enduring pluck, and make the noblest

Number of
soldiers.

Inefficiency
of our army
for im-
mediate action.

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soldiers in the world ; but at the beginning of the campaign they have to learn their work, and struggle into efficiency, with much suffering, through a long apprenticeship, and at enormous cost to the taxpayer. I believe that instead of our present large costly standing army—not nearly large enough in case of war—imperfectly organized—our true policy to secure efficiency would be to have the smallest possible standing force, capable of indefinite and instantaneous extension when necessity arose. War, now, with science and railways, is a word and a blow, and the victory will be with those who are ready first with the greatest numbers and the best arms.

Prussian
Corps
d'Armée.

7. I am assured that the experience gained in the late Prussian war, has proved that the best number for a *Corps d'Armée* is about 16,000 men properly organized, with its due proportions of engineers, artillery, commissariat, hospital staff, cavalry, and infantry. Instead of compact bodies of troops capable of acting together at an hour's call, we have to extemporize all the necessary organization when war arises—and our professed military organization I am afraid, proves a sham and a delusion. I believe one such real *Corps d'Armée* of 16,000 men, would suffice as a model for the United Kingdom, together with an ample reserve of efficient officers, engineers, artillerymen, marines, hospital staff, and all those divisions of an army, which cannot be extemporized off-hand.

Soldiers not
policemen.

8. We do not want soldiers in the United Kingdom to act as policemen. Since the Duke of Wellington's campaigns we have substituted in the metropolis, for the old Charley watchmen and a few Bow-street runners, local armies of civil policemen, numbering about nine thousand trained men at the present time, and yet, as in the days of no police, we still keep large bodies of troops in the metropolis. Every county, too, has organized its own police, and Ireland has a police force of many thousands of loyal and effective men, better than soldiers for their purpose. But our home army has gone on increasing, whilst we have, at the same time, created civil armies of police by thousands.

Colonies.

9. But then it will be asked, if you reduce the standing army what is to become of our colonies? Our colonies are of different kinds. Some are communities having constitutional governments of their own, like Australia and Canada, which will rival us in

population soon ; others, like the Cape of Good Hope, Malta and Gibraltar, are military stations ; others, like the West Indies, are places held in subjection, and require military forces to hold them. Australia and Canada, and the like, which regulate their own taxation, ought to be no charge on the taxpayer of this country ; and I venture to submit that all imperial troops should be withdrawn from such colonies, except, perhaps, some few engineers and artillerymen. At military stations like Gibraltar, so long as it is considered to be policy to hold them, of course we must keep troops, but let them be as few as possible. Steam transports supersede the necessity for large depôts of men in time of peace, eating the bread of idleness.

10. At the present time, wars, although settled quickly, do not come on like a thief in the night, without previous notice. Thank God, the press keeps us all, even diplomacy itself, well informed if a nation is going to quarrel with us and threaten war. We have at least some time to make warlike preparations ; and enthusiasts even dream of an international convention, to which all civilized nations may be parties, which shall agree that no nation shall make war upon another without giving due and ample notice for preparation.

11. Let us have at once, perfect telegraphic communication with all our possessions and colonies, so that we may receive instantaneous notice of a call for the assistance of the mother country. Here, at least, is one subject where the military interests go hand in hand with those of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

12. I now pass to the consideration of what our new military organization might be, to enable us to defend the honour of the country efficiently and cheaply. It is common to say that England is not a military nation. I say she ought to be a military nation, and that she has the means of being so beyond all other nations ; and I believe we shall be less pugnacious, when we are all soldiers, than when we have a caste whose special interest is fighting. Little Switzerland has an analogy with England. Switzerland is circumscribed with mountains, whilst England is bounded within fixed limits with water. Yet Switzerland, having the most military nations on all her frontiers, with only a population of some two millions, has always held her own against them. But then, Switzerland has every thirteenth soul of her population a soldier

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national
convention
for prepara-
tions for war.

Telegraphic
communica-
tion.

A new mili-
tary organi-
zation.

Switzerland
as an
example.

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capable of bearing arms, an army of about 340,000 always ready for her defence in case of need. But Switzerland has no paupers, and every Swiss child is compelled to read and write. Odious compulsion! And the cost to the government of Switzerland of her military defence, is stated to be a miserable sum of only about £150,000 a-year, or less than 10s. a man. I will not trouble the meeting with statistics from Prussia and Austria, which teach us a lesson, but I shall append to this paper some extracts from Mr. Martin's "Statesman's Year-book for 1869," to which I invite attention.

Why should
not one in
thirteen of
the English
population
be trained to
bear arms?

13. I have no hopes of having such an economical arrangement as the Swiss, but I do ask why England, at a reasonable cost, cannot have one in thirteen of her 30,000,000 population trained to bear arms in defence of her honour, her Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce in connection with them, and being no drag upon them? I trust my countrymen will seriously ask themselves this question. It may be said that except to guard the successor of St. Peter, the Pope, Switzerland only concerns herself with her own territory, whereas we have all the world to look after. That very fact all the more confirms me in the belief, that we ought to have millions of men ready to come forward when required. No nation has such a field for military practice as England has in India. We ought to be able to supply India with British troops without difficulty, and without cost to the home taxpayer, if the organization, the pay, and the period of service were well arranged. We have difficulties with our present standing army of 130,000 men, but we should have much fewer and perhaps none with three millions of trained men. The proper training of three millions of men, which, according to the scale of Switzerland, ought not to cost the state two millions a year, would be no weight upon the industry of the country. It might be even a benefit to it. This sounds paradoxical, but it is not so. The industry of little Switzerland is not damaged by the training of one in thirteen of its population, nor would be the industry of the United Kingdom. How, then, is it to be done?

Drill a part
of education.

14. I would begin by making drill a part of national education in every boys' school in the country. At a very moderate cost, the military pensioners might be profitably employed to drill every school once in the week. No one will say that this drill would not

improve the health and bearing of the boys, or assert that it would damage them as ploughboys or factory hands. It would also instil a military spirit into them.

15. When the lads leave school, every inducement should be given to them to elect between becoming volunteers or joining the militia, not the present, but a reformed system of militia. Common cause should be made with all the great employers of labour, not only to allow, but to encourage their hands to keep up the drill and advance it. Call out the volunteers and militia once in the year for twenty days or so, and then return them to their occupations. Throughout the United Kingdom there should be drill from April to October, and your idle half-pay officers should be turned into full-pay, to command the men. Make another proportion of men of a certain age, soldiers for twelve months at proper wages, and then return them to their occupations afterwards. I have consulted several large employers of labour in the North of England, and they all assure me that some such system would in no way interfere with the labour market and the operations of labour, but greatly benefit them both. Such a system is something quite different from taking a bad man for twelve years as a soldier, and then returning him to the labour market with a pension. Soldiers should thus be made in the midst of their industrial occupations. They should form part of the civil service of the country. Among the very best civil servants, are officers and men of the Royal Engineers. Whether for officers or privates, you know with certainty that you can obtain a competent man for almost any kind of work in the Royal Engineers; and, this being so, why should not there be the same kind of certainty for obtaining civil servants in all other branches of the army? I am assured by high military authorities, that twelve months is amply sufficient to make first-rate disciplined private soldiers, and that more time than this is thrown away. Of course, if you want men to march like machines, life is not long enough to accomplish it perfectly; but this old world dandyism is less cultivated by other nations, and is probably thrown aside on the field of battle.

16. I hope to see the military service thoroughly fused with the civil service of the country, and that one test of qualification for entering the civil service, should be a certificate for having served well as a volunteer, militiaman, or soldier, retired from active service.

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Volunteers
or militia.

Drill pro-
fitable for
industry.

Royal
Engineers.

Military and
civil service
connected.

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Blackstone
on standing
armies.

Again I quote old Judge Blackstone. "The military power should not be a body too distinct from the people. It should be wholly composed of natural subjects; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time. The soldiers also should live intermixed with the people; no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses should be allowed. And, perhaps, it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circulation should be kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and the soldier be more intimately connected together."

Long service
soldiers.

17. As respects engagement for longer terms—say seven years in India or more—that would be met by a special class, who would look to military service as the sole business of their lives, and the rate of payment would be regulated by the rate of wages and the necessities of the case. So in time of actual foreign war, men would be engaged and paid liberally, and, if wounded, pensioned. If not wounded, they would return to their occupations.

Present cost,
£15,455,400.

18. The Parliamentary votes for the army in 1868, were £15,455,000. This is exclusive of the cost of the army in India. This enormous sum was apportioned as follows:—

No. 1. Regular forces	£8,691,500
No. 2. Reserved forces	1,524,500
No. 3. Stores	1,491,400
No. 4. Works and buildings	968,400
No. 5. Military education, surveys, administration, &c.	655,200
Total effective service	13,331,000
No. 6. Non-effective services, pensions, &c.	2,124,400
Total of effective and non-effective	15,455,400

Future esti-
mated cost,
£8,740,000.

19. My conviction is, that about seven millions of pounds sterling would be saved annually, by the adoption of principles such as those I have briefly glanced at, and the future apportionment of Parliamentary votes might, I submit, without pledging myself to precise details, which are far too many for public discussion, be somewhat as follows:—

Standing army, 16,000 men at £65 a-piece . . .	£1,040,000
Scientific reserves of Engineers, Artillery, Marines, Hospital Corps, Staff officers, &c., say 30,000 men, being an increase on the present force, at £65 per man	1,950,000
Militia, and drilling of youths from 10 years old and upwards	2,000,000
Volunteers	1,000,000
Colonial corps	500,000
Stores	1,000,000
Works and buildings, excluding new fortifications .	500,000
Pensions	600,000
Civil administration	150,000
	8,740,000

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20. The feasibility of all this depends upon a real public desire to save annually, seven or eight millions of unproductive expenditure, and, in return, to be willing to become home soldiers universally; foreign service being paid for at its proper value. Such a reform like this is not to be accomplished by a stroke of the pen. It could only be effected by slow degrees. But if the principles I advocate were adopted by the public, I think the new system might be fully introduced in the course of seven years, each year during the process witnessing a sensible reduction of expenditure, until the total cost reached the sum I have mentioned.

Seven years
for making
the change.

21. When war came, we should be far readier for action than we have been hitherto. An unproductive annual expenditure of seven millions would have been economized, enabling us to bear the additional cost of the trumpets, drums, and fifes of actual war.

A saving of
seven
millions
effected.

22. Allow me to glance at what a saving of seven millions a-year would accomplish for Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. It would provide a national system of education. It would provide scientific and technical instruction, through colleges, schools, and museums, throughout the United Kingdom, wherever the wants of the country required them. It would establish complete electric telegraphs between the United Kingdom and the whole of our colonies and dependencies. It would enable us to abolish all taxes on locomotion. It would reduce the postage to all colonies

What this
saving
would do.

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and dependencies. It would relieve, if not abolish, many taxes on production, and help to give the people a free breakfast-table. It would help in abolishing pauperism.

23. And whilst these positive results to Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce could be predicted as certain, the better organization of military service would directly benefit them instead of being a wholly unproductive dead weight.

24. I hope to see all friends of peace assisting in this reform. It is the work rather of civil administration than for the heroes of warfare. The measure, I know, cannot be acceptable to military prejudices and to many of the military officers, who constitute a sixth part of the present House of Commons. But the press is discussing the subject most ably, and the pamphleteers on army reform are many. If the matter be as well discussed in Parliament as in the press, the national will, and the country at large, which pays for the defence of its honour and interests, will soon be the best judge of what is necessary for them. It may be a fight against narrow, short-sighted prejudices, to last as long as those against Catholic Emancipation, the Test and Corporation Acts, Parliamentary Reform, Municipal Reform, Railways, Corn-laws, and Free-trade. But these beneficial changes have become the creed of all men in my time, and I trust to live to see the honour of the country placed in the custody of a national army.



Army
Reform a
work of civil
adminis-
tration.



MR. COLE'S SPEECH AT THE DISTRIBUTION
OF PRIZES TO THE STUDENTS OF THE
NOTTINGHAM SCHOOL OF ART.

15TH JANUARY, 1873.¹



Y LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—

This time last year, I engaged to perform the duty I am about to do on this occasion, but was prevented by imperative official business from fulfilling my engagement. Had I been present, I should have ventured to make a few observations to you on the position in which Nottingham stood with regard to art, and the especial fitness of the Town for establishing a Museum of Science and Art. I am particularly happy in not having to talk about an anticipation, but rather of a performance which has been amply fulfilled.

Nottingham has now its Museum of Science and Art, which is the beginning of something much greater in the future. As I entered the ante-room, a gentleman of Nottingham was kind enough to observe to me, "You will not forget that in old times, we were distinguished for cock-fighting and prize-fighting, whereas, at present, we are distinguished for cricketing and rifle-shooting; and we hope you will make out a good case for our being now distinguished in Art." Last year I wrote to the then Mayor, a letter excusing my absence, and saying that I thought Nottingham was

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Nottingham
Museum of
Science and
Art.

¹ This speech has been revised by the reports of the meeting given in the "Nottingham Guardian," the "Not-

tingham Express," and the "Nottingham Journal."

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Free Libra-
ries.

School of
Art.

pre-eminently fitted for having a Museum of Art and Science, and I grounded that opinion upon the fact that yours is really a most distinguished town in modern civilization, though you perhaps may not be so much aware of it as strangers are, and—I say it without compliment—you have a remarkable Municipality. You have a Municipality which has beaten the municipal attempts in London, hollow, and as far as I know, after some general experience of the country, there is no Municipality which is performing its duty in like manner to your Municipality of Nottingham. You have had to pay for it, as we have to pay for every good thing in this world. I see on all sides matters to prove my assertion. I have before me a glass of water clearer than we can get in London, from any one of a dozen water companies. I see in going through the town, what the Municipality has done for the recreation of the people. You have a beautiful Arboretum, you have a Free Library supported by rates;—you may not know how much distinguished you are in that respect. Very few towns in England have Free Libraries. We cockneys have been trying for 25 years to get Free Libraries, almost unsuccessfully. The only place in all London where rates support a Free Library is at Westminster, where I have heard that a Lord Chancellor in his earlier days, actually packed a meeting to ensure a majority for that Library. Then in Nottingham, you have a distinguished Volunteer Corps, which, as my friend told me, has gained more prizes for its shooters than any in England. In addition to that, I have looked around, and seen some remarkable specimens of modern Architecture, in which the Gothic and Italian styles seem to have reconciled their differences, and produced something new and refreshing. I think that Nottingham is distinguished for its modern Architecture, and is superior to many neighbouring towns. I hope your Lordship will not think me wrong in saying that Nottingham is more distinguished in this respect than Derby. Leicester is a long way behind as compared with Nottingham. Then there is your School of Art—which, in some points, is the very first school in the country. It is certainly the cleanest, best kept, and arranged, and I can show by figures that it occupies a high position in the work it does. There is a system at work throughout the country, by which masters of Schools of Art get prizes according to the work done in the schools each year—the first prize being £50, the

next £40, and then £30, and so on. Well, this system has been in operation five years, and I find that in that period, among 120 schools in the United Kingdom, Nottingham has taken masters' prizes every year. I need not trouble you with any decimal calculations, but it is a fact that Nottingham has earned far more public money for masters' prizes than its average share. With regard to the students, there are 120 schools competing for the State Medals—gold, silver, and bronze. Gold medals have been given away for seven years, and there are not more than 10 gold medals given every year. The 70 medals that have been given away have been competed for by 120 schools, the average being less than one medal per school, and of the 70 medals Nottingham has gained no less than six. In fact, the medals taken by Nottingham—and no doubt your skill in cock-fighting, prize-fighting, cricketing, and rifle-shooting, have something to do with the result—have been eight times the average of the schools of the whole kingdom.

All these facts make me think that Nottingham may take the lead in the country in establishing a Museum of Science and Art, and in setting an example to other towns in England. I regret to state that in this matter England is behind continental countries; you cannot go from London to Paris without alighting on several Museums of this kind. At Boulogne, Arras, Calais, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, you find Museums and Picture Galleries. How many are there between Dover and London? The various facts I have mentioned, justify me in asking you to consider the question of establishing a permanent Museum of Science and Art. The man who was your last Mayor, with energy and tact brought the subject before the Town Council, and I am glad to say there was not a single dissentient voice, when he proposed to use the Exchange Rooms, so that there was not a division in the Council upon the question. The result is that you have got a Museum. The establishment of a permanent Museum of Science and Art is a necessary complement to the work which you have already done. The Department has rules and directions which have been circulated for a number of years, which everybody can buy for 6*d.*, but which nobody reads—and by those rules, towns have been given the opportunity of borrowing articles purchased by the taxation money, and deposited at South Kensington. I am sorry to

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Museums in
England and
in France.

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say that the country at large takes too little heed comparatively, of that advantage. But your Town Council have secured an Art Museum, and in this matter Nottingham has done its part bravely and well. I am told that the Police Court has been actually moved to make room for the Museum. I strongly sympathize with the gentleman who raised his voice against that change. I hope that he will not stand it, but will have the Court back again—not, however, by turning out the Museum, until it is provided with a suitable place. I am told the ladies do not consider that there is a floor fit to dance on in Nottingham except the Exchange Rooms, and, to a certain extent, they have been put out. I say to them, “Do not stand it; have the rooms back again,” with the reservation that a suitable place shall be provided elsewhere without loss of time.

Importance
of municipal
action,

Many agencies must concur together to establish a successful Museum of Science and Art. Municipalities, voluntary payments, loans of objects being private property, and lastly, aid from the public taxation voted by Parliament. The Municipality must take the lead and find management and responsibility. The House of Commons aids by grants for building (if connected with a School of Science and Art), and by loan of objects from the Kensington Museum, which have been bought by the money of Nottingham and all parts of the kingdom. Another important step is to get a voluntary system of public contributions. Now I can compliment Nottingham upon this matter. The inhabitants have shown a singular appreciation of their Museum of Science and Art. The inhabitants have flocked in thousands to the Museum in the Exchange Rooms, until it might be said that the whole population had passed through it. Since last Whitsuntide, 80,000 persons have visited the Museum. What a contrast this affords to the attendance of Londoners at the South Kensington Museum, the National Gallery, and British Museum! The total number who have visited your Museum since it was first opened in May to the 31st December is 78,382—by payment of a penny, 57,000 odd; by payment of 3*d.*, 9,000; and by payment of 6*d.*, 4,700; and it should be noted that the penny realized double what the 3*d.* and the 6*d.* did. In my opinion, it is far better to have the payment of 1*d.* than to have a free entrance. The Museum is much more valued by reason of a small payment, which turns

and volun-
tary effort.

away nobody able to appreciate it. The pence furnish a perfect test of appreciation. I must say a word on private loans of objects. It is an unexceptionable method which enables the rich to help the poor. There is no demoralization as in many forms of charity. You teach respect for property by such loans. They act as a spark to light up latent genius. They even instruct the purchasers of works of art, and excite emulation among them. What an example in this matter has been set by the Queen, the Prince Consort, and followed universally—Sir Richard Wallace becoming a marked benefactor! Through his aid, Bethnal Green Museum has become a splendid Museum of Science and Art, containing objects valued at £2,000,000 sterling. When the idea of establishing it was made known, it was stated that the valuables would be greatly damaged by the rough people who inhabit that part of the metropolis. I was cautioned not to put up a majolica fountain out of doors. The greatest local authority cautioned me, but I trusted the poor people, and I am glad to say that there has not been any damage done; on the contrary, that the people have shown great appreciation of the institution, and respect for it.

I think I have made out a case which may commend itself to your judgment. Your Museum has been a great and pronounced success in all respects—except its size. It is quite clear that the present room is too small. It is quite insufficient: in fact it ought to be twice the size, properly to accommodate the objects displayed on its walls. Moreover, the ladies are dissatisfied because they cannot have the room to dance in, and the magistrates are, you must bear in mind, deprived of their rights in respect of the old police court. But you do not wish to get rid of this Museum. I am sure you are prepared to maintain it. I think the time has now come when you should show your appreciation of the institution, by taking up the matter and enlarging the scope of the Museum. You must keep in view the idea of Science and Art. You must add Science to Art in your permanent Museum. Now in Nottingham, you are going to take up the question of Public Health, and I would ask you what is more necessary in finding out the causes of disease than Science? I find also that the inhabitants of the town are going to get rid of the filth of the town and neighbourhood, by means of better sewerage. The Egyptians had

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Private loans
to Museums.

Museum
should be
enlarged to
include
Science.

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as one of their thirty-six commandments, "Thou shalt not pollute the rivers." I think this will soon be an eleventh Commandment which England must adopt before long. This being the case, it is your duty to get the best Science you can in order to get the best results. Although in the town you are well supplied with water, you have to pay dearly for gas. If you were sufficiently well acquainted with the laws of Science you would be spared an expense of six or seven thousand a year. The officer of health, whom it is proposed to appoint, ought to be attached to a School of Science. I desire to impress upon you the desirability of including the cultivation of Music in such an establishment. There has lately been a little chaffing going on in high quarters about fiddles, and a discussion if they were as scientific as Steam Engines. In my opinion, Music unites in the highest degree both Science and Art.

Music.

The Castle
Site for the
Museum.

I have taken trouble to look about for what would be a good site for your permanent Museum, and the conviction in my mind is that you have a site already prepared—one where the Museum would act as a beacon to all the Midland counties—and that site is the Castle. If you do what you can with the Castle, it will be one of the very finest things in all England. I am told the Trustees of the Castle were quite willing to help you, and I have already seen a plan and design by Mr. Hine, that has been made for building up the Castle again, and preserving the old building, which is attributed to that distinguished architect Inigo Jones. Mr. Hine is an architect to whom Nottingham owes much of its originality and beauty. Is Nottingham ready to assist in an operation of this kind? I have strong faith that it will. There will be some difficulties in the way; there is nothing in the world without difficulty. In the Bible there is a maxim which I recommend your Municipality to take to heart, "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty." You have got a number of good things, but if your most excellent Municipality had not scattered wisely in the Free Library, the pleasure grounds, in getting water, &c., the poverty of the Town would have been much greater than it is now.

We are now living in a period of the world of great transition. As far as I know history, we are living in a period of the world

very much unlike any other period. Everything is known and discussed, and everybody may start on his own pulpit and preach what he likes. Churches and chapels are rising, and you know that

“ Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
The devil’s sure to build a chapel there ;
And ’twill be found upon examination,
The devil has the larger congregation.”

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I am afraid there are more devil’s chapels than God’s chapels. One way, I believe, in meeting the devil in this encounter is by a Museum of Science and Art, and I shall be much surprised if the clergy do not think so. I am looking forward to the time when, as well as having a Hospital Sunday in Nottingham, you will have a Museum Sunday. This will be defeating Satan by an indirect process. Religion will co-operate again with Fine Art I am sure.

Museums
and
Churches.

In another generation, every one will be able to read, and I hope read his Bible, until Heaven sends another revelation. I trust too that every one will practise Music and be able to sing praises to the Lord of Heaven.

Your Robin Hood Rifleman affords evidence that instead of hired mercenaries for a national army, every man will be as good as his forefather in the days of the greatest of the English kings—King Alfred—and out of patriotism give his personal services to defend his country from invasion. Nay, I even believe that the science of political economy will discover the means how to give the agricultural labourer as good a house over his head, as comfortable a bed to lie upon, plenty of as good food to eat, and such proper covering for his body, as a cart-horse worth fifty pounds now gets.

I don’t believe such conservative progress is visionary, and with it Schools of Science and Art will multiply. Every centre of 10,000 people will have its Museum, as England had its Churches far and wide in the 13th century. The churches in the 13th century were the receptacles of all kinds of art work. Every church had its paintings, sculpture, metal decoration, architecture, music, and was in fact a Museum.

The taste of England will revive, although with different manifestations. It will not be the revival of fine art producing

Revival of
taste in Eng-
land.

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Modern
English
taste.

solitary works like a Gloucester Candlestick, or St. Patrick's Bell, or a Lynn Cup, but repetitions of hundreds of thousands of copies of works of Art-Manufacture, to be used by all classes of the people. I must intrude the remark that I do not think it right to decry the present English modern taste. It is as good as modern taste is anywhere in Europe; better, I think, than is now existing in France, or Germany, or Italy. Modern English taste is less epicurean and sensual, than modern French taste, less frigid than modern German, and more masculine than Italian taste.

As Nottingham is the first town which I may congratulate on establishing a permanent Museum of Science and Art; as it is the first place in which I have had the honour of preaching faith in the establishment of permanent museums of Science and Art, so it shall be the place where I will make my last dying speech and confession as an officer of the public. This is the last occasion on which I shall address a public meeting in an official capacity, and trouble you with a few personal observations.

Next April, I shall have completed my fifty years of public service, from which it is my intention to retire. More than twenty years ago, Lord Granville, then Vice-President of the Board of Trade, asked me to undertake the superintendence of the Schools of Design. During that period, I have served under statesmen of all politics;—Mr. Labouchere, afterwards Lord Taunton; Mr. Henley, who was the first to insist that the artisans of this country should have means of learning geometrical drawing; Mr. Cardwell, who enlarged the Department of Art into Science and Art; Lord Stanley of Alderley, who transferred the Museum from Marlborough House to the South Kensington Museum, then already founded by the Prince Consort; the late Marquess of Salisbury, who instituted the present successful system of Science instruction; Earl Granville, who first began the permanent buildings for the South Kensington Museum, and started the idea of the Bethnal Green Museum, which his successor the Duke of Buckingham carried into practical effect, the Duke also causing the new Science Schools to be built; and the Duke of Marlborough, who induced Mr. Disraeli's government to make the most liberal and profitable investments of public money, in purchasing works of art.

Political
Chiefs of
Department
of Science
and Art
during
twenty
years.

It is a comfort to me, in my retirement, that I leave the work I have so dearly loved, going on under the Parliamentary protection of the Marquess of Ripon and Mr. Forster, who, I hope, will allow me to say, are hearty promoters of Education, Science, and Art among the people.

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Since the year 1852, I have witnessed the conversion of twenty limp Schools of Design into one hundred and twenty flourishing Schools of Art in all parts of the United Kingdom, and other schools like them, in the Colonies and the United States. Five hundred night classes for drawing have been established for artisans. One hundred and eighty thousand boys and girls are now learning elementary drawing. Twelve hundred and fifty Schools and Classes for Science instruction have spontaneously sprung up. The South Kensington Museum has been securely founded as a National Centre for consulting the best works of Science and Art, as a Storehouse for circulating objects of Science and Art throughout the Kingdom. Whilst this Museum itself has been visited by more than twelve millions of visitors, it has circulated objects to one hundred and ninety-five localities holding exhibitions, to which more than four millions of local visitors have contributed above ninety-three thousand pounds.

Develop-
ment of
Depart-
ment's work.

I hope still to be able to prosecute my work as a volunteer, and assist the establishment of Local Museums, which may draw their supply from South Kensington.

Local Mu-
seums.

I hope also to do my part in establishing firmly Annual International Exhibitions of Industry, as a permanent institution, relying not on State aid, but on the voluntary support of an educated people, and showing a yearly competitive examination of the practical fruits of the working of the National Schools of Science and Art.

Annual In-
ternational
Exhibitions.

As last words, I venture to say to Nottingham, "Show the world, in the International Exhibition of 1874, what the School of Art has enabled your industry to accomplish in Lace. Let Nottingham enlarge on its Castle walls, its present admirable Museum of Science and Art, not forgetting a School of Music, which is both Science and Art." Any services I can render to the work will be freely given, and I think I may promise, when I drop my official chains, I will do my best to help Governments and Parliaments to appreciate the desires of the country to have Local

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Museums, and especially to do justice to Nottingham, in return for the bright example it has set to all other towns, in founding by the aid of its Municipality, by the voluntary payments of its inhabitants and the encouragement of the State—the aid of all being essential—the first permanent Municipal Museum of Art, Science, and local Industry.



BRIEF NOTES ON THE CAREER OF THE LATE CAPTAIN FRANCIS FOWKE, R.E.

By HENRY COLE, C.B.

THE Corps Papers of the most scientific branch of the British Army are so suitable a place to preserve some notice of the career of one of the most scientific members of that corps, that I have cheerfully acceded to the request made to me to note down some of the facts of the life of Captain Francis Fowke, R.E., with whom I had been almost in daily intercourse since the year 1854.

He was descended from an old Leicestershire family; born in Belfast in July, 1823; and was chiefly educated at Dungannon College. I am informed that at a very early age he showed much ingenious ability, which often took a humorous and mischievous turn, and that when 13 or 14 years old, he made a small working steam-engine. The bent of the boy's talent induced a desire that he should enter the Royal Engineers, and for two years he was sent to the Rev. A. De La Mare, who prepared him for the Woolwich Academy.

The records at Woolwich show that in 1839, being 16 years old, he entered the Woolwich Academy; that in 1840 he passed his probationary examination; in 1841, his theoretical examination; in 1842, his practical examination, and came out sixth in a batch of 16 successful candidates.

Only four Engineer Commissions were given, and he was very nearly obtaining his commission in the Artillery, but his ability in drawing was so pre-eminent over that of his fellow Cadets, a fact worth recollection by all those who desire to be Engineers, that he was chosen out of his turn for the Engineers and obtained the third Commission.

He was only just of age when he fulfilled that destiny which

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Captain
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Early years
of his life.

Success at
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seems so common to young Engineer officers, and took to himself a wife. He married Miss Rede, and soon after this event was sent out to Bermuda, where he seems to have excited attention by numerous clever devices for the rigging of a canvas yacht, and tradition says that he spent most of his time on the water. The late Sir William Reid was the Governor at Bermuda, and it is remarkable that both these officers afterwards took such prominent positions in connection with International Exhibitions.

Devonport
Barracks.

On his return to England, he designed and made the working drawings for the Raglan Barracks at Devonport, for which he obtained much credit. In this work he introduced, not without opposition, many useful novelties conducive to the health and comfort of soldiers, which are now accepted as necessities in Barrack accommodation.

Experiments
in projec-
tiles,

Pontoons,

In 1852, he invented a drawbridge, and in the year 1854 received his Captain's commission. About this time, before Whitworth and Armstrong had appeared as inventors in the manufacture of guns, he was scheming all kinds of ways of using elongated shot for rifled ordnance, but could never induce the military authorities to give his suggestions a trial. Little better luck seems to have attended his ingenious collapsing pontoons. What were the features of this invention, and what were its novelties, the Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, New Series, Vol. VII. p. 81, 1858, and the "Transactions of the United Service Institution" (see Journal, Vol. IV, 1860) show. The military judges appointed to consider them, were difficult to convince. No results at present have followed in this country from his labours, but I am informed that collapsing canvass pontoons were successfully used in the American Civil War. One of these pontoons was exhibited at the Paris Exhibition in 1855, and at a later period, he made several improvements in them. He also perfected a light and portable one for Infantry, which could be transported by two men. The trial of these pontoons, on which his own corps has hitherto been unable to take decisive action, has been left in the hands of the First Middlesex Volunteer Engineers, who, at their own cost, have made many experiments.

When he was about to leave Devonport, in 1854, Captain, now Colonel Owen, R.E., then Secretary for the Paris Exhibition, accidentally met him in London, and justly appreciating his

inventive ability, invited him to assist in superintending the Machinery Department of the Paris Exhibition, and Capt. Fowke was appointed to undertake the duty. Upon Colonel Owen leaving for the Crimea, he succeeded him as Secretary to the British Commission, and resided in Paris during the year of the Exhibition. He conducted numerous valuable experiments on the strength of colonial woods. The results were published in the Parliamentary reports on the Paris Exhibition of 1855, and subsequently reprinted as a pamphlet on "Civil Construction." At the same time, he drew up a report on the objects exhibited under the head of "Naval Construction." For his services to the Paris Exhibition, he was made a Chevalier of the *Légion d'Honneur*; but as the decoration was given for civil and not for military services, he was unable to wear it in this country. In Vol. V., 1856, of the Corps Papers, is his project for Batteries, &c., for the defence of coasts.

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Work at
Paris Exhi-
bition of
1855.

Batteries.

He was appointed at the conclusion of the Paris work in 1857, to the staff of the Science and Art Department as an Inspector; and upon the transfer of the Department from Marlborough House to South Kensington, he was charged with the superintendence of the buildings there, which at that time, consisted of the iron shed called "the Boilers," built by Sir William Cubitt, and a nest of old houses which had been inhabited, when Brompton was a suburb, by Mr. Greenwood of Messrs. Cox and Greenwood's, by Sir Cresswell Cresswell, and Madame Céleste. The Duke of York was accustomed to retire to Mr. Cox's house for change of air. It was Captain Fowke's duty to bring the iron shed, the old dry-rotted houses, and a series of wooden schools into a working unity, which he did with skill and economy. In the midst of this work he was called upon to build a picture gallery to receive Mr. Sheepshank's gift of pictures, and he did so in concert with Mr. Redgrave, R.A., who had discovered the right formula for a top-light gallery. The building proved very successful, and, before it was finished, other galleries were required to receive the Vernon and Turner pictures, and he built these at a cost not reaching 4*l.* a cubic foot.

Appoint-
ments at
South Ken-
sington.

Constitutionally, nature had given Captain Fowke a sluggish and indolent temperament, but he was roused to prompt action occasionally. A signal example of this occurred with these picture galleries. If they were to be built at all, they were to be done

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in the shortest possible space of time. Capt. Fowke was on a visit to the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield, when the Treasury decision was made. One evening, Lord Salisbury told Captain Fowke that the work was to proceed, and briskly. The next morning, at breakfast, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, also on a visit at Hatfield, asked Captain Fowke when the works would begin. "They are begun already." "How so? you only knew last night at twelve." Captain Fowke replied, "I was at the telegraph office, at Hatfield, as soon as it was open; I ordered the works to begin, and I have received an answer that 'the foundations are being dug.'" "I call that work!" said Mr. Disraeli.

Appointed
on International
Technical
Commission for
Navigation
of Danube.

In 1858, he was named, at Sir John Burgoyne's advice, a Commissioner of the International Technical Commission for rendering the St. George's branch of the Danube navigable, and his scheme was unanimously adopted; but, from various causes, diplomatic and otherwise, his plan has only been partially carried into effect. His report to Lord Cowley was privately printed. About this time, he was called upon to design the interior of the Dublin National Gallery, the elevation having been already settled. It is a successful gallery both for day and night use. He also designed the Museum of Science and Art, at Edinburgh, which was opened lately by the Duke of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh
Museum of
Science and
Art.

A cheap
drill-shed.

It was at his suggestion that the first Corps of Volunteer Engineers (the 1st Middlesex) was formed. He planned the erection of their drill-shed, covering 100 feet by 40 feet, which Sir Joseph Paxton commended to me as the cheapest structure he had ever seen. The cost of this was only £100 to the Corps, some of whom gave their labour, and the principle of its construction has been adopted at the entrance of the Royal Horticultural Society's Offices and the conservatory entrances, and frequently for drill-sheds throughout the country.

Defence of
London.

In the "Cornhill Magazine" (No. 6, June, 1860, Vol. I.), he published a paper entitled "London the Stronghold of England," being a plan for the defence of London in case of invasion, which attracted much notice; and in the same periodical (No. 3, March, 1860, Vol. I.) he offered suggestions for the enlargement of the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, under the title of the "National Gallery Difficulty solved."

National
Gallery diffi-
culty solved.

He prepared the general plan for the Horticultural Gardens,

which Mr. Nesfield afterwards modified in the gardening details. The conservatory and south arcade were built wholly after Captain Fowke's design. Mr. S. Smirke, R.A., was the architect of the north and centre arcades. The conservatory is one of Captain Fowke's most successful works. He introduced here the principle of gas lighting which he had applied to the picture galleries, and the conservatory can be brilliantly lighted with perfect ventilation, and without damage to the plants.

At the request of the Prince Consort, he designed the Library at Aldershot, which His Royal Highness built at his own cost. The Prince sent him a box of instruments inscribed as follows, "Captain Francis Fowke, Royal Engineers, as a token of regard from ALBERT: 1859."

Captain Fowke, having laid out the ground at Kensington belonging to the Commissioners of 1851, was called upon to show how a building suitable for International Exhibitions might be erected on part of it. He therefore planned the series of buildings used for the Exhibition of 1862. His business was to cover twenty-two acres of ground, having command of only very limited funds. The main feature of his plan was a noble hall, 600 feet long, 300 feet wide, and 200 feet high; but want of funds compelled the abandonment of this, and he hastily substituted instead the glass domes, which proved unsuccessful. But in respect of the picture galleries and the general exhibiting space, the buildings were by far the most convenient that had ever been used for exhibitions. The exact proportions of the picture galleries and system of lighting have been adopted for the Paris Exhibition of 1867. There was no money to pay for the decoration of the outside of them, and public opinion refused to believe it could be decorated. Captain Fowke was very patient under much unjust treatment, but he apathetically refused to take any measure to rectify public opinion until it was too late. Two years afterwards, justice was done to his talent. In an open competition of designs for buildings to be erected on the site of the 1862 Exhibition, his plans obtained the first premium, the judges being Lord Elcho, M.P., Mr. Tite, M.P., Mr. Fergusson (all of whom had taken an active part in pulling down the Exhibition buildings), Mr. Pennethorne, and Mr. D. Roberts, R.A., and they unanimously gave Captain Fowke the first prize. It was with difficulty he was spurred on in

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Library at
Aldershot.

Design for
buildings for
International
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Design for
Natural History
Museum at
South Kensington.

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Numerous
inventions.

this case to compete, and he had not made up his mind to do so until within seven weeks of sending in the drawings.

Amongst several other of his inventions may be named a very portable military fire-engine, which has been adopted in the army; a collapsing camera; an improved umbrella for which he took out a patent—but the difficulties of manufacture prevented its adoption (the principle of it was to bring the ribs within the stick or rod, so as to reduce the circumference to the size of a small walking-stick); a portable bath to pack up like a book; also a lighting machine which is used throughout the Kensington Museum, and by means of which hundreds of gas burners are lighted in a few seconds.

Plan for
permanent
buildings for
South Ken-
sington Mu-
seum.

At the desire of the Marquis of Salisbury, whilst he was Lord President of the Council in 1858-59, Captain Fowke devised plans for permanent buildings to be used at the South Kensington Museum; and in 1860, he was called upon, whilst Mr. Lewis's committee in the House of Commons on the South Kensington Museum was sitting, to put these plans into a more definite shape. He did so, and both plans and elevations may be found in the report of that committee, ordered to be printed August 1st, 1860.

He proceeded to build, in accordance with these plans, two large glazed courts. For the larger of the two, the interference of columns with the objects exhibited, as in the court of the new Natural History Museum of Oxford, suggested the glazing over of the whole quadrangle, of about 100 feet span, without a single support.

Mr. Godfrey
Sykes.

It was not until the year 1861, that Captain Fowke commenced any decorative exterior for the Museum. With the aid of Mr. Godfrey Sykes, the official residences were then commenced, and the style was introduced with greater boldness in the lecture theatre adjoining.

This noble and certainly original work was in course of construction, when Captain Fowke died in December, 1865, and he did not live to see erected the highly decorated terra-cotta columns which Mr. Sykes had designed as their principal feature; nor did Mr. Sykes himself, for he too died, while the capitals were being placed on them. The plans and elevation which Captain Fowke left, will be found in the reports of the Science and Art Department.

There was much affection between these two eminent men, and when Captain Fowke was arranging the Guards' ball in the Picture Galleries of the Exhibition of 1862, and Mr. Sykes was too feeble to mount the steps, Captain Fowke carried him up in his arms.

Captain Fowke, in the spring of 1865, had been working unusually hard at the drawing for the completion of the South Kensington Museum, and, feeling much fatigued, in the month of August he went to Switzerland, hoping to recover his health; but he came back much worse, with many alarming symptoms. These had been subdued, and he went to Eastbourne, where he remained till December. Two days after his return to his residence at the Museum, on the 4th December, 1865, whilst sitting in his chair, a blood-vessel broke. He exclaimed—"This is the end," and spoke no more. He was buried at the Brompton Cemetery, being followed to his grave by numerous brother officers, friends, and assistants. He was greatly beloved, and is not known to have made a single enemy. The Science and Art Department have commissioned Mr. Woolner to make a bust of him to be placed in the South Kensington Museum.

Captain Donnelly, R.E., who had worked with him at Kensington for years, and made several good photographic likenesses of him, has justly remarked in the "Naval and Military Gazette," that Captain Fowke's "mind, though essentially practical, was wonderfully pliant and original, and combined with a quick imagination, which gave him a power of viewing, whether common things or intricate problems, from all points and in new lights, and by, so to say, analysing them, grasping their essential requisites."

I see no reason to modify the opinion of my friend and colleague, which I expressed at a meeting of the Society of Arts, and with it I conclude these brief notes:—

"I firmly believe that the arts of construction in this country have sustained a great loss by Captain Fowke's death. At this period, when art is so transitional, and science is making so many discoveries, and men's minds are seething with inventions; when the use of new materials is being constantly manifested, and the new adaptation of old materials is constantly entered upon, England has lost a man who felt the spirit of his age, and was daring enough to venture beyond the beaten path of conventionalism. Captain Fowke, to my mind, was solving the problem of the deco-

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Captain
Fowke's
death.

Captain
Donnelly on
Captain
Fowke's
character.

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rative use of iron, and, by appreciating the spirit both of the Gothic and Renaissance architects, was on the threshold of introducing a novel style of architecture, when, alas! death, at the early age of forty-two years, has cut short his promising career."

HENRY COLE.

South Kensington Museum,

June 21, 1866.





NATIONAL CULTURE AND RECREATION: ANTIDOTES TO VICE.

AN ADDRESS, DELIVERED IN THE LIVERPOOL INSTITUTE, 8TH DECEMBER,
1875, BY SIR HENRY COLE, K.C.B.



THE Directors of this Institution have put into my hands a printed pamphlet suggesting the duties which I have to perform this evening. I find an appropriate text at the beginning of this little pamphlet.

Sir Thomas Wyse, in 1837, said, if not in this very room, yet in the presence of some of the gentlemen whose heads are now as white as my own:—"The time is fast approaching when your institution will be an example, not scoffed at, not doubted, not dreaded, but imitated; when, no longer single, you will be enabled, looking around from this spot, to count your progeny rising up in every direction, like that of the celebrated Asiatic tree, whose seed, wherever they fall, spring up in forests each nobler and more fruitful than its parent." Sir Thomas Wyse was a prophet, and his prophecy has been amply fulfilled. But Sir Thomas did not contemplate that those things which somebody has called "godless" things, should be in intimate alliance with the old and venerated Universities of Oxford and of Cambridge; that they should be in alliance with the Society of Arts, and, finally, that they should ally themselves with Government and receive prizes from the Science and Art Department.

The prizes of this evening refer to general education and to Art. They refer also to chemistry, physical geography, mechanics, and natural history; but there appear to me to be some omissions. I

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Importance
of Music.

National
Training
School for
Music.

am supposed to have the art of saying disagreeable things, and not always preaching smooth things, and I hope the directors will excuse me if I point out one or two things in which I think the institution is deficient. You cannot go into any school in Germany, or into any institute resembling this, without finding that one of the things taught, and taught most efficiently, is Music. The same thing happens in Switzerland and in Holland; it happens somewhat less in France; it happens more or less in Italy; but, undoubtedly, you will find throughout the length and breadth of Europe that Music forms part of education. Three hundred years since, when Liverpool existed in some kind of shape, every gentleman was supposed to know Music, and I have no doubt that then the singing in the churches—there were few, if any, dissenting chapels—was much more effective than it is now: undoubtedly England was once called a musical nation, and at that time people had their glees and madrigals, which contributed to the happiness of men and women. I would therefore ask the directors why Music is not taught in this institution? Somebody has said there is no time. There is more than enough time, and the fact is that if you did not go on grinding away at all sorts of things which men and women little understand or care for, you would have plenty of time for Music. If the directors would take up Music as a science and art, they would greatly increase the numbers attending the school. There are some special local reasons why they should do this. There is a movement started in Liverpool for finding out Liverpool lads and lasses to whom Heaven has given the genius of Music, and for having them properly trained at the National Training School for Music. England is perhaps the only civilized country in Europe at present, which has not a system for finding out its musical genius. No doubt you will find a great deal of that genius in Liverpool, and I have expectations that before I leave the town, it will be announced that some patriotic gentlemen have determined that, at least, six free scholarships shall be founded for obtaining the best musical talent. I shall be greatly surprised if the number does not increase. Surely the Institute will establish one scholarship for youths and another for girls. If people do not now understand the virtue of getting a living by the musical abilities which God has given them, they will find it out sooner or later.

During the last session, Parliament—and Lord Sandon had a

great deal to do with the business—determined that every child in the public elementary schools who was taught singing could earn a shilling. What does that mean? Why, it means that if two millions of children are all taught singing, they will draw a sum of £100,000 from public taxation to promote Music. Are you going to be laggard on this question, which the Government is trying to get every child to take up?

Then again, in almost every place in Germany you find that the boys and girls are taught drill and gymnastics. If you want to make your young men strong and patriotic, so that they can fight as patriots, and say to the whole world, "Don't come troubling us, or we will give you a warm reception if you do," you ought to take up systematic drilling. They are all cultivated gentlemen at this institution; but remember, this drilling is being established also among two millions of the poorer classes who are sent to public elementary schools. Surely you are not going to be behindhand in the matter!

The Institute is already in alliance with the Society of Arts, and that Society gives prizes. It has recently re-arranged its curriculum of subjects for which it gives prizes, and has introduced the subject of Health, the subject of Cookery, and other branches of Domestic Economy. Now, I am told that some ladies are coming up to receive prizes in Drawing; perhaps there may be one or two who are coming up to receive prizes in general education; but I fear none of them will come up for prizes in Science, and therefore I venture to suggest to the directors that they should pay attention to this new programme of the Society of Arts, which is pre-eminently intended for the benefit of women, by fostering a knowledge of Clothing and its materials, Cookery, Health, House-keeping, and thrift and care. These subjects are also matters of elementary education; and in any school where a child has passed what is called the Fourth Standard—if it can be certified as knowing about clothing, the making-up of dresses, shirts, and things of the kind, together with cookery—that school gets four shillings a year for that child out of the pockets of the taxpayers. These are subjects peculiarly suited to the Blackburne House School for girls.

Well, I believe I have now got to the end of my fault-finding, and I am going into some other points for your consideration. No

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Importance
of drill.

Society of
Arts.

Health,
Cookery,
Domestic
Economy.

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doubt all the classical young gentlemen taught in this institution have heard of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Possibly they may know or have had their attention directed to the fact that other nations besides Rome have declined and fallen—Egypt and Greece, and perhaps there are some nations declining now, say the Turks. Heaven only knows if we English are; but I do think that the points which must lead to the decline of a people are those which might as well be called to the attention of youth as the abstract and past theory of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." I do not know whether or not any of you have been asked if you think England has got to its climax, or whether you can see any symptoms going on now which will lead people to think that England is going to decline. I say, at once, I do not believe she is at present; but there are a number of plague spots about England which, if not taken in hand in time, must inevitably lead to the decline of the country.

Pauperism in
Liverpool.

There is Pauperism; and in that respect, I am told, Liverpool is not a bit better, but perhaps a little worse, than the average of towns in the country. Then there is the great ignorance which prevails; one class knowing nothing about other classes. I ask how much your wives know about their domestic servants. And yet, if you do not know anything about those who live in your own houses, how can you know anything of others who are not living in your houses, yet moving all around you?

Mr Carlyle
on Capital
and Labour.

There is another question which I suppose even school boys may learn a little about, and that is Labour and Capital, as it is called; and, without vouching for my entire faith in the statement it contains, I will read you an extract from a letter written by Thomas Carlyle. Mr. Carlyle, who was eighty years of age last Saturday, wrote:—"The look of England is to me at this moment abundantly ominous; the question of Capital and Labour growing ever more anarchic—insoluble altogether by the notions hitherto applied to it; pretty certain to issue in petroleum one day, unless some other gospel than that of the 'dismal science' come to illuminate it. Two things are pretty sure to me: the first is, that 'Capital and Labour' never can or will agree together till they both first of all decide on doing their work faithfully throughout, and like men of conscience and honour, whose highest aim is to behave like faithful citizens of this universe and obey the Eternal

Commandment of Almighty God who made them. The second thing is, that a sadder object than even that of the 'coal strike,' or any conceivable strike, is the fact that, loosely speaking, we may say all England has decided that the profitablest way is to do its work ill, slimly, swiftly, and mendaciously. What a contrast between now, and say only a hundred years ago! At that latter date, or, still more conspicuously, for ages before that, all England awoke to its work with an invocation to the Eternal Maker to bless them in their day's labour and help them to do it well; now, all England, shopkeepers, workmen, all manner of competing labourers awoken as if with an unspoken, but heartfelt prayer to Beelzebub, 'Oh, help us, thou great lord of shoddy, adulteration, and malfeasance to do our work with the maximum of slimness, swiftness, profit, and mendacity—for the Devil's sake, amen!' Now, it is for you to reflect if there is any truth in that. It is a fine utterance in its way, and, perhaps, you will excuse me for introducing it.

You know the differences that exist between classes and their mutual ignorance of each other; and I am going to read another passage, written some fifty years ago. They are lines which I thought at the time they were written had a good deal of truth in them, but which, I am happy to say, have a little less truth now:—

“The poor man's sins are glaring;
In the face of ghostly warning
He is caught in the fact
Of an overt act—
Buying greens on Sunday morning.

“The rich man's sins are hidden,
In the pomp of wealth and station;
And escape the sight
Of the children of light,
Who are wise in their generation.

“The rich man has a kitchen,
And cooks to dress his dinner;
The poor who would roast
To the baker's must post,
And thus becomes a sinner.

“The rich man has a cellar,
And a ready butler by him;
The poor must steer
For his pint of beer
Where the saint can't choose but spy him.

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Class dif-
ferences.

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“The rich man’s painted windows
Hide the concerts of the quality ;
The poor can but share
A crack’d fiddle in the air,
Which offends all sound morality.

“The rich man is invisible
In the crowd of his gay society ;
But the poor man’s delight
Is a sore in the sight,
And a stench in the nose of piety.

“The rich man has a carriage
Where no rude eye can flout him ;
The poor man’s bane
Is a third-class train,
With the daylight all about him.

“The rich man goes out yachting,
Where sanctity can’t pursue him ;
The poor goes afloat
In a fourpenny boat,
Where the bishop groans to view him.”

Well, that is a contrast of the pleasures of the rich and the poor, and the lines were written by Thomas Love Peacock, a scholar, novelist, poet, friend of Shelley’s, and examiner in the East India Company.

Drunken-
ness.

Now I come to another vice, which I look upon as the blackest plague spot, and that is Drunkenness and its consequences. I believe our legislators are beginning to feel that this is a subject which must be encountered in some way or other—that they must no longer say that they can find no remedy, and that England must go to the Devil. Only last week, what said Mr. Cross?—“Any one who has looked at the condition of some of our great provincial towns, will feel that the question of raising the character of our people requires the most serious attention. I believe that what has really happened is that, in the north of England especially, a rapid increase of wages has taken place without any corresponding improvement in the education of the people, who, I believe, spend their wages in the public-houses; but I am sure that this state of things cannot be cured by legislation. I think the only way in which improvement can be effected, is to provide the people with better dwellings and better education.” I quite agree that better dwellings and better education are necessary; but I am going to

present you with an example or two that no kind of education can reach ; and what I propose for dealing with them is to go into competition with the Gin Palaces.

Now, I ask even the young gentlemen who attend this institution, What is Liverpool doing in this question of Drunkenness? Like all mortal things, Liverpool has its good and bad features. It is distinguished for its energy, pluck, and commercial vigour, shown in its magnificent Docks and mercantile marine. In many respects it is in advance of the chaotic Metropolis. There, in municipal government, we are babies. London municipal arrangements do not provide a noble hall like St. George's Hall, with its fine music; nor baths for all classes, as Liverpool does. The supply of water is abundant in Liverpool, good and cheap; in London it is dear, difficult to be got at, and for the most part nasty. Londoners are altogether at the mercy of a set of companies, who get their water wherever they can, filled with sewage or otherwise. Liverpool has its museums, picture galleries, and free libraries. Though there are three millions of people in London, they will not listen to any proposal for free libraries. There are only two free municipal libraries in London—one which the city of London has made out of its munificent wealth, and the other which was carried by a fluke, by a Lord Chancellor who packed the meeting, and got the rate laid on. But whilst elements of civilization are going on in Liverpool, you certainly have that black plague spot of Drunkenness, perhaps more than any town in the country. I have been trying to find out if I had got an exaggerated notion of the drunkenness of Liverpool, but after reading and hearing a great deal, I cannot find that I had; and I am told that if a gold medal were given for drunkenness, Liverpool would obtain it, though I believe Glasgow would run it very hard.

Now, Drunkenness, more than any other cause, occasions mortality, and great praise is due to the Corporation for trying to find out the causes of the mortality. I have read a number of reports of the Health Committee on the subject, and I find that in 1871, the death-rate for the previous ten years in Liverpool, was 38 per thousand, whilst in Birkenhead it was only 20. I believe that since that time it has declined, and that the health of the town is improving. The percentage of deaths of children under five years

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Government
in Liverpool
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Mortality.

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Cleanliness.

in Liverpool in 1871, was 62—that is, that in a certain part of Liverpool called Scotland Road, out of every hundred babies that were born, 62 died before they reached the age of five. Liverpool gets rid of its children almost as quickly as the Chinese, who drown them like puppies. Liverpool is reported to be declining in cleanliness. A philosopher once said to another, “What is the test of the civilization of the people?” and the other philosopher, after beating about for a long time, replied, “I have it—the use of soap.” I believe that is true. Now, what said the report of Drs. Parkes and Sanderson, in 1871, on Cleanliness?—“The people are very much dirtier now than they were before.” I was told to-day, on the highest authority I could find in Liverpool, that the people were getting dirtier every day, and it is evident something must be done if possible to cure that. I would read some of the passages in the report I have referred to if I dared; what is said seems almost incredible. One of the facts among people who used to receive 22s. a-week and now receive 30s., is, that “there is little or no furniture in the houses, and no change of clothes for several weeks, the face and hands only being washed at a fountain.” Then there appears to be a class of people that actually seem turned from human beings into no better than brutes: people that spend all their money in drink, and leave their children to go to the workhouse or to die—who starve their wives, beat them, and after having drunk themselves into a state of insanity, habitually sleep without clothes, lying on straw! Now, if you want to see sights in Liverpool that reduce men to the nature of aborigines, you will see people that are allowed to get as drunk as they can, starve their wives and children, looking to others in the end to find coffins for themselves and feed them in the workhouse beforehand. The report goes on to say that there is more drinking now than formerly. Drs. Parkes and Sanderson asked what was to be done; and they say truly that “if this state of things is not righted, it will in some way or other right itself, perhaps at the expense of the whole community.” I am, however, happy to say that I have heard of some efforts being made, which are likely to prove successful. A number of kind people have established sheds—I might call them refuges—at the docks, where people can go for warmth and shelter, for a cup of coffee or tea, instead of going to the public-house.

Now, I ask you if the Teachers in the Institute do anything in the way of talking about these things. Does the Institute teach its boys these things that are occurring in their midst, and tell them to think if there be any conceivable means of remedy? I am afraid not; it would be true education to do so. I agree with Mr. Cross that law-making is not going to put Drunkenness down. But it may be possible, if you give consideration to the question, to find out some things that will act as antidotes to Drunkenness; though seemingly, men and things are in conspiracy to make men and women drunk—the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the gentleman brewer and distiller, the justice with his license, privileges, and the tradesman with his greeds and profits.

I then proceed, with all humility, to offer some few little receipts of my own. I have little hope for the class of people, forty years of age, that lay on straw drunk. I do not know what can be done with them; but if I were potent enough, I would take from their wages something for their wives and children before they had spent all, though that would be interfering with the liberty of the subject. Of course the rising generation going to school will gradually learn to avoid being drunkards, and there is hope in that. The habit of a hundred years ago, when it was polite to be found drunk under the table, has been got over, and now it is a disgrace for anyone calling himself a gentleman, to be drunk. Therefore the evil is capable of being cured, and we may look forward to the time when the class a little less than “gentlemen” will be cured of the habit.

Healthy dwellings, with a good supply of air and water, under municipal control, would all, of course, help to make people more sober. If the Corporation take up, as I have no doubt they will, Mr. Cross's Act, it will give better dwellings, and I am told it is just possible to do so not in the neighbourhood of public-houses. I am told that Lord Sefton and other noblemen put in their leases that there shall be no public-houses on their property without their permission; and, unless all the Corporation are brewers—of which I have no knowledge—they can follow the example. Saltaire, near Bradford, where Sir Titus Salt's extensive works are, the town itself belonging to him, shows a most gratifying instance of how the plan works of having no public-houses. But Sir Titus Salt is a burly despot, as his very name proves, and he makes his people

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drunken-
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vice.

healthy, happy, and godly without drink. The pith of my receipt is to make every place more attractive than the public-house, and to encourage the feeling of responsibility amongst all classes that it is a disgrace to get drunk, even in a public-house. I will relate a story to show how it is possible to make a much larger use of churches and chapels, and to attract the people to them. On my advice, in a London church (Holy Trinity, Brompton), there was a service held on four successive Tuesday evenings, at which the sermon was compressed into ten minutes, the other portions were as short as the Prayer Book would allow, while the musical part was so arranged that all the congregation might join in it, aided by drums, trumpets, and shawms or trombones. The result was that the church was crowded, and that by thousands not in the habit of attending. I am a great advocate for anything that will bring people together and give them innocent amusement, for when a multitude is drawn together, the company exercise a restraining influence, and men are less likely to appear drunk.

The establishment of Working Men's Clubs throughout the country, managed by a committee of working men, is a good thing, and in those in which the drink is sold, the restraining principle that I refer to acts beneficially. Therefore, let there be as many clubs as possible. Then there are the public pleasure grounds, and places where the working men may meet in the winter and hear music; nor do I object, indeed, to even dancing, for if others dance in public rooms, why not the working man? But no drunkenness should be allowed; any that get drunk, let them be turned out at once "neck and crop," and put in the stocks. As an instance, take the case of the South Kensington Museum, which, during my connection with it, has been visited by over thirteen millions of people, but during that time, I have only heard of one person having been turned out for drunkenness, though wine, spirits, and beer are sold there. Now, here is the fact that if people are got to visit these places where they get amusement, and can do pretty much as they like, there is no drunkenness at all. Every town should have its South Kensington Museum; and I hope that when Liverpool has got her Art Gallery, it will be thrown open as soon as possible. I trust, moreover, that the Museum and Gallery will be opened at night. At all events, they might be opened on some evenings of the week; and I have no

doubt that for the class above the horrid brutes who sleep without clothes on the straw, the museums and libraries, and other incidental institutions, will prove a great inducement to avoid drunkenness.

With respect to the libraries, let me say a word of thanks to Lord Sandon for what he stated a few days ago—that he looked forward to the time when every Board school would have its library. If every Board school had a library to which people could go in the evening, something would be done to prevent them going into public-houses.

I now approach a subject on which bitter differences of opinion prevail, but I hope I shall not give offence in stating my own views—I mean the use of Sunday. I will not enter on the religious differences involved in Sundays and Sabbaths, or the customs which history has made known to us. I will only attempt truthfully to relate what comes under my own personal experience, especially in London and our great towns, of the ways in which my countrymen pass Sunday—dividing them into the few rich, the numerous middle-classes, and the overpowering millions of poorer classes. I hate this imperfect nomenclature of classes, and use it only as an expression commonly understood. A rich man with £10,000 a year, may be a poor man, and have no money at his bankers, and a poor labouring man, with his 20s. a week, may be a rich man with money in the penny savings-bank. The rich, relieved of their weekly work, go to church (often in their carriages) in the morning, and send their wives and daughters in the afternoon or evening. They frequent their clubs, read the "Saturday Review" or "Economist," admire and examine the pictures they possess in their gilded homes. They go to the Zoological Gardens, &c. The middle-classes also go to church or chapel, have a good early dinner, with a cozy nap afterwards; take a walk if it be fine, and spend the rest of the day in looking at the pictures in the illustrated newspapers. Both classes give their servants a holiday to go to church or chapel, if they are so minded, or to walk with cousins. I regret to say that all I can see and learn, proves to me that the millions of the poorer classes do not go to church or chapel. They spend the forenoon in their only one room if they live in towns, and generally in bed. They read a penny newspaper, which, as a parish missionary told me, is "church, chapel,

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and Bible to them," and they pass the evening in the public-house. Do not let us deceive ourselves. The millions of this country have ceased to be attracted by our Protestant churches and chapels, and the law cannot compel them to attend. Our forefathers before the Reformation, induced the people to come to churches, and abbeys, and cathedrals, where the poor found music and pictures on the walls and in the windows. The Roman Catholic Church now makes its way with the people by the same attractions; and all creeds have done so, whether regulated by Moses among the Israelites or Sesostris among the Egyptians, or by the high priests of Minerva in Athens, or, in subsequent years, by Leo X. in Rome. Human nature craves for the beautiful works of God and man. The fine arts are the handmaidens of religion and gentle culture. You young students recollect the "emollit mores" sentence! But during the last three centuries in our kingdom we have neglected, if not despised, this craving. Fine arts are now beginning to be recognized again as humanizing. If you wish to vanquish Drunkenness and the Devil, make God's day of rest elevating and refining to the working man; don't leave him to find his recreation in bed first, and in the public-house afterwards; attract him to church or chapel by the earnest and persuasive eloquence of the preacher, restrained within reasonable limits; help him to solve the mysteries of his daily life by the simple light of his Bible, rather than puzzle and wear him with dogmas spoken during long hours; give him music in which he may take his part; show him pictures of beauty on the walls of churches and chapels; but, as we cannot live in church or chapel all Sunday, give him his park to walk in, with music in the air; give him that cricket ground which the martyr, Latimer, advocated; open all museums of Science and Art after the hours of Divine service; let the working man get his refreshment there in company with his wife and children, rather than leave him to booze away from them in the Public-house and Gin Palace. The Museum will certainly lead him to wisdom and gentleness, and to Heaven, whilst the latter will lead him to brutality and perdition.

Opening of
Museums on
Sundays.

I rejoice greatly in telling you that your neighbour, the Duke of Westminster, with true Christian benevolence and great political foresight socially, opened his palace in London in the months of

last August and September, not only on week-days but on Sundays, to the working man, as an experiment, and it proved most successful. His Grace writes thus to me :—"Visitors numbered in the two months 10,560, and the applications were so numerous that the clerk's time was entirely taken up with this work, and we had to say that 'no more could be entertained or tickets issued.' I had no idea that there would have existed so great a desire to see these things, and am heartily glad of it. It shows that if the opportunity could only be given, thousands would gladly avail themselves of visiting to their benefit such collections on, with many of them, the only available days—namely, Sundays, and thereby improving their taste, and assisting towards the instruction much needed. Another year we may make better provision beforehand. Among other applications refused was one for admissions for the Thames bargees!" As a general rule, Sundays are the working man's only available days for recreation. The average number of visitors to Grosvenor House on week-days was 143, whilst on Sundays it was 510. I trust other enlightened owners of pictures will follow the Duke of Westminster's lead. In London we are foolish and illogical on this Sunday question. I may go and see pictures freely in Hampton Court Palace, and in Greenwich Hospital, and visit the Natural History Museum in Kew Gardens on Sundays, and hundreds of thousands do so likewise to their great benefit, morally and religiously. It is sheer tyranny to deprive me of going to picture galleries if I wish it, and I protest against such tyranny. I would force no one to go to Museums who dislikes it; but why keep me out of the National Gallery, and the British Museum? and why forbid me seeing Raphael's Bible Cartoons in the South Kensington Museum, if I wish to go?

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Grosvenor
House by
Duke of
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on Sundays.





LOCAL SCHOOLS FOR COOKERY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,

NATIONAL
TRAINING
SCHOOL FOR
COOKERY.

A. D.
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HAVING watched the development of the National Training School for Cookery from its beginning, I think it may be generally useful to direct attention to the present state of the arrangements of the School, so that the country at large may take advantage of them.

The School, which by the way, is in vacation till the 13th September, is now fully organized for training Teachers to give instruction in localities varying with the circumstances of each place.

Instruction
in cookery
in a village
school ;

It has been demonstrated that any village school with 100 girls and upwards, may have simple cookery suitable for artisans and labourers, taught in the school, if the school will first send a girl to the Training School to be taught in the artisan class for three weeks, at a fee of three guineas. The annual capital required by the village school ought not to reach £20. This includes the purchase of food, which is consumed by the children who are found in numbers able to pay twopence a head for their dinner, which they help to cook in learning.

in elemen-
tary schools.

If the locality has several elementary schools and a population of about 3,000 or 4,000, including neighbouring villages, then an organization is possible which would teach cookery, not only in elementary schools, but to ladies of the middle classes who are or wish to be wives, and not to ladies only, but to domestic servants and artisans' wives. In this case, as in that of the elementary schools, the first want is to get a Teacher, but this is not difficult to meet.

Let a locality feel the want of a School for Cookery, and its first work is to subscribe about £25, and to send a competent person to the National Training School to become a certificated teacher. Such person should be well educated—as well educated as a good elementary schoolmistress. She may well be the daughter of a clergyman, doctor, lawyer, or half-pay Army or Navy man, but she must have the desire to earn her own living and be content with an income of from £80 to £100 a year, for giving, say, forty weeks' instruction. So much the better if she has had any experience of teaching children in a Sunday or other school, and has acted as a district visitor. She must have no defect in speaking, as she will have to address numbers in a class. Her age should be between twenty and thirty.

When such a young lady has been selected by the locality, she should be sent to the National Training School at South Kensington, to go through a complete course of instruction, which lasts twelve or thirteen weeks, for which a fee of 10 guineas must be paid on joining the school. In addition to this fee, there will be the expense of travelling and living in London, which may be put down at £12 more.

Having obtained her diploma, she may either return to the locality from which she came, or may be put on the staff of the National Training School, when she will be guaranteed £2 a week while teaching, or £1 a week while retained in the National Training School, when her services are not required out of it.

If a locality wish to have a full organization for a Cookery School of its own, say for forty weeks' duration, or even less, a local committee should be formed. The committee would arrange the *rota* of instruction to be given by the Teacher, who might give ten lessons a week of two hours' duration each. The *rota* might consist of one lesson a week to a class of ladies in the morning, each lady paying 2s. 6d. a lesson for a course of ten lessons, or more for a single lesson. Once a week in the evening, a lesson might be given to artisans' wives and domestic servants at 6d. a lesson. The remaining four lessons might be given to four elementary schools, which should pay 10s. a lesson for each school. From ten to twenty children might attend a lesson in their own school. The Education Department counts instruction in cookery as attendance at school, and pays 4s. for each girl who passes an examination, if

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Course of
instruction
for a certifi-
cated local
Teacher.

Full organi-
zation for
local Cook-
ery School.

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Receipts for
instruction
in a local
School.

she obtains or has obtained a fourth grade certificate. To establish a moderate sized local School for Cookery which shall teach the gentry, the shopkeepers, domestic servants, and artisans' and labourers' wives, the local committee should first raise in sums of 10s. and upwards, a guarantee fund of £150 for twelve months, about £30 of which should be paid at once, in order to send the teacher to be trained and to provide utensils. The receipts for instruction, &c., might be reckoned as follows:—From gentry, pupils receiving ten lessons in four classes in succession, each pupil paying 2s. 6d. a lesson, say, £60; from domestic servants and artisans, say, £10; four elementary schools, each twenty lessons, with twenty students, say, £40; sale of food, £10—total, £120.

Working
expenses.

The working expenses would consist in paying the Teacher £2 a week for forty weeks, and in providing a scullery-maid, coals, food, and perhaps the rent of a suitable kitchen.

If the locality wished to try an experiment for a shorter time than forty weeks, then the local committee might make arrangements with the National Training School for Cookery to send a Teacher for this shorter period, but the charge for the Teacher would be increased, and travelling and other expenses would have to be added. All these details may be obtained of the Secretary of the School, Exhibition Road, South Kensington.

Cure for bad
cookery.

At the present time, when great numbers of the middle classes are away from their homes to get health at the sea-side, much suffering from bad cookery is undergone, for every youthful drab is turned on to cookery. The cure is only to be found in local schools for cookery distributed over the country.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. C.

17th August, 1875.






ON THE PRACTICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION THROUGH DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

BY SIR HENRY COLE, K.C.B., LATE SECRETARY OF THE SCIENCE AND
ART DEPARTMENT. A PAPER READ AT THE CONGRESS ON DOMESTIC
ECONOMY HELD IN BIRMINGHAM, 18TH JULY, 1877.

I.

HE arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, are the three principal instruments for educating or drawing forth the faculties which God has given to the child, and are of necessity the basis of any system of public elementary education. When a child can read, write, and cipher well, he is started on the high road, if he possesses any divine power, to become a Prime Minister of this country, like Thomas Cromwell, the son of a blacksmith; or a poet, like Robert Burns, the son of a poor gardener; or a preacher, like John Bunyan, the son of a tinker; or a great mechanical engineer, like George Stephenson, son of an engine-tenter, who first earned *2d.* a day in a colliery; or a philosopher, like William Whewell, the son of a wheelwright; or a statesman-soldier, like George Washington, the first President of America, who was taught only these three arts before he took to measuring land.

II. These arts can be taught, but they cannot be properly cultivated or well preserved without constant and intelligent use. What our State machinery has, up to this time, been able to effect in instilling a knowledge of the three arts, is shown by the report of the Committee of Council on Education, for 1876-77. I shall

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Basis of elementary education.

BIRMINGHAM CONGRESS ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY. A.D. 1877. Part II. Selections.

Number of children under instruction in England and Wales.

Standards of examination.

Mental capacity.

Bad physical conditions.

avoid statistics as far as possible, but I cannot give an idea of what is done for nearly the two millions expenditure spent yearly, without a few general figures. In 1876, there were nearly three millions of children registered as being under instruction, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, in England and Wales. One million two hundred thousand "passed" what is called "a satisfactory examination" in these three arts, and of this number nearly seven hundred thousand, *i.e.*, about one-fourth, "passed" the prescribed test without failure "in any one of the three subjects." But the Duke of Richmond and Gordon and Lord Sandon report to the Queen, that "they are obliged to repeat the remarks which they used last year, that the results are not satisfactory." And that the "nature of the results attained by many of those examined are meagre." Their Lordships say, "only thirty-eight in every hundred of children above ten years of age, were presented in standards appropriate to their age," and not twelve in a hundred presented passed in the Standards IV. to VI.

III. Six standards of examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic are fixed, and, after the first standard, grammar, geography, and history are made compulsory subjects of examination. The returns of the report for 1876, show how the numbers presented for examination decline as the standard rises, beginning with 327'412 in Standard I. and going down to 20'763 in Standard VI.

IV. This result might have been expected if we try to realize what the mental capacity of the three millions of children under instruction, is likely to be. They are the offspring of parents mostly earning weekly wages, which start from twelve shillings, and even less, and rise up to, say, forty shillings. The majority live crowded together in small rooms, badly built, badly heated and ventilated, not over clean or neat, often in the midst of debauchery and disease, poorly and foolishly clothed. Many children are not overfed, and with food not well cooked. Is it possible to train the minds of such children, under such bad physical conditions, on any large scholastic system, to a very high standard? Genius will always assert itself without system, and even with bad food; whilst great men and women, or great individual works, never come out of any system, as Dr. Newman, our neighbour, says. But I should call that system successful, which gave to three millions the power to read, write, and cipher well, and thus

start them on the way to become what their native abilities enable them.

V. Let us look into what the education system purposes to do. The little child of an agricultural labourer, of eight or nine years old, is expected, in Standard II., to read with intelligence, to write a sentence from dictation, to know the four first simple rules in arithmetic, as far as long division. Besides, it is "to point out the nouns, the definitions, the points of the compass, the form and motions of the earth, and the meaning of a map!" The very enumeration of these demands appals me. How many, even of this audience, will come forth and stand this examination? Who will volunteer to be the examiner except one of Her Majesty's Inspectors? but none of these, I am told, can be present here. Shall we send into those parts of this town of Birmingham, which were lately shown to Mr. Cross as condemned to removal, and take at haphazard any ten children under thirteen years of age, in tatters of finery, dirty, emaciated perhaps, and see what comes actually out of this present system? Shall they stand as illustrative specimens in the exhibition? Do I, then, condemn learning grammar, geography, and history? God forbid. But I gravely doubt if the teaching of them takes its right place in our present system of State education.

VI. I believe the three arts—reading, writing, and arithmetic—should be practised, not on the moon and sun, but on objects which come within the daily life and experience of the poor, which would influence the child's well-being and conduct all through life. The child's reading and writing should be exercised on those subjects of first importance, as laid down in the Code, "habits of punctuality, good manners and language, cleanliness and neatness, cheerful obedience to duty, consideration and respect for others, honour and truthfulness in word and act;" and the knowledge and practice of these virtues will not end at thirteen years of age, when the child goes to the field or factory, where he will probably ponder very little on the metaphysics of language, the nouns and verbs, and parsings and complex sentences, or on the compass, or the motions of the earth, or the conquest of England or Henry VII., unless he has a leaning towards them. The Code places properly these moral subjects before reading, writing, or arithmetic, but does not lay down definite rules for their being taught.

BIRMINGHAM CONGRESS ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY. A.D. 1877. Part II. Selections.

Education system.

Instruction in moral subjects before the three Arts.

BIRMINGHAM CONGRESS ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY. A. D. 1877. Part II. Selections. Domestic Economy,

VII. I now come to what the Code calls "Domestic Economy" for girls, which it places as the last and tenth division after nine others, being—1, English Literature; 2, Mathematics; 3, Latin; 4, French; 5, German; 6, Mechanics; 7, Animal Physiology; 8, Physical Geography; 9, Botany; and 10, Domestic Economy. Will anyone venture to say that a knowledge of health, good food, thrift, and the like, is not of much greater value to every one of the three millions of children of working people (under thirteen years of age), than Latin and every other of the subjects I have named, and yet the teaching of domestic economy is discouraged unless the child "parses a simple sentence, and knows the geographical outlines of the colonies!"

in schools,

VIII. Daily attention in schools to one or more of the subjects of domestic economy, will lay the foundations of knowledge the most useful throughout a whole life. This knowledge is easy to acquire; it is not abstract, but practical, and not easy to be forgotten. It cultivates all the faculties. Its elements may be taught in the infant school, and may be made most interesting. Children may begin with it even before attempting the three great arts. Moreover, domestic economy will impress the value of public education far beyond anything else on the minds of the working classes, and make them friendly to it.

in the infant school.

IX. It is my conviction that if the several subjects embraced under domestic economy, and none others, were connected with reading, writing, and arithmetic, throughout all the six standards, and all other subjects whatever, of grammar, geography, and history, were made optional, and left to night classes, the results of the State systems would be much less "meagre" than my Lords of the Education Committee, at present deplore that it is.

X. But we ought to be grateful to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon and Lord Sandon for being the first to introduce domestic economy, even in its present humble and mis-recognized position, and I, for one, heartily am so; but if they desire to see the work done effectively, I think they must seek for better advisers and far more earnest administrators, who really know what the children of the labouring classes are.

XI. I venture to suggest that Her Majesty's Government refer the question of the practical value of a knowledge of domestic economy in the cultivation of the three primary arts, to a small

Commission of five persons permanently sitting, two of whom should be women, which might also consider the use and economy of the present public examinations. I have no doubt that a result would follow which would commend itself to the judgment of the Government, the Parliament, and the people.

XII. Every branch of domestic economy is directly connected with the health of the people. I conclude with reminding you of the eloquent words which the most powerful man in this country at the present time, lately uttered:—"The health of a people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their power as a State depend. It is quite possible for a kingdom to be inhabited by an able and active population; you may have successful manufactures, and you may have a productive agriculture; the arts may flourish, architecture may cover your land with temples and palaces; you may have even material power to defend and support all these acquisitions; you may have arms of precision and fleets of fish-torpedoes; but if the population of the country is stationary or yearly diminishing—if, while it diminishes in number, it diminishes also in stature and in strength, that country is doomed. The health of the people is, in my opinion, the first duty of a statesman."

So said the Earl of Beaconsfield. I say Amen! and add that the pathway to health is found in a knowledge of the principles of domestic economy acquired through the three arts—reading, writing, and arithmetic.

BIRMINGHAM CONGRESS ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY. A. D. 1877. Part II. Selections.

Health of the people.

Lord Beaconsfield on health of the people.



ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL COLLEGE OF DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

BY SIR HENRY COLE, K.C.B., LATE SECRETARY OF THE SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT, AND DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM. A PAPER READ AT THE CONGRESS ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY HELD IN MANCHESTER, 27TH JUNE, 1878.

ARGUMENT.—*Introduction of the teaching of Domestic Economy into Public Elementary Schools. No proper definition of what it means. No proper system laid down. Absolute necessity for a system. No provision for supplying teachers. Special teachers of the subjects absolutely necessary. Only the elementary principles can be taught by ordinary teachers of Elementary Schools. The subjects, like the subjects of Science and Art, are technical, and can only be taught to advanced students and night classes well practised in secondary schools. Necessity for State aid in creating teachers as given for Elementary Education and Science and Art. Necessity for one or more Training Schools where the subjects should be practically taught, and certificates of competency to teach given. Endowments for one college might be obtained from the surplus of the Exhibition of 1851, and aid from Corporations and private benevolence with State payments on results.*

I.

THE introduction of "Domestic Economy" into the teaching of public elementary schools is of the first importance to the future well-being of the people, morally and physically. The training of the child, of three years old, to begin to live rightly, comes before learning the alphabet and reading. Our ancestors were a great people, really cultivated in the arts of home-life, before reading was common among them. Now, changes in industry have nearly abolished old home-life, and deteriorated it in many respects. It was only in 1874, that the importance of training school children in the conduct of life, was first made part of public elementary education. With great political wisdom and foresight, Lord Beaconsfield's administration first introduced Domestic Economy into the Code of 1874.

II. It seems to me, that the first principles on which Domestic

Economy are based, such as order, method, cleanliness, &c., should be inculcated as underlying every subject. These subjects are laid down as—

1. (a) Food and (b) its preparation. (c) Clothing and materials.
2. (a) The dwelling. (b) Warming. (c) Cleaning. (d) Ventilation.
3. Rules for (a) Health. (b) The management of the sick-room. (c) Cottage income and savings.

Here are some ten different subjects requiring different kinds of technical knowledge.

III. These subjects have been repeated annually, and are stated in the same words and order in the Code for 1878. These definitions appear wide, but are incomplete, and I do not think they are philosophically arranged. What are the limits to "food"? and what interpretation suitable to an elementary school is to be put upon it? Does it include all vegetable and animal life good for food? and the means of obtaining it by agriculture and breeding and catching of wild animals? Also a knowledge of the imports and exports of food throughout the world? If the "preparation" means "cookery," why not use that English word, older than Chaucer? but, perhaps, a wider meaning is intended in the Code? It is to be remarked that "cookery" appears by the Education Report of 1876-7, the last published, to be the only specific subject of Domestic Economy taught, and its introduction accidentally arose from the lectures in 1874, started by Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851. And then the Code says, food is to be taught with clothing. Why? And clothing, apparently, excludes needlework! which is especially provided for in another part of the Code. The other subjects, too, seem imperfectly thought out. Why are warming and cleaning only mentioned in connection with the dwelling, whilst both heat and cleanliness are at the foundation of food, clothing, health, &c.? All these subjects involve technical science.

IV. I need not pursue this topic. The Education Department wisely introduced them into elementary education, but, I fear, its executive did not realize their full significance, or the best means of imparting the knowledge of them. The bald start of Domestic Economy suggests St. Paul's utterance to the Romans, "How shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except

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Subjects in
Domestic
Economy.

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they be sent?" Although an excellent idea, and embracing technical knowledge of the first and highest importance, the words "Domestic Economy" have been chosen as a title, but a better one is expressed by Harriet Martineau in "Household Education," and by a recent writer as "Home Life and Elementary Education."

Teaching of
Domestic
Economy
discouraged.

V. At first, Domestic Economy was little understood by Her Majesty's Inspectors, and some of them positively discouraged its teaching. It was a subject quite alien to their literary education. They were admonished by a circular in January last, and enjoined to attend to it. The terms are at present very little understood by the general public, and they will not appreciate their importance until a system of some kind for giving practical instruction in the meaning of them, has been devised. It seems to me absolutely necessary that some intelligent, well thought out system, suitable to elementary and secondary schools, should be created, and teachers trained and certificated before the work can be well done.

Want of a
system.

Needlework
and cookery.

VI. At present, the only two subjects taught with some system are Needlework and Cookery. Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, started a School of Cookery in 1874. It began by lectures and demonstrations, attended especially by the middle classes, but it has gradually been matured into a training school for teachers. By means of the first teachers trained in it, local schools have been established in many places. What has been done thus far in providing special teachers for cookery, should be done for training teachers in other subjects, especially needlework, health, the dwelling and its details, and thrift, adapted not merely to elementary schools, but to secondary education, especially in night classes.

Elementary
instruction
in first prin-
ciples of
Domestic
Economy.

VII. It cannot be expected that advanced instruction can be given in these subjects of Domestic Economy in primary schools, but elementary instruction may well be given even in infant schools, and the first principles underlying all the subjects, such as those of cleanliness, neatness, order, method, carefulness, and the use of the hands, as Froebel devised a quarter of a century ago, can be taught to all children, of both sexes, and elementary teachers can be made to practise them.

VIII. The army of 15,000 elementary teachers cannot be trained

to know and practise all the technicalities of cooking, health, thrift, household management, or, perhaps, even needlework. What with statistical returns, and looking after results in every thing, they are already overweighted with duties. The elements may be laid in elementary schools, but it will be only in secondary schools and night classes, that the development of them will be found. Special teachers must be trained to give suitable lectures and demonstrations in large elementary schools, to the advanced children only. Such teachers should be trained on principles analogous to those successfully carried out for teaching science and art throughout the country, and State aid is quite as necessary, and perhaps more so, for Domestic Economy, as for any of the twenty-three subjects of science and art now aided by the State.

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Special
teachers for
subjects in
Domestic
Economy.

State aid
necessary.

IX. Just as teachers at the present time obtain certificates for giving instruction in twenty-four subjects of science, beginning with geometry and ending with principles of agriculture, so they should be trained to take certificates in "Food and its preparation, health, the dwelling, household management, and thrift."

X. It seems to me that Domestic Economy can only be taught systematically and effectively by trained teachers. At least one central institution should be established, where a system should be well matured and tested (and it cannot be extemporized), and proper scientific professors should be appointed for the respective branches. Elementary education could never have reached its present position without Training Schools.

Trained
teachers.

XI. One institution started, two or three others might follow. The necessity for such a central institution is shown by many facts. At present, all parts of the country are vaguely experimentalizing and losing time and money. School Boards are struggling without concert to get at some system. A Domestic Economy "college" has been started at Liverpool, and something of the kind is at work at Leeds, and attempts have been made to certify the competency of teachers, imperfectly trained. The School Board of London is meditating to establish a great system of cookery at considerable cost, and to issue little certificates to teachers half trained. These attempts will mislead the public, and impede progress. There will be no standard of instruction.

A central
institution
necessary.

Domestic
Economy
College at
Liverpool.

XII. The subjects to be taught are essentially technical, and should be duly considered, accepted, and arranged by eminent

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men of science, well known and recognized by the public as authorities in each speciality. When the organization of a system is completed, special teachers would be trained, who would be employed in large centres of population, and would go from school to school once or twice in the week, as teachers of drawing did at first. More than a thousand teachers are wanted for the three million of children being taught in the 15,000 elementary schools, and to teach in local night classes especially.

Ministerial
responsi-
bility over
the general
administra-
tion.

XIII. The ministerial responsibility would be over the general administration, but it should not undertake to regulate the technical details. I think the action of the Education Department in laying down the subjects in the Code, and attempting to prescribe rules for needlework, shows that it is inexpedient for it to undertake such work in a hazy irresponsible way.

XIV. In 1877, a system of needlework was laid down and much criticised, and now another one is revised and published, but it has not been generally accepted as sound and practical, and the technical authority, which prepares or examines it, is not known, as in the case of technical subjects administered by the Science and Art Department. As there were no public acknowledged professors of Needlework, it might have been prudent to have referred the matter to three well-known experienced persons. The responsibility for needlework, I venture to think, ought not to rest directly on the Lord President or Vice-President of the Council or their overworked Secretary.

Endowment
of a National
College, by
H. M. Com-
missioners
for 1851.

XV. I venture to suggest that there are sound reasons for suggesting that Her Majesty's Commissioners might, out of the surplus of the Exhibition of 1851 in their charge, endow a National College for Domestic Economy, as the first of the institutions for aiding technical knowledge which they have proposed to aid. The "Times" of 25th March, 1876, announced that a very important meeting of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, which was presided over by the Prince of Wales, had been held, when they declared their intention to provide, at Kensington, a building for a library of science, for collections of scientific apparatus and physical research, and to devote a considerable sum to enable scholars of the provincial schools, to receive the advantages of the scientific teaching and practical laboratories, and the kindred institutions in our large towns. Since that date, the

Government, by commencing additional buildings at the South Kensington Museum, has, in part, suspended the proposed action of the Commissioners. I earnestly hope the Commissioners will instruct their standing committee of inquiry to investigate the paramount national claims for giving help in both primary and secondary instruction, for teaching the technical subjects embraced in Domestic Economy. The inquiry would show, I believe, that the science and practice of proper living comes before science applied to industry, and such an action would meet a most pressing want of the time. In aiding such work, the Commissioners have among them Dr. Lyon Playfair, pre-eminently qualified to direct such a scheme. The Commissioners possess the funds and the ground; a moderate sum only would be requisite for a building, which should include laboratories as well as a hostel for housing female students from the country for short periods, and to pay the cost of a staff of competent examiners, for granting certificates of competency, whose services would be only occasional. The students might contribute to the expenses, and there might be free scholarships. The college would supply instruction and practice that would be of a much more advanced kind than could be given in the several existing training schools for teachers of elementary instruction, and the State might properly assist by paying on results, as in the training schools for elementary education.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

THAT the ground occupied by the Royal Horticultural Gardens (Vol. I., see p. 327) should become the site for exhibitions such as the Fisheries of 1883 and the Health and Education of 1884, was not contemplated by Sir H. Cole. After the cessation of the Annual International Exhibitions of selected objects, he addressed a letter in 1874 to the Earl Granville, and, in 1880, one to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, upon the further development of the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners of 1851. In both he advocated the sale or transfer to the Government, of land not already leased or appropriated. He held that the policy of the Prince Consort in securing the estate for future public buildings of Science and Art should be carried out, and urged that good and suitable buildings should be provided for the National Portrait Gallery, for a Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers (*i.e.* an extension of the Patent Museum), and for a Gallery of Casts of Classical Art. Concluding his letter of 1880, to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Sir H. Cole wrote: "If these suggestions were adopted, the whole estate might speedily be put into good order, which is much needed, and be administered on a simple and responsible system. The public and students would have the enjoyment of the Gardens until the wants of Science and Art called for any other use of them. Even the Royal Horticultural Society would be benefited, being relieved of responsibilities which it cannot fulfil. All bargaining and competition between the Government and Her Majesty's Commissioners for this or that object to promote Science and Art, would cease. Parliament would have the satisfaction of obtaining an undivided control over the annual expenditure at South Kensington. Her Majesty's Commissioners would only surrender the power of dealing with a portion of the land, whilst your Royal Highness as the President, would have the satisfaction of reporting to the Queen that the Prince Consort's great object in obtaining the land for buildings to promote Science and Art applied to productive Industry, had been finally secured for all time."

The allusion to mosaic working in Vol. I., p. 334, should be supplemented by a note as to mosaic pavements worked out with small chips of black and white marble by the inmates of Convict Prisons, under the instruction of a practical mosaicist from South Kensington. Specimens of their work—which my father called "*opus criminale*"—are to be seen on the pavements near the south-western angle of the roadway about the South Kensington Museum, as well as in some of the cloisters and corridors inside the Museum. I believe this employment of convict labour has been successfully extended since the above experiments were made.

Mention should also have been made at p. 336, Vol. I., of a series of important experiments in Sgraffito, carried out by students of the South

Kensington Schools, under the superintendence of Mr. F. W. Moody, decorating the back of the buildings of the Normal School for Science at South Kensington.

At p. 33, vol. i., *for* Part II., p. 68, *read* Part II., p. 67.

At p. 62, note, vol. i., *for* "that this collection shall be given to the British Museum," *read* "to the South Kensington Museum."

At p. 82, vol. i., *for* Townshend, *read* Townsend.

And at p. 149, vol. ii., ,, ,,

At p. 198, vol. i., *for* Gibbs, *read* Gibb.

At p. 199, vol. i., *for* Macdonald, *read* MacDonald.

At p. 244, vol. i., *for* Mintons, *read* Minton.

At pp. 104, 106, vol. ii., *for* British Museum, *read* South Kensington Museum.

At p. 208, note, vol. ii., *for* Faire, *read* Foire.

In the marginal notes, pp. 296-98, vol. ii., *for* 1857, *read* 1869.

In the marginal notes, pp. 299, 300, vol. ii., *for* 1857, *read* 1867.

In the marginal notes, pp. 301-4, vol. ii., *for* 1857, *read* 1867.



WORK WITH THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

PART I.

1823-1849.



ON St. Swithun's day, 15th July, 1881, I entered my seventy-fourth year. Before I go whence I shall not return, which must be shortly, I wish to prepare an account of the principal works

of a public nature with which I have been closely connected since I left school in 1823. A brief time only remains to accomplish this intention, and I call in the aid of my daughter, Henrietta, to help me in the production of these volumes, and she will complete them if necessary.

II. The principal subjects which I now deal with, are the reform of the system of preserving the inestimable Public Records of this country, dating from the time of the Norman Conquest, and unrivalled in Europe; my work in expediting the successful introduction of Rowland Hill's Penny Postage; the administration of Railways; the application of Fine Art to children's books and then to manufactures, which led to the transfer of my duties to the Board of Trade; the great Exhibition of 1851 and its successors; the Reform of the Patent Laws; the establishment of Schools of Art and Science Classes throughout

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Part I.

Principal
subjects of
this work.

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the United Kingdom; the South Kensington Museum; Drill in Public Elementary Schools as the basis of a National Army; National Training Schools for Music and for Cookery; the Society of Arts, and Public Health.

Materials.

The materials of these volumes are chiefly the Speeches, Addresses, and Papers, prepared and published by me during the periods mentioned, with an introductory narrative. Very much of the work attempted has been accomplished and its fruits are manifest, but many of the views advocated by me have not been accepted in full, and I hope that a connected publication of them may hasten their adoption, and be of sufficient public interest to justify this hope.

Personages
connected.

III. During the progress of these works, I have been brought into personal communication with many of the foremost personages of the time; with monarchs and princes at home and abroad; with statesmen, peers, members of the House of Commons, artists of all kinds, authors, men of science, lawyers, manufacturers, and the artizans engaged in many crafts. I shall take the liberty of naming them when I have felt that their co-operation has advanced my public work.

Causes pro-
ducing re-
sults.

IV. All events in the world, however trifling, naturally result from causes in action, and happen at their appointed times. Forces are always operating unseen, unknown, inscrutable. They have always appeared to me to be working almost independently of politicians, who may direct them more or less, but do not create them. The foresight of man is very limited, and I mention a notable instance, perhaps the most notable in modern times: the diplomacy of Europe recorded at Vienna in 1814, that no member of the family of Napoleon should ever sit on the throne of France; and the public may now see in our National Gallery, Orchardson's fine historical painting of

Napoleon I, on his voyage of banishment to St. Helena.¹ In 1855, however, Queen Victoria records in her Diary the historical fact, that "I met him" (the Emperor Napoleon III., the nephew), "and embraced him twice," with the customary mutual salutations of sovereigns. The Queen has published a very graphic account of the visit to Paris at the Exhibition of that year when I was the Acting Commissioner.²

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V. In 1882 half a century will have passed since the first great Reform Bill became law, in obedience to a popular demand so stern as to be irresistible, that the worn-out fictitious representation of places like Old Sarum and Gatton, which had lost their populations, should be abolished, and that the thousands in Manchester, Birmingham, and other places in the North should be duly represented in Parliament. The Reform Bill led to many other reforms: Abolition of Religious Tests, Municipal Corporation Reform, Abolition of Slavery, Reform of the Poor Laws; and, I venture to say, that the Reform of the Public Record System, exposed by Charles Buller, could not have received proper public attention before the year 1835; when any powers of action I possessed for public work were first called out.

Reform Bill
of 1832.

VI. Ten years before the passing of the Reform Bill I left Christ's Hospital on the 8th of April, 1823, and began to earn my living on the 10th of April in Mr. Francis Palgrave's office at No. 1, King's Bench Walk, in the Temple—a block of old Georgian buildings still standing. After a year's trial as clerk or writer, I was indentured for a term of five years to Mr. Palgrave, afterwards Sir Francis Palgrave, Barrister-at-Law, of the Inner Temple;

Entrance on
public work.

¹ This picture was purchased by the Royal Academy by means of the Chantrey bequest, and is now exhibited in a temporary gallery at the South Kensington Museum.

² For reprinting this and other paragraphs, from his "Life of the Prince Consort," I have Sir Theodore Martin's kind permission.

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Part I.

author of the "Constitutional History of England" and other works, and a prolific writer in the "Quarterly" and "Edinburgh Reviews." Mr. Palgrave was at that time a Sub-Commissioner under the Record Commission, and he was specially charged with the publication of the Parliamentary writs of the time of Edward I. His offices were first in Parliament Street, and afterwards in Duke Street, Westminster, close to the notorious Judge Jeffreys' house. My duties at the outset of my career consisted in making transcripts from the original public records written in Latin and French, which were chiefly deposited in the Tower of London, and from other manuscripts to be found in the Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey, and at the British Museum. I had to learn to decipher the technical abbreviations as best I could.¹

The Thames
in 1823.

VII. At that time, transit through London was unlike what it is now: there were no omnibuses and only twelve cabs—which were not started till 1823—lumbering two-horse hackney coaches, and no cheap steamboats on the Thames above London Bridge. My duties took me daily to the Tower of London: Mr. Palgrave made a contract with a Thames waterman, for eighteen pence for each journey. He, my fellow-clerk, W. A. Peacock, and myself, were thus transported daily, in a trim-built wherry, from Westminster to London Bridge, through which the passage was safe only when the tide was flowing upwards. Without this contract the usual fare was half-a-crown. There were no piers, and we used to land at muddy stairs. I passed nine years of my life assisting Sir Francis Palgrave in the

¹ The spelling of words in public documents for many centuries before printing was invented was shortened as much as possible—obviously to save time and space. N and M were generally omitted, and denoted by —

above the letters, and many contractions were used. A list is given in many Record publications, and one appears in the "Miscellaneous Records of the Exchequer," which was edited by me.

manufacture of enormous folio tomes of the Parliamentary writs of the time of Edward I. and II., volumes so heavy that no one would lift them if he could help it.¹ About the year 1828 my name was first returned to Parliament as employed in this work.² In the year 1826 I became acquainted with Thomas Love Peacock, then holding one of the confidential posts in the East India Company's Service, as an examiner of correspondence.³ He introduced me to John Stuart Mill, also an examiner, and it was my habit to call almost once a week at the India Office in Leadenhall Street, walking to or fro with Mr. Peacock or John Mill, as the case might be. On the 21st of July, 1830, I first met Mr. Charles Buller, M.P. for West Looe, in Mill's room, an event which may be said to have affected my career, and greatly influenced all my subsequent public life.

VIII. In 1831, the year following the death of George IV.,⁴ a new Record Commission was issued. Like all the former commissions since 1800, its members were numerous. The first principle for securing good administration

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Manufacture
of the Parlia-
mentary
writs.

Thomas
Love Pea-
cock and J.
S. Mill's ac-
quaintance.

Record Com-
mission of
1831.

¹ The weight of the four volumes is 71 lbs. avoirdupois. Their sale was very small. The names of members of Parliament, from Edward I. to the present time, have since been published for a few shillings.

² In returns of this period is the name of Mr. Madden (afterwards Sir Frederick), as transcribing for Mr. Petrie; he became Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum. Also of Mr. Edward Bond, lately promoted to the Chief Librarianship of the British Museum, whose tenure of office will be distinguished by his being the first to light the Reading-Room by the electric light, and for making an effective beginning to print the catalogue of printed books.

³ Mr. Peacock was the author of "Headlong Hall," and other works, which I edited in 1875.

⁴ George IV. was the first monarch since Charles I. who formed extensive collections of pictures, arms, porcelain, Goutière furniture, and generally of Art applied to industry, and he induced Lord Liverpool's ministry to establish the National Gallery in 1824, and purchase Mr. Angerstein's pictures, which were exhibited in No. 100, Pall Mall. George IV. was a truly constitutional king, who followed the advice of the Duke of Wellington, and admitted the Catholic claims against his own convictions. George IV.'s Collection of Arms was deposited in Carlton House Riding School

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Part I.

The Com-
missioners.

by concentrated responsibility had not then been recognized as necessary to effective government, although Jeremy Bentham had been preaching the doctrine of "single-seated responsibility" for years, and Sir Henry Parnell had exposed the defects of Board administration in the Stamp and other offices. The new Commission included the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley; Lord Brougham, Lord High Chancellor; Viscount Melbourne*, Home Secretary; the Speaker of the House of Commons, Charles Manners Sutton, afterwards Viscount Canterbury*; Viscount Althorp*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls; the Lord Clerk Registrar of Scotland (William Dundas); Earl Spencer; the Earl of Aberdeen*; the Bishop of Llandaff, C. Copleston; the Hon. Thomas Grenville (the donor of a fine library to the British Museum); the Hon. Charles W. Wynn, M.P.*; Sir James Mackintosh, the English historian; Henry Hobhouse, the Keeper of the State Papers; Lord Dover; Sir James Parke, a judge of the King's Bench; Sir J. B. Bosanquet, a judge of the Common Pleas; Sir Robert H. Inglis,* who represented Oxford University for many years;¹ Louis Hayes Petit; Henry Bellenden Ker;² Henry Hallam, the historian of the Middle Ages, and Commissioner of Stamps; John Allen, a writer on Constitutional doctrine;³ Edward Protheroe, junior⁴; Edward Vernon Utterson; and William Brougham*,

(used as a Record Repository), when I was in charge of it. (See p. 19, par. XXII.)

* The portraits of the Commissioners marked thus * may be recognized in Hayter's picture of the House of Commons in the National Portrait Gallery.

¹ He turned out Sir Robert Peel from Oxford University for voting for Catholic emancipation. He was a very amiable Tory, the unyielding champion of the Protestant Church

as by law established, who earned the *sobriquet* of "Member for Heaven!"

² One of the members of the School of Design, when first established at Somerset House, which failed chiefly from imperfect responsibility in its management.

³ He was author of various Constitutional works. He was warden of Dulwich College, librarian at Holland House; and was called the keeper of Lady Holland's conscience.

⁴ He became most active in pro-

who succeeded his brother, the Lord Chancellor, in the Barony of Brougham and Vaux.

IX. A Mr. Charles Purton Cooper, barrister-at-law, and formerly a student of Wadham College, Oxford, of which he often boasted, was selected by Lord Brougham to be the Secretary. He displayed extraordinary vanity and boastful ignorance. He says: "I believe it was the circumstance that I did not possess a knowledge of the ancient records, that induced the Board to force upon me (for Lord Brougham forced upon me) the office of Secretary rather than a record man; I was appointed for the purpose of checking the zeal of those lovers of ancient records:" and "he accepted the office of Secretary on the condition that its duties should be made in all respects secondary and subordinate to his professional avocations."¹ He boasted that he possessed the "entire control over the funds and disbursements of the Commission, of the preparation of its works, of the engagements, salaries, and duties of all persons in the employ of the Commission, and of the distribution of all its publications."

X. In 1832 I relinquished my engagement under Sir Francis Palgrave, and became charged with various duties under the orders of the secretary of the Commission. In 1833 the duties of a Sub-Commissioner in arranging and printing the records of the Exchequer were confided to me, and I was also placed in charge of the records of the Court of Augmentations—a Court which Henry VIII. had

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The Secretary's notions of his duties.

moting the reform of the record system.

"Edward Protheroe, the younger, Esq., of Great Gaddesden, co. Herts," was elected for Bristol, 30th of April, 1831. He was not elected in the first Reformed Parliament, but found a seat at Halifax, 27th of July, 1837

("Edward Protheroe, Esq., of the Forest of Dean, co. Gloucester"); and sat again for Halifax till the end of the Parliament of 1841.

¹ See his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, 2,777, &c. He was paid £500 a-year for this "secondary" service.

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RECORDS.A. D.
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Part I.Burning of
the Houses
of Parlia-
ment.

established to look after the "augmentation" of his revenues arising from the dissolution of the monasteries.

XI. On the 16th October, 1834, the Houses of Parliament were burnt down, when I was in charge of the Augmentation Office, which adjoined the old House of Commons, and is still standing opposite St. Margaret's Church. The fire broke out about 7 p.m. : it was caused by the over-heating of flues, in burning the wooden tallies of many centuries belonging to the Exchequer (see Selections, Vol. II., Part II., p. 40, &c.), when, as Jack Cade says, "our forefathers had no other books than the score and the tally." I was fetched by Peter Paul, a workman engaged in the repair of the records, who was attached to the Augmentation Office, and I found that the office was threatened by the fire. With the aid of the Guards and policemen, I moved the whole of the Records into St. Margaret's Church during the night, and in a few months they were sorted, re-arranged, and placed in safer circumstances than they had been before¹ in the memory of man. By a curious coincidence I had written an article, entitled "Parliaments of our Ancestors," a few weeks before the fire took place, advocating the erection of a new House of Commons, which was published in the October number of the "Westminster Review," vol. xxi., 1834 (Vol. II., Part II., pp. 1—16). A picture painted by Hayter, representing the Old House, is to be found in the National Portrait Gallery, which shows the mean style of the building, with its side galleries supported by light iron columns, into which the members were crowded. Its architectural features have no beauty, and would seem to show that it was built about Charles II.'s time.²

¹ See Commons' Report on Record Commission.

² Mr. Scharf in his excellent catalogue calls it St. Stephen's Chapel; and he gives a key to all the persons

who are represented in it at the meeting of the first reformed Parliament, February, 1833. O'Connell sits between Cobbett and Sir Robert Inglis, and at the entrance may be

XII. In the execution of his powers it is not surprising that the Secretary, having sole and entire control over £10,000 a year of public money, quarrelled with all the chief persons engaged in the Commission's work who wished to share in it. Sir Harris Nicolas wrote publicly against the system; so did Sir Francis Palgrave; so did Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Duffus Hardy; and finally I was driven, by the arbitrary conduct of the Secretary, to memorialize the Commissioners. The Secretary, having no authority from the Commissioners, without notice, called upon me to surrender the keys of the Augmentation Office. I refused to give them up, and carried them to the Treasury, when they were received by Sir Alexander Spearman, permanent Assistant-Secretary, and never returned by the Treasury to the Secretary of the Commission.¹ The Commissioners met to consider my memorial, but did not call me before them. I only received a message from Lord Brougham, through Mr. Protheroe, telling me that the Commissioners would consider my complaint favourably at a future time if I would only be quiet.

XIII. I then appealed for redress to Mr. Charles Buller, M.P., who brought the subject of the mismanagement of the Record Commission before the House of Commons on

seen Earl Grey, Viscount Melbourne, and the Duke of Wellington, &c.

¹ At the time when my work was suspended, I was engaged in passing through the press "A Catalogue of the 'Minister' Accounts of the Court of Augmentations," and the accounts of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire were in type. Also a "Calendar of the Surveys of the Estates of King Charles the First, his Queen and the Prince of Wales," taken pursuant to Ordinances of Par-

liament *tempore interregni*. (This Calendar was completed.) Also the "Original Surrenders made by the Religious Houses." (This list was completed.) Also "A Catalogue of the Records belonging to the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer" (32 folio pages from the Conquest to Edward I. were in type). The only "proofs" of these beginnings now existing are to be found in the Public Record Office.

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Part I.

Keys of
Augmenta-
tion taken to
Treasury.

Appeal to
the House
of Commons.

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Part I.

C. Buller's
speech.

the 18th of February, 1836, when he moved that a select committee should be appointed to inquire into the conduct of the Commissioners of Public Records. His motion was supported by Mr. Jervis, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Lord John Russell, then leader of the House of Commons, said he thought the House was indebted to Mr. Buller for bringing the subject under their notice, and he saw no objection to the appointment of a committee. A drier subject than the Public Records could hardly be found, but so great was the wit and humour and exquisite delicacy with which Mr. Buller enlivened the subject in bringing it forward, that he enchanted the House. It was his first important speech in Parliament, and it gave him the ear of the House, which he never lost: it also laid the foundations of his future reputation. A report of this speech is given in this work (Vol. II., Appendix, Part III., p. 82).

Committee
appointed.

XIV. The Committee was granted without a division; but Mr. Charles W. Wynn was very sore at the fun which Mr. Buller had made of the Commission's proceedings. The members were as follows:—Mr. Charles Buller, Burgess for Liskeard; Mr. Hawes, Burgess for Lambeth; Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Right Hon. Spring-Rice, Burgess for Cambridge City; Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Member for University of Oxford; Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, Knight of the Shire for Montgomery; Mr. Charles Villiers, Burgess for Wolverhampton; Mr. Wise, Burgess for Waterford; Mr. Jervis, Burgess for Chester, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Pusey,¹ Knight of the Shire for Berks; Sir Matthew White Ridley, Burgess for Newcastle-on-Tyne; Sir Charles Lemon, Knight of the Shire for Cornwall, Western Division; Mr. Serjeant

¹ An eminent agriculturist, brother and Regius Professor of Hebrew, of Dr. Pusey, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, the well-known theologian.

Goulburn, Burgess for Leicester ; Sir William Molesworth, Knight of the Shire for Cornwall, Eastern Division (afterwards Secretary for the Colonies) ; Sir George Clerk, Knight of the Shire for Edinburgh ; and Dr. Bowring, Burgess for Renfrew Burghs, Editor of the "Westminster Review."

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XV. The Committee conducted an investigation over a period of five months, and took the evidence of seventy-nine persons. The chairman, Mr. Buller, showed an amount of patience, ability, and diligence which raised him at once into political importance, and he drew up a Report, in the compilation of which he sought my assistance, and used to call me the attorney for the prosecution.

XVI. The picture which the report of the Commons' Committee gives of the financial management of the Commission, in 1837, would have astonished Sir William Dunbar and the Audit Office as now reformed, and the Committee on Public Accounts at this present time. The facts would seem almost incredible.¹ The Report says :

Management
of
Commission.

"It appears to your Committee, that the finances of the Commission from the earliest period have been conducted in a very unsatisfactory manner. The Secretary states that the Commissions previous to the present 'nowhere recorded their receipts and payments,' and that '£360,000 and more passed through their hands, and there is no trace of it whatever.' The present Commission appears to have received Parliamentary grants to the amount of £48,500. The Secretary of the Commission, 'prior to 1831, could have obtained money to any amount from the king's printers,' and, from 1807 to 1830, a sum of £49,750 3s. 2d. was advanced by them. The present Secretary appears to have pos-

Ridgway's
Report, pp.
60, 61.

¹ I published an edition of the Commons' report, "The Report, Resolutions, and Proceedings of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the Management and Affairs of the Record Commission and the present

state of the Records of the United Kingdom, with illustrative notes selected from the evidence taken before the Committee, and documents printed by the Record Commission." London : James Ridgway and Sons, Piccadilly, 1837, price 2s. 6d.

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Part I.

essed a power of borrowing to the amount of £10,000 from the bankers, of which he has availed himself, on the acquiescence, but without the direct authority of the Commission; leaving doubts in his own mind whether money so borrowed was on his 'individual responsibility or on that of the Board.' The annual grant was always absorbed before it was received. Some accounts have been kept by the present Secretary, but even these are loose and unsatisfactory. The money voted by Parliament was paid over into the hands of a banker, from whom it was drawn by the Secretary's cheques; and it appears that 'the Board never previously made an order for payment,' and that disbursements 'amounting to £700 or £800 for particular objects were incurred, and not known to the Commissioners until their audit.'"

The Secretary's
amazement.

Even the Secretary was amazed at the laxity; he says: ¹—

"In the first year of my appointment, being ignorant of the mode in which the financial affairs of the Board had been conducted, I asked Mr. Caley² to go with me to the Exchequer, and I found, to my great amazement, that I was to receive in cash the sum of £10,500. I was very much surprised at it. I might have put it in my pocket and gone off to America the next day."

Dramatic
incidents
and characters.

XVII. A political drama, with striking situations, might be constructed by a humourist out of the working of the Record Commission of 1831. The chief performer would be the Secretary, having unlimited powers and £10,000 a year to spend as he pleased, even in "going to America."³ The

¹ Evidence, 2,262.

² He was the former Secretary. He lived for many years, when there were no cabs or omnibuses, out of London, at Amwell Street, Clerkenwell, where he used to keep the Official Indexes to the Records!

³ The Committee of the Commons finished their report on August 6th, 1836, and the Evidence and Report were laid before the House. On the 8th July the Secretary appeared be-

fore the Committee and made observations on the Evidence (8156). And in February, 1837, he issued an 8vo. bluebook like a Parliamentary publication, which was entitled, "Papers and Documents relating to the Evidence of certain witnesses examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons." It contained 1285 questions and answers which were fictitious! They were written as if asked by the Committee, who did not

chief *dramatis personæ* would be Sir Harris Nicolas, Sir Francis Palgrave, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, the "Rev." Joseph Hunter,¹ and myself. But the evidence of seventy-nine persons taken by the House of Commons during its sitting of five months, gives the names of numerous other actors in this drama, with parts more or less humorous. The plot of the drama was, who should get most out of the public vote of £10,000 a year. What amount each one did get, and what sort of work they did for it, may be found out by a study of the Commons' report and of printed returns to Parliament. Sir Harris Nicolas² was the chief pam-

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Pamphlets
produced.

ask them, and answered by witnesses, who had never answered them. The reasons for this extraordinary proceeding are given in the preface, which states (p. v.) that the questions and answers "were framed in conformity with the suggestion of my Lord Brougham."

¹ Sir Robert Inglis, the stoutest of ecclesiastical Tories, it was said, always declined to address a non-conformist minister as "Reverend"—but used "Rev." only.

² He led the attack on the Record Commission in 1830 by his "Observations on the State of Historical Literature, and on the Society of Antiquaries, &c., with remarks on Record Offices, and on the proceedings of the Record Commission, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, 'Decipimur specie recte,' by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: William Pickering, Chancery Lane, MDCCCXXX." Then came a rejoinder, "Remarks submitted to the Rt. Hon. Viscount Melbourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, in reply to a pamphlet addressed to him as above, by Francis Palgrave, Esq., of the Inner Temple,

Barrister-at-Law. London: J. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly, 1831." Next a "Refutation of Mr. Palgrave's remarks, with additional facts relative to the Record Commission and Record Offices, by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. Pickering, 1831." Then he was knighted as his reward. Next, "A Letter to Lord Brougham on the Constitution and Proceedings of the Present Commission for the Public Records, by Sir Harris Nicolas. London: Pickering, 1832." Sir Harris afterwards became the editor of the "Proceedings before the Privy Council," published by the Commission. Sir Francis Palgrave, whose Parliamentary writs are justly praised by the Commons' Report, and "distinguished as being the best executed of the works of the past Commissions," appears throughout the history, and continued in the service of the Commission as long as it lasted. Upon the death of Mr. Caley, who held the office of keeper of the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, (and was Secretary of the Record Commission before Mr. Cooper), Sir F. Palgrave obtained the Chapter House, which he held until the sinecure was abolished with the

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Sir F. Palgrave's petition.

phleteer, who afterwards entered the Record service himself.

XVIII. Sir Francis Palgrave considered that the report of the Committee was actionable, and presented a petition, which is given in Vol. II., Part III., p. 89. Nothing appears to have resulted¹ from this petition, and what are the privileges of the House of Commons, and the law, statute or common, appears to be not even yet quite clearly determined.² Sir Francis Palgrave, after peace was concluded, took the office of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records under Lord Langdale, as Master of the Rolls, who became the chief responsible guardian of all the Public Records. Sir Francis discharged the duties from 1838 to 1861, with ability, when he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy as Deputy Keeper, who died in June, 1878, and was succeeded by his brother, Mr. William Hardy.

Formation
of a public
opinion.

XIX. After the termination of the inquiry into the Record Commission, I became busily occupied for several months in bringing before the public the Report, and the remedial measures it recommended, so as to prepare Parliament for the adoption of them. I wrote many articles on the subject, the principal being one for "*Fraser's Magazine*" (see Vol. II., p. 64), another for the "*Law Magazine*," another in "*Tait's Magazine*," and made many contributions to the "*Times*," "*Athenæum*," and other papers, and thus a public opinion became formed on the subject. The Treasury declined to pay the Parliamentary vote of 1836 to the Record Commission, and Lord Langdale, the Master

Record Commission itself. His work was then transferred to the new Public Record Office.

¹ See the proceedings of the Committee, which record divisions on this matter on 5th August, 1836. (Vol. II., Part III., p. 90).

² See an action, *Hind v. The*

Speaker, respecting the publication of a Paper, reported in the "*Times*," 28 Feb., 1881; and an action, *Goffin v. Donnelly*, for evidence given by the latter as Director of the Science Department. Both actions were dismissed by the Court.

of the Rolls, at the request of the Government, became the provisional administrator of its affairs: and so the Commission was virtually superseded. On 20th June, 1837, King William IV. died. The Record Commission lapsed; was never renewed, and the Secretary went into oblivion.

XX. The publication of the Commons' Report on the Record Commission led to a reform in the mode of printing the evidence of witnesses. It used to be the custom to send the MS. copy of the shorthand writer's notes *direct* to the witness for correction. When the MS. was returned from the Secretary of the Commission, it was found that he had materially altered his answers. I printed a short pamphlet on the subject, entitled "Remarks on certain Evils to which the printed Evidence taken by the Committees of the House of Commons is at present subject." I gave in parallel columns illustrations selected from Mr. Cooper's evidence. Sir Robert Peel called the attention of the House of Commons to the evils pointed out, and the House adopted the remedy which I suggested (see Selections, Vol. II., Part II., p. 22).

XXI. Lord Langdale on the 12th Aug., 1837,¹ appointed me to take charge of the Records of the Exchequer of Pleas, then deposited in No. 3, Whitehall Yard, in a building erected upon the fifteenth-century foundations of the Whitehall Palace. It was said to have been inhabited by Oliver Cromwell. On its south side my room looked out upon a bronze statue of James II. as a Roman emperor, designed by Grinling Gibbons, and dated 1686, two years

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The reform
in printing
evidence
suggested
by me.

Whitehall
Yard repo-
sitory.

¹ In my controversy with the Record Commissioners I received the hearty sympathy and counsel of John Stuart Mill, with whom I was in almost daily intercourse at that period. He introduced me to his father, James Mill, who recommended my proceedings to the especial notice of

Lord Langdale. Although my official superior, for more than ten years, he always treated me as a friend. I made his acquaintance first on 4 June, 1837. Mr. Edwin Chadwick, C.B., was also a friendly adviser, and advocated my complaints before a Committee of the Commission.

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Buller's Bill.

before his deposition. It stands in the Court of Whitehall Chapel, from which Charles I. passed to his execution.

XXII. Mr. Buller obtained leave to introduce a Public Records Bill into Parliament, but its dissolution suspended any progress with it. His great success with the Records brought him forward, and he was invited to attend to the political difficulties then urgent with Canada. He joined Lord Durham, who on 16th Jan., 1838, was appointed Governor-General of Canada. Mr. Buller invited me to go to Canada with him, and the temptations to do so were great, but the tears of my dearest and best adviser, and my recent return to public service with the Records, prevented my acceptance. After that time Mr. C. Buller ceased to give special thought to the Public Records.¹ An

Memoir of
C. Buller.

¹ I know of no adequate memoir of Charles Buller, so I jot down from memory a few facts about him. His father had been a judge in India. Charles was at Harrow and Cambridge with John Sterling, Monckton Milnes (now Lord Houghton), &c. He became member for West Looe, and voted for its abolition as a Parliamentary borough at the Reform Bill. He was a leader of the National Reform League, which met at the Crown and Anchor, opposite St. Clement's Church, in the Strand. He was a member of the London Debating Society when Earl Grey, J. A. Roebuck, J. Sterling, Sir John Romilly, J. S. Mill, A. Hayward, Alexander Cockburn (afterwards Lord Chief Justice), C. Villiers, W. Ellis, Horace Grant, J. H. Elliot, and myself were among the members. In 1833, he was elected for Liskeard, and remained its member till his death. He accompanied the Earl of Durham to Canada in 1838, and drew up the report which removed grave difficulties between England and

its colony. The new policy gave a start to Colonial administration and that "complete internal self-government" which has extended to nearly all the other Colonies of European race. My friend, J. S. Mill, contributed to this result. C. Buller said to me, wittily, in 1844, that "he had grown out of being a Utilitarian," and "that the Benthamites had very good hearts, but wanted intellect!" In 1846, he joined Lord Russell's ministry, and became Secretary of the Board of Control. In Nov., 1847, he was gazetted Poor Law Commissioner as Charles Buller, *Esq.*, and died, holding that office, on 29th Nov., 1848. Lord Houghton, his affectionate friend, with whom I became acquainted through C. Buller, has written a short and sparkling memoir of Buller in his "Monographs, Personal and Social," published in 1873. He notices Buller's *jeu d'esprit* on the Queen's Fancy Ball, which was a supposed debate in the French Chamber of Deputies, and a speech of M.

Act was finally passed by the Government in 1838, by virtue of which a Public Record Office was constituted,

Berryer, who asked "Whether the French Ambassador in England had been invited to the *bal masqué* given for the purpose of awakening the long buried griefs of France in the disasters of Cressy and Poitiers and the loss of Calais." The subject was discussed with gravity in the Clubs, and Sir James Graham told Sir Robert Peel "there is the devil to pay in France about this foolish ball." The Press and people generally were taken in. I advise the reader to consult Lord

Houghton's account of the joke, as well as an extract from Buller's Latin letter, urging Oxford to abrogate the Statute of 1836, passed against Dr. Hampden, in which he prophesied "Si subvertimus Peelum mortuæ certitudini habebimus Johannulum." Lord Houghton wrote the expressive epitaph which is below Buller's bust by H. Weekes (a pendant to the bust of Sir George Cornwall Lewis, M.P., Bart.), in the west aisle of the north transept of Westminster Abbey.

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Charles Buller on Queen's Ball. Oxford and Dr. Hampden.

"Amidst the memorials of Maturer greatness,
this tribute of private affection and public honour,
records the talents, virtues, and early death of the
[RIGHT HONOURABLE?] CHARLES BULLER,
who, as an independent Member of Parliament,
and in the discharge of important offices of State,
united the deepest human sympathies,
with wide and philosophic views of government and mankind,
and pursued the noblest political and social objects,
above party spirit and without an enemy.

His Character was distinguished by sincerity and resolution,
his Mind by vivacity and clearness of comprehension,
while the vigour of expression, and singular wit,
that made him eminent in debate and delightful in society,
were tempered by a most gentle and generous disposition,
earnest in friendship and benevolent to all.

The British Colonies will not forget the Statesman who so well
appreciated their desires and destinies,

And his Country, recalling what he was, deploras the
vanished hope of all he might have become.

He was born [6th] August, 1806.

He died November 29, 1848."

His epitaph.

Another loving friend of Charles Buller's was W. M. Thackeray, who in his Christmas book of "Dr. Birch and his young Friends," thus touchingly alludes to his death:—

"Who knows the inscrutable design?
Blessed be He who took and gave!
Why should your mother, Charles,
not mine,
Be weeping at her darling's grave?"

Thackeray's verses.

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and the whole of the Public Records were placed under the charge of the Master of the Rolls. Sir Francis Pal-

We bow to Heaven that will'd it so,
That darkly rules the fate of all,
That sends the respite or the blow,
That's free to give or to recall."

I must add to this incidental notice of one of my best friends, two passages written by Lord Macaulay:—

"Nov. 29, 1848. I was shocked to learn the death of poor Charles Buller. It took me quite by surprise. I could almost cry for him."

At Edinburgh, 1852, Macaulay said, "In Parliament I shall look in vain for virtues which I loved and for abilities which I admired. Often in debate, and never more than when we discuss those questions of Colonial policy which are every day acquiring a new importance, I shall remember with regret how much eloquence and wit, how much acuteness and knowledge, how many engaging qualities, how many fair hopes, are buried in the grave of poor Charles Buller." (Vol. ii., p. 245.)

The inscription on the monument is important in history. Charles Buller is there called a "Right Honourable," *i.e.* a Privy Councillor. But recollecting that in 1846, when he was appointed Judge Advocate General, he had declined accepting a seat at the Privy Council, "because he would not risk for the sake of a few months of office, the entire loss of his profession, as it was not the custom for a Privy Councillor to plead before any tribunal inferior to itself," I resolved to investigate the point, and ascertain if the monument were correct, not unimportant in itself, but as showing how errors arise and are repeated again and again as historical facts. And this, if an error, must remain on the

monument to be corrected only by a faculty in the Ecclesiastical Court! I might indeed have been content with the probability of the truth, but I recollected what Cardinal Newman had said of Bishop Butler's doctrine, that probability is the guide of life, and what Milton and Locke and Stewart had also said of probabilities. I put a question in "Notes and Queries" (6th S. iv. p. 408), and was informed that Mr. Cates in his dictionary of "General Biography," 3rd ed., 1881, states that Charles Buller was "sworn of the Privy Council on 22nd July, 1849." This was a repetition of what was stated at full length with details in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for January, 1849. The result of the search, in which I was assisted by Sir Edmund Harrison, C.B., Deputy Clerk of the Council, Mr. Matchwick, and my daughter, proved that "The Times" of 30th November, 1848, was correct in the notice of his death, in calling him only "Esquire," which I communicated to "Notes and Queries" (6th S. iv. p. 449).

Mr. William Matchwick, my old colleague in the Public Record Office, at my request sent me the accompanying report, which shows how curiously alleged facts are represented by various authorities. He says:—

Charles Buller, M.P. for Liskeard, died 28th November, 1848, aged forty-two. Was he ever a Privy Councillor?—Privy Councillors are nominated by the sovereign without patent, grant, or writ of any kind, admitted to membership by taking the oath at the Council Board, and forthwith their seat according to rank. Doubtless some record exists in the Privy Council Office, Whitehall, of all those who

Lord Ma-
caulay's
notices.

Was C. Bul-
ler a Right
Honoura-
ble?

grave, as previously stated, became Deputy Keeper, and I was appointed one of the four senior assistant keepers under the Act of 1 & 2 Vic. c. 9.

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XXIII. From this period until the death of Lord Langdale, there was delay in providing one Public Record Office, without which no effectual reform of the system was possible. But Lord Langdale commenced a consolidation of the several offices by placing as many records as it would hold, in the riding-school of Carlton House, in which Princess Charlotte, who was born in Carlton House, 7th Jan., 1796, had been accustomed to take horse exercise as a child. I was placed in charge of the building on the 25th Nov., 1841 (see Vol. II., Part I., pp. 65, 66). Lord Langdale complimented me on the removal of the Records from Whitehall Yard as the first great step in Record reform. Then followed Exchequer and Common Pleas, the Queen's Bench, the First-Fruits, and all the Augmentation Office Records (3rd to 11th March, 1843).

Lord Lang-
dale con-
solidates
offices.

have been thus sworn and admitted. Query, invariably gazetted?

"Annual Register" for 1846, 1847, and 1848.—Searched "Promotions" from "London Gazette" for those years. Name does not appear.

"Post Office Directory" for 1846, 1847, and 1848.—Name not among the Privy Councillors.

"Imperial Calendar" for 1846, 1847, and 1848.—Not in list of Privy Councillors.

"Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," vol. i. p. 800.—"On formation of Lord John Russell's Ministry, he [Charles Buller] was appointed Judge Advocate General, but in July, 1847, having been appointed Queen's counsel, he was made a Privy Councillor."

"Cassell's Biographical Dictionary," p. 410.—"In 1846 appointed

Judge Advocate, and soon after made Privy Councillor. In 1848 became President of the Poor Law Commission."

"Post Office Directory" for 1848.—In list of ministry, "Charles Buller, Esq., jun., M.P., Q.C., Advocate General and Judge Martial."

"Annual Register" for 1846, "Gazette Promotions," p. 325.—"July 8, Charles Buller, Esq., to be Advocate General."

"Annual Register" for 1847, "Gazette Promotions," p. 291.—"13 Dec., Charles Buller, Esq., to be a Poor Law Commissioner for England."

"Annual Register" for 1848, p. 271 (appendix to "Chronicle"). Obituary, Nov. 28.—"In Chester Place, Chester Square, in his 42nd year, the Right Hon^{ble} Charles Buller, a Privy Councillor, President of the Poor Law

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The condition of the Queen's Bench Records removed from Westminster is thus described by me :—

“The documents at Westminster consisted of various classes of Affidavits, Bails, Common and Special, Declarations, Præcipes for Writs, &c., some written on parchment, some on paper. Excepting some small portions which were placed in the cupboards of Howard's Robing Room, the bulk of them was strewn over the floor of the roof of the Augmentation Office. It was necessary to mount a ladder to get access to this apartment; the roof was nearly dark, and an area of about 25 feet by 20 was piled up from two to three feet high with the documents before-mentioned, all in confusion; you could not step without sinking in among them. The mass was thickly coated with soot, dirt, and dust,—a search, therefore, was practically out of the question. The whole mass was brought to the Ride, and placed in the bays of the roof, and workmen are employed in dusting and sorting the several series one from the other; but it will be some time before they will be in a state to be searched, and before any precise statement of their nature or extent can be given.”

Work of ar-
rangement.

Carlton Ride thus became the headquarters for all repairs, and binding and placing in portfolios under my direction. A staff of twenty and more workmen of the bookbinding

Commission, a Queen's Counsel, and M.P. for Liskeard, On July 22, 1847, was sworn of the Privy Council.”

Haydn's “Book of Dignities,” pp. 145-6. — List of Privy Councillors made in 1846, 1847, and 1848, name does not appear.—*Ib.* p. 203, “1846, 14 July. Judge Advocate General, Charles Buller, afterwards Chief Poor Law Commissioner.”

“Gentleman's Magazine” for January, 1849, p. 86, gives a copious obituary notice. The writer states that Buller refused the honour of being a Privy Councillor as likely to interfere with his legal practice, but that he afterwards withdrew it, and was

sworn accordingly. A year or two anterior Stuart-Wortley did the same.

Mr. Matchwick then sent me the results of a search at the Privy Council Office, which settles the point conclusively that C. Buller was *not* a Right Honourable :—

Searched the official MS. lists of Privy Councillors for the years 1846, 1847, and 1848, at the Council Office, Whitehall. *Charles Buller's* name is not entered.

Also examined the MS. minutes of the Privy Council held on July 22, 1847. Two Privy Councillors were sworn at that sitting. Charles Buller was not sworn.

class were employed. They were paid by the hour and hired by the day—*journeymen* in fact—an arrangement which especially commended itself to the Treasury, as involving no long engagement and superannuation. As far as I know, this was the only Government office which had daily servants of this sort. Some years afterwards, there was an extensive strike in the Metropolis between the builders and their workmen upon the question of the length of hours of working in the week, and what interpretation was to be put on the word “day.” I told my experience of the hourly working to some large contractors, who adopted it, and maintained it till the strike was ended. The practice is now, I believe, universal in metropolitan trades, and public clerks are paid by the hour.

XXIV. The Chapter House and the Augmentation Office sent extensive Collections of Seals, chiefly monastic. They are fine works of mediæval art, and afford indisputable evidences of architectural details, dresses, and decoration. They were classified according to size, each one repaired as far as was necessary for its preservation, labelled, placed in a cedar tray, and inventoried. They may be easily consulted without fee by proper applicants at the Public Record Office.¹ As an auxiliary in the arrangement and in the preservation of order, I adopted colours to mark the large and general divisions, taking *red* to represent the department of the Common Pleas, and *blue* that of the Exchequer. The presses had been so coloured respectively, and I proposed to carry out the principle into other

¹ A few of the most curious objects interesting to the general public may be mentioned: such as the unique volumes of the Domesday registration of land made by William the Conqueror: the Barons' letter to Pope Boniface, protesting against his judgment concerning the dominion of Scot-

land (A.D. 1300), with its ninety-two seals: a copy of King John's Magna Charta: the French treaty of the Cloth of Gold between Henry VIII. and Francis I., with the gold seal fairly ascribed to Benvenuto Cellini, who was in the employ of Francis I.

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Journey-
men, Day's
work.

Decorative
seals.

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Printing aids
arrange-
ment.

Specimens
of labels.

details. With such an obvious guide, even the most ordinary workman had no excuse for placing a Common Pleas Record on a shelf or press belonging to the Exchequer classes. In the modes of ticketing, I thought it right to make every individual ticket describe all the particulars of the office, the class, the genus, and the species to which it belongs. The hand-press in the office enabled me to convey much other information in this direction, which I should have hardly thought of doing had I been obliged to write them or send forms of tickets out of the office to be printed. I pursued the same principles of printing in International Exhibitions and at the South Kensington Museum. The following are specimens of the Record tickets:—

<p>PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. EXCHEQUER OF ACCOUNT. ALIENATION OFFICE.</p> <hr/> <p>EXTRACTS FROM WRITS OF COVENANT on which FINES were paid.</p> <hr/> <p>Names of Parties and Properties.</p> <hr/> <p>(Temporary Ticket.) A.D.</p>
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<p>PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Common PLEAS. Clerk of the Return Office.</p> <hr/> <p>BOOK OF ENTRIES of FINES.</p> <p>Classified in order of Terms and Counties and of RECOVERIES in order of Terms only.</p>
--

Increased precautions were taken to guard against fire, after consultation with Mr. Braidwood.

Carlton Ride
repository

XXV. Carlton "Ride" has disappeared, and its site is partly occupied by the office of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and by the end house of Carlton Terrace, now occupied by Earl Granville. The "Ride" had no qualification whatever as a suitable repository for the Public

Records, but was simply a most spacious shell. Upon taking charge of it, I found half was filled with Records of the Common Pleas, and half was occupied with furniture which had been removed from Carlton House. The building itself was in charge of the Office of Works. The furniture was of a miscellaneous kind, and there was a valuable collection of arms¹ which George IV. had made. The actual custodian of this collection was a feeble old man. A small iron stove, with an iron pipe as a chimney, about 50 feet long, was carried up through the roof. In frosty weather this aged guardian used to light the stove so vigorously that the iron chimney became heated red hot, and the old fellow used to sit shivering before it, rubbing his hands until he fell fast asleep! He could only be seen by looking over the wooden hoarding which parted off the Records from the furniture. This erection of shelving against the partition made me acquainted with the danger to which both furniture and Records were thus exposed.

XXVI. I reported this danger to Lord Langdale, and called the attention of Mr. Phillips, the Secretary of the Office of Works, to it, and on the 9th Feb., 1842, Lord Lincoln, then First Commissioner of Works, came and went over the riding-school. On the 18th March following, Prince Albert, accompanied by Lord Lincoln, visited the Ride, and I was presented to His Royal Highness. I had only seen him before on his wedding day, 10th Feb., 1840, when Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince were proceeding to Windsor in an open carriage along the Kensington Road,

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Occupied by
Queen's
arms, &c.,
and Records.

Risks from
fire.

Visited by
Prince
Albert.

¹ Timbs' "Curiosities of London," a book of reference always of perennial freshness, states that George IV. had made "a remarkably fine Collection of Arms and Costumes, including two swords of Charles I.; swords of

Columbus and Marlborough, and a *couteau de chasse* used by Charles XII. of Sweden, which relics are now (1855) in the North Corridor at Windsor Castle," placed there by Prince Albert.

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RECORDS.
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Furniture
removed
which has-
tened build-
ing of Re-
cord Office.

and a second time on the 23rd August, 1841.¹ At his visit to the Ride, the Prince not only looked after the Queen's furniture and arms, but carefully inspected all the arrangements and the modes by which I had economized space for the Records, and he expressed himself much struck with them. Indeed, Lord Lincoln told me afterwards that the Prince had said if he wanted to pack the greatest quantity into the smallest space he would send for me. I reported the Prince's visit to Lord Langdale, and I have reason to believe that this visit of Prince Albert's, which led to an early removal of the furniture and arms to Windsor, and the establishment of a Royal Armoury there, was an event which hastened on the decision of the Government to provide a new Record repository. This was the occasion when my personal acquaintance with the Prince first began. Eight years afterwards he confided to me the arrangement of the space in the Great Exhibition of 1851, which as yet did not loom in the future.

XXVII. The reports relating to the various works connected with the Public Records, their removal, preliminary sortation and arrangement, repair, flattening, binding, &c., inventoring and cataloguing, which were carried on by me, are printed in the first ten yearly reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 64). They were commenced under the Master of the Rolls in 1837, and continued until 1849, when I obtained leave of absence to act as an Executive Commissioner for the forthcoming Great Exhibition of 1851.

A new
building for
the Records.

XXVIII. The various incidents connected with the building of the repository for the Public Records have now to

¹ This was at the distribution of the prizes at the School of Design. He was just twenty-two years old, and I find a note in my Diary, which I ven-

ture to print, "that he seemed a very modest yet sensible man, with a mild and tender expression."

be related before closing the account of my work on the Public Records. The site of the new repository and what should be its construction, were questions which were not solved until 1852, but Lord Langdale was always alive to their importance. In 1844 he directed me to report on the measurements of space required for the Public Records. This report is printed in the 6th report of Commissioners for the Improvement of the Metropolis presented to Parliament 1847, and a copy was furnished to Mr. Pennethorne, the architect of the Office of Works, who was instructed to prepare designs for a building. I gave evidence before the Commissioners on the great inconveniences experienced for want of a proper repository, on the unfitness of the present repositories, and on the dangers from fire to which Mr. Braidwood had testified. I produced a model of a room and press which I had prepared in concert with Mr. Braidwood and Mr. Pennethorne. My evidence is printed in the sixth report (p. 17). Mr. Braidwood, the highest authority on fires, addressed me a letter, also printed in the sixth report, which is so practical, and useful for all time, that I reprint it (Vol. II., Part III., p. 92). He died like a hero at his post at the great fire in Tooley Street on 22nd June, 1861, and was followed to his grave at Abney Park Cemetery by representatives of the fire brigades, the Duke of Sutherland, the Earl of Caithness, several volunteer corps, 1,350 policemen, and thousands of sympathizing men and women.

XXIX. The provision of a proper repository was the subject of much controversy between Lord Langdale and the Treasury. It had been decided to build a lofty tower, the Victoria Tower, to ornament the Houses of Parliament according to the plan of Sir Charles Barry. The Treasury resolved to find a use for this tower, which rises 400 feet from the ground. The Treasury proposed it as a storehouse for the Public Records, and obstinately attempted to

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Measurements of
space.

Braidwood's
advice on
precautions
against fire.

Braidwood's
death.

Victoria
Tower first
proposed.

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Report on
unfitness of
Westminster
Palace in all
respects.

force their opinion on Lord Langdale and against all Record authorities. In 1845, the chief officers of the Record establishment received Lord Langdale's orders to inspect the roofs of the new Palace at Westminster, in which it was proposed to place permanently a portion of the Public Records, and to report "whether those roofs would form a proper place for the safe custody of any records that might be placed in them, and afford due and convenient access." They made a joint report of the subject which may be found in the seventh report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (p. 29), in which they considered the subject of reference from every point of view. The roofs were from sixty-four to seventy-eight feet from the ground. They were to be parcelled out into 140 very small closets, each lighted by a small window. The offices for the transaction of the public business would be apart from the roofs some 210 feet and some above 600 feet. The roofs were also to be used as chambers of ventilation for expelling the vitiated air from the buildings below. They would be exposed to great varieties of temperature, extreme heat in summer, and possible rain and snow at other times, to which 700 feet of roof would be liable; if fire occurred, they probably would be destroyed. The great multitude of small apartments would be most unfavourable to cleanliness. The necessity of ascending to the roofs would be irksome to the public. Searchers would be exposed to delays. The numerous small apartments would afford facilities for dishonest practices, and would greatly increase the cost of superintendence, which must be vigilant. The officers reported that the roofs "differ most materially from what we conceive a proper Record repository ought to be, and we cannot but regard the present design as a plan for packing up or stowing away the Records instead of a design for a repository affording sufficient space for the safe custody

and arrangement of the Records; admitting at the same time of adequate access to the public for consultation and reference. Further, that considering the extreme value of these documents as evidence of the rights and properties of the crown and every class of its subjects, we cannot think that the proposed measure provides for their 'proper custody,' or that to place them actually among the beams of a roof can be regarded as satisfactory in any point of view." This report was signed by Sir Francis Palgrave, the Deputy Keeper, F. S. Thomas the Secretary, Thomas Palmer, T. Duffus Hardy, Joseph Hunter, and myself, Assistant Keepers of the Public Records. The Report was drafted by me, and adopted as I wrote it. Mr. Thomas, the Secretary, states that "Lord Langdale entirely concurred that the roofs were unfit, and this project having failed, his Lordship, on the 20th November, 1845, addressed Sir Robert Peel on the subject, and after enumerating all that had been done at different times as to providing a general repository, urged the necessity of providing a suitable repository for the Records."¹

XXX. On the 4th October, 1842, Lord Langdale had addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, in which he submitted that the

"Rolls Estate, which is now vested in the Crown, affords the best and most convenient site for the Record Office and for the Law Offices. If the space be sufficient, or if adjacent ground can be obtained, the same site would also be the most convenient for the Courts of Justice; and there are reasons which incline me to think that it would, on the whole, be beneficial to have the Court of the Master of the Rolls in the building which contains the Rolls and Records of which he is keeper, whether the other Courts can or cannot be accommodated in the same building or in the immediate vicinity. The Victoria Tower would be a very convenient place

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RECORDS.
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Lord Langdale and
Treasury.

Courts of
Justice.

¹ Appendix to Sixth Report of Commissioners for the Improvement of the Metropolis, p. 44.

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for the deposit of the voluminous documents and papers belonging to the two Houses of Parliament; it would, in my opinion, be a very inconvenient place for the deposit of the Judicial Records and the various other Records and Documents which are intended to be placed in the general Repository. It therefore appears to me, and I submit to their Lordships, that the Rolls Estate affords the most convenient situation for the General Record Office, for the new offices in the several Courts of Law and Equity, and for the new Courts of Justice. That, for the purpose of making the whole estate available for the purposes required, surrenders of the still existing leases ought to be procured on proper terms. That, if the whole estate should be insufficient for all the purposes, land, as nearly adjacent as may be, should be obtained; and that proper approaches from the neighbouring thoroughfares should be procured. And that, whether all the buildings required can be erected on one plot of land or not, it is important to have them near to each other, and to have them erected on one uniform design. With respect to the nature and extent of the accommodation which will be afforded to the Records, having regard to the provisions of the Statute 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 94, and the various Records, Documents, and State Papers, which may with great advantage to the Public Service be brought into the General Repository, I think that the space required for the reception and accommodation of the Records has been estimated very much below its just amount; and even if a more just view had been taken of the bulk of the records and papers to be accommodated, it would appear to me that the mere space (the number of cubical feet) now occupied by the same documents, or which would be occupied by them upon such improved arrangements as might be adopted after obtaining a General Repository, does not of itself afford the means of determining what ought to be the size of the building in which they ought to be placed. Adequate ventilation and light, convenient access, and convenient means of consulting the Records are to be provided. If it had been considered that the Records and Documents placed in a well-ordered repository ought to be accommodated no worse than the books in a well-ordered library, I think that the nature, form, and size of the building would not have been estimated merely with reference to the space in which the records and documents are or may be packed or stowed away.

General
Record
Repository.

Necessity
for adequate
space.

Good ven-
tilation,
light, access.

Like a well-
ordered
library.

The estimate is also defective:—1. In making no provision for the accommodation of many Public Documents and State Papers, from the care of which it might be convenient and desirable to relieve some of the Public Offices: 2. In making no provision for the accommodation of the collection of printed Books relating to Records, which, if not absolutely necessary, would be at least so useful, convenient, and proper for the information and encouragement of the officers, that it ought not to be dispensed with: 3. In providing no accommodation whatever for the Master of the Rolls. It is true that the Master of the Rolls cannot, consistently with his other duties, give a constant and uninterrupted attention to the business of the Record Office; but the business of the Office cannot, in my opinion, be conducted satisfactorily, either to the Public or to the Government, without some active attention or superintendence on his part; and it is necessary that he should be accessible and ready to inquire whenever it may be thought that his interference would be useful. In order to the discharge of his duty some accommodation in the Office must be afforded; and the provision of such accommodation will not be without its importance as a means of reminding him, the establishment, and the public, that he has a duty the performance of which is required. For these reasons, and under these circumstances, I submit to their Lordships that the extent of accommodation necessary for the Records requires further consideration. I presume it to be unnecessary to urge upon their Lordships the great importance of having the General Repository for the Records provided. Their Lordships must be aware that the great risks to which the Records are exposed, the inconveniences to which the persons consulting them are subjected, and the unnecessary expense of imperfect, divided, and inefficient management must continue until the Records can be collected into one fire-proof and proper Repository, and be therein subjected to the constant and vigilant superintendence of the Deputy Keeper.”¹

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RECORDS.
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1823-1849.
Part I.

Active su-
perinten-
dence of the
Master of the
Rolls.

XXXI. But the Treasury was obdurate, so Lord Lang-

¹ See copies of the correspondence between the First Lord of the Treasury and the Master of the Rolls in 1845—ordered, on the motion of Mr.

Edward Protheroc, M. P. for Halifax, to be printed by the House of Commons, 22nd August, 1846.

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dale ended the correspondence by an unanswerable and dignified protest, as follows:—

“I am perfectly aware that if their Lordships have finally determined what to do, or what to omit in this matter, I can have no hope, by any influence of mine or by any reasons which I can offer, to induce them to bestow any further attention on the subject. I shall avail myself of such means as I may possess to relieve myself from the responsibility which I think will justly attach to those who, having the means and opportunity of securing a good system, do not hesitate to adopt a system manifestly defective, although it may be (as I think it is) much better than the bad system which has hitherto existed. Their Lordships seem to think that I have little, if anything, to do with the matter. They seem entirely to forget that upon the Master of the Rolls for the time being will fall the task and the responsibility of arranging the Records for future times in the repository which may be provided. The delays which have already taken place, and which seem likely to continue, will most probably cast this duty upon my successor, so that any hope which I might have entertained of being able to perform the duty myself, ought to be, as in fact it is, entirely removed from my consideration. But when the site and nature of the repository are settled, it will become an important duty, the performance of which should be immediately commenced, to make all the preparations which circumstances allow, to render the repository available as soon as it is ready, and to do everything practicable to diminish all the inconveniences which can, by proper arrangements, be guarded against. This duty it must be my endeavour to perform to the utmost extent which the means afforded me will allow. I cannot conceal from myself that their Lordships, whilst they observe the official forms of communication, do not desire any co-operation with me. My opinions are formed with reference to my only objects—the due preservation, arrangement and use of the records, and upon such information as I have been able to acquire in the consideration of these only objects; and founding myself upon that information, I am of opinion that the Victoria Tower will not suffice—that is, will not be sufficient to provide for the Government and for the public all the advantages which ought to be secured by the proper arrangement, preservation,

Lord Lang-
dale's re-
monstrance.

Victoria
Tower in-
sufficient.

and management of the records; and as the suggestion of their Lordships is expressed to be contingent upon my opinion as to the sufficiency of the Tower, I should, notwithstanding the general objections to which I have referred, have now proceeded to consider in what manner the separation of the records into classes, with a view to place separate classes in separate buildings, could be made with the least practical inconvenience. But as their Lordships have not desired, and do not appear to expect me to give any attention to the subject, I presume that they have formed, and have already resolved to adopt, some plan of their own; and I await the information which will be necessary to enable me to conform to their Lordships' determination, in the directions which I may have to give for the intermediate management of the records, and the preparation of them for their final place of deposit."

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XXXII. And then there was a dead-lock for five years, during which period auxiliary forces accumulated, which I helped to form (Vol. II., Part II., p. 51). On the 31st March, 1846, Sir Robert Peel said to C. Buller, "You shall have your committee, but not a farthing of money!" Buller's motion was carried on 9th July, but no committee was appointed, owing to the lateness of the session and a change of ministry. But a public opinion was created, and with a change of ministry, Lord John Russell succeeding Sir Robert Peel, the Government altered the decision of its predecessors. Finally a proper fire-proof Repository was decided on and built. Lord Langdale made his last appeal to the Government on the 8th of January, 1850, and this was successful with Lord John Russell's Cabinet. Lord Langdale's health was failing, and he sent a letter of resignation, dated 7th March, 1850, to Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, who had supported him with his colleagues in obtaining the Record Repository. On the 25th March he took a touching farewell of his court. He went to Tunbridge Wells on 10th April, and breathed

Final success
of Lord
Langdale,
and his
death.

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his last on 18th April, 1851.¹ His remains were laid in the Temple Church. The first stone of the new Repository was laid by Sir John (afterwards Lord) Romilly, as Master of the Rolls, 24th May, 1851.

The Public
Record Re-
pository
built at last.

XXXIII. Standing at the corner of Fetter Lane, on the north side of Fleet Street, may now be seen a fire-proof stone building full of windows, as strongly built as a fortress. It has an architectural expression of truth, originality, and of its purpose, which is highly creditable to the common sense of its architect, James Pennethorne. It is the Repository of the Public Records of the nation in unbroken series dating from the Norman Conquest, eight centuries ago. It is wonderful for a completeness in Europe, or even perhaps in the world; which is due to our insular position, and to English conservative instincts. These Records tell an indisputable tale of English events, life, manners, justice, and property, to be preserved as long as England lasts.

XXXIV. During my connection with the Public Records

¹ His daughter, the Countess Teleki, wrote a feeling account of his last moments and death, which Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy has printed in his "Memoir of Henry Lord Langdale" (2 vols. 8vo.; Bentley, 1852). It relates the incidents of a noble life, and in the second volume may be found a facsimile

Contra.

Persuasion that no one can perform all the duties that are annexed to the Office of Chancellor.

Certainly that I cannot.

Unwilling to seem to undertake duties, some of which must (as I think) be necessarily neglected.

No reason to think that the extensive reform which I think necessary will meet with any support. No political or party zeal, and no capacity to acquire any.

Declining health.

in his handwriting, giving his reasons for and against accepting the Great Seal, which was pressed upon him. In affectionate regard for his memory, and as a testimony of respect for his suggestions for the Reform of the British Museum and work with the Records, I beg leave to quote them:—

Pro.

Salary (£14,000 instead of £7,000).

Pension of £5,000 assured (instead of £3,750 not assured).

Patronage for benefit of connections much needing it.

Some though small and doubtful hope of effecting some farther reform in Chancery.

and the administration of them, lasting over a quarter of a century, I wrote many articles on subjects suggested by the uses of different classes. In the second part of this work selections are given of those which have seemed to me to have a permanent interest. The "Parliaments of our Ancestors" (Vol. II., Part II., p. 1) has a use for the student of Parliamentary history, and will serve as addenda to the writings of Prynne and Brown Willis. The "History of the Public Records" (Vol. II., Part II., p. 36) gives an account of them in the smallest compass. "Henry VIII.'s Scheme of Bishopricks" and the notices of education at the time, and other selections, I hope, will be accepted as some of my work to be properly included in these volumes (Vol. II., Part II., p. 68).

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Selections
from Works
written
by me.





WORK WITH THE UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

PART I.

1838-1841.

I.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.
Part I.
A.D.
1838-1841.



F all the events with which my career has been connected, no one I feel surpasses, or perhaps is equal in value to the world at large, as the adoption of the Uniform Penny Postage. All the progress of mankind is helped on by freedom of thought expressed in writing. The progress of religion, morals, health, science, education, arts, manufactures, commerce, and international peace, are all advanced by correspondence, which is next to nothing without the Post Office. It will be the glory of England for all time that she was the first country to adopt this ray of light, and the fame of Rowland Hill will be imperishable, as having discovered Uniform Penny Postage.

Origin of
the Uniform
Penny
Postage.

II. The triumphant success of Public Records Reform, brought to me inducements and offers to leave the Public Record service, and engage in other work. I have already alluded to Mr. Charles Buller, who expressed to me his wishes that I should accompany him to Canada, in Lord Durham's mission. In February, 1838, I received an offer from Mr.

I am asked
to assist
R. Hill.

Rowland Hill, which I accepted, to help forward his project for the Penny Postage, and afterwards I was asked by Mr. R. Cobden to join the Corn Law League.

UNIFORM
PENNY
POSTAGE.
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1838-1841.

III. Early in the Session of 1837, Mr. Wallace, M.P. for Greenock, an early Reformer of the Post Office before Rowland Hill came forward, moved for a Committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the merits of Rowland Hill's plan of Penny Postage. On 9th May, Lord John Russell, on behalf of the Government, with the constitutional, and even healthy timidity of popular Governments, moved the previous question, but Mr. Wallace, supported by Mr. Ewart, Mr. Alderman Copeland, and Mr. T. Duncombe, politicians of three kinds, whose names are worthy of record as connected with Postage, obtained his Committee. In the House of Lords, Lord Duncannon informed Lord Brougham, who presented an important petition from the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London in favour of Penny Postage, that the Government did *not* intend to try the experiment of Mr. Hill's plan, but had determined to issue penny stamp covers for short distances, and to reduce the fourpenny post to twopence. It would have been an impotent experiment, fatal to the plan, at least for a time. The necessity of leading the public to support the Uniform Penny Post became evident, and especially so to Mr. George Moffatt,¹ a large tea merchant in the city, having

Commons'
Committee
to inquire.

Mr. Moffatt's
work and
career.

¹ I have before me a page of the "Public Ledger," No. 59, of 26th Feb., 1839, in which Moffatt and Co. address retail tea dealers as follows: "The wholesale dealers have carried their point—and quarterly sales are at an end: the hopes, the wishes, and the manœuvres of months have at length been successful. A heavy and decisive blow is thus attempted at the interests of the country trade; the old system of 'faith' and igno-

rance of costs, is sought to be re-established: *you* are to be just as well informed as you were twenty years since—and the wholesale dealers just as well paid, as in those happy days when no price list was in existence to mar their '*fair gains*.'

"The difference between ourselves and the wholesale trade of London, is one of principle—involving the simple question whether distance from the place of sale, ought to disadvantage

The tea
merchants
oppose pub-
lication of
prices.

liberal and progressive views, who had made his fortune by the simple invention of selling tea to all retailers and dealers

the buyer beyond the difference of the expense of transit—in other words, whether the country resident who can pay money for the tea he buys, has not a *right* to the most ample information as to cost and quality?

“It is not denied that the information published by us in support of this principle, has operated largely in favour of the country buyer; the evidence of the London dealers is perfectly conclusive upon this point; but its results are more plainly demonstrable by a rough calculation of the operation of the system upon which we have consistently and perseveringly acted for nearly twelve years; during this period the total deliveries from the port of London may be estimated at about 400 million pounds; upon nearly the whole of this, *less* profit has been obtained by the London dealer in consequence of the publication of the costs; but say that such diminution of profit was only to the extent of 6*d.* per lb. on one-fourth of this quantity, (and we believe that almost every country dealer who was in business under the ‘old system’ will *confirm* the experience of the London trade, that this is within the mark):—100,000,000 lbs. at 6*d.* per lb. would yield for twelve years rather more than £200,000 per annum, say £200,000 out of the pockets of the country dealers each year. This estimate is probably short of the fact; and we are confirmed in this probability by the difference apparent in the circumstances of the country dealers: fifteen years since, few could pay cash for teas—*now* there are comparatively few who *cannot*.”

It will be seen from this how prepared Mr. Moffatt’s mind was to enter

into the question of a uniform rate of postage.

Mr. Moffatt entered parliament first as member for Dartmouth, in 1845; then for Ashburton, in 1859; then for Honiton, in 1860; and, lastly, for Southampton, in 1865. He purchased Goodrich Court near Ross. It was a modern Gothic building, with all the affectations of a drawbridge, battlements, turrets, a chapel, and a great hall, built by Sir Samuel Meyrick, a retired solicitor of wealth, and author of a costly work on Ancient Armour, who was especially anxious to found a family and preserve his collections together. He advertised for an eligible person bearing the name of Meyrick, and found one; but his intentions were baffled, the collections of armour, &c., were dispersed, and Mr. Moffatt became the possessor of his “Court.” Whilst he was the possessor, a tablet was shown in the hall recording as follows:—“I give to Dr. Meyrick all my carvings in ivory or other materials, together with my miscellaneous curiosities of every description, including Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Oriental antiquities or other articles, except such articles specifically bequeathed in this Will, that may come under the above denominations, in the fullest confidence that he will think it worth while to devote some small apartment in his noble mansion of Goodrich Court to their reception, either as a present museum or as a foundation of a more extensive one.—F. DOUCE.” They should have been given to South Kensington Museum, but were dispersed with the armour—*Vanitas vanitatum!*

“Mr. Moffatt,” writes Rowland Hill, “afterwards M. P. for Southamp-

throughout the kingdom, at the uniform price of the market daily, by adding one halfpenny a pound to such price, as his profit. Mr. Moffatt formed an influential mercantile committee (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 101).

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POSTAGE.
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IV. The secretaryship of this Committee was offered to me, and I obtained Lord Langdale's permission to accept it; of course on the understanding that my work on Public Records was not prejudiced. Mr. W. H. Ashurst became the solicitor to the Committee, and Rowland Hill, in his *Life*, gives the following notice of his estimate of our services.¹

I am ap-
pointed
secretary.

V. My first work, after consultation with Mr. Wallace, M.P. for Greenock, who acted as chairman of the Commons Committee, was to prepare briefs for the ex-

Post Office
Witnesses.

ton, had proposed to me the establishment of a 'mercantile committee' to collect evidence in favour of the plan. His proposal being gladly accepted, he went to work with such earnestness, that I soon found in him one of my most zealous, steady, and efficient supporters. Funds he raised with comparative ease, but the formation of a committee he found more difficult than he had expected. Now, however, February 5th, 1838, he wrote to inform me that he had at length prevailed upon Mr. Bates, a wealthy American, of the house of Baring Brothers, to accept the office of chairman; and this point being secured, other good members were easily obtained."—*Life of Sir R. Hill*, p. 294.

¹ "Mr. Ashurst, father of the late solicitor to the Post Office, having been requested to act as solicitor [to the Mercantile Committee on Postage], went promptly to work; and though by choice he acted gratuitously, he laboured with as much ardour as if important personal interests were involved in the issue. No less earnest-

ness was shown by Mr. Henry Cole, who had been engaged to aid in the work. He was the author of almost innumerable devices, by which in his indefatigable ingenuity he contrived to draw public attention to the proposed measure. He once passed through the Post Office, and afterwards exhibited in facsimile to the public eye (the originals being previously shown in Parliament) two letters, so arranged as to display, in the clearest light, the absurdity of the existing rule of charge. Of these, one nearly as light as a feather, and almost small enough to require a pair of forceps for its handling, quite a letter for Lilliput, but containing an enclosure, bore double postage; while the other, weighing nearly an ounce, eight inches broad, and more than a foot long when folded, a very creditable letter for Brobdignags, but all written on one sheet, had its postage single."—*Life of Sir Rowland Hill*, p. 295. Specimens of these, described more fully hereafter, will be found exhibited in a pocket in Vol. II.

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POSTAGE.
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1838-1841.

"Post
Circular"
established.

Average
rates of
postage.

Use of the
"Guide"
newspaper.

mination of the Post Office witnesses summoned to give evidence before the Committee, which had been appointed on his motion in 1838. At first it seems that the Parliamentary Committee did not intend to publish the evidence, but the advocacy of Rowland Hill's plan in the House of Lords, by Lord Ashburton (of the great firm of Baring Brothers), and Lord Brougham, in the session of 1837; the increasing number of petitions, and perhaps the existence of the "Post Circular," which sent protests throughout the country, must have induced a re-consideration of the point, and the Committee changed its mind, and the evidence was printed and issued in the usual way in April, 1838.¹

VI. The high rates of postage were in full force at this time. No letter could be sent through the General Post for less than fourpence. The average rate was stated by Lord Lichfield, Postmaster-General, to be one shilling, by Rowland Hill, 10*d.*, and eventually it proved to be 8½*d.* Such rates were more or less prohibitive of letter-writing, and the funds of the Mercantile Committee could not bear the cost, so I had to devise some cheaper mode of correspondence, which soon became extensive.

VII. In the year 1837, during my contest with the Record Commission, Mr. Charles Buller, M.P., Sir Wm. Molesworth, Bart., M.P., Mr. Leader, M.P. for Westminster, and myself, started a cheap threepenny newspaper called the "Guide," of which I became the editor. Being one of the registered proprietors, and having to go through the dismal and frivolous formalities of obtaining sureties against libel, and for payment of the stamp duties, I became acquainted with all

¹ It may be interesting to give the votes for and against publication of evidence. For—Lord Lowther (afterwards Lord Lonsdale), Mr. Raikes Currie, Mr. Thorneley, Mr. C. P.

Villiers, and Mr. Warburton. Against—Lord Seymour (now Duke of Somerset), Mr. Parker, Mr. G. Wood, and Sir T. Fremantle (since created Lord Cottesloe in 1874).

the intricate mysteries of the rights and privileges of newspapers, divided between the Treasury, the Stamp Office, and the Post Office. I now turned this knowledge to good account, by devising the establishment of a newspaper as a substitute for written letters; and I submitted the scheme to the Mercantile Committee as follows:—

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POSTAGE.
Part I.
A.D.
1838-1841.

“PLAN FOR CIRCULATING PETITIONS, ADDRESSES, AND COMMUNICATIONS ON THE UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE, AT THE CHEAPEST RATE.”

VIII. “For effectually promoting the objects of the Committee on Postage, it will be necessary to employ much communication through the Post Office. This will be a very expensive operation. A great part of the documents, such as forms of petitions, addresses to corporations of all kinds, whether for commerce, municipal government, charitable purposes, literature, science, &c., will, of course, be printed. If printed as individual documents, they will pass through the Post Office, chargeable with the usual rates of postage as letters. It seems practicable to adopt a plan by printing these papers in the form of a newspaper, which will insure their transmission through the Post Office, at the charge of one penny each. If a small sheet of paper, partially filled with addresses, petitions, or documents relating to the discussion of Postage, together with the NEWS¹ of the day most appurtenant to the subject, such as Parliamentary debates and notices of meetings on the Postage, be entitled with a name, “The Universal Penny Post,” and entered at the Stamp Office, it would be carried by the Post *freely*. Besides the obvious advantages of the cheapest mode of

Origin of
the “Post
Circular.”

Its uses and
saving of
postage.

¹ The insertions of “News” constituted the legal basis of a newspaper; and legal questions of what is “news” were often raised both by the Stamp Office and Post Office. “News” was not made clear until

Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., obtained the abolition of the stamp after efforts at last crowned with success. Mr. F. Place, on Nov. 1st, called upon me to urge action for getting rid of the Newspaper Penny Stamp.

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The Post
Office its own
reformer.

transmission, which these Papers being in a newspaper form would insure, there would arise another advantage scarcely less important, namely, that of having a medium for recording the transactions of the Committee, promulgating the effect of its labours, and ascertaining the feeling of the public on the subject. *The Post Office, if this plan were adopted, would thus become the chief instrument for reforming itself.* The expenses of transmitting any number of addresses by this scheme, would be demonstrated to be far less than the same number printed as separate letters, and sent by the Post. It is not assumed that the public would purchase this paper to any extent, though I believe there would be a trifling sale, and as any sale would, *pro tanto*, be a good, by distributing information on the subject, it might be advisable to fix a price which would just cover the cost of the penny stamp and the paper and printing. But it might be possible, I think, by permitting advertisements to be inserted, to make the paper, if not profitable, at least to pay the expenses of a few hundred copies, which would be all that the Society would require for its own purposes of distribution. Every advertiser desires to extend the knowledge of his advertisement; and by giving copies of the paper in proportion to the length of the advertisement, whilst the advertiser distributed the paper for the sake of his advertisement, he would at the same time be distributing a knowledge of the subject of Postage. I would propose to give to every advertiser, a proportionate amount of copies of the paper to his advertisement, say every line of advertisement should entitle the advertiser to two copies. It would be premature to enter into particulars of the probable cost of the experiment until the plan itself is approved of. I think it might be assumed that the printing, paper, stamp, and circulation, postage-free, of 500 copies filled with various postage matter, would not exceed £5, whilst

the same number of single letters on one point only would cost £12 10s. for postage at an average of 6d. per letter."

IX. Mr. Charles Whiting, a printer in Beaufort Buildings in the Strand, offered to take the risk of such a paper, upon the condition that the Mercantile Committee took 500 copies of each number, and paid £6. 6s. for each issue. The Committee accepted the offer, and the first number was published by Henry Hooper, of 13, Pall Mall East, on 14th March, 1838.

X. Whatever powers of invention I possessed, were exercised on this newspaper (see note to Vol. II., Part II., p. 105). I had to fight the battle of its transmission through the post. A copy of the first number was issued to three thousand clergymen, as well Church of England as Dissenting Ministers; to the clerk of every Poor Law Union, to be laid before the Boards of Guardians; to every provincial newspaper; to most of the permanent and subscription libraries throughout the United Kingdom; to the Town Clerks of all Municipal Corporations; to numerous Chambers of Commerce; to the commercial rooms of most respectable inns; besides to many private individuals. Several hundred copies of the first number were charged postage by the Post Office. They had all been stamped at the Stamp Office, but they were so charged because, as Mr. Lawrence of the Post Office wrote to Mr. Hooper, "no authority had then been received to pass it free as a newspaper!" Among those charged, were copies sent by Mr. Wallace, M.P., and the correspondence on the subject explains the anomaly, and is sufficiently amusing to be quoted as evidence of a state of Post Office administration forty years ago, which has passed away for ever.

WHAT IS A NEWSPAPER?

To the Editor of the Post Circular.

"SIR,—The enclosed correspondence with the Postmaster-General, will show that the 'Post Circulars' of last week were

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First number
of "Post
Circular"
appeared
on 14th
March, 1838.

Circulation
stopped
in the Post
Office.

Mr. Wal-
lace's letters.

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charged with postage, under circumstances it is proper to draw the attention of your readers to, and all others who are desirous of rational powers only, being intrusted to a fellow subject. It will be seen that the Postmaster-General possesses the right, at any rate he exercises the power, of deciding what shall constitute a newspaper. He, a peer of Parliament totally unacquainted with mercantile affairs, exercises also the same inquisitorial power in determining what shall constitute Mercantile Circulars and Prices Current. These by law, however carefully concealed the privilege has been, may pass under a penny stamp, or a penny postage, but their form and substance comes within the grasp of the Postmaster-General; and the mercantile world know, from sad experience, what an iron hand they have to deal with. This is a power which would well befit the Autocrat of Russia; and I exhibit its existence, that the people may judge for themselves how long they will submit to be degraded by the infliction of such a law. Colonel Maberley stated lately before the Committee on Postage, of which I am Chairman, that my franks are regularly watched and counted at the General Post-office; it now appears that my handwriting on the back of a newspaper is also watched for there. No doubt this is very flattering to me; but let us inquire 'who pays the piper,' as we say in Scotland. Why the people do, as they are made to do for many other similar vagaries of legislation now-a-days. There being one man then to count the franks of an humble individual, and another to watch his handwriting, there need be no wonder at the enormous sum expended in maintaining the present system of Post-office mismanagement, and the extravagant postage requisite to uphold all the drones who benefit thereby. Sir, your obedient servant, ROBERT WALLACE.

"P.S. The papers were sent I rather think on the evening of Thursday."

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Lichfield, &c. &c.

Mr. Wallace
addresses
Lord Lich-
field.

"My Lord,—On Friday last I sent six copies of the 'Post Circular' newspaper to different parties, one of which was to Mrs. Wallace, at Fairlie House, Kilmarnock. By this day's post, Mrs. Wallace informs me that a paper, apparently a newspaper, was sent, charged with a postage of 2s. 4d., which she refused to pay,

and the paper was retained. I require to be informed by your lordship if the 'Post Circulars' of last week were charged with postage generally. If so, if they were so charged by your lordship's orders, and why; and if those now issued for the present week are also to be charged, why they are to be so? If no general charge was made last week, I beg to be informed why the paper I addressed to Mrs. Wallace, was charged with postage. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) ROBERT WALLACE."

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"General Post-office, March 23, 1838.

"Sir,—In reply to your note of the 22nd instant, I am commanded by the Postmaster-General, to inform you that, in consequence of the 'Post Circulars' being sent without any previous instructions at the Inland Office, on Thursday the 16th instant, they were all charged with postage, the officers on duty being doubtful whether the publication alluded to, could be considered a newspaper, under the Act. This question, however, being submitted to the Solicitor and Postmaster-General the following morning, it was decided by the Postmaster-General to be a newspaper, and orders consequently given, that it should circulate free of charge for the future. The amount has been refunded in all those cases where applications have been made; and, of course, the same will be followed with respect to Mrs. Wallace, who will be relieved from the charge of postage. The circumstance of a 'Post Circular,' apparently in your handwriting, being charged, is distinctly recollected in the Inland Office; but it occurred on Thursday, and not on Friday night, and upon this point, therefore, there must be some misapprehension. I have the honour, &c., W. MABERLEY. Robert Wallace, Esq., M.P., 1, Great Scotland-yard."

Post Office
answer.

XI. The franking of Letters by Members of Parliament existed at that time. They could receive an unlimited number of letters free of postage, of any weight, even a pianoforte, a saddle, a haunch of venison, and they might send out fourteen a day. Sir Charles Lemon, Mr. Monckton Milnes, Mr. Ellice, Mr. C. P. Villiers, Mr. C. Buller, The Hon. P. Butler, &c., gave permission for letters on Uniform Penny Postage to be sent to them.

Franking.

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1838-1841.
Lectures.

Placards.

Absurdities
of postage
charges by
weight.

XII. Besides the publication of the "Post Circular," I proposed that lectures on Postage Reform should be given, and an offer was made to Thomas Carlyle, who was a strong advocate of the reform, which after some hesitation he declined. The "Post Circular" was issued in various shapes. On July 5th, 1838, the article which I had written for the "London and Westminster Review" was reprinted as a pamphlet. No. 10 of the "Post Circular" was used as a placard, which was printed in colours of red and green in the inside. In order to popularize the idea of the Uniform Penny Postage and the freedom of letter-writing through its medium, I wrote a scene for the Christmas pantomime of *Fair Rosamond* then to be acted at Covent Garden, which Macready accepted, and directed Mr. Young, the pantomimist, on 10th December, 1838, to introduce it, but my scene was not produced for want of time in preparation. Thackeray afterwards drew and sent me a sketch for a valentine of a postman struggling with letters that nearly smothered him. Another device to show the absurdities of the rates of postage, was adopted. Two letters were prepared as already noticed by Rowland Hill, one being a large sheet of paper weighing under an ounce. If kept dry, it was charged only as a *single* postage, but if it became damp and turned the scale of one ounce even by a grain, it would be raised to fourfold postage. Another letter, weighing under eight grains, was also prepared. It consisted of two pieces of thin paper, and therefore was charged as a *double* letter. Fifty of each specimen were sent to the Charing Cross Post Office, by a clerk who had some humour. He produced first one of the largest letters. The clerk looked at it suspiciously. He held it before the lamp to see if it were really a single sheet. He summoned another clerk to help his judgment. All this caused a delay, and a crowd began to collect at the window, who watched the process with

interest. At last the clerk marked it with the *single* rate, and the spectators laughed. Then the smallest letter was produced, and the Post Office official turned crimson, became furious, and cursed a little, but he could not help marking it *double* postage. Roars of laughter came from the crowd. Then fifty more of each letter were produced and marked, the large heavy ones with *single* postage, the little light ones with *double*. During the process the crowd impatiently filled up the whole of the pavement, and scoffed. No less amusement was produced in the House of Commons when Mr. Wallace exhibited the big and little letters. (See Vol. II. for specimens inserted in a pocket.)

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Scene at
Charing
Cross.

XIII. Great meetings followed the publication of the "Post Circular." At Manchester, Mr. Cobden spoke lengthily in favour of Rowland Hill's plan; at Liverpool, where the Penny Postage was supported by Mr. William Brown, who presented the town with a public library; at Greenock, Edinburgh, Worcester, Glasgow, Brighton, Portsea, Plymouth, Cardiff, Devonport, Birmingham, Hull, Berwick, Exeter, Norwich, Aberdeen, Carlisle, and many other places. Petitions began to flow in, and politicians on both sides, were called upon by their constituents to present them. Sir Robert Peel's cautious mind was trained by being asked to present many, which he did. In the year 1837, *five* petitions were presented; in the Session of 1838, upwards of 320 petitions were presented, seventy-three of which came from Town Councils, 145 from merchants, bankers, traders, &c., nineteen from Chambers of Commerce, ten from Commissioners of Supply, thirty-seven from printing offices, and the rest from Mechanic's Institutes, Fire and Life insurance offices, Churches, &c. In the following year, 1839, up to 20th July, the petitions increased beyond 2,007. The "Post Circular" gives a summary as follows:—

Public meet-
ings.

Petitions.

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Petitions
presented in
1839.

“Summary of the 2,007 Petitions for the Uniform Penny Postage, presented to the House of Commons (exclusive of the same number most probably, to the House of Lords) this Session, up to the 20th July.

	No. of Petitions.
Town Councils	148
Commissioners of Supply in Scotland	10
Inhabitants of places	1173
Professional Associations	83
Mechanics' Institutes, &c.	58
Poor Law Unions	20
Vestries	3
Schools	12
Females	8
Farmers attending Markets	9
Printers	5
London Printers	86
Newspapers	10
Chambers of Commerce	42
Trades and Manufactures	168
Mercantile Firms (London)	128
London Druggists	16
Individuals	28

Total (with 262,809 signatures), 2,007

A few samples of the various kinds of petitions to attract every class, are given (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 106).

Weight of
mails.

XIV. For the special information of members of Parliament and the instruction of the Postmaster-General, I prepared and published in No. 12 of the “Post Circular” a diagram of the Edinburgh mail on 2nd March, 1838 (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 102). Sir Rowland Hill thus describes it as—

“One of those amusing devices with which my friend Mr. Henry Cole knew so well how to strike the public eye. Probably the reader will not be displeased at its reproduction. The Edinburgh Mail Coach, it will be seen, is depicted with the guard, coachman,

and two outside passengers; the letter bags—which, as all the world knows, or then knew, usually occupied the hind boot, so as to lie under the guard's foot—are by an artistic liberty placed on the roof, the whole being arranged in divisions of franks, newspapers, Stamp Office parcels, and chargeable letters; the first three, which are free of postage, occupy the whole roof, the last lying in small space on the top of one of the bulky divisions, the proportions being those of the mail conveyed on March 2nd, 1838. The legend below sums up the tale."—"Life of Sir Rowland Hill," p. 340.

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Dialogue at
Windsor.

XV. During 1839 I prepared the dialogue of an imaginary scene at Windsor Castle, when I took the liberty of supposing the Queen present with Lord Melbourne and Lord Lichfield, and discussing the Penny Postage. Upwards of ninety-two thousand copies of this scene were distributed throughout the United Kingdom (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 95).

XVI. I refer the reader to Rowland Hill's account of the proceedings at the Parliamentary Committee (Vol. I. of his Life, p. 295). On the 17th July, 1838, the Committee divided on the motion to establish a *uniform rate of inland* postage. Uniformity was the keystone of Rowland Hill's great discovery; for discovery it was, made, through steps of facts and logical reasoning, unanswerable. This critical motion was carried only by the casting vote of Mr. Wallace. The next motion to adopt a penny as the charge was rejected by six to three. Mr. Warburton then proposed a uniform rate of three halfpence, and the motion was lost by six to four. Mr. Warburton, on the second day, proposed a uniform rate of twopence the half-ounce. The Committee was equally divided, and again the Chairman's casting vote carried it. At length, a long and exhaustive report was adopted in favour of the great principle of uniformity, and a twopenny charge for a single letter. The final report was the work of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Warburton, assisted by

Uniformity
the keystone
of the plan.

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1838-1841.
Petitions for
Uniform
Penny
Postage.

Rowland Hill and myself (see his Life, Vol. I., p. 331-3, for interesting details of its preparation).

XVII. Before the opening of the Session in 1839, I was much occupied in preparing and provoking the adoption of petitions throughout the United Kingdom, as already described, in favour, not of the report of the Parliamentary Committee, but of the uniform penny postage payable in advance.

XVIII. Mr. Moffatt and myself had resolved firmly to leave no stone unturned to obtain the uniform PENNY rate, and I consider that the *early* adoption of a PENNY rather than a TWOPENNY rate was mainly due to his courageous exertions. It is due to Mr. Rintoul, the Editor of the "Spectator," to record the continued assistance which that able paper gave to the advocacy of the measure. On 9th March, the third report of the Select Committee, filling a full number of the "Spectator," was reprinted *in extenso*.

Deputation
to Lord
Melbourne.

XIX. On the 2nd day of May, 1839, a numerous deputation was received by Lord Melbourne, for urging the adoption of the Uniform Penny Postage. He was accompanied by Mr. Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. F. T. Baring, Secretary of the Treasury. The deputation came from the City of London Mercantile Committee, attended by Mr. Warburton and about 150 other members of the House of Commons. There are vellum rolls of the thirteenth century still consultable, which record the names of Barons present in the wars of the period; and I venture to think antiquaries, centuries hence, will regard with interest the names of the peaceful band of combatants who fought for the Uniform Penny Postage, and will welcome a record of them. Among the gentlemen who attended were the following:—The members of the Mercantile Committee present, were, Messrs. J. Pattison, M.P., W. H. Ashurst, Frederick L. Cole, J. Dillon, H. Gledstones, G. Moffatt, J.

Travers, W. A. Wilkinson, and Lestock Wilson. Among the members of the House of Commons were the following well-known names:—H. Aglionby, E. Baines, F. B. Beamish, J. Bowes, C. Buller, J. Brotherton, Raikes Currie, Sir J. Campbell (Attorney-General), Sir E. Codrington, S. Crawley, T. Duncombe, Hon. C. Dundas, Right Hon. E. Ellice, W. Ewart, Howard Elphinstone, J. Easthope, Lord Euston, R. Ferguson, R. C. Ferguson, Sir John Guest, T. Milner Gibson, A. Hastie, Joseph Hume, T. B. Hobhouse, W. G. Hayter, C. Hindley, D. Whittle Harvey, E. Horsman, B. Hawes, J. Heathcoat, P. Howard, A. Kinnaird, J. S. Lefevre, C. Langdale, Sir W. Molesworth, W. Marshall, P. St. John Mildmay, Daniel O'Connell and four other O'Connells, J. Pease, W. R. C. Stansfield, E. Strutt, Sir G. Strickland, J. Scholefield, Lord J. Stuart, B. Smith, T. Thorneley, C. P. Villiers, H. Warburton, H. G. Ward, Alderman Sir M. Wood, and W. Williams. I assisted Mr. Warburton to organize this deputation.

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POSTAGE.
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Part I.

M.P.s present.

MR. WARBURTON stated that he had been requested to introduce the deputation in the absence of Mr. Wallace; and then in a very clear and forcible manner represented the objects of the deputation. He stated that the plan proposed by Mr. R. Hill, had been thoroughly examined; its adoption had been recommended by the Parliamentary Committee, and in proportion as it had become known, it had received the sanction and support of public opinion; and that opinion had become so general and so strong, that the very numerous attendance of members of Parliament, in addition to the deputation from the Mercantile Committee, was the result. They were there to evidence to his lordship the strong interest felt by their several constituencies, and by the commercial and trading interests, for the adoption of this measure. The Parliamentary Committee had been assisted by a Committee of Merchants, who had been able, from their high respectability and great influence, to produce a great body of evidence in support of the proposal, and showing its vital importance to the commercial and trading interests of the country. He pressed this matter upon his

Mr. Warburton's address.

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lordship's attention on its own merits, as well as from a conviction that it would be felt and received from the highest to the lowest, as a boon, if conceded *now*. To the poor he might say in particular, it would be an invaluable concession, and one that would be received, from whoever should concede it, as a highly popular measure. If he might be pardoned for making the observation upon such an occasion, he would say it would be a concession so wise, that it would be well calculated to make any government justly popular, and he would strongly urge it as a measure which a Liberal party had a just right to expect from a Liberal administration. There was no measure that could be immediately granted, the benefits of which would be so extensively felt, or that would be so well calculated to remove, in a considerable degree, that discontent which it could not be denied or disguised now existed. As to the revenue, that was a matter not to be overlooked or lightly considered, and it had been well considered by the Parliamentary as well as the Mercantile Committee. The returns of the advertisement duty for five years before and the five years next following the repeal, showed that the reduction of the duty, slight as it was, compared with that now proposed on postage, had converted a slightly decreasing return into an increasing product; it had increased, and in the last year, 1838, was still increasing. He then referred to the importance of the testimony of Sir Edward Lees, the Post-office Secretary for Scotland, and said the result of the whole in the minds of those who had maturely and fully considered the matter was, that a penny postage for the whole of the three kingdoms, was the only *safe* sum in a fiscal point of view. MR. TRAVERS, as one of the London Mercantile Committee, could assure his lordship that this matter had been maturely considered by men of great commercial experience, and that the conviction was general that the revenue would be safe at a penny, but that twopence would not yield the great result commercially, which a penny, in his judgment, would certainly yield. He should be afraid of obtaining his lordship's belief, if, on an occasion like the present, requiring a subdued expression of conviction as to results yet to be produced, he was to state the extent of his own confident anticipations; but he would assure his lordship that the concession would not only enable merchants and traders to do their business much better, but also greatly enlarge the

Mr. Travers
on smug-
gling.

quantity done. The increase to the general revenue from that, would not escape his lordship. But one grave and serious evil would not be removed by a twopenny rate—that was evasion and smuggling. His lordship could have no adequate idea of the extent to which the present heavy rates forced the smuggling practice upon all—not the smaller traders only—he did not except himself; and though he was not to be classed among the highest or the lowest, those of greater, as well as those of less extensive commercial importance were driven to this practice, and a penny only, would, by removing the cause, remove the effect, and bring this large class of correspondence into the Post-office. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir John Campbell) represented in very strong terms the sentiments of his constituents in Edinburgh, in favour of an uniform penny postage, and that the feeling there was not limited to political party, but was general and intense. Mr. MARK PHILIPS then stated several important facts relative to the extent of the evasion forced upon the commercial and trading interests of Manchester and Liverpool, showing the impossibility of preserving the correspondence of the country to the Post-office, unless this plan was adopted. Mr. O'CONNELL, from a distant part of the room, which was densely crowded, mounted a table and said: "One word for old Ireland, my lord! My poor countrymen do not smuggle, for the high postage works a total prohibition to them. They are too poor to find out secondary conveyances, and if you shut the Post-office to them, which you do now, you shut out warm hearts and generous affections from home, kindred and friends. Consider, my lord, that a letter to Ireland, and the answer back, would cost thousands upon thousands of my poor and affectionate countrymen, considerably more than a fifth of their week's wages; and let any gentleman here ask himself what would be the influence upon his correspondence, if, for every letter he wrote, he or his family had to pay one-fifth of a week's income." Mr. HUME then produced some statistical details, confirming Mr. Warburton's conclusions. Mr. MOFFATT, the treasurer of the London Mercantile Committee, said that if government felt any doubt about the ultimate safety of the revenue, and had no scruples in farming it out, there would be no difficulty in London, in finding a body of high mercantile character to carry out the plan proposed, with the same security to the public for safe conveyance, and not

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Sir John
Campbell
and Scot-
land.

Mr. Mark
Philips and
Manchester
and Liver-
pool.

Mr. O'Con-
nell and
Ireland.

Mr. Hume.

Mr. Moffatt's
challenge.

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POSTAGE.

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Lord Mel-
bourne's
reply.

to exceed the charge proposed of one penny ; and also to secure to the government the full amount of revenue which is now derived from the Post-office department. Lord MELBOURNE said that the able manner in which the subject had been brought under the attention of her Majesty's government by Mr. Warburton, would secure for it the most serious attention, if its own importance did not. It was one of great moment in a commercial, literary, and social view, and he could not but feel for those interests which had so ably been brought into view, by the gentlemen who had spoken, and particularly for those which had been so feelingly expressed by the honourable member for Dublin. It would be obvious to all present—indeed they had shown it was present to their minds—that the revenue must, for the safety of all, be provided for and made safe ; and that was a consideration, he might say, nearly as much to be borne in mind by the gentlemen of the House of Commons, so many of whom were now present, as of her Majesty's government. Of course, the deputation would not expect him to express any opinion on this occasion ; but they might rely upon the subject receiving that attention, its importance and the many interests connected with it demanded. The government had already discussed it—they had come to no adverse conclusions—they would further consider it, and could not fail to give a very careful consideration to the statements which had been made at that interview. The deputation then retired. A strong feeling evidently pervaded the room in reference to Mr. Warburton's allusion to the just expectation of the public :—"It would be a concession so wise, that it would be well calculated to make any Government justly popular, *and he would strongly urge it as a measure which a Liberal party had a just right to expect from a Liberal administration.*" He was then loudly cheered.

The "Morning Chronicle" of the day (now no longer existing), which was edited by Mr. Black, gave the report. Being present at the meeting, I have revised it. On the evening of that day, I dined with the Political Economy Club, when Mr. MacCulloch attacked the plan *in toto*. He was answered by Mr. S. J. Loyd (Lord Overstone), with force and logic, and I raised a laugh by asking Mr.

Political
Economy
Club
dinner.

MacCulloch why, holding the opinions he now expressed, he had signed a petition in favour of the plan, before he had been appointed Controller of the Stationery Office ?

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XX. For the next few weeks, there was great anxiety about the course which the Government would adopt. On 26th May, 1839, I made the acquaintance of Richard Cobden, and stayed at his house in Quay Street, Manchester (see *postea* and Vol. II.). It was afterwards occupied by Owens' College, which carried on its work there, until it removed to Mr. Waterhouse's New Buildings in the Oxford Road. The object of my visit was to enlist the sympathy of Manchester by obtaining subscriptions ; and in three hours Cobden collected £105, which were paid, and more was promised. I then went to Liverpool, with introductions to Mr. W. Brown, Mr. Ramsden, &c., who engaged to send £150 to London. It had been resolved to hold a public meeting to support ministers in bringing forward the uniform Penny Postage. Placards were issued summoning a meeting at the Mansion House. But Mr. Moffatt, holding doubts of the intention of the Government to introduce a bill before the session was over, took upon himself the responsibility of publicly stopping the meeting, because of the uncertain course of the Government.¹ On my return to town, I found the meeting at the Mansion House postponed. The effect of Mr. Moffatt's sagacity and courage, induced Lord John Russell on 31st May, to announce in the House of Commons

Richard
Cobden.

City meeting
postponed.

¹ "Reduction of Postage. Meeting postponed.

"Jerusalem Coffee House,
"29th May, 1839.

"A communication has been made to the Mercantile Committee on Postage, that Her Majesty's Government intended to adopt a Uniform Penny Postage, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer having merely announced 'That in the course of a Fortnight

he hoped to have it in his power to propose a Resolution upon the subject of the Postage of Letters, founded upon the Report of the Committee which sat last year,' the Mercantile Committee beg to inform the Public, that the Meeting of Merchants, Bankers, &c., intended to have been held at the *Egyptian Hall*, on *Friday, 31st inst.*, is postponed until the measure is laid before Parliament."

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PENNY
POSTAGE,
A. D.
1838-1841.
Part I.

that the Government would adopt the uniform Penny Postage. I insert Rowland Hill's summary of what was going on. He says:—

“To return to my narrative ; a few days later, Mr. Warburton having in the House asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether Government intended to proceed with a two-penny or penny rate, Lord John Russell replied that the intention of Government was to propose a *resolution* in favour of a uniform Penny Postage. Earl Russell states in his ‘Recollections,’ &c., that ‘the Cabinet was unanimous in the decision’ (vide p. 231), remarking, ‘the plan will be in conformity with that which has been proposed by the committee as likely to be the most beneficial one,’ and adding, that, though the scheme would necessarily involve many months of preparation, no time should be lost. (This passage is entirely omitted in ‘Hansard,’ but is recorded partly in the ‘Post Circular,’ No. 14, p. 59; and partly in the ‘Mirror of Parliament,’ vol. xxxviii., p. 2578.—Ed.) Having been apprised of Mr. Warburton's intention, I was present when the announcement was made ; and I leave the reader to imagine the deep gratification I felt.”—“Life of Sir R. Hill,” p. 344-5.

XXI. Mr. Moffatt and others thought that a mere *resolution* which might be rescinded by another resolution was insufficient, and that nothing less than an Act of Parliament would do. Whilst the certain adoption of Rowland Hill's plan appeared to be in such jeopardy, Mr. Warburton, who was a zealous fisherman, had left London for his favourite pastime ; and I went up the Thames to search for him. Mr. Joseph Parkes had set about a rumour that Lord Melbourne had sent for him several times ; and I started for Maidenhead, where I heard at the Orkney Arms that Mr. Warburton had left : so I sent letters by post that night to all the fishing stations about, urging his immediate return to town. Mr. Moffatt's decision, in my opinion, greatly helped to secure the adoption of the Uniform Penny Postage at that time.

Mr. Warburton away fishing.

XXII. The Mercantile Committee directed me to call upon Lord Radnor with petitions, and I did so on the 25th June, and he agreed that he would ask Lord Melbourne that evening to say positively if the Government would introduce a Bill or not. He did so, and received a satisfactory answer, which gratified the Mercantile Committee, and on 5th July, 1839, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing forward his budget, promised to introduce a Bill for the Penny Postage, if the House would pledge itself to make good any deficiency in the revenue. Sir Robert Peel declined to give any such pledge. In reference to the popular demand for the measure, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) made the following remarkable declaration :—

“ I find that the mass of them [the petitions] present the most extraordinary combination I ever saw of representations to one purpose from all classes, unswayed by any political motives whatever ; from persons of all shades of opinion, political and religious ; from clergymen of the Established Church, and from all classes of Protestant Dissenters ; from the clergymen of Scotland, from the commercial and trading communities in all parts of the Kingdom.”
—“ Life of Sir R. Hill,” p. 349.

XXIII. On the 10th July, a public meeting was held at the Mansion House, organized by Mr. Moffatt, and it passed off brilliantly. In the course of the next day, a petition from the City was prepared, and received upwards of 12,500 signatures in a few hours. I took it to Mr. Alderman Wood, who with his colleagues, Messrs. Pattison, Crawford, and Grote, presented it on the 12th, when Mr. Goulburn brought forward resolutions against the Bill, which were rejected by a majority of a hundred. Sir Robert Peel then moved an amendment to omit the pledge, and that was rejected by a majority of sixty. The Bill being now safe in the Commons, it was my duty to visit Peers and endeavour to influence them in its favour. On 23rd July, 1839, says Sir Rowland

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Mr. Goul-
burn and
Sir R. Peel
defeated.

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POSTAGE.
A.D.
1838-1841.
Part I.
City peti-
tion to the
Lords.

Hill, "the public anxiety relative to the House of Lords, showed itself in a petition signed by the Mayor and upwards of twelve thousand five hundred of the merchants of the City of London, which the noble Lord who presented the petition, understood had been signed in twelve hours, praying that no temporary deficiency of revenue might delay the establishment of penny postage" ("Hansard," vol. xlix., p. 687). This was a duplicate of the petition presented to the Commons on the 12th July.

Interviews
with Peers.

XXIV. At this very critical period, whilst the Bill was in the Lords, I had interviews with many peers. The large majorities in the Commons against Mr. Goulburn's and Sir Robert Peel's resolutions, had their effect. The Duke of Richmond, who had been Postmaster-General, appointed to see me, and on 13th July I called upon him in Portland Place. He cordially agreed to present and support the London Petition. He was quite friendly to the measure, and apprehended the Lords' opposition, only, as he said, "if Ministers *were unable to explain the details.*" He added, "I will quiz the Lords out of franking, by allowing them fifteen pence a day instead." On the 17th I saw Lord Ashburton, who expressed to me his opinion, "that it was undesirable that the public feeling should cool without settling the matter." I called on several Lords on 18th July. A deputation consisting of Messrs. Grote, M.P., Moffatt, Gledstones, Lestock Wilson, and myself, waited upon Lord Ashburton, who told us that "he thought the Lords would not throw out the Bill." Lord Lyndhurst received us, and almost before the subject was introduced, said, "The Lords will pass your Bill! They have nothing to do with revenue, that is for the Commons; the pledge is an absurdity." We went next to Lord Ripon, who expressed himself decidedly for the Penny Post, and not a twopenny rate. He was adverse to any tax on Postage.

Duke of
Richmond.

Lord Ash-
burton.

Lord Lynd-
hurst.

XXV. The subject came on in the House of Lords, 5th August, and I was present on the Throne with Rowland Hill and others. Lord Melbourne urged the adoption of the measure, because "of the very general feeling and general concurrence of all parties in favour of the measure." The Duke of Wellington began by denouncing the weakness of the ministry. He objected to the measure on the score of depression in the finances, but fully recognized the evils of high postage rates. Rowland Hill and myself felt alarmed, and my heart beat quickly, but we were relieved when he said, "what was called Mr. Rowland Hill's plan was, *if it was adopted exactly as proposed*" (this said with emphasis) "of all plans most likely to be successful." He ended by saying, "I throw the responsibility on the ministers, and I shall, although with great reluctance, vote for the bill, but *I earnestly recommend* your lordships to *do likewise*." And so the Act was passed (2 and 3 Vic. c. 52), and the Queen cheerfully volunteered to resign the privilege of franking, and pay postage like all her subjects. Richard Cobden upon hearing the news exclaimed, "There go the Corn Laws!" feeling that new flood-gates of knowledge were thereby opened. He soon afterwards wished to enlist my services for the Anti-Corn Law League.

XXVI. The agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws had begun in the early part of 1839, and the "Anti-Corn Law Circular,"¹ following the example of the "Post Circular," was started. On the 18th February, 1840, a deputation consisting of Mr. Paulton, the lecturer of the Anti-Corn Law

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Bill passed
the Lords.

The Queen
and frank-
ing.

There go
the Corn
Laws.

¹ When the Corn Laws were repealed, the Circular was edited by Mr. James Wilson, who afterwards entered Parliament, became Financial Secretary to the Treasury, then Minister of Finance in the Indian Council, and went to India, and died there. The Cir-

cular itself was turned by him into the "Economist," became a valuable property, and was edited by his son-in-law Mr. Walter Bagehot, till his death. It is now conducted by Mr. Inglis Palgrave, son of Sir Francis before mentioned.

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Anti-Corn
Law Agi-
tation.

Richard
Cobden.

League, and others, waited upon me and brought a letter from Mr. Francis Place, a noted Radical politician in Westminster, and once I believe, a supporter of Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Place begged me to undertake the Secretaryship of the Anti-Corn Law Agitation. They came to me at 24, Notting Hill Square, where I was living at that time, having an open view of the race-course called the Hippodrome, within two miles of the old Tyburn Gallows.¹ On 24th February, Mr. Cobden himself, and Mr. John Smith, chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, called upon me at the Record Office in Whitehall Yard, to urge me to take the office of Secretary, and join in the agitation against the Corn Laws. I strongly sympathized with the movement, on the grounds which Cobden stated to Mr. George Combe (see Morley's "Life of Cobden"), but both public and private reasons compelled me to decline the offer. I promised, however, to assist the Circular, and induced Thackeray to design various illustrations which are revived in the second volume to remind his admirers of his first attempts.

XXVII. Immediately after the Act was passed on the 17th August, 1839, the Treasury having acquired full powers, issued on the 23rd August, a minute by which "My Lords assumed—

"A power of carrying into effect the reduced and uniform rate of postage contemplated by Parliament, either according to the present mode of collecting the postage, or by pre-payment, collected by means of stamps, compulsory or optional.

"In comparing the advantages which may arise from the plan of pre-payment, by means of stamps, if such plan should be adopted, much must depend upon the stamp which may be employed. For the convenience of the public, it is of the greatest importance that the mode selected should afford every facility for obtaining and using the stamp. It is also clear that the charge

¹ See Timbs' "Curiosities of London," p. 744.

which will fall upon the public, in the shape of extra payment, on account of the stamp itself, in addition to the penny rate, must vary according to the nature of the stamp adopted.

“In the course of the inquiries and discussions on the subject, several plans were suggested, viz., stamped covers, stamped paper, and stamps to be used separately, and to be applied to any letter, of whatever description, and written on any paper.

“Before my Lords can decide upon the adoption of any course, either by stamp or otherwise, they feel it will be useful that artists, men of science, and the public in general, may have an opportunity of offering any suggestions or proposals as to the manner in which the stamp may best be brought into use. With this view, my Lords will be prepared to receive and consider any proposal which may be sent in to them on or before the 15th day of October, 1839.

“All persons desirous of communicating with my Lords on the subject, are requested to direct to the Lords of the Treasury, Whitehall, marked ‘Post-office Stamp.’

“My Lords will be prepared to award a premium of £200 to such proposal as they may consider the most deserving of attention, and £100 to the next best proposal.

“My Lords will feel at liberty to adopt, for the public service, any of the suggestions which may be contained in any communications made to them, except, of course, where parties have any right secured by patent.

“The points which this Board consider of the greatest importance, are—

“1. The convenience, as regards the public use.

“2. The security from forgery.

“3. The facility of being checked and distinguished in the examination at the Post-office, which must of necessity be rapid.

“4. The expense of the production and circulation of the stamps.”

XXVIII. According to the Treasury invitation I sent, 8th Oct., an essay on the four points emphasized by the Treasury, as most important. I mention the date, because I did not enter on my service at the Treasury to assist Mr. Hill, until 13th October, although Mr. F. Baring, who had succeeded

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Premiums
offered by
Treasury.

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Mr. Spring-Rice (created Lord Monteagle) as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had consented to Mr. Hill's proposal to engage me on the 20th September. Lord Langdale kindly gave me leave to go to the Treasury in the afternoon, after my work on the Records in Whitehall Yard was over.

XXIX. In my essay (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 118) I entered fully upon the general question of forgery, and suggested adhesive stamps and stamped covers. Many improvements in the last forty years, have taken place in printing, and the manufacture of paper. The Excise restrictions have been removed, and freedom of action has enabled improvements to be introduced. In 1839, the means of producing a large sheet of paper with numerous water-marks upon it, was but imperfectly realized as a practical manufacture. Now "The Times" produces a roll of paper seven miles long, which can be cut into ten thousand sheets four feet by three feet, every sheet having a water-mark of the name of the mills, Taverham, Wrigley and Sons, McMurray, and others, showing where the paper is made. Messrs. Perkins and Bacon had perfected a process of reproducing engravings, which they applied to the manufacture of bank-notes. They used a hardened steel matrix which was capable of reproducing identical engravings without limit, and this process was applied to the production of the adhesive postage stamps, in the form of the Queen's head. The account given by Sir Rowland Hill, of the application of Perkins' clever process for producing identical engravings, is as follows:—

Essay on
Postage
Stamps.

Perkins'
stamps.

"The Queen's head was first engraved by hand on a single matrix; the effigy being encompassed with lines too fine for any hand, or even any but the most delicate machinery to engrave. The matrix being subsequently hardened, was employed to produce impressions on a soft steel roller of sufficient circumference to receive twelve; and this being hardened in turn, was used under very heavy pressure to produce and repeat its counterpart on a steel

plate, to such extent that this, when used in printing, produced at each impression two hundred and forty stamps; all this being of course done, as machinists will at once perceive, according to the process invented by the late Mr. Perkins.

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“In this manner there were produced in the first fifteen years, more than three thousand millions of stamps; all, as being derived from the same matrix, of course absolutely uniform. At the end of that time, it was thought desirable to create a second matrix, but as this was obtained by transfer from the first—save that the lines were deepened by hand—the deviation from identity was at most very slight. With plates procured from this, the process however being somewhat modified, there had been printed, up to July, 1867, more than seven thousand millions of stamps; thus making up a total of considerably more than ten thousand millions, in all of which the impression is, for all practical purposes, absolutely uniform.” (R. Hill's Life, Vol. I., p. 407.)

XXX. At the present time this process has been superseded by one invented by Messrs. De la Rue, who came prominently before the public with their envelope machine at the Exhibition of 1851. The Queen's head stamps are produced not by engraving *en creux*, but by typography and surface printing. These stamps have several advantages over those first invented. They are more easily fixed to letters. The cancellation of them is more sure, because they are printed with vegetable inks; and they are more economical, to the extent, it is said, of £10,000 a-year. It has seemed to me that I am justified in printing my treatise now for the first time, in this work, as giving the history of various technical processes applied in the production of an article now common in the civilized world. The treatise will serve as a prelude to every collection of postage stamps. Collections are now numerous throughout the world, and have an extravagant value according to their rarity.¹ Rowland Hill observes:—

De la Rue's
stamps.

¹ I have preserved nearly all of the first experiments made with proofs of the various stamps. It is my intention, when my daughter assisting me in this

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“ With regard, however, to the competing plans for collecting the postage, though valuable suggestions were afforded by several, no one was deemed sufficient in itself. In the end there were selected from the whole number of competitors, four whose suggestions appeared to evince most ingenuity. The reward that had been offered was divided amongst them in equal shares, each receiving £100.”

Successful
competitors.

XXXI. Some 2,700 candidates sent papers to the Treasury, and the names of the successful competitors were as follows:—Mr. Cheverton, Mr. C. Whiting, myself, and, I believe, Messrs. Perkins, Bacon, and Co. Mr. Hill, on the 19th December, informed me of the Treasury minute awarding me one of the prizes.

XXXII. My duty at the Treasury was of a most miscellaneous character; consulting the Post Office officials, especially Mr. Bokenham, preparing forms of returns wanted by Mr. Hill,¹ inquiring into modes of conveying letters by public carriages, discussing daily with Rowland Hill points of difficulty, the production of the different kinds of stamps to be decided upon, &c.

XXXIII. But my principal work in fact, became the superintendence of the production of the three forms of stamps which it had been resolved to adopt; namely, an adhesive stamp to be attached to any letters; envelopes; and a stamp to be embossed upon paper of any kind sent to the Stamp Office. For the adhesive stamp, Perkins' process was employed. Mr. W. Wyon, R.A., was commissioned to produce a head of Her Majesty as a medallion, to be embossed on any paper, which is still in use. I was charged to obtain a design for the postage cover. I first consulted

work thinks fit, that this collection shall be given to the British Museum.

¹ Such as returns relating to—1. The SHIP Letters and Newspapers; 2. Number of MILES travelled by

Mails, distinguished from those on Railways; 3. PENNY POSTS created since 1839; 4. The number of letters registered; 5. Rates of Postage of Letters delivered in London, &c., &c.

Sir Martin Archer Shee, the President of the Royal Academy, who suggested that I should communicate with Sir Richard Westmacott, and Messrs. Cockerell, Howard, Eastlake, and Hilton, all Royal Academicians. After making these inquiries, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Francis Baring, wished me to see Mr. Mulready. On the 13th December, 1839, I made my first visit to Mr. Mulready, and began an acquaintance which lasted till his death in 1863.¹ He readily entered into the idea, and promised to make a trial. I called upon him on the Sunday following, when I found that he had produced the highly poetic design which was afterwards adopted, and Mr. John Thompson was commissioned to engrave it upon brass;—a most difficult and laborious work, which he did not complete till April, when the stamps produced from it were officially sanctioned. It will be observed that one of the flying angels is drawn without a second foot! Mulready, Mr. Thompson, and others, had been watching weekly the engraving of this design without discovering this defect, which the public instantly detected, and the omission was made the subject of a caricature, but corrected in the original drawing given to Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., which he greatly appreciated.

XXXIV. After forty years additional experience, I agree in the soundness of the public opinion expressed, that this fine design was quite unsuitable for its purpose. Sir Rowland Hill, vol. i., p. 393, says:—

“Of this design I may remark, that though it brought so much ridicule on the artist and his employers, yet it was regarded very favourably before issuing, by the Royal Academicians, to whom it was presented when they assembled in council.”

¹ His tomb, designed by Godfrey Sykes, is in Kensal Green Cemetery. The balance of the public subscriptions for it, is applied as a prize for

drawing the nude figure in Mulready's method, with black and red chalk, on straw-coloured paper, to be awarded by the Society of Arts.

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Mulready
designs a
Cover.

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The postage cover was for a dry commercial use, in which sentiment has no part. The merchant who wishes to pre-



Mulready's
Design.

This was engraved on brass, and took the artist four months to execute. Stereotype plates were then produced.

pay his letter, rejects anything that disturbs his attention. I now think that anything, even a mere meaningless ornamental design, would have been out of place. The baldest

simplicity only, was necessary. Had an allegorical fresco for any public building been required to symbolize the introduction of the universal penny postage, nothing could have been better than Mulready's design, and I still hope to see it perpetuated in some fine work of art where it would not be impertinent. Its enlargement would be a good exercise for the students of the National Art Training School.

XXXVI. The preparation of the stamps delayed the introduction of them until May, 1840. Whilst engaged on postage work, I wrote an article on the introduction of the measure for the "Westminster Review" in 1840, from which I make the following extracts:—

"The most eligible mode of employing stamps for the purposes of the Post Office, has naturally formed the subject of much deliberation. The idea itself is by no means new. It is shown in M. Piron's recent pamphlet on the French Post Office, that the collection of postage by means of a stamp, was practised in Paris as early as 1653. A Mons. de Velay obtained a *privilege du roi* to establish a private post. He placed boxes throughout Paris for the receipt of letters enclosed in certain stamped covers, which he sold for a *sou* a-piece. In our own times and country, the notion is claimed by several persons. Some years before Mr. Hill applied the stamp to his invention of a uniform postage, Mr. Charles Whiting printed a proposal to the Government to issue stamped bands, or, as he termed them, 'Go-frees,' which were intended to frank a certain weight of printed matter. Mr. Hill acknowledges that he owes to Mr. Charles Knight the suggestion of a postage stamp. Mr. Louis, the late Superintendent of the Mails, says¹ that the principle was proposed to the Post Office several years ago, by a Mr. Stead. From whatever source the suggestion may first have sprung, Mr. Hill, in his various applications of it to the present purpose, has made the idea his own; and it would seem that after the labour of reading the two thousand five hundred proposals sent to the Treasury, 'my Lords' obtained from them no other modes of applying the postage stamp than those suggested

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Stamps first
appeared in
May, 1840.

"Westminster
Review"
article.

¹ Ev. 1829.

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Paper-
makers' ob-
jections.

by Mr. Hill himself, in a paper which he printed and circulated two months before the Treasury Minute was issued. In this paper Mr. Hill proposed the four kinds of stamps which the Treasury has directed to be prepared—stamped covers or half-sheets of paper, stamped envelopes, labels or adhesive stamps, and stamps struck on letter paper itself.

“Mr. Dickinson, a papermaker, who wished to introduce a peculiar sort of paper manufactured by himself, insisted upon the exclusive use of envelopes, in which sort of stamp it happened that the greatest quantity of his peculiar paper would be consumed. One of the dangers seen lurking in labels by Mr. Dickinson, was, that ‘the Postmaster, who would be required to paste on the stamp, might take the money and not affix the stamp.’ The answer to which is, that the Postmaster would not be required to paste on the stamp, and that the purchaser could either affix it himself, or see it done. Other like frivolities were started — ‘that the stamp would not stick,’ ‘that it would be rubbed off,’ and the like. No little pains were taken to induce the public to array itself on one side or other of the hostile factions. The newspapers, especially the provincial papers, espoused respectively either labels or envelopes. After the Act was passed, at least half-a-dozen different penny editions were hawked about the streets, each with ‘Notes by a Barrister,’ advocating respectively the cause of Mr. Wiggins or Mr. Dickinson; no one seeing that the use of all sorts was desirable, or at least that the public should be allowed to determine, by its own choice and a fair trial, which deserved the preference.

“There has been no lack of misrepresentation and captious objection on the part of various narrow selfish interests, which dreaded disturbance from the introduction of this new mode of collecting the Post Office revenue; and we think the Government acted judiciously in making the first trial of a cheap prepaid postage without the stamps, the result of which has been, that the novelty which a large part of the public were disposed to reject as unnecessary, they are now eager for, and impatient of not obtaining sooner. The increased desire to correspond, under the encouragement of cheapness, has created in its turn, the wish and necessity to conduct correspondence with the least possible trouble.

"The Post Office, even more than the public, must feel severely the want of stamps. People now rush to pay postage as they rush to the pit of a theatre on a crowded night. During the last half hour at the principal offices, especially in Lombard Street, the force of the Post Office for taking in letters, is far overtaxed. A night or two after the change to a penny, we ourselves witnessed the scene at St. Martin's-le-Grand. The great hall was nearly filled with spectators, marshalled in a line by the police, to watch the crowds pressing, scuffling, and fighting to get first to the window. The superintending president of the Inland Office, with praiseworthy zeal, was in all quarters directing the energy of his officers where the pressure was greatest. Formerly one window sufficed to receive letters. On this evening six windows, with two receivers at each, were bombarded by applicants. As the last quarter of an hour approached, and the crowd still thickened, a seventh window was opened, and that none might be turned away, Mr. Bokenham made some other opening, and took in letters and money himself. To the credit of the Post Office, not a single person lost the time, and we learnt that on this evening upwards of 3,000 letters had been posted in St. Martin's-le-Grand between five and six. A witness present on the first night of the penny post, described to us a similar scene. When the window closed, the mob, delighted at the energy displayed by the officers, gave one cheer for the Post Office and another for Rowland Hill. We are glad to perceive that the Post Office, with which the responsibility of success or failure in the execution of the plan really lies, seems fully alive to its obligations.

"The pressure upon all the receiving houses, both in the metropolis and throughout the kingdom, has also been very great. One receiver in the metropolis told us that were the system to last, he would not retain his office for £200 a-year. He added, that on the first day the letter writers scared away all his customers, and that he positively sold nothing. On several days he has taken in nearly 2,000 paid letters, his former average being about seventy.

"The substitution of the principle of charging by weight, for the anomalous one by pieces of paper, has been attended with no difficulty at all to the Post Office establishment. The extent to which the public has availed itself of the new method, may be inferred from the frequent notices in the papers of the transmission

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Scenes at
General Post
Office when
Penny Post
began.

of all sorts of things, shoes, gloves, silk, specimens of natural history, &c.

"The intermediate change to a fourpenny rate, made expressly to give the officers some practice in weighing before the great influx of letters came,—a measure which the factious misrepresented, and the ignorant impertinently pronounced to be unnecessary,—was fully justified by the circumstances which took place in London on the first night of the penny rate. Had the novelty of weighing been deferred to that time, and so coupled with a fourfold increase of letters, the whole establishment must almost inevitably have been thrown into disorder. As it was, not a single mail was dispatched one minute beyond its usual time.

"The prediction that uniformity of charge and rating by weight would much simplify the Post Office operations, is acknowledged to be completely realized. It is already shown that the same, or nearly the same, strength of establishment is able, on the new principle, to execute between a twofold and threefold amount of business."

I also wrote a short history of the Post Office for the "Penny Cyclopædia," which it is sufficient to allude to.

XXXV. My engagement at the Treasury lasted until 8th January, 1842. Mr. Trevelyan, the Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury (now Sir Charles Trevelyan, Bart.), informed me on 11th November, 1841, that Mr. Goulburn, who had become Chancellor of the Exchequer in Sir Robert Peel's ministry, desired the engagement to terminate the *next day*. Upon my remonstrating that such suddenness had somewhat the flavour of a stigma with it, it was agreed that I should resign my appointment at the end of the quarter.¹

¹ "November 11th, 1841.—Mr. Trevelyan told me that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided with regard to Cole (he leaves on January 10th, at the end of his quarter). January 8th, 1842.—Cole leaves me to-day. The progress of the Penny Postage both before and after its adoption by Government, has been

greatly promoted by his zeal and activity."—*Life of Sir R. Hill*, p. 447.

In the "Life of Rowland Hill" is quoted (vol. i., p. 361) an extract from Miss Martineau's "Autobiography" (vol. i., p. 410), which I repeat:—

"Mr. Rowland Hill was then pondering his scheme, and ascertaining the facts which he was to present with

XXXVI. Sir Robert Peel succeeded Lord Melbourne as Prime Minister, in the autumn of 1841. Rowland Hill and myself hoped that Lord Lowther would become Postmaster-General, having supported Uniform Postage, and I suggested the appointment whilst the new ministry was in course of formation, but it was objected that he was not a Peer. I returned to the subject, and said, "Make him one."¹ And he was raised to the House of Lords and made Postmaster-General, but he did not fulfil the expectations which he had raised out of office as a Post Office Reformer.

XXXVII. I conclude this chapter with a happy announcement. The hope which I expressed that a PARCEL POST would be introduced, is about to be realised shortly. Mr. Fawcett on 27th March, 1882, stated in the House of Commons that the Treasury had sanctioned a Parcels Post, by means of which any parcel not exceeding seven pounds weight might be sent throughout the United Kingdom for one shilling, and throughout Europe at a somewhat higher charge. It may be predicted as the system succeeds that the weight will be increased. In Germany, &c., a traveller may forward his portmanteau! Cannot the Saxon in England be as well off as the Saxon in Germany?

so remarkable an accuracy. His manner in those days—his slowness and hesitating speech—were not commendatory of his doctrine to those who would not trouble themselves to discern its excellence and urgent need. If he had been prepossessing in manner and fluent and lively in speech, it might have saved him half his difficulties, and the nation some delay; but he was so accurate, so earnest, so irrefragable in his facts, so wise and benevolent in his intentions, and so well-timed with his scheme, that success was, in my opinion, certain from the beginning; and so I used to tell some conceited and shallow members

and adherents of the Whig Government, whose flippancy, haughtiness, and ignorance about a matter of such transcendent importance, tried my temper exceedingly. Rowland Hill might and did bear it; but I own I could not always. Even Sydney Smith was so unlike himself on this occasion as to talk and write of 'His nonsense of a Penny Postage.' . . . Lord Montague with entire complacency, used to smile it down at evening parties, and lift his eyebrows at the credulity of the world which would suppose that a scheme so wild could ever be tried."

¹ See "Morning Chronicle," 1st September, 1841.

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POSTAGE.
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1838-1841.
Part I.



WORK WITH RAILWAYS AND DOCKS.

PART I.

1845-1849.

I.



DURING the years 1845¹ to 1848 inclusive, I was engaged in the consideration of some questions respecting Railways and Docks, having a national importance. My leisure from the Public Records, as well as my evenings, were often employed in

¹ In this year, 1845, England was visited with one of its periodical epidemics of commercial folly, the Railway Mania as it was called, which rivalled in intensity the South Sea Bubble of 1720. Peers, pecesses, commoners, merchants, tradesmen, domestic servants, operatives, were all involved in the madness, and the ruin entailed by it. They were humorously related by Thackeray's Jeames Yellowplush's correspondence in "Punch." An idol of Mammon was raised in the person of a linen-draper of York, and the whole nation bowed down before the footstool of King Hudson, "who receives the grantees of this country at his levees or soirees and couchees;" which much excited the wrath of Carlyle in his "Latter-day Pamphlets:" £25,000

were raised as a testimonial to this "Ideal of the Scrip Ages." The "Times" of 15th Sept., 1845, in its money article, recorded how that 707 new companies had subscribed promises to pay, amounting to £464,698,000 (more than the National Debt), to make railways all over the country. Henry Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, warned the clergy against this mania in an episcopal letter: and I was prompted to combine many of the absurdities which the tempting prospectuses of bubble railways put forth, and composed a prospectus which was inserted as an advertisement, of a projected railway in the "Railway Chronicle" of 11th Oct., 1845. It was entitled "The Great National Direct Independent Lands' End and John O'Groats At-

RAILWAYS
AND DOCKS.
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1845-1849.
Part I.

Railway
mania.

Bishop of
Exeter's
warning.

examining and exploring, and thus collecting information of public buildings having an archæological and picturesque character. I was thus led to travel constantly on the railways terminating in London, and I spent many months during two years in doing so. I embodied the results of my work in a series of Railway Charts (see Illustrations in Vol. II.) which were chiefly illustrated by Mr. David Cox, junior, Mr. C. C. Pyne, son of one of the founders of the Old Water-Colour Society (who published "Wine and Walnuts," and other works), and by Mr. Frazer Redgrave, who became a principal clerk in the Office of Woods. During this work, some deficiencies in railway management impressed themselves upon my attention. The intermixture of passenger and goods traffic, and the inevitable delays occasioned by it, were palpable, and I was impelled to submit suggestions for removing them.

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Railway
Charts.

I published a letter in November, 1846, addressed to Mr. Robert Stephenson, the engineer of the L. and N. W. Railway, on the expediency of having quadruple rails, so as to separate the passenger and goods traffic.

"The idea of laying quadruple rails on the London and North-Western, is not now brought forward as an absolute novelty. It is one which has been floating about and gradually maturing itself for some months at least, and several good authorities on railway subjects, agree that to lay down four rails would be a wise measure, and that the present circumstances of this particular railway would fully warrant its adoption. . . . The object of having two sets of rails obviously would be to employ one for QUICK, and the other for SLOW traffic, keeping each in its use and management separate.

Quadruple
rails advo-
cated.

"The *quick* traffic would be for passengers and light parcels carried long distances; the *slow* for goods and certain passengers—

Passengers
and goods.

mospheric Railway, with Steam Ferries to the Scilly and Orkney Isles, and Coasting Docks at both Ter-

mini. Provisionally registered Capital, £9,500,000; in 95,000 shares of £100 each." It was received as serious!

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passengers to whom time is of little value, and passengers travelling very short distances. In the management of goods and passenger traffic, there is a practical antagonism. Goods traffic makes passenger traffic slower than it need be ; whilst passenger traffic necessitates that of goods to be far quicker than is expedient or economical. Such a division of the two as now proposed, would introduce great economy in the working of the railway—enable the fares for passengers by the slow trains to be scarcely higher than those for the transit of goods—greatly increase the number and even the speed of the quick trains, and promote general security.

Increased
security.

“First, as to *Security*.—This, though greater on railways than walking itself, or any other known mode of locomotion, might be said, without disparagement to its present amount, to be capable of being still further enhanced. The most fruitful source of danger is collision of trains ; and the great proportion of accidents arise from the collisions of goods and passenger trains—the cause sometimes arising from the tardiness of the first and the speed of the latter, and sometimes from obstructions on the line occasioned by neglect of management of goods trucks. Examples are of frequent occurrence. The accidents which happened on the 31st of October, 1846, between Stafford and Chelford may be mentioned as recent illustrations. On this occasion there was a continuous series of accidents. The first was occasioned by a luggage train running into a ballast train, causing a stoppage of the traffic. Two down passenger trains were forced to return to Stafford and wait. After two hours they started again ; and about ten miles further on were arrested by another luggage train which had got off the line. A second detention of two hours and a half had now to be suffered, during which six trains (four down and two up) were prevented from proceeding. The two down trains were joined at Crewe, and arrived at Chelford nearly five hours behind the proper time. While stopping at this station, the train was run into by a down luggage train.

“It is notorious that nothing less than the great vigilance and skill employed in conducting the traffic of the London and North-Western, prevents the continual collision of goods and passenger trains—so numerous and frequent are the trains. The mechanical difficulties and actual cost incurred in preventing collision, are almost inconceivable. . . .

“To separate, therefore, the quick passenger from the slow goods traffic, and maintain each on its separate rails, would be most desirable on the ground of security.

“Indeed, it may be doubted whether there could be much increase of the present goods traffic with safety, until this separation is made. At the present time, during the daytime, it is said that passenger and goods trains start on the average every twenty minutes; and this short interval between the starting of two trains on *so long a line* is, perhaps, the minimum that is safe. It may be safe and practicable on the Liverpool and Manchester, where the distance is little more than a fourth of that between London and Birmingham, to start trains every ten minutes, but so short an interval would be dangerous on a line of 112 miles. An incidental advantage from the division of the traffic, would be that night traffic, excessively harassing and inexpedient, might be altogether dispensed with for the slow or goods train.¹

“The tendency of the goods traffic is greatly to increase. Ordinary influences will cause it to do so, especially in connexion with the wise step of the London and North-Western in becoming its own carriers of goods. This will prove an economical boon to the public, which they will not be slow to appreciate; and it may reasonably be expected that there will be an enormous and progressive increase of goods traffic. The natural tendency of this increase is to *lessen the speed* of the passenger trains; so that while the public is calling out for the uniform or narrow gauge companies to make manifest their boast that the narrow can travel as fast as the broad gauge, circumstances to prevent their doing so are daily increasing. A division in the working of passenger and goods trains by means of four lines, would therefore enable a much greater speed to be attained by the quick or passenger trains, whilst a diminished and less costly rate of speed would govern the slow or goods trains. Express passenger trains might then be increased to any number which the public required, and the company found it profitable to employ. The difficulties of having two expresses to make the journey between London and Liverpool² in less than

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Railways
their own
carriers.

¹ Some express trains now start at only ten minutes apart.

² There are now many trains a day which perform the journey in five

hours, and five hours fifteen minutes to Liverpool, and to Manchester in four hours and forty minutes.

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five hours, to and fro, twice a day, would be entirely removed. The merchant would be in town by noon, and back at Liverpool by midnight, with an allowance of six hours in the metropolis; and it would, I contend, then fairly be seen how little the width of gauge really has to do with great speed. In the question of speed, in which at present the Great Western is so triumphant, the public make no allowance for the greater difficulties arising on a line on which there is a large goods traffic, as compared with a line on which that traffic is comparatively much less. In round numbers it may be estimated that the goods traffic of the Great Western, is to the passenger traffic as $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 15, while that of the London and North-Western, is as 23 to 28. The public advantages of quadruple rails would therefore be as great in respect of increased SPEED, as of increased SECURITY.

Low fares
at low speed.

“But great indeed as these would be, they are insignificant compared with the new feature which might be introduced of REDUCED FARES, AT A LOW SPEED—*i.e.*, the ordinary Continental speed, and the increased accommodation in the NUMBER OF TRAINS which would follow on the adoption of the measure. Increased speed and safety are but refinements on the already existing system, but the introduction of slow trains would superinduce economy of charges and a facility of travel almost illimitable.

Passengers
by all trains.

“To look plainly at the arrangements which would ensue from laying down four lines of rails, they may be stated to be these:—With every slow or goods train *passengers would be taken*. Large trucks, holding as many people as you please, and on six or more wheels, might be employed. Of course any hasty *ex cathedra* regulations of the late Railway Board of Trade against the union of goods and passengers in one train, must be abolished. The greater part, or perhaps all, of the short traffic at either terminus, might perhaps be wholly conducted with the goods trains. Stations might be greatly increased in number—might, indeed, be located wherever it would be profitable to do so through the line. In fact, the object would be to induce in all cases even the very poorest person to be carried by railway, rather than to walk.

“If coals, which require shifting in and out of the truck, can be taken at a penny per mile per ton, at 15 miles per hour, it seems no idle dream to say that a passenger in a fourth class carriage,

who troubles no one to put him in and out, might profitably be taken at the same rate, say 15 miles per hour, at a farthing a mile. The fishwomen of Billingsgate use the penny steamers on the Thames, as being cheaper than walking; and so even the Buckinghamshire labourer might find it most profitable to ride by the peasants' train.

"A new species of passenger traffic would altogether be created—not interfering at all with that which at present exists; and therein lies the virtue of the plan of quadruple rails. It does away with the real objections to the adoption of such low fares as we are talking of, in third and fourth class carriages on existing lines, which are briefly these:—That if you attach third class carriages at very low fares to your ordinary passenger trains, the majority of your passengers desert the first and second class carriages, however well able they may be to pay for the superior comfort of such carriages, and however reasonable the fares for first and second class carriages may be; so that you cannot offer accommodation to the poor without the rich seizing on it, and the revenue of the railway company immediately suffering to that extent: thus the arrangement is rendered totally inadmissible.¹

"That this is so, experience has now established on British lines; the case of the Glasgow and Greenock (see Mr. Harding's evidence before the Select Committee on Railways, 1844), on which the lowest scale of fares which has yet been tried in this country, prevailed, is the best example we know. The recent instance of the South-Western is also another case in point.

"The attainment, therefore, of extremely low fares by attaching third and fourth class carriages to the ordinary passenger trains on existing railways, is impracticable.

"The goods trains, again, on existing lines, so frequently run at night, are so heavy, being often as much as the engine can draw, and are so irregular in their time, from the constant stopping and shunting necessary, when they run in the daytime, in order to keep out of the way of passenger trains, as not to afford

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First,
second,
and third
class pas-
sengers.

Glasgow and
Greenock
Railway.

¹ This is now proved on all railways which have three classes of passengers. The receipts for third class had increased from £7,000,000 in 1869 to £15,000,000 in 1880. In

eleven years the travelling expenses of the poorer classes had increased by something like 115 per cent. (*Mr. Chamberlain in House of Commons.*)

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the means of offering the poorer classes the advantages of the Continental railway system.

“The plan of having four lines of rail obviates both these objections; for the principle on which this plan rests, is—that LOW FARES, FREQUENT STOPPAGES AND A COMPARATIVELY LOW AVERAGE RATE OF SPEED should go together; and that heavy traffic, under these conditions, should occupy two out of the four lines of rails;—whilst passenger and express trains, and mails and parcel traffic, travelling at the highest speed practically attainable, should occupy the other two lines of railway.

“It is only by keeping these different conditions together, that the maximum of convenience can be attained, and it is only by the plan of quadruple rails, that these conditions can be kept together.

Low fares at
low speeds.

“I contend, that all experience at home and abroad, shows, that extremely low fares (ranging say from $\frac{1}{4}d.$ to $1d.$ per mile), at low speeds, as on the Continent (from 10 to 20 miles per hour), will bring out a countless number of travellers of the most numerous class of society, who do not, at present, at all enter into returns of railway travelling; while speed and punctuality, as in England, will vastly increase the number of those who are able to pay, and ought to pay, the higher range of fares (say from $1d.$ to $3d.$ per mile), for travelling at the higher rates of speed which may now be regarded as ranging from 30 to 60 miles per hour. The value of time in travel would also be fairly estimated; and the poorer classes, whose name is legion, would flock in thousands to travel 15 miles an hour for fourpence.

Cheapness
induces con-
sumption.

“Abundant examples might be produced to show that it is cheapness rather than quality, which chiefly induces consumption. The railway between Glasgow and Paisley, has superseded the canal traffic. The railway minimum charge is sixpence, whilst the canal used to be twopence: and though the time of the journey has been reduced from an hour on the canal, to fifteen minutes by the rail, the number of passengers has actually *decreased by one-half*.

“The financial part of the experiment may, I think, be regarded as safe. It is certain that the revenue would be largely increased; and, although some increase in the working expenses would necessarily accompany the increased use of the railway, I

submit for your better judgment, that in one important branch of expenditure at least, great economy would result from the plan of having four lines of rails. As a separate item, the working of the goods traffic would be economized, for it is quite indisputable that the present cost of working the goods traffic is much greater than it need be. Every minute that a goods engine is blowing off its steam at a siding, waiting to allow a passenger train to pass by, is sheer waste. Every mile per hour that a goods train travels swifter than is absolutely necessary, is again wasteful."

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Part I.
Economy in
working.

I have lived to see this separation extensively and admirably carried into effect, especially on several parts of the London and North Western Railway, but much more remains to be done.

Quadruple
rails.

II. Soon after 1846, commissions were offered me from the London and North Western, and Manchester and Sheffield Railways, to undertake two works of national importance—namely, the PROMOTION OF UNIFORMITY OF GAUGE, and the ESTABLISHMENT OF DOCKS AT GRIMSBY, in connection with the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire system of railways.

Uniformity
of Gauge.
Docks at
Grimsby.

III. The battle of the Gauges was long and costly, and it raged both in and outside Parliament. According to the wholesome practice of this country, the battle was decided not by the Government, but by the public and by railway and commercial interests, which affirmed the necessity of having ONE UNIFORM GAUGE for the Railways within England and Scotland. What was known as the *Narrow Gauge* system, had been adopted by the London and North Western Railway Company and its allies, which in 1845 had extended it from the metropolis to Edinburgh.

Battle of
the Gauges.

Uniform
gauges.

IV. At that time there were three gauges, one of four feet eight inches wide, called the *Narrow Gauge*, and another of seven feet, called the *Broad*—whilst there was a third of five feet¹ begun on the Eastern Counties, but

Three
gauges.

¹ It is still general throughout Ireland.

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Stephenson,
Locke,

Brunel,
engineers
of the period.

Broad gauge
goes north-
ward.

soon altered to the four feet eight gauge. The narrow gauge had been introduced on the first passenger railway between Manchester and Liverpool, opened in 1830,¹ when Mr. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, was killed on the 15th September of that year. It gradually extended to London, and formed a system of lines now known as the London, and North Western system, in connection with the railways in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The Stephensons, George and Robert, father and son, and Joseph Locke, were the leading engineers who adopted the narrow gauge rails and became its successful champions.

V. The broad gauge system was the invention of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, son of Mark Isambard Brunel, both men of remarkable engineering genius. Isambard Kingdom Brunel invented and carried to great perfection the railway gauge of seven feet. He constructed the line from London to Bristol, which was opened 30th June, 1841, and for speed, safety, comfort, and style, was a great advance on all earlier work. It was very popular, but proved too costly. This line extended to Exeter, but not content with the western territory, the Great Western Railway system crept on to Gloucester, and then its directors were seized with the ambition to go to Birmingham and Liverpool, and they obtained Parliamentary powers to go to Worcester and Wolverhampton. I make extracts from a letter which, in 1846, I addressed to Mr. George Carr Glyn (afterwards Lord Wolverton), Chairman of the London and Birmingham Railway, on the jeopardy to which the interests of that line are exposed, by the Parliamentary resolutions of the House of Commons reversing the Gauge Commissioners' report.

¹ On 8th Oct., 1829, the first Railway commenced running at Rain Hill, on the Liverpool and Manchester Rail-

way. In 1880, nearly 18,000 miles of Railway had been constructed, and £802,000,000 of capital expended.

“Whilst the Great Western directors have been pertinacious and vehement in their advocacy of the broad gauge, the narrow gauge companies have abstained, as well from advocating Uniformity of gauge, as from defending even their own interests. This inaction, as is shown by the result, proves that the narrow gauge companies have greatly neglected their own interests, and committed an egregious mistake in keeping aloof from the question of Uniformity. They have left it to make its way on its own merits as one of national importance, apparently in obliviousness of the fact that, although Uniformity be a public question, it is one which vitally affects the welfare of the narrow gauge companies, and above all, of the London and Birmingham. Public questions are not carried in this country upon their intrinsic merits. It is by the energies of those whose private interests are touched by them.

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Superior
tactics of
the Great
Western.

“Free trade would never have established itself without the untiring advocacy of those interests, base breeches-pocket interests if you please, which suffered from commercial restrictions and monopolies. So it is with the National Uniformity of gauge question. It is a national question; but nevertheless there are money interests deeply to be affected by it. The battle of the gauges has been fought, but all on one side. It has been a fight waged by the broad gauge against national uniformity, against the narrow gauge now recognized as the standard gauge, and most especially against the London and Birmingham welfare. It has also been a fight against its own interests in reality, one in which whilst it injures itself it must injure others, and especially ourselves.

Uniformity
a national
question.

“You and our parliamentary friends cannot surely be fully sensible of this, or you would have acted differently. The proceedings of the broad gauge advocates ought to have suggested the necessity for similar vigour as their own, rather than feeble supineness. We ought to have fought them with their own weapons. If the Great Western went in aristocratic deputation to persuade the Board of Trade, why did not the London and Birmingham go, as they might have gone, in still stronger array? Methinks Sir George Clerk would have found the difficulty he so pathetically describes, of resisting the entreaties of the Great Western somewhat easier, and National Uniformity would have triumphed in practice as well as in theory. If Mr. Russell, Chair-

Great
Western
deputations.

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man of the Great Western, is the champion of broad gauge and against National Uniformity, why is there not as good a parliamentary champion as he, for the London and Birmingham and for National Uniformity of gauge? Is our cause, whether viewed as a public or private one, not worthy of a champion? Are our interests of less extent or less value than those of the Great Western? Every interest has its representative in Parliament but Uniformity of gauge and the narrow gauge. Except good Mr. Hume, not a voice raised itself to speak for the principle of Uniformity. The Great Western's parliamentary friends were 'whipped up' by canvassing, and agents, and circulars, to be vigilant in attendance on the debate. Why had not narrow gauge and National Uniformity its parliamentary whipper-in likewise? and when the broad-gauge advocate raised the shout of advocacy of public interests, meaning all the while his own dividends or Mr. Brunel's whims, why was he not met on the same ground, and by the stronger voice of the standard-gauge advocates?

Mr. Hume.

Uniformity
sacrificed.

"And see the effect of all these vigorous tactics; the blows have told; Uniformity of gauge is temporarily sacrificed, and worse still for us, a ruinous competitive battle will have eventually to be fought between us and the Great Western. We were beaten last year, notwithstanding we had public interests on our side, and were backed by the opinions of the Board of Trade. The Great Western showed themselves to be better parliamentary tacticians than ourselves, and won their Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton bill, by dint of good management rather than the intrinsic merits of the line or any virtue of broad gauge. But their triumph was arrested for the sake of large public interests, by the appointment of the Gauge Commission. The Gauge Commissioners, concurring with the Board of Trade, reversed their triumph, and decreed that it was not for the public good that the broad gauge should extend its eccentricity, or that this Oxford and Wolverhampton line should be constructed on the broad gauge. Now, see the potency, even a second time, of Great Western tactics; they were not daunted, though beaten twice.

Gauge Com-
missioners.

Board of
Trade.

"The Board of Trade was to be bamboozled against its own conviction, and the wisdom of the Gauge Commissioners to be treated as foolishness, and to be overridden even by the Board of Trade itself. Such was the mission of Messrs. Russell and Saunders, and

they have succeeded in it. And why? Not because they had any increased show of right; not because they were wiser or less partial judges of public interests than the Commissioners; but because their pertinacity was unchecked, and no one appeared to do battle with them with their own weapons. If Great Western interests opposed the Commissioners' Report, why did not the London and Birmingham interests support it? Incessant watchfulness was needed to oppose the artful manœuvres of the Great Western, but instead of this, incredulous apathy left them altogether unheeded and unopposed. And now we are called upon to believe that the broad gauge having got its territory extended northwards, in spite of Board of Trade and in spite of the Gauge Commissioners, to within thirty miles of Birmingham, will stop short there. It seems to me the most likely and natural thing in the world that it should go on to Birmingham. Go there it will. And what will be the result? Just what has happened wherever there has been competition, as with the well-known Derby and Midlands, and other contests—lower dividends to the proprietors—higher fares to the public; our ten per cent. dividend will come down in all likelihood to eight, the Great Western's to six, and instead of conveying the public between London and Birmingham at fares continually progressive in cheapness, the fares will be like the crab's progress—backwards.¹

“The ‘Spectator’ newspaper, in an excellent article on the decision of the Board of Trade, remarks, ‘The Board of Trade permit three lines not yet constructed, to the north and to the west of the Great Western, to be formed on the broad gauge, although the Acts for these railways only *allow*, do not *compel* the companies to adopt the broad gauge. The consequence of leaving the construction of broad gauge railways free within such an extensive field, will be an annual renewal of keen intrigues and canvassing between the broad and narrow gauge lines respectively, that all new companies starting within these districts may be brought to their allegiance;—all experience of railway legislation justifies the belief that the success of the broad or narrow gauge parties will depend in every individual case on the composition of the parliamentary committee. The most wasteful expenditure in jobbing

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Commissioners' Re-
port.

¹ This prophecy has been fulfilled.

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Part I.
Uniformity
of gauge.

will be incurred, with no better result than a perplexing intermixture of broad and narrow gauge lines.'”

VI. After the publication of this pamphlet, the proprietors in the London and North Western Railway engaged my services to create a public opinion to support Uniformity of Gauge as best for national interests, and I spent over two years in this work. I wrote a pamphlet, entitled “Inconsistencies of Men of Genius, exemplified in the practice and precept of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Esq.,” in which the argument was stated as follows. It

“SHOWS how Mr. Brunel, in 1838, persuaded the Directors of the Great Western Railway to adopt the Broad Gauge, assuring them that this Railway would have ‘no connection with any other of the main lines,’ and how, in 1845, he attempted to force a connection between it and the main lines at Wolverhampton, Rugby, Dorchester, &c.—How Mr. Brunel stated that carriages and trucks would not pass from one railway to another, being different properties, whereas more than half a million are passing annually at the present time.—How Mr. Brunel, in 1838, adopted the Broad Gauge for the express reason that the Railway would be nearly level, and have very slight curves; and how, in after years, he applied the Broad Gauge to Railways having the steepest gradients, and the sharpest curves.—How Mr. Brunel said, in 1839, that ‘he never recommended the Broad Gauge for the purpose of having larger engines;’ and how, in 1845, it was his boast ‘that he was building engines wider and larger.’—How Mr. Brunel selected the Broad Gauge because it would enable him to place the bodies of the carriages *within* the wheels, and how he has always brought them *outside* the wheels.—How Mr. Brunel advocates the Atmospheric system, which in all essential points is the exact converse of the Broad Gauge Locomotive System.”

Brunel's
more and
practice.

Pictures.

Thackeray.

VII. The aid of pictures to represent the inconvenience of break of gauge was called in, and the “Illustrated London News” in its Journal inserted graphic scenes at Gloucester, forcibly drawn by Mr. J. H. Townshend. (See Selections, Vol. II.) Thackeray accompanied me to

witness the reality at Gloucester, which he satirized by two papers in "Punch" (May 16, 1846), entitled *Jeames on the Gauge Question*. *Jeames* loses his baby by break of gauge. These papers are not reprinted in the *Memoirs of Mr. Yellowplush*. So I insert them, with the permission of Messrs. Smith and Elder, and introduce them in Vol. II. (Appendix III.)¹

¹ The several works and pamphlets which I caused to be published to advocate Uniformity of Gauge were:—"The QUESTION of the GAGES commercially considered by a Practical Man," written by Wyndham Harding, Secretary of the Buckinghamshire Railway, published by Pelham Richardson, Cornhill, 1846, and a fourth edition by J. Weale, London.

"The BROAD GAUGE, the bane of the Great Western Railway Company, with an account of the present and prospective liabilities saddled on the proprietors, by the promoters of that peculiar Crotchett, by L. S. D.," written, I believe, by John Chorley, the principal writer in the "Railway Chronicle." "A barbe de fol on apprend à rire," which, being translated for the benefit of country gentlemen, means 'Mr. Brunel has learnt to shave on the Chin of the Great Western proprietors.' London: John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall. 1846."

"Narrow Gauge v. Broad Gauge. Price Sixpence, Reply to 'Observations' of the Great Western Railway Company on the Report of the Gauge Commissioners. London: C. Edmonds, 154, Strand; Vacher, Parliament Street; and all Booksellers."

"The Broken Gauge. Just published, price 6*d.*, Fallacies of the Broken Gauge.—Mr. Lushington's Arguments in Favour of Broad Gauge and Breaks of Gauge Refuted; being

a Reply to the Remarks of a Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, on the Report of the Gauge Commissioners. By a Fellow of Two Royal Societies. London: John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall."

"Change of Carriage and Luggage. Third Edition, just published, foolscap 4to, price 6*d.*, a Railway Traveler's Reasons for adopting Uniformity of Gauge. Stated in a Letter to I. K. Brunel, Esq. Joseph Cundall, 12, Old Bond Street." Written by myself. See Selections, Vol. II.

"Battle of the Gauges.—Narrow v. Broad. A Coloured Map of the English Railways already authorized, distinguishing the Narrow from the Broad Gauge District, was given as a Supplement, in the 'Railway Chronicle' of April 18. The 'Railway Chronicle' may be ordered of any Newsvender, price 6*d.* per week stamped, to go free by post."

"Gauge Evidence. Now publishing, in large royal 8vo, pp. 400, bound in cloth, with a Map, price 2*s.* 6*d.*, The History and Prospects of the Railway System; illustrated by the Evidence given before the Gauge Commissioners: being a Comprehensive Review of the entire Question. London: Charles Edmonds, 154, Strand; Vacher and Sons, 29, Parliament Street; and John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall."

"Speed and Cheapness. Now ready, with a Coloured Map, price 3*d.*,

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Pamphlets
published.

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Part I.
Parcels.

Small par-
cels.

VIII. Early in the year 1848, I published in the "Railway Chronicle" a series of papers on the CONVEYANCE of PARCELS, bringing to bear upon my advocacy of cheap and uniform rates for carriage of parcels, the experience I had gained in the working of the penny postage.

"Next in importance to the conveyance of letters, is the conveyance of small parcels. Letters now go through the Post-office as cheaply as can be desired, at a uniform rate assessed on the weight; and many 'letters,' so called, are really parcels. But

Narrow Gauge Speedier than Broad Gauge Railways, as well as Cheaper. By Herbert S. Melville. Published by W. Stephenson, 12 and 13, Parliament Street; and all Booksellers.

"Railway Eccentrics. Just published, price 6*d.*, Inconsistencies of Men of Genius exemplified in the Practice and Precepts of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Esq., and the Theoretical Opinions of Charles Alexander Saunders, Esq., Secretary of the Great Western Railway, Advocates of a Break of Gauge. John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall." By H. C.

"The Origin and Results of the Clearing System, which is in operation on the Narrow Gauge Railways, with Tables of the Through Traffic in the year 1845. Printed by Smith and Ebbs, Tower Hill, London. 1846."

"Dialogues of the Gauges. (Reprinted from the Railway Record.)

"I shall not ask Jean Jacques Rousseau,
If birds confabulate or no—
'Tis clear that they were always able
To hold discourse, at least in fable.'

Cowper.

London: Railway Record Office, 153, Fleet Street. 1846."

"Unity of the Iron Network: showing how the last Argument for the Break of Gauge, Competition, is at variance with the true interests of the Public. By Thornton Hunt. Third Edition. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1846."

"A Letter to the Directors of the Great Western Railway Company, showing the public evils and troubles attendant upon their Break of Gauge, and pointing out the Remedy. By an Old Carrier. Manchester: Bradshaw and Blacklock, Brown Street; and Fleet Street, London. 1846."

"A Few of the Miseries of the Break of Gauge at Gloucester, which occasions the Shifting of Passengers, Luggage, and Goods from one Carriage to another." H. C.

"In one vol., imperial 8vo, 2nd edit., price 5*s.*, cloth lettered, National Uniformity of Gauge. History and Prospects of the Railway System Illustrated by the Evidence given before the Gauge Commission. By Samuel Sidney, author of 'Bristol a Free Port,' &c. With a Map. London: Edmonds, 154, Strand; and Vacher, Parliament Street."

"Third edition. A Railway Traveller's Reasons for adopting Uniformity of Gauge. Addressed to I. K. Brunel, Esq." H. C.

small parcels transmitted by railways, are subjected to charges regulated by little if any principle at all, and to charges almost as variable as those for letters used to be before the advent of the penny post. Almost every metropolitan railway has a different scale." ¹

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It was pointed out that the Post Office carried a parcel of the weight under four ounces, from Cornwall to Inverness for eightpence (it is now only twopence), whilst the railways charged at least four shillings. Now the scale of charges on the London and North Western for sixteen ounces carried six hundred miles, is fifteen pence, whilst the Post Office carries a letter weighing under twelve ounces, for fourpence!

"8. The parcel post is decidedly the most profitable part of the Post-office business. It is also conducive to public convenience in the highest degree. In due course, these circumstances alone would effect the extension of the system. But the railway interest should be reminded, that there exists a distinct pledge from the energetic and talented Post-office reformer, Mr. Rowland Hill, more than once officially repeated, that the carriage of parcels *without limit as to weight*, and at a LOWER RATE even than a penny per half-ounce, is a feature of his Postage plan.

Rowland Hill, had he not been thwarted by official obstruction, would have established in England the Banghy post in the East Indies, and the work is yet to be done. It is, however, now in trustworthy hands. At present a sort of compromise between the Post Office and the Railways, has been established, but the time is coming when parcels will be sent through the Post Office at uniform rates by

Parcel post.

¹ The Metropolitan Railways have established a system, but it is subject to the inconvenience of taking the parcel to the station—whereas the Parcels Companies call for parcels, and so should the Post Office. The

public now can only be served best by a system through the Post Office, as in Switzerland and Germany. Germany, with its population of 45,000,000, in 1880 despatched 67,319,700 parcels by post.

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Profit on
parcels.

weight much lower than at present, and by means of prepayment by stamps.

IX. It was proved in 1848 that the railway profits on small parcels were eighty per cent.,¹ and that a parcel of a pound weight, could be profitably carried and delivered not only between London and Birmingham for fourpence, but throughout the United Kingdom for a uniform rate of fourpence a pound. The public has already got the advantage of a uniform railway rate of sixpence a pound for parcels between London and Liverpool, Manchester, and a few other places on the main lines specified.

Rates. "40. Thus the plan which I propose is, that on all the railways of England and Scotland, parcels sent by PASSENGER TRAINS should

¹ It was found that the profits on small parcels were at the rate of as much as 80½ per cent., being the very highest rate of profit on all kinds of traffic, as appears by the following table:—

	Per centage of Charges to Receipts.	Per centage of Profits to Receipts.	Proportions of Profit taking the whole at 100.
1st class passenger	33'32	66'68	31'60
2nd ditto	29'91	70'09	28'96
3rd ditto	29'16	70'84	9'35
Horses	61'21	38'79	0'97
Carriages	81'22	18'78	0'29
Parcels and dogs	19'63	80'37	7'33
Post-office	36'21	63'79	1'46
Goods and coals	35'20	64'80	17'16
Stores			
Oxen	43'76	56'24	1'22
Sheep	26'16	73'84	1'30
Pigs	39'93	60'07	0'36

Profits from Goods, Parcels, and Post-office per ton nett per mile.

	Receipts.	Charges.	Nett Receipts, per ton, &c.
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Goods	1'726	0'608	1'118
Parcels	18'166	3'566	14'600
Post-office	9'995	3'619	6'376

be subjected to the following rates per pound—distance, as an element of charge, being discarded :—

Under 1 lb.	4 <i>d.</i>
Above 1 lb. and under 3 lb.	5 <i>d.</i>
Above 3 lb. and under 5 lb.	6 <i>d.</i>
Above 5 lb. and under 7 lb.	7 <i>d.</i>
Above 7 lb. and under 9 lb.	8 <i>d.</i>

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And so on in proportion—a penny for every two pounds.

X. In conclusion, I repeat now what I urged in 1848.

“56. Besides the profit of the proposed plan, it has a feature of general railway policy which especially recommends it for adoption at the present time. I believe it would furnish a more effectual argument against Government management and interference with railways, than anything else. The traffic of small parcels would always afford an example of competition with the Post-office, useful to both. The delivery would be more frequent, and therefore more convenient to the public; the charge would be cheaper, and therefore more welcome. But to enable the railways to give the public this boon, the present law of liability must be altered. The common law holds the railway responsible for safe delivery, whereas the Post-office repudiates the liability, even when a letter is especially registered; and a statute sanctions the repudiation! Make the law in both cases alike: let railways adopt a uniform rate for parcels of one pound and upwards, and the public will obtain literally a parcel postage more rapid and cheaper than that offered by the Post-office. The railways will present an actual illustration of the Marquis of Lansdowne’s very correct apophthegm, that in this as in all other instances, the Government is always the inferior trader of the two.

Competition
with Post
Office.

“57. My advice to railways therefore is,—Assess the present charges on a uniform system, according to weight;—obtain profit and popularity, or remain passive and see the whole of the small-parcel traffic absorbed by the Post-office.”

XI. Although the New Docks at Great Grimsby were projected and carried out by private enterprise, they possessed features of so national a character, that His Royal Highness

New Docks
at Grimsby.

considered it a duty to take the leading part in the ceremony of laying the first stone of this great public work.

XII. Formerly it was desirable to bring all shipping as far inland as possible, as being the most expeditious, safe, and economical mode of transport that could be obtained. Hence our old harbours were carried up the country to the highest possible point. It is true that by ascending far inland, the risk and cost of shipping were much increased. Time—the most valuable element of modern commerce—is now lost by every mile of unnecessary inland navigation. Liverpool is an excellent example of this. Scarcely any shipping will now ascend the Mersey to its inland ports. It nearly all stops short at Liverpool; thence, in all directions the cargoes are transported by railways with expedition, and economy: thus, in a time incredibly short, has a great city and harbour grown out of the excellence of a situation at the mouth of a large river. As at Liverpool, so at Great Grimsby. The delays and risks of the inland voyage are saved. A ship enters the basin in deep water directly from the sea. She delivers her cargo into the railway waggons alongside the quays; they are transported without delay to the manufacturing districts inland. In a week the raw materials she has imported, may be spun, woven, dyed, finished, and again placed on board as manufactures for export. Thus, by the combined working of modern railways and modern machinery, may a ship have delivered her cargo, got it manufactured, been reloaded, and sent out to sea, in a shorter time than, in an inland harbour, she would have been kept waiting for a tide to enter the docks, or for a fair wind to take her out of the river. Thus it will be found that railways have materially altered the question of selecting a harbour, and turned the scale against the old system of inland navigation. Of all the routes between two given points, that is com-

mercially to be preferred which combines *the minimum of sea voyage with the maximum of railway conveyance*. These conditions determined Great Grimsby as a point on the most favourable route between the manufacturing districts of England and the North of Europe.

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XIII. A direct communication by railway bringing Liverpool, through the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, into connection with the north of Europe, so commended itself to my judgment as a *National work*, that I readily consented to the requests of the Earl of Yarborough, the Chairman, an extensive landlord in Lincolnshire,¹ and Mr. Jobson Smith, a stove manufacturer of Sheffield, the Deputy Chairman of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, which owned the Grimsby Docks, to endeavour to make known this project as worthy of national acceptance and support.

Liverpool to
Grimsby.

XIV. Before the railway and docks were projected, about 1840, Grimsby, deriving its name from the Danish invaders who brought the name "Grim" with them, was little more than a fishing village. It had commercial importance in Edward the Third's time, when it obtained a charter of incorporation, to mark the king's gratitude for sending eleven fighting ships to the siege of Calais. Henry VIII. and his Queen Katherine Howard, were received by the burgesses of Grimsby with loyal splendour; but the place

Notes on
Grimsby.

¹ His house was at Brocklesby, which had been a great hunting seat of his ancestors, and stables were provided for about sixty horses. The stables were connected by a corridor with the mansion, and after dinner, when it was thought that the men had had wine enough, the host and hostess conducted all the guests, men and women, to the stables to see the horses put to bed. Each horse faced the visitors with his groom, and a towel and

white night cap; his nose was wiped down, and turned towards the crib. The ceremony was animating, refreshing, and healthy after the hot and heavy work of the dinner. It took place when I visited Brocklesby on 5th Nov., 1847 in company with Mr. J. E. Jobson Smith and Mr. John Fowler, then beginning to rise into fame. We met there Mr. Mowbray Morris, then manager of the "Times."

Stables at
Brocklesby.

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declined until it was classed a dilapidated town qualified to receive relief under a statute "for repairing of sundry towns now fallen into decay!" Hull became its successful rival because imports could be carried by water further inland: but when railways came about, Lord Yarborough and his manufacturing allies foresaw that good docks at Grimsby, with a railway joining it, would tempt commerce to compete successfully with Hull, and greatly benefit Lincolnshire and its agriculture. Mr. Samuel Sidney, the successful manager of the Agricultural Hall at Islington, visited Lincolnshire at my request, and published an attractive book on the subject.¹ Lord Yarborough was rather too sanguine, and hoped for results too soon, but a quarter of a century has already shown how prudent the enterprise was from a public point of view.

XV. A joint company had been formed in 1845, to construct and work the railway and the docks together. Mr. John Fowler was engineer of the railway, and Mr. Rendel (whose chief work was Holyhead Harbour), the engineer of the docks. At that period my duties began—to make known that Grimsby Docks was a national and international work. I called the attention of Mr. Ingram, the originator and successful proprietor of the "Illustrated London News," to

¹ "Railways and Agriculture in North Lincolnshire. Rough Notes of a ride over the track of the Manchester, Sheffield, Lincolnshire, and other Railways, by Samuel Sidney, author of the 'Railway System.' Dedicated by permission to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Yarborough, President of the Royal Agricultural Society for 1848, and Chairman of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway. London: William Pickering, 1848."

"Dedication. To the Rt. Hon. the

Earl of Yarborough, President of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, and Chairman of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railways, these Notes, on a District which owes mainly to his exertions the benefit of Railway and Seaborne communication, as it owed to the exertions of his ancestors and their tenants, the conversion of thousands of acres of waste into rich farm land, are, with permission, dedicated by Samuel Sidney."

the national importance of the works, which he recognized, and began to publish illustrations. On 15th April, 1848, he published a woodcut of the New Holland ferry on the Humber—a part of the system—an excellent work of art, designed by D. H. McKewan.¹ It was desired to make known the Grimsby Docks to the North of Europe, and no better plan for doing this suggested itself to me, than to advertise their existence in the columns of the leading journal, and after some weeks of perseverance I induced the publisher to insert in the "Times," advertisements of Grimsby Docks in German for the first time in its history.²

¹ A plan of the station, providing for inland and coasting traffic of six sorts, was published in the "Railway Chronicle" in May, 1848. This station was designed by Mr. John Fowler, C.E.

² They were as follows:—

PORT OF GREAT GRIMSBY.

NOTICE TO FOREIGN MERCHANTS AND SHIPPERS.

The dues for vessels entering the docks at Great Grimsby have been reduced to 10*s.* per register tonnage.

It is expected that the New Docks will be ready to receive vessels about the end of 1849. These Docks will present the great advantage over most other English Ports, of being accessible at all hours, except a couple of hours at low-water spring-tide. The Harbour offers refuge in all weathers. The railway communication, by means of the MANCHESTER, SHEFFIELD, and LINCOLNSHIRE lines, will be complete to all the manufacturing districts, and to all parts of the United Kingdom.

**Hafen von Great Grimsby.
Anzeige an Kaufleute und
Waaaren-Abfader im Aus-
lande.**

**Das; die Abgaben für Schiffe,
welche die Docks zu Great Grimsby
einlaufen mögen, auf 10 pence per
registrierte Ton niedergesetzt worden
sind.**

**Aller Erwartung nach werden
diese neue Docks gegen das Ende
des Jahres 1849 den nöthigen Grad
von Bequemlichkeit und Bollendung
erreicht haben um Schiffe aufzuneh-
men.**

**Diese Docks werden den grossen
Vorzug vor den meisten andern
Englischen Häfen anerbieten, dass
sie zu allen Zeiten, ausgenommen ein
paar Stunden bey niedrigem Was-
ser nach den Springflüthen, zugän-
glich seyn werden.**

**Der Hafen bietet eine Zuflucht
gegen Angewitter von allen Seiten,
und der Verkehr mit den Manufac-
tur Gegenden und mit allen Theilen
des Vereinigten Königreichs wird
mittels die Eisenbahn von Man-
chester, Sheffield und der Graf-
schaft Lincoln, ergänzt und com-
plet seyn.**

PORT DE GREAT GRIMSBY.

AVIS AUX NEGOCIANTS,
aux Armateurs, et aux Capitaines
de Navires Etrangers.

Les droits de tonnage sur les Na-

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XVI. These various public notices of the Grimsby Docks did not pass unobserved by Prince Albert, whose vigilance watched everything of national interest. At the half-yearly meeting of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway on the 12th August, 1848, the Chairman (the Earl of Yarborough) made the following announcement :—

“I have frequently adverted to those docks as being of essentially national importance. I have always held them to be so, and I cannot give you a better proof that they are so estimated by those whose duty it is to consider such objects—I mean the Admiralty and the Government—than by communicating to you the contents of a letter, which I received from Colonel Phipps on the 3rd August. (Loud cheers.)

“Osborne, Aug. 3rd, 1848.

“MY DEAR LORD YARBOROUGH,—His Royal Highness Prince Albert having become convinced by inquiries, that the projected docks at Great Grimsby are likely not only to become of considerable national importance, but also to afford a very desirable refuge to the shipping upon the eastern coast of England, has authorized me to communicate to you his Royal Highness's consent to lay the first stone of the contemplated buildings.

His Royal Highness understands that the works will be in a proper state of forwardness for this ceremony to take place in the month of October, and I shall be happy, when the time approaches,

vires qui entrent les bassins à Great Grimsby, ont été réduits à 10 sols Anglais par tonneau de registre.

On compte que les nouveaux bassins seront prêts à recevoir les vaisseaux vers la fin de l'année 1849.

Ces bassins offriront des avantages bien décidés sur la plupart des autres ports de Mer de l'Angleterre en étant accessibles à toute heure, excepté pendant une couple d'heures à la marée basse, en tems de maline.

Le Havre présente un abri en tout tems. Les communications par l'entremise des Chemins de Fer de MANCHESTER, de SHEFFIELD, et des

Lignes du comté de LINCOLN, seront ouvertes avec tous les districts manufacturiers et avec toutes les parties de la Grande Bretagne.

It was without precedent to insert advertisements in the German character, but this difficulty was overcome by my supplying the type. I first heard of the effect of these advertisements from Thackeray, who was dining with the late Mr. T. Baring, M.P., at Hamburg. Their attention was arrested by the unusual type in the columns of the “Times,” and Thackeray said they exclaimed, “That's Cole's doing!”

to communicate with you as to the particular day that may be most convenient.

“Sincerely yours,
“C. B. PHIPPS.’

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(Loud cheers.) That at once confirms the view I have always taken of the importance of these docks.”

Lord Yarborough wrote to me (7th March, 1849) to tell me he had suggested to Mr. John Fowler to consult with me about the arrangements necessary for the Prince's reception at Grimsby, and it was settled that I should have the responsibility of making them.

Prince Con-
sort's visit
to Grimsby.

XVII. The Prince carried out his intention and went to Brocklesby on 17th April, 1849, and laid the first stone of Grimsby Docks on the following day. I undertook to make His Royal Highness's journey as little irksome as possible. I collected specimens of books and objects of science and art which illustrated for the most part Lincolnshire and the Grimsby Docks. (See Selections, Vol. II.) They were arranged in the Prince's saloon, and Colonel Phipps (afterwards Sir Charles) wrote to “return me H.R.H. best thanks for providing such ample means of interesting amusement during this railway journey, which you must have taken very great trouble to do. The Albert Durer was very much admired, and so was the portfolio of drawings. Nothing could have been better than the whole of the arrangements of yesterday, and I assure you that the Prince was very *much* pleased with this expedition to Grimsby.” I was charged with making the arrangements for laying the first stone. (See Selections, Vol. II.) It was my first attempt at such a programme.

Journey to
Grimsby.

XVIII. On the 18th of April, 1849, during an incessant snowstorm, the ceremony of laying the first stone took place, the Prince acting the part of chief mason. A brass plate, buried nineteen feet below low-water mark, recorded that

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“The First Stone of the Great Grimsby Docks was laid by H.R.H. Prince Albert, on the 18th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1849, in the twelfth year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. May God protect these Docks.”

This work finished, a banquet followed, and after the toast of the Prince's health, His Royal Highness delivered the following speech :

Prince Con-
sort's speech.

“My Lord,—I thank you most sincerely for the kind terms in which you have proposed my health, and you, gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which you have received it.

“The act which has this day been performed, and in which you were kind enough to desire that I should take the chief part, could not but make a deep impression upon me.

“We have been laying the foundation not only of a Dock, as a place of refuge, safety, and refitment for mercantile shipping, and calculated even to receive the largest steamers in Her Majesty's Navy, but it may be, and I hope it will be, the foundation of a great commercial port destined in after times, when we shall long have quitted this scene, and when our names even may be forgotten, to form another centre of life to the vast and ever-increasing commerce of the world, and an important link in the connection of the East and the West. Nay, if I contemplate the extraordinary rapidity of development which characterizes the undertakings of this age, it may not even be too much to expect that some of us may yet live to see this prospect in part realized.

Private.
enterprise.

“This work has been undertaken, like almost all the national enterprises of this great country, by *private* exertion, with *private* capital, and at *private* risk, and it shares with them likewise that other feature so peculiar to the enterprises of Englishmen, that strongly attached as they are to the institutions of their country, and gratefully

acknowledging the protection of those laws under which their enterprises are undertaken and flourish, they love to connect them, in some manner, directly with the authority of the Crown, and the person of their Sovereign, and it is the appreciation of this circumstance which has impelled me at once to respond to your call, as the readiest mode of testifying to you how strongly Her Majesty the Queen values and reciprocates this feeling.

“I have derived an additional gratification from this visit, as it has brought me for the first time to the county of Lincoln, so celebrated for its agricultural pursuits, and showing a fine example of the energy of the national character, which has, by dint of perseverance, succeeded in transforming unhealthy swamps into the richest and most fertile soil in the kingdom. I could not have witnessed finer specimens of Lincolnshire farming, than have been shown to me on his estates by your Chairman, my noble host, who has made me acquainted, not only with the agricultural improvements which are going on amongst you, but with that most gratifying state of the relation between Landlord and Tenant, which exists here, and which I hope may become an example, in time to be followed throughout the country. Here it is that the real advantage and the prosperity of both do not depend upon the written letter of agreements, but on that mutual trust and confidence which has in this country for a long time been held a sufficient security to both, to warrant the extensive outlay of capital, and the engagement in farming operations on the largest scale.

“Let me in conclusion propose to you as a toast, ‘Prosperity to the Great Grimsby Docks,’ and let us invoke the Almighty to bestow his blessing on this work, under which alone it can prosper.”

XIX. This speech was published in the volume of

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in Lincoln-
shire.

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Addresses of the Prince, which the Society of Arts issued at the suggestion of Lord Ashburton made at the Annual Dinner of the Society, on 24th June, 1856, and the introduction to this speech was written by me in 1857.

Prince Con-
sort's speech.

XX. Sir Theodore Martin, with the Queen's sanction, has given me permission to reprint his observations on this ceremony, from his *Life of the Prince Consort*, which includes a little incident which must interest all the subjects of Her Majesty, especially those who are wives.

“A few days later he was called upon to lay the foundation stone of the Great Grimsby Docks, one of those great works, which, to use his own words on the occasion, are ‘destined in after times, when we have quitted this scene and when our names even may be forgotten, to form another centre of life to the vast and ever-increasing commerce of the world.’ Upon this occasion, he was the guest of Lord Yarborough at Brocklesby, from which he addressed the following playful note to the Queen, to appease the wifelike anxiety which even his briefest absence occasioned:—

Prince Con-
sort to the
Queen.

“‘Your faithful husband, agreeably to your wishes, reports,

“‘1. That he is still alive;

“‘2. That he has discovered the North Pole from Lincoln Cathedral, but without finding either Captain Ross or Sir John Franklin;

“‘3. That he has arrived at Brocklesby, and received the address;

“‘4. That he subsequently rode out, and got home quite covered with snow, and with icicles on his nose;

“‘5. That the messenger is waiting to carry off this letter, which you will have in Windsor by the morning;

“‘6. Last, not least (in the Dinner-speeches’ phrase), that he loves his wife, and remains her devoted husband.

“‘Brocklesby, 17th April, 1849.’

“Next day the stone was laid in the midst of a severe snow-storm. A luncheon followed, and, when the Prince’s health was drunk, he alluded with admirable tact in his reply to the feeling which leads Englishmen, ‘strongly attached as they are to the

institutions of the country, and gratefully acknowledging the protection of those laws under which their enterprises are undertaken and flourish, to connect them, in some measure, directly with the authority of the Crown and the person of their Sovereign. It is the appreciation of this feeling,' he added, 'which has impelled me at once to respond to your call, as the readiest mode of testifying to you how strongly the Queen values and reciprocates this feeling.'

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"Bleak and stormy as the weather had been, the concluding remarks of the Prince showed, that it had not prevented him from seeing what had been done for agriculture, by the energy and perseverance which had succeeded 'in transforming unhealthy swamps into the richest and most fertile soil in the kingdom.' He had been at pains, too, to ascertain how it was that Lincolnshire farming had reached so high a standard, and was delighted to find that it was in a great measure due to the most gratifying state of the relation between landlord and tenant."

XXI. The newspapers gave full reports of this event. A few words will show briefly the great industrial results at Grimsby which have ensued and justified the Prince's labour and aid given by him to the work. In 1845, the Dock dues at Grimsby amounted to only £1659. After the German advertisements in the "Times," they increased in the following year to £2509. In the year 1880, they had mounted up to £32,740.

Growth of
Grimsby.





WORK WITH TECHNICAL ARTS AND ART MANUFACTURES,

PART I.

1841-1849.

I.

TECHNICAL
ARTS AND
ART MANU-
FACTURES.

A. D.
1841-1849.
Part I.
Summerly's
Handbooks.
Hampton
Court.



THE collection of materials for the several Handbooks which were published under the *nom de plume* of Felix Summerly, caused me to study Technical Fine Arts of many kinds and ages.

II. At Hampton Court Palace, during three years of my vacations spent at Shepperton (1840) and Weybridge (1841-2), I carefully examined the sculptures in stone, wood, terra cotta, the tapestries, iron work, &c., with inventories of the work preserved in the Public Records. Paintings had been efficiently dealt with by Mrs. Jameson, Dr. Waagen, and others, so I did not dwell upon them. The artist-archæologist may still stand in the "New Hall" with the early Records published in my Handbook, and the book in hand may identify the pendants, the "reprises," the corbels, and spandrels, &c., with the names of the English artificers who executed them three centuries ago. For example, the letter **H** which stands in the angle of the east end of the hall, was sculptured by one John Wright, of South Mimms, and cost 22s. 6d. Repairs and restorations were in progress through-

out the place, and I watched the erection of the stained glass in the great east window, in 1843, by Mr. Willement.¹ The Office of Works were induced at this period, to bring to light many ancient tapestries and hang them in this Hall and the "Withdrawing Room." The fine iron railings, 1695, executed for William III. by Huntington Shaw of Nottingham, were perishing and falling to pieces in the open air by every change of temperature. They may now be seen preserved in the South Kensington Museum, to which place of safety they were removed by permission of the Queen. Torregiano's enamelled terra cotta busts of Roman Emperors were replaced on the Eastern Gateway (see Vol. II. p. 195).

III. Westminster Abbey, where I had permission from Dean Ireland to draw as early as 1827, beyond any other similar building in this country, is a perfect museum of illustrations of the Technical Arts, from the days of Edward the Confessor to the present time, of sculptures, brasses, mural paintings, glass, mosaics, bronzes, &c.² (see also Vol. II.

¹ He was the first authority of his time, in Heraldic Decoration; his workshops were in Green Street, Grosvenor Square. He published many designs, and, when he retired from his business, he bought Davington Priory, near Faversham, which he sympathetically restored and lived in till his death. Mr. Minton's acquaintance with me was due to Mr. Willement, and it was promoted by his manufacture of encaustic tiles for the pavement of the Temple Church, when

Mr. Willement was engaged in the decorations. The tiles were made after the models of the ancient and most interesting pavement in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, lately made known to the general public through the restorations of Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., energetically urged on by the late Dean Stanley.

² The following was an inventory of the principal works of Technical Fine Art which I studied in 1842 in Westminster Abbey:—

Ancient Canopies in various Materials are still remaining over the Tombs of—

King Sebert.

Henry the Third.

Queen Eleanor.

Aveline Countess of Lancaster.

Aymer de Valence.

Edmund Crouchback.

Edward the Third.

Queen Philippa.

Richard the Second.

Principal Brasses remaining in the Abbey.

TO WHOSE MEMORY.

Bohun, Eleanor de

WHERE PLACED.

St. Edmund's Chapel.

TECHNICAL
ARTS AND
ART MANU-
FACTURES.

A. D.
1841-1849.
Part I.

Mr. Wille-
ment.

Westminster
Abbey.

p. 206). They constituted the principal interest of my Handbook to Westminster Abbey, but had received insufficient notice in other publications, except in Horace Walpole's. They are not even alluded to as artistic works in Dean

Bourgchier, Humphrey	St. Edmund's Chapel.
Esteney, Abbot	In North Ambulatory.
Ferne, Henry, Bishop of Chester	St. Edmund's Chapel.
Harpedon, Sir John	In North Ambulatory.
Stanley, Sir Humphrey	St. Nicholas' Chapel.
Vaughan, Sir Thomas	St. John Baptist's Chapel.
Waldeby, Robert, Archbishop of York	St. Edmund's Chapel.
Waltham, John de, Bishop of Salisbury	Confessor's Chapel.
Woodstock, Thomas de	Confessor's Chapel.

Paintings, probably in Oil.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I.—Benedictine Monk in St. Blaize's Chapel. | IV.—Crouchback's Tomb. |
| II.—On walls of the Chapter House, now uncovered, and about to be glazed to preserve them. | V.—Valence's Tomb, with enamels. |
| III.—King Sebert's Tomb. | VI.—Countess Aveline's Tomb. |
| | VII.—Portrait of Richard the Second. |
| | VIII.—Traces of painting on most of the ancient tombs. |

The Portrait of Richard the Second has been admirably copied by the South Kensington School of Art, which might well devote attention to other paintings.

Probably in Water Colours.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I.—At north end of gallery in west aisle of south transept. | III.—In several parts of Chapter House. |
| II.—In St. Blaize's Chapel. | IV.—In St. Erasmus' Chapel. |

Glass, Stained and Painted.

ANCIENT.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I.—North and south aisles of nave. | III.—Eastern window of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. |
| II.—Clerestory windows, east end of choir. | IV.—Jerusalem Chamber. |

MODERN.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| I.—Great west window. | IV.—Window above Henry the Seventh's Chantry. |
| II.—North transept. | V.—Window in east end of triforium or gallery. |
| III.—South transept. | |

Various Mosaics.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| On Edward the Confessor's Shrine. | On tomb of Henry the Third's children, in Ambulatory. |
| On Henry the Third's Tomb. | |
| On pavement in Confessor's Chapel. | In glass frame near King Sebert's Tomb. |
| On pavement before the altar. | |

Stanley's "Historical Memorials of the Abbey." My attention to works of Technical Art is also evidenced by my Handbooks to the Temple Church, Canterbury Cathedral, the accounts of Windsor and Oxford, and numerous excursions which I wrote in the "Athenæum."

IV. During this period, my young children becoming numerous, their wants induced me to publish a rather long series of books, which constituted "Summerly's Home Treasury," and I had the great pleasure of obtaining the welcome assistance of some of the first artists of the time, in illustrating them—Mulready, R.A., Cope, R.A., Horsley, R.A., Redgrave, R.A., Webster, R.A., Linnell and his three sons, John, James, and William, H. J. Townsend, and others. Reductions of some designs are inserted (see Vol. II.). A list of the books, &c., will be found in Vol. II. p. 161, with some specimens of Mulready's work and a copy of the first Christmas card¹ I believe ever issued. The preparation of these books gave me practical knowledge in the technicalities of the arts of type printing,² litho-

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"Home
Treasury."

Mulready,
R.A.,
Cope, R.A.,
Horsley,
R.A., Red-
grave, R.A.,
Webster,
R.A., Lin-
nell and his
three sons,
John, James,
and William,
H. J. Town-
send.

Sculptures on

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S SCREEN, illustrative of his Life and Visions.

Bronze Images on

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S TOMB.

Architectonic Sculptures in

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S CHAPEL.

On the pedestals under each statue in the nave there is a label, which at some time probably bore the title of the figure above it.

¹ The Postmaster-General (Mr. Fawcett) states, in his Post office Report for 1880-1881, that in the Christmas week of 1880 "more than eleven and a half millions of letters and packets, over and above the ordinary correspondence, and four tons of extra registered letters, representing a total postage of £58,000, passed through the central office." Mr. S. A. Blackwood, the Secretary of the Post-office,

kindly informs me, that in the Christmas of 1881, "the estimated number of extra letters dealt with, was 12,500,000. The number of extra sacks of letters received was 3,704. The extra number despatched was 4,700." The net revenue from Christmas cards has been largely increased by the card designed for Felix Summerly by John C. Horsley, R.A., in 1845.

Christmas
cards.

² Mr. W. Pickering, the English

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Method
of engraving.

Wood en-
graving.

Wood en-
graving,
by Bewick.

J. Thomp-
son.

Glypho-
graphy.

graphy, copper and steel-plate engraving, and printing and bookbinding in all its varieties in metal, wood, leather, &c.

V. The different technical processes of engraving have been studied by me for above forty years. In 1839, my duties with the production of the Postage Stamp, made me acquainted with several of them. In the same year, an article on Modern Wood Engraving suggested by me, was published in the "London and Westminster Review" for 1840. It advocated and promoted the employment of women to engrave on wood. All the information and the collection of the illustrations in this article were furnished by me; and since that time I have studied the many varieties of wood engraving and its imitations;—from the Chinese wood blocks two thousand years old, once to be seen in the old East Indian Library; the wood engraving of the middle ages of Europe, when Botticelli, and Bellini, and Albert Durer, artists of the first rank, illustrated books; the work of the period of Bewick, eighty years ago; the fac-simile and other styles practised by John Thompson in England, and his brother in Paris;—the revival of the Bewick style by the Linnell family, for the illustrations of "Summerly's Handbook to the National Gallery," and lately the new American manner which produces woodcuts indistinguishable from line engraving. Specimens of the styles of engraving by Albert Durer, by John Thompson, and some women, chiefly his pupils, and by the Linnells, the father and sons, after the Bewick manner, as well as work by them and others in Glyphography, are given with the necessary technical explanations elsewhere (see Vol. II. pp. 163 and 165). The processes of etching on copper

Aldine publisher, was my first master in typography, and I bought of him the "Poliphilo" (ed. with date 1467),

in its original vellum binding, for £4, copies of which now fetch more than £40 each.

plates and biting in by the Dutch and other mordants, I practised before and after the formation of an etching class at the South Kensington Museum.

VI. Between the years 1860 and 1870, I sufficiently mastered the technicalities of etching on copper, that my works obtained admission to the Royal Academy, where I was an honorary exhibitor in 1865. A specimen inserted in Vol. II., was made to memorialize a village concert given by amateur residents in the old Saxon umbrageous village of Shere, between Dorking and Guildford, the profits being applied to a fund for giving a chaldron of coals to each old woman above seventy years of age.

VII. In Summerly's Handbooks, &c., essays in bookbinding were made, and the beautiful designs of Holbein as well as the fifteenth century patterns for leather still remaining in Durham Cathedral, gave suggestions which were used. Mr. Joseph Cundall, the author of "Bookbindings, Ancient and Modern," dedicated his volume to me as his earliest instructor. He was the cultured publisher of "Summerly's Art Manufactures," and has described some of my attempts to improve bookbinding. My latest essay in bookbinding was carried out by Godfrey Sykes, in a design for the binding of "Doomsday Book," which Mr. Riviere realized. It is in the Art Library of South Kensington Museum.

VIII. My last attempt in Art Manufactures was the production in 1874 of a set of international playing cards designed by Mr. Townroe, and published by Messrs. Thomas De la Rue.

IX. But my first actual work of ART MANUFACTURES,¹

¹ At what period the use of the word "ART," to imply "Fine Art," first arose, I have not been able to trace. In 1837, the Art Union of London was established; but it was not legalized till 1846, by 9 and 10 Vic. c. 48, and after-

wards incorporated by Royal Charter "Art." on 1st December, 1846. The "Art Union Journal" was started in 1839. I believe I originated, in 1845, the term "Art Manufactures," meaning Fine Art, or beauty applied to me-

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Etching
in 1860-1870.

Book-
binding.

Mr. J. Cun-
dall.

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Summerly
tea set.

J. S. Mill
on "Art."

Professor
Sidney Col-
vin on art.

according to the modern use of the words, was the production of a tea service at the factory of Mr. Herbert Minton, at Stoke-on-Trent. In 1845, the Society of Arts offered prizes for the production of a tea service and beer jugs for

chancial production. I think Parliament, by the Act of 1846 alluded to, must have been the first public authority to use the word to mean "Fine Art." John Stuart Mill often expressed to me his dislike of the terms "*Polite Arts*," "*Fine Arts*," and was content to give in conversation with me a limited meaning to Art. Now we have Art-writers, Art-magazines, &c., and a Government Department of Science and Art, which means Fine Art applied to industry (to use a term perhaps invented by the Prince Consort) as distinct from mechanical Art. The old encyclopædias and dictionaries before 1851, gave the usual explanation of "Art" as practice or doing. In the last number of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," Professor Colvin has written a good article on the word "ART," from which I take the liberty of making the following extract:—

"We shall not concern ourselves with the many definitions that have been framed by thinkers seeking to classify these arts, either according to simple observation and comparison, or according to the principles each of his chosen metaphysical system. (For an account of these matters, see articles 'Æsthetics' and 'Fine Arts') Enough that, together with the useful arts, there exists this great group of arts of which the end is not use, but pleasure, or pleasure before use, or at least pleasure and use conjointly. In modern language there has grown up a usage which has not only put these and their congeners into a class by themselves, but sometimes appro-

priates to them alone the use of the generic word Art, as if they and they only were the arts, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. First, as the liberal or polite arts, and then as the fine arts, the languages of modern Europe have separated from the class of arts which exist only for use, the class which exist only or chiefly for pleasure. They have gone further, and have reduced the number which the class word is meant to include. When Art is now currently spoken of in this sense, not even music or poetry is frequently denoted, but only architecture, sculpture, and painting by themselves, or with their subordinate and decorative branches. And in correspondence with this usage, another usage has removed from the class of *arts*, and put into a contrasted class of *manufactures*, a large number of industries and their products, to which the generic term Art, according to our definition, properly applies. That definition covers the mechanical arts, which can be efficiently exercised by mere habit, rote, or calculation just as well as the fine arts, which have to be exercised by a higher order of powers. But the word Art, becoming appropriated to the fine arts, has been treated as if it necessarily carried along with it, and as if works to be called works of art must necessarily possess the attributes of individual skill and invention expressing themselves in ever new combinations of pleasurable contrivance. The progress of what an older nomenclature called the mechanical arts—the consequence of inventions for making production easier and more rapid by

common use, to be exhibited at an exhibition of Art Manufactures, at the Society's rooms, John Street, Adelphi, London. Having recently become acquainted with Mr. Minton, I persuaded him with difficulty to send in a design for a beer jug. He dreaded the retailers of London, who at that time ruled manufacturers with a rod of iron, but at last he gave way in terror. At the British Museum I consulted Greek earthenware for authority for handles, and I went to the Potteries on 3rd April, 1846, and passed three days in superintending the throwing, turning, modelling, and moulding of a tea service with the aid of Mr. Turner, then a workman, and now an alderman of Stoke-on-Trent. It was a condition of the Society of Arts, that the manufacturer's name should be given, and attached to any objects rewarded. Mr. Minton feared he would be ruined if he gave his! Messrs. Wedgwoods and Spode had broken down the tyranny of the retailers, and marked their names on their wares. Silver medals were awarded by the Society, through an Art Committee presided over by Sir William Ross, R.A., celebrated as the first of miniature painters of works grand in style though small in scale—to Mr. Minton's beer jug and to Felix Summerly's tea service. These objects were exhibited at the Society's Art Manufactures Exhibition, and are still in use in the Society's rooms, and may be seen in steam

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the application of physical agencies and the economizing of human labour — has led to the multiplication of products all alike, all equally bearing the stamp of habit, rote, and calculation, and all equally destitute of those properties of individual contrivance and pleasurable. And so works of manufacture, or the products of machinery, which bear only very dully and remotely the mark of their original source in the hand and brain of man, have come to be contrasted with works

of art which bear such marks vividly and directly. For a century the mechanical kingdom, or reign of pure manufacture, had spread apace in Europe, engrossing an ever larger field of human production. Of late years there is a sign of reaction in favour of an extension of the kingdom of Art, or at least of endeavours to bring reconciliation and alliance between the two."—*Extract from article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."*

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packets going to all parts of the world. I presented a set to the South Kensington Museum, which I hope may be kept and always exhibited there, as a link in the chain of circumstances leading to that great Exhibition, which sowed the seed for the beginning of the South Kensington Museum itself. H.R.H. the Prince Consort inspected these articles at Buckingham Palace on 5th Aug., 1846, and especially admired the milk jug.¹ The Society's Annual Art Manufactures Exhibitions were started by these tea cups and beer jugs, and expanded by the Prince into the great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851. I am informed by Messrs. Minton's firm that the manufacture of the Summerly Tea Cup and Saucer and Milk Jug, has kept several workmen at Messrs. Minton's China Works, Stoke-upon-Trent, incessantly at work daily, since 1846,

Society of
Arts, 1846.

¹ In the address of the Council of the Society of Arts at the opening of the Session, 1846-7, will be found the following passage:—

“But there is one department of the Fine Arts very peculiarly belonging to this Society, which its very clear title indicates. It was the remark of our Royal President, the Prince Albert, made to a deputation from your Council, when waiting upon him on the business of this Society, that the department most likely to prove *immediately* beneficial to the public, would be that which encourages most efficiently the application of the Fine Arts to our manufactures. The manufactures of this country have, he observed, attained an eminence for solid execution, for perfect finish, for mechanical accuracy, and for cheap production, which distinguish them in these respects beyond those of any other country. But there are some countries that excel ours in the beauty of design, in the perfection of colour-

ing, in symmetry of form, in elegance of pattern: it is the application of the arts of design to the mechanical manufactures of this country, that is alone requisite to enable her to stand without a rival. Of high art in this country there is abundance; of mechanical industry and invention an unparalleled profusion. The thing still remaining to be done is to effect the combination of the two, to wed high art with mechanical skill. The union of the artist with the workman, the improvement of the general taste of our artificers, and of the workmen in general; this is a task worthy of the Society of Arts, and directly in the path of its duty. Such were the sentiments expressed by the Prince our President; such also are the views which have guided your Council in their proceedings during last year. They have reason to think that this is one of the most promising and valuable spheres of future usefulness to the Society.”

and it may be estimated that many hundred thousands of the articles have been made and sold for the benefit of industry.

X. Mr. Minton Campbell, late M.P. for North Staffordshire, who succeeded his uncle, Herbert Minton, as head of the firm, told me that lately he suggested that a new earthenware tea service should be modelled, and that the foreman asked, "Why, Sir? we are still making as many as we can of the F. S." An engraving of this tea service will be found in Vol. II., page 178.

XI. Great success followed the production of the Summerly tea service and the beer jugs of Messrs. Minton, which strengthened my conviction that an alliance between fine art and manufactures would promote public taste, and conduce to the interest of all concerned in the production of art manufactures. An organization of artists, manufacturers, and designers was formed accordingly, and a series of works were produced under the title of Summerly's Art Manufactures. The organization was thus announced in 1847 (see Vol. II. from p. 178 to p. 194 for illustrations).

"FRANCESCO FRANZIA was a Goldsmith as well as a Painter. Designs for pottery are attributed to RAFFAELLE. LEONARDO DA VINCI invented necklaces. In the Gallery of Buckingham Palace is a painting by TENIERS to ornament a harpsichord; and in the National Gallery there is one by NICOLO POUSSIN for a similar purpose. HOLBEIN designed brooches and salt-cellars. ALBERT DURER himself sculptured ornaments of all kinds. At WINDSOR is ironwork by QUINTIN MATSYS. BEATO ANGELICO and a host of great artists decorated books; and, in fact, there was scarcely a great mediæval artist, when art was really Catholic, who did not essay to decorate the objects of everyday life. Beauty of form, and colour, and poetic invention were associated with everything. So it ought still to be, and, we will say, shall be again.

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Summerly
tea set.

Success of
tea set.

Announce-
ment of or-
ganization
for Sum-
merly's Art
Manufac-
tures.

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ment of or-
ganization
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merly's Art
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tures.

“Manufacturing silk is pre-eminent and abounds; but artistic skill has to be wedded with it. This defect was early observed by the Society of Arts, and by their exhibition of manufactures and distribution of premiums, they have in part attempted the remedy. It is the purpose of this Collection to carry out the same object to a still greater extent, and to revive the good old practice of connecting the best art with familiar objects in daily use. In doing this, Art-Manufacturers will aim to produce in each article superior utility, which is not to be sacrificed to ornament; to select pure forms; to decorate each article with appropriate details relating to its use, and to obtain these details as directly as possible from nature. These principles are by no means put forward as forming an universal rule; but it is thought they may be adhered to advantageously in most articles of use, and may possibly contain the germs of a style which England of the nineteenth century may call its own.

“Several of our best ARTISTS have already expressed their willingness to assist in this object, among them may be named—

JOHN ABSOLON.

JOHN BELL, Sculptor.

T. CRESWICK, A.R.A.

W. DYCE, R.A., Master of
the School of Design.

J. R. HERBERT, R.A.

J. C. HORSLEY, Master of
the School of Design.

S. JOSEPH, Sculptor.

D. MACLISE, R.A.

W. MULREADY, R.A.

R. REDGRAVE, A.R.A.

H. J. TOWNSEND, Master of
the School of Design.

Sir R. WESTMACOTT, R.A.,
&c., &c.

“THE ART MANUFACTURES will be of all kinds, and executed in metals, pottery, glass, wood, ivory, papier maché, and other materials. Arrangements have been made already

with the following eminent manufacturing firms for executing designs :—

Broadhead and Atkin, <i>Metals.</i>	Minton and Co., <i>Pottery.</i>
Thomas Clark and Co., <i>Jewellery.</i>	Pellatts, <i>Glass.</i>
Christy, T. F., and Co., <i>Glass.</i>	Richardsons, <i>Glass.</i>
Coalbrookdale Iron Company, <i>Iron.</i>	Rodgers, Joseph, and Sons, <i>Cutlery.</i>
Dee and Fargues, <i>Ormolu.</i>	Simpson, W. B., <i>Paper Hanging.</i>
Dixon and Sons, <i>Metals.</i>	Smith, B., <i>Precious Metals.</i>
Gass, <i>Precious Metals.</i>	Stuart and Smith, <i>Iron Casting.</i>
Hollands, <i>Furniture and Upholstery.</i>	Taylor, Williams, and Jordan, <i>Machine Wood Carving.</i>
Jennens and Bettridge, <i>Papier-maché.</i>	White, C., <i>Stone Pottery.</i>
Leuchars, <i>Buhl-Work.</i>	Wedgwoods, <i>Pottery.</i>
Messengers and Co., <i>Brass Casting.</i>	Willock and Co., <i>Terra Cotta Works, &c., &c."</i>

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XII. I here with pleasure now record the names of these artists and manufacturers as pioneers at the beginning of a movement still in motion.

XIII. During the production of these ART MANUFACTURES, I became acquainted with Mr., afterwards Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., on board a Chelsea steamer, 5th August, 1847. He invited me to call upon him at the Board of Trade, of which he was permanent Secretary, and was active in the management of the School of Design. He introduced me to Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), the President, and to Earl Granville, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade. They proposed to me to give lectures to the School; but I declined. At Lord Granville's desire I consulted Maclise about lecturing. Maclise declined,

J. Shaw
Lefevre.

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School of
Design.

Designs for
Government
Depart-
ments.

calling the school "a halt fire," and said "that something more than talk was wanted." Subsequently a minute was passed,¹ by which I received a commission, with the offer of a fee of £100, to write a report giving suggestions for the improvement of the School. I accepted the commission, and wrote three reports, and then resigned, foreseeing the hopelessness of success, and refused to accept the fee. These reports are published among the papers presented in the Commons' report on the School of Design in 1849.

XIV. My second report gave outlines of a plan for obtaining from the Government School of Design, designs for manufactures, &c., used by Government departments. It began with describing the existing practice of obtaining manufactures by the Office of Works, the Admiralty, the Ordnance, &c., and proceeded thus: "But there are occasions when the Government departments give commissions for exclusive designs to be made. Thus patterns for carpets and hangings have been specially designed for St. James's

¹ Minute of the Board of Trade at the Council Chamber, Whitehall, 14th September, 1848:—

"Read, a letter from Mr. Henry Cole, conveying his views upon the present state of the Patent Law and the laws giving copyright in design; also suggesting that the schools of design should be employed to produce designs for the articles used by the several Government departments, and expressing his belief that the schools might be made to a certain extent, if not altogether, self-supporting.

"Ordered, that Mr. Cole be requested to communicate further with my Lords on the steps to be taken for the employment of the schools of design in the production of designs for the Government departments; and to put himself in communication with the Committee of Management of

the Government School, in order to ascertain how far such a system can be carried out consistently with the course of education adopted by them.

"Also, that Mr. Cole be requested to report to my Lords upon the working of the Acts for the registration of designs, and to state to them in what manner the schools of design might, in his opinion, be benefited by an amendment of those Acts.

"My Lords defer for the present the consideration of that part of Mr. Cole's letter which relates to what he regards as the defects of the Patent Law.

"A copy of this minute to be transmitted to Mr. Deverell, together with so much of Mr. Cole's letter as relates to the School of Design; also to the Registrar of Designs."

Palace, and sometimes specific decorations of an extensive character have to be undertaken. I am informed, for example, that on the occasion of fitting up Her Majesty's yacht, the 'Victoria and Albert,' difficulties were experienced in obtaining suitable decorative designs, and that the School of Design might possibly have assisted usefully if the plan suggested had been in operation. The interior of the Museum of Practical Geology is now about to be completed, and the director, Sir Henry de la Beche, and Mr. Penne-
 thorne agree with me in thinking there are some decorations for which the School might be asked to submit designs for approval; similar opportunities frequently present themselves. With respect to the royal palaces, my inquiries have been carried further than with Government departments, and brought almost to a termination. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, with whom I have had audiences on the subject, approves of the principle of the plan, after inquiring minutely into its bearings, and appointed the Master of the Household, General Bowles, and His Royal Highness's secretary, Colonel Phipps, to confer with me, in order to ascertain how far it could be applied. I have the satisfaction of being able to report that the Master of the Household sees no practical difficulties in its application to certain manufactures used in the palaces, and concurs in the possibility of making a commencement. General Bowles informed me that paper-hangings, carpets, chintzes of various kinds, and some pottery would be wanted in the course of the next year for Buckingham Palace and for Osborne, and his opinion was that the plan might be tried with such articles. At the palaces, according to the existing system, the manufacturer or tradesman submits patterns of the manufactures already in the market. In most cases General Bowles makes the choice, but in a few of the more special His Royal Highness Prince Albert does so." I detailed the

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For the
 Palaces.

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Mode of
Proceeding.

method of proceeding which I recommended, which, *mutatis mutandis*, after the administrative changes in the last thirty years, I still recommend.

“1. The Board of Trade would cause information to be collected systematically from all Government departments of the nature of the ornamental manufactures used by them, for which designs might be made to the Board of Trade, setting forth in detail the conditions of character, quality, destination, price, &c., of the articles; and specimens of those in ordinary use should accompany the report, *e.g.*, it would be reported, upon the information obtained from the Master of the Household, that designs were required, say, for an ewer and basin and certain chintzes, to be used at Osborne; this report would state the quality, size, price, and other conditions, and would be accompanied with samples of such articles usually employed.

“2. The Board of Trade would pass this report, with the specimens, to the School of Design, with directions to prepare proper designs accordingly.

“3. Designs accordingly, would be made in the School upon such a system as would be calculated to obtain the best possible, and to call forth the best talent in the School, as well of pupils as of masters. How to accomplish this is not, I apprehend, at present under consideration; but I assume that designs would be forthcoming in due time, or that the head masters would candidly report that the designs wanted were beyond the powers of the School, if they found that to be really the case. Most likely several designs would be prepared for the same article, at least in the beginning of such a system; and out of them I propose that the head masters should make a selection, which they should recommend to the Committee of Management for adoption, and unless they felt that the decision of the masters was palpably wrong, I presume they would adopt it. . . .

"5. The designs of the School would be transmitted by the Board of Trade to the Government department which ordered them, accompanied, if necessary, by a certificate (from a manufacturer who is employed by the particular department) that they fulfilled all the conditions of manufacture and price; it might be convenient that this certificate should be obtained before the designs left the School. . . .

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"7. The manufacturer would be eager to possess the copyright and have the power to sell them to the public. His Royal Highness Prince Albert and the Master of the Household are decidedly of opinion that the use of successful designs ought not to be restricted to the palaces, but that the public should enjoy all the advantages of being able to obtain them. The manufacturer would publish them as designs used at the palaces, and produced in the Government School; and the public by this course would have the advantage of obtaining directly for their own use and benefit, designs produced by the best ornamental talent which Government was able to secure. There is, however, a third contingency, which is, that the design may be a good one, and yet be rejected by the Government department. This rests upon an assumption not warranted by any facts, that there would be a want of judgment. If this unfortunately existed, it could not be exercised very often, or for any great length of time, and would be in part remedied and counterbalanced by an arrangement hereafter submitted; lest it might be apprehended that inconveniences would result in waiting for designs, I beg leave to observe that there would be no delay as respects articles in current use; they would continue to be supplied until better designs were ready to be substituted. As respects designs for special purposes, proper foresight and organization would provide against delay.

"In conclusion, I may point out that the principle of the

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proposed plan is already acknowledged and in operation. Government is accustomed to give commissions for ornamental designs, and not for designs only, but for the actual execution of them. This has long been the case with architecture and architectural decoration. The principle is now extending to painting and sculpture, and for decorations in most kinds of fabrics ; it is in general operation at the new Houses of Parliament. I may also instance the coinage and public medals as employing designers ; and independently of the great benefit which exacting designs from the School of Design would confer on the School itself, by giving it an irresistible motive to be practicable, it seems perfectly legitimate that the Government should obtain designs from the Government School of Design. . . .

XVIII. In my third report I attributed the imperfections of the school to the want of proper responsibility in all the system of management, without which nothing can succeed, and I stated that, looking "to the want of sympathy and cordial co-operation everywhere; to the neglect of the provincial schools, and their gradual decline ; to instances of improvident expenditure ; to the daily growing dissatisfaction of manufacturers ; and, in short, to the absence of any palpable satisfactory results about which there could be no dispute, I find my opinion, of the unsatisfactory working of the School so confirmed, that I am impelled to express my belief, that by no means short of a complete change of system can the School fulfil its object, and its duty to the public." (See appendix to report from the Select Committee on the School of Design, 1849.)

XIX. The preparations for the Great Exhibition of 1851 arrested the further prosecution of the idea of giving to the School of Design a practical direction : and nothing was done until after the School was merged in the DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL ART, (established in 1852), and had

been removed to South Kensington in 1855. But effect in after years, was given to the suggestion that the Schools of Art should be compelled to produce practical designs, and works in many branches were carried out at South Kensington, which will be described in the chapter on South Kensington. Such works may be said to have been almost suspended with my resignation in 1873. But I still indulge in the hope that my suggestion that Government should obtain for its several departments, the best decorative works produceable in the open market, may be revived through the Office of Works and resumed at the South Kensington Museum with its National Art Training School.

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WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF INDUSTRY
OF ALL NATIONS, 1851.

PART I.

1849-1852.

I.

GREAT
EXHIBITION
OF 1851.
A. D.
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Part I.
Introduc-
tion.



THE history of the world, I venture to say, records no event comparable in its promotion of human industry, with that of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851. A great people invited all civilized nations to a festival, to bring into comparison the works of human skill. It was carried out by its own private means; was self-supporting and independent of taxes and employment of slaves, which great works had exacted in ancient days. A prince of pre-eminent wisdom, of philosophic mind, sagacity, with power of generalship and great practical ability, placed himself at the head of the enterprise, and led it to triumphant success. The Sovereign of that people gave to the work of her husband and subjects, her warmest sympathy, fondly watched its progress, and witnessed its triumph among a multitude of 25,000 persons, all assembled under *one* glass roof of 1,850 feet in length, an event which

had never happened before. In the history of the world, it may perhaps be safely said, that no monarch before Queen Victoria, had ever personally assisted a work like this. Her Majesty watched it with daily solicitude, and herself wrote a record of it.

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EXHIBITION
OF 1851.
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Part I.

II. Of the principal incidents of this International work I was a witness from its beginning to its end, and had the privilege of devoting myself to it with all my heart. Notes of the events of the day were kept by me, which, with my recollections, have enabled me to fill up some blanks in the history, and to show something of its inner working which official reports and minutes do not tell. I hope the details will have a public interest, and perhaps be of use.

III. There are several epochs distinctly marked, with which my narrative deals. *Firstly*, the incidents seemingly insignificant at their origin, which led to the idea of the first International Exhibition: *secondly*, the making known the proceedings for enlisting public sympathy in this idea: *thirdly*, the arrangements necessary for making the execution a reality before Prince Albert committed himself to the full adoption of the idea: *fourthly*, the national sanction given by the issue of a Royal Commission, which virtually relieved the Prince of his personal responsibility, and *lastly*, the means by which the Exhibition was carried out to its final triumph.

IV. Prince Albert had been President of the Society of Arts for six years before the Exhibition of 1851. He succeeded the Duke of Sussex in the office, which was no sinecure to him, and took an active personal share in the work of the Society at that time, a very critical period in its history, which will be related in another chapter on the Society of Arts. The Prince promoted the grant of a charter of incorporation in 1847. He attended the annual meetings for distributing the prizes. It has been shown

Prince
Albert Pre-
sident of the
Society of
Arts.

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Art manu-
factures laid
before the
Prince.

that a tea-cup led to the series of Summerly's "Art Manufactures" (Vol. I., p. 105, and Vol. II., p. 178). The tea service was brought to the notice of Prince Albert, who became personally interested in it, and communicated to me through Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Phipps, his secretary, that "H.R.H. will be at all times happy to inspect any specimens that you may think worthy of being submitted to him," and then began a correspondence which lasted till Sir Charles's death in 1866. The second letter I received from Colonel Phipps was as follows, and was frigid in tone compared with that which his subsequent letters soon assumed.

"Osborne, Dec. 15th, 1847.

"SIR,—I have duly received this evening the box containing the new specimens of the art manufactures, which I have submitted to his Royal Highness the Prince. His Royal Highness has much admired them, and has commanded me to intimate his intention of purchasing the silver and silver-gilt inkstand. The other articles I have directed to be carefully re-packed and sent to you. You must, I think, take care not to get the prices too high; and in order to make them fashionable, the art manufactures of a high class should be largely purchased by the members of the aristocracy.

"I have, &c.

"C. B. PHIPPS."

V. On the 3rd January, 1848, I first made a suggestion for a National Exhibition of British Manufactures, to be held periodically, which I sent to Colonel Phipps, with the following letter.

"3rd Jan., 1848.

"DEAR SIR,—Having taken an active part in what the Society of Arts has hitherto done for the improvement of British manufactures, I shall be thought justified, perhaps, to have matured a plan for extending this object. And the time seems to me to have arrived when some plan for establishing a National Exhibition should be promulgated, and laid before the Society. But before any steps are taken, it is most important to ascertain the feelings

First sug-
gestion for
British Ex-
hibition of
1851.

of H.R.H. Prince Albert in reference to it. I would therefore ask you to have the kindness to lay the enclosed before H.R.H., and learn whether the proposed plan is such an one as would be likely to meet with his Royal Highness's sanction and assistance.

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"I think I may venture to say that the Council of the Society would proceed in the most formal way, as soon as it was ascertained whether its doing so would be agreeable to His Royal Highness.

"If His Royal Highness should desire any explanations, I will ask you to express my readiness to attend any appointment that may be made.

"In the course of a day or two, I will trouble you with some art manufactures, which have just been finished. The inkstand I requested to be returned, has not yet been received. I wrote to you at Osborne respecting it. I only name the fact, but do not require its return."¹

¹ Efforts were made by different individuals to establish Exhibitions of Art and Industry in the country, before the work of annual Exhibitions was systematically prosecuted by the Society of Arts, which culminated in the Great Exhibition of the Works of all Nations in 1851. In 1836, Mr. Theophilus Richards, of Birmingham, corresponded with Sir Robert Peel on the great importance of collecting specimens of foreign manufactures for the information of our own producers. Nothing came of it, but this, I believe, was the first attempt of the kind in this direction. A statement which the Secretary of the Society of Arts, Mr. Scott Russell, made in 1849, and laid before a special meeting of the Society on the 8th January, 1850, notices various attempts. In 1844, Mr. Francis Whishaw, one of the secretaries of the Society, in conjunction with his friend Mr. J. Woods, invited the support of the public, by loan or subscription, in favour of establishing an Exhibition of

the products of National Industry. A little exhibition took place in consequence, on the 6th December, 1844, when only 150 persons attended, and another on the 28th January, 1845, when the number of visitors was 800. It appears further, that a committee was formed to carry into effect the suggestion of Mr. Fothergill Cooke, on the 21st May, 1845, that a National Exhibition of the products of Industry in Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, in connection with the Society was established; that the funds in the first instance were raised by way of loan, and that Mr. Cooke placed a loan of £500 at the disposal of the Society for the purpose. On the 16th June, 1845, a committee met to carry the proposition into effect, when the members subscribed £150 to meet immediate expenses. Mr. Robert Stephenson offered a loan of £1,000, and Mr. Kemp, a silk manufacturer of Spitalfields, offered one of £500. But the suggestion was not prosecuted.

FIRST DRAFT OF A SUGGESTION FOR A NATIONAL EXHIBITION
OF ART MANUFACTURES.

GREAT
EXHIBITION
OF 1851.

A.D.
1849-1852.

Part I.

First sug-
gestion for
a National
Exhibition.

1. It was with the view of preparing the way for a National Exhibition of British Manufactures, similar in character to those which have been established in France and Belgium, that the Society of Arts established its prizes to promote the union of art with manufactures in 1846, and commenced a gratuitous Exhibition of British Manufactures in 1847.

2. The Exhibition for the present year will demonstrate that the preliminary steps taken by the Society for creating a National Exhibition have been fruitful, and that the success of an enlarged Exhibition worthy of the subject, is not at all doubtful.

3. But in order to render its Annual Exhibition most useful to the public at large; to show the students of the School of Design what is being done in art and manufactures; to connect more closely the Government School of Design with the various manufacturers throughout the whole kingdom, who must be the employers of the students of such schools, and at the same time further a large National Exhibition of British Manufactures, it is proposed:—

4. That the places where Schools of Design are established, should, in rotation, have the advantage and use of the collection made in London every year by the Society; and to do this, the Society suggests that the manufacturers and proprietors of the chief specimens should deliver them over to the Council of the Schools of Design, to be sent for exhibition to the students and public generally each year, in such provincial schools as the Council may think fit.

5. It is also proposed, with the co-operation of the Board of Trade, that the Society of Arts shall, every [*fourth* ?] year make a collected exhibition of the principal subjects exhibited in the previous three years, and of others expressly prepared for the special purpose; and that such exhibition shall take place in some large building purposely provided, if not at the cost of the Government, at least with the Government sanction.

6. It is suggested that the site which offers the greatest advantages for such a building would be Trafalgar Square. This spot

is most central ; it is the most convenient for access by land and water, from all parts of the metropolis. It may be approached closely by carriages ; it affords abundant space and a provision of water for specimens and models best exhibited in connection with water ; and it offers facilities for a structure of the most economical character, inasmuch as there is already a good pavement, and three sides more or less available in a building for the purpose.

7. The Government sanction to the erection of such a building would have to be obtained ; and if there should be any reluctance on the part of Government to undertake the risk of the structure, it is believed that other responsible parties might be found to do so.

8. The Society of Arts would collect the articles to be exhibited, and manage the necessary details of the Exhibition.

9. The admission to the Exhibition should be partly free and partly by payment, as at the exhibitions at Westminster Hall.

10. The receipts arising from the Exhibition would be applied, in the first instance, to the payment of the expenses incurred in forming it ; in paying for the honorary medals and rewards to be distributed to artists, manufacturers, and art workmen ; and in forming a fund for future exhibitions.

VI. The answer to this project came from Colonel Phipps, dated 6th February, 1848, marked "Private and Confidential," and was discouraging. He said, "The opinion obtained by the Prince did not appear favourable to any such plan," and "that no reasonable hope could be entertained of any co-operation or assistance, at any rate at present, from the Government." But the subject was not allowed to drop.

VII. On the 12th March, 1848, a deputation consisting of Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart., Mr. G. Bailey, Curator of the Soane Museum, myself, then a Keeper of the Public Records, Mr. P. Le Neve Foster, who became Secretary of the Society of Arts in 1853, Mr. J. S. Lefevre, then Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade, who had just become a member of the Society of Arts, and Mr. J. Scott Russell, Secretary of the Society of

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Part I

Receives no
encourage-
ment.

GREAT
EXHIBITION
OF 1851.

A. D.
1849-1852.

Part I.
Deputations
to Board of
Trade.

Petition to
Parliament.

Arts, waited upon Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade, to submit to him the project given above, and ask for the co-operation of the Schools of Design. Mr. Labouchere was friendly to the application. On the 12th May following, the same deputation was received by Lord Morpeth, the Chief Commissioner of Public Works, to request that he would allow the National Exhibition of 1851 to be held in Trafalgar Square. To this request Lord Morpeth could not consent, as he thought the Exhibition would obstruct the public traffic, but he offered the quadrangle of Somerset House, which was provisionally accepted and announced to the public by the Society. Another step taken was the presentation of a petition to Parliament from the Society of Arts, which I had prepared, and it was adopted by the Council on the 21st April, 1849, and I took the necessary steps to have it presented through Mr. Milner Gibson. I reported to the Council on the 9th May, that it had been presented and referred to the Select Committee of the Schools of Design, presided over by Mr. Milner Gibson, in whose draft report¹ the petition was thus commented on :—

*“ National Exhibition of Manufactures.—*A Petition from the Council of the Society of Arts has been referred to your committee. The prayer of this Petition is, that the Government should permit the use of a public building for the purposes of a National Exhibition of Manufactures, to be held every five years. Your committee examined several witnesses upon this subject, who all agreed in the great advantages which the decorative manufactures of this country were likely to derive from it. Your committee coincide in this opinion. Mr. Cole showed the progressive success of the annual exhibitions of the Society of Arts, and that they had now become a source of income to the Society, after paying their expenses. Your committee think there is every reasonable proba-

¹ See Report on School of Design, by Committee of the House of Commons, 27th July, 1849, p. xlii.

bility that a National Exhibition of Decorative Manufactures, if properly organized, might be made to a considerable extent, if not wholly, to repay its expenses. Looking to the relations on this subject between the Society of Arts, who have already successfully educated the public to appreciate such Exhibitions, and the Board of Trade, who have confirmed their importance, your committee think that the prayer of the Petition is well worthy of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government."

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VIII. In 1849, an Exhibition of French Industry was held in Paris, which I visited in company with Mr. Digby Wyatt, who had been commissioned by the Society of Arts to visit Paris and make a report on the Exhibition, with suggestions likely to be useful for the proposed quinquennial Exhibition in 1851. We met there my friend Mr. Herbert Minton, who subsequently obtained European fame for his pottery of all kinds, first exhibited by him, but somewhat unwillingly, at the International Exhibition of 1851.

Visit to
Paris Ex-
hibition of
1849.

IX. On the 14th June, 1849, Prince Albert distributed the prizes at the Society of Arts according to his wont. He alluded to the proposed National British Exhibition of 1851, as well as to the Exhibition at Paris, and immediately afterwards a series of events followed, which led to the enlargement of the National Exhibition into an Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations.

Prince's
allusion to
the National
Exhibition.

X. On the 29th June, 1849, in consequence of a letter from Colonel Phipps, about the exact day of a meeting appointed by Prince Albert, to discuss the Exhibition of 1851, I called at Buckingham Palace. He said that the Prince was at home, and would like to see me then about the Exhibition of Manufactures proposed by the Society of Arts, which the Prince had alluded to on the 14th June. H.R.H. came into Colonel Phipps's room, and entered fully into the ideas of the Exhibition so far as they had been developed. He thought the Exhibition should be a large

First meet-
ing with
Prince
Albert on
Exhibitions.

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National or
international.

Visit to
Paris.

M. Buffet,
proposal for
an Inter-
national
Exhibition.

one, and suggested that a permanent building might be erected in Leicester Square, then in a most neglected state. I observed that there appeared to me to be an earlier question than the site, and I asked the Prince if he had considered if the Exhibition should be a National or an International Exhibition. The French had discussed if their own Exhibition should be International, and had preferred that it should be National only.¹ The Prince re-

¹ It was my first visit to Paris, and with Mr. Digby Wyatt I put up at the Hotel de la Ville de Paris. We were awakened at midnight by the stifling odour of emptying the cesspools, altogether a novel sensation, which years have not obliterated from my mind. We heard of M. Buffet's proposal that the French Exhibition of 1849 should have been International, and the rejection of it. We discussed the idea, and I collected all the opinions I could on the question if the British Exhibition of 1851 should be National or International. I recollect standing before the stall of bronzes of M. Denière in the Exhibition, and asking Mr. Herbert Minton, who was of a somewhat conservative turn of mind, what he thought of it; he instantly declared for the International idea. M. Buffet's circular of the 10th February, 1849, to the French Chambers of Commerce was as follows:—

*Circular addressed to the Members of
the Chambers of Commerce.*

“Feb. 10, 1849.

“GENTLEMEN,—At a time when I and my colleagues in office are busily engaged in doing all we can to give to the Exhibition, which opens on the 1st of June next, a character of public utility, it has occurred to me that it would be interesting to the country in general to be made acquainted with the de-

gree of advancement towards perfection attained by our neighbours, in those manufactures in which we so often come in competition in foreign markets.

“Should we bring together and compare the specimens of skill in agriculture and manufactures now claiming our notice, whether native or foreign, there would, doubtless, be much useful experience to be gained, and above all, a spirit of emulation, which might be made greatly advantageous to the country.

“This I had thought of before the portfolio of Agriculture and Commerce was confided to me; it has since been strongly confirmed in my mind by the similar views which I have heard expressed on the subject, by gentlemen distinguished by their success in the industrial arts, and the consequent position they occupy. At the same time, I cannot but foresee that difficulties would arise in carrying it out, were it unavoidable to admit without distinction all the productions offered for exhibition. There would be no room to contain them, since the area of the building intended for the Exhibition is calculated for the admission of native productions alone. This circumstance, no doubt, is of sufficient importance to delay the execution of this project, however useful; but this obstacle might be overcome by limit-

flected for a minute, and then said, "It must embrace foreign productions," to use his words, and added emphatically, "International, certainly." Upon which I said, "Do you think, Sir, Leicester Square would be large enough?" He replied, "Certainly not, for works of all nations. Where do you think it should be?" I answered, "In Hyde Park." The Prince then discussed various sites in Hyde Park; and after saying that a Royal Commission would be expedient, concluded the interview by desiring me to visit Hyde Park, and consider a site which would not interfere with the manœuvres of the soldiers. My report was to be made the next day, when a meeting was held by His Royal Highness;

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Leicester
Square
Square
given up.

ing the admission to those foreign productions which, by their novelty or evident superiority, might exercise a beneficial influence on our manufactures.

"You will, therefore, first give your opinion on the abstract principle of exhibiting the productions of other countries, and should you consider the experiment ought to be made, to enumerate to me officially the articles you consider would most conduce to our interest when displayed in the ensuing Exhibition.

"To this end I shall be obliged by your detailing precisely, the objects it would most benefit us to become acquainted with, whether new applications of the arts, new productions, or improvements of importance. Feeling anxious to preserve the two-fold character which my predecessor had given to the Exhibition, I wish it to be understood that the implements and productions of husbandry, as well as the fruits of our manufactories, should be included in the list of admissible objects.

"The experiment we are about to make, if I am well informed, has been

already tried in two Exhibitions, undertaken some years ago by the Chambers of Commerce at Lyons and Mulhausen. The example thus given in the provinces will, doubtless, be worth following on a more extended scale.

"As to the conditions and forms to be observed by foreigners previous to the reception of their contributions, it will be my duty, should you approve of the principle of their admission, to consult with my colleagues the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and Finance.

"You will oblige me, gentlemen, by taking into your most serious consideration the subject of this letter, and communicating to me, as soon as possible, the conclusions you have arrived at.

"It is needless for me to remind you that the Exhibition opens on the 1st of June, and that all articles must be in Paris, at the latest, by the end of April. Your answer without delay will therefore oblige me.

"I beg to assure you, Gentlemen, of my highest consideration.

"L. BUFFET,

"*Minister of Agriculture
and Commerce.*"

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at which were present Mr. Thomas Cubitt, a member of the Society of Arts since May, 1819, who had been and was engaged in building the Queen's residence at Osborne; Mr. Scott Russell, Secretary of the Society of Arts; Mr. Francis Fuller, introduced by Mr. Russell, as being likely to be able to find a contractor; and myself.

XI. The meeting took place at Buckingham Palace on the 30th June, when we were received by the Prince attended by Colonel Phipps. The subject was discussed, and a minute prepared by the secretary, the proof of which the Prince himself corrected. The possession of the copy containing the corrections, has been acquired by the Society of Arts, and I have been permitted by the Council to make a facsimile showing the adoption of the international idea in the Prince's own handwriting. This minute and others in full are given in my introduction to the official Catalogue of the Exhibition which was submitted to the Prince and revised by him. The Prince repeated his idea of a permanent building, and called on Mr. Cubitt, as a large owner of "square" property, to express his views. Mr. Cubitt answered somewhat to this effect, "Your Royal Highness proposes to accomplish a great public good by the Exhibition, but if you build on a square in which the public has a moral, if not a legal, right, you will do a great wrong, and set a bad example." The Prince did not discuss the use of Leicester Square any further.

Mr. Cubitt's
objections
to Leicester
Square.

XII. A second meeting took place at Osborne, on the 14th July, 1849, at which Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade, was present. He suggested that before October, when the Government would be re-assembling, "the interval might be most usefully employed by the Society, in collecting more evidence as to the readiness of the great manufacturing and commercial interests to subscribe to and support the undertaking." Accordingly, during this

Deputations
to great
Towns.



for this etc could be made to the Crown.

It was a question whether this exhibition should be exclusively limited to British Industry. ~~It was considered that~~ ^{It was considered that,} ~~whilst it appears an error to fix any limitation advantages would arise from collecting the scattered productions to the productions of Machinery, Science & Taste of all nations and that Foreign productions ought not to be excluded the occasion should be one in which the interests of the civilized world, particularly advantage of Commerce to England should be increased most beneficially to British Industry might be derived from placing it in fair competition with that of other Nations. -~~
It was agreed that such Industrial Machinery and Nations. -

FACSIMILE OF MINUTE OF JUNE 30TH 1849 RELATING TO THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.
AS CORRECTED IN THE HANDWRITING OF PRINCE ALBERT



interval, deputations of members of the Society of Arts were commissioned by the Prince in the following diploma:—

“ . . . is authorized by His Royal Highness the Prince Albert, as President of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, to collect opinions and evidence with reference to the expediency of forming a great Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, to be held in London in the year 1851, in order that His Royal Highness may bring the results of such inquiry before Her Majesty's Government.

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Form of
Commission.

“ Approved.

“ By Command.

“ C. B. PHIPPS.”

XIII. Deputations visited Manchester, the Staffordshire Potteries, Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Rochdale, Huddersfield, Kendal and Glasgow, and the signatures of manufacturing firms willing to be Supporters, were submitted to the Prince at Balmoral on the 3rd September, 1849. On the printed minutes of that day is entered the Prince's correspondence with Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, which virtually determined that the Exhibition was to be of the “ Industry of all nations.”

“ Osborne, July 31, 1849.

“ SIR,—The Society of Arts having during several years formed Exhibitions of Works of National Industry, which have been very successful, believe that they have thereby acquired sufficient experience, and have sufficiently prepared the public mind, to venture upon the execution of a plan they have long cherished—to invite a *quinquennial Exhibition in London of the Industry of all Nations*.

Prince's application for a Royal Commission.

Quinquennial Exhibition of all Nations.

“ They think that the only condition wanting to ensure the success of such an undertaking, would be the sanction of the Crown given in a conspicuous manner; and they are of opinion that no more efficacious mode could be adopted than the issue of a Royal Commission to enquire into, and report upon, the practicability of the scheme, and the best mode of executing it.

“ I have therefore been asked, as President of the Society, to bring this matter officially before you, and to beg that Her

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Majesty's Government will give this important subject their best consideration.

"The Exhibition was proposed to be invited for 1851, and the magnitude of the necessary preliminary arrangements, renders it highly desirable that the decision which the Government may have come to, should be ascertained within the space of a few months.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"ALBERT."

"The Right Honourable Sir George Grey, Bart.,
G.C.B., &c., &c., &c."

Sir George Grey replied immediately.

"Whitehall, August 1st, 1849.

Sir G. Grey's
answer.

"SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your Royal Highness's letter of the 31st July, suggesting the issue of a Royal Commission to enquire into, and report upon, the practicability of a Scheme which has been formed by the Society of Arts for a quinquennial Exhibition in London of the Industry of all Nations.

"I shall not fail in obedience to your Royal Highness's commands, to take an early opportunity of bringing this important subject under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and I am confident that it will receive their careful and deliberate attention.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"G. GREY."

"To His Royal Highness Prince Albert, K.G."

XIV. I made a full report, dated 5th October, 1849, of my visits to several towns, with abundant evidence of the willingness of Manufacturers to support the Exhibition. I said :—

"Bearing in mind your Royal Highness's wishes, we stated emphatically on all occasions, that our inquiries were to be regarded only as preliminary and as private. At the outset we commenced our inquiries by visiting individuals or commercial firms singly, proposing to consult in each locality only those which in our judgment appeared to be the most eminent, and only a small number of these. We accordingly visited in this way, the Staffordshire Potteries, Sheffield and Bradford, and we were pur-

Reports of
visits.

uing this course, but at Manchester we found, in some cases, that our inquiries were viewed as of so great an importance, that not only were all the several partners of large firms assembled to receive us, and discuss the proposal, but that several firms had united in a joint meeting for the same object. Limiting our inquiries in the first instance to manufacturers, we had not proposed to consult merchants or others less directly concerned in actual *production*, but very soon after our arrival at Manchester we found that this course would be injudicious, and we received on all sides suggestions that, for many reasons, it was expedient that we should make our visit known as early as possible to the mayor or chief magistrate, and be guided by him as to the parties it might be most desirable to see. We forthwith communicated with the Mayor of Manchester, who immediately enabled us to consult a few of the most important persons. He suggested that we should visit Manchester again, and kindly volunteered to assist us in further inquiries. We may also mention, that at Manchester we found our visits had been heralded in the local newspapers. Your Royal Highness will see that even thus early it became beyond our power to circumscribe altogether the publicity attaching to our investigations, and it remained for us only, on every occasion, to reiterate a declaration that the proposal, in its present state, must be considered as private, and under investigation.

“After leaving Manchester, we adopted, as a general rule, the plan of announcing our intended visits to the chief magistrate of each town, at the same time requesting him to enable us to meet a few of the leading manufacturers and other influential persons of his neighbourhood. In every case we found this request willingly responded to, and our inquiries were thus very much facilitated. But it was not until we reached Dublin that these meetings assumed a semi-public character. At Dublin the Lord Mayor had invited considerable numbers to attend, and the meeting was large. Reporters from the newspapers were present. Formal resolutions were unanimously passed, which were advertised, and a report of this meeting was published in the Dublin papers (not quite so accurately as might have been wished), which was afterwards extensively copied into other newspapers. From this period our visitations necessarily have assumed a somewhat less private character.”

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EXHIBITION
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A. D.
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Part I.

Manchester.

Dublin.

GREAT
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1849-1852.
Part I.

XV. At this meeting at Dublin, it was reported in the Dublin papers, that I said that "The various and conflicting interests of parties had been debated by the Prince with great ability, bearing on the question whether English, Irish, and Scotch manufacturers would be served or injured by confining the competition to the United Kingdom, or by throwing it open to the manufacturers of the whole world. The Prince was not moved to these inquiries by any man or body of men. It was his own spontaneous act irrespective of external influence." The Prince wrote, 14th September, 1849, to instruct Colonel Phipps to remind me that the strictest privacy was originally observed, and to caution me not to be drawn away by degrees from the original position. "Praising me at meetings looks as if I were to be advertised and used as a means of drawing a full house," &c., &c. "Mr. Cole excuses himself about Dublin, and calls it an unexpected occurrence that newspaper reporters should have been present, and says the proceedings were incorrectly reported. In London additional caution will be required."¹ Before I had received the Prince's admonition, Colonel Phipps had written to the Lord Mayor, 12th September, 1849, "to introduce to your Lordship, Messrs. Henry Cole, Fuller, and J. Scott Russell, who have been actively engaged in prosecuting these inquiries and in endeavouring to promote the success of the proposed Exhibition. These gentlemen will be prepared fully to explain to your Lordship the objects and nature of the undertaking, and the progress that has as yet been made; and the Prince has commanded me to assure you of His Royal Highness's conviction that your Lordship will be disposed to afford these gentlemen such assistance as may be in your Lordship's power, towards the formation of a City Committee for the purpose of inquiring into and promoting this great plan."

¹ See "Life of the Prince Consort," by Sir T. Martin, vol. ii., p. 226.

XVI. Several members of the Society of Arts were commissioned by the Prince to visit seats of manufactures, and make known the intended Exhibition. Every now and then some indiscreet words were spoken, and I received the admonition. Here is some correspondence at this time :—

“Osborne, Oct. 8th, 1849.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Upon Thursday, at the hour you mention, the Prince will be ready to see you at Windsor.

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Part I.

Caution im-
pressed by
the Prince.

“I filled up the forms exactly answering to the list you sent me, and was not aware at the moment that Mr. Dilke had had one before.

“I see by the accounts in the newspapers, that at some of the country meetings, Mr. Fuller has again entered into details as to the prizes, and has also held out the expectation of the medals being presented by the Queen.

“I was in hopes that I had already been sufficiently explicit upon this head.

“If a Royal Commission is to be appointed, they will expect to have the decision of the question as to the amount of prizes, and by any premature declarations upon this point, either their discretion must be cramped, or public disappointment must ensue, should their regulation as to prizes be different from the expectations that had been raised. For instance, with regard to the great £5,000 prize, I have heard many different opinions, and it would be a question, undoubtedly, that would meet with some discussion before the Commission.

“The Queen's name should never, even provisionally, be pledged to anything, unless by Her Majesty's sanction directly expressed. The Queen has never given any assurance that she would present the prizes, and every time that a probability of this act is declared, disappointment (in case of Her Majesty not wishing, or not being able to fulfil the expectation) is prepared.

“If I knew Mr. Fuller's address, I would write to him myself upon this subject ; perhaps you would give him a hint upon it, assuring him at the same time that his exertions in the cause are highly appreciated, and appear to have been very successful.

“Sincerely yours,

“C. B. PHIPPS.”

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XVII. I excused myself as best I could :—

“ I, Terrace, Kensington, 9th Oct., 1849.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I assure you I have twice written to Mr. Fuller since he left town, enjoining the utmost circumspection, and I have insisted as strongly as I could on the same necessity, to every other gentleman who has been nominated.

Inaccurate
reports.

“ I hope His Royal Highness will make all charitable allowance for the defects of provincial reporting. With the most perfect consciousness of the liability to mis-statement, and of the doubtfulness of many parts of the proposal, I have myself tried very hard at every meeting not to appear to overstep the precise facts, but in vain ; there seems a fatality that you *must* be mis-reported. I have felt this ever since the Dublin meeting, and so strongly at Canterbury and Dover, that I spoke at both meetings as if tongue-tied, and I felt quite beaten on seeing the reports. Notwithstanding all my pains, the reporters put things in a way I never did. I quite despair even being able merely to read the cautiously worded minutes without saying a word, and finding the facts correctly stated in the provincial papers, and I assure you that I am very nervous and uncomfortable. Under these circumstances, and feeling the expediency of a somewhat more settled position being taken as early as practicable, I have hastened the preparation of my report, in the hopes that it may be some means of enabling the Prince to bring the proposal into a more defined shape before the public.

“ There are several enclosures with this ; a rough proof of my report to receive the benefit of His Royal Highness's suggestions. I have sent the evidence of each individual to the party concerned for correction.

“ I enclose a letter from Mr. Cowan, M.P. for Edinburgh, because I doubt the advisability of its insertion, and perhaps there are some parts of the printed evidence which H.R.H. will put a pencil through.

“ Also a suggestion of Mr. Wentworth Dilke's ; also an impression of the seal, which is a modification of a seal representing the world encircled by a serpent, used by the Society of Arts for many years.

“ The Lord Mayor of London has invited a meeting on Wednes-

day next. I will do my best to represent correctly the wishes of the Prince, and to try and have a correct report. I dare say the Lord Mayor will ask Mr. Jones Loyd to attend, he is so excellent a speaker, and so influential, that I think if you wrote and asked him to see me beforehand, it would be very useful."

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XVIII. Referring to my report on visits, I received the following from Colonel Phipps:—

"Osborne, Oct. 10th, 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The melancholy intelligence contained in the papers of this day¹ will have explained to you the reason which prevented me from answering your letter, or sending sooner to prevent your coming down to Windsor; I hope, however, that this may yet prove in time. The intelligence of poor Anson's sudden death has been a severe shock to Her Majesty and the Prince, and rendered H.R.H. hardly able to attend to business to-day. He has, however, read your report, which is highly interesting, and of which H.R.H. entirely approves, with the exception of one or two alterations which have been made; one is merely verbal, the others have a political tendency in them which H.R.H. thinks might be hurtful to the success of the undertaking. Mr. Cowan's letter, for the same reason, H.R.H. thinks should not be inserted.

"Mr. Dilke's proposal H.R.H. thinks worthy of consideration.

"The seal is approved. The Queen has been stopped from going to Windsor by the urgent advice of the Board of Health,² but I will give you the earliest information of the time when you can have an interview with H.R.H.

"You will believe that I am not much up to writing to-day.

"Sincerely yours,

"C. B. PHIPPS."

XIX. After the Prince had heard the opinions of manufacturers and producers in the country, and found public opinion pronounced so favourably on the idea, he decided that it was expedient to hold a meeting in the metropolis, and Colonel Phipps wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor to

City of London meeting.

¹ Mr. Anson's death. He was the Prince's private secretary.

² The drainage had begun to excite alarm in these early days.

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accredit me. At this meeting it was fully understood that reporters would be present; but the Prince impressed upon me the necessity of clearly stating that everything hitherto said and done, was only to be accepted as provisional. The meeting was held at the Mansion House, on the 17th October, and was attended by the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, Mr. Hume, M.P., Mr. John Masterman, M.P., the Lord Mayor Elect, Sir G. Carroll, Sir J. H. Pelley, T. Jones Loyd (afterward Lord Overstone); Messrs. J. Dillon, T. Hankey, Hanbury, Gurney, W. Cotton, Freshfield, Roger Cunliffe; Aldermen Hooper, P. Laurie, Moon, Musgrove, Salomons, Copeland, Gibbs, &c.; Dr. Buckland, &c.¹

XX. C. W. Dilke, and other Members of Council of the Society of Arts were present, with the Secretary, Mr. Scott Russell; and the Hall was well filled. Mr. Dilke, the grandfather of the present Sir Charles, second Baronet, stationed himself at the end of the Egyptian Hall, in order to signal to me if my voice reached so far, and I believe it was heard. It was my first public speech, and I take the report of it from the "Times" of the 18th October, 1849:—

Mr. Henry Cole said—

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen, before I submit to you the outlines of the proposal which his Royal Highness Prince Albert has charged us, the members of the Society of Arts, to communicate to the citizens of London, I would ask you to bear in mind

¹ Mr. George Moffatt, whose valuable labours in promoting Uniform Penny Postage I have already recorded, apologized for his absence, and wrote, "I believe it would be difficult to overstate the material benefits likely to accrue from such an exhibition, not to this country alone, but to the whole world. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more interesting and useful combination than that in

view. England is, at this moment, to a large extent, practically ignorant of the arts and manufactures of other countries—other countries equally uninformed as to those of England. The whole world must gain by the diffusion of practical information consequent upon such a gathering as that contemplated, and which, I trust, will have the hearty and active support of the city of London."

Speech of
H. Cole.

that these proceedings are strictly preliminary. His Royal Highness wishes that you should not take anything as absolutely settled with regard to his proposal, beyond the fact that it is intended to have a great exhibition of works of industry; and it is his Royal Highness's desire that we should lay before you the details of the plan—which I shall endeavour to do with all possible brevity—in order that, when the proper time comes, you may be prepared to aid his Royal Highness with your counsel and advice, if you should think fit to carry his proposals into effect. (Hear, hear.)

“This subject, I may observe, has been under the consideration of the Society of Arts, of which his Royal Highness Prince Albert is the President, for the last five years; but, during the last two years, his Royal Highness has been watching the symptoms of public feeling on this question with great intentness, and the members of the council well know that he has on all occasions taken a most active interest, as President of the Society, in furthering the education of the public for appreciating an exhibition of the kind suggested.

“We had this year, at the Society of Arts, the finest exhibition of precious metal work that has, probably, ever been seen in the world; and the chief specimen of that work was sent by Her Majesty herself. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Indeed, so great a point was made by that exhibition, that Prince Albert considered himself warranted in endeavouring to mature his plans for the much more extensive and important exhibition which he contemplated. Accordingly, soon after the termination of the exhibition of the Society of Arts, his Royal Highness commanded the attendance of several members of the council, and of the secretary, at Buckingham Palace, where he explained the details of what he considered should be the chief features of the proposed exhibition. On that occasion his Royal Highness directed that minutes should be kept; and the minutes of that, as well as of subsequent meetings—of which there have been several—have been revised and approved by the Prince himself. (Hear, hear.) I think it is only right that I should mention this circumstance, because it shews that his Royal Highness takes a direct personal interest in the subject (cheers), and that he is not acting in his dry official capacity as President of the Society of Arts. (Hear, hear.) In the course of the observations which I shall address to you, you will see that,

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so far as the plan has proceeded, the Prince has himself considered some of the probable details. It will, I think, conduce to brevity if I read to you some extracts from the minutes taken on the occasions to which I have alluded.

“The first minute is this:—‘Buckingham Palace, June 30, 1849. His Royal Highness communicated to the members of the Society of Arts, his views regarding the formation of a great collection of works of industry and art in London in 1851, for the purposes of exhibition and of competition and encouragement.’ The first point that then arose for consideration was, whether the subjects of this exhibition should be limited exclusively to the productions of our own country; and I may perhaps be allowed to say that the passage I am now about to read is one which the Prince himself inscribed upon the minutes. (Hear, hear.) ‘It was a question whether this exhibition should be exclusively limited to British industry. It was considered that, whilst it appears an error to fix any limitation to the productions of machinery, science, and taste, which are of no country, but belong, as a whole, to the civilized world, particular advantage to British industry might be derived from placing it in fair competition with that of other nations.’ (Cheers.)

“That seemed to his Royal Highness to be a fundamental principle to be regarded in any great exposition which this country might undertake, and I may observe that the feeling on that subject, in every part of the country, has been absolutely unanimous. I believe one gentleman only, out of some 600 or 700 whom we have consulted, expressed his opinion that, in the first instance, the exposition should be confined to British industry alone; but when he came to see his opinion put in print for the Prince’s perusal, it appeared so very singular that he requested it might be cancelled (a laugh), and in the course of six weeks, therefore, he completely changed his views. (Laughter.)

“If it will not be tedious to the meeting I will read a few passages, which will shew the feeling that has been manifested on this subject. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh said at a meeting that ‘he considered the preparation of such an exhibition would direct the minds of the whole world to the peaceful pursuits of industry, and by friendly competition and generous rewards would more closely than ever cement the amicable relations of all the nations

of the earth.' I am reading the words which we took down at the time, and which will shew you the individual and personal feeling exhibited. Messrs. Kershaw and Co., of Manchester, extremely large cotton manufacturers, who weave 1,000,000 miles of cotton yarn weekly, said, 'Open the exhibition to receive the productions of all nations certainly.' Messrs. James Black and Co., of Glasgow, very extensive calico printers, who will be exposed to considerable competition with French goods in the proposed exhibition, said they 'considered it highly desirable to compare our productions not only with those of our countrymen, but with those of foreigners;' and they added, 'The exhibition will be well worth all the money it may cost.' They stated, at the same time, that they did not fear any competition; that they thought great advantage would arise from letting the ladies of Great Britain see that English manufacturers could produce as good articles as the French; and that the contemplated exhibition might serve the cause of morality by preventing English goods from being sold, as was frequently the case, as French manufactures. Mr. Jobson Smith, of Sheffield, a member of the firm of Stuart and Smith, one of the largest steel-grate manufacturers in the world, said he 'thought it most desirable to see the best metal work of all nations, though England would be behind in ornamental metal work.' Messrs. Hoyle and Sons, of Manchester, whose name has a sort of world's reputation for a particular class of fabric, were unanimously agreed that the exhibition ought certainly to be international. 'The Lancashire feeling,' said Alderman Neild, 'eminently is to have a clear stage and no favour, and to shew what Lancashire people can do.' (Laughter and cheers.) The Master of the Merchants' Company at Edinburgh said, rather graphically, that 'he thought the exhibition should be universal, and that its tendency would be to rub the sharp corners of many nations off.' (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) The Rev. Mr. Yate, of Dover, expressed his hope and belief that the proposed exhibition would hasten the period when men shall beat 'their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruninghooks.' (Hear, hear.)

"I think, then, gentlemen, that you will agree with his Royal Highness in the opinion that it is expedient that such an exhibition as is now proposed, should be open to all nations. (Cheers.)

"The next point for consideration was the subjects that should

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be comprehended in the projected exhibition. 'His Royal Highness considered that such collection and exhibition should consist of the following divisions: raw materials, machinery and mechanical inventions, manufactures, sculpture, and plastic art generally.' It must be borne in mind, that the exhibition will not be an assemblage of ordinary productions, but of the very best works, in all their classes, which the world probably can shew. With respect to raw materials, we shall most likely have, from all quarters of the globe, specimens of animal and vegetable life, as well as of minerals,—samples of what is in the earth and of what is produced on the earth. In the class of animal substances, we shall probably have enormous elephants' tusks from Africa and Asia; leather from Morocco and Russia; beaver from Baffin's Bay; the wools of Australia, of Yorkshire, and of Thibet; silk from Asia and from Europe; and furs from the Esquimaux.

"As an evidence of what we may expect from the suggested exposition, I may state that the Court of Directors of the East India Company intend to exhibit the best of everything that India can produce; and we shall therefore probably obtain, by this means, the best practical notion of the value of our East Indian possessions. (Hear, hear.) I will read to the meeting a short extract from a letter addressed to me by the Chairman of the Court of Directors:—

"I beg to inform you that I communicated to the Court of Directors, the conversation which I had with you on the subject of the proposed exhibition of the works of industry which his Royal Highness Prince Albert is desirous to institute in the year 1851. I have the satisfaction of acquainting you, for the information of his Royal Highness, that the Court expressed their entire concurrence in the views which I then suggested, and that they will be prepared to give their cordial co-operation in carrying out the wishes of his Royal Highness, by obtaining from India such specimens of the products and manufactures of that country as may tend to illustrate its resources, and to add to the interest of the great national exhibition of which his Royal Highness is the patron.'

"We have also reason to believe that the Australian Company, and other public companies interested in our colonies, will not be

backward in affording us their co-operation on this occasion. Then, with regard to vegetable productions, which will come under the class of raw materials, we shall have cotton from Asia compared with that from America. We may, perhaps, have corn from the virgin soil of Connemara; for when we were in Ireland Lord Clarendon pointed out to us some corn, observing that if the English people could see it they would be convinced that there were far better 'diggings' in Cork than in California. (Cheers and laughter.) We shall have, also, corn from the shores of the Baltic in competition with that from Ireland and from the counties of England. We shall have spices from the East; the hops of Kent and Sussex, the raisins of Malaga, and the olives of the Pyrenees. An immense impulse will, therefore, be given by this exhibition to the exertions of all the cultivators of raw produce. It is unnecessary that I should go into detail on this subject, and I only allude to it to shew how comprehensive the exposition is intended to be, and how completely all persons, whether as producers or customers, will be interested in it.

"Of mineral productions, we shall have gold from California and from the East Indies; silver from Mexico, Russia, and Cornwall; iron ore from Wales, Wolverhampton, and Tunbridge Wells,—for perhaps many persons do not know that the iron railings round St. Paul's were manufactured near Tunbridge Wells years ago, though the manufacture has now been almost entirely abandoned. Then we shall have clays from Bideford, Truro, and perhaps from Putney,—for near Vauxhall Bridge there is an enormous nest of factories for a certain description of pottery.

"In machinery we shall have the steam-engine in all its endless applications, both to land and water purposes. We shall have marine engines in all their varieties; and we may probably have such machines as Messrs. Whitworth of Manchester have recently constructed, measuring to the fifty-thousandth part¹ of an inch. We may have the looms of the Dacca muslin weaver, and the last

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¹ The measuring machine first exhibited in 1851, demonstrated the millionth part of an inch! and at this time, measuring machines, measuring to the ten-thousandth of an inch, are in practical use in all the great workshops for machinery. There is a letter

of James Watt existing, which states his satisfaction in having constructed an engine where the piston fitted so closely that you could not insert a shilling—whereas now, if necessary, the piston works to the ten-thousandth of an inch.

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new power-looms made by Messrs. Roberts. We shall compare the old spindle, which the Egyptians still use, with the modern flax-wheel from Belfast. An extensive papermaker has said, that, if practicable, he will bring up a machine into which rags will be put at one end, while 20 feet beyond they will come out a large sheet of elephant drawing-board. We shall also have printing-presses of all varieties; and I should not wonder if Messrs. Apple-garth were to exhibit a printing-machine like that now used by 'The Times,' which pours forth 10,000 copies of that newspaper per hour. (Hear, hear.)

"I need scarcely dwell on the subject of manufactures, but we may expect to have at our exhibition some of those Indian manufactures which are now almost unknown to us. We now seldom see the manufacture called 'nankeen' in this country. The Indian merchant finds it more profitable to send his raw material here to have it spun and made up and sent back to him, than he did formerly to make it himself and send it to this country for consumption. There are, however, in India and in other parts of the world, a great many indigenous manufactures, which may probably be brought under our notice by the proposed exhibition.

"The next and last department of exposition is that of plastic art and sculpture, which will comprise all that relates to building and architectural art. We may learn from it how much the French are in advance of us in the manufacture of bronzes; but it may be a comfort to us and to others to know that the great bronze manufactories of France have grown up within the last thirty years. (Hear.)

"I now come to the question of site. 'Various sites were suggested,' say the minutes, 'as most suitable for the building, which it was settled must be, on the first occasion at least, a temporary one. The Government had offered the area of Somerset House, or, if that were unfit, a more suitable site on the property of the Crown. His Royal Highness pointed out the vacant ground in Hyde Park, on the south side, parallel with and between the Kensington drive and the ride commonly called Rotten Row, as affording advantages which few other places might be found to possess. Application for this site could be made to the Crown.' The particular advantage of this site, according to the views of the Prince—and I believe you will all concur with them—was that high and

low, rich and poor, would have an equally good access (hear, hear); and that those who rode down in omnibuses, and those who went in their private carriages, would have equal facilities of approach. (Cheers.)

“It was next settled that it might be expedient to give large prizes to the competitors. You are aware that foreign governments are accustomed, for important inventions, to give the inventors large prizes; and it was considered that, in order to induce the whole world to enter into this sort of amicable competition, large prizes would be necessary. We thought, therefore, that we might with certainty say that £20,000 worth of prizes will be offered to the world at the proposed exhibition. How that sum may be apportioned will be a matter for subsequent consideration. It is proposed to organize an executive to carry out the plan in co-operation with the Government, and all the details with regard to the prizes will have to be settled by that executive.

“The next question, and it is an important one, is HOW THE FUNDS ARE TO BE RAISED. I need not trouble you with the details of the discussions which have taken place in the council on this subject; but the result was that Prince Albert, as well as the council of the Society, came to the conclusion that the best course would be to leave the contributions optional, rather than to obtain the required amount by compulsory taxation. We all know that in other countries, projects of this kind have been carried out by the governments; but we also know that in other countries, governments are accustomed to do many things which I, for one, believe that the English people do much better for themselves than any government can do for them. (Hear.)

“I believe that no public works are ever executed by any foreign government which can vie for magnificence, completeness, and perfection, with those that our countrymen execute for themselves. (Hear, hear.) I will briefly read to you one or two expressions of opinion on this subject. I may first observe that the feeling was nearly unanimous, wherever we have been, that it would be better to let every one who chose subscribe from 2s. 6d. upwards, than to ask the Government to defray the expense of the exhibition. It is true that there was a little mixed feeling in Scotland. (A laugh.) A most eminent manufacturer of Paisley said he considered that, ‘as this is a great national work, intended for a great national

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benefit, its stability, as well as the confidence of the public, will be greatly secured by Government bearing a moiety of the expenses.' A similar feeling was manifested by many gentlemen present. I do not think that proposition has yet been made to the Government, and I am not able to say how willingly they would receive it. The feeling of the Society of Arts and of Prince Albert is, that it would be far nobler for the English people to do the thing well for themselves, as far as they can, rather than ask the Government for assistance. (Hear, and cheers.) There seems to be a notion that some Scotchmen would like the Government to pay for the projected exposition; but Mr. Hannan, of Glasgow, says, 'The less we have to do with the Government money the better;' and I met in my travels a lady of upwards of 80 years of age, who said she would not be able to come to the exhibition, but that she was ready to give a crown towards the object, provided that nothing came from the taxes. (A laugh and cheers.) The Lord Provost of Glasgow considered that the exhibition would be more popular if there were no public money required. Mr. S. R. Lushington observed, at the Canterbury meeting, 'that he was glad to understand the exhibition was to be voluntarily supported; for that, had it been determined to seek the aid of the Government, he believed the public would have felt themselves relieved from the necessity of assisting, and, regarding the exhibition as a part of compulsory taxation, would have looked upon it much less favourably.' I think, if a proposal for supporting such an exposition by public money were brought forward in the House of Commons, there would almost inevitably be a division on the question.

"I conceive, therefore, that the best plan is to leave the public to do just what they please in the matter; those who approve the object will subscribe, and those who consider that it will not affect them or their interests, will not be compelled to give us their aid. I hope, therefore, that the meeting will agree with what, I believe, are entirely the views of his Royal Highness in this matter—that the whole of this great undertaking should be carried out by funds subscribed voluntarily. (Hear, hear.) We have no doubt of getting the money. (Hear.) They said in Dublin—said enthusiastically—that they thought the easiest part of the matter would be to get £150,000, or even £200,000; but that is not altogether an opinion peculiar to Irishmen, for I had the honour of an interview

yesterday with a gentleman who has one of the longest heads in the City of London, as he certainly is one of the richest men in it, and he said that he was sure there would be no difficulty with respect to money or anything of that kind, but he thought it would be very difficult to prevent this exhibition from being ingulfed by its own magnitude. (Hear, hear.) He thought there would be no difficulty in getting the money, everybody would be so interested in such a thing; every merchant or trader would see that he would get a direct and obvious benefit from the exhibition. (Hear, hear.)

“Then, the funds being forthcoming—of which we have no doubt—it is proposed that the Government should be asked to *appoint a royal commission* to arrange the disposal of a certain portion of the funds, that portion which is to be allotted for prizes, with the utmost impartiality. The Society of Arts felt that it would not do for them, as a private corporation, to undertake the very delicate task of distributing £20,000 in prizes; and, therefore, it is proposed to ask the Government to nominate such a commission as it shall think suitable, for the purpose of securing the best advice in the distribution of the prizes, in order that tribunals for awarding them may be appointed which shall be above all suspicion, as far as human ingenuity can make them so. (Hear.) The duties and powers of this commission would be to determine the nature of the prizes, and the selection of the subjects for which they are to be offered. Of course those gentlemen who have been about the country to make the matter known, have been more or less obliged, in order to embody the idea, to hint at the class of prizes in view; but I would wish you to remember that the time will come when all who are interested will be asked to give their best advice in this matter, and that no part of the question of prizes can be considered as settled, beyond the fact that £20,000 are to be given. (Hear, hear.) The Society of Arts has organised the means of getting these funds. (Hear, hear.) I shall read to you only one extract with relation to this part of the subject:—‘The prizes proposed to be submitted for the consideration of the commission to be medals, with money prizes. It was proposed that the first prize should be £5,000, and that one, at least, of £1,000 should be given in each of the four sections. Medals conferred by the Queen would very much enhance the value of the prizes.’ (Hear, hear.)

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We are not privileged to say more than that, but that, perhaps, will be sufficient to show the interest which we may hope that our Sovereign will take in the subject. (Hear, hear.)

“I end with this statement, gentlemen, without attempting to advocate the merits of the proposition before you ; standing here, as we do, to represent the views of the Prince, we have thought it would be most becoming to appear as little as possible as partisans ; we have laid before you what is the proposal of the Prince, and we leave you to deal with it as you think fit. (Hear, hear.) I will only say, that if there is a place in the world interested in the matter, it is London. I think we may expect some hundred thousand people to come flowing into London from all parts of the world, by railways and steamboats, to see this great exhibition. I think we may calculate on the advent of foreign merchants who may want to buy, pleasure-seekers in abundance, and men of science anxious to see what has been done. In short, London will act the part of host to all the world at an intellectual festival of peaceful industry, suggested by the Consort of our beloved Queen and seconded by yourselves—a festival, such as the world never before has seen.”

Mr. Cole resumed his seat amidst much cheering from all parts of the hall.

XXI. Mr. W. G. Prescott, of Messrs. Grotes, proposed a vote of thanks to Prince Albert for his proposal, which Mr. Dillon, of Messrs. Morrison's, seconded. Mr. Hume, M.P., an old Vice-President of the Society of Arts for more than twenty-five years, proposed :—

“That the cost of the Exhibition should be provided by voluntary subscriptions, and not by the general taxation of the country, and that a Royal Commission is necessary to invest the undertaking with a National sanction, and to give the world the utmost confidence that the prizes will be awarded impartially.”

Mr. Alderman Salomons seconded the resolution. Mr. Masterman, M.P., proposed the formation of a Committee consisting of the merchants, bankers, and traders of the metropolis, to promote the proposal of His Royal Highness,

to consist of the following gentlemen:—The Lord Mayor; the Lord Mayor Elect; the Aldermen; the Governor of the Bank of England; the Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England; the Chairman of the East India Company; the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company; S. Jones Loyd, Esq.; G. C. Glyn, Esq., M.P.; J. Masterman, Esq., M.P.; Baron Rothschild, M.P.; J. Dillon, Esq.; R. Currie, Esq., M.P.; the Sheriffs; J. Hume, Esq., M.P.; Baron Goldsmid; G. Moffatt, Esq., M.P.; T. Baring, Esq., M.P.; M. Forster, Esq., M.P.; W. Cotton, Esq.; S. Gurney, Esq.; R. L. Jones, Esq.; W. Tite, Esq., F.R.S.; A. Caldecott, Esq.; R. Williams, Esq.; J. Bates, Esq.; with power to add to their number; and that the Rev. S. R. Cattley and Mr. D. W. Wire be the Honorary Secretaries of such Committee. Sir Henry Pelly, Chairman of the Hudson Bay Company, seconded this resolution. Mr. W. Cotton proposed, and Mr. Alderman Copeland seconded, that the proceedings be advertised in the newspapers. Mr. Tooke, the senior Vice-President of the Society of Arts, proposed, and Mr. C. W. Dilke seconded, the vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, and the proceedings terminated. The next day Colonel Phipps wrote "Your meeting in the City appears to have been most successful."

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INCIDENTS BEFORE THE APPOINTMENT OF ROYAL COMMISSION.

XXII. Although I took no part in seeking for the capital necessary to carry out the Exhibition, I recognized the absolute necessity of insuring an amount that would secure the Exhibition, and protect the personal responsibility of H. R. H.¹ (See Vol. II., pp. 218 and 220.) From what had

A Contract
necessary.

¹ Mr. Cobden declared he would oppose any Parliamentary Grant to support the Exhibition. He spoke at

the meeting at Marylebone, 2nd May, 1850:—"A good deal had been said with regard to the prince who had

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passed, it was hopeless to expect the Government to find the funds, and even the event, when perfectly successful, proved this, as the uttermost farthing was charged against the Exhibition by the Home Office for the extra police, notwithstanding the benefit to the revenue conferred by the Exhibition. A member of the Council of the Society of Arts,¹ found capitalist contractors, Messrs. Munday, who undertook to bear the risk of the preliminary expenses, and actually deposited a sum of £20,000. The contract was made between the Society of Arts and Messrs. James

been so much concerned in the formation of this project. (Hear.) He (Mr. Cobden) would not flatter anybody, but he would say, that having sat at the same board with His Royal Highness, he could speak of his efforts, not as a prince, but as a working man. (Cheers.) There was no one in the number of the Commissioners—not one member of the Board—that had done one-half the labour towards carrying out this Exhibition (renewed cheers); and he (Mr. Cobden) would venture to say that, whether Prince Albert were well supported in his scheme or not, he had before him to the 1st of May next, as great an amount of anxiety, of labour, and of perplexing toil, as any working man in this kingdom. (Great cheering.) He (Mr. Cobden) could appreciate the advantages of the Prince having given the initiative to this scheme. His wise abstinence from the political questions and parties of the day (hear, hear), pointed him out as the only man in this kingdom who could have brought together the heterogeneous elements which surrounded the council board of the Royal Commissioners. He (Mr. Cobden) sat at the same table with Lord Stanley, Sir R. Peel, and Mr. Gladstone, and they all acted in per-

fect harmony on the subject of the Exhibition; but that could not be but by the sanction of the Prince. He (Mr. Cobden) felt no doubt whatever of the perfect success of that project; he felt no doubt that, as the money was found—and it would be found in abundance—the Exhibition would be triumphant, and would leave them a surplus for a future Exhibition. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And though he had only spoken to them of its material results, he assured them he looked upon it in its moral aspects as of far greater consequence (hear, hear); and he would rather have his name associated, as Prince Albert would have his, with the great Industrial Exhibition of 1851, than be the Eugene or Marlborough of history, celebrated only for their triumphs on the battle-field. (Cheers.) The great fault, or rather misfortune, of men had always been that they did not know each other. (Hear, hear.) And why? Because they had not had that intercourse which nature and nature's God intended that they should have with one another. (Cheers.) He was thankful, therefore, for any excuse that withdrew men from their isolation. (Hear.)"

¹ Mr. Francis Fuller.

and George Munday, for fully carrying out the Exhibition according to the plan approved by the Prince Consort. At a very early stage of the business, I had felt the great likelihood that as the idea became understood, public opinion would prefer some other mode of carrying out the Exhibition than by a contract.¹ But at the time, as Mr. Herbert Minton remarked to me, the contract was the right thing to have had made. During the negotiations, I suggested that the contractors should be asked to agree to the insertion of a clause to the effect that the contract might be dissolved by arbitration if the Royal Commission desired it. The Prince cordially concurred in this suggestion, and Col. Phipps wrote a letter (on the 10th December) for publication, in answer to that of Mr. Drew, expressing pleasure at the contractors' liberality in assenting to the insertion of this clause. (See Vol. II., p. 224.) A statement of proceedings preliminary to the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, 1851, was prepared by Mr. Scott Russell, and sets forth, "There still, however, remained some members of the Council, who believed that the Government ought to, and would come in aid of the undertaking after it should have met with public favour, and its success should have become probable. Among these was Mr. Cole. He proposed that it should remain open to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to take the place of the capitalist contractors, and adopt the undertaking as their own, compensating the contractors (under arbitration) for their previous expenses and risks. . . . The time of such adoption by the Treasury being fixed upon the 1st of February, 1850."

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Government
intervention.

¹ It was drawn up by Messrs. Tooke, Son, and Hallows, Solicitors for the Society of Arts, and by Mr. George H. Drew, Solicitor for the Contractors,

and was signed and sealed by order of the Council, E. Speer, Chairman of the Council, attesting, 7th November, 1849.

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Willingness
of Contract-
ors to arbitrate.

The following is an extract from the Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Exhibition :—"The Prince inquired whether Mr. Cole was prepared to report on the willingness of the contractors to place a limit on their profits, and was informed that the contractors had stated they were disposed to entertain at all times any wishes of His Royal Highness and to refer them to arbitration. His Royal Highness expressed his great satisfaction at this proof of confidence, and thought it expedient that the contractors should write a letter to accompany the deeds, agreeing that the Council of the Society of Arts should have power to determine the contract by arbitration on the 31st of March, or at any time His Royal Highness might think desirable. Resolved—That a copy of the Minute entered on Friday last, referring to the contract, be officially sent to Mr. Drew, with a request that he obtain an answer to it from the contractors as early as possible." Mr. Drew addressed his answer to the Prince on the 7th December, 1849. It explains so clearly the whole transaction, so creditable to the contractors, that I quote it. (See Vol. II., p. 221.)

Contract

Executive
Committee.

XXIII. An Executive Committee was appointed by the Council of the Society of Arts, to carry into effect the contract above alluded to. This Committee, which was afterwards confirmed in Her Majesty's Commission of the 3rd January, 1850, consisted of the following Members: Mr. Robert Stephenson, Mr. Henry Cole, Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, Mr. F. Fuller, Mr. G. Drew, Mr. M. Digby Wyatt (Secretary). Of these, Mr. Drew had been nominated by Messrs. Munday to represent their interests, according to a provision in the contract.

XXIV. At the first meeting of the Commissioners, on the 11th January, 1850, they passed a resolution, "That it is expedient to cancel the contract with the Messrs. Mun-

day," and the statement of the reasons for this decision were given and published. The subject of the remuneration was referred to Mr. Robert Stephenson, M.P., for arbitration, and the award was £5,120, with costs of £587.

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PREPARATION OF ROYAL COMMISSION.

XXV. The Government consented to the issue of a Royal Commission which the Prince had asked for. The preparation of it was confided to me. I was summoned to Windsor on the 24th October, 1849, when the Prince gave his views about the nature of the Commission. He proposed that there should be one Secretary representing the Government, and one the Society of Arts, and that the Executive should be named in the Commission. The Prince commissioned me to ascertain if the Duke of Richmond, the leader of the Protectionists, and representing the agricultural interest, would allow himself to be named on the Commission; and I saw him on the 7th December, 1849, at Portland Place. He said he would consult the Marquis of Downshire and Lord Chichester, which his Grace did, but he finally declined. Lord Derby, the fourteenth Earl, consented to be a Commissioner. The Prince was in constant communication with Mr. Labouchere, who from time to time sent for me to discuss progress. On the 15th December, he summoned me, and the names of the Commissioners were finally settled. Mr. Labouchere accepted a suggestion that the Presidents of the Geological Society, of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and of the Royal Academy should be named on the Commission.

Issue of
Royal Com-
mission.

Duke of
Richmond
invited to
be a Com-
missioner.

Commission
completed.

XXVI. On the 3rd January, 1850, the Commission was published in the Gazette as follows. It represented all classes of society, Peers, Privy Councillors, Science, Art, and Manufacture:—

Commission
published.

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“ VICTORIA R.

“ VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith ; to

“ Our most dearly beloved Consort, *His Royal Highness Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel Duke of Saxony*,¹ *Prince of Saxe Coburg and Gotha*, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, and Field Marshal in Our Army ;

“ Our right trusty and right entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor, *Walter Francis Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter ;

“ Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin *William Earl of Rosse*, Knight of the Our Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick ;

“ Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousins and Councillors *Granville George Earl Granville*,

“ and *Francis Earl of Ellesmere* ; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor *Edward Geoffrey Lord Stanley* (afterwards fourteenth Earl of Derby) ;

“ Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillors *John Russell* (commonly called Lord John Russell),

“ *Sir Robert Peel*, Baronet, *Henry Labouchere* (afterwards Lord Taunton), and *William Ewart Gladstone* ;

“ Our trusty and well-beloved *Sir Archibald Galloway*, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Major-General in Our Army in the East Indies, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company for the time being ;

“ *Sir Richard Westmacott*, Knight, R.A. ;

“ *Sir Charles Lyell*, Knight, President of the Geological Society of London, or the President of the Geological Society of London for the time being ;

“ *Thomas Baring*, Esquire ;

“ *Charles Barry*, Esquire, R.A. ;

“ *Thomas Bazley*, Esquire (of Manchester), (afterwards *Sir Thomas, Bart.*) ;

“ *Richard Cobden*, Esquire (of Manchester) ;

“ *William Cubitt*, Esquire (afterwards *Sir William*), President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers for the time being ;

¹ The names of Commissioners and others no longer alive, are printed in italics.

"*Charles Lock Eastlake*, Esquire (afterwards Sir Charles, President of the Royal Academy of Arts).

"*Thomas Field Gibson*, Esquire (of Spitalfields);

"*John Gott*, Esquire (of Leeds);

"*Samuel Jones Loyd*, Esquire (afterwards Lord Overstone);

"*Philip Pusey*, Esquire (Agriculture); and *William Thompson*, Esquire, Alderman (Shipping), greeting.¹

"Whereas the Society for the Promotion of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, incorporated by Our Royal Charter, of which Our most dearly beloved Consort, the Prince Albert, is President, have of late years instituted Annual Exhibitions of the Works of British Art and Industry, and have proposed to establish an Enlarged Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, to be holden in London in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, at which prizes and medals, to the value of at least twenty thousand pounds sterling, shall be awarded to the exhibitors of the most meritorious works then brought forward; and have invested in the names of Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin *Spencer Joshua Alwyne Marquess of Northampton*, Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor *George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon*, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, Our trusty and well-beloved *Sir John Peter Boileau*, Baronet, and *James Courthorpe Peache*, Esquire, the sum of twenty thousand pounds, to be awarded in prizes and medals as aforesaid; and have appointed Our trusty and well-beloved *Arthur Kett Barclay*, Esquire, *William Cotton*, Esquire, *Sir John William Lubbock*, Baronet, *Samuel Morton Peto*, Esquire, and *Baron Lionel de Rothschild*, to be the Treasurers for all receipts arising from donations, subscriptions or any other source, on behalf of or towards the said Exhibition; Our trusty and well-beloved *Peter Le Neve Foster*, *Joseph Payne*, and *Thomas Winkworth*,²

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Trustees.

Treasurers.

Executive.

¹ At this date, April, 1882, only six out of twenty-four Commissioners are alive.

² Scott Russell had requested Mr. Winkworth to advocate the International idea, and this minute has been interpreted to mean that Mr. Winkworth was the first to suggest it:—

"Mr. Winkworth did not consider that the Exhibition would answer if confined to the manufacturers of England; it must be on a large scale if thrown open to the world to exhibit and compete for prizes, etc.; then all Europe would come over to England, English manufacturers would exhibit,

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Esquires, to be the Treasurers for payment of all executive expenses; and Our trusty and well-beloved *Henry Cole*,¹ *Charles Wentworth Dilke* the younger (afterwards Sir Wentworth, Bart.), *George Drew*, *Francis Fuller*, and *Robert Stephenson*, Esquires,² with Our trusty and well-beloved *Matthew Digby Wyatt*, Esquire (afterwards Sir Matthew), as their Secretary, to be an Executive Committee for carrying the said Exhibition into effect, under the directions of Our most dearly beloved Consort;

“And whereas the said Society for the Promotion of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, have represented unto Us, that, in carrying out the objects proposed by the said Exhibition, many questions may arise regarding the introduction of productions into Our Kingdom from Our Colonies and from Foreign Countries; also regarding the site for the said Exhibition, and the best mode of conducting the said Exhibition; likewise regarding the determination of the nature of the prizes, and the means of securing the most impartial distribution of them; and have also besought Us that We would be graciously pleased to give Our Sanction to this Undertaking, in order that it may have the confidence, not only of all classes of Our subjects, but of the subjects of Foreign Countries:

Authority.

“Now know ye, that We, considering the premises, and earnestly desiring to promote the proposed Exhibition, which is calculated to be of great benefit to Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, and reposing great trust and confidence in your fidelity, discretion, and integrity, have authorized and appointed, and by these presents do authorize and appoint, you Our most dearly beloved Consort *Francis ALBERT Augustus Charles Emanuel Duke of Saxony, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha*, you *Walter Francis Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, *William Earl of Rosse*, *Granville George Earl Granville*, *Francis Earl of Ellesmere*, *Edward Geoffrey Lord Stanley*, *John Russell* (commonly called *Lord John Russell*), *Sir Robert Peel*, *Henry Labouchere*, *William Ewart Gladstone*, *Sir Archibald Galloway*, or the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company for the time being, *Sir Richard West-*

and the Exhibition would become of great value as the National Fair of all Europe.”—*Extracts from Council Minute, July 17th, 1849.*

¹ My father died 18th April, 1882.
—ED.

² Afterwards made a Commissioner.

macott, Sir Charles Lyell, or the President of the Geological Society for the time being, Thomas Baring, Charles Barry, Thomas Bazley, Richard Cobden, William Cubitt, or the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers for the time being, Charles Lock Eastlake, Thomas Field Gibson, John Gott, Samuel Jones Loyd, Philip Pusey, and William Thompson, to make full and diligent inquiry into the best mode by which the productions of Our Colonies and of Foreign Countries may be introduced into Our Kingdom; as respects the most suitable site for the said Exhibition; the general conduct of the said Exhibition; and also into the best mode of determining the nature of the prizes, and of securing the most impartial distribution of them.

“And to the end that Our Royal Will and Pleasure in the said inquiry may be duly prosecuted, and with expedition, We further, by these presents, will and command, and do hereby give full power and authority to you, or any three or more of you, to nominate and appoint such several persons of ability as you may think fit to be Local Commissioners, in such parts of Our Kingdom and in Foreign Parts as you may think fit, to aid you in the premises; which said Local Commissioners, or any of them, shall and may be removed by you, or any three or more of you, from time to time, at your will and pleasure, full power and authority being hereby given to you, or any three or more of you to appoint others in their places respectively :

“And, furthermore, We do, by these presents, give and grant to you, or any three or more of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any three or more of you, all such persons as you shall judge necessary by whom you may be the better informed of the truth of the premises, and to inquire of the premises, and every part of thereof, by all lawful ways and means whatsoever.

“And Our further Will and Pleasure is that, for the purpose of aiding you in the execution of these premises, We hereby appoint Our trusty and well-beloved *John Scott Russell*¹ and Stafford Henry Northcote,² Esquires, to be joint Secretaries to this Our Commission.

“And for carrying into effect what you shall direct to be done in respect of the said Exhibition, We hereby appoint the said

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of Foreign
and Colonial
objects.

Prizes.

Appointment
of Local
Commis-
sioners.

Secretaries.

¹ Mr. Scott Russell died 8th June, 1882.—Ed.

² Afterwards Sir Stafford, Bart.

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Executive
Committee.

Henry Cole, Charles Wentworth Dilke the younger, George Drew, Francis Fuller, and Robert Stephenson, to be the Executive Committee in the premises, and the said Matthew Digby Wyatt to be Secretary of the said Executive Committee.

“ And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, or any three or more of you, when and so often as need or occasion shall require, so long as this Our Commission shall continue in force, do report to Us, in writing, under your hands and seals respectively, all and every of the several proceedings of yourselves had by virtue of these presents, together with such other matters, if any, as may be deserving of Our Royal Consideration touching or concerning the premises.

And, lastly, We do by these presents ordain that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, shall and may, from time to time, and at any place or places, proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein continued, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

“ Given at our Court at Saint James’s, the Third day of January, 1850, in the Thirteenth year of Our Reign.

“ By Her Majesty’s Command,

“ G. GREY.”

XXVII. The necessity of an Executive Committee and of obtaining public subscriptions, were amongst the first matters which forced themselves upon the attention of the newly appointed Commission (see Vol. II., pp. 225 and 227), and the Prince took an early occasion of indicating his confidence in his executive. On the 3rd January, 1850, at Windsor, H.R.H. discussed with me the prospective working of the Commission. He said, “ Act so that they should find the want of you.” “ I must beg of you to give submissiveness.” And he went on to liken the position of the Executive Committee to that of Frederick the Great asking his general, Lutzen, how he would fight a battle;—the general answered, “ Let it arise, and then he would show him.”

XXVIII. After the issue of the Royal Commission, however, my relations with the Prince were of necessity altogether changed. Up to that time I had had the privilege of being consulted by him on all occasions, for several months. The Prince relinquished his individual responsibilities, and placed himself more or less in the hands of the Government, acting by the advice especially of Earl Granville, who worked as his Deputy and as Chairman both of the Finance Committee and of the Royal Commissioners, among whom was Sir Robert Peel, who attended up to the day of his death. Under these circumstances, I drew up the following resolutions, which are printed in the Commissioners' minutes of their fourth meeting.

"That the members of the Executive Committee are of opinion that the dissolution by the Royal Commission of the contract, which they had been appointed for the purpose of carrying out, has changed the nature of their functions, and even superseded many of them. They are of opinion, therefore, that it is desirable that the Royal Commission should be left as free to select the best organization for carrying their intentions into effect, as if the Executive Committee had never been appointed. They feel, therefore, that they should not be acting in accordance with their sincere wishes of witnessing the perfect success of the Exhibition, if they did not come forward to express their entire readiness at once to place their position in the hands of His Royal Highness the Prince Albert and the Royal Commissioners."

Mr. Robert Stephenson resigned his Chairmanship of the Executive Committee. Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade, selected Colonel Reid, R.E., commanding the Engineers at Woolwich, to take his place. He was appointed on the 7th February, and requested to attend the meetings of the Commission, which he always did. Writing now, thirty years and more after the event, I wish to record that this was a prudent and successful appointment, and that no

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Resignation
of Mr. R.
Stephenson
as Chairman
of Executive
Committee.

Appoint-
ment of Col.
Reid, R.E.

better could have been made for the particular duty, which was chiefly to keep in order the various influences which had helped to produce the Exhibition. (See Vol. II., p. 226.)

XXIX. A new executive Committee was soon constituted, and the work devolved upon C. W. Dilke and myself, acting under Colonel Reid. He was a brave soldier, and had much more than a mere soldier's sense of implicit duty. He was a man of great caution, and yet determined self-will, especially when conscience acted on him. He was a man of science; he was a philanthropist, with beneficent tendencies; he had instituted most useful works and Exhibitions of Industry in the West Indies; he fully believed in the superior abilities of his corps, the Royal Engineers, and by introducing them to the work of the Exhibition did excellent service to it. He was very simple-minded, gentle, and with feelings of high honour, perhaps a little bordering on severity at times. His principal work in the Exhibition was pouring oil on troubled water. Some one who knew him, wrote in a Colonial newspaper:—

“It was curious to see the enraged and frantic exhibitor (the foreigner particularly) swearing at the injustice and favouritism which had consigned his article to some obscure corner or some bad light, or some other fancied disadvantage, pass into the presence of the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and presently emerge all cheerfulness and contentment. It almost seemed as if he had passed through some talismanic process to have undergone the change, but such was the wonderful tact and temper of the Chairman, that nobody ever left him otherwise than pleased and convinced that justice had been done to him.”

I recollect his marble attitude towards an indignant maker of agricultural implements, a stalwart Quaker, who fiercely threatened to write to the “Times,” but was reduced to the submission of a child. The proofs of what I have stated are

so interesting that I introduce a short memoir of his career, and rejoice to have the opportunity of recording it.¹

XXX. Dilke and myself had been pressed to remain on

¹ No sufficient life of Sir William Reid has been published, and it has yet to be written. Meanwhile I do my best to supply its place by adapting parts of notices written at the time of his death in 1858. The fullest and best account is given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Society" for 30th November, 1858:—

"Major-General Sir William Reid, K.C.B., was born on the 25th of April, 1791; his father (the Rev. James Reid) was a Minister of the Established Church of Scotland, at Kinglassie, in Fife, and with slight previous advantages of education, he was sent, soon after he entered his fifteenth year, to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Young Reid made rapid progress, completed his course of study before he had attained his eighteenth year, and was sent, as was at that time the custom, to the Ordnance Survey, then directed by Colonel Mudge, Royal Artillery: in February, 1809, he was commissioned in the Royal Engineers. Lieutenant Reid joined the army of Wellington in 1810, was present at the first unsuccessful siege of Badajoz in April, 1811, and at the final capture of that fortress twelve months later. Early and continuously conspicuous for his zeal, intelligence and energy, even among the very many young officers of Engineers who greatly distinguished themselves in that war, he took part, while yet a subaltern, in the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Burgos, and St. Sebastian, in each of which he was wounded, and in the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, Nivelle, Nive, and Toulouse." The "New York Tribune" recorded that "In the sanguinary assault upon the

fortress of St. Sebastian he headed one of the storming parties, was wounded by a musket-ball, and fell covered with blood, which streamed from his mouth and nostrils. He was supposed to be dead, but on removing from his neck a black silk handkerchief (which by advice of a medical friend he had unwillingly assumed, instead of the stiff military stock), it was found pressed into the wound, and on using a little force to withdraw it, the ball came out with it, not a thread of the handkerchief having been severed. The removal of the handkerchief revived him, but the surgeons on examination pronounced the wound mortal. Contrary to their expectation he recovered. He was wounded four times during the war, and had three horses shot under him. After the conclusion of the peace with France, he served on the coast of America under General Lambert until the conclusion of the war here, when he rejoined the Duke of Wellington in Belgium in 1815." An official report of services of Royal Engineers states that "He was senior officer of the corps attached to a division of the army under the Duke of Wellington in five general actions. He afterwards served at the capture of Paris, 1815." I recollect his telling me how, after the battle of Waterloo, he cut the roads entering Paris and made the inhabitants supply their furniture as fuel for fires, so as to make the ditches impassable, lest the French army should attempt to pass them. "He did not obtain his Captaincy until 1814.

"He was present at the bombardment of Algiers under Lord Exmouth in 1816."

A Barbadoes newspaper relates that,

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the Executive, and we had agreed to do so. The Finance Committee recorded that we "had communicated to the Chairman of the Committee our entire readiness to continue in

"Twenty years of peace had well-nigh exhausted his natural energy of disposition, when he sought and obtained a command under Sir De Lacy Evans in the ill-fated British Auxiliary Expedition to Spain, where we believe he was knocked about in a way that happily for us and for science disgusted him with such soldiering, at least as was found with the Legion."

"Ever ready, however, as he was, to follow the leadings of his own profession, his active mind was not less alive to its scientific interests. He was the contributor of nine papers to the 'Professional Papers' of the Royal Engineers, usually on technical subjects; but sometimes on subjects, such as the movement of the shingle along our coasts, which are more nearly related to his favourite studies. It was in 1832 that his mind first received the bias which he afterwards followed with so much distinction and success. It fell to his lot, as the officer of Engineers at Barbadoes, to have to re-establish the Government buildings blown down in the hurricane of the 10th August, 1831: no less than 1,477 persons out of a population of about 130,000 lost their lives on that occasion, and property to the value of more than £1,600,000 was destroyed. The devastation and misery he witnessed, led him, in his own words, 'to search everywhere for accounts of previous storms, in the hope of learning something of their causes and mode of action.' In this he was materially assisted by the previous labours of Mr. Redfield of New York, who, as early as 1831, had published in the 'American Journal of Science' the first of a numerous series of papers in which he

demonstrated, not only that the storms of the American coast were whirlwinds, in opposition to high authorities, who maintained that the direction of the wind is rectilinear, but also traced some of them from the West Indies to the sea-board of the United States, and proved that they were progressive whirlwinds, moving forward on curved tracks with a considerable velocity. Fully acknowledging his obligations to this great meteorologist, Lieut.-Colonel Reid set himself to confirm and extend his deductions, by a laborious collation of the log-books of British men-of-war and merchantmen. Impressed also with the idea that to the south of the equator, 'in accordance with the regularity nature follows in all her laws, storms would be found to move in a directly contrary direction,' he endeavoured to collect such facts as would aid further inquiry on that subject. None but those who have attempted a like task can fully appreciate its difficulties,—observations which the investigator dare not reject, although convinced that they are wrong, provoking silence where a word would clear up a doubt,—still more provoking record of useless details, to the omission of those that are important; nevertheless he persevered, and, gaining confidence in the key he had obtained to the real nature of these intricate phenomena, he ventured in 1838 to lay down, for the guidance of the seaman, those broad general rules of navigation which are known as the law of storms. He showed that it is possible to deduce from the facts, rules applicable to every emergency; to tell unerringly when ships must run before the hurricane, when they must

the service of the Commission, and give the whole of our time and energies to the successful working of the Exhibition." Dilke consented, and wrote a letter to Lord

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lie to, and on which tack, so as to avoid being taken aback by the veering of the wind; lastly, how to anticipate its coming changes, and shape the course which best turns them to account. The announcement of this law, so important to the mariner, and to every naval and commercial nation, was received with the greatest interest by the scientific world; and Lieut.-Colonel Reid's work, entitled 'An Attempt to develop the Laws of Storms,' has gone through several editions, and has been translated even into Chinese." "In 1838," states the "New York Tribune," "he received, unsolicited, the appointment of Governor of Bermuda. On his arrival there in 1839, he found agriculture far behind; corn and hay were imported; there was but little fruit; bitter citron trees grew everywhere; and in sight of the Government House was a wide swamp. Colonel Reid set the example of improvement. He grafted a sweet orange on a bitter citron tree in the front of the Government House; it bore good fruit, and soon all the bitter trees were grafted. He drained the swamp, imported ploughs and other improved agricultural implements from New York, had ploughing taught, gave prizes for the best productions, and in 1846 held a grand agricultural *fête* in a fine dry meadow field—the old swamp. In fact he gave new spirit to the people, showed them how to work out their own prosperity, changed the face of the island, took great interest in promoting popular education, in diffusing temperance tracts, and so won the title of 'the good governor,' by which he is still affectionately remembered in Bermuda. In one of

the volumes of Dickens's 'Household Words,' the praises of this 'model Governor,' may be found set forth. In 1846 he was transferred to the Windward West India Islands, comprising Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago. There also by his firm and beneficent conduct, he gained the confidence and good will of the entire population, and devoted himself, as he had done at Bermuda, to the welfare of his people and to their advancement in agriculture, education and temperance." "Happening at the latter station to entertain the late Dr. Fownes of University College, he induced that eminent chemist to draw up a treatise on rudimentary chemistry for the use of his newly-founded School of Practical Chemistry at Barbadoes: this treatise, which the author presented to him, he first printed for local use, and then presented to Mr. Weale, in reference to a design for a series of cheap popular treatises on scientific subjects which he had long previously discussed with that gentleman. It was the parent of the extensive and very valuable series of rudimentary works since brought out by Mr. Weale; but, with characteristic modesty, he requested the suppression of a notice to that effect, which may be seen in the first edition of Dr. Fownes's treatise."

"Having been commissioned to proceed (from Barbadoes) to St. Lucia to inquire into certain charges against the Chief Justice there, connected with the publication in a local journal of two ribald letters, he executed the duty assigned to him by a patient investigation and by exercising the power which the Minister reposed in

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Granville "accepting with pleasure the duties and responsibilities of an executive office, but declining all remuneration," and giving his testimony to my services—gene-

him of suspending the judge from his office if he found him guilty of the authorship of these papers. His proceedings having been first approved, were afterwards reversed by the re-instatement of Mr. Reddie through some latent influence. Two aggrieved parties immediately started up. Colonel Torrens, who had originally brought the charges against Mr. Reddie, demanded that they should be formally tried by some competent tribunal and declared true or false; and Colonel Reid, whose proceedings had been indirectly disapproved, desired that his resignation might be laid before the Queen. The Minister hesitated and requested him to re-consider his decision: but Colonel Reid was firm, and insisted on being relieved. He left Barbadoes in the beginning of September, 1848." With reference to his work at the Exhibition, the Royal Society's memoir states:—

"It has been said that his singular simplicity of manner and total absence of pretension caused the distinguished men, with whom he was associated on that occasion, to wonder at first what had led to his selection for the office. They soon discovered, under that simplicity, the patient but genuine enthusiasm, the varied experience, the calm and even temper, and the devotion to the duties of the moment, whatever they might be, which eminently fitted him for it.

"It is not too much to say that his judicious arrangements contributed materially to the success of that great undertaking, and they were fitly rewarded by the ribbon of K. C. B., and his appointment to the important military command of Malta. It may be

remarked that the Exhibition was on the eve of being closed when the same minister (Earl Grey) who had to lay Colonel Reid's resignation before the Sovereign on the ground of his having been badly used, now submitted to his Royal Mistress that he should be entrusted with the Government of Malta. To that island Sir William Reid carried all the unostentatious activity which had distinguished his former governments. In a time of extraordinary difficulty, when Malta becoming an *entrepôt* of the first importance to the British Army in the East, all its resources were strained to the utmost, he managed to meet every demand, and while he restrained the political excitements of the day, to carry forward homely designs for the permanent benefit of the people. Thus he founded a botanical school for the working classes; he imported improved agricultural implements; he introduced a new species of the cotton plant, and other seeds adapted to the climate; he established barometers in public places to warn the Maltese fishermen of impending gales; he took in hand the Library of the old Knights of Malta, and by the introduction of modern books, fitted it to be a true public library for a large community. Whatever attainable practical object commended itself to his judgment, that he undertook, with the same quiet determination which in 1851 enabled him to falsify adverse predictions and attain the object to which he was pledged, in the punctual opening of the Great Exhibition.

"The Government of Malta was the last public service of Sir William Reid. He returned home in 1858,

rously and modestly adding that they far exceeded any he had rendered or could hope to render, and adding that "in justice to my family I ought not and could not forego remuneration for those services"¹ (Minutes of 9th meeting of Commission, App. A, p. 3).

XXXI. We were not summoned to attend the early meetings of the Commission, and this we felt much impeded our work. We, indeed, received direct from the Commission few orders for any work. We were objects of suspicion, as Lord Granville told me, on board the "Atlantic" at Liverpool on the 12th July, 1850, and were certainly uncomfortable enough. But we could not help creating our own work. Dilke looked after the future Catalogue with his great experience of such matters. I devoted myself to the consideration of how the

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Uncomfortable position
of Executive
Committee.

having two years previously attained the rank of Major-General, and died after a very short illness on the 31st of October, 1858. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1839, and was appointed Vice-President in 1849." The three branches of the Legislature of Bermuda voted in 1859 a sum of £300, to be applied "in obtaining and erecting a permanent memorial of Governor Reid to be placed outside the Sessions House or Council Chamber in the Town of Hamilton."

"Sir William Reid was married to a daughter of the late Mr. Bolland of Clapham. His wife died a few months before him, and he has left five daughters." One of them and his grandson, Lieut. C. O. Hore, have helped me to obtain these materials.

¹ The salary of £800 a year, for two years, given to me, merely indemnified me against loss at the Record Office and my other avocations, and accorded with the advice of Lord Langdale and others. Such details ought to be related perhaps in my

biography, after my death, rather than here, and I hope I may be pardoned for introducing them. On the 28th Dec., 1849, Lord Langdale saw me by appointment. He expressed his grief at my leaving the Record Office; his opinion that I ought to be amply indemnified against loss, and his intention to see Mr. Trevelyan (now Sir Charles), Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, on the subject. He conducted himself the correspondence with the Treasury about my leave of absence from the Record service for two years (26th Feb., 1850). On the 25th March, 1850, at the Treasury, Sir C. Trevelyan said any question of any payment up to the time of my leaving, was to be settled between Lord Langdale and myself; "I might be absent till the end of the Exhibition, and then return to my present *status* in all respects." At the Rolls House, 27th March, Lord Langdale called me "Mr. Stranger Cole," and was not reconciled to my absence.

Exhibition was to be arranged, and to questions of the building, and prepared a report on Fire which Colonel Reid told me, on the 11th April, had "caused quite a sensation at the Commission, and was pronounced very interesting" (see Vol. II., p. 227). As the work began to manifest itself, in 1851 our positions became easier. On the 3rd March, Colonel Reid said that Dilke and I ought to attend all meetings of Commissioners and Committees. I answered that I was now quite indifferent. He replied, "I can understand that, for you have grown above it."

XXXII. Great moral volcanoes were smoking at this time, not only in the Commission and its Committees, and the Local Committees, but were beginning to appear in the public press.

XXXIII. During this period the Prince's powers were greatly strained by his anxiety lest the Exhibition should fail. In January, 1850, the Queen wrote:—"The Prince's sleep is again as bad as ever, and he looks very ill of an evening," and on the 8th March, 1850, Lord Granville, who knew better than any one else how much the Exhibition rested on the Prince, wrote to the Prince's secretary, "that there must be a great tax on the attention and time of His Royal Highness, who appears to be almost the only person who has considered the subject both as a whole and in its details. The whole thing would fall to pieces if he left it to itself" ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 244).

XXXIV. Indeed, it is my conviction that no one but the Prince, with his great wisdom and prudence, and the advantages of his rank, could have conquered the numerous difficulties of all kinds, and overcome the incalculable and unforeseen prejudices which the Exhibition excited in a nation so conservative as the English.

THE STORY OF THE BUILDING.

XXXV. One of the first acts of the Royal Commission was to appoint a Building Committee on the 24th Jan., 1850. Besides the Duke of Buccleuch and the Earl of Ellesmere, it was composed of three architects and three civil engineers, all having attained eminent positions. The architects were Mr. Barry, R.A. (afterwards Sir Charles), Mr. Cockerell, R.A., and Mr. Donaldson. The engineers were Mr. Brunel, Mr. W. Cubitt (afterwards Sir William), and Mr. Robert Stephenson. Mr. Joseph Locke, M.P., was not one, and he never forgave the omission, but visited his indignation on South Kensington and all its offspring. This Committee was too numerous and too strong to be workable. It again illustrated the old proverb of "too many cooks." Art and Science did not work together, and throughout were opposed to the very end. Any *one* of the six could have done the work well, acting on his sole responsibility. But the whole nearly wrecked the Exhibition by dispute and delay, and after five months produced an impracticable plan, which was superseded by the glass house of a gardener, a man of genius, but no architect or engineer.

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Building
Committee
appointed.

XXXVI. On the 21st Feb., the Building Committee reported to the Commission in favour of the site of the south side of Hyde Park, which had been recommended when the idea was started in the preceding year, and proposed that there should be a public competition "for suggestions as to the general arrangements of the ground plan of the building, &c." Their report is printed (see p. 5 of the Minutes of the Commission of the 21st Feb.) and signed, "W. Cubitt, Chairman," who held his post to the end of the Exhibition. The plans were to be sent in on or before the 8th April. Foreigners were invited to send plans, which they did (see p. 10 of Minutes of 11th April). The Committee reported

Original site
recom-
mended.

Competition
for plans
invited.

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on the 9th May (see p. 2, App. C, of Minutes of 16th May), that they had arrived "at the unanimous conclusion that able and admirable as many of them appeared to be, there was yet no single one so accordant with the peculiar objects in view, either in principle or details of its arrangement, as to warrant us in recommending its adoption." And they submitted a design of their own, in which they recommended "*some striking feature to exemplify the present state of the science of construction in this country.*" This was done on the advice of Mr. Brunel. The Committee on the 11th July reported that they had received tenders from nineteen persons; they had examined the various tenders and considered what reductions might be made by omitting the dome and other accessories, not absolutely required, and without committing themselves to any precise sum, they believed that the whole building might be constructed and removed for something under £100,000. They could not at that time report more precisely. They noticed that Mr. Paxton had proposed a building of iron and glass, and that there did not appear to be any economy in this plan; on the contrary, the cost would appear likely to exceed by nearly ten per cent. that of the ordinary construction proposed by the Committee (see App. D, p. 5 of Minutes of 11th July). After a delay of nearly five precious months, the work of the Building Committee was abortive, as the ultimate adoption of Paxton's design proved it to be. The "striking feature" was to have been a dome, 200 feet high, and nineteen millions of bricks were to have been used in Hyde Park. It was manifestly impracticable, and was condemned by the public. The design and building were repudiated even by the members of the Committee individually. I sat next to Mr. Barry under the Gallery in the House of Commons on the 4th July, 1850, when the use of Hyde Park was discussed. He said, "I have had nothing to do with the design, and repudiate it."

Also tenders.

Paxton's
plans coldly
received.

XXXVII. The Prince was sorely troubled at this period. He wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

“The Exhibition is now attacked furiously by *The Times*, and the House of Commons is going to drive us out of the park. There is immense excitement on the subject. If we are driven out of the park, the work is done for!! Never was anything so foolish. Buckingham Palace, 28th June, 1850.” (“Life of Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 285-6.) Again, on the 3rd July: “I cannot conceal from you that we are on the point of having to abandon the Exhibition altogether. We have announced our intention to do so, if on the day the vast building ought to be begun the site is taken from us. Peel was to have taken charge of the business in the Lower House. It is to come to the vote to-morrow, and the public is inflamed by the newspapers to madness. Our friend, in moments like this, is sorely missed. If you can come, pray do so, for we have need of you. Buckingham Palace, 3rd July, 1850.” On the 4th July, the Prince writes to the Duchess of Kent: “. . . Further to distress us, the whole public, led on by *The Times*, has all at once made a set against me and the Exhibition, on the ground of interference with Hyde Park. We are to pack out of London with our nuisance to the Isle of Dogs, &c., &c. There is to be a division in the House about it to-day. Peel was to have taken the lead in our defence, but now there is no one with influence enough to procure a hearing for justice and reason. If we are beaten, we shall have to give the whole thing up.” (“Life of Prince Consort,” vol. ii., p. 290-1.)

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The Prince's
troubles.

Opposition
to the site.

Sir R. Peel's
death.

XXXVIII. At this crisis, when only three tenders were received, and nothing was actually settled about the building, Lord Granville and Col. Reid gave me permission to go to Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham to seek for other tenders, if possible, below the three received. So I started by night mail, 29th June. At Liverpool, Mr. W. Rathbone (the father of the present Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P., and a great friend of the Penny Postage and the Exhibition) took me to Mr. S. and Mr. A. Holmes, but I obtained no hopes that they would tender. At Manchester, Mr. Salis Schwabe, a

I visit Liver-
pool, Man-
chester, and
Birmingham
to get ten-
ders.

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See Fox and
Henderson.

Parlia-
mentary
agitation
against site.

Report to
the Prince
of the divi-
sion.

warm friend of R. Cobden, introduced me to Mr. Bellhouse, who, after two hours' consideration, declined to tender. I then went to Birmingham, called at Fox and Henderson's Works at Smethwick, and the following are notes made at the time. "Mr. Fox away. Found Mr. Henderson only, who was prepared to tender for plan according to Paxton's design. Suggested he should tender for the plan duly economized, also to take the risk. He advised my remaining to see his partner. Went over his works with Mr. Cowper. Mr. Fox came in the evening by express from London. We all met at the Queen's Hotel. Fox said it would be hardly possible to erect the Committee's plan in the time. Brickwork would take 13,000,000. Euston took 20,000,000 and five months to lay; 3,000 cubic yards of water in dome to evaporate. 32 oz. glass could not be made in the time, because it must be annealed before it is cut. Stayed till half-past twelve, discussing. Both agreed to tender in three ways." 4th July, 1850,—“Called on Mr. Lascelles and Thompson to get signatures to petition against change of site. Saw Cobden; rode round the Park to find out the number of householders who could be damnified, if at all. To Palace Yard: prepared paper on amount of damage to residents: took it to Lord Granville; said he thought it very good indeed and very useful; wished Mr. Labouchere to have a copy. At the Commons, under the Gallery; during debate sat near Mr. Barry (see p. 164, *antea*), Phillipps, of the Office of Works, and Mr. Sheppard, Chairman of the East India Company; debate flat; began adversely, then improved; division deprecated, but Sibthorp insisted; so there were two divisions; J. Scott Russell came in towards the end. Called at Buckingham Palace to tell result; Prince said he would see me; up to his private room. He was very nervous; said it had never entered his head that any one could object. If the site had not been affirmed he was

prepared to give up the Exhibition; it was 'like asking your friends to your flower garden and putting them among the cabbages.' (See also the Prince's letter to Baron Stockmar, p. 165.) The death of Sir R. Peel was horrible.¹ The Prince was low in spirits. Called on old Dilke; advised me not to resign. 5th July, 1850,—“J. Bell, the sculptor, called to hear fate of division on the site—162 for to 47 against. Palace Yard: Reid (who had the boldness of a lion with the timidity of a hare) said to me, ‘Henceforth, we must not be the focus of any agitation. Committees must not be asked by us to support the Commission about site or anything else. Mayors of Birmingham or Bradford must do it.’ Northcote came; told him to see that the Building Act should not be infringed. Reid agreed that it ought not to be. Col. Lloyd proposed his building on screw piles. Lord Overstone came to deplore the risks which a contractor or guarantor would run—Queen’s or Prince’s death, foreign war, &c.”

XXXIX. Sir Robert Peel was thrown from his horse in the Green Park on the 29th June, 1850, and, as the Prince wrote,

¹ Cobden wrote to Mr. G. Hadfield, 5th July, 1850, three days after Sir Robert Peel’s death :—“Poor Peel! I have scarcely yet realized to my mind the conviction that he will never again occupy his accustomed seat opposite to my place in the house. I sat with him on Saturday till two o’clock in the Royal Commission—the last business in which he was engaged—and in four hours afterwards he received his mortal stroke” (Morley’s Life, Vol. I., p. 77). Mr. Field Gibson, one of the Commissioners, was also present, and allows me to copy a note that he has made. He thought it worth while to record a remark made by Sir R. Peel at that meeting, which struck him and others at the time as noteworthy. “Much op-

position was then made by the inhabitants of the houses in Kensington Road to the proposed site of the Exhibition building in Hyde Park, and an appeal to the House was made by them, backed by a resolution to the same effect from the Vestry of St. George’s, Hanover Square, to induce the House to pass a resolution which would have the effect of compelling the Commission to change the site. Speaking on this question, and advising the course we should adopt, Sir R. Peel said, ‘Depend upon it, the House of Commons is a timid body.’ Meaning, as we supposed, that they often thought more of the security of their seats, than of the merits of the question before them.”

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Death of Sir
R. Peel.

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Sir Robert
Peel's death.

"Closed his eyes last night (2nd July), about eleven! You will have heard that he fell with, or rather from, his horse opposite our garden wall last Saturday, and broke his collar-bone and shoulder-blade. He suffered greatly, and was worn out with pain, fever, and a gouty constitution. Only a few hours before his accident he was seated with us in the Commission,¹ advising as to the difficult position into which we have been thrown in regard to the Exhibition by the refusal to allow us the use of the Park."

Guarantee
fund.

XL. The next most pressing question was how the funds for the building should be provided.² The idea of a guarantee fund (see Vol. II., p. 231) presented itself to many minds. The first suggestion I heard came from Lord Granville, who told me some months before he would subscribe for £5,000. The next offer came from Mr. Peto (now Sir S. Morton Peto), who said he would be ready for £20,000. One Commissioner repented having given a guarantee, and with long face, went about saying the Government ought to bear all the loss, even £50,000 and more.

Peto's office.

XLI. On the 12th July, as I was passing Mr. Peto's office in Great George Street, he came out, and the following conversation took place. He asked me, "How is the guarantee getting on?" I replied, "Not at all; everybody is afraid to begin."

S. M. P. "Recollect, I am quite ready to act when the time arrives."

H. C. "The time has arrived, and you will do good service by beginning it."

¹ On the 29th June, 1850, when "the Commissioners resolved that the site proposed is the only one available for the purpose, and that to abandon it would be tantamount to giving up the Exhibition" (see their Minutes).

² "Grave deliberations as to ways and means with Sir Charles Wood, Lord Overstone, Lord Granville, and Mr. Labouchere, had not resulted in

any satisfactory solution of the problem; when the idea of creating a guarantee fund to meet any contingent deficiency was happily suggested. Mr. Peto, with his partners, led the way on the 12th of July by pledging themselves to the extent of £50,000." ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 298.)

S. M. P. "I am going down to Lowestoft to-night, and shall be back in a fortnight."

H. C. "That will be a fortnight lost, and time is most precious."

S. M. P. "Do you feel confident that if I offer to do anything, it will be acceptable?"

H. C. "Quite confident; what you intend to do, do directly."

S. M. P. "Then come with me to the Reform Club, and I will write a letter to Colonel Grey."

We went at once to the writing room of the Reform Club, and Mr. Peto wrote the following letter:—

"Reform Club, 12th July, 1850.

"SIR,—Having, as a member of the Finance Committee, had occasion to confer with Lord Granville on the subject of providing a Guarantee Fund towards carrying out the Great Exhibition of Industry of all Nations in 1851, and understanding that the subject is likely to be discussed by the Royal Commission to-morrow, I request you to have the kindness to communicate to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the President of the Commission, my desire to promote the Exhibition, and that I am willing, on behalf of myself and *friends*,¹ to guarantee the sum of £50,000, or, if necessary, to advance the same for the purposes of the Exhibition. I take this course, as I am compelled to leave town to-morrow from indisposition.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"S. MORTON PETO.

"P.S. Perhaps I might take the liberty of saying that I consider the success of the Exhibition would be considerably increased by the adoption of Mr. Paxton's plan, if it is not too costly."

"Buckingham Palace, July 12, 1850.

"SIR,—I lost no time in submitting your letter to the Prince, and cannot obey his commands as to the answer better than by copying the words in which they are conveyed, 'Pray thank Mr.

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Peto's letter
to Colonel
Grey.

Colonel
Grey's an-
swer.

¹ Not partners, see note, p. 168.

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Peto at once in the warmest terms for his public spirit and readiness to support us in our difficult task, by this spontaneous and most liberal offer.'

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
" C. GREY."

XLII. The letter was sent the same evening, and great joy it gave to the Prince. It started the guarantee¹ brilliantly, and before long about £350,000 were subscribed, and the Bank of England preferred to make the necessary advances on smaller sums.

Interview
with the
Prince.

XLIII. On the 15th July, 1850, I called at Buckingham Palace on Colonel Grey (who had succeeded Colonel Phipps as private secretary). I take the following notes from my diary :—"The Prince came into Grey's room, and, as his manner often was, sat upon the table. I related the details of Peto's guarantee. The Prince applauded it 'as a most useful thing in having stirred up others!' He said, 'Now was the time for work. It was not plans that were wanted.' He deplored Northcote's retirement from the Board of Trade when he succeeded to the baronetcy. I told the Prince candidly 'my opinion of the state of the present arrangements,—delay, difficulty, cost,' &c. The Prince asked, 'What is being done about the catalogues?' and then went on to say, 'Playfair would see to the Collection well, but who the arrangement? He did not know where the man was who was to bring the thing together.' The Prince left, and I had some further talk with Colonel Grey, and I told him I had thought of resigning to make matters easier. Grey strongly dissuaded me from thinking about it, and I was led to saying that I would not shrink from the work if officially charged with the arrangement, and he said he would promote it."

¹ Sir Alexander Spearman, when the Exhibition was over, took charge of it; and, I believe, it is still preserved with the Prince's papers.

XLIV. The same day the Commissioners agreed to put aside the brick plan of the Building Committee, for the execution of which Mr. Brassey tendered for £84,141, and virtually to adopt Paxton's, for which Messrs. Fox and Henderson tendered at £79,800, and they undertook to execute it, including the semi-cylindrical roof (proposed by Mr. Barry, but not the one adopted) by the 1st January, 1851.

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Paxton's
plan
adopted.

XLV. Fox and Henderson's first tender for £79,800 had been accepted by the Commissioners, but before the building was completed the cost had mounted up to £107,780, and finally £142,780 were paid, but this included a sum of £35,000 to the contractors, "taking into consideration the important services of Messrs. Fox and Henderson, the unprecedented character of the undertaking, the shortness of time allowed for its completion, and the energy and liberality with which the contractors had laboured to meet the wishes of the Commission" (1st Report of the Commissioners, p. xxx.). After the Exhibition, the contractors sold the materials and erected them, with some changes, at Sydenham. The revived Crystal Palace has attracted millions of gratified visitors and greatly influenced the growth of public taste; but it does not come within the scope of this book to dwell upon this result of the Great Exhibition.

Payments to
Fox and
Henderson.

XLVI. At the same meeting, 15th July, 1850, my plan for allotting space was discussed, and a memorandum read to the Commissioners by Dr. Playfair, who said, "In this plan of Mr. Cole's I generally concur, believing it to be the best principle which has yet been suggested for allotting space to towns—a question of a remarkably difficult nature." My plan consisted in ascertaining the average amount of space required by each exhibitor throughout the kingdom, classed under the four sectional heads of the Exhibition. The total amount of space demanded was to be lessened to the amount available, and the average of each exhibitor to be reduced

Scheme for
division of
space.

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Prince's re-
vival.

in like proportion (see Minutes of the 24th meeting of the Commissioners, p. 2), and this plan was finally adopted and worked out without alteration of the principle.

XLVII. The Prince writes, 20th July: "Two days ago we entered upon a quieter and more endurable phase of existence—I mean we came here (Osborne). In town it became at last quite impossible to go on longer, and I am sorry to say I was again suffering from sleeplessness and exhaustion. Nevertheless, in all the matters which I had in hand, I had triumphant success." On the 23rd July, the Prince's illness greatly afflicted the Queen, who wrote most pathetically to Baron Stockmar:—

Queen's
anxiety.

"Pray, do listen to our entreaties to come. It will do you good to be with my beloved Prince. He longs for you. Since the night of your poor friend's death he again wakes so early, and this is a sad distress to me. Clark admits that is the mind. . . . Diet has been of no avail. He has likewise been so shamefully plagued about the Exhibition, that for the honour of the country (which would have been grievously injured if a little knot of selfish people had succeeded in driving him out of the only place where the architects said it could be), he felt their conduct much, and thought so much about it, that this has also helped to make him wake early" ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 296).

Duke of
Wellington's
visits.

XLVIII. Some incidents during the construction of the building are worth notice. The Duke of Wellington was a constant visitor. The frequent remark made to him was, "The building will never be erected in time," and when said, the Duke would gruffly reply, "It will, I know it will! Paxton has said it will."¹

Duke's
opinion of
Paxton.

¹ The Duke had evidence of Paxton's readiness and administrative ability when the Queen made a royal visit to Chatsworth. Paxton had provided a great display of fireworks, which all the county of Derby came to see. Nothing so superb had been

Fireworks
at Chats-
worth.

seen before. Paxton had decided that, as soon as it was over, at twelve at night, the place should be made tidy, and he brought in an army of 500 labourers with baskets and shovels to clear away the *débris*. When this had been done, the gardeners mowed the

XLIX. The trees, old and young, in the Park gave sad trouble. On the 22nd February, 1851, the young trees, worth, as Paxton said, about 5s. each, projected through the stairs. I requested Colonel Reid to see two stumps in the way, but, like Nelson, who would not see signals at the battle of the Nile, he declined to see them, "in case they should be removed." But they were cut down (24th February), on a hint being given me that if they came down no inquiries would be made. Lord Seymour let some hasty words fall in the House of Commons, which prohibited him from removing any trees, and they were not removed until all the powers of the Constitution had been invoked.

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OF 1851.
A. D.
1849-1852.
Part I.
Old and
young trees
removed.

L. The roofs throughout the building were a cause of much anxiety. On the 30th January, a violent storm of wind came on from the south, and the rain poured down about 5 p.m., and caused seventy-two feet of the roof of the building to be twisted back. Captain Owen, R.E., was of opinion that the roof was sucked up by some vacuum. Again, on the 23rd March, there was a storm of wind in the night, and much leakage, and the roof lifted in the same place as before. So great was the leakage, that, on the 25th March, I told Mr. Fox that if it was not stopped before the end of the week, we should publish the roof to be a failure, and that he was beaten. The threat was effective, and more men and putty were found to arrest the evil. But unless skylights are strongly made and carefully executed, a glass

Roofs.

Leakage.

lawns, and swept up. At 6 a.m., just as the work was complete and all in order, Paxton espied a figure in a large cloak emerging from the house, and he hid himself behind a shrub to watch what happened. The figure came to the spot where the fireworks were let off, and looked about, and searched again and again. Paxton

appeared, and gave his Grace a bow. "Why, Paxton," exclaimed the Duke with astonishment, "I never saw such a sight in my life. I came out to see the dead and the wounded, and there are none. It's as good as one of my battles." The Duke henceforth became a friend of Paxton's, and always vouched for his competency.

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OF 1851.

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Part I.
Delays.

ceiling should be below, as in the best parts of the roof of the South Kensington Museum.

LI. The delays in painting alarmed us. On the 27th February, it appeared obvious that the painting would not be completed by the 1st May. Colonel Reid with Mrs. Reid came, and I called the Colonel's attention to the slow progress of the painting. It was simply a question of numbers of painters and scaffolding. Mrs. Reid valiantly urged her husband to recommend that an extra £1,000 should be offered to Fox and Henderson for speed. I found out from Mr. Fox that he could and *would* hasten the work if paid £1,000 extra. Lord Granville and Mr. Cubitt agreed that he should be tempted by the bribe. Mr. Fox hastened the work, but, I am happy to record, flinched from taking the money, and afterwards told me that he could not take it. On the 20th March, the painters were vigorously at work painting, with plenty of scaffolding. Again I note, 7th April, "Painting and removal of scaffolding very behind-hand; wrote to Fox and Henderson and told Mr. Fox that the painters *must* be out by the 14th April, or the Sappers would enter, take away the scaffolding, and turn men out." 12th April, "Scaffolding not yet out," but it was all down before the 30th April.

ROYAL VISITS TO THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

Royal
visits to
Great Exhi-
bition.

LII. Sir Theodore Martin, in his *Life of the Prince Consort*, has not ventured to recount in detail, as he might have done, the immense labour which the Prince gave to the work for two years. The visits to the building, of the Queen and himself, are a record for all time; they appear to me quite as valuable and historical as the visits and expenses of King John, in A.D. 1212-13, which have been pub-

lished for the study of historians.¹ These visits of Queen Victoria are made especially interesting by Her Majesty's own observations, and the incidents which occurred at them. The brief notes are those I kept myself in my diary.

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LIII. I believe the Queen, accompanied by the Prince, made her first visit to the building on the 23rd December, 1850.

First visit.

21st January, 1851.—H.R.H. came before the meeting of Commissioners, and was received by Colonel Reid, W. Cubitt, and myself. He examined the system of arrangement, and expressed his pleasure. He thought there would be great changes of opinion about many things. He liked the colouring of the transept of the three primitives, blue, red, and yellow, which Owen Jones had suggested.

8th February.—Prince came before 10 a.m., only myself to receive him.

18th February.—The Queen, Prince, and children came at 9.30, and inspected the foreign plan of arrangements; also witnessed the trial of the gallery floor by heavy weights rolled over them by the Sappers, in the presence of Brunel, Locke, Field, Maudslay, &c.

20th February.—The Prince came to discuss even the hand-railing, so interested was he in all the details.

27th February.—The Prince came, saw, and approved the hand-railing, and use of Turkey red cloth, suggested by Owen Jones.

¹ In the Public Record Office is a vellum roll called a "Rotulus Misæ," which gives in detail where King John went in the fourteenth year of his reign, and what his expenses were.

9s. 4½d. in alms bestowed on 100 paupers whom the King feasted, because he ate flesh twice on Friday next after the Ascension at Lambeth: 7d. to William the Poulterer for cocks for the use of the falcons (see a volume, "Documents illustrative of

English History in 13 and 14 Centuries, selected from the Exchequer Records," which I edited in 1844).

1 mark to Ingenaud, the reeve of Haltwisel, the host of the King, to repair his grange, which was burnt, and in which was the King's kitchen.

2s. to Wilkin de Meinnill, who carried to the King's mistress a chaplet of roses from Ditton, the manor of Geoffrey FitzPeter, when the King was entertained there.

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3rd March.—The Queen, Prince, and Royal children came to inspect progress.

27th March.—The Prince and Colonel Phipps came and said the Society of Arts should have a military band once a week for its *conversazione*.

2nd April.—Queen went round the building, amused with the activity of all.

4th April.—Prince, with Duc d'Aumale, went through the Exhibition.

7th April.—Queen and Prince came. Mr. Fox rather sore. He said their visits excited the workmen and exhibitors so much, that each visit cost him £20 in loss of time!

15th April.—Queen went round the building. Colonel Phipps said "the Queen would go as to the Royal Academy in state to opening, but no public were to be admitted." Great disappointment expressed. Strong dissatisfaction was expressed in the newspapers when this was known.

22nd April.—Prince came early, read over his programme for opening to Colonel Reid and myself.

29th April.—Queen and Prince came soon after nine. "We remained two hours and a half," says Her Majesty's Diary, "and I came back quite beaten, and my head bewildered from the myriads of beautiful and wonderful things which now quite dazzle one's eyes! Such efforts have been made, and our people have shown great taste in their manufactures! All owing to this Great Exhibition and Albert, *all to him*. We went up into the gallery, and the sight from there, with the numerous courts full of all sorts of objects of art manufacture, &c., is quite marvellous. The noise was overpowering, for so much was going on everywhere, and from twelve to twenty thousand people engaged in arranging all sorts of things."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 362.

30th April.—Queen and Prince of Prussia (now Emperor

of Germany) went round the building. The Queen writes, "They were thunderstruck, the noise and bustle were even greater than yesterday, as so many preparations for the seats of the spectators going on." Her Majesty laughed at the great wig dispute. A wigmaker wished to be placed among the Fine Arts, and found himself in Animal Products, which made him indignant. The Guards cleared the building of everybody at 2 p.m., so that the sweeping up and laying down of crimson cloth could be done under Mr. Belshaw. The Duke himself had to retreat before the line of his Guards!

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1st May.—Opening by the Queen. See Her Majesty's own account.

LIV. With the Queen's gracious permission, given me through Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B., I extract the following account of the opening of the Great Exhibition, from Her Majesty's own record.¹

1st May, 1851. "The great event has taken place—a complete and beautiful triumph—a glorious and touching sight, one which I shall ever be proud of for my beloved Albert and my country . . . Yes! it is a day which makes my heart swell with pride and glory and thankfulness!

The Queen's
account of
the opening.

" The Park presented a wonderful spectacle—crowds streaming through it, carriages and troops passing, quite like the Coronation day, and for me the same anxiety—no, much greater anxiety, on account of my beloved Albert. The day was bright, and all bustle and excitement. . . . at half-past eleven the whole procession in state carriages was in motion The Green Park and Hyde Park were one densely crowded mass of human beings, in the highest good humour and most enthusiastic. I never saw Hyde Park look as it did, as far as the eye could reach. A little rain fell just as we started; but before we came near the Crystal Palace, the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all nations were floating. We drove up Rotten Row, and got out at the entrance on that side.

The Parks

¹ Life of the Prince Consort, vol. ii., p. 365 to p. 368.

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Part I.

First view.

"The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. We went for a moment to a little side room where we left our shawls, and where we found Mama and Mary (now Duchess of Teck), and outside which were standing the other Princes. In a few seconds we proceeded, Albert leading me, having Vicky at his hand, and Bertie holding mine. The sight, as we came to the middle, where the steps and chair (which I did *not* sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical, so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt, as so many did whom I have since spoken to, filled with devotion, more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband the author of this 'Peace-Festival,' which united the industry of all nations of the earth; all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert, God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God who seemed to pervade all and to bless all!¹ The only event it

A day to
live for ever.

Thackeray's
"May Day
Ode."

¹ In reading this vivid description, so glowing with an emotion that speaks directly to the heart, we are reminded of Thackeray's "May Day Ode:"

I felt a thrill of love and awe,
To mark the different garb of each,
The changing tongue, the various
speech
Together blent,
A thrill methinks, like his, who saw
"All people dwelling upon earth
Praising one God with solemn mirth
And one consent."

Behold her in her Royal place;
A gentle lady—and the hand
That sways the sceptre of this land,
How frail and weak!
Soft is the voice and fair the face

She breathes amen to prayer and
hymn,—
No wonder that her eyes are dim,
And pale her cheek.

The fountain in the basin plays,
The chanting organ echoes clear,
An awful chorus 'tis to hear,
A wondrous song!
Swell, organ, swell your trumpet blast!
March, Queen and Royal pageant,
march,
By splendid isle and springing arch
Of this fair Hall!

And see! above the fabric vast,
God's boundless heaven is bending
blue,
God's peaceful sun is beaming
through
And shining over all.

in the slightest degree reminded me of was the Coronation, but this day's festival was a thousand times superior. In fact, it is unique, and can bear no comparison, from its peculiarity, beauty, and combination of such different and striking objects. I mean the slight resemblance only as to its solemnity; the enthusiasm and cheering too, were much more touching, for in a church naturally all is silent.

"Albert left my side after 'God save the Queen' had been sung, and at the head of the Commissioners—a curious assemblage of political and distinguished men—read me the Report, which is a long one, and to which I read a short answer. After which the Archbishop of Canterbury offered up a short and appropriate prayer, followed by the 'Hallelujah Chorus,' during which the Chinese mandarin¹ came forward and made his obeisance.² This concluded, the procession began. It was beautifully arranged and of great length, the prescribed order being exactly adhered to. The Nave was full, which had not been intended; but still there was no difficulty, and the whole long walk from one end to the other was made in the midst of continued and deafening cheers and waving of handkerchiefs. Every one's face was bright and smiling, many with tears in their eyes. Many Frenchmen called out 'Vive la Reine.' One could, of course, see nothing but

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Prince reads
report.

The prayer.

Procession.

¹ He was a sea captain who brought his junk into the Thames for exhibition, and got a good deal of money.

² "While the Hallelujah Chorus was being performed, a Chinese, touched apparently by the solemnity of the scene, came forward and made a profound obeisance to the Queen. 'This live importation from the Celestial Empire,' the reporter of the *Examiner* records, 'managed to render himself extremely conspicuous, and one could not help admiring his perfect composure and nonchalance of manner.' (He came in a blue satin robe and was met by Capt. Owen, R.E., who with presence of mind recollecting there was no representative of China, admitted him, and he occupies a front place among the foreigners in Selous's picture.) "He

talked with nobody, yet he seemed perfectly at home, and on the most friendly terms with all. A most amusing advantage was taken of his appearance, for, when the procession was formed, the diplomatic body had no Chinese representative, and our stray celestial friend was quietly impounded, and made to march in the rear of the ambassadors. He submitted to this arrangement with the same calm indifference which marked the whole course of his proceedings, and bore himself with a steadiness and gravity that fully justified the course which had been adopted. His behaviour throughout was that of 'a citizen of the world' as perfect as Goldsmith's philosopher himself."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 367.)

The Chinese.

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Duke of
Wellington
and Marquis
of Anglesey.

what was near in the Nave, and nothing in the Courts. The organs were but little heard, but the Military Band, at one end, had a very fine effect as we passed along. They played the March from *Athalie*. The beautiful Amazon, in bronze, by Kiss, looked very magnificent. The old Duke and Lord Anglesey walked arm in arm, which was a touching sight. I saw many acquaintances amongst those present.

Exhibition
opened.

"We returned to our own place, and Albert told Lord Breadalbane to declare that the Exhibition was opened, which he did in a loud voice—'Her Majesty commands me to declare this Exhibition open'—which was followed by a flourish of trumpets and immense cheering. All the Commissioners, the Executive Committee, &c., who worked so hard and to whom such immense praise is due, seemed truly happy, and no one more so than Paxton, who may be justly proud; he rose from being a common gardener's boy. Everybody was astonished and delighted, Sir George Grey [Home Secretary] in tears.

Return.

"The return was equally satisfactory, the crowd most enthusiastic, the order perfect. We reached the Palace at twenty minutes past one, and went out on the balcony, and were loudly cheered. The Prince and Princess [of Prussia] quite delighted and impressed. That *we* felt happy, thankful, I need not say; proud of all that had passed, of my darling husband's success, and of the behaviour of my good people. I was more impressed than I can say by the scene. It was one that can never be effaced from my memory, and never will be from that of any one who witnessed it. Albert's name is immortalized, and the wicked and absurd reports of dangers of every kind, which a set of people, viz., the *soi-disant* fashionables and the most violent Protectionists, spread, are silenced. It is therefore doubly satisfactory, that all should have gone off so well, and without the slightest accident or mishap. . . . Albert's emphatic words last year, when he said that the feeling would be, '*that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below*' this day realized. . . .

Lord John
Russell
and Lord
Palmerston's
congratulations.

Among the first to offer their congratulations to the Queen upon the brilliant success of the day's proceedings were Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. "It was a day," the latter wrote at the close of an official letter, "the result of which must be

no less gratifying to your Majesty than honourable to the nation whose good fortune it is to have your Majesty for its Sovereign." Lord John Russell, fresh from the scene, could not refrain from congratulating the Queen on the triumphant success of the proceedings of this day. "Everything went off so well," he continued, "that it is needless to mention particulars ; but the general conduct of the multitudes assembled, the loyalty and the content which so generally appeared, were perhaps the most gratifying to a politician, while the wonders of art and industry will be the most celebrated among philosophers and men of science, as well as among manufacturers and the great mass of the working people."¹

"I longed," Her Majesty wrote in answer to Lady Lyttelton, "to hear from you, feeling sure that you would think of me on the occasion of that great and glorious 1st of May. The proudest and happiest day of—as you truly call it—my happy life. . . . To see this great conception of my beloved husband's mind, which is always labouring for the good of others,—to see this great thought and work crowned with triumphant success, in spite of difficulties and opposition of every imaginable kind, and of every effort to which jealousy and calumny could resort to cause its failure,—has been an immense happiness to us both. But to me the glory of his dear name, united with the glory of my dear country, which shone more than she has ever done on that great day, is a source of pride, happiness, and thankfulness, which none but a wife's heart can comprehend."

On the 3rd of May, the King of the Belgians wrote to the Queen: "I wish you joy with all my heart that everything went off in such a glorious way at the opening of the Exhibition, and can well understand your happiness in seeing thus our beloved Albert's work crowned with unexampled success. It is well merited, as it was a truly colossal task, and human nature is always inclined to vilify and to render perilous all such undertakings, from that pretty generally diffused disposition to enjoy the non-success of one's neighbour and fellow-creature. I sincerely regret not to have witnessed such a glorious sight as the opening must have been, *aber ich bin allen diesen Dingen sehr abgestorben* (but the time for all such things is gone by with me).

"I am glad that the foreigners saw for once, that to the highest

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Queen to
Lady Lyt-
telton.

King of the
Belgians.

¹ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 369.

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authority in the State, even a great and free country like England may show real and great respect. The sceptical and cynical turn which the press in France has given to the public mind, has shown itself since the Restoration by constant efforts to render the supreme government, and particularly the person ostensibly at the head of it, ridiculous and odious in every imaginable way. They have very pretty results to boast of this system."¹

LV. I continue extracts from my Diary respecting the Queen's visits :—

3rd May.—The Queen and Prince and Princess of Prussia came about 9.30. Her Majesty said to me, the "opening had been perfectly satisfactory," and repeated the same to Dilke.

7th May.—The Queen came.

10th May.—The Queen came. Her Majesty said to me "You ought to write a child's book about the Exhibition." I replied, "I feared the pressure of the work would not allow me." And the Princess Royal said, "I have read your books very often."

12th May.—The Queen came, but without previous notice, and no one was present to meet Her Majesty.

14th May.—Queen came early, and went chiefly over Fine Arts.

16th May.—Queen came, and went over the divisions of Austria, Belgium, and Zollverein.

17th May.—Queen and Prince came after the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred had arrived: at Machinery Section.

19th May.—Queen, Prince, and Prince of Wales, and large party came.

20th May.—Queen did not come till 9.30 a.m.

21st May.—Queen and Prince came. Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred went over Raw Produce with Playfair.

22nd May.—Queen came to the sections, East Indies,

¹ "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 371.

British Glass, and Pottery. Her Majesty desired that Mr. Minton should be told of her regret that he was not present.

27th May.—The Queen came early to see the shilling visitors enter. At the opening of the doors at ten on the first shilling day, there were more policemen present than visitors. Mr. Mayne (afterwards Sir Richard) had made elaborate preparations for that day. There were only 18,400 persons. "Every one was required to move upon the left-hand side, and to visit the compartments on that side as they passed," and, although alone at an early hour in an empty gallery, I was obliged by the police to obey this rule, which was abolished after a few days' experience. Lord Granville betted that the numbers on the morrow (28th) would exceed 30,000. They were 29,380, and on 29th 47,500.

29th May.—The Queen came, and inquired what papers I had in my hand. On my answering, "Papers on Patents," the Prince said, "I hope the Patent Law will get through!" These were my reports on Patents, issued by the Society of Arts, and Lord Granville's Patent Bill.

30th May.—Queen came with the two Princes.

2nd June.—The Queen came with the Duchess of Kent and the two Princes. The Duchess got separated from the Queen's party, and was told by a policeman to stand back, "and she should see the Queen pass!"

7th June.—The Queen came to see the Machinery. Her Majesty asked me to take the Princesses Royal and Alice "to see something that would interest them."

16th June.—Queen came with Princess Royal and Princess Alice.

20th June.—Queen came early.

21st June.—The Queen came, accompanied by the King of the Belgians.

24th June.—The Queen came with the King of the Bel-

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gians, and, for the first time, retired through the Nave. The crowd was most orderly.

26th June.—The Queen came with the King of the Belgians.

28th June.—Queen came with the Princes to see the Sheffield Court and the Hydraulic Machinery.

2nd July.—Queen came. Only Bowring and myself present.

5th July.—Queen went to the North Gallery, "very chatty, and full of observation."

8th July.—Queen came by mistake. No one to receive Her Majesty.

9th July.—Queen came, and inspected Electric Telegraphs and Agricultural Machinery. Her Majesty and Prince present at the ball at Guildhall, to which I went this evening.

11th July.—The Queen came, and inspected Selous's picture.

15th July.—Queen came.

16th July.—Queen came with Prince. He proposed that Talbotypes should be prepared to illustrate the report of the Jurors, and that 100 copies should be taken of each negative to be distributed to public libraries and foreign countries exhibiting.

17th July.—The Queen came.

18th July.—The Queen and Prince came. In the Glass Collection in the North Gallery, an exhibitor, with much agitation, courted Her Majesty's attention to an engraving of an "eye" in the heavens looking upon the Prince of Wales, and explained that "it was the satisfaction of the Almighty at the coming of the Prince of Wales to the throne." The Queen laughed most heartily, and said to me, "Ask the Prince to come here," and when he did so, the exhibitor was commanded to repeat the scene, which he did. The Queen's diary records, "The immense number of

manufacturers with whom we have spoken have gone away delighted. The thousands who are in the Crystal Palace when we are leaving, are all so loyal and so gratified, many never having seen us before. All this will be of a use not to be described. It identifies us with the people, and gives them an additional cause for loyalty and attachment" ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 385).

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13th October.—The Queen, Prince, and two Princes came to see the building empty. The Prince would write to the Society of Arts and suggest that it should have papers written on the Exhibition. Commissioners met. Tunis not having received a medal, by an oversight, the Special Commissioner, for Juries, opposed re-opening the question; when the Prince said, "better be just than comfortable." The law officers of the Crown recommended the issue of a Supplemental Charter. "An Act of Parliament would only be necessary in case the Commissioners wanted to break faith with the public," as the Prince observed with humour.

15th October.—The last day before removal of goods. Prince presided at a meeting of the Commissioners, when Lord Canning, as Chairman of the Jurors, reported their proceedings.

16th October.—Removal of goods commenced.

11th November.—The Queen came to see the empty building.

SOME VARIOUS PANICS DURING 1850-1.

LVI. As soon as the public became somewhat familiarized with the idea of the Exhibition, panics of various kinds occurred in succession. There arose a dread of the use of Hyde Park, and the selfish opposition of those who had enjoyed the privilege of looking on it always for nothing; fear of the

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Damage to
Hyde Park.

insecurity of the building; political fears of the conduct of the people, and an especial dread of foreigners, &c.

LVII. I have already related (§ XXXVII.) how fierce was the opposition to the use of Hyde Park, and how the aid of Parliament was invoked to forbid it. The Park was to be destroyed, and its trees all felled to the ground; the builders of the New Houses would be ruined; even Parliament was to be dissolved, if ministers were beaten in supporting the Queen and her Consort.

LVIII. Sir Theodore Martin writes:—

Col. Sib-
thorp's
prayers.

“During the debate on the Address on the first night of the Session of 1851, Colonel Sibthorp had prayed that hail or lightning might descend from heaven to defeat the ill-advised project. If others did not invoke doom on the structure itself, they were no less fervent in prophesying doom to property, to morals, nay, even to the State itself, as the inevitable result of bringing into London a concourse of all the bad characters in Europe. These fears, absurd at the best, became ludicrous in the light of the actual facts as they presented themselves, in the holiday aspect of London during the next six months. But they cost the Prince and his coadjutors a world of trouble, as may be seen by the following letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:—

Prince's
feelings.

“Just at present I am more dead than alive from over-work. The opponents of the Exhibition work with might and main to throw all the old women into panic, and to drive myself crazy. The strangers, they give out, are certain to commence a thorough revolution here, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England; the plague is certain to ensue from the confluence of such vast multitudes, and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible, and against all this I have to make efficient provision.

“Buckingham Palace, 15th April, 1851.”

Insecurity
of the build-
ing.

LIX. After the first scare had subsided, and Paxton's building was actually begun, there arose a fear that the

building would not stand, but be thrown down like a pack of cards. Mr. Airy,¹ the Astronomer-Royal, wrote a pamphlet in which he demonstrated that it must come down. Like Dr. Lardner's prophecy that no steamer would ever be able to cross the Atlantic, Airy's prophecy must always remain as a caution against the utterance of assertions as arrogant in theoretical science, as papal dogmatism is in theological belief.

LX. There had been great apprehension in the public mind of the dangers of the Exhibition to the metropolis. The Duke of Wellington brought into the neighbourhood of the metropolis 10,000 additional troops, to deal with any possible disturbances; but they were so judiciously disposed that the increased number of soldiers was not remarked. Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Normanby:—

“Though this first day (1st May) of the campaign has passed off so well, of course we shall have to keep a watchful eye during the whole four months upon those who might be disposed to take advantage, for purposes of mischief, of the congregation of foreigners in London; but with the means we have of making such people pay dearly for any such attempt, I do not entertain any apprehension as to the result of any schemes they may plan.”
—Vol. ii., p. 128.

The total number of foreigners arriving was only 58,000, or an excess of 276 per cent. over the numbers in 1850. Telegraphic arrangements had been concerted between Colonel Reid, R.E., the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Chief Commissioner of Police, Mr. Mayne (afterwards Sir Richard), to meet any difficulties of numbers which might arise, but especially to arrest the influx of visitors if the crowd was too great for the building. A black ball was prepared to have been

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Professor
Airy.

Military
precautions.

¹ Afterwards Sir George Airy, K.C.B.

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hoisted on the central transept to warn the police that the Exhibition building was full, and that the Park gates were to be closed. But these curious devices were never employed; and it may be said that the great building, even with 93,000 persons in it at one time, was never so crowded as a lady's successful *soirée*.

Increase of
Police.

LXI. The Chief Commissioner of Police made application for having 1,000 policemen added to the Metropolitan Force, at the cost of £50,000, and obtained them at a cost to the Commission of £19,647.¹

FEARS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

Working
Classes Com-
mittee.

LXII. But the fear of the working classes caused most anxiety. The subject of having a Central Working Classes Committee, who should interest the millions to visit the Exhibition, was discussed for three months, and with many competent persons, as early as April, 1850. On the 6th, at Stoke, Mr. Minton, the potter, employing thousands of workmen, declined to join such a Committee, because he thought it would be interfering with them. On the 15th April, I talked with Colonel Grey, at Buckingham Palace, on the subject; and then, on the 17th April, I called on the Bishop of Oxford, to whom Colonel Grey had spoken. My Diary registers that the Bishop "would leave himself in my hands to do anything necessary about the meeting. On the 19th April, again saw Colonel Grey to discuss the Prince's giving assistance to the Working Class Committee." "The Prince would not attend a public meeting," but "would probably subscribe."

¹ At the close of the Exhibition it was resolved to present gratuities to the police actually employed in and about the building. A question was raised if the money should not be distributed by the Chief Commissioner at

his discretion, in military fashion. Mr. Thomas Baring exclaimed, "Let us give it in the most *civil* way," which meant that the most deserving known to the executive, should be rewarded most.

Colonel Grey asked me to come and see him at all times on this and other subjects. On the 30th April, I called again on the Bishop of Oxford. He had seen the Prince himself, who would not preside at the meeting of the working classes. 4th May, Lord Granville would see Sir Robert Peel about appointment of Working Men's Committee. Sir Robert was rather timid, and afterwards advised its dropping. The Bishop of Oxford, who had made an eloquent speech on the dignity of labour at the Westminster meeting,¹ finally agreed to act as Chairman of the Working Classes Central Committee, for the purpose of communicating with the working classes on the subject of the Exhibition. The Committee was composed of persons well known as promoters of various measures of benevolence for the working classes, and also of acknowledged leaders of the working classes, as follows:—Lord Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury; Richard Andrews, Mayor of Southampton; Thomas Beggs; Robert Chambers, the publisher of a cheap magazine started some years previously at Edinburgh; the Rev. John Cumming, the well-known preacher, remarkable for his belief in the near approach of the end of the world; myself; the Rev. G. Dawson, the popular lecturer at Birmingham, to whose memory his townsmen have erected a statue; Charles Dickens, then in the zenith of his fame with "Nicholas Nickleby;" W. J. Fox, M.P., a Unitarian preacher, who attracted crowds to hear him in Finsbury Chapel; Joshua

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Bishop of
Oxford,
chairman.

Members
of the Com-
mittee.

¹ The Bishop's speech was stirring throughout, but I extract only a sample:—"What can be nobler than industry and work? It is surely better to work than to talk (*applause*). It is better to lie down at night, and feel that we have worked something, if it were but the least article—the smallest button on any part of our dress—it is better to feel that we have worked that, than to lie down at night with

the consciousness that we have done nothing (*applause*). So this Exhibition, as promoting the industry of nations, is a great and noble work. It calls attention to the dignity of labour—it sets forth in its true light the dignity of the working classes—and it tends to make other people feel the dignity which attaches to the producers of these things."—*Speech at the Westminster Meeting, 21st Feb., 1850.*

Dignity of
Labour.

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Field, of the firm of Maudslay and Field, great engineers at Lambeth ; John Forster, editor of the "Examiner ;" Charles Gilpin, the publisher, who became M.P. for Northampton, and joined the Ministry ; Robert Hartwell, printer ; Charles Knight, author and publisher ; W. Lovett, the Chartist and schoolmaster ; Rev. H. Mackenzie, rector of St. Martin's ; R. Monckton Milnes, M.P., now Lord Houghton (see Vol. I., p. 17, &c.) ; Francis Place, the tailor at Charing Cross, the friend of Sir Francis Burdett ; the Mills, father and son ; Jeremy Bentham, a leading politician in Westminster ; Dr. Southwood Smith, one of the Commissioners of the First Board of Health ; W. M. Thackeray, with uprising literary fame, busy with his "Pendennis ;" F. J. Le Touzel ; William Tait, publisher of Edinburgh ; Henry Vincent, the Chartist, and lecturer on the History of England ; Sir Joshua Walmsley, M.P. for Leicester ; and others.

Objects of
the Com-
mittee.

LXIII. The principal objects which the Committee had in view were—1. To take means for informing the working classes throughout the United Kingdom of the nature and objects of the Exhibition ; 2. To assist in promoting the visits of the working classes to the Exhibition ; 3. To ascertain what means existed for accommodating the working classes in the metropolis during their stay, and to publish the information accordingly. It was not proposed that this Committee should collect any subscriptions from the working classes towards the Exhibition, these being already in progress by the Local Committees throughout the country.

LXIV. The Bishop of Oxford summoned the Committee to meet at the Society of Arts on the 6th May, when J. Forster, C. Knight, W. J. Fox, M. Milnes, Lovett, and others were present, and agreed to request the Commissioners to acknowledge them. His lordship addressed a letter to the Commission, requesting that this Central Committee should be

appointed a Committee under the Royal Commission. The Commission met on the 9th, and there was much discussion. Sir R. Peel was not present. Cobden told me that Lord Stanley objected to the appointment of the Committee, "and if it had been pressed, would have bolted." Lord Granville wished the refusal to be very smooth. So an answer was sent "expressing the approval of the objects of the Committee, requesting that they would communicate with the Commissioners on the subject from time to time, and suggesting that the Committee should remain an independent body, like other self-constituted Committees, which co-operate with the Commission, and for the efficiency of which the special sanction of the Commissioners did not appear to be necessary" (see "Minutes of the Commission," 9th May, 1850). The Prince, who was really favourable to the Committee, told me, on the 16th May, that the Committee might be announced "as acting with the sanction of the Commission." The next day I called on the Bishop of Oxford, and, after telling him what the Prince had said about the sanction, he decided to summon the Committee on the 5th June. I met Northcote, and he agreed "to serve on the Committee." The Bishop laid the Commissioners' answer before the Central Committee, which met at the Society of Arts, 5th June.

LXV. A general discussion took place. The Bishop "pointed out that the Committee was only affiliated to the Commission. G. Dawson objected to the squeamishness of the Commissioners in wanting a precedent. They had a Building Committee; why not a Working Classes Committee? It was mere red-tape objection! and he could not submit to it." Mackenzie thought if the Committee had not declared the necessity, they might act. So thought C. Knight. Dickens was strongly in favour of the necessity of dissolving, and he moved, and then Charles Knight

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Not ap-
pointed
by Commis-
sion.

Discussion
in Central
Committee.

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drafted, a resolution, which Vincent seconded, to the following effect, and it was carried unanimously :—" That the letter, in answer to the resolution of the last meeting of this Committee, submitted to the Royal Commission by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, having been read, and not containing the recognition this Committee sought in those resolutions, it is expedient that this Committee at once dissolve itself, considering that without such recognition it can neither efficiently render the services it seeks to perform, nor command the confidence of the working classes" (see "Minutes" of 21st June, 1850). Mr. Vincent said the working classes regarded the Exhibition as a movement to wean them from politics. He was quite friendly himself to it. I told all this to Lord Granville, who was going that day to Osborne. Colonel Reid, in heart a sincere friend to the people, was much averse to this Working Class Committee, and "feared that the Prince should put himself at the head of a democratic movement." The Colonel would sooner there should be a debt of £50,000, than that there should be a great agitation of the "working classes." On the 8th July, he repeated the same idea, and told me "he had been as great a Radical as myself." He had served in Spain on the Liberal side, and though threatened by the King (William IV.) with the loss of his commission if he went, he went with General de Lacy Evans.

Mr. Alexander Redgrave put in charge.

LXVI. At last it was settled that all the questions about the visits of the working classes should be referred to Mr. Alexander Redgrave, who was appointed by the Home Office to see to them. He made a very able report on the number of arrivals in London, about a million and a half more than in 1850; on the number of foreigners, much fewer than were expected; on precautionary measures for the maintenance of order; on the number of accidents, fewer in 1851 than in 1850; on supplies of food, &c.; on

pauperism, which declined in 1851; on public amusements; on crime, which increased only 2 per cent.; on police charges, a decrease of 3 per cent. (only twenty-three offences were committed within the Exhibition—twelve picking pockets, and eleven stealing goods of a value under £5); and arrangements made by the clergy. The Report is worth perusal, even thirty years after it was written, and may be found printed at length in the "First Report of the Commissioners," App. xxiv., p. vii.

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EXHIBITION OF 1851. INCIDENTS.

LXVII. Before I leave the Exhibition, there are some few memoranda which I made at the time, which I have not noted in my relation up to this point, but which seem to me to be worth introducing. When the Exhibition was within ten days of opening (on 20th April, 1851), I accompanied LORD GRANVILLE over the Pottery Courts in the Exhibition, &c. He asked me "If I had ever expected it to be as grand a thing?" He said "He had despaired last autumn when subscriptions were low and when nobody liked his fellow." So great was Lord Granville's deference for authority, that on 22nd March, he actually "asked my leave to take his nieces into the building!" It was a fact one could never forget in official life.

Lord
Granville.

LXVIII. I often consulted MULREADY in the numerous difficulties as they arose, and his advice I generally followed. He said with his "dread sagacity,"—as Maclise used to say of him,—“the great object in working the Exhibition appeared to be not to *do*, but to prevent somebody else doing,—and that there was a speck of this feeling everywhere.” “Never revenge yourself, there are always abundant instruments to do it for you;” which is similar in idea to Pope's expression, “To be angry is to revenge the faults of

Mulready,
R.A.

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others on yourself." It was a question with me if I ought to go to the opening in a Court suit. Cobden would not have one. Mulready advised me to have one, as the occasion was not worthy of eccentricity.

C. Barry,
R.A.

C. BARRY, R.A. (25th July, 1850) said "he would resign if the half-cylinder roof was not placed on the nave," and the Commission decided against it, but on 29th March, 1851, he said he had not resigned, and "that it was omitted out of jealousy of him."

I. K. Brunel.

28th May, 1850. I. K. BRUNEL, telling me of the disputes in the Building Committee, which threatened to make the Exhibition in 1851 impossible for want of a suitable building, said, "Engineers could get on together, but not architects." Dilke and I, as the Executive, were told by Col. Reid that we were not "to attend the Building Committee," as they did not wish us to be present at the wranglings. LORD J. MANNERS wholly disapproved of the Exhibition (31st May, 1850), and COL. SIBTHORP'S hostility has been already noticed.

Lord J.
Manners.

Prices for
admission.

LXIX. The question of PRICES of ADMISSION was discussed at the Board of Trade on the 25th January, 1851, by a few Commissioners and the Executive Committee. It was proposed that every officer and every servant should pay before entering, and then have the money refunded. I pointed out the impossibility of having a staff expressly to let in the sweepers and cleaners and housemaids, and to admit them by payment. It was seriously proposed to exclude the Press! I urged that this would be an unprecedented step! that the interest of the Exhibition was to attract the Press to come and report on everything that was going on as much as possible. Instead of making the Press pay for entrance, the very reverse would be the safer policy in my opinion, and I entreated the Commissioners not to make so fatal and suicidal a rule. A member of the

The Press.

Commission exclaimed, "Alas! we are a press-ridden people!" and then the Commissioners present gave up the proposal, and Dilke said to me "You get your way when you are in a minority of one." But I had afterwards to contend for the freest admission of the Press—and at last, on the 11th Feb., Lord Granville agreed to admit the artist of the "Illustrated News" to draw.

LXX. The arrangement of the objects in the building was not free from constant irritation. On the 19th March, 1851, the Hon. A. KINNAIRD (now Lord Kinnaird) reported to Lord Ashley, who wrote to Lord John Russell, that a crucifix had been ostentatiously exhibited by Pugin, and we had to negotiate with him and Mr. Crace, and they with good feeling agreed to lower the position of this emblem of Christianity.

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY gave us much trouble. It was late beyond the rules, in making application for space, and ought to have been refused, but a place for a twenty-three feet case was found in the *printing* space on the 6th March. The minutes of the Commission show the details of the difficulties which the Society made. They did not show Bibles as specimens of printing, but as a display of their religious enthusiasm in spreading the knowledge of the Bible. All forces were employed to get their own way, contrary to rules. Even Mr. Morton Peto pleaded for them. The point was not settled till after the 27th May, 1851, when the President of the Board of Trade and Lord Granville came to see and settle the position of the Society's case of Bibles.

The 26th May was appointed for the first shilling day. At the opening of the doors, there were hundreds of extra police to receive the great crowds which Mr. Mayne had expected. The public dawdled in by ones and twos, and there was no string of people at the east entrance,

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A crucifix
exhibited.

Bible
Society's
exhibit.

First
shilling day.

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nearest to London, and scarcely anybody at the west and other entrances. The public were *kept away by the apprehension that the crowds would be enormous.*

LXXI. All PREDICTIONS were more or less erroneous.

7th Feb., 1850. COBDEN brought Friend Sturges to the building. He thought more would be got by £1 admissions than season tickets, and Peto said not 5000 season tickets would be sold. There were 25,605 sold, which realized £67,514, and only 1042 paid for £1 admissions. 12th Feb. Mr. Tyrrell, the City Remembrancer, wrote to a friend of the contractors, and valued the profits at £300,000.

Pressure
for space.

LXXII. The demand for space was enormous and unreasonable. A Paisley deputation came up, on the 29th Jan., to demand 9,000 feet of wall space with two feet horizontal in front, which some travelling authority had promised them. An engineer threatened Colonel Reid with writing to the "Times," because he would not increase the 800 square feet of allotment made to him, which raised the Colonel's temper, not often disturbed. 20th Feb. A Manchester deputation "wanted delay till April 1st, with power to continue granting allotments," which it was quite impossible to grant.

Enemies
become
friends.

T. L.
Peacock.

Sir R.
Inglis.

LXXIII. When the success of the Exhibition was confirmed, a revolution in public opinion took place. I knew persons (Thomas Love Peacock, for example, among them) who abstained from going to the Exhibition for many weeks after the opening, but went once, and afterwards every day till it closed. Sir Robert Inglis, member for Oxford University (see note, p. 6), had up to this time almost avoided me for my action with the Record Commission in former years. He had howled against the use of Hyde Park, but soon after the opening of the Exhibition (22nd May), he came up to me in the building, took both my hands, and with blushes and pleasure in his face said, "Mr. Cole, I recant all my opposition to this Exhibition; I congratu-

late you heartily on its success, and now regard it as a thing to thank God for."

LXXIV. On the 20th October, 1850, I had an evening walk with STONE, A.R.A., and DICKENS, at Broadstairs; the latter was much opposed to wasting twenty-one days before the shilling days of admission to the Exhibition commenced. He did not at all realize the position of the Guarantors, on whom rested the responsibility of the finance, and not upon the Government. He only visited the Exhibition twice, I believe. Miss Dickens sends me the following extract from a letter:—"I find I am 'used up' by the Exhibition. I don't say there is nothing in it: there's too much. I have only been twice, so many things bewilder one. I have a natural horror of sights, and the fusion of so many sights in one, had not decreased it. I am not sure that I have seen anything but the Fountain (Crystal Fountain), and the Amazon." (25th July, 1851.)

25th July, 1851. The driver of the Wendover coach told me that "two countrymen came to town for some days. They went first to the Exhibition, but had enough of it in an hour, and spent the rest of their holidays at Hayes Agricultural show."

LXXV. Excluding the Koh-i-noor Diamond, Lieutenant Tyler, R.E., afterwards Captain Tyler, Inspector of Railways, and now Sir Henry Tyler, M.P., Chairman of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, made a careful estimate of the value of the objects in the Exhibition. Those of the United Kingdom were valued at £1,031,607 4s. 9d.; of the Colonies at £79,901 15s.; those of Foreign Countries at £670,420 11s. 7d.—Total £1,781,929 11s. 4d. How to watch over this property at night, engaged the minds of the Prince, Lord Granville, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Mayne, Commissioner of Police, and the Executive Committee. Colonel Reid proposed to surround the building with a military

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Part I.
C. Dickens.

Value of
exhibits.

Watching
the building.

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Police.

A Russian
visit.

Fire ar-
rangements.

Chevaux-de-frise and upright iron railings 8 feet high. Owen Jones objected that this would destroy the sentiment of the building, and he designed an ornamental iron railing which the Prince decided to adopt. I talked the subject over with Mulready, R.A., who urged simply careful watching by police, which I advocated too; Mr. Mayne accepted the responsibility, and the work was done perfectly; Mr. Pearce being the Superintendent over 4 Inspectors, 25 Sergeants, and 334 Constables, who were employed as circumstances made it necessary. Just sufficient lighting was used to show any movement in the building, and the police wore list shoes. On one night a party of Russian *savans* had been dining with Dr. Lindley, Superintendent of the Colonies, and expressed a wish particularly to see how the night watching was done without soldiers, whose absence always astonished them. So the Russians were admitted into the building, and proceeded down the nave in the dim light to the Russian Court. They saw nobody! They exclaimed "How wonderful! we could take away this Moscow casket," touching it, "worth thousands of pounds, and no one to prevent us!" The moment they turned round, they were surprised by finding themselves surrounded by a dozen policemen ready to capture them. Captain Gibbs, R.E., was in charge of the precautions against fire which he detailed in his report (1st Report of Commissioners, App. No. XXVI., p. 130). "The whole of the 200 men of the Royal Sappers had been drilled to the fire-engines, and made acquainted with all the arrangements undertaken to provide for the immediate extinction of any fire. A piquet of 24 men was mounted in the building at 8 p.m., and remained all night." Only a slight fire occurred in the daytime, which was occasioned by cotton waste, but it was instantly extinguished.

LXXVI. 7th October, 1851. 109,000 visitors were in the

building this day. When at its fullest, 93,000 present, the Duke of Wellington came, and although cautioned by the police, he would walk up the nave in the midst of the crowd. He was soon recognized and cheered. The distant crowds were alarmed, and raised the cry that the "building was falling." There was a rush. Fortunately six policemen had followed the Duke, and literally carried him off, pale and indignant, by the side passages, as I saw when coming out from my office. The crowds upset a stand of French Palissy ware, and the first persons to get out of the building were the sentries. Nothing worse happened, and it was the only accident during the Exhibition.

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Part I.
Duke of
Wellington's
escape.

LXXVII. 11th October, 1851, Saturday. The Exhibition closed to the public with a spontaneous *extempore* ceremony of the organ playing "God save the Queen;" the people joining heartily in the Chorus. My little son Alan, five years old, was mounted on the shoulders of Mr. J. C. Macdonald, the successor to Mr. Mowbray Morris as one of the managers of the "Times," and excitedly called upon everybody near about him to take off their hats. Then came hurrahs prolonged for half an hour, which were quite touching and impressive. Tears were freely shed. The thousands present would not depart at the usual ringing of the bells, and the building was not cleared till nearly seven. It made us all rather nervous, but the day ended well.

Last day.

LXXVIII. 15th October, 1851. A wet day, and proceedings rather solemn. Lord Canning reported the Juries' decisions. Lord Granville offered £3,000 honorarium to Colonel Reid, which he accepted and then declined. Also to Dilke, who, declined also. He told us that the Commandership of the Bath was to be given to Colonel Reid, and that Knighthood was to be conferred on W. Cubitt, Paxton, Fox, and Dilke, but Dilke declined the honour. The Companionship of the Bath was to be given to Sir Stafford Northcote,

Jurors'
reports.

Honours.

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Lord Pal-
merston on
Exhibition.

Playfair, and myself (see Vol. II. for notices in the Gazette, p. 231).

LXXIX. I record some remarks of Lord Palmerston and Lord Macaulay. Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Normanby, 2nd May, 1851: "The royal party (on the occasion of the opening) were received with continued acclamation as they passed through the parks and round the Exhibition House; and it was also very interesting to witness the cordial greeting given to the Duke of Wellington. I was just behind him and Anglesey, within two of them, during the procession round the building, and he was accompanied by an incessant running fire of applause from the men and waving of handkerchiefs and kissing of hands from the women, who lined the pathway of march during the three-quarters of an hour that it took us to march round. . . ." "It was indeed a glorious day for England. . . ." ¹

Lord
Macaulay on
Exhibition.

LXXX. Macaulay wrote at the ending:—"This has been the last week of the Great Exhibition. It makes me quite sad to think of our many, many happy walks there. Tomorrow I shall go to the final ceremony, and try to hear the Bishop of London's thanksgiving, in which I shall very cordially join. This will long be remembered as a singularly happy year of peace, plenty, good feeling, innocent pleasure, national glory of the best and purest sort."—14th October, 1851. ²

Paris fête.

LXXXI. Paris gave a magnificent *fête* lasting a week to the Commissioners, the Executive, and the Lord Mayor of London, &c. The Prince's health, in August, after all the anxiety about the guarantee and the building, needed repose, and he declined the invitation in language of conspicuous courtesy, which the French fully appreciated. "England was admirably represented by Lord Granville.

¹ Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," p. 178.

² Macaulay, "Life," vol. ii., p. 205. To his niece Margaret.

He charmed his hosts (at the Hôtel de Ville) by responding for the Commissioners, whose health formed the toast of the day, in a French speech, free and flowing, and full of telling points. Criticism was forgotten in enthusiasm, and had he been Demosthenes himself speaking with the purest French accent, he could not have commanded more genuine applause."¹

My personal adventures in this visit to Paris were irksome, but farcical. Mr. D—— (a juror) and his wife agreed to go in the same carriage with us. Mrs. Cole and myself breakfasted, and started from Notting-hill in ample time to get to London Bridge Station, for the special train leaving about 9 a.m. We called for our companions in Fitzroy Square. They were not down, and had not breakfasted! We made the mistake of waiting for them more than half an hour, and at last got off. When we arrived in Rathbone Place, D—— found out he had left his keys behind, and we were obliged to return for them, and we arrived at London Bridge just in time to see the special train off, and thus lost all the comfortable arrangements which had been made for our reaching Paris as soon as possible. We, and others late, were accordingly mixed up with the usual foreign passenger train, and the luggage of everybody was sent adrift anywhere—some to Brussels, some to Paris, and some left at Boulogne, which so appalled the *Douane* in quantity, that they returned it to England, and some was found at Dover and some at London. No refreshments were to be had at Boulogne, and scarcely anything at Amiens. We did not arrive in Paris till twelve at night, and could find no luggage. I had engaged a room at Meurice's, of which our companions took possession. At last, through the help of Mr. De La Rue, we got a little room to be in. The following morning, the

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Lord
Granville's
speech.

My misfor-
tunes.

Luggage
lost.

¹ "Life of Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 388.

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Part I.

Borrowed
clothes.

Dinner at
Hôtel de
Ville.

Festivities.

first work the ladies did was to go out shopping and buy bonnets and trimmings. A grand banquet was to be given at the Hôtel de Ville that evening, and the contrivances of the ladies in adorning and metamorphosing their travelling dresses to make them passable at the dinner, were amusing. Every Englishman and woman we met, were in the same predicament. I had to borrow clothes; Mr. De La Rue, who was double my cubical capacity, kindly lent me a huge pair of black trousers, which were made to fit as best they could, and the only coat I could obtain was one from M. Meurice, with buttons under my shoulder-blades and tails coming down to my heels, which had been made in the period of the Empire. The appearance of almost every Englishman at dinner, was as odd as my own, but we sympathized in each other's misfortunes, and the dinner passed off well, and was of a superb kind. The company was parcelled out into parties of four, each party was served with the same courses, accompanied by no fewer than sixteen changes of excellent wine. No clothes found the next day. The cry throughout Paris during the week was, "Have you got your clothes?" But on the 4th August, they turned up in time for the President's reception at St. Cloud. The President was making friends with the army, and the palace was filled with soldiers, who devoured the luncheon and champagne first of all, and handed the fragments to the lady visitors out of the windows. The *fête* at the embassy, the review in the *Champ de Mars*, the performance at the *Théâtre Français*, the dinner with the Minister of Agriculture, M. Buffet, all came in succession, until we left Paris on the 8th, and the D——s were as usual too late for the train, and we came away without them.

LXXXII. On the day of the closing of the Exhibition, the Prince addressed gratifying letters of thanks to Dilke and myself. To Dilke he wrote :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—Now that the Exhibition has closed its happy career, allow me to express to you, as one of those who stood by its cradle, helped in its education, and served it truly and zealously after it had been brought to maturity, my sense of the assiduity and ability with which you have discharged the various duties entrusted to you.

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Letter from
Prince
Albert to
Dilke.

"It was my intention, as a remembrance of our personal connection in this work, to have presented you this day with a medal, and I hope still to do so, though disappointed for the moment by the illness of Mr. Wyon, which has prevented its being completed. I could not delay, however, my acknowledgments beyond to-day.

"Believe me always, yours truly,

"ALBERT."

The Prince's letter to myself was as follows:—

To Cole.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I hoped to-day, after the happy close of the Exhibition, to have presented to you a medal as a token of remembrance of our long connection in this work, but am obliged to use your words, 'That it will be given out when the arrangements for it shall be completed,' which I hope, however, will be soon.

"You have been one of the few who originated the design, became its exponent to the public, and fought its battles in adversity, and belong now to those who share in its triumphs, and it must be as pleasing to you to reflect how much you have contributed to them by your untiring exertions, as it is to me to acknowledge my sense of them.

"Believe me always yours truly,

"ALBERT."

"Windsor Castle, October 15th, 1851."

LXXXIII. The first Report of the Commissioners gives a full account of all the statistics. It is sufficient for this volume, to say that the total receipts from all sources were £561,243, and that on 1st March, 1852, the balance, after paying all expenses then incurred, was £213,305. How the greater part of this was employed will be stated in another chapter. The total number of visitors was 6,039,195, and the greatest number in the building on any one day (7th October), was 109,915. The different daily rates of admission

Statistics.

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Future
prospects of
the Crystal
Palace.

Crystal
Palace at
Sydenham.

produced the following results: £1 admission, £2,129; five shillings admission, £74,907; two shillings and sixpence admission, £91,336; one shilling admission, £285,872 (v. p. 162).

LXXXIV. When it was ascertained that there would be a surplus on the Exhibition, I published a pamphlet advocating the retention of the Glass House. The title of the pamphlet was, "Shall we keep the Crystal Palace, and have riding and walking in all weathers among flowers, fountains, and sculpture? By Denarius." Several editions of it were published by Murray, 8vo. Lord Stanley, who afterwards succeeded to the title of Lord Derby (14th earl), asked the Prince if "Denarius" was not the Latin for "*Carbon?*" The Prince was not favourable to keeping up the building as a Winter Garden, at least in the Park, although inclined to its removal to Battersea, which Lord Seymour also favoured.¹ The Prince considered that the profits of the Exhibition could be used for a better purpose than mere recreation. A Commission, consisting of Lord Seymour, Sir Wm. Cubitt, and Dr. Lindley, was appointed "to ascertain the price at which the Government could purchase the building, the cost at which it could be converted into a permanent structure, the site which should be preferred for its continuance, the cost of removing and refixing it, the purposes to which it might be advantageously applied, and the probable expenditure which would be required for its maintenance;" but I believe the report was not published. Finally, a company was formed, and transported the materials to Sydenham, where they were used in the construction of the Crystal Palace.

LXXXV. After the close of the Exhibition, Prince Albert,

¹ "Lord Seymour had a plan prepared. He hinted that if £200,000 of the surplus were contributed by the Exhibition, and Government were in-

duced to give double, a very fine thing near London might be done" (29 Oct., 1851, "Diary").

as President of the Society of Arts, suggested to the Council that a series of "Lectures on the Results of the Great Exhibition of 1851" should be delivered before the Society; and it was done. Dr. Whewell, Master of Trinity College, delivered the first lecture, on "The General Bearing of the Great Exhibition on the Progress of Art and Science," and I concluded the series with an address, on "The International Results of the Exhibition of 1851" (see Vol. II. p. 233).

GREAT
EXHIBITION
OF 1851.

A.D.
1849-1852.

Part I.

Lectures on
the Exhibi-
tion.



WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

THE PARIS EXHIBITION, 1855.

PART I.

1853-1856.

I.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D.
1853-1856.
Part I.



THE International Exhibitions following that of 1851, with the carrying out of which my father was connected, were those in Paris in 1855, in London in 1862, in Paris in 1867, and again in London in 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1874.

Paris Exhi-
bition of
1855 ad-
ministered
by Govern-
ment.

II. The Paris Exhibition of 1855 was virtually managed by the French Government, and in this important respect differed from the Great Exhibition of 1851, which, as has been seen, was the offspring of British private enterprise. There was consequently little anxious work in France, in the fostering of a favourable public opinion to aid in carrying out the "Exposition Universelle" as it was called. Friendly rivalry to surpass England's success of 1851 was, no doubt, valuable as an impetus to French action in 1855. "As it appeared to the British Government to be very doubtful if voluntary association and private enterprise would produce an adequate representation of British art

and industry in Paris, corresponding to the efforts which the French Government had made in 1851," application was made to Parliament for funds for, managing the allotment of space to British exhibitors, giving facilities for the transport of exhibitors' goods from this country to Paris, and paying expenses of British Jurors appointed upon the International Jury for the award of medals.

III. The success of the Exhibition of 1851 had led many influential personages to regard my father as a principal authority upon the management of kindred enterprises, and in the course of his work in the reform of the Schools of Design (a work which will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter), he attended the Lord Lieutenant (Earl of Clarendon) in June, 1852, upon the occasion of the opening of the Cork Exhibition. Early in 1853 I find entries in my father's diaries relating to his preparation of instructions to the Commissioners appointed to proceed to the Exhibition which was held that year in New York. About May of this year, the holding of the Paris Exhibition in 1855 had been bruited,¹ and whilst my father was staying at Witley Court he asked Lord Ward (now Earl Dudley) to take part in the forthcoming Paris Exhibition, which Lord Ward agreed to do.

IV. Some notes which my father had written to be used in connection with his chapter upon International Exhibitions, run thus:—

“The Official Reports of the Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867,²

¹ The first Imperial announcement of the Exhibition is dated 8th March, 1853. The next Imperial decree is dated 22nd June, 1853.

² Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, Part I. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Printed by George

E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1856.

The Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Universal Exhibition of Works of Industry, Agriculture, and Fine Art, held at Paris in

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

Cork Exhi-
bition, 1852.

New York
Exhibition,
1853.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D.
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Part I.

which it was my duty to make as the Executive Commissioner of these Exhibitions, are public documents which have been printed and laid before Parliament, and any persons who are interested in the history of these Exhibitions will find it fully told in these documents. I shall therefore confine myself in this work to the relation of events rather personal than official. When in 1853, Mr. (now Viscount) Cardwell wished me to take part in the Paris Exhibition, being fully engaged with the work of the new Science and Art Department, I did all that I could to induce him to appoint Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, as Chief Commissioner with full responsibility. Baffled in this, I went heartily into the work, but my first duties and thoughts were with the Science and Art Department, and I seized every opportunity for benefiting that Department through the Paris Exhibition of 1855. I was equally, perhaps more strongly, moved with this aim in the Exhibition of 1867. In my journeys to and from Paris, in 1855, &c., I visited the provincial museums of Boulogne, Amiens, Beauvais, Chartres, Rouen, Tours, Toulouse, besides studying the museums and collections in Paris, and I induced Lord Stanley of Alderley, who had succeeded as President of the Board of Trade, to accompany me as far as possible when he came to Paris."

Estimated
cost of
British Sec-
tion.

V. Some alarm was manifested by the President of the Board of Trade when, in January, 1854, he received my father's estimate for an expenditure of £70,000 in respect of the Paris Exhibition. The estimate as ultimately presented to Parliament was for £52,356, and upon the close of the work connected with the Exhibition, my father had succeeded in keeping the expenditure within £39,259, and as Parliament had voted £50,000 only, there was a balance unexpended of some £10,700.

Preliminary
arrange-
ments.

VI. It was decided on the 11th February, 1854, that the Science and Art Department should carry out the work of

the year 1867. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottis-

woode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1869.

the British section of the Paris Exhibition, and that the chief portion of the Department's staff should be in Paris for two months in 1855. On the 14th, however, the President of the Board of Trade asked if the British Exhibitors would not carry out the Paris Exhibition for £20,000? Some uncertainty hung over the English Government's share in the work of carrying out the Paris Exhibition. The question was mooted whether the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, should not act instead of the Government. At length it became necessary for some one to visit Paris to confer with the French authorities. On the 23rd April, Mr. Cole, accompanied by Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A., went to Paris to consult with Lord Cowley (the British Ambassador) and the Imperial Commission, and to inspect the building, which was then in course of erection. The French Executive were anxious that England should make a demand for much space. Mr. Cole said, "We can demand none, but we will do our best with any."¹ Upon his return to London he went to see Colonel Grey, and hinted "that the Commissioners of 1851 should undertake the French Exhibition."¹ His Royal Highness the Prince Consort having, however, other views as to the public work the Commissioners should be asked to undertake, preferred to speak to Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary, upon the matter. On the same day (3rd May), during an interview with Lord Stanley of Alderley and Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Cardwell "wished everything to be done that the French could desire."¹ Still no decision had been made who was to be the recognized representative of Great Britain at Paris in 1855. It appears that means of screwing Ministers' courage "to the sticking point" of decisive action were required at this time. Mr. Cobden

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A.D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

Uncertainty
of British
Government
in assisting
Exhibition.

¹ Diary.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

A. D.
1853-1856.

Part I.
Commission
of Manage-
ment pro-
posed.

Visit of
H. M. the
Queen to
Gore House.

Decision of
Government
to manage
Exhibition.

agreed to ask questions in the House of Commons, as to the Government's assistance at the Paris Exhibition. On the 9th May, Lord Granville was asked to be on a Commission of Management with Mr. Cardwell and Lord Stanley of Alderley. Lord Granville agreed to assist; and Lord Stanley considered thereupon, that the work should not be conducted in the name of the Board of Trade, but in that of a separate Commission. Matters were thus progressing, when two days later, it was announced that the Government did "not like the Paris Exhibition at all, nor the probable expense it would entail."¹ On the 17th May, Her Majesty the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Princess Royal, and Princess Alice visited Gore House, where an Exhibition of Art Students' works had been arranged. The Prince "hoped the French Exhibition would be carried out well," adding that "as we were spending so much in destruction (in the Crimea), we ought to spend some in construction."¹

VII. This remark of the Prince's had perhaps in some way sealed the determination of the Government, for on the Friday following, a decision was announced that the Paris Exhibition should be undertaken by the Government. Captain H. Owen, R.E., was to be financial officer and secretary. Forms of application for space were to be issued to intending exhibitors at once. Mr. Cardwell observed that "it was a good thing that the motive power (meaning my father) had plenty of energy, as he and Lord Stanley were restrained by discretion."¹ An Executive Committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. Cole, Dr. Lyon Playfair, and Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A.

VIII. Difficulties at the outset threatened the smooth discharge of the Executive Committee's duties, for the Secretary was constituted the channel for passing instructions from the Minister to the executive, and reporting

¹ Diary.

progress from the executive to the Minister. This procedure was no sooner tried than abandoned. The inconvenience of a secretary being interposed between ministers and their executive, quickly made itself felt.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

IX. Steps were now taken to induce certain leading manufacturers throughout the country, to exhibit at Paris. It was the first time that they had been asked to contribute to a foreign International Exhibition. Obstacles might have been expected to arise and restrain them from giving ready assent to the undertaking. The leaders in the various branches of manufacture, however, who were consulted, responded favourably. "The Council of the Civil Engineers passed a resolution in favour of the Paris Exhibition." "Mr. Stephenson, the celebrated engineer, would send a locomotive."¹ Spitalfields silk manufacturers, London furniture makers, producers of hardware, were severally consulted, and agreed to take part in the Exhibition. At Coventry, a meeting of manufacturers was to have been held; but the importance of the Paris Exhibition was thrown altogether in the background by the fair and Lady Godiva's procession, which caused such a bustle throughout the town that the Mayor's promise to convene the meeting was forgotten. Personal visits to different firms answered the purpose instead, and Coventry determined to properly represent herself at the Exhibition, as did Stoke, Sheffield, and Macclesfield, which towns Mr. Cole visited at this time.

Visits to the
manufacturing
centres.

X. The greater portion of the summer vacation in 1854, my father passed at Boulogne, whence he could conveniently visit either Paris or London as his work might require. The visits to Paris were regarded suspiciously by certain members of Parliament, who were averse to Government servants taking part in the organization of the

Preliminary
visits to
Paris.

¹ Diary.

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EXHIBITION
OF 1855.

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British section of the Exhibition. One or two prominent members suspected that the visits to Paris were chiefly undertaken for pleasure's sake; and their suspicions reaching headquarters, had some influence there. When important questions arose in October as to allotment of space, it was hinted that an official visit to Paris was needless. At the same time, my father was constantly reminded that upon him lay the responsibility of carrying everything to a successful issue. Such vexations, however, did not prevent him from proceeding with his work, and early in November he spent five days in Paris discussing allotment of space to the United Kingdom and its colonies. Three buildings were to be used: the Palais de l'Industrie in the Champs Elysées, an annexe for Machinery along the quay of the Seine, at the back of the Palais, and a special building in the Avenue Montaigne, for the Fine Arts. The authorities of the Board of Trade had proposed and then decided against a house being taken for the official staff. But one was ultimately taken in the Rue du Cirque, off the Champs Elysées.

Arrange-
ments for ad-
ministration
of British
Section.

XI. On the 15th November "Lord Stanley of Alderley asked if the £50,000 would cover the cost of the Exhibition. I said I thought two-thirds would do. To which Lord Stanley replied, 'That would be a work well done.'"¹ Five days later, the President of the Board of Trade "would not define the responsibility of Playfair and myself—any questions were to be referred to him. Owen conducted the correspondence. The public would look to Playfair for scientific objects, to myself for industrial."¹ But the boundaries of these two divisions could not be stated, and there was a feeling that the vagueness would tend to raise up difficulties and unnecessary double work. On the 3rd January, 1855, Captain Owen wished to go

¹ Diary.

on military service to the Crimea, and Captain Fowke, R.E., was appointed in his stead. The very next day, "Mr. Cardwell asked me to undertake the Paris Exhibition, and would hold me responsible for its punctual opening."¹ A consultative staff was accordingly constituted, the members of which were Mr. Redgrave, Dr. Playfair, Captain Fowke, and Mr. Cole, as executive commissioner. The national importance of the work rather pointed to the appointment of a British Royal Commission, but this was postponed. On the 23rd February, 1855, Mr. Cardwell resigned office, together with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sydney Herbert, and Sir J. Graham.

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OF 1855.
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1853-1856.
Part I.

XII. One of the early vexed questions at Paris, grew out of the dangerous proximity of a sugar refinery and its furnaces, to the building specially constructed for the fine art works, pictures, sculpture, &c. British owners of pictures could not be expected to run any increased risks besides those of the transport of their possessions from England to Paris. The British Ambassador, Lord Cowley, quite concurred in this opinion. It became necessary therefore to bring such pressure upon the Imperial Commission as should get rid of the threatened danger to the Fine Arts. Lord Cowley accordingly took an early occasion of seeing M. Fould.² Lord Cowley proposed that the British Government should purchase the sugar refinery premises, upon which M. Fould showed a readiness to get rid of the dangers himself. Four days later, however, he appeared to withdraw from his intention. Negotiations to obtain loans of objects from possessors of pictures and works of art were in progress, and no time was to be lost. Either the refinery must be bought off, or the *venue* of the Exhibition of Pictures and Sculptures changed. Mr. Cole

Safety of
Collections
of Fine Art
imperilled.

¹ Diary.

² Monsieur Achille Fould, Prime Minister of France.

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promptly offered to Lord Cowley to be responsible for raising a subscription to buy off the refinery. Five more valuable days elapsed, during which it was thought that M. Fould would return to his original decision. But the immediate result of the consultations during those days, was, that M. Fould announced that he was averse to negotiating with the proprietor of the refinery. Lord Cowley accordingly asked Mr. Cole at once to return to England to obtain a settlement of the question. He started, but had not proceeded beyond Creil, when he was telegraphed for to return. The following morning Dr. Playfair and Captain Fowke arrived in Paris. They, with Mr. Cole, proceeded to the British Embassy, and accompanying Lord Cowley, went to the Tuileries, where the party interviewed M. Fould, who agreed that a high wall should be erected between the sugar refinery and the fine arts building, and that injunctions should be imposed upon the refiners to take special precautions. On the 21st March—"With Playfair at the buildings. Went over the refinery with him. Met M. Fould there with architects; the building of the wall was agreed on."¹ A syndic of brokers had to be made aware of all that was taking place in respect of the refinery. On the 22nd March—"With Playfair to M. Fould; saw the syndic of the brokers. To refinery with syndic. Proprietors agreed to improve the premises, but hesitated to remove the retorts. Writing to M. Fould."¹ The manner in which the various forces required for the settlement of this question, were put and kept in operation until the desired end was obtained, is, I think, somewhat typical of my father's method of proceeding to effect a remedy. On the occasion of the Exhibition of 1867, twelve years later, the arrival of "ce terrible Cole" was announced at an evening party at the Tuileries by Marshal Vaillant, the then Minister of Fine Arts. The

¹ Diary.

remembrance evidently survived of an official, who, to get a wrong, great or small, rectified, seemed to have little hesitation in going, if circumstances appeared to require it, from secretary to minister, and minister to sovereign!

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OF 1855-
A. D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

XIII. The opening of the Exhibition had been fixed for the 1st May. But the delays in completing the building, and handing over the spaces assigned to the various countries to the respective commissioners, prevented the announced date from being adhered to. In the Palais de l'Industrie, the floor of the basement was being relaid on the 4th April! whilst in the annexe for the machinery, neither floor nor foundations were finished. "Works of all nations muddled, goods received at several parts of the building, no means for moving machinery, no goods removed into gallery, no derricks, but a large scaffold."¹ The issue of notifications about the opening ceremonial on the 1st May, was commenced on the 24th April, both M. Arlès-Dufour and M. Tresca seeming to think that the appointed time would be kept. However, the actual condition of the arrangements on the 27th April, made it evident that the Exhibition would not be ready. "Attempted several times to learn if the opening was delayed," but was unsuccessful. "Met M. Fould, who said that opening was postponed until 10th May."¹ The next day the postponement was extended to the 15th May. On the 6th May, a Sunday, the Emperor visited the Exhibition buildings, and Lord Cowley presented Mr. Cole, Dr. Playfair, Mr. Redgrave, and Captain Fowke to His Majesty. During the later days of preparing for the opening, difficulties were occasioned by the imperfect arrangements for receiving goods, as well as by certain red-tape rules which forbade the unpacking of objects in the buildings after the 10th May. Against these it became

Postpone-
ment of
opening of
the Exhibi-
tion.
Delays in
arrange-
ments.

¹ Diary.

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EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
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Part I.

necessary to remonstrate, especially in respect of valuable and fragile goods, which the French authorities maintained should be unpacked in the roads! A meeting of Foreign Commissioners was convened, and Baron Rothschild was asked to be the president of the meeting; Baron von Viebahn (Commissioner for Prussia) and Mr. Cole were requested to be vice-presidents. These delegates of the Foreign Commissioners waited upon the Prince Napoleon. On the following day (12th May), a discussion took place between the delegates and the Imperial Commission. At the meeting "Prince Napoleon stormed and smoked," whilst General Morin, Arlès-Dufour, Thibaudeau, the Prince's aide-de-camp, the architect, and others, "all jabbered away," the proceedings were "very animated, like an Irish row."¹ The opening ceremony took place on the 15th May, but it was neither "decorous nor imposing, no religious element, music feeble, and procession confused."¹ In the evening a ball given for the English poor at the Jardin d'Hiver, was "pretty, much more so than the morning's business."

Opening of
Exhibition.

Imperfections of
buildings.

XIV. Throughout the period of the Exhibition, complaints were frequent against the imperfections of the building. In one court the sun's heat melted wax objects, whilst the sunlight damaged the delicate colours of Oriental textiles, in another the rain poured in upon iron and steel, and other metal exhibits, and standing puddles slowly percolated into the ground. But besides these inconveniences, other annoyances were caused to exhibitors. Motive power for the machinery had been promised by the Imperial Commission, but by the 24th June no machines were regularly in motion. On the 25th, however, the French had afforded steam to themselves and not to the foreigners. At the suggestion of Captain Fowke, I think, it was proposed to put up a placard, "*Les machines ne marchent pas,*

¹ Diary.

faute de vapeur promise par la Commission Impériale," which was objected to by Mons. Le Play, who, however, felt the force of the statement by arranging that all the machinery, French and foreign, should be simultaneously provided with steam according to the original promise. Indeed, it is difficult to understand why any sort of difficulty should have arisen, as at the very time that the placard was proposed, there were two sets of pipes and boilers ready for supplying steam. It was said that the simultaneous supply of steam to foreign countries and to France, had been desired, but "technical difficulties only had prevented this."¹

PARIS
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OF 1855.
A. D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

XV. The numerous *contretemps* in official relations seem to have stimulated evidences of social kindness and hospitality, in the form of dinners, déjeuners, banquets, receptions, and such like. My father, not a fluent speaker of French, was sufficiently careful and deliberate to be able to make himself understood. On an occasion when the Foreign Commissioners dined together, he returned thanks in French, and proposed the health of the Emperor. His deed of daring was hailed with cries of "à l'alliance Anglaise," and he was assured that his speech had been "spirituel," "parfait comme votre Exposition," full of "humeur Anglaise," &c. Towards the end of July, the Foreign Commissioners entertained Prince Napoleon at dinner at the Jardin d'Hiver. The affair was organized chiefly by Monsieur Sallandrouze, but it was a "poor dinner" and "not well served," there being a perfect "scramble for coffee at the end of it."¹

Official hos-
pitalities.

XVI. One of the most brilliant incidents in Paris during the Exhibition, was the visit of Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Albert. Concerning this my father had made an extract from the "Life of the Prince Consort,"

Visit of
H. M. the
Queen to
Paris.

¹ Diary.

PARIS
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which he intended to insert in the course of his chapter upon the Paris Exhibition. It is the account mainly written by Her Majesty, of the arrival in France of the royal party and their reception by the Emperor. The Queen's yacht had drawn up alongside of the quay at Boulogne.

“At length the bridge was adjusted. The Emperor stepped across, and I met him half-way, and embraced him twice; after which he led me on shore amidst acclamations, salutes, and every sound of joy and respect. We four [the Queen, Prince, Prince of Wales, and Princess Royal] entered a landau carriage, and drove through the crowded and decorated streets, the Emperor escorting us himself on horseback, to the railway station, which was thronged with an enthusiastic crowd, largely composed of ladies.

“Brief halts were made at Abbeville and Amiens, where the same crowds and the same eager welcome awaited the Royal visitors. The beauty of the country between Amiens and Paris arrested the Queen's attention; but by this time ‘the sun got lower, and the Emperor became very anxious we should reach Paris. At length we passed St. Leu, Montmorency—both charmingly situated—then got a glimpse of Montmartre, my first sight of Paris and at last we passed the fortifications and Paris opened upon us We at length entered the *Gare du Chemin de Fer de Strasbourg*, which was lit up and beautifully decorated, lined with troops, and filled with people; Prince Napoleon, Maréchal Magnan, General Löwestein commanding the Garde Nationale. The coup-d'œil, as we proceeded to our carriage, was magnificent.’

“Imagine this beautiful city, with its broad streets and lofty houses, ‘decorated in the most tasteful manner possible, with banners, flags, arches, flowers, inscriptions, and finally illuminations, full of people, lined with troops, National Guards, and troops of the Line, and Chasseurs d’Afrique, beautifully kept, and most enthusiastic! And yet this gives but a faint notion of this triumph, as it was. There were endless cries of ‘*Vive la Reine d’Angleterre!*’ ‘*Vive l’Empereur!*’ ‘*Vive le Prince Albert!*’ The approaching twilight rather added to the beauty of the scene; and it was still quite light enough when we passed down the new *Boulevard de Strasbourg* (the Emperor's creation), and along the Boulevards,

by the Porte St. Denis, the Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde, and the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile.' Here the light failed, as the Royal cortége pursued its way through the Bois de Boulogne to St. Cloud. Troops, with their bands playing 'God save the Queen,' lined the whole route from the railway to the Palace, artillery, cavalry, *Cent-Gardes* (who are splendid), and last, but not least, to my great delight, at the Bridge of Boulogne, near the village and Palace of St. Cloud, the Zouaves, splendid troops in splendid dress, the friends of my dear Guards.

"In all this blaze of light from lamps and torches, amidst the roar of cannon, and bands and drums, and cheers, we reached the Palace. The Empress, with Princess Mathilde and the ladies, received us at the door, and took us up a beautiful staircase, lined with the splendid *Cent-Gardes*, who are magnificent men, very like our Life Guards We went through the rooms at once to our own, which are charming I felt quite bewildered, but enchanted ; everything is so beautiful !"

Her Majesty wrote this of the 18th of August. On the 20th, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and the Emperor, the Queen visited the Exhibition, going to the building for the Fine Arts first. There was great crowding at the entrance inside the building, but parts got clear afterwards. The Emperor asked if any English pictures were for sale. The pictures which appeared to attract most notice were those by Webster, Mulready, and Millais. The Princess Royal considered the "English works of course the best."¹ The Prince talked about the attempt of the Treasury to defeat a proposed grant of £15,000 for Kensington, and of his using all his influence to convince both Lord Palmerston and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the soundness of policy in making this grant. "I told His Royal Highness," writes my father, "the outlines of my Museum plan."¹ The Queen's next visit to the Exhibition was paid to the "Palais de l'Industrie," on the 22nd of August. The jurors

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OF 1855.

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Part I.

Visits of the
Queen to the
Exhibition.

¹ Diary.

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EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
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1853-1856.
Part I.

Grand Fête
at Versailles.

were to have stationed themselves in their respective divisions, but there was a want of supervision somewhere, and a procession was formed instead, which followed the Royal and Imperial party in their progress.¹

XVII. The grand fête at Versailles, in honour of the Queen's visit, was occupying English and other jurors' minds at this time. The drawing up of lists of persons to be invited, and attention to the claims for invitations put forward on all sides, became the subject of much consideration between Foreign Commissioners and the Emperor's Chamberlains. Three days before the fête a "fifth list had to be made."¹ On the 23rd, "Prince Albert came to the Palais de l'Industrie, and went through a good deal—made purchases."¹ M. Fould was of the party and praising the excellence of English pottery said, "nous arriverons à cela." Mr. Cole remarked that its admission into France was interdicted. To which M. Fould rejoined, with a friendly excuse for the prohibitive French duties on English pottery, that he supposed his compatriots were thought to be conservative of the enmity of forty years earlier.¹ Her Majesty the Queen, the Emperor, and the Prince, came to the Palais de l'Industrie the next day. Her Majesty visited the galleries, whilst the Prince went to the Machinery section; but there was only time enough for His Royal Highness to go hastily down one side of the long annexe.¹ The 25th August was the date of the Great Fête at Versailles. In the morning the distribution of invitation cards to British visitors, took place at the offices of the British Commission. My father's notes upon the fête² itself, are brief: "About 1,500 there. Fireworks. Illuminations. Waterworks. Saw the Queen dancing with the Emperor. No fête at Versailles since

¹ Diary.

² The cost of this fête is said to have been £20,000.

Marie Antoinette. Our carriage could not be found. Met Lord Ward. Home about 5 in the morning." ¹ Two days afterwards the Queen's visit came to an end. My father "witnessed procession of departure." "Strange," he notes, "that the first Napoleon should look down on it from the Place Vendôme." ¹

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XVIII. Early in September, the Council of the Society of Arts visited the Exhibition, and decided to present an address of congratulation upon the Exhibition to the Emperor. Mr. Cole "suggested the introduction of a Free Trade paragraph, which was inserted." ¹ The presentation of the Society's address was fixed for Sunday, 23rd September, and the deputation, consisting of Mr. Cole, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, Dr. Royle, Mr. Lucy, and Mr. Hollins, went down to St. Cloud, where the Emperor appointed to receive them. After the Emperor had received the address, Mr. Chadwick (whose eminent services at the Poor Law Board are well known) "talked for twenty minutes to the Emperor about drainage," ¹ likening His Majesty's extensive works for the sanitary improvement of Paris, to those carried out by Augustus at Rome.

Society of
Arts' depu-
tation to the
Emperor.

XIX. A short time previously to the closing of the Exhibition, Mr. Cole made a tour in the southern parts of France, for the purpose chiefly of inspecting the objects composing the famous Soulages collection, as well as for visiting various provincial museums of works of art. Upon his return, the mere business of hastening exhibitors to pack up their goods, and to clear out of the Exhibition buildings, seems to have been quite eclipsed by the more exciting operation of determining awards of, and considering claims for, decorations, medals, &c. The British jurors had much to contend against, in order to obtain what they could regard as fair awards for the exhibitors. Their patience was

Arrange-
ments con-
nected with
close of Ex-
hibition.

¹ Diary.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

Awards in
respect of
British Fine
Art.

frequently and severely tried by the French, who had a preponderating voice in the decisions of the International Jury. Whilst frequently hearing of complaints and seeming injustice, my father had little immediate concern with the work of the juries. On one occasion he notes that "all the French sculptors had voted for themselves; it was doubtful if any medal would be given to Gibson!" the sculptor. British Fine Art was apparently to be ignored altogether; and when it became known that the fourteenth position in either the second or third list had been assigned to Mr. Gibson, and that he was the only English sculptor rewarded, Lord Elcho, who was a British juror, withdrew the name of his nominee, and, in a similar way, other names were also withdrawn from the consideration of the jury, the British jurors determining that, in such cases, no awards would be preferable to unjust ones. This sort of action produced a result less unfavourable than that which had been originally intended, and at length the award of medals was in a measure concluded. Then followed the recommendation of names for Imperial decorations, such as the Legion of Honour. But the tone adopted by the French authorities, and the British regulations under which the award of foreign decorations, as a rule, is not officially recognized at home, seem to have induced my father to try and escape from offering advice. Several times he went to see Lord Cowley upon the subject. On the occasion of the last of such visits, Lord Cowley "thought we could not refuse if the Legion of Honour were personally given to us. There was no command against this, only it would not be recognized in England. He would write to Lord Stanley." My father, in reply, said that "if there was any option, he should certainly refuse."¹ Expecting that notifications of the awards of the Legion of Honour would be formally made, my father went home, and prepared

¹ Diary.

a letter in readiness to decline the honour. The public distribution of honours and medals, and closing ceremony, were to take place the following day (15th November), but for the evening of the 14th, Prince Napoleon, the President of the Imperial Commission, had issued invitations for a reception. My father dined that evening with Monsieur Sallandrouze, and later on went to the Palais Royal, where he met many of his brother commissioners, jurors, and others. The Prince received his guests, and then, when all had arrived, a secretary, bearing a despatch-box, and followed by two footmen, carrying a table, entered the room. The box was duly placed on the table, opened, and from it were taken a number of small cases. Names were called out, and Prince Napoleon, "without any consultation, gave us the Legion of Honour."¹ During the next three or four days, palpable omissions in the award of the Legion of Honour came to light. Eminent men, prominent colonial commissioners, leading engineers, manufacturers, and others, had been overlooked. My father spoke to the French authorities on their behalf, but they considered the better way would be for him to write to Prince Napoleon direct. Luckily he met the Prince in the Exhibition, and so spoke to him, and thus rectifications were made. In the meantime, "Prince Napoleon sent his secretary with crosses of Legion of Honour for absent jurors and others, but I declined to receive them."¹ An aversion to being mixed up in a business which could not receive official approval did not prevent my father from perceiving the humour of dilemmas which seemed to grow out of this foreign decoration business. A banquet was given by the Prefect of the Seine, to which the Foreign Commissioners

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A. D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

Private dis-
tribution of
the Legion
of Honour.

¹ Diary. My father subsequently arranged with his old friend M. Arlès-Dufour, that these decorations should

be sent out from the French offices instead of from those of the British Commission.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1855.
A.D.
1853-1856.
Part I.

were officially invited, after the Legion of Honour had been given to them ; but my father declined the invitation, because, as British Commissioner, " I could not wear the decoration, and would not go without it." ¹ Incidents like these became more or less known at Whitehall, and the subject of foreign decorations being conferred upon British civil servants, came before the consideration of the Government. " Lord Granville objected to Civil Service foreign decorations, and even to an order of merit." ¹ In the course of a visit to Prince Albert at Windsor, the Prince told my father that he " thought the distribution of decorations by the French an unfortunate business." ¹ One of the last acts of Mr. Cole as British Commissioner was to present Prince Napoleon with an " album of signatures of Foreign Commissioners," as a token of the Commissioners' personal esteem for His Imperial Highness. The Prince said he was much " touched " by the album. This took place on the 18th December, by which time the Exhibition buildings had been almost quite cleared out, the *déménagement* having begun on the 31st October, when my father's diary has the note: " In the evening, went to the Palais de l'Industrie, which was lighted by the electric light ; our forces commenced pulling down. Stayed all night."

In Vol. II. are given extracts from Mr. Cole's Report. These extracts relate to (1) " the Policy and Extent of Government interference in future Industrial Exhibitions ;" (2) " the Policy of naming Juries ;" and (3) " Summary of Measures to be taken in respect of any future Universal Exhibitions."

¹ Diary.



WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862.

I.



THE International Exhibition of 1862 was held in buildings, a main portion of which, namely, the Picture Galleries, were erected with a view to the possibility of their becoming permanent structures for purposes of science and art. These buildings occupied the whole of the site devoted to the present Natural History Museum in Cromwell Road, besides land west of the Horticultural Gardens in Queen's Gate. Mr. Cole's connection with the International Exhibition of 1862 was, perhaps, less publicly and nominally prominent than that with the Exhibition of 1851. Nevertheless, he occupied an important position as one of its promoters, and this at a time when his connection with the South Kensington estate was frequently criticized by the Press. His work for the Exhibition, as appears from notes and papers, seems to have been directed mainly on—1. focusing the attention of the Council of the Society of Arts upon the propriety of holding a Great Exhibition in 1861; 2. securing a stable financial basis upon which to carry

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.
A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A.D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Exhibition
of 1861 pro-
jected.

Music to be
a feature.

The plan
brought
before So-
ciety of Arts.

H.R.H. the
Prince
Consort
favourable
to the Exhi-
bition.

out the work ; 3. causing plans for buildings to be made ; 4. securing a site ; 5. influencing one of the foremost of London building contractors to undertake the work ; 6. helping to knit together influential forces for carrying out the organization and administration of the Exhibition ; 7. acting more or less as a despot with plenary powers on various occasions, during the progress of the work. Returning one evening (19th February, 1858) from the Society of Arts in company with Mr. Wentworth Dilke, his colleague in 1851, they discussed the holding of an Exhibition in 1861. Mr. Cole inclined to the idea that such an Exhibition should be limited to Fine Arts, including music, and he fondly pictured to himself the erection of a great Hall for musical performances, especially of a choral character. Mr. Dilke, however, argued in favour of Industrial productions of all sorts, and did not sympathize with the project for music. The question was not settled, though both agreed in the desirability that a great Exhibition of Industry and Fine Arts should be held.

II. The Society of Arts, the channel through which the Great Exhibition of 1851 had been successfully started, was unquestionably a most fitting means by which a second exhibition should be promoted. Accordingly, the idea was brought before the Council of the Society on the 3rd March. Its discussion was fixed for the 10th, and draft resolutions¹ were prepared for the Council. On the 24th March, resolutions in favour of an exhibition were passed by the Council. In the interim, the scheme had been discussed with the Prince Consort, who agreed to receive pro-

¹ 1. Whether the Society should at once announce its intention to direct and superintend an Exhibition in 1861 or any other year. 2. What should be the exact character of such an Ex-

hibition. 3. Whether the surplus funds, if any, should be applied by the Society to the advancement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

posals thereon from the Society of Arts. The funds for carrying out the great project, were to be raised, in the first instance, by a guarantee, the contributors to which were to have a voice in the disposal of such profits as might have accrued upon the close of the Exhibition.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862.

A. D. 1858-1863. Part I.

Guarantee Fund to be raised.

III. Some time before the guarantee was instituted, public correspondence as to the site of the projected Exhibition took place. Battersea Park, Hyde Park, and the South Kensington portion of the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners, were severally advocated. Circumstances pointed strongly to the advisability of using the land belonging to Her Majesty's Commissioners, and the interest of those authorities was therefore to be obtained as early as possible. On the 16th July, the Prince Consort intimated that he would advise Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, to guarantee £50,000. Here for a time matters rested. The scheme had been floated, and was discussed in the various quarters where discussion and consideration would lead to practical results.

Sites discussed.

Co-operation of H. M. Commissioners promised by Prince Consort.

IV. On the 28th August, my father, on the recommendation of Sir James Clark, left England to recruit his health by a six months' tour in Italy. He had been deeply engaged in the organization of the Science and Art Department and the South Kensington Museum, and had completely overworked himself. Between this time and his return to England, no very marked progress was made with the preliminaries for the Exhibition.

My father obliged to go abroad for his health.

V. Towards the end of 1858, the Council of the Society of Arts issued circulars announcing the Exhibition to foreign corresponding members of the Society, to foreign exhibitors individually, who had taken part in the Exhibition of 1851, and to the Society's members in this country, thus sowing the seeds of the project over a still larger area.

Issue of announcement of Exhibition.

VI. The 5th March, 1859, saw my father, greatly bene-

Return of my father.

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EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Form of
guarantee
discussed.

Society of
Arts to pro-
duce exhibi-
tors and
guarantee.

Plans for
buildings
discussed
with Captain
Fowke.
Policy of
H. M. Com-
missioners
for 1851.

Early sup-
porters of
guarantee.

fited by his Italian tour, back in England; and the following day he called on Mr. Wentworth Dilke, and had a long conversation with him about the proposed Exhibition, in the course of which a form of guarantee was sketched out.

VII. On the 11th March, the Prince Consort came to South Kensington. His Royal Highness argued that before the Commissioners (of 1851) could assent to become the managers of the enterprise, upon the Society of Arts should devolve the responsibility of producing exhibitors and a guarantee. "I urged him to put his name to the guarantee, saying he was virtually the Commission."¹ The Prince, however, did not at this time acquiesce in such a course.

VIII. The building and estimates for carrying out the work, now engaged attention. The principles to regulate the construction of the buildings, were discussed with Captain Fowke, R.E., who was then engaged at the Science and Art Department. A scheme of policy for the Commissioners of 1851, was being framed at this time by Mr. Bowring (Secretary to the Commissioners), who asked my father, by the Prince Consort's desire, to prepare an estimate of expenditure for the Exhibition of 1861. The late Marquess of Salisbury was at this time Lord President of the Council, and became interested in the Exhibition, and agreed to support the Guarantee Fund to the amount of £5,000. Mr. Wentworth Dilke had taken charge of the form of guarantee, which seems to have been frequently discussed without any immediate result. Little progress beyond such as might be made by promises of support privately given, was effected with the guarantee. Mr. Kelk (now Sir John Kelk, Bart.), the contractor for buildings for the South Kensington Museum, supported the endeavours to promote the scheme by agreeing to

¹ Diary.

tender for the erection of buildings for the Exhibition, and generously undertook to allow £50,000 to be left unpaid for a time, in respect of what might be permanent erections.

IX. In the April of 1859, the Franco-Austrian war was imminent—"ready to break out like small pox," as Mr. Milner Gibson observed.¹ My father held to the opinion that war need not be a sufficient cause for postponing the Exhibition. Mr. Wentworth Dilke and others thought differently. On the 27th April, Mr. Cole was at Windsor submitting to the Prince Consort the plans which he, Captain Fowke, and Mr. R. Redgrave had prepared, for laying out the northern part of Her Majesty's Commissioners' estate as ornamental gardens surrounded by arcades, with the view of these gardens being used by the Royal Horticultural Society, when "a telegram arrived from Lord Malmesbury announcing the entrance of the Austrians into Piedmont."¹ After this, the International Exhibition was put aside as impracticable for the time, but so far as the use of the Commissioners' land at South Kensington was concerned, thought was turned to the Royal Horticultural Society and the plans just mentioned. On the 3rd June, public announcement of the postponement of the Exhibition, was made by the Society of Arts. But this did not drive the guarantee fund out of mind, and many private promises of support were secured about this time.

X. Towards the autumn (6th September), Mr. Cole was engaged in drawing up a new form of guarantee for the Exhibition of 1861. Later on (2nd October), "Dilke called, and said he was discouraged by members of the Government from proceeding with the Exhibition;"¹ why, however, was not clear. The events of the Franco-Austrian war had rapidly succeeded one another. The peace concluded at

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862.

A. D. 1858-1863. Part I.

Mr. Kell's offer as to erecting buildings. Franco-Austrian war breaks out.

Plans for using part of Commissioners' estate for ornamental gardens submitted to Prince.

Postponement of Exhibition on account of war.

Progress with guarantee.

Holding of Exhibition discouraged.

¹ Diary.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Resumption
of work by
Society of
Arts, and
Exhibition
announced
for 1862.

Marquess of
Chandos
invited to
become a
trustee of
Guarantee
Fund.

Other trust-
ees.

Lord Gran-
ville as a
trustee.

Villa Franca, was now nearly three months old, so that there seemed to be nothing on the score of war, which should further delay the Exhibition. The disposition to shirk the work became less marked in different quarters. Resolutions setting forth the advantage of at once proceeding with the Exhibition, were framed, taken to Windsor on the 1st November, and submitted to the Prince Consort, who said that he considered my father's view of the situation was "unimpeachable."¹ The Society of Arts accordingly resumed its operations in favour of the Exhibition,² which was now announced to take place in 1862.³

XI. On the 11th November, 1859, a deputation from the Society of Arts waited on Lord Chandos, to ask him, as Chairman of the London and North Western Railway, to support the Exhibition, and to become a trustee of the Guarantee Fund, of which Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., Mr. Wentworth Dilke, and Mr. Thomas Fairbairn, Chairman of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, also became trustees.

XII. But before public announcement was made of the Guarantee Fund and its trustees, it was felt to be desirable to seek Lord Granville's co-operation as a trustee. A preliminary list of names of guarantors had been prepared, and was submitted to Lord Granville in evidence of what the public might be expected to do. The form of Guarantee (which had been the subject of so much talk) was agreed upon, at a meeting of the "Exhibition Committee" of the Society of Arts, on the 17th January, 1860. This step was at once made use of to obtain further private promises for the Guarantee Fund⁴ which soon reached £140,000. By the 28th February, the trustees and nominal managers of

¹ Diary.

² "Society of Arts agreed to my resolutions for a second Exhibition of Art and Industry" (Diary, 2nd Nov.).

³ Sir T. Phillips' address, Nov. 18th, 1859, Society of Arts.

⁴ *Memorandum*.—The Council of the Society of Arts have prepared the

the Exhibition of 1862, had come into official being; and on this day, the Society of Arts sent a deputation to wait upon the Prince Consort, and lay before him a draft of the Trust Deed upon which the Council of the Society proposed to raise a guarantee fund of not less than £250,000. After the deputation had withdrawn, the Prince expressed his anxiety that the plans should be pressed forward. But matters which equally called for settlement, were the formation of the Guarantee Fund, negotiating the terms upon which the land for the Exhibition might be obtained from the Commissioners of 1851, and how the management of the Exhibition was to be provided for.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862.

A. D. 1858-1863.

Part I.

Deputation from Society of Arts to Prince Consort.

XIII. On the 7th March, "To Council of the Society of Arts to move the appointment of a Committee to negotiate a lease with Her Majesty's Commissioners,"¹ and the following day the letter quoted,² was addressed to the Secre-

Commencement of negotiations between Society of Arts and H. M. Commissioners as to lease of land for Exhibition.

form of a Guarantee deed, for the purpose of raising funds to enable the International Exhibition of 1862 to be held. Before issuing it, they are desirous of obtaining a few names of leading representatives of great commercial interests, to be added to the names of some members of the Society of Arts who have begun the Subscription List.

Managers of the Exhibition named, are the Earl Granville, K.G., Lord President of the Privy Council; the Marquis of Chandos, Chairman of the London and North Western Railway; Thomas Baring, Esq., M.P., and C. Wentworth Dilke, Esq., Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, and Thomas Fairbairn, Esq., Chairman of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition.

The principal conditions of the Guarantee deed are—1st. That no subscriber will have any liability until at least £250,000 have been subscribed. 2nd. That no calls will be made unless it should happen that, contrary to the experience of the Exhibition of 1851, when there was a surplus of £200,000, there should be a loss, when the call will be *pro rata*. 3rd. Any surplus will be at the disposal of the guarantors, for the promotion of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. 4th. The Trustees and

Already a few members of the Society of Arts, and other private and public interests, have privately subscribed about £140,000.

The subscriptions from individuals vary from £10,000 down to £100.

¹ Diary.

² Society of Arts, &c.,
8th March, 1860.

SIR,—I am directed by the Council of the Society of Arts to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,

INTER-
NATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

H. R. H.
Prince Con-
sort and con-
ditions of
lease of land
by H. M.
Commissioners to
Society of
Arts.

The Prince's
guarantee of
£10,000.

Progress
with Gua-
rantee Fund.

tary of Her Majesty's Commissioners. At a meeting with His Royal Highness and Mr. Bowring at Buckingham Palace on the 26th March, the Prince said that he thought the Society of Arts might have ground for the Exhibition on the Commissioners' estate, without rent. If permanent buildings were maintained, then a rent should be charged. His Royal Highness did not however approve of a large Hall as a permanent building. Throughout the month of March my father seems to have obtained many private promises of support, varying from £300 to £1,000 each, towards the Guarantee Fund. On the 31st March, the Prince asked whether his guarantee should be £5,000 or £10,000, and finally agreed to the suggestion that he would guarantee £10,000 when £240,000 had been obtained. The Prince's decision in this respect was formally communicated to the Society of Arts through General Grey.¹

XIV. The Society's movements as made were all published in their weekly Journal, and soon after the announcement of the Prince's support of the Guarantee Fund, over

a copy of the Guarantee Agreement, by which the Society seeks to secure the means of holding an International Exhibition of Art and Industry in 1862, and to express a hope that the Council may receive the co-operation of Her Majesty's Commissioners, collectively and individually, in the undertaking.

I am also directed by the Council to inquire, whether, considering the interest of the Society of Arts in the permanent buildings to be erected, the Commissioners will now grant a portion of the ground at South Kensington, purchased out of the surplus funds of the Exhibition of 1851, for the purpose of holding Exhibitions of Art and Industry, and for other purposes tending to the encouragement of

Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and, if so, on what terms.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

P. LE NEVE FOSTER,
Secretary.

Edgar A. Bowring, Esq.,
Secretary to the Royal
Commissioners for the

Exhibition of 1851, &c., &c.

¹ General Grey wrote to Mr. Cole on the 6th April:—"I have written by the Prince's desire to Mr. Foster, and have intimated, as you suggest, H. R. H.'s readiness, when the public interest shall have manifested itself to the extent of subscribing £240,000 to a Guarantee Fund, to make up whatever may be required to complete the full amount."

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.A.D.
1858-1863.
Part I.Bradford
and Guar-
antee Fund.

£260,000 were promised. At one time, the support of the guarantee in the provinces was slightly jeopardized by the suspicions of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, which, however, were soon allayed. The incident seems to have interest at the present day, when the formation of provincial museums and institutions for benefiting instruction in science and art, is occupying attention. Towns and public bodies in the provinces which subscribed to the Exhibition in 1851, entertain the idea that they have a right to claim a share in the pecuniary results realized directly and indirectly from that Exhibition. It may therefore be of use to give here the account in full of the Bradford incident.

The following is a Report of a Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at Bradford :—

A communication from the Council of the Society of Arts, addressed to Mr. John Darlington, as a Member of the Society, asking him to join the Guarantee Fund of £250,000, for the proposed Exhibition of 1862, was read to the meeting. Mr. Behrens observed that the Guarantee Fund subscribed in respect to the Exhibition of 1851, amounted to £70,000. That sum was drawn from the subscribers, and no account had been given of it, although the Exhibition was said to have realised a surplus of £200,000. He moved that the Secretary be instructed to acknowledge the letter from the Council of the Society of Arts, and ask for information as to what had been done with the previous Guarantee Fund. Mr. Douglas asked whether there might not have been some misconception as to whether it was a Guarantee Fund. Mr. Behrens said that the promoters did not say it was a Guarantee Fund, but everybody else understood it to be a Guarantee Fund. The subscribers had no legal right; they subscribed *bonâ fide*; but he thought the *gentlemen in common honesty* ought to have given account of *their stewardship*. The amount of guarantee was £70,000, which was subscribed and paid. The Chairman expressed a doubt whether the Exhibition would pay. Mr. Behrens said he hoped it would never take place. The motion was seconded by Mr. Douglas and agreed to.

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OF 1862.
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1858-1863.
Part I.

Mr. Titus Salt having asked Mr. Cole, a Vice-President of the Society of Arts, to give him an answer to the above statements, Mr. Cole addressed to him the following letter :—

“DEAR MR. SALT,—I am very glad that you ask me for an explanation of some statements made before your Bradford Chamber of Commerce, on the Financial Management of the Exhibition of 1851. In the report of the meeting which you gave me, I find it stated that in '51 a Guarantee Fund was subscribed for £70,000, and that no account had been given of it, although the Exhibition realised a surplus of £200,000. Here are two mistakes. First, the Guarantee Fund which was formed was not for £70,000, but exceeded £350,000; and, secondly, a full account of all the receipts and expenditure of the Exhibition *was printed*, published, and laid before Parliament in 1852. The First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, contains not only the financial account, but the most minute statistical information of all kinds, illustrating the cost of everything, and even the number of buns eaten, which amounted to 1,800,000. (See page 150.)

“I think I should best make the matter quite clear by telling you, in detail, the financial arrangements of 1851. The public were invited to *subscribe*, and were told, at the same time, that all subscriptions were *absolute* and *final*, and that any surplus would be applied in promoting future Exhibitions. I send you some extracts from the printed decisions, which were circulated by hundreds of thousands throughout the kingdom. The public subscribed £67,896 before the Exhibition opened, and paid this sum. When the period arrived to make a contract for the building, this amount was found to be quite insufficient. The question then arose, who was to take the responsibility of ordering the building? The Prince Consort and others personally entered into a guarantee which amounted to about £350,000. Of this amount, the Prince subscribed £10,000, Sir Morton Peto £50,000, and others subscribed large sums, from £10,000 downwards. Upon this guarantee, the Bank of England made the necessary advances to enable the Exhibition to be realised. The subscriptions alone were not sufficient for the purpose, and if the guarantee had not been formed in addition, the Exhibition could not have taken place. After wind-

ing up all the accounts, there was a surplus of £173,000. Upwards of eighty memorials or letters were presented to the Commissioners, suggesting various modes of spending the money. Some one suggested the formation of a Museum of Aboriginal Products; another, a Free Hospital for all Nations; another, the alleviation of Irish and Highland destitution; an Irishman suggested the purchase of an estate in Ireland for Prince Albert. In fact, everybody seemed to forget that the Commissioners had *pledged* themselves to apply the surplus to promote future exhibitions. The Commissioners took the most practical step to enable this to be done, and the best proof of it is that another Exhibition will take place in 1862. The Commissioners, instead of spending their money, or scattering it among all the wild projects suggested, invested it in the purchase of land, which they bought at a very moderate outlay. Since the purchase was made, the value of the land has increased nearly fourfold in less than nine years. The prudence of this step in every point of view was great. The chief difficulty in the last Exhibition was the provision of a site, and the Exhibition was nearly stopped by the repugnance of the House of Commons to the use of Hyde-park, for the purpose of holding the Exhibition. Even after the Exhibition had brilliantly succeeded, the Crystal Palace could not be kept standing because it was in Hyde-park. By the foresight of the Commissioners in securing land near the metropolis, they are now enabled to offer 16 acres of land not only for holding the next Exhibition, but are willing that it should be secured for this purpose in perpetuity.

"I send you a little woodcut, which shows where the 16 acres of land are. They are within a third of a mile of the site of the Exhibition of 1851, and a Bill is now before Parliament to enable a railway to deposit people and goods actually in the Exhibition, and by means of it the members of your Chamber of Commerce will be able to come up from Bradford, and return the same day if they think fit.

"It was proved to demonstration, in 1850, that the Great Exhibition must be a commercial failure. It was also proved, in a most mathematical way, that the building would be blown down. Instead of a failure, there was a great profit, and the building was not blown away. With such facts, it is not necessary to discuss the apprehensions of any that the Exhibition of 1862 will be a failure.

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“That Exhibition will assuredly be much more interesting in its display of machinery and manufactures than the former one, as the world has not stood still during the last ten years, and experience makes exhibitors, as well as other people, more perfect. Moreover, the next Exhibition will contain Fine Arts and Music, which the last Exhibition did not illustrate; and I have great hope of seeing your vigorous townsman, Mr. Smith, bringing up a troupe of Yorkshire voices to show how well they can sing in 1862.

“As for subscribing to the guarantee, it is no longer necessary for its pecuniary success, as the quarter of a million is very nearly completed. As a testimony of goodwill towards the promotion of manufactures and peace between nations, I should hope your Bradford friends will not think it becoming to abstain from subscribing to it. In the present case they may like to know that the disposal of the surplus will rest with those who subscribe to the guarantee, and it will be very satisfactory to find—if there should be a surplus—that they have made better use of it, if that be possible, than the Commissioners of 1851 did of theirs.

“Yours faithfully,

“HENRY COLE.

“Titus Salt, Esq., M.P.”

EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS IN 1851.

“Her Majesty's Commissioners having undertaken the absolute control over the expenditure of all money that may come into the hands of their treasurers, have made arrangements for auditing accounts and ensuring the strictest economy.

“Should any surplus remain, after giving every facility to the exhibitors, and increasing the privileges of the public as spectators, Her Majesty's Commissioners intend to apply the same to purposes strictly in connection with the ends of the Exhibition, or for the establishment of similar Exhibitions for the future.

“All subscriptions must be absolute and definite.”

17, Onslow Square, 5th May, 1860.

XV. The Council of the Society decided on the 25th May, to make a formal application to Her Majesty's Commissioners, for the grant of a site upon which the Exhibition buildings might be erected. In this matter my father

Council of
Society of
Arts applies
to H.M.
Commissioners for
at of site.

appears to have acted as *amicus curiæ* to both parties, namely, Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Society of Arts. One of his principal thoughts was not only to secure the land for the Exhibition of 1862, but to obtain some agreement with the Commissioners under which subsequent exhibitions might be held. The subjoined papers¹ were

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Provision of
buildings for
future exhi-
bitions.

¹ *Memorandum on the Lease of Ground at South Kensington, proposed to be granted to the Society of Arts by the Commissioners for the Exhibition, 1851.*

1. All parties are agreed that an Exhibition may be held in 1862, without payment of ground rent.

2. It must be settled at once, upon what conditions any buildings of a permanent character, which shall have been paid for at the risk of the guarantors, shall remain on the ground after 1862.

3. Such buildings will have been placed on the ground for the precise object of holding an International Exhibition in 1862, as well as future similar Exhibitions.

4. The Commissioners hold this ground for the purpose of establishing Exhibitions. The Commissioners, on the 14th February, 1850, resolved "that any surplus funds which may remain after the proposed object of the Exhibition shall have been accomplished, will be funded by the Commissioners for the establishment of future Exhibitions of a similar nature" (see Minutes of Sixth Meeting), and they accepted £67,896 from the Public on these conditions. The Public, as represented by the original subscribers in 1850; by the Society of Arts, which surrendered in 1850 its legal claim to half the surplus profit of the Exhibition of 1851; by the guarantors of the quarter of a million at the present time subscribed for,

and by the Society of Arts, which, by these guarantors, is made Trustees of any permanent buildings, this Public it may be foreseen will surely demand that the Commissioners shall perform their engagements, notwithstanding any modification of power introduced into their second Charter.

5. It will perhaps be sufficiently satisfactory to the public, if the Commissioners give the requisite pledge that the ground shall be available for an exhibition in 1872, should the Public then desire to hold one. The Society has no wish to occupy the uncovered ground during the interval, but would have been prepared to do so, and even provide for the payment of a rental, in order to prevent any misappropriation of the ground to other objects. It would be a better arrangement for all parties, if the Commissioners held this ground themselves. It would not be difficult to arrange for what uses and upon what terms the Society of Arts might occupy the permanent buildings, when not used for International Exhibitions. These buildings will probably be a large hall, greatly wanted for many important public objects, together with some well-lighted brick galleries. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the Council of the Society of Arts, with the Prince Consort as its President, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl Granville, the Lord Ashburton, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Dilke, among its Vice-Presidents, would be

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A.D.
1858-1863.

Part I.

Grant of site
by H. M.
Commissioners.

prepared by him at the time. Her Majesty's Commissioners eventually granted the land rent-free for the purposes of the Exhibition of 1862.

more likely to misuse the buildings than the Commissioners themselves, who consist of nearly the same parties, and who are less responsible to the Public than the Council of the Society of Arts, which is elected annually by 2,000 voluntary constituents belonging to all classes; and the motives for misuse would certainly be reduced, if the Commissioners did not require the Society of Arts to pay any rental for the grounds occupied by buildings of so obvious a public character.

6. The Finance Committee would therefore, perhaps, prefer to substitute the following proposal for the third printed proposition before them. "If on or before the 31st December, 1862, the Society of Arts shall give notice that they desire to keep on the ground, buildings which have cost £50,000 or more, the Commissioners shall undertake to reserve for the purpose of a future Exhibition, the uncovered ground, until the year 1873, in order that an International Exhibition may take place, should the Public desire it, at that time; and further, that the Commissioners shall agree with the Society of Arts to allow the Society to hold possession of such buildings rent free, for such uses, as shall be determined by an arbitration of three persons, each party naming one, and the two nominees appointing an umpire."

H. C.

17 May, 1860.

Terms proposed for leasing the Ground at South Kensington to the Society of Arts, to enable International Exhibitions of Art and Industry to

be held, and Permanent Buildings for promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, to be erected. —

1. The ground to consist of 16 acres at the Southern end of the quadrangle bounded on the South by Cromwell-road.

2. A sum of £24,000 (being at the rate of 3 per cent. annually for ten years on the original cost of the ground, say £5,000 an acre) to be chargeable on every Decennial International Exhibition held on the ground, as part of the ground rental.

3. The ground to be held by the Society of Arts for the next exhibition, and for a term of [31] years dating from [the closing of the next exhibition], if it shall then be determined that any buildings will be permanently held by the Society. At the termination of the next, and at each subsequent, exhibition, after paying the expenses of such exhibition, a sum of [£24,000] is to be paid to the Commissioners by the Managers of the Exhibition, and if not so paid, it is to be considered as a charge upon the proceeds of the ground and buildings held by the Society.

4. The Society, out of any receipts for using the ground and buildings during the ten years' intervals when exhibitions are not held, is to pay—

1st. The expenses of maintaining the ground and permanent buildings in proper order.

2nd. If necessary, the sum of £24,000 chargeable on each exhibition, or such portions as may be unpaid after the close of each exhibition.

XVI. In whose hands the management of the Exhibition was to be vested, was a question which soon engaged the attention of all who were concerned in promoting the Exhibition. His Royal Highness the Prince Consort had, almost throughout, been averse to the Commissioners for 1851 undertaking the management; and there was possibly a general consent that such work might be more effectively carried out if entrusted to a less numerous body. The Trustees of the Guarantee Fund, personally and *ex officio*, appeared best qualified to become the directing authorities of the Exhibition of 1862. Having accepted this view, the Council of the Society of Arts commenced a correspondence with the Trustees on the 15th June. The letters which passed between the Trustees and the Council of the Society, were printed for private circulation. The negotiations concluded on the 22nd November, when Lord Granville, the Marquess of Chandos, Mr. Thomas Baring, Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, and Mr. Thomas Fairbairn, intimated their willingness to accept the trust offered to them, on the understanding that the Council of the Society of Arts took measures for giving legal effect to the guarantee, and for obtaining a charter of incorporation satisfactory to them. On the 25th November, Mr. Cole had drawn up a draft charter to incorporate the Trustees as Commissioners for

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Trustees of
guarantee
invited by
Society
of Arts to
become,
Managers.

Draft Char-
ter prepared.

3rd. To pay as a further rental during the intervals between each exhibition, half of any profits that may arise from the use of the ground and buildings. The accounts are to be rendered annually.

5. The expenses of maintenance and uses of the ground and buildings, are to be determined by a Committee, consisting of three persons named by the Commissioners, and three per-

sons named by the Council of the Society.

6. If after holding two exhibitions, and having the use of the buildings and ground for ten years, the Society should be unable to pay the sum of £24,000 in respect of the ten years preceding the last exhibition, then the Commissioners are to have the power of re-entering and selling the buildings, paying the arrears of rent, and handing the surplus, if any, to the Society of Arts.

INTER-
NATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Lord Gran-
ville wishes
to secure my
father's ser-
vices.

The Com-
missioner's
invitation to
my father to
be joint
manager
declined.

Cost of
buildings
discussed.

the Exhibition of 1862. The charter was granted on the 14th February, 1861.

XVII. In the meanwhile, Lord Granville, as nominal President of the new Commission, began to consider the appointment of an executive. "How," asked he of my father, "can we engage you?" "Who is to be secretary, and who manager?"¹ My father gives no note of his answers. Six months afterwards the conversation was renewed. Lord Granville expressed his desire that my father should take office under the Commissioners for the Exhibition, and act in a capacity similar to that in which he had worked in 1851. He urged his desire in the most generous and frank manner. My father, however, felt that he ought not to give up his work even temporarily, at the South Kensington Museum and the Department of Science and Art. He was, he told Lord Granville, at his disposal, "to assist, 1, the Exhibition, 2, Lord Granville personally, 3, the Society of Arts, and 4, to protect his own guarantee."¹ On the following day (6th April, 1861), the Commissioners for the Exhibition met at the offices in the Strand. "They proposed I should be joint manager with Colonel Shadwell at £1,500 a-year, and give up the department." "I declined to give up the department and to have responsibility, with or without a colleague, not for £5,000 a-year."² The terms eventually agreed upon were that he should be a general adviser, and receive a fee of £1,500, foregoing three months of his official salary at the Department of Science and Art.

XVIII. Returning now to the relation of other incidents as they unfolded themselves from November, 1860: on the 30th November, there was a meeting of Lords Granville and Chandos, Messrs. Dilke and Fairbairn, and Mr. Cole, to discuss Captain Fowke's plans for the building. The plans

¹ Diary, April 5th, 1861.

² Diary.

had been maturing since the early months of 1859. The expense of the building was at first proposed to be fixed at £150,000, but it seems that eventually £200,000 was agreed upon as the limit. "Lord Chandos doubted if the great music hall should be built. All agreed that the Exhibition should be as large as 1851, for manufactures and machinery." Two days afterwards, Mr. Kelk offered to erect the buildings for £200,000, leaving £50,000 in respect of the more permanent portions, to be paid later on. On the 4th December, the Prince Consort came to the South Kensington Museum and inspected Captain Fowke's plans; and the same day, the Commissioners authorized the preparation of working drawings for the nave and lateral roofs.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862.

A. D. 1858-1863.
Part I.

Mr. Kelk's offer to erect buildings.

Working drawings authorized.

XIX. Mr. Cole drew up the conditions of the contract for the building, pressed on the preparation of the working drawings, and was in constant communication with the Commissioners, amongst whom there were at times so many opinions, that the erection of the building was well nigh despaired of. Besides this, a jealousy was stirring in the architectural profession, on account of the part Captain Fowke was taking as architect of the buildings. Lord Granville, who felt the difficulties of the situation as keenly as anyone, asked Mr. Cole's advice, which was that either the Commissioners should take "our plans and give us power to carry them out, or else get others: but do not divide the responsibility."

Conditions of contract for erecting buildings.

Architects' jealousy of Captain Fowke.

XX. A few extracts from the diary may serve to indicate the conditions under which the plans were made, and the works eventually undertaken:—

17 Jan., 1861. "To Council Office, gave 3 drawings to S. for the Commissioners' approval. D. with his old story that the great hall was too high! F. wished to show the working drawings at once to contractors." 18th Jan. "Bow-

Plans and tenders for buildings.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Modifica-
tions neces-
sary to
reduce cost.

Costs
limited.

Erection
of great hall
given up.

ring came to South Kensington. Fowke met Lord Chandos and Fairbairn about the plans. They said they considered them settled." 30th Jan. "Lord Chandos and Fairbairn proposed to supersede all Fowke's working drawings, and invite contractors to make their own, but I advised Fowke to refuse the use of his plan on those terms, which he did. Lord Chandos then went into details concerning concrete!" At length, on the 9th February, the plans being settled, tenders for building were sent in; the highest was for £700,000, the lowest for £610,000. This last was sent in by Messrs. Kelk and Lucas. The £610,000 was far beyond the amount the Commissioners had contemplated, and Captain Fowke had forthwith to modify his plans. A limit of £400,000 was agreed upon by the Commissioners. The matter was discussed with Mr. Kelk, who acquiesced in a proposal that half the cost of the building should be paid for, and that the payment of the other half should be contingent upon the success of the Exhibition. On the 12th February, Messrs. Kelk and Lucas drafted a tender for £390,000—£225,000 were to be paid as the works went on, and the balance after the receipts of the Commissioners had reached £375,000. Under this arrangement the picture galleries, the great hall, and the nave would have been built in a permanent manner, and the rest of the buildings would have consisted of shedding. The draft tender was however, put aside, and a contract was agreed to and made for £300,000 only: £200,000 to be paid at first, and £100,000 after Commissioners' receipts amounted to £400,000. The idea of a great hall was threatened with modifications, and in a few days "Fowke proposed that the great hall should be given up to secure all the rest, and I agreed."¹ At the board meeting on the same day at South Kensing-

¹ Diary.

ton, "Lord Granville¹ said to Mr. Lowe,² 'we must give up the hall, a little hall wouldn't do;' and Mr. Lowe added, 'A little lion does not answer for a great one.'" On the 27th February, "Lord Chandos and Mr. Fairbairn came and examined the ground; expressed a hope that Fowke had left space for the great hall, as it might be erected after all!" On the 19th March, "Mr. Lowe wished me to devise some plan by which the great hall could be erected." 21st March. "Called on Mr. Lowe with scheme for erecting the great hall; he said he was struck with my resources." However, Lord Granville thought the proposal to form a company for erecting the hall, was not practicable. Thus for a time the "great hall" scheme fell to the ground.³

XXI. The Commissioners used to meet at offices in the Strand. Their deliberations on certain occasions were "all hurry and no system," "all talk and no progress."⁴ On another, there is "despair of the Commissioners working well."⁴ Although my father had declined to undertake the executive work of the Exhibition, it was suggested to him that he should nevertheless take it up. "The executive," he was told, "as in 1851, would push out the Commissioners."⁴ The appointments made by the Commissioners in some instances he considered "bad," in others "doubtful." Certain agreements they entered into, were, he thought, "against their interests." There were "delay in decisions," and "mistakes" in providing for the convenience of exhibitors.

XXII. Again was he urged to become an executive officer, but again he declined. "I did not wish to be named on the staff, but if it were wished, should propose being called 'consulting officer.'⁴ As such, his opinion was sought

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Mr. Lowe
and his sup-
port of my
father's
scheme for a
great hall.

Notes upon
Commissioners'
meetings.

My father as
"consulting
officer."

¹ Lord-President of the Council.

² Vice-President.

³ An account of the building for the Exhibition of 1862, was written by my

father, and published by Chapman and Hall towards August, 1861.

⁴ Diary.

INTER-
NATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Friction
between
Building
Committee
and con-
tractors.

A Commis-
sioner re-
buked.

Mosaics for
exterior of
Exhibition.

Death of
H. R. H. the
Prince Con-
sort.

and given upon every conceivable matter respecting the construction and decoration of the building, the allotment of space, the arrangement of objects, the plan for framing the catalogue, the contract with refreshment purveyors, and the appointment and functions of juries. He was called upon to reconcile all sorts of differences, as, for instance, when the progress of the buildings was jeopardized by a quarrel between a "Building Committee" appointed by the Commissioners, and the contractors. At times he felt obliged to tell the Commissioners "that the work was not going on well, and was in peril," then to go so far as to rebuke a Commissioner for frequently dividing the Committee upon the decision of the chairman. For which latter he was asked not to wound the Commissioner's vanity! "You are scarcely in a position," he was told, "to say to him as Bethell did to a solicitor, 'I have given you my opinion, go home to your chambers, and apply what you call your mind to it.'" ¹

XXIII. Some time before the buildings of the Exhibition were completed, the decoration of their principal façade in Cromwell Road, was discussed. My father proposed to place a series of wall pictures in mosaics along this façade, and for these, the following Royal Academicians—Mulready, Hook, Cope, Horsley, Maclise, together with Holman Hunt and others, agreed to make designs. The Marquess of Salisbury consented to be the chairman of the committee for carrying out the work, and Messrs. Mintons and Messrs. Simpson made experimental mosaics with success. Subscriptions were obtained, and during the year of the Exhibition full-sized cartoons, representing "Sheep-shearing" (by Cope), and "Fishing" (by Hook), were produced.

XXIV. In December, 1861, the death of the Prince Consort

¹ Diary.

seemed to threaten the accomplishment of the Exhibition. From this time until the close of the Exhibition, Mr. Cole was continuously consulted, and advised upon many matters of detail. Difficulties had to be smoothed down in almost every direction. He frequently alludes to the apparent want of a central control over the general administration. Petty questions, as, for instance, the payment of four pounds to a draughtsman, were formally considered by one committee and solemnly referred by it to another. "I will not believe," writes my father, "that the Commissioners can have passed a minute to refer the case of a man receiving weekly payments to the Finance Committee, consisting of the Controller of the National Debt, a Privy Councillor, and others!" Opinions were numerous and divided upon the decoration of the building. The reception of goods at the building was insufficiently organized. The scheme for appointing jurors, and specifying their duties, was prepared "without consulting me."¹ At a meeting of the Commissioners, "pointed out absurdities in proposed modes of working the juries," upon which the Duke of Buckingham "thought I had concurred in them."¹ On the 10th January, "determined to go out of town and leave such a Commission to itself."¹ However, Mr. Cole did not go.

XXV. A public road across Hyde Park was wanted. At that time it was considered essential that the traffic should be concealed. Captain Fowke prepared a plan to this end. For some weeks Mr. Cole, Captain Fowke, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Hawkshaw, and Mr. Kelk were engaged in pressing their opinions upon Mr. W. Cowper, then First Commissioner of Works; but Captain Fowke's design was not carried out. The use of the existing road by carriages, cabs, &c., was eventually sanctioned.

XXVI. Responsibility in taking precautions to insure

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.
Adminis-
tration of
the Exhi-
bition.

Public road
across Hyde
Park.

Difficulties
in adminis-
tration.

¹ Diary.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Arrangements for
State ceremony of
opening Exhibition.

Management of ceremonial
delegated to
Mr. Cole.

the safety of the valuable pictures sent to the Exhibition, was repudiated. "R. Redgrave came to me in grief about the pictures, for which, if damaged, the Commissioners would not be responsible."¹ By the end of February, the frictions between the various bodies engaged in the Exhibition had become so frequent, that "unless there was a radical change the Exhibition would not be opened." A change was effected, and Mr. (now Sir Francis) Sandford was appointed sole manager, to consult Mr. Cole as occasion might require.

XXVII. As the date for the opening approached, the state ceremony to be then observed was duly considered. Distinguished musicians (Sterndale Bennett, Verdi, Auber, Meyerbeer) had been invited by the Commissioners to compose special music for the occasion, which was to be performed under one of the great domes. Mr. Costa² accepted the office of conductor. The question of reserving seats for spectators was fully discussed, and the principle assented to. 14th March: "With Commissioners about opening ceremony. Assented to dividing the ceremony in three places. Fairbairn and Duke of Buckingham against reserved seats. The Duke objected because two friends could not sit together if they took tickets at different times."¹ At length the responsibility of managing the ceremonial was delegated to Mr. Cole. "The absurdity of asking foreign musicians to compose" was mooted at the last moment, as well as the "impossibility of carrying out the ceremony unless the reserved seats were absolutely boarded off and people kept in their places."¹ Finally, on the 27th March, Lord Granville approved of a programme framed by Mr. Cole. On the 28th, "with Commissioners about ceremonial paper. They wanted to alter every line, and cut it to pieces. I fired up,

¹ Diary.

² Now Sir Michael Costa.

and said they would emasculate it." From this period the arrangements were more easily proceeded with. 16th April: "To Admiralty, to get sailors and marines for procession. Horse Guards for troops." April 17th: "Costa about bands. Sterndale Bennett had only sent the beginning and end of his ode. Verdi's work had not arrived. Nine months engaged in doing nothing!"¹ On the 25th April, the series of exhibitors' trophies, which had been erected according to the official allotment of space, so crowded the nave of the Exhibition, that a procession could not pass down it, as Mr. Cole had wished. The Commissioners at this late hour gave orders for the removal of these trophies. But the order for the alteration could not of course be then carried out; modifications in the programme for the 1st May had to be therefore adopted. On the 30th April: "To Exhibition at 5.50 a.m.," after which was a rehearsal of the music. The throne prepared for the Special Commissioners appointed to represent her Majesty the Queen at the opening, had been erected at the west end. At the east end the music was to be performed. "The Duke of Cambridge, Lord Granville, Lord Palmerston, and the Lord Chancellor came to the west dome to hear the music. At 2 decided to have the throne removed to centre of nave. I said injustice would thereby be done to 15,000 persons,"¹ who had purchased their places in the belief that the announced arrangements would be adhered to. "The Duke of Cambridge told Lord Granville I would not change. Lord Granville said he was sure I should. All consulted, and upon a suggestion of Donnelly's,² it was settled to let the throne remain, and bring the reserved seat holders to the east dome." 1st May: "Exhibition at 7.30.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

¹ Diary.

² Now Colonel Donnelly, Assistant-Secretary of the Education Depart-

ment (Science and Art Department), and chief administrative officer at South Kensington.

INTER-
NATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.
Opening of
Exhibition.

Entrance blocked with sculpture, packing-cases, and boards. No pedestals coloured for statuary.”¹ “By Thompson’s² and Owen’s³ aid, and by the Hon. Artillery Company, the place was made tidy ; ceremony went off well.” “The Lord Chancellor told me he thought it a better pageant than 1851.” “Prince Oscar of Sweden had asked the Lord Chancellor, in the most urbane manner, if he was the Lord Mayor.” “Mayne (Sir Richard) (the Chief Commissioner of Police) trying to jump over turnstile, had been brought down by one of his own policemen.”¹

Clearing
nave of the
Exhibition
of trophies.

XXVIII. Immediately after the opening had taken place, the clearance of the nave of its crowded trophies, had to be effected. A minute was passed putting this re-arrangement into Mr. Cole’s hands. But here the Commissioners wished to interfere. “I said I must have everything at my disposal.” It was an unpleasant and invidious task, ousting exhibitors from spaces formally granted to them. Foundations of heavy sculptures, of a lighthouse, of a Birmingham small arms trophy, trophies of woven stuffs, of pickles, and all sorts of edibles, &c., had to be taken up and removed without inconvenience to the public, who were now admitted to the Exhibition. By the 19th May, the work was finished, and a clear promenade provided across the building from one great dome to the other.

Financial
condition of
the Exhi-
bition.

XXIX. The state into which the affairs of the Exhibition had got, may be inferred from a note on the 22nd May, that there was “no knowledge of the liabilities.” Orders were given by “every one,” and “no minutes, as a rule,”¹ were kept. To anticipate a deficit in such circumstances was unpleasant, but perhaps none the less politic. “Told Mr. Baring there would be a deficit. He was pre-

Deficit anti-
cipated.

¹ Diary.

² See page 184, vol. ii., note 1.

³ Now Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen,

K.C.M.G., C.B., director of the
Museum, South Kensington.

pared for it, since the Prince's death. Must avoid calling on guarantors, as principle of International Exhibitions must not be imperilled. Told him Commissioners of 1851 must pay if necessary."¹ "Told Lord Granville I estimated the loss at £70,000. 'Don't name it,' he said." "Drafting scheme for use of the building after the Exhibition." By January, 1863, this scheme was embodied in a confidential memorandum "prepared at the desire of the Lord President of the Council." The Exhibition buildings were to be allotted for the accommodation of "the Natural History and Ethnology of the British Museum, with the Geological Museum; the Patent Museum, and its library and appurtenances; the National Portrait Gallery, in the expectation that the portraits from the British Museum, those of Hampton Court Palace, and elsewhere, may possibly be brought together; and the Royal Academy." The necessity of finding more space for the collections of the British Museum, had come before Parliament during the earlier part of the session of 1862. Mr. Gladstone, on the 20th May, 1862, made a statement to the House of Commons in respect of the comparative cost of land, if acquired at Bloomsbury or at South Kensington, and concluded his statement thus: "Summing up the whole figures, whichever way the question is viewed, it is a matter of considerable public outlay. The whole of the charge (*i.e.*, for land and new buildings) for the purpose at Kensington will be from £670,000 to £680,000. But if the same amount of accommodation is provided at the present museum (*i.e.*, at Bloomsbury), the charge will be about £960,000 to £970,000." Government did not then obtain Parliamentary sanction. Some opposition had been manifested at this time to carry out the proposed arrangement at South Kensington. Of the Exhibition buildings themselves, on the other hand, it was

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Scheme for
using the
Exhibition
buildings.

Proposed
completion
of Exhibi-
tion build-
ings.

¹ Diary.

INTER-
NATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Plans for
a New
Natural
History
Museum at
South Ken-
sington.

Declaration
of awards to
exhibitors.

Economy
in expenses
desired.

thought that they could certainly be completed with fine architectural effect, and Captain Fowke made important drawings, which demonstrated this successfully. Subsequently, when Government had purchased the site from the Commissioners of 1851, the Exhibition buildings were pulled down. It was then decided to erect new buildings for the Natural History Collections of the British Museum. An open competition of designs for these buildings took place, the judges being Lord Elcho, M.P., Mr. Tite, M.P., Mr. Fergusson (all of whom had taken an active part in opposing the maintenance of the Exhibition buildings), Mr. Pennethorne, and Mr. D. Roberts, R.A. Their award of the first prize fell to the set of designs marked "Ad ogni ucello il suo nido e bello." When the sealed envelopes containing competitors' names were opened, it was found that the first prize winner was Captain Fowke. Captain Fowke died before his buildings were put in hand. Some time afterwards the First Commissioner of Works set aside these prize designs; and the buildings now occupying a portion of the site of the Exhibition of 1862, were erected from designs by Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, R.A. Having briefly mentioned these facts, it will be well to return to the Exhibition.

XXX. A public declaration of the prizes to exhibitors took place on the 11th July, and an attractive feature in the proceedings was the number of foreign military bands from France, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Prussia, and Egypt, assisting at the ceremony. As the Exhibition proceeded towards its close, "Lord Granville wished to know if the expenses could not be reduced." Accordingly, much time in August was devoted to "examining expenditure of the Commissioners of '62." Negotiations with the contractors were commenced; and to some extent they were successful in diminishing the pecuniary amount of the

Commissioners' indebtedness to them, upon certain considerations. The senior contractor, Mr. John Kelk, behaved in a liberal spirit, saying he would personally guarantee £40,000. The contractors, as a firm, also agreed to forego certain payments due from the Commissioners, so that sufficient money might become available for current expenses of management. On the 1st November, the Exhibition closed, and Mr. Kelk placed the sum of £11,000 at the disposal of the Commissioners, to enable them to balance their accounts without making any call upon the guarantors.

XXXI. The total receipts had been £469,000, and the cost of the buildings, roads, &c., was £346,000. The balance of £123,000 was spent in the organization and administration of the Exhibition.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITION
OF 1862.

A. D.
1858-1863.
Part I.

Call upon
guarantors
rendered
unnecessary
by Mr.
Kelk.

Receipts
and expen-
diture of
Exhibition
of 1862.





WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF PARIS, 1867.

PART I.

1865—1867.

I.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.

A. D.
1865-1867.
Part I.

Royal Com-
mission and
administra-
tion.



AS Executive Commissioner and Secretary to the Royal Commission issued to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to the Lord President of the Council, and a numerous body of noblemen and gentlemen representing various interests in the United Kingdom, Mr. Cole was charged with carrying out the administration and arrangement of the British section of the Exhibition in Paris, in 1867. Whilst "the functions of the Royal Commissioners were deliberative," "the responsibility for all executive measures rested solely upon the Lord President." "The Paris Exhibition differed in many respects from all previous universal Exhibitions. It was at least four times as large as any former one. It embraced many new features in respect of the objects to be exhibited ; besides the representation of modern works, it comprised an exhibition of ancient works of art, even from a prehistoric period. It aimed at representing not merely the process of manufac-

ture, but the manners and customs of nations, and dancing, singing, various theatrical representations, sports, and shops, were admitted within its scope." ¹ The Champs de Mars, the scene of many historic events, was selected as the site for this unprecedented display. An elliptical building consisting of a series of zones, was the principal construction. Each zone was assigned to a special group of objects. A segment of the series of zones was allotted to each country, upon what proved to be a fallacious theory, that every nation would exhibit an equal proportion of objects in each group; English machinery, for instance, would, it was thought, bear the same proportion to English manufactures as Turkish machinery to Turkish manufactures. "But when the stern facts of the case had to be dealt with in the actual arrangements, discordant violations of principle were to be found throughout the Exhibition." ¹

II. The great main building stood in the central part of the Champs de Mars. About it, the grounds, fancifully laid out as gardens, were studded with buildings of every description—an Imperial Pavilion for the use of Imperial and Royal visitors, a Club House and Concert Room, a Japanese Theatre, Russian pine-wood stables, workshops, forges, glass-blowing furnaces, &c. In the British section of the park, as it was termed, an ornamented terra-cotta structure, consisting of open colonnade and a roof, was built to house the great boilers which supplied steam to the British machinery in the Exhibition; a good-sized cottage in which various sanitary, heating, and lighting appliances were publicly experimented with, a skeleton lighthouse for the electric lamp shown by the Trinity House, two considerable sheds for displaying munitions of war, and a large barrack hut, were all specially erected by the British Commission.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.

A. D.
1865-1867.

Part I.
Building in
Champs de
Mars.

¹ See Report of the Executive Commissioner for the United Kingdom at the Paris Exhibition. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1869.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.

A. D.
1865-1867.

Part I.

Government
departments
exhibiting.

Government
"exhibits."

III. In previous Exhibitions, different departments of Government had not taken part as exhibitors. But on this occasion, the Admiralty, the War Department, Trinity House, Post Office, Treasury, Science and Art Department, Board of Trade, and Irish Commissioners of Fisheries contributed objects, amongst which were a set of marine engines of 350 horse power, made for H.M.S. "Sappho," a complete set of boats in use in H.M. Navy, heavy ordnance (a 600-pound gun), field guns, small arms, camp and hospital equipage, clothing, barrack fittings, models of apparatus, machines, mail carriages, and steam ships used by the General Post Office, a collection of historic chronicles and records, including a fac-simile of the Doomsday Book, apparatus for coast-guard service, geological and ordnance survey maps, models of fish passes, fishing apparatus, specimens of decorative work executed for the South Kensington Museum, such as stained glass, bronzed doors, majolica columns, mosaics for wall and floor decoration, fine brickwork and terra cotta, plaster casts, electrotypes, and photographs of ancient works of art, and specimens of the cases in which objects and diagrams are exhibited in the South Kensington Museum. In addition to this a collection was made of specimens of periodical and ephemeral literature of the United Kingdom, which excited interest and comment.

IV. The cost of carrying out much of the work above indicated, obviously entailed an expenditure of public money far greater than that incurred on the occasion of the Paris Exhibition of 1855. A knowledge of the amount of funds available for an undertaking, is always desirable before embarking upon the enterprise. But, although the schemes projected by the French Government were fairly well known early in 1866, it was not until the commencement of 1867 that Mr. Cole succeeded in obtaining the approval of the Treasury to an estimate of the probable expenses. His

Cost of
British sec-
tion.

final estimate was for £128,315, which included, according to usual practice in framing estimates, a percentage for contingencies. The Treasury, however, would not consent to the contingencies, and finally printed the estimates for an expenditure of £116,650. As a matter of fact, however, what with the expenses of the Government departments which exhibited, of a number of unforeseen accidents, such as imperfections in the building, the high tides of the Seine, &c., the amount which had to be spent was £120,154—so that Mr. Cole was within the limits of his original estimate. Comparatively small as this matter may appear to be, it was one which gave rise to a great deal of correspondence and laborious consideration. His Grace the Duke of Buckingham was Lord President of the Council at the time, and as it seemed that each detail of expenditure required the close scrutiny of the Executive of the Royal Commission as well as of the officers of the Treasury, His Grace paid two or three visits to Paris to obtain that insight into the work and its requirements, which enabled him to support the representations regarding the necessary expenditure, which Mr. Cole had to make to the Treasury. It was with "great regret" that my father heard of the Duke's resignation, in March, 1867, of the office of Lord President.

V. Previously to discharging the onerous task of convincing the Treasury that if England were to fulfil the obligations incurred by her acceptance of the invitation from the French Government, she should do so in a liberal manner, Mr. Cole had been drawn into a voluminous correspondence with the Imperial French Commission. This was eventually published as a Parliamentary paper on the 20th June, 1867, and it contains a number of official memoranda and other documents which are not perhaps, altogether uninteresting. The following is given as an example. It was addressed by Mr. Cole to M.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.
A. D.
1865-1867.
Part I.

Corre-
spondence
with Imper-
ial Com-
mission.

PARIS
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A. D.
1865-1867.
Part I.

Le Play,¹ the Chief Commissioner for France, who had planned the Exhibition and framed its regulations. "The innovations on the precedents of the International Exhibitions of 1851, 1855, and 1862, which you propose to introduce into the next Exhibition at Paris in 1867, by asking foreign exhibitors, at their own cost, to complete the structure of the French Exhibition building, with flooring, partitions, decorations, blinds, &c., may not, I hope, prove insurmountable difficulties with the British exhibitors of manufactures and machinery, although they will undoubtedly tend to discourage future Exhibitions; but with respect to the British exhibitors in the Fine Arts, and the proposed collection of rare objects illustrating the History of Labour, they appear to me to create an obstacle which will render these portions of the Exhibition impossible. . . . To invite people to show works of art when there is no commercial or indeed any other kind of motive but simply the desire to meet the wishes of a good neighbour, and to ask the senders to place them within bare walls, seems to me like inviting guests to come to see you in their best clothes, jewels, and velvets, and putting them into a temporary shed, and telling them to furnish it at their own cost and make themselves comfortable if they can." This, however, was a gentle prelude to what should afterwards take place. There can be little question that the Imperial Commission tacitly permitted M. Le Play, as far as lay in his power, to burden foreign Commissions without precedent. His particular object in doing so may have been legitimate under certain circumstances. The American Commissioner, Mr. Beckwith, after inspecting the space allotted to his country, remarked to my father, "They ask you to make an exhibition, and

¹ M. Le Play was an old acquaintance of my father, and was a distinguished social and political economist. He died in 1882.

do all they can to prevent it. They give you only a roof and a sand bed." ¹

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.

A. D.
1865-1867.

Part I.

Sale of con-
cessions by
Imperial
Commis-
sion.

VI. The official report which was published, shows how, to turn a penny at every corner, the Imperial Commission had sold all sorts of rights to different contractors; these were the rights of publishing catalogues, of putting up blinds, of using hanging scaffolds, of bringing seats or chairs into the precincts of the Exhibition, &c. Consequently, during the whole course of the Exhibition, the French Commission were involved in legal proceedings, and actions also hung over the United Kingdom.

Meetings of
Foreign
Commis-
sioners.

VII. Subject as all were to the inconveniences and irritations resulting from these innovations in the practice of administering International Exhibitions, the Foreign Commissioners had a common cause, and arranged to hold periodical meetings to consider how each country might assist the other, and when as a body all should act in concert against the Imperial Commission. The first of these meetings was held at the offices of the British Commission, and notice of it having reached M. Le Play, he despatched one of his "sous-commissaires" to call, and request to be admitted. But "the meeting was averse to his presence, and D—— left, saying it was a conspiracy!" ¹ The British executive was for a time very deeply in the black books of the Commissaire-Général, and he had not concealed the fact. Amongst other accessories to administration, he had obtained the appointment of a Committee of Installation, whose peculiar office was to approve of the appropriate allotment of spaces in respect of large objects. One of the largest objects exhibited by Great Britain was a specimen of the red-brick and terra-cotta architecture adopted at South Kensington. Several times Mr. Cole had proposed different sites for it, but none found favour with the Committee of

Imperial
Commission
and British
Fine Art.

¹ Diary.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.

A. D.
1865-1867.
Part I.

Installation, who at length volunteered a suggestion that this specimen of architecture should be classed as Fine Art, and be erected accordingly in the British Fine Art Gallery. At first my father was disposed to ignore the suggestion as too foolish.¹ Unfortunately, he met Monsieur Le Play in the building, and M. Le Play seriously maintained that bricks and terra cotta were suitable companions for pictures and sculpture. Mr. Cole told him he thought the idea was insulting, upon which the Commissaire-Général, in the presence of various officials who were near at hand, "got into a passion," "became white," and "shook his crooked finger until he spent himself."² An account of the incident got wind, and the next day when Mr. Cole attended a meeting with the Imperial Commissioners and others, Mons. Rouher and Marshal Vaillant greeted him with some humour, telling him that Le Play had arrived and was waiting for him "avec impatience."²

VIII. A few incidents of what may be considered to be outside the bounds of the formal official work, may perhaps be of sufficient interest to mention, in illustration of the numerous points of administration which had to be seen to. Whilst the preparation of the works proceeded in Paris, the arrangements for fully displaying British productions and arts, &c., engaged the attention of the Royal Commission and its many committees in London. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales presided at frequent meetings of the Commission. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh was the chairman of the Navigation Committee. An international regatta was one of the items in the programme of the Imperial Commission. It was decided that the cost of

¹ He sent a memorandum to M. Le Play: "As I cannot agree in the taste of the Committee of Installation that brick and terra cotta would be appropriate by the side of Meisso-

nier's paintings, so I cannot adopt the committee's suggestion to place them in the gallery of the Fine Arts by the side of Mulready's pictures."

² Diary.

Inter-
national
Regatta.

England's share in this regatta should not be paid for out of the votes of Parliament; ¹ accordingly, a committee raised private subscriptions to undertake this work and to offer handsome prizes to be competed for on the Seine by British oarsmen. Then, Mr. Beresford-Hope interested himself in behalf of Architecture, and was the chairman of a committee to arrange this division. His zeal led him to apply "for half the space of the whole of the British section."² His committee, without sanction from head-quarters, issued a paper to probable exhibitors, which "was against the rules."² Had it been permitted to take effect, numerous exhibitors would have had two and more allotments of space for the same class of objects. "Mr. Hope and Architectural Committee called to discuss correspondence. Mr. Hope said, he must defend his committee. I said, I must protect the Paris rules, whether good or bad, and told them I would not allow them to allot space for objects not architectural, or to the same exhibitors twice over."³ The formation of a collection of ancient works ³ of art to illustrate a "history of labour" became an apple of discord. The chairman of the English Committee wished to take the management of the business absolutely into his own hands. Official etiquette was almost defied, and for a time the formation

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.
A. D.
1865-1867.
Part I.

Architec-
ture.

History of
Labour.

¹ "Mr. Lowe (one of H.M. Commissioners) was against any regatta, and thought dancing and shaving might as well be represented."

² Diary.

³ The collection was to represent:—
1st epoch. The British Isles (Albion and Ierne), anterior to the use of metals. Stone age.

2nd epoch. Anterior to the Roman invasion of Britain.

3rd epoch. During the dominion of the Romans in Britain.

4th and 5th epochs. From the de-

parture of the Romans (409) to the reign of Egbert (828), down to the Conquest (1066).

6th epoch. Till the end of the Plantagenet dynasty (1485).

7th epoch. The Tudor dynasty to accession of James I. (1603).

8th epoch. The Stuarts down to George I. (1714).

9th epoch. The House of Hanover down to accession of George III. (1760).

10th epoch. The reign of George III. down to 1800.

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EXHIBITION
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Part I.

of the collection seemed to be impracticable. The committee met, and as my father notes in his diary, were frequently "rude." "Let them talk," said the Lord President, "and Cole will select what he thinks prudent,"¹ and so in time difficulties were set right.

IX. Two events of importance to the South Kensington Museum and its kindred institutions, took place during the Paris Exhibition. The first was mainly due to the numerous royal personages who visited Paris from time to time in the year. His Majesty the King of the Belgians was one of the earliest of these illustrious visitors. His Majesty inspected the English division on the 13th April, and warmly approved of the appointment of an International Commission for causing reproductions of famous typical works of art in different countries to be made.² During May, Prince Oscar (now King) of Sweden, visited the Exhibition. His Royal Highness "promised to be one of an International Association to get reproductions, and was delighted with the idea."¹ "Owen saw Prince Napoleon, who would act for reproductions."¹ The scheme was next mentioned to their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia. The Princess cordially approved of it, and undertook to obtain the signatures of princes to a "convention," of which Mr. Cole prepared the draft on the 30th of May. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was the first to sign this paper, then the Duke of Edinburgh, after whom followed the Crown Prince of Prussia, Prince Louis of Hesse, the Prince Royal of Saxony, Prince Napo-

Convention
for repro-
duction and
interchange
of works of
art.

¹ Diary.

² A Minute of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education had been passed on the 8th Feb., 1864, with the view of ascertaining "how friendly relations might, with reciprocal advantages, be established between foreign museums and the

South Kensington Museum for the purpose of organizing some system of an international exchange of copies of the finest works of art which each museum possesses." (See 12th Report of the Science and Art Department.)

leon (Jerome), the Count of Flanders, the Cesarevitch, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, Prince Oscar of Sweden, the Prince Royal of Italy, the Duke of Aosta, the Archdukes Charles Louis and Rainer of Austria, and the Crown Prince of Denmark. This is not the place to speak of the results which have been secured by means of this Convention.¹

X. The second event was the purchase of a number of valuable works of art and of technical scientific interest, ancient and modern, for the collections of the South Kensington Museum. Mr. Cole had already mooted the possibility of procuring such specimens when he "met Layard, and asked him to move for a Select Committee"² to recom-

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EXHIBITION
OF 1867.
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Part I.

Purchases
from Exhi-
bition.

¹ The Convention was printed in the 15th Report of the Science and Art Department, together with the letter addressed by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to His Grace the Lord President of the Council. The Convention is as follows:—

"Convention for promoting universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the benefit of Museums of all Countries.—Throughout the world every country possesses fine Historical Monuments of Art of its own, which can easily be reproduced by Casts, Electrotypes, Photographs, and other processes, without the slightest damage to the originals.

"(a) The knowledge of such monuments is necessary to the progress of Art, and the reproductions of them would be of a high value to all Museums for public instruction.

"(b) The commencement of a system of reproducing Works of Art has been made by the South Kensington Museum, and illustrations of it are now exhibited in the British Section of the Paris Exhibition, where may be seen specimens of French, Indian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Swiss,

Russian, Hindoo, Celtic, and English art.

"(c) The following outline of operations is suggested:

"I. Each country to form its own Commission according to its own views for obtaining such reproductions as it may desire for its own Museums.

"II. The Commissions of each country to correspond with one another and send information of what reproductions each causes to be made, so that every country, if disposed, may take advantage of the labours of other countries at a moderate cost.

"III. Each country to arrange for making exchanges of objects which it desires.

"IV. In order to promote the formation of the proposed Commissions in each country and facilitate the making of reproductions, the undersigned Members of the reigning families throughout Europe, meeting at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, have signified their approval of the plan, and their desire to promote the realization of it."

² Diary.

PARIS
EXHIBITION
OF 1867.

A. D.
1865-1867.
Part I.

mend the making of such purchases. The House of Commons agreed to Mr. Layard's¹ motion, and the Select Committee recommended a maximum expenditure of £25,000.² No supplementary vote, however, was proposed for the purpose. The Treasury agreed that if a saving could be effected out of the £116,650 voted for the services of the Exhibition, purchases not to exceed £15,000 might be made. It was difficult to foretell what, if any, economy could be effected in the expenses. The selection of objects to be bought was evidently a matter not to be postponed until the Exhibition had been closed; a committee, consisting of Lord Elcho, Lord Foley, and Mr. A. W. Franks, therefore commenced the selection of objects on the 22nd August, and purchases up to £5,000³ were sanctioned and concluded.

XI. My father's closely filled diary for 1867, records a number of incidents connected with his Exhibition work, which limits of space make it impossible to give here. As the time drew near for closing the Exhibition, the Foreign Commissioners agreed to invite the Imperial Commission to a banquet. This took place at the Hôtel du Louvre on the 26th October, and many hundreds of guests were entertained. The service, however, well-nigh broke down, and but for "Lord Granville's chairmanship, which was perfectly successful, and charmed everyone,"⁴ the banquet threatened to be a *fiasco*. On a smaller scale, a fête was given at Fontainebleau, to the military, naval, and civil *employés* in the British section. "10th Nov. Left at 8 with a party

Banquet to
Imperial
Commission.

¹ Now Rt. Hon. Sir Austen H. Layard, G.C.B.

² See Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, ordered to be printed 11th July, 1867.

³ "At the Council Office." The Duke of Marlborough proposed to make up a sum of money for buying things by assuming a balance upon

the vote for the Paris Exhibition, and putting it with the balance of the ordinary annual vote to the Kensington Museum for art purchases. "I said it was 'unconstitutional'—he said 'I am the judge of that.'" The next day, "£5,000 was to be assumed as the contingent balance."

⁴ Diary.

of all our staff—about 104. Four omnibuses full. To Fontainebleau. Arrived at 11.30. Café au lait at Hôtel de Lyon ; over the Château. The *régisseur*, M. Lanny, showed us everywhere. I acted as spokesman. Dined at 3. Our sailors remarked that it was a good dinner. Drank toasts to the Queen, the Emperor, our guests, our next merry meeting, my health, and the ladies. Home at 9.30. The whole passed off without a single mistake.”¹

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EXHIBITION
OF 1867.

A.D.
1865-1867.

Part I.

Fête to
English
employés.

¹ Diary.





WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS, 1871, 1872, 1873,
1874, AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.¹

PART I.

I.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.
A. D.
1871-1874.
Part I.



WHEN the arrangement of the first great Exhibition of 1851 was under consideration, the Prince Consort strongly expressed his wishes that the arrangement should not be geographical, but according to classes of like things with like things. I recollect his saying, 'put all pianofortes together.' I felt (having charge of the arrangement) that such a classification would be impracticable, without first possessing an accurate knowledge of the objects and the quantities coming. The uncertainty of the time of arrival of the objects, was also an element which opposed the adoption of such a classification. Colonel Reid agreed with me; and the Prince, as was his wont, gave up his own opinion, but expressed his regret. The idea had always lingered with me.

II. Accordingly, in 1867, when a meeting of the commis-

¹ My father had almost completed this chapter. His original MS. has, as far as possible, been adhered to.

sioners representing Austria, Italy, Prussia, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, was held at Paris, the management of future international exhibitions was discussed, and the following decisions were arrived at:—

1. That as the usefulness of international exhibitions does not depend on their size, but on their selectness and quality, so the tendency to increase the size of each succeeding exhibition should be discouraged.

2. That it is desirable that future exhibitions should be held in rotation in various capitals.

3. That the country inviting the exhibition to be held, should provide at its own risk a suitable building, completely finished in all respects, provided with all conveniences for unloading and loading, and perhaps supplied with sufficient glass cases.

4. That before any code of general regulations for the management of exhibitions be promulgated, the Commissioners of each nation occupying a given amount of space, be assembled to discuss them, each nation having one representative or an equal number of representatives, but that the country inviting the exhibition should have a veto on the decisions, and the power of limiting the extent of the exhibition, and the number of classes to be shown.

5. That in order to promote the comparison of objects, the general principle of the arrangement be rather by classes than by nationalities.

6. That no objects be removed out of the exhibition for the purpose of sale, and that means be taken to prevent its becoming a fair or bazaar.

7. That the number of classes adopted in the present Paris Exhibition be greatly increased in future exhibitions.

8. That no prizes of any kind be awarded, but that reports on every class be made and signed by an international jury,

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

A. D. 1871-1874.

Part I.

Meeting of Foreign Commissioners to Paris Exhibition of 1867 to discuss management of future international exhibitions.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.

A. D.
1871-1874.
Part I.

which reports should be published during the exhibition, and as soon as possible after the opening.

9. That each country, for every class in which it has exhibitors, be free to send one reporter for each class.

“We all felt the many inconveniences of the Paris Exhibition, and its tendency greater than ever to make international exhibitions great fairs.”

Buildings
on the Com-
missioners’
estate at
South Ken-
sington.

III. In 1868, the buildings upon the estate of Her Majesty’s Commissioners were developing. The Horticultural Society occupied the main portion of the land; around which, on the east, west, and at the north, were covered arcades or corridors, with a long series of galleries at the south, a large conservatory at the north centre, and the Royal Albert Hall in course of construction beyond the conservatory. Adjoining the covered arcades, was ample space for the erection of a range of top-lighted picture galleries, above an equally extensive suite of side-lighted rooms, useful for ordinary exhibition purposes. The erection of such galleries and rooms, clearly would be a step towards completing buildings, such as the Prince Consort had desired for meeting the needs of science, art, and manufactures. These buildings, moreover, would tend to the architectural completeness of a main portion of the Commissioners’ estate. With considerations like these in mind, proposals for holding a series of annual international exhibitions in London, were drawn up (see Vol. II., Selections, p. 269). They received support from many influential persons.

Lord
Derby’s
concurrence.

IV. July 11th, 1868: “With Grey¹ and Scott,² called on Lord Derby, who agreed that if annual international exhibitions were to be established, the Commissioners of 1851 should conduct them. He suggested that they should

¹ General the Hon. C. Grey.

² General H. Y. D. Scott, R.E., C.B., F.R.S.

guarantee £50,000 to the proposed system." Four days afterwards, a meeting of the Provisional Committee of the Royal Albert Hall, was held at Marlborough House, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, President; H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, the Earl of Derby, and others being present. "After two hours' talk, I handed a resolution affirming international exhibitions to Mr. Bruce,¹ who moved it, and Lord Granville seconded it." The resolution passed, was to ask the Commissioners of 1851 to guarantee £100,000 to carry out the Exhibitions, and to provide the buildings required. An extract from the minutes of this meeting runs thus: "The Provisional Committee desire to recommend to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, the favourable consideration of the proposed plan of annual international exhibitions." Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, considered this recommendation on the 18th July. Although "Lord Overstone was opposing, and, excepting Lord Granville and Mr. Bruce, none of the Commissioners were hearty," the scheme of holding annual international exhibitions was virtually adopted by the Commissioners, who considered that the proposed exhibitions were likely to confer important benefits upon the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country; that they were within the objects of their charter; and that they would be justified in making a liberal application of the resources at their command, towards carrying them out.

V. To recapitulate the details how the exhibitions were carried into effect, would take more space than can be here allowed. The fulfilment of the scheme of the series, was to extend throughout ten years (see Vol. II., Selections, p. 271), and its entire executive organization may perhaps be said to have devolved upon Mr. Cole.

VI. Four exhibitions, however, of the proposed ten, alone

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.

A.D.
1871-1874.
Part I.
Meeting at Marlborough
House.

Opening of
first exhi-

¹ Now Lord Aberdare.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.

A. D.
1871-1874.

Part I.

Exhibition by
Prince of
Wales.

took place. The first was opened on the 1st May, 1871, on behalf of the Queen, by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, accompanied by H.R.H. the Princess Helena of Great Britain and Ireland (Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein). The ceremonial was invested with much state. An official programme of the ceremonial was issued by the Lord Chamberlain. Yeomen of the Guard were on duty. Levée dress was worn, and the occasion was raised to the dignity of "Collar Day." The procession, consisting of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, with other royal personages; foreign commissioners; the councils of the Society of Arts and of the Royal Horticultural Society; members of the staff and committees of the Exhibition; high sheriffs of counties of the United Kingdom; the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder of the City of London, and the municipal authorities of the United Kingdom; chairmen of Chambers of Commerce; and the City Companies, traversed the corridors and picture galleries, thus making a circuit of at least a mile, round the buildings on the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851. The inauguration of the series of annual exhibitions seemed to give promise of a bright prospect.

VII. "Knollys wrote immediately afterwards, to express the Prince's thanks" for the arrangements, "Spencer Ponsonby said I made a first-rate Master of the Ceremonies,"¹ and Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., said, "I was the only despot that could have made a procession walk a mile." A cause of the Exhibition's ultimate want of success may be ascribed "to the want of concentration of the objects into *one* spot, and to the impediments in crossing the Horticultural Gardens. If the Gardens had been open to the visitors of the Exhibition, I am satisfied the deficit of about £20,000 on the receipt of £165,000, would not have accrued."²

Causes of
ultimate
want of suc-
cess.

¹ Diary.

² Memoranda.

VIII. Upon the conclusion of the Exhibition in 1871, the receipts amounted to upwards of £75,545, which would have covered the cost of the Exhibition (including payments such as £5,030 to the Royal Horticultural Society, £5,000 for works in the Royal Albert Hall), had they not been reduced by £20,000, which the administration of the Exhibition paid to Her Majesty's Commissioners, at a time in 1871 when their expectations seemed to justify it.

IX. For three succeeding years, exhibitions were held, but the receipts were insufficient to repay the Commissioners the amount expended in the permanent buildings, &c. The arrangement of like objects with like objects was adhered to, and "well worked out with pottery, jewellery, lace, and carriages." "I believe it," writes my father, "to be far more scientific and technically useful than the geographical system; but it is less picturesque and popular. It imposes greater labour and cost, and more responsibility. Its defects are more obvious. It is a system quite suitable for a museum, and may be *permanent* in a museum; but is not the best for an extemporized work like an international exhibition, always done in a hurry, and where the work is little under control. Each succeeding exhibition in this series, so far as manufactures were concerned, was an improvement on its predecessors; but it seemed as the Exhibition improved in quality and technical instructiveness, the attraction declined for the general public." "The aim of these exhibitions was especially technical instruction, and nearest in analogy to that of the South Kensington Museum." "Dividing the whole deficit over the number of visitors, each visitor may be said to have cost the Commissioners twopence. Viewed as a contribution in aid of technical instruction, this is trifling in comparison with the payment per visitor to the British Museum, which amounts to about four shillings per annum, whilst each visitor to the

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.
A. D.
1871-1874.
Part I.

Technical instruction
the aim of
these exhibi-
tions.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.

A. D.
1871-1874-
Part I.

Exhibitions
not self-
supporting.

South Kensington Museum costs under 1*s.* 6*d.*, and each visitor to the Crystal Palace costs the management about one shilling."

X. Experience seemed to indicate that, unless changes were made, the exhibitions could not be made self-supporting. "I therefore came to the conclusion that the experiment to make them so ought not to be persevered in, especially as the Commissioners had not ready-money capital, although possessing a large property in land. And so I advised Her Majesty's Commissioners to abandon them. But I consider that the experiment was a right and useful one to have been made, and I do not regret having warmly recommended it."

Modifica-
tions which
might be
tried.

XI. "The modifications which I think might, perhaps, be tried, would be to have a perpetual exhibition of all novelties only in science and art; to reduce the periods for which the objects should be deposited; to have the exhibition open all the year round; and to allow the objects to be sold and removed, on condition that another copy is sent. I think the exhibition of scientific novelties ought to be made by the Patent Museum, which I hope may be turned into a Museum of Scientific Industry, as recommended by the Duke of Devonshire's Commission;¹ and the public admitted three days a week free. The income of the Commissioners of Patents, which is £80,000, would easily provide for this."

Exhibitions
of art and
manufac-
tures might
be under-
taken by
the pro-
ducers them-
selves.

XII. "As respects the exhibition of the new art and other manufactures, it may be doubted if the South Kensington Museum ought to do this work. Narrow trade jealousies, interests, and prejudices would make any Government timid in the administration. But there seems no good reason why the producers themselves should not undertake it as a limited liability company, and conduct it on commercial

¹ Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction, &c., 1874.

principles, to the benefit of technical instruction and the general consumer. Retailers might be exhibitors as well as manufacturers."

XIII. "I doubt if any but large international exhibitions will sufficiently attract the foreigner. If my doubts are correct, then I am of opinion that future international exhibitions should be like those of 1851 and 1862. The arrangement in such cases should be to have pictures in special galleries, machinery together, and all objects in geographical groups arranged by the countries which send them. It is absurd to try and make each international exhibition bigger than its predecessor. A space of twenty acres is ample, and no space can be better than that in Hyde Park, used in 1851. But the building should not be a conservatory. Glass may be abundantly used, but not for walls, which should be of timber. Doubtless, prizes are attractive and exciting, although theoretically and philosophically indefensible. Let the exhibitors support them by sweepstakes, and manage themselves the administration of the awards. I hope this country, when it wants such exhibitions, will raise its own guarantee fund to support them, and not be indebted to public taxation, which paid nothing for the Great Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862," or, it may be added, for those of 1871 to 1874.

INTERNATIONAL
EXHIBITIONS.

A. D.
1871-1874.
Part I.

Future exhibitions in England should not increase in size,

and should not be supported by public taxation.





REFORM OF THE PATENT LAWS.

PART I.

1848-1852.

I.

REFORM
OF THE
PATENT
LAWS.
A.D.
1848-1852.
Part I.



MY father's connection with the movement for the reform of the Patent Laws, during the years 1848 to 1852, was chiefly due to his having become acquainted with the advantages of registering designs. The Summerly Art Manufactures (pp. 178 to 194, Vol. II., Selections) were all made from "Registered Designs."

Board of
Trade,
School of
Design and
Patent
Laws.

II. For the 24th June, 1848, I find an entry in his diary, "Discussed with Lefevre, Secretary to the Board of Trade, about being on School of Design, and about Patents;" and again, on the 14th August, "At Board of Trade—Lefevre—to speak about School of Design and Patent Improvement." A month later, namely, 6th September, he addressed a long letter to Sir Denis Le Marchant, which, with three Reports addressed to the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, M.P., were printed in the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on the School of Design, in 1849. His letter begins: "Having been invited by Mr. J. S. Lefevre, when Secretary of the Board of Trade, to make any suggestions for increasing the efficiency of Schools of Design, and to point

out any amendments necessary to be made in the laws for promoting useful design; and having been recently consulted by Earl Granville, and requested by his lordship to prepare a general statement of my views on the subject, I have now the honour to submit for the consideration of the Lords Committee of Privy Council of Trade and Plantations, some of the conclusions which I have been led to form." In the course of this letter he touches upon the operation of the Copyright Acts, the Registration Act for Ornamental Designs, the Registration Act for Articles of Utility, and the Grants of Patents, and concludes his observations on these points thus: "The great success which has attended the operation of this Act for Registering Designs of Utility (passed in 1843), the satisfaction it has given to the manufacturers, and the amount of revenue already obtained, point out the importance of extending its operation. This Act, in fact, has practically become the first step in the Amendment of the Patent Laws."

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OF THE
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III. Early in 1849, on the 14th March, my father called the attention of the Council of the Society of Arts to the "legislative recognition of the rights of inventors," and certain "principles"¹ were enunciated and accepted by the Council. My father puts a note of satisfaction in his diary, that he "carried his resolution as to Tax on Invention against the Patent Agent feeling."

Society of
Arts and
legislative
recognition
of rights of
inventors.

IV. On the 24th August, 1850, he had some talk with John Stuart Mill upon the subject of patents. "J. S.

Mill on
Patents.

¹ "1. That Inventors, Designers, &c., ought not to be subjected to any other expenses than such as may be absolutely necessary to secure to them the Protection of their Inventions.

"2. That the difficulties and anomalies experienced in connection with Patents should be removed.

"3. That the present term of Copy-

right in Design for Articles of Manufacture, and the Protection afforded to the Authors and Proprietors of Inventions, and of Designs in Arts and Manufactures, are inadequate.

"4. That, for carrying out these objects, the co-operation of all Persons interested therein be invited."

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OF THE
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LAWS.

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Part I.

Appoint-
ment of
Committee
by Society
of Arts.

Preparation
of treatise
on Juris-
prudence
connected
with Inven-
tions.

Charles
Dickens and
the Patent
Laws.

Mill was for patents as a right, not a favour; against perpetuity; against fees, except as paying the cost of management."¹

V. The appointment by the Council of the Society of Arts of a committee to promote the "legislative recognition of the rights of inventors in arts, manufactures, and science, by easy registration on the principles already adopted by the Council, of 14th March, 1849," is dated 4th September, 1850, at which time the Council resolved, "That the offer to prepare a treatise on "Jurisprudence connected with Inventions, and a Summary of the opinions given before the House of Commons," be accepted, and that Mr. Cole be authorized to put the same into type, at an expense not exceeding £3."

VI. By the 30th September, this treatise was finished. Whilst it was in proof, Mr. Cole sought the support and assistance of different persons interested in the law of Patents, Copyright, and Registration, amongst whom was Charles Dickens. Failing to find him at his house at Broadstairs, he left a letter enclosing a copy of the treatise, and received the following reply:—

"Broadstairs, 25th September, 1850.

'MY DEAR SIR,

"I am truly sorry that I didn't see you when you called here. On the first day I was in London, on the second at Ramsgate. Your proof has greatly interested me. I shall be happy to 'join the Union,' and I am now at work on a paper for 'Household Words' which I hope may help the question in a taking manner. Faithfully yours,

"CHARLES DICKENS.

"Henry Cole, Esq."

The "Poor
Man's Tale
of a Patent."

VII. The paper Dickens here mentions, is, "A Poor Man's Tale of a Patent," which appeared in "Household Words,"

¹ Diary.

October 19, 1850. As may be seen, Dickens was inspired—as who would not be?—by the “thirty-five official stages so far as they can be made out, which an inventor must undergo in obtaining Letters Patent for an invention in England only, provided his application is unopposed.” The thirty-five stages were enumerated, probably for the first time on a single page, by my father in his treatise. Dickens agreed with his opinion on the matter, and concludes the “Poor Man’s Tale” thus:—“What I had to tell, I have told. I have wrote it down. I hope it’s plain. Not so much in the handwriting (though nothing to boast of there) as in the sense of it. I will now conclude with Thomas Joy. Thomas said to me, when we parted, ‘John, if the laws of this country were as honest as they ought to be, you would have come to London—registered an exact description and drawing of your invention—paid half-a-crown or so for doing of it, and therein and thereby have got your Patent.’ “My opinion is the same as Thomas Joy’s. Further. In William Butcher’s delivery ‘that the whole gang of Hanapers and Chaffwaxes must be done away with, and that England has been chaffed and waxed sufficient, I agree.’”

VII. Twelve days after the publication of the “Poor Man’s Tale,” my father reported the completion of his treatise to the Council of the Society of Arts, and requested that copies might be submitted for the consideration of the Council, and the Committee on Inventions.¹ The request was

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First Report
by Society
of Arts
Committee.

¹ The Committee was composed of the following:—The Marquis of Northampton; the Earl of Radnor; Sir John P. Boileau, Bart.; Sir J. J. Guest, Bart., M.P.; the Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P.; Henry T. Hope, Esq., M.P.; Samuel M. Peto, Esq., M.P.; Sir James Anderson, Glasgow; George Brace, Esq.; Henry

Cole, Esq.; Charles Dickens, Esq.; J. H. Elliott, Esq.; John Farey, Esq.; P. Le Neve Foster, Esq., M.A.; Charles Fox, Esq.; Wyndham Harding, Esq., C.E.; Edward Highton, Esq.; Capt. Boscawen Ibbetson, F.R.S.; Owen Jones, Esq.; Herbert Minton, Esq., the Potteries; R. S. Newall, Esq., Gateshead; Richard

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acceded to, and the treatise adopted on the 2nd December formed the burden of the first Report of the Committee. At the present day, no little interest attaches to this Report, the formalities and expenses attendant upon the obtaining of a Patent having been but slightly modified since then. Extracts from it and the second Report of the Committee, are given in Vol. II., Selections, p. 274. The Council of the Society of Arts sent out this first Report to Cabinet Ministers and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, under cover of a letter dated 2nd December, 1850.

Second Re-
port of
Society of
Arts Com-
mittee.

IX. Immediately after Christmas (on Boxing-day, in fact), the Committee was at work upon the heads of a Bill, and by the 15th January of the new year, 1851, the second Report of the Committee was framed, which includes the heads of the Bill just mentioned.

Lord Gran-
ville and
Patents.

X. The question of protecting new inventions to be exhibited at the Great Exhibition, was under consideration at this time, and Lord Granville said that Government intended to protect inventions at the Exhibition, but had not yet determined anything about the revision of the Patent Laws. Two months later, whilst walking one Sunday through the Exhibition building, my father met Lord Granville, who told him that he intended to move for a Select Committee in the House of Lords, upon Patent Laws. The Select Committee was appointed, and on the 26th May my father was examined. With his evidence then taken,

Prosser, Esq., Birmingham; Dr. J. Forbes Royle; W. W. Rundell, Esq.; Falmouth; Archibald Slate, Esq., Woodside, Dudley; J. Jobson Smith, Esq., Sheffield; Professor Edward Solly, F.R.S.; Arthur Symonds, Esq.; Professor Bennet Woodcroft.

The points on which the Committee wished particularly to obtain information, were, 1st, the effect which the existing system of patents may have

had on suppressing, and thus depriving the public of the knowledge and use of the inventions of those who are unable to bear the heavy expenses required under it; and, 2nd, instances where the expenses have been fruitlessly incurred.

The Committee requested that any facts in any way bearing upon these points, might be forwarded to them.

are printed in the Appendix of the Report of that Committee, extracts from the Society of Arts first Report, and the headings adopted by them for a Bill.

XI. Later on in the year, a Special Committee was appointed by the Society of Arts, "to draw up a statement of the defects of the Patent Bill" which had been passed by the Lords during the session, and to urge the advantages of the Bill framed by the Society. Mr. Cole prepared the third and last Report of the Committee, and undertook the preparation of a Petition to Parliament "embodying the Society's Reports on Patents." In March, 1852, the Society of Arts resolved that a committee "should wait upon the members of Government who have charge of the Patent Reform Bill in both Houses of Parliament, in order to urge upon them the expediency of introducing into the Bill power for a provisional registration upon payment of a nominal fee to all persons who are prepared to make such specifications as were required by the Protection of Inventions Act, 1851, and to point out the great advantages which resulted from that Act."

XII. It is beyond the present purpose to endeavour to show what precise influence the action taken by the Society of Arts may have had upon the Patent Bill, which was passed during the session of 1852. That action now takes its place in historical order with similar efforts made to simplify Patent Law—efforts which are being continued at the present time. It was contemporary with expression of opinions by a number of individuals and associations interested in the subject. My father made a collection of many printed papers and pamphlets on Patents, issued from 1835 up to 1852. Within a few months of his death, he had taken part, as a member of a Special Committee appointed to consider the subject, in discussing a New Patent Bill proposed by the Society of Arts. A feature

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Action of
Society of
Arts after
the Lords
had passed
a Bill on
Patents.

Third Re-
port of
Society of
Arts Com-
mittee.

Society of
Arts' new
Patent Bill
of 1851.

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Mr. Justice
Stephen on
Patent Law.

of this Bill was the approach it made towards rendering British similar to American Patent Law. Whilst urging the necessity of simpler registration and reduction of fees, the Society of Arts Bill proposed the appointment of a tribunal of professional men, specialists, and others, who should supersede the existing law officers in dealing with questions as to Patents. On this point my father agreed with remarks made by Mr. Justice Stephen at a meeting held at the Society of Arts on the 2nd December, 1881, that it was not likely that the public would receive with favour the constitution of a separate Court to protect Patent rights. "It would resemble a Court of clergymen to deal with theological cases, which the public would not approve of. There was no branch of law which contained so many and such interesting principles as the law of Patents; and a chemist and an engineer could not be expected to understand the application of them. There was no analogy between the proposed tribunal and the Railway Commission, whose duties had nothing legal about them. Judges were specially trained in the art of acquiring information from others, and in applying legal principles to that information."¹

¹ See Report in "Times," December 3rd, 1881.





ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
PRACTICAL ART AND COMMENCEMENT
OF THE SOUTH KENSINGTON
MUSEUM.

PART I.

1851-1873.

I.

FROM the commencement of my father's connection with a State-aided system of instruction in Art for the United Kingdom, to the time of his retirement in 1873, the feeling which influenced him in his work may be summed up to have been, that voluntary enterprise in promoting instruction in art, should be fostered throughout the country. Pecuniary assistance granted by Parliament, should encourage its development and not supersede it. Co-operation between voluntary enterprise and Government assistance, was to be systematically encouraged. Permanence of character was to be looked for in the work growing out of this co-operation. Whilst the metropolis from its nature was felt to be the best *locale* for establishing a normal school for teachers, and a pattern museum

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State aid to
instruction
in Art.

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SINGTON
MUSEUM.

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1852-1873.
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for general instruction in art (two special organizations which should be initiated by Government), the system to diffuse a knowledge and appreciation of art was schemed upon the broad basis of co-operation. Its extension by voluntary effort throughout the country, should be as freely practicable as compliance with few official conditions of Government assistance could make it.

II. The following quotation, taken from the "Times" of the 7th October, 1876, is, I believe, generally correct in its sketch of certain incidents relating to the Schools of Design and their reform :—

"One hundred years ago, Adam Smith published his 'Wealth of Nations,' which contains the following remarkable passage :—

"'There is scarce a common trade, which does not afford some opportunities of applying to it the principles of geometry and mechanics, and which would not therefore gradually exercise and improve the common people in those principles, the necessary introduction to the most sublime as well as the most useful sciences.'

"Since then, until the period of the Reform Bill, when people placed notices in their windows, 'No more taxes paid until the Reform Bill is passed,' when the organization for educating the country consisted of a small body of clerks, directed by Dr. (now Sir) James Kay-Shuttleworth, at the Council Office at Whitehall; and when, indeed, but few politicians had seriously considered how the important influences of education could be extended to all classes of the community, no one had, so far as England was concerned, felt the truth of Adam Smith's warning, or the necessity for attempting to act on it. At length a time came when an inquiry into what other countries were doing in the matter of training their people in drawing, was considered a right thing for the Government to undertake. Urged by Mr. W. Ewart, M.P., the Board of Trade instructed Mr. Dyce, R.A., to visit, about the year 1839, the various drawing schools throughout Europe. His report was printed and laid before Parliament in the following year. But the view which he took of the modes of instruction is exemplified by his calling his report one on 'Schools of Design.'

Origin of
Schools of
Design and
their exist-
ence up to
1851.

All the drawing schools in France were called 'Ecoles de Dessin,' which, as is well known, means 'Schools for Drawing,' and not necessarily 'Schools of Design.' However, the justification of the Board of Trade's inquiring into these schools, was that information as to 'design'—an important element in the commerce of fancy articles—was required in England. From these pseudo-economical views as to design, an impression that designers could suddenly be created seems to have arisen. In fact, it was taken for granted that all to be done was to start Schools of Design, and in them to train students to originate and apply decoration; and so efforts were put forth in this direction, and it was assumed that without, so to speak, manuring the country with elementary drawing power, well developed fruits could be obtained from it. The mode of training the country to improve itself and its trades by a cultivation of the arts, was misunderstood, and the key-note of the work to be done was not really struck until after the Exhibition of 1851. For about eleven years the Schools of Design had been leading a precarious existence. They had cost the country an average of about £10,000 a year for eleven years, and the Government really had no option but to take the work seriously in hand, and to relieve the irresponsible and unsuccessful Council of the Schools of Design of the burden of further operations."

III. It was on the 31st October, 1851, then, that Lord Granville offered my father the secretaryship of the School of Design. At this time, there were twenty provincial Schools of Design, besides the two head metropolitan schools,—that for males at Somerset House, and that for females at Gower Street. The total Government grant for a year—1851—to the twenty schools, amounted to £7,500. These schools received £7,780 in students' fees and private subscriptions, so that the Government aid was equal to the sum of money voluntarily contributed by private individuals. In certain schools, however, this was not the case. For instance, to Belfast and Birmingham, Government contributed £600 each, but in neither town did the contribution of private individuals and students exceed £320.

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Secretary-
ship of
School of
Design
offered to
Mr. Cole.

Distribution
of Govern-
ment grants
to Schools of
Design.

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At Glasgow, however, the receipts from private sources were double the amount of the Parliamentary grant; whilst at Stourbridge, the students' fees and private subscriptions were five times the Parliamentary grant. The apportionment of Parliamentary aid appears to have been almost arbitrary,—one school with over 240 students, would receive the same amount of Government aid as a school with 108 students, whilst another school with 230 students, received more than double the Government grant given to either of the other two schools. The failure of the schools to fulfil the anticipations of those who started them, had been felt even earlier than 1848, when Mr. Cole addressed the first of his three letters to the Board of Trade upon the subject.¹ A wider field of operations, simpler in character, was required if the country generally, were to participate in the benefits of instruction in art. In November, 1851, my father told Lord Granville that he would propose to “divide the elementary drawing from the practice, and get rates to support the country schools.”

Proposal as
to elementary drawing.

IV. In sketching the growth of the organizations alluded to, it will be right, perhaps, to treat its two main divisions separately. The first of these will therefore be the development of the normal museum and school in London; the second, that of the local schools and classes of art, and subsequently, of science as well.

Institute of
Science and
Art contemplated.

V. When the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851 had proclaimed itself, and there was a certain indication of a surplus profit, the Prince Consort and others discussed various plans for using the surplus in founding a school or college, a museum or institute of some sort, for improving public

¹ In 1846 Mr. R. Redgrave (one of the Professors at the School of Design) wrote a long letter to Lord John Russell on the necessity of re-constituting the schools. An inquiry

before a Committee of the Board of Trade followed; and this was succeeded by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1849.

instruction in science and art. A number of specimen works of art had from time to time been bought for the use of the Schools of Design, and had been dispersed amongst them. "A few specimens had been left in the Metropolitan School (at Somerset House), but little had been done towards forming a systematic collection of art manufactures."¹ "The Prince had objected to the Commission collecting examples for the Schools of Design."² After accepting office under the Board of Trade, to reform the system of art instruction throughout the country, "one of my first recommendations for immediate adoption," writes my father, "was the purchase of art objects from the Great Exhibition, especially from the Indian collection. Mr. G. Porter, the secretary to the Board, wholly objected to any purchases."³ "Lord Granville," however, "authorized a selection of objects to be made for the School of Design,"³ and the Treasury, having, it seems, at the instance of the Prince Consort, granted a sum of £5,000 for this purpose, a committee, consisting of Mr. Herbert, R.A. (of the School of Design), Mr. Redgrave, R.A., Mr. A. W. Pugin, Mr. Owen Jones, and Mr. Cole, was appointed shortly afterwards by Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade. The articles purchased on this occasion, are detailed in the annual report of the Department of Practical Art, 1852 (pp. 233 *et seq.*). In forming this collection, the Committee looked to its becoming the nucleus of a museum of art manufactures, which should have its connection throughout the whole country, and help to make the Schools of Art as practical in their working as those of France and Germany. To the report of this Committee, Mr. Cole added a postscript, explaining how the objects thus purchased were broadly classified under groups, such as,

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Nucleus of
a Museum
of Art Manu-
factures.

Purchase of
art objects
from Great
Exhibition
of 1851.

Grant from
Treasury.

¹ Department of Practical Art, Report No. 1, 1852.

² Diary.

³ Memorandum.

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SINGTON
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A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Woven Fabrics, Metal, Ceramic or Pottery, Glass, Furniture, and that when sufficient space should be provided, a more minute subdivision would probably be desirable. The value of such classification of objects exhibited for instructional, as distinct from mere display purposes, asserted itself in the course of the organization of the Museum, and latterly, in the International Exhibitions of 1871 and 1874 (see p. 264).

Necessity of
accommoda-
tion for
objects
bought from
Exhibition.

VI. How the Central Government office, established to carry into operation the scheme of art instruction, came to be located at Marlborough House, will be shown by the following relation of incidents. The objects purchased from the Exhibition involved a provision of space for the new Department of Practical Art, as it was styled, other than that which might possibly have been found in the offices of the Board of Trade at Whitehall. As the Crystal Palace was not to be retained in Hyde Park, the objects bought for the Schools of Design had to be removed. The idea of using Marlborough House, then unoccupied, came to the fore at this juncture. Mr. Phillips, of the Office of Works, "saw no practical objection to occupying Marlborough House." "At the advice of Prince Albert, the Queen gave permission to use the upper floors of Marlborough House. Colonel Phipps, I believe, wrote to the Office of Works, and Mr. Phillips handed me the keys. I moved in with all speed, and when the rooms were all arranged, it was found out that the usual official formalities had not been followed, but were then carried out by the Board of Trade writing to the Office of Works, and obtaining the Queen's approval. I was upbraided with having taken possession with the full intention of using the palace."¹

Difficulty in
retaining use
of Crystal
Palace in
Hyde Park.

Removal of
collection
to Marl-
borough
House.

Opening of
collections
by H. M.
the Queen.

VII. "The collections of purchases from the Great Ex-

¹ Memoranda.

hibition were publicly exhibited there. The Queen came to the opening of them on the 17th May [1853], and offered to lend specimens of lace, for which I went to Buckingham Palace. Her Majesty had herself written the tickets for them. Later on, Her Majesty gave me permission to search Buckingham Palace for Sèvres china. Mr. John Webb assisted me, and we brought away Sèvres worth many thousands of pounds. No inventory of it could be found, and I took away many pieces, each now worth £1,000, from housemaids' closets in bedrooms. The exhibition of this china made a great sensation, and led afterwards to its being properly arranged in Buckingham Palace, and an inventory made." ¹

VIII. A small portion of the Museum was fitted up with specimens of all kinds of manufactures, carpets, paperhangings, silks, metals, glass, pottery, &c., which appeared to illustrate departures from those principles of art which are recognized in the department. The first report of the Department of Practical Art records (p. 33) how everyone might, by this section, be led at once to investigate the ornamental principles of his carpet and furniture, and the greatest benefit to manufacturers was looked for from the investigation. An amusing article, entitled a "House full of Horrors," appeared in "Household Words," of December, 1852, then conducted by Charles Dickens. Mr. Crumpet, a gentleman residing at Clump Lodge, Brixton, had always been happy. Mrs. Crumpet was in the habit of remarking upon his return from the city, that "his cheerfulness was like a bird at tea." But Mr. Crumpet paid a visit to the Department of Practical Art in Marlborough House. He "acquired some correct principles of taste," and became "haunted by the most horrid shapes." "I could have cried, sir. I was ashamed of the pattern of my own trousers, for I

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Loans by
H. M. the
Queen.

Museum of
"false prin-
ciples."

¹ Memoranda.

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Principles of
taste.

saw a piece of them hung up there as a horror. I dared not pull out my pocket-handkerchief while anyone was by, lest I should be seen dabbling the perspiration from my forehead with a wreath of coral. I saw it all; when I went home I found that I had been living among horrors up to that hour. The paper in my parlour contains four kinds of birds of paradise, besides bridges and pagodas." This illustration of "false principles" was no doubt a practical outcome of opinions such as those elicited from Mr. Cole before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. On the 10th May, 1849, when told by a member of the Committee, "We have a proverb about doctors, and I think experience shows that doctors in taste differ as much as doctors in medicine," he said, "I do not agree in that. I think to act upon the principle of 'every one to his taste,' would be as mischievous as 'every one to his morals;' and I think there are principles in taste which all eminent artists are agreed upon in all parts of the world." A few years' experience of the special exhibition of "false principles," proved the discretion of withdrawing the collection as such, and of encouraging a public perception of "false principles" by a less pungent process. In fact, the makers of the "horrors" raised an outcry against the stigma officially placed upon their goods.

Report of
first year's
working of
Museum at
Marlborough
House.

IX. Mr. Cole's report upon the first year's working of the Museum at Marlborough House, concludes thus, "It is hoped that this Museum may be made the means of originating and fostering similar institutions throughout the country. The Board of Trade has sanctioned arrangements by which local schools of art may not only borrow articles from the Museum, in each year, during the period between the 15th July and the 15th September, for exhibition in their own localities, but may also have the opportunity of purchasing any duplicates, or superfluous quantities, at half the original

cost of them to the Department. By these means, the whole country is made to participate in the advantages and prosperity of the central Museum, and its benefits are not limited to residents in the metropolis."¹

X. The growth of the Museum from year to year, is shown in detail in the series of annual reports presented to Parliament. Grants were made by Parliament for purchasing specimens of artistic manufactures of all ages. In addition, objects were lent for display by H.M. the Queen, H.R.H. Prince Albert, and a number of collectors and possessors of such articles. In 1853, £1,705 were spent in purchases, and the "ceramic division" was enriched by the acquirement of 717 specimens, collected by the late Mr. Bandinel of the Foreign Office, and purchased of Dr. Page.

XI. An unique loan collection of furniture was made and exhibited in May, 1853, by the permission of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, at Gore House,² which stood upon the northern end of the estate purchased by the Commissioners with the surplus funds from the Great Exhibition. The annual exhibition of the works of students in the art schools, was also held here in 1853. "Mulready lent his studies of the nude, which were arranged in a separate room by themselves. The Queen, Prince Albert, and the

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Development of Museum.

Purchase in 1853 of Bandinel collection.

Exhibition of furniture at Gore House.

¹ Department of Practical Art, Report No. 1, 1852.

² Gore House was inhabited by Lady Blessington, and was a rendezvous for a number of distinguished and well-known persons. The Emperor Napoleon III., when in England, used to meet Count D'Orsay here. He afterwards gave the Count some post connected with the Fine Arts in Paris. Gore House was used by Soyer for dinners during the Exhibition of 1851. William Wilberforce inhabited a house in Kensington, where he settled in 1808. "The

garden with its lilacs, its laburnums, its nightingales, its martins, and its swallows was his delight."—*Life*, p. 310. He sat reading and writing "under a special walnut tree, which was known in his family as his study." He died in London, 29th July, 1833, at three a.m., aged seventy-three years and eleven months. Wilberforce's house would appear to have been next door westward of Gore House, and Count D'Orsay lived next door eastward of Gore House. (See also note on p. 185, Vol. II.)

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H. M. the
Queen and
Mulready's
chalk draw-
ings from
the figure.

Princess Royal came on the 30th May. Mr. Cardwell and Sir Charles Eastlake received them. Before the Queen's arrival, Mr. Cardwell went round the Exhibition with Redgrave. He went into the Mulready Room, and was greatly shocked at the display of nudity, and enjoined upon Redgrave not to take the Queen into the room. The Royal party arrived and went round the rooms. The Queen wandered away with me, and came to the Mulready Room, and Her Majesty opened the door and entered. She exclaimed, 'What fine works!' and told me to fetch the Prince and Princess to see them. Mr. Cardwell of course came, and had to submit to a long examination of these drawings, the Queen making frequent exclamations of admiration. She commissioned Sir Charles Eastlake to find out if Mulready would part with any. His answer was, 'that he had never sold any, and had not made up his mind if he ever should, but if Her Majesty would accept one, he would present it. He could not give the Queen a choice, because he had offered the first choice to some one else.' So at last Eastlake selected one, which H. M. accepted, and sent Mulready her thanks and a silver inkstand. Mulready told me of his satisfaction at the incident, because he had refused to make a copy of the 'Wedding Gown' for the Prince. He considered 'a copy' unworthy of the Prince's collection, and he was offended at the Prince's asking him, which the Prince never forgot, and named to me."¹

XII. Returning to the Loan Exhibition of Furniture at Gore House, which was the first of a series of similar exhibitions held in connection with the Museum,² it may be noted that a system of making photographs, casts, and

¹ Memoranda.

² 1853. Exhibition of Cabinet Work.

From 1853 to 1861. Loans were

contributed annually for public instruction.

In 1862, a Special Loan Exhibition was organized; it contained for the

Commence-
ment of
system of
loan exhi-
bitions.

electrotype copies of fine objects which thus came temporarily into the Museum's possession, was commenced. By this means, the Department obtained additions of high instructive value for its Museum. This system of reproductions has since proved of great importance in the development of certain divisions of the Museum. It appears likely to be of great benefit to local museums throughout the country. They, probably less than the normal National Collection, may not be in a position to acquire original objects. For instruction a careful facsimile is as good as an original. The Convention to promote the making of reproductions of objects of art, is alluded to elsewhere. (See page 261.)

XIII. The Parliamentary votes for the Museum, enabling the Department to make purchases of works of art, may be gathered from the yearly estimates laid before the House of Commons. Amongst my father's memoranda are the following, which relate to the early acquisition of important collections:—"Mr. Bernal, Chairman of Committees in the Commons, made an extensive collection of *objets d'art*, which he had purchased over several years for about £20,000. It was a most desirable purchase for the nation, and Colonel Sandham, his executor and son-in-law, wrote me a letter offering it for £50,000, and I was to give an answer in ten days from the 15th January. I consulted the Prince, who was favourable to the purchase. Lord Granville, too, advocated it. A meeting of the Commission of '51 was held on 8th February; Mr. Disraeli in favour, Mr. Gladstone for and against the purchase. The Government

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System of reproductions inaugurated. Its value for instructional purposes.

Parliamentary votes for purchases.

Purchase of Bernal collection.

most part, all the objects of mediæval art which were exhibited at the Society of Arts in 1859.

1865. Loan Exhibition of Miniatures.

1866 to 1868. Three annual Loan Exhibitions of National Portraits.

1870. Loan Exhibition of Fans.

1872. Loan Exhibition of Jewellery and Loan Exhibition of Musical Instruments.

1873. Loan Exhibition of Decorative Art Needlework.

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agreed to spend £20,000. The Science and Art Department to spend £12,000 under conditions, and the British Museum, I think, £8,000. Mr. Gladstone imposed the condition that the Department was to price every object and not to exceed the price named; and if there was any balance on the purchases, it was to be paid back, and not to be used in securing desirable objects which fetched more than the price named. The result was that a few of the very finest objects were lost. Mr. Bernal Osborne, Mr. Bernal's son, told me that the refusal to purchase the whole had given him £12,000 more than was originally expected, as the collection fetched £62,600."

Purchase of
Soulages
collection.

XIV. The following is my father's account of how the Soulages collection was obtained for the nation.

"This collection consisted chiefly of very fine objects of Italian art—in pottery (*majolica*), wood carving, bronzes—together with some pictures, and various objects of French origin.

"The objects are fully described in a catalogue which the trustees of the Soulages collection caused to be compiled and published.

Soulages
collection.

"The collection takes its name from M. Soulages, an advocate at Toulouse, who spent years in making it. Its existence was brought to the knowledge of Mr. Herbert Minton, of Stoke-on-Trent, by Mr. Arnoux, who had been a pottery manufacturer at Toulouse, and who subsequently entered Mr. Minton's service and for many years directed the Fine Art branch of his works.

"Mr. Minton showed me some photographs of the collection at Paris in 1855, when I was Commissioner for the British Section of the Paris Exhibition.

"On the 4th October, 1855, I went to Toulouse to inspect the collection, taking Thurston Thompson¹ with me, and

¹ Second son of the late Mr. John Thompson, the well-known wood en-

we examined it carefully for two days. I formed the conclusion that it was my duty to effect the purchase if possible for the nation, and that it would be of great use to manufacturers. On my return to England, I endeavoured to create a general interest for purchasing the collection, and met with many objections and difficulties. Even R. Redgrave, my colleague, objected to buying it. At last I obtained Prince Albert's approval to making an attempt. The Prince consented to guarantee £1,000 towards buying it, Mr. E. Marjoribanks to sign the guarantee (5th May, 1856). It was arranged that Mr. John Webb should proceed to Toulouse to make an inventory, and put a value on each object separately, which he did. His valuation is printed with the catalogue, and it amounted to £11,782. A guarantee fund was then formed and signed for £24,800. The deed is printed at p. ix. of the catalogue.

"Mr. Webb negotiated the purchase of the collection with M. Soulages for £11,000, agreeing that £3,000 should be paid on deposit and the balance by a bill payable in three years. The expenses of freight, insurance, agency, &c., amounted to about £1,944, which, with £556 for catalogue, law charges, clerical assistance, &c., made the total cost £13,500. The full details of all these items are printed in the catalogue. It was in August, 1856, that Mr. Webb started to bring the collection to this country. Messrs. Coutts agreed to advance £3,000, and Mr. Webb took that sum with him, and paid it as a deposit on account. M. Soulages agreed to accept my sole promissory note for the balance of £8,000. I alone signed it, because the two other trustees were abroad, and it was necessary to conclude the business to obtain possession of the collection.

"The collection arrived safely in England on the 30th graver, and for many years connected with the South Kensington Museum as official photographer.

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Negotiation
for purchase
of collection.

Money ad-
vanced by
Messrs.
Coutts.

Soulages col-
lection
shown at
Marl-
borough
House.

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Lord Palmerston's appreciation of Italian majolica.

Treasury refuse to buy collection.

Manchester and Soulages collection.

October, 1856. It was arranged at Marlborough House, catalogued and opened to the public in December, 1856. In December it was inspected by Lord Palmerston and Mr. James Wilson, then Secretary of the Treasury. I went round the objects with them. Lord Palmerston had no sympathy with mediæval Italian art. His feeling was altogether for classical art. Once or twice looking at the *majolica*, he said to me, 'What is the use of such rubbish to our manufacturers?' So the Treasury declined to buy it!

"According to the trust deed, the collection, if not bought by the State, was to be sold by the trustees.

"At this time Manchester was organizing its Art Treasures Exhibition, and the executive committee desired to have the loan of the Soulages objects. The trustees of the collection had no powers to grant a loan of it, but could sell it under conditions. It was sold accordingly to the Manchester executive. If the Art Treasures Exhibition yielded a balance, it was to be applied to the purchase of the collection to found an art museum in Manchester; if not, it was to be sold by auction, the trustees and the Manchester committee having joint and equal rights of purchase at the sale. The Manchester committee paid the sum of £13,500, which had been advanced to them by their bankers at four per cent. interest. When the money was received from them, M. Soulages was asked to give up the promissory note for £8,000, and receive payment with the interest, but he declined, saying that 'he preferred to hold the promissory note of an Englishman to any other security.' Remonstrances were made to him, but without effect. Then it was shown to him that my death before the payment of the bill might make payment difficult, so at last he was persuaded to take the money! Another application was made by the Department to the Treasury for permission to buy the collection for the nation, the trustees

having the reversion of collection whilst Manchester was in possession, but the Treasury refused. At this juncture a sale by auction in Manchester seemed inevitable. The ministry resigned, however, and Lord Derby came into power with the Marquis of Salisbury¹ as Lord President. A third application was made to the Treasury, and again there came a refusal.

“Fortunately, a regulation sanctioned by the Treasury existed, which enabled the apparently insuperable difficulty to be overcome. The Department was accustomed to hire objects and pay a rental on their value according to a minute passed by Mr. Henley, when President of the Board of Trade in 1852. The Manchester Art Treasures executive were requested to lend the collection on the condition of receiving a rental for it, and of giving the Department power of purchasing objects from the collection annually, according to the state of the votes, until the whole was purchased. This request was accepted, and the Marquis of Salisbury cordially sanctioned the arrangement, himself writing out the minute approving it. The purchases began at once, and continued to be made yearly to the extent of about £2,000 a-year. A return to Parliament of the correspondence was moved by Lord Elcho, and showed the proceeding. On its appearance the Treasury remonstrated at the purchase, and upbraided the Department for acting not only without sanction, but actually incurring debt. Mr. Lowe was Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education at the time, and drafted a letter which showed that this was an error, that no debt had been incurred by the Department, that rental was not interest, and that the entire transaction accorded with the ordinary practice of the Department.

“Thus the nation acquired possession of a collection of

¹ The late Lord, second Marquis.

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Continued refusal of Treasury to buy Soulages collection.

Soulages collection hired by South Kensington Museum.

Commencement of purchase in portions of Soulages collection.

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mediæval art of the greatest value to manufacturers, which in the course of the quarter of a century, has influenced pottery and furniture to a great and perceptible extent. It has proved a most profitable investment, and if it were sold now would realize much more than the money paid for it."

XV. The commencement of the Department's purchase of the Soulagés collection, and the removal of the Department from Marlborough House to South Kensington, are nearly coincident in date. Before relating how the premises at South Kensington came to be provided, it is perhaps desirable to recur to the development of the organization of schools and classes for instruction in science and art, in the metropolis and throughout the country.

XVI. As a leading member of the committee charged by the Board of Trade to make purchases of works of ornamental art from the Exhibition of 1851, Mr. Cole was frequently brought into contact with the President of the Board, Mr. Labouchère, who, *ex officio* was Chairman of the Committee of Management of the Schools of Design under the Board of Trade. From the 21st of October, 1851, to the 14th of January, 1852, nothing definite appears to have been done towards appointing Mr. Cole to the administration of the Schools. They were still, as Mr. Labouchère had written some time previously to Mr. Charles Buller, "in extremis." On the 14th January, 1852, "walked with Mr. Labouchère to see the House of Commons, and to the Board of Trade. Authorized me to learn if Hunt and Roskell would agree to let the School have the use of the shield¹ at a rental.

¹ A metal shield by Vechte, recommended for purchase at £2,000. "Sir R. Westmacott, who was asked, disliked the art of it. It was a work of *répoussé*, a process to which he was rather a stranger. Mr. Henley (successor to Mr. Labouchère at the Board of Trade) opposed the pur-

chase because of the risk of custody, and then because the value of the metal used was so little! Finally it was purchased, after having been exhibited to the public, and opinions ascertained in favour of its purchase." (Mem. by H. C.)

Organization
of Department
of Practical
Art.

Asked me to undertake the management of the School of Design—was convinced that there ought to be defined responsibility—that the Royal Academicians (members of the Committee of Management, and also professors in the School) did not attend. I objected to conducting the business through the Secretaries (of the Board of Trade), which he agreed to. He was particularly friendly, and spoke as if on an equality.”¹ The next day Mr. Cole wrote to Mr. Labouchere:—

“ 1, Terrace, Kensington,
15 Jan., 1852.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Having thought over your remarks of yesterday on the School of Design, I venture to submit a few points for your consideration.

“ I. In the present undefined state of duties in the School, and the imperfect performance of them, it must certainly be expected that, for a time, at least, any changes would provoke resistance and antagonism. Those who had been accustomed to take an independent course would naturally object to stricter rules, and every one would, more or less, assume that his position was uncomfortably affected. Any one, therefore, who should be charged with the responsibility of superintendence, to have a chance of ultimate success, would require all the confidence and moral support which the Board of Trade could give him. There would probably be some voluntary resignations. Even with the greatest success and the exercise of the greatest circumspection and patience, no very marked results could be hoped for at an early period, and I think at least two years would be required for a fair trial.

“ II. In respect of the best way of re-organizing the management, my opinion is that a Department of the Board of Trade should be created, analogous to the Naval and Railway Departments, having a special secretary, through whom all the business should pass for the decision of the President or Vice-President. I submit, that, on the whole, this arrangement would best insure undivided responsibility and attention, and would work better than any special board consisting of several persons. If such a

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Letter to
Mr. Labou-
chere.

¹ Diary.

change were made, I would venture to suggest that the name of the 'School of Design,' which is subject to misinterpretation, should be altered to one more nearly expressive of the objects in view. Such a name as the 'Department of Practical Art' would, I think, be well understood and appropriate. This would embrace the three distinct divisions of work which has to be performed, and each of which appears to require more or less of a separate direction.

- (a) Elementary instruction in Drawing and Modelling—a branch which is likely to extend very much.
- (b) Practice of Art connected with processes—a branch which is a great *desideratum*.
- (c) Cultivation of the power of designing—a branch that requires to be made precise and systematized.

"III. It ought not to be concealed that changes to render the School more effective, and enlarge its scope, would, I think, necessarily entail some increased expense ; but in case my services were transferred from the Public Record Office, I have reason to believe that my post there would not be filled up—so that £500 a year would be saved in that part of the public service. I think I explained to you that this sum for many years has not been nearly my whole income, having been permitted to hold other appointments simultaneously ; such as one at the Treasury to assist in introducing Penny Postage, &c., and that if I were appointed, I should prefer that an opportunity should be afforded me of proving the character and extent of my services, before any salary was fixed for them.

"I have the honour to be,

"My dear Sir,

"Your very faithful servant,

"HENRY COLE."

XVII. On the 26th of January, "Saw Mr. Labouchere by appointment at Board of Trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and he had agreed to enlarge the School of Design and change its name. The first thing was to improve the management. He would put the charge of (the School) into two hands, one artist, one layman—the last to be the manager. I rather objected, but he said this ought

to be at beginning, and changes might be made afterwards. The only work with the Secretary of the Board of Trade would be to check the accounts. Salary for artist £300, for layman £1,000. Offered to me—was an experiment." The proposal was formally submitted to the Treasury on 29th of January, and sanctioned on 31st of January. Mr. R. Redgrave, R.A.,¹ was the artist appointed to work with my father, and estimates of expenditure to be submitted to Parliament, in respect of the new Department of Practical Art were prepared forthwith. Mr. Cole framed a memorandum to explain what the new department should do, and this was nearly completed when the ministers went out of office, and Mr. Henley succeeded Mr. Labouchere as President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Henley paid his first official visit to that department on the 27th of February. The permanent officials of the Board of Trade had not regarded Mr. Cole's appointment with pleasure. He had invited them to read his memorandum, but, turning a cold shoulder upon him, they declined to do so. His friend, Sir Charles Trevelyan (then Secretary to the Treasury), however, read it "with much pleasure;" and he was fortunate, too, in obtaining the criticisms of Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Granville, and His Royal Highness the Prince Consort upon it. At length, addressed as a letter to the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, by "Henry Cole" and "Richard Redgrave," it was finally published. In it the "three principal objects constituting the business of the new department" were stated, and were generally in accord with those suggested in my father's letter to Mr. Labouchere of 15th January, above quoted. The new department's work was divided into two broad divisions, the one affecting elementary instruction in drawing and modelling, the other affecting advanced instruction, and its special bearing upon ornamental art.

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Organization of Department of Practical Art.
Appointment of Mr. R. Redgrave, R. A., and of Mr. Cole, to Department of Practical Art.

Elementary and advanced instruction in art.

¹ See note on page 282.

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Chief School
of Design at
Somerset
House.

XIX. As already mentioned, Schools of Design, subsidized by Parliament, existed in various parts of the country. The head school was at Somerset House, where it had been established since 1836, and, as early as 1842, attempts had been made to hold in it classes "for the study of the various processes of manufacture, and the practice of design for individual branches of industry." A loom had been erected, and even a kiln for baking pottery constructed, but the classes failed. The special character of instruction in ornamental art, became submerged in a general artistic curriculum, and the result was that the schools produced no decided impression on decorative manufactures. This, perhaps, was not surprising when it came to be discovered that candidates for masterships in the Schools for Design "sought their appointments by the usual means. An unsuccessful artist or drawing master submitted testimonials from persons having parliamentary or other interest with the Government; no proof was required that the candidate could teach a class or possessed the special requisites for conducting a school. The specimens of his work which the candidate submitted, often proved that he was unable to execute the standard examples used in the Schools of Design, and that he was scarcely acquainted with the system of instruction. At one period so many masterships were held by persons afflicted by some bodily infirmity, that a regulation became necessary, and was passed, by which lame or deformed candidates were declared ineligible. The working of this plan proved that all candidates who brought the strongest parliamentary patronage turned out the worst."

Re-organization
of
chief School
of Design.

XX. Improved teaching power was obviously necessary. Special classes for advanced instruction were constituted under a new body of instructors at Marlborough House, and the school was organized to provide for—

- I. The training of Schoolmasters and Mistresses and Pupil-Teachers, who should teach Elementary Drawing.
- II. The training of Masters for the Schools of Art in the country.
- III. Training of Students in Technical Arts and generally advanced instruction.

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In 1853, Somerset House being required for other purposes, the old School of Design was closed, and the "Normal Training School of Art," in its various divisions, was opened at Marlborough House. Considerable provision was made at the time, for "Technical Instruction in Art." Professor G. Semper instructed a class of students in Practical Construction, Architecture, and Plastic Decoration, which included metal working, furniture designing, &c. Mr. Octavius Hudson gave instruction in Surface Decoration, and the manufacture and decoration of Textiles, including weaving and printing. There were classes for Wood Engraving, under Mr. John Thompson, for Lithography, under Miss Channon, for Porcelain Painting, under Mr. Simpson.

Technical instruction in art.

XXI. Whilst the arrangements for starting these technical classes were in progress, the Secretary of the Board of Trade occasionally interposed his opinion. Thus, when a class for architectural details and practical construction was proposed, the Secretary considered it would be "a decided departure from the object of the Schools of Design, which were established for the instruction of persons, not in the construction, but in the ornamenting of buildings (*inter alia*)." To this Mr. Cole put a note that ornament "ought to be based on construction." Then the Secretary, proposing that no outsiders should be allowed to attend these classes, wrote, "I cannot think that Parliament ever contemplated the giving of instruction to carpenters, joiners,

Obstructiveness of officials at Board of Trade.

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Mr. Henley's
support.

Normal
Training
School for
Art.

and masons." A scale of graduated fees, to be paid by public or outside students, was suggested by Mr. Cole, and objected to by the Secretary. "I said the public would win in coming to the school if it wanted to." "D—the public," said the Secretary. There was a good deal of internal official obstruction, which drove my father to ignore the Secretary. "Saw Mr. Henley, who regretted there should be any hitch." "He took great interest in the work, and was cordial with me, supporting my recommendations."¹ Mr. Henley wished everything to be as clear and beyond question as possible. "Do everything," he said, "as though you posted it up at Charing Cross."²

The various re-organizations proposed by Mr. Cole being approved, the Secretary ceased to offer criticisms. Any detailed description of the Normal Training School for Art at Marlborough House, with its branch class for Elementary Drawing at the Literary and Scientific Institute, Great Smith Street, Westminster, and the Metropolitan School for Females at Gower Street, is beyond the present purpose. Stages of instruction—Grouping of subjects to be passed by candidates for Teachers' Certificates—Standards of Examinations—National Competition of Art Students throughout the United Kingdom, and an Annual Exhibition of selected works by Art Students, &c.—matters in which professional advice was indispensable, were arranged chiefly in concert with Mr. Redgrave, R.A., the assistance of Royal Academicians and others of recognized authority being also obtained. Scholarships, medals, and prizes were offered to stimulate the exertions of individual students. The incidents connected with all these details affecting the

¹ Diary.

² In the spirit of relations between Alexander Pope and Harley :—

"As once a week we travel down
To Windsor and again to Town,

Where all that passes *inter nos*

Might be proclaimed at Charing
Cross."

Central Training School and the local Schools of Art, are very numerous, and are set forth with amplitude in the Annual Reports of the Department of Science and Art.

One incident in connection with the practical purposes of the Central School in its infancy, may be worth mentioning. The students of the technical classes for metal working, porcelain painting, and designing for textiles, had an early occasion for testing their abilities in the designing and carrying out ornamental details for the funeral car of the late Duke of Wellington. Various comments were passed upon the work when produced, but the practical lessons derived by the students were of value, unready as the students may have been to respond to so early a call upon their slightly trained abilities.

XXII. The development of the scheme for "Elementary Instruction in Form and Colour as part of National Education," must now be referred to. The comparatively few Schools of Design had, at first, been thought to be the best centres from which operations connected with teaching children to draw, should radiate; but the use of these centres by masters and teachers of National and other parochial schools for children, was altogether optional. Managers of schools were not specially induced to take advantage of the opportunities so offered, for providing the children under their charge with instruction in drawing. Certain drawing copies and other examples scarcely applicable to very elementary instruction, had been gratuitously distributed from the central School of Design, according to the discretion of the master of the local School of Design, amongst the parochial schools of his district, but no guarantees secured that they were made use of. Only a superficial interest in drawing manifested itself. As a first step towards reform in this matter, Mr. Redgrave formed a series of drawing copies and examples, graded

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Duke of
Wellington's funeral
car.

Scheme for
elementary
instruction
in art.

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according to the character of tuition for which they should be employed. The Board of Trade then passed a minute by which all public schools throughout the United Kingdom should be privileged to buy specimens at half cost, and any school willing to subscribe £1 became entitled to purchase £2 worth of prescribed drawing examples. Numerous applications at once came in from parochial schools. The next step to be taken was to provide the parochial schools with competent teachers of Drawing, and the regular masters of such schools were accordingly encouraged to qualify themselves in this respect. The Committee of Council on Education co-operated with the Board of Trade, and circulated a minute that "evidence of a certain proficiency in drawing should be afforded by each student, on account of whose examination the Training Schools" (for parochial elementary school teachers) "receive a grant."

Conditions of Department's assistance in starting elementary classes.

XXIII. In the meantime, it was officially announced that, with the view of establishing elementary classes or schools for Drawing and Modelling, the Department of Practical Art would "(1) appoint a competent master and guarantee the payment to him of a certain income for a limited period, in case the fees paid by the scholars should not suffice to pay the master's salary; (2) assist in furnishing suitable drawing copies, models, &c.; (3) supply samples of materials, such as drawing boards, pencils, &c., and give information to enable managers and scholars to obtain these materials in the readiest way." The conditions under which this assistance was to be given, were that voluntary committees should be formed, or that some responsible person in each locality should come forward, who should engage to give effect to the following regulations:—

"(a) That these public schools where drawing was to be taught should be named.

“(b) That one hour’s lesson in drawing a-week should be given.

“(c) That £5 a-year be paid towards expenses.”

If a district school for drawing (something more than a mere class for elementary drawing in the parish school) were wanted, then the voluntary committee of the district was to provide a suitable room at their own expense, and a guarantee was to be given that not less than twenty students would attend for at least three months, and that each scholar should pay 6*d.* a week for instruction. A means of co-operation between the Department and voluntary agencies throughout the country, was thus organized. Examinations by departmental inspectors were held. Small prizes were offered to the scholars in elementary drawing schools, and a stimulus was given to the growth of the system by the payment, to the drawing-master who had instructed the scholars, of a shilling per prize gained. By 1856, 22,746 children were being taught elementary drawing, and some 1,231 teachers and pupil-teachers in parochial schools, had qualified themselves as teachers of elementary drawing.

XXIV. As the numbers under instruction became greater, so it became evident that the conditions required change. For instance, instead of guaranteeing salaries to drawing-masters, and taking a responsibility for work which would be likely to grow out of central control as schools increased, the Department gradually devised the scheme by which the results of instruction should be directly paid for, to the voluntary committees, managers, and others. Such payments would be a check upon the work fulfilled, and supply the means to committees and managers, of paying for the services of teachers of drawing according to the particular requirements of each locality. Payments on results of instruction in drawing virtually commenced in 1856, and a statement showing the promising development

DEPARTMENT OF
PRACTICAL
ART AND
SOUTH KENSINGTON
MUSEUM.

A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Prizes
offered.

Payments
on results
developed.

DEPARTMENT OF
SCIENCE
AND ART
AND SOUTH
KENSINGTON
MUSEUM.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Select Committee of
House of Commons
upon
Schools of
Art.

of work during four years under the system, was published in 1861, when it was thought that it might be useful and interesting to those who advocated its applicability "to general education."¹

XXV. In 1863 (24th February), minutes were passed by Lord Granville and Mr. Lowe, the Lord President and Vice-President at the time, ratifying the system of payments on results tested by public examination, and limiting the payments to the results shown in respect of "artisans, children of the labouring poor, persons in training as art teachers, or employed as designers for manufacturers." The public wish for freedom to co-operate with the Department in diffusing instruction in drawing, painting, and designing for manufactures, &c., displayed itself through a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1864 to inquire into the working of the Schools of Art. But in the draft of a minute dealing with the Report of this Select Committee, my father called attention to the fact that the resolutions of the Select Committee contained "various recommendations relating to the National Art Training School, the Museum at South Kensington, and the local Schools of Art, but offered none respecting elementary instruction in drawing given in schools for the children of the labouring poor, or to the master and pupil-teachers of such schools, or to adults taught in night classes, which instruction, it should be borne in mind, is of the first importance, and may be imparted independently of special institutions constituted as Schools of Art." A result, therefore of the Select Committee's report, and the Department's consideration of it, was to procure for the country a still greater freedom in availing itself of means of instruction in

¹ Mr. Cole drew up a Memorandum System of Public Grants on the Results of School Work," in 1861 (15th May).
on the objections made by Sir James P. Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart., to "A

drawing, &c. The thirty-six Schools of Design which existed in 1852, had by this time grown to ninety-one Schools of Art, whilst the 5,600 children taught elementary drawing, had risen to 94,083. Besides payments for aiding instruction, grants towards building Schools of Art were made. Provision was also made for the establishment of a series of classes intermediate as it were, between the Schools of Art and the elementary drawing classes, in parish and National Schools, and a new schedule of the assistance offered by Government through the Department to voluntary enterprise in promoting instruction in Art, was published in a minute of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, dated 1st June, 1865. Nine night classes for instruction in drawing were established soon after the passing of this minute, and in 1873, there were 613 of such classes. The total number of art students throughout the country, including children taught drawing at elementary schools, was 290,176.

XXVI. The remainder of this brief summary must be devoted to some account of the development of the science branch of the Department. At the commencement, as will be remembered, the Department was one for Practical Art and under the Board of Trade. "At the end of the parliamentary session in 1852, Lord Derby introduced science and art into the Queen's Speech."¹ The institution of the Department of Practical Art having proved to be successful, "the Prince Consort wished that science should be promoted, and consulted Playfair, who told me on the 21st January, 1853, that the Department was to be called 'Science and Art;' we were to be joint secretaries; I the senior, and science to take precedence of art in the name."¹ "The Royal Dublin Society, the School of Mines, the Geological Survey, the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, the Industrial Museums of Ireland and

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART AND SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

A. D. 1851-1873. Part I.

Night classes established.

Formation of the science division of the Department.

Change of name to Department of Science and Art. Mr. Cole and Dr. Playfair to be joint secretaries.

¹ Diary.

DEPARTMENT OF
SCIENCE
AND ART
AND SOUTH
KEN-
SINGTON
MUSEUM.

A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Schools of
Science
started.

Navigation
schools.

Mining
schools.

Central
School of
Science in
Jermyn
Street.

Scotland, were united with the Department of Practical Art to form the Department of Science and Art under a single parliamentary authority." The provisions in respect of science instruction, were to be placed upon a basis somewhat analogous to that adopted for art. Local endeavours were to be encouraged, and supplemented by Government aid.

XXVII. The supplies of scientific diagrams and apparatus to elementary schools, was one of the first practical points for consideration. The Department also offered assistance to develop schools of science, and amongst the first towns to attempt the establishment of such special schools, were Bristol, with its "Trade School," described in a letter by Canon Moseley, F.R.S. (see First Report of the Science and Art Department, p. 404), and Birmingham, with its plan of evening classes at the Midland Institute. The Navigation Schools of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, were also transferred to the control of the Department of Science and Art, and certain changes made in their constitution with a view to their being more generally useful than they had been. Schemes were also discussed and considered by the Department for establishing "Mining" schools in the mining districts. The training of competent teachers of science was expected to take place in the Normal and Central School of Science, as it was termed. The chief classes of this Central School of Science were held on the premises of the Government School of Mines in Jermyn Street; they had been established in 1851;—while instruction in chemistry was given at the Royal College of Chemistry in Oxford Street, an institution which commenced its career in 1845.

XXVIII. As early, however, as August, 1853, Mr. Cole told Mr. Cardwell, "I thought there must be a revolution in Jermyn Street before it could succeed."¹ For five years

¹ Diary.

these various methods of advancing instruction in science throughout the country, were kept in operation. During this time, Mr. Cole had become "Inspector-General," as it was termed, and Dr. Playfair became the sole secretary of the Department. In August, 1854, "Playfair said he felt the hopelessness of progress in science."¹ By an Order in Council dated 25th February, 1856, the Department was transferred from the Board of Trade to the Committee of Council on Education. Under this new arrangement "it was determined that the Education Department in future should consist of two branches; one administering State assistance in aiding general or primary instruction; the other affording similar aid in promoting industrial or secondary instruction; each branch having its own separate office, secretary, and establishment, but both under the orders of the Lord President."²

DEPARTMENT OF
SCIENCE
AND ART
AND SOUTH
KENSINGTON
MUSEUM.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Transfer of
department
to Com-
mittee of
Council on
Education.

XXIX. The development of the Science Division was not very rapid; some despaired of it. "Playfair asked me to go and establish some Trade Schools, and when I assented, he said he would go himself." "Told Playfair I should regret to see many Trade Schools until the foundations were more widely laid, and that I did not consider myself responsible for them."¹

XXX. A year later (1857), my father appears to have felt the necessity of making a serious effort himself to assist in re-organizing the Science Division. "16th February—Proposed to Playfair to get a Directory for Science."¹ As with the fostering of the growth of instruction in art through

Elementary
classes for
science.

¹ Diary.

² Very shortly after this "Playfair said Lord Granville did not see the point of juncture between the Education Board and our Department." As a matter of fact, union between the executive staffs was not effected

until Mr. Cole resigned in 1873, when the Secretary of the Education Office commenced attending the board meetings at South Kensington, and transacting business in respect of the Science and Art Department and its Museums.

DEPARTMENT OF
SCIENCE
AND ART
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KEN-
SINGTON
MUSEUM.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Plan for
establishing
science
schools.

Examina-
tions and
rewards.

Exhibitions
as rewards.

elementary classes, so he felt it should be with science. All the scientific institutions above-mentioned, which provided for advanced instruction in science, good as they might be, and might further become, could not, my father saw, meet the want of simple rudimentary instruction in science. He felt that the full-blown tree was expected to live without care being given to its roots. Means for providing elementary instruction in science to the country generally, were the roots to be tended. 14th August, 1857.

• “Devising plan for science schools,” entitled “Proceedings for the establishing science schools or classes.” This plan was composed of four headings:—A. “In obtaining students.” B. “In providing school rooms and buildings.” C. “In obtaining apparatus, examples, and outfit.” D. “In obtaining masters.”¹ From wherever “a declaration expressing a desire to establish a school or class for secondary instruction useful in handicrafts, that is to say, instruction in mechanics, mechanical drawing, chemistry, physics, and natural history,”² should be submitted to the Department, “signed by not fewer than one in 1,000 of the inhabitants of the place or district where the school is proposed to be,”² schools or classes were to be established. The Department was to organize examinations of the students of such classes, and to offer rewards as a stimulus to the training of candidates for such examinations. These rewards were to take the shape of exhibitions. The exhibitions were to be of three classes:—1st. of £10 each, of which £2 was to be paid to the master who had taught the successful student, and £8 for the maintenance of the student; 2nd. £2 to the master, and a free admission to the science school or class in the morning; and 3rd, free admission to the evening classes, in respect of which the master would be paid the usual fees. As regarded the provision of buildings or premises for those

¹ Diary.

² Memoranda.

science schools or classes, the Department was to be authorized to make a grant of 50 per cent. upon the outlay incurred in this direction by a locality. Specially certificated masters for teaching science in the proposed classes, were to be trained, and exhibitions of £50 a year tenable at a training college were to be offered for the purpose at the close of the year; the persons so trained were to be examined in London by the Science and Art Department, and certificates of competency granted to them if successful. The holders of such certificates should be entitled to an annual payment of £10 or £5 while he taught a science school or class. The scheme appears to have come before the Lord President and Vice-President of the Council (Lord Granville and Mr. Cowper) on the 28th August.

XXXI. The usual vacations intervened, during which time my father was at work upon an address on the "Functions of the Science and Art Department," which he delivered at South Kensington on the 16th November (see Vol. II., p. 285). This was followed by an address by Dr. Playfair on "Science Institutions in connection with the Department."

XXXII. Early in 1858, the Ministry resigned, and the Marquis of Salisbury became Lord President, and Mr. Adderley Vice-President. The re-organization of the Science Division constantly occupied my father's thoughts now. In July, writing to Mr. Lingen, then Secretary of the Education Department for Primary Instruction, he says: "the prospective resignation of Playfair ought, I think, to lead to a re-consideration of the State aid in promoting 'Science,' and the present somewhat hazy arrangements. I should very much like to talk the subject over with you. . . . I cannot help thinking that 'Science in general' belongs to 'Education in general,' and would grow best in connection with it, while 'Science technical,' such as

DEPARTMENT OF
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AND ART
AND SOUTH
KENSINGTON
MUSEUM.

A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Masters to
be trained
and certified.

Re-organiza-
tion of
Science
Division.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART AND SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

A. D. 1851-1873.

Part I.

Appointment of Mr. Cole as sole secretary.

Resignation of Dr. Playfair.

Mining, or Navigation, requiring special arrangements, might have special arrangements." Almost immediately after this, my father left England to recruit his health by a six months' holiday abroad. Upon his return in March, 1859, he entered upon his duties as sole secretary of the Science and Art Department, an office he was appointed to fill upon Dr. Playfair's resignation in the autumn of 1858. The various collections at South Kensington, were also administered by him as General Superintendent. The diary is full of notes concerning the consideration of re-arrangements in the Science Division.

Society of Arts and Science.

New plan of action for Science Division.

XXXIII. The Society of Arts had been engaged since 1856, in conducting a scheme of public examinations in different branches of science, and my father (a Vice-President of that Society) thought it advisable that the Society should not compete with the Department in similar work. He accordingly discussed the point with an old friend of his, Mr. Harry Chester, also a Vice-President of the Society, having previously drawn up a plan of action for the Department, which he talked out and revised with Captain Fowke, R.E., and Captain Donnelly, R.E. Its outlines were submitted to "My Lords" at South Kensington on the 31st March, 1860. "Two hours talking about science. Lord Salisbury became impatient that science instruction had not advanced like art, and said if we could not find out how to teach his carpenters at Hatfield some science useful to them he would abolish the name of 'Science' from the title of the Department." 5th April—"Further discussion about Science, and no agreement between Lord and Vice-President." 13th April—"Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth came to discuss aid to mechanics' institutes—discussing aid to primary instruction."¹

Board meeting for dis-

XXXIV. On the 2nd June, "My Lords" held a board

¹ Diary.

meeting of unusual length, "from one to five p.m." The whole time almost was given up to the "Science Minute—Mr. Adderley wishing to reduce it to zero." As finally approved, the minute proposed "to assist the industrial classes of this country in supplying themselves with instruction in the rudiments of practical and descriptive geometry, mechanical drawing, &c., physics, chemistry, geology, and mineralogy, natural history." Science classes were to be taught by teachers duly certificated by the Department. Payments on the results of the science examinations were to be offered, both with the view of encouraging teachers to increase their qualifications, and to meet the cost of the instruction given by them to students in the classes. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Adderley were succeeded soon afterwards by Lord Granville and Mr. Lowe, who passed subsequent minutes developing the principles laid down by their predecessors. The Science Division was in working order by the end of 1860; and Captain Donnelly prepared a review of its origin and the work it aimed at doing. A copy of the paper was sent to the Vice-President (Mr. Lowe), who returned it "as the reprieved convict did the Prayer Book to the chaplain, with thanks, having no further use for it."¹

XXXIV. The syllabus of the science curriculum has been added to from time to time. In 1873, it included twenty-three different subjects. In 1860, thirty science classes yielding 1,340 candidates for examination were opened; and in 1873, there were 1,182 classes, and 24,674 candidates were examined.

XXXV. The high red brick and terra cotta building with its façade to the south-eastern end of Exhibition Road or Prince's Gate, is the Normal School of Science, an institution described by the present Dean, Professor Huxley, as having arisen out of the organization for elementary scientific

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SINGTON
MUSEUM.

A.D.
1851-1873.

Part I.
Discussion of
Science
Minute.

Minutes
passed de-
veloping the
principles
of science
instruction.

Normal
School of
Science.

¹ Diary.

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SCIENCE
AND ART
AND SOUTH
KENSINGTON
MUSEUM.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

teaching and examination established by the Department in 1859.

“It was from the first an essential part of that organization, that candidates who highly distinguished themselves in the examinations should have the opportunity of developing the scientific capacity they had shown; and exhibitions were provided for their maintenance while pursuing their studies in the Royal School of Mines and elsewhere.

“But it was very soon discovered that the instruction given in the science classes was extremely defective, and that the main obstacle in the way of its improvement lay in the ignorance of the proper methods of scientific teaching which prevailed among the teachers of the classes.

“As a partial remedy for this evil, teachers have been encouraged, year after year, to attend short special courses of lectures and laboratory work in the various branches of physical science taught in the Royal School of Mines.

“But it is obvious that, if the elementary science teaching in the country is to be made thoroughly satisfactory, the teachers must be efficiently trained, and training of this kind involves a lengthened period of systematic theoretical and practical instruction. It is the chief object of the Normal School of Science to provide such instruction for the teachers of the subjects of the May examinations in physical science, except those which are dealt with by the schools of navigation and naval architecture.”

It will thus be seen that instruction in art occupied the chief attention in the first instance; science came later, though during the Exhibition of 1851 collections of objects useful in scientific and technical instruction, were forming themselves under the auspices of Her Majesty's Commissioners. It was not, however, until the removal of the Department of Science and Art from Marlborough House to South Kensington, that the value of these scientific and technical collections was publicly brought forward.

Commence-
ment of
scientific and
technical
collections
in 1851.



PURCHASE OF THE SOUTH KENSINGTON ESTATE, AND THE SCHEMES FOR USING IT.

PART I.

1851 - 1873.

I.



IN the purchase of the South Kensington estate, and the subsequent development of the institutions upon it, Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, the Government, the Royal Horticultural, other societies, and private individuals have been concerned. The common cause of these agencies was the promotion of Science and Art. Much of the practical work of these agencies may be said to have become centred in my father, for he suggested and initiated action on behalf of many of them, respectively and collectively.

II. The original estate of land consisted of eighty-six acres. The main portion of it was bounded on the north by the Kensington High Road, on the south by the Cromwell Road, on the west by Queen's Gate, or Prince Albert's Road, as it was formerly called, and on the east by Exhibition Road, these last three great roads being constructed by Her Majesty's Commissioners in 1854. Between the

THE SOUTH
KENSINGTON ES-
TATE.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Extent of
original
estate.

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Institutions
erected upon
the estate.

precincts of the Brompton Oratory and the Exhibition Road, is a site of about twelve acres which also formed part of the original estate. Upon this latter site, stand the buildings used by the Science and Art Department, the South Kensington Museum, the National Art Training School, and the Normal School for Science, whilst upon the main part already mentioned are the Royal Albert Hall, the building of the late National Training School for Music (now devoted to the Royal College of Music), the arcades and galleries about the Royal Horticultural Gardens, the National Training School for Cookery, the Royal School of Art Needlework, the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Natural History Museum of the British Museum. At least nine distinct governing bodies are concerned with the administration of these various institutions. Her Majesty's Commissioners are the landlords of a great part of the land, the Government having acquired other portions. A great project, foreshadowed thirty-two years ago, has been almost accomplished. A sketch alone can here be attempted of its accomplishment.

Early plans
for disposal
of surplus
funds from
Exhibition
of 1851.

III. It became evident when the Great Exhibition of 1851 was at its zenith, crowded daily with thousands of visitors, that a large surplus profit would accrue to Her Majesty's Commissioners. "The Prince summoned Sir William Reid, Dilke, Northcote, Lyon Playfair, Sir William Cubitt, and myself to Osborne," on the 13th August, 1851, "to tell us of his plan for disposing of this surplus and to invite our opinions. The Prince proposed to centralize leading learned and artistic societies upon a site opposite the Exhibition Palace in Hyde Park, and to buy the necessary land for £50,000 at once. H.R.H. would make four institutions, one for raw materials, one for machinery, one for manufactures, one for fine arts; the whole to be governed

by the chairmen of each society and the Statistical Society. We discussed and modified this scheme. Instead of four institutions there should be one. It was desirable not to mention the societies by name." The general scheme was approved, but there was an almost unanimous condemnation of its details. "Reid thought it quite impracticable, and everybody laughed at the idea of making the Antiquarian and Archæological Societies 'commercial,' moving them and governing them by the Statistical Society."¹

IV. The following day, my father wrote to Colonel Phipps about the Prince's scheme, and on the 16th August, Colonel Phipps returned the paper of questions drawn up by my father, the replies to which were written on the margin of the paper by H.R.H. the Prince. The memorandum is as follows:—

(The Prince's replies.)

No. They may be considered, but not settled upon.

This most desirable course will become apparent upon communication with the Societies.

Yes; but the general plan will have to govern.

That will depend upon negotiation and agreement in each individual case.

(Mr. Cole's questions.)

Are the buildings to be designed and built on a settled plan before any Societies have agreed to use them, and upon the chance of their agreeing to use them?

Are they to be erected in portions according to the demand for them, and designed in accordance with the wants and wishes which each Society may express?

Are the Societies to have any voice or power in the construction of the buildings?

Are the Societies to bear a proportionate share of the first cost of the buildings, or contribute in any way towards them?

THE SOUTH
KENSINGTON
ESTATE.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Correspondence as to
plan of
H. R. H. the
Prince Consort.

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.
A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

This would be consequent upon negotiation. A general rate perhaps amongst them. Council of Chairmen to direct.

No ; conditional.

The plan must be entire, the Societies admissible according to their being able to satisfy the wants in the particular divisions.

No. To consider and mature it. Their agency will cease with the expenditure of the money.

Yes.

If provisionally, the Commission ; ultimately, the governing body.

Matters for the consideration of the Commission.

Are they to pay rent for use, or to be liable for maintenance and future repairs, or are these to be defrayed from a general fund ? If so, how is this to be obtained ?

Or are the buildings, &c., to be a perpetual gift to the Societies ?

How are the future Societies to be admitted to participate in the advantages ?

Is it proposed that the present Commission shall carry out the proposal ?

Is it not the general desire of the present Commission that it should expire when it has performed its function ?

Who is to have charge of the ground when purchased ?

Who is to lay it out ? Who is to procure plans for buildings ? How are these to be procured ? Who is to superintend the construction ? Who is to negotiate with the Societies, seek their concurrence, and point out the advantages which many will deny, others will be slow to entertain, and a very few indeed be willing to admit at once ? Who is to have the duty of removing difficulties and objections ?

No.	Are these functions to be given to Government?
Though the Government will have to be consulted, how far will depend on the further negotiations.	Will Government take them? and will the Societies be prepared to treat with the Government?
Possible? Yes.	Is it possible that the requisite organizations can grow out of the concurrence of the different Societies?
The Commission will have to communicate, and in the mode in which it thinks best.	Will it not be indispensable that some organization should precede any communication with the Societies?
Not the first step,—it may be ultimately necessary.	Is not the first step a new charter, and then application to Parliament?

THE SOUTH
KENSINGTON
ES-
TATE.
A.D.
1851-1873-
Part I.

Colonel Phipps wrote to Mr. Cole on the 25th August that "The direct object to be obtained by the Prince's proposal for the employment of the surplus is, in my opinion, industrial education, divided in the course of instruction into the four sections into which the Exhibition was divided, in order that those who studied for immediate application to their own pursuit, might apply alone or chiefly to one section. The means of acquiring this education in each section to be:—(1.) By study (library). (2.) By tuition (lectures). (3.) By ocular demonstration (exhibitions). (4.) By discussion (conversazioni, &c.)."

Idea of promoting industrial education.

V. And here it may be right to mention that exhibitors and foreign Governments presented various articles to Her Majesty's Commissioners, and many offers of further important contributions were made, but were only withheld until a suitable place of deposit should be provided for them. The bulk of these collections consisted of raw materials, models of inventions, and objects useful in scientific

Collections formed under auspices of H.M. Commissioners useful for industrial education.

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Surplus
Committee
and their
report.

National
Gallery.

First and
final pur-
chases of
land by
H.M. Com-
missioners.

instruction. As a palpable fact operating upon the Commissioners' deliberations in the framing of a scheme to improve industrial education, they must not be overlooked; although for some years they remained stored away in Kensington Palace and elsewhere, and were not as a whole arranged for public instruction until the Science and Art Department moved from Marlborough House to South Kensington. They then became one of the corner-stones of the scientific collections of the South Kensington Museum.

VI. Now towards the autumn of 1851, Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed a committee to report upon the use of the great surplus profit. Nov. 2nd, 1851, "with Dilke and Playfair to Windsor to see the Prince. He read us the report of the Surplus Committee. He would have industrial education promoted, but gradually, as the public showed their wish for it. He proposed to connect it with the National Gallery,¹ and the School of Design. The site of the proposed buildings to be in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park. The Prince had quite given up collecting together the societies. We all agreed in the report."²

VII. Shortly afterwards, and particularly in view of providing a site for the New National Gallery, Her Majesty's Commissioners concluded the purchase, for £60,000, of the Gore House estate (about 21½ acres), which had a frontage towards the Park of between five hundred and six hundred feet. This, however, was but a fraction of the extent of land which the Prince thought should be secured. The Commissioners

¹ A Commission, consisting of Lord Seymour, Lord Colborne, Sir Charles Eastlake, Mr. Ewart, and Sir Richard Westmacott, had reported, in 1851, upon the question of a site for a New National Gallery, and given their opinion in favour of fifteen to twenty

acres of land, with a frontage to the Park, which might at the time be obtained at a reasonable price, and afford a space for the construction of a New National Gallery.

² Diary.

shared the Prince's views, and supported them, "none more firmly than Cobden, who considered that the Prince had the best title to have his own way. At the same time, Cobden regretted the surplus was so large, because he foresaw in the future great difficulties in the disposal of it."¹ To secure the large area of land contemplated, the Prince "induced Lord Derby's first ministry to go into partnership for the purchase, at a cost of three hundred thousand pounds, which was afterwards increased by about thirty thousand pounds."¹ Land adjoining the Gore House estate was accordingly bought, through the joint action of Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Government, from Lord Harrington and Baron Villars at about £3,000 an acre. "Cobden expressed his high opinion of the Prince's sagacity and ability in the purchase of this land, saying that 'H.R.H. would have made his fortune as a land agent!'"¹

VIII. During the years 1853 and 1854, my father was in frequent communication with His Royal Highness, considering and talking over the means of giving effect to the plans for the use of the estate. August 15th, 1853, "To Osborne. Saw the Prince—after lunch walked with him about the grounds, and in his dressing-room, discussing the means of realizing the Kensington scheme by a joint-stock company—with him till 5.20."¹ It was about this time that Mr. Cole submitted to the Prince his "Observations on the expediency of carrying out the Proposals of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 for the promotion of Institutions of Science and Art at Kensington, rather by the public themselves than by Government." Nothing of a definite character was decided on. A complete plan, showing how the whole of the estate might be laid out as a public garden, surrounded and crossed with buildings for the National Gallery, the Collections and Normal Schools

THE SOUTH
KENSINGTON ES-
TATE.
A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Partnership
between Go-
vernment
and Com-
missioners
for purchase
of land.

Plans for the
use of the
estate.

Idea of a
public gar-
den, sur-
rounded by
buildings.

¹ Diary.

THE SOUTH
KENSINGTON ES-
TATE.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Proposal to
remove
National
Gallery to
South Ken-
sington.

Prince's idea
of using
estate for
public insti-
tutions un-
favourably
received.

of the Science and Art Department, a Museum of Patented Inventions, the Society of Arts, the University of London, and the Royal Academy of Music, was prepared in February, 1854, by Mr. Cole and Mr. Redgrave, and submitted to His Royal Highness. It was one of the first, if not the first, of any definite schemes framed for consideration by the Commissioners.

IX. A Select Committee of the House of Commons had reported, in 1853, in favour of removing the National Gallery from Trafalgar Square to Kensington, where three years later a site was offered to the Government by Her Majesty's Commissioners. But when the subject generally was brought before the House of Commons, "Lord Elcho carried a motion that the question of site should be referred to a Royal Commission."¹ After some difficulty this Commission² was constituted and held meetings in 1856. They reported finally in favour of retaining the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square.³

X. "The Prince met with many disappointments, and his idea of using the land for public institutions of science and art was received with hostility and opposition."¹ Previously to the termination of the protracted endeavours to transfer the National Gallery to Kensington, the Prince's scheme of concentrating the learned societies upon a site near the Park, had been to a great extent superseded by the Government's purchase of the site now in use by the University of London and other bodies at Burlington House.

¹ Diary.

² Consisting of Lord Broughton, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. C. R. Cockerell, Professor Faraday, Mr. Richard Ford, Mr. George Richmond, with Mr. Butler (now Head Master of Harrow) as secretary.

³ In 1857, my father wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "The National Gallery Difficulties solved at a cost of eighty thousand instead of a million pounds" (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts. Price 3*d.*).

XI. The endeavours of Her Majesty's Commissioners to fix on a course of action for promoting science and art, had, by 1855, practically resulted in the collection of a great deal of information concerning several independent institutions having kindred aims in promoting science and art; and the purchase of the large estate already mentioned, about which they had laid out spacious roadways. No new buildings had been erected upon it. A collection of animal products and raw materials was being formed by the Commissioners and the Society of Arts. In 1854, the Society of Arts organized an "Educational Exhibition" at St. Martin's Hall, and towards its close, Her Majesty's Commissioners expressed a desire to preserve this collection intact as a permanent museum of education. Through the Society of Arts, the various articles composing it were offered to and accepted by the Government, upon the condition that this collection should be housed and exhibited permanently. In view of a national collection of models of inventions, which might be developed into an institution similar to the "Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers" in Paris,¹ Her Majesty's Commissioners had taken charge of the nucleus of such a collection formed by Professor Bennet Woodcroft. Mr. Twining² had brought before the Commissioners the formation of a Museum of Domestic Economy, the object of which was to exemplify cheapness, appropriateness, and good workmanship in the dwellings of the humbler classes of the community, and Her Majesty's

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Educational
collection.

Collection of
models of
inventions.

¹ A possible "Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers" for this country was incidentally alluded to by Mr. Cole, when examined before Select Committees of the House of Commons on the Patent Office Library and Museum, July, 1864, and on Hungerford Bridge and Wellington Street Viaduct in May, 1869.

² In August, 1864, I find a note of a visit paid by my father to Mr. Twining's Museum of Domestic Economy at Twickenham. "A rare collection for inutility—sets of baby clothes of all nations, samples of bricks and pickles."

THE SOUTH
KENSINGTON
ESTATE.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Art collec-
tions.

Marl-
borough
House
wanted as a
residence
for Prince
of Wales.

Prince Con-
sort's idea
for bringing
various
museums
together.

Commissioners expressed their sympathy with the project. Meanwhile, the ornamental and other art collections were growing under the charge of the Science and Art Department. An architectural museum was also contemplated. But the time was close at hand when Marlborough House should be prepared for the use of the Prince of Wales. Thus circumstances were ripe for finding a home for these several collections, the united aim of which was the promotion of science and art.

XII. In view of such a home, a memorandum, dated 24th February, 1855, made when His Royal Highness came to Mr. Cole's office at Marlborough House one day, is as follows :—
“Prince Albert suggested that a company should be formed to erect buildings on the quadrangular piece of ground near Brompton Church . . . to be used as temporary galleries for Marlborough House Museum, Educational Museum, Patent Museum, &c. The buildings should be somewhat on the plan of the Palais Royal—shops with a colonnade, and flats for residence above.” His Royal Highness sketched a ground plan and elevation on blotting paper, and desired that Professor Semper should be requested to make a set of drawings, for which “he would be prepared to pay.” A perspective model, tinted with sepia, on cardboard, was accordingly made by Professor Semper, and it is now preserved in the South Kensington Museum. But this idea and the building were found to be impracticable. Something on a less grandiose scale was wanted.

XIII. It was at this time that “Lord Aberdeen's ministry had paid the penalty of the misfortunes which attended the early events of the Crimean War, and Lord Palmerston had succeeded as Prime Minister. Lord Palmerston, years before, had been in antagonism to the Prince, to whom he attributed his dismissal by Lord John Russell, but being now brought into direct communication with him, learned

to appreciate his true value. He bore honourable testimony to this at the Prince's death in 1861."¹ 14th June, 1855:—"To Buckingham Palace. Met Lord Stanley,² Sir William Cubitt, and Bowering, who came about erecting an iron house at Kensington."³ The south-eastern corner of the estate was selected by the Prince for such a building, the Treasury having "threatened to try and use the ground for military barracks, although bound by Act of Parliament to employ the land for purposes of science and art."⁴ At length, "through the Prince's influence, Lord Palmerston asked Parliament for £15,000, in order to provide covered space" for the different collections above mentioned. The Treasury tried to defeat the proposal of this vote (see p. 219, Vol. I.). However, "the money was voted without a division," and the iron buildings, subsequently nicknamed "the Boilers," were forthwith commenced under the supervision of Sir William Cubitt, whilst Mr. Cole was engaged at Paris upon the work of the Exhibition of 1855. He has been credited with having designed them, but the following quotation from a letter⁴ will dispel such an impression. The letter is dated August, 1856:—"There is that unlucky iron shed, which will prove a most unfortunate thorn, I suspect" (in respect of the partnership existing between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Government in the tenure of the Kensington Estate). "All its ugliness is laid upon my department, which knew nothing about it till Redgrave and I returned from Paris and found the columns fixed. The public laugh at its outside ugliness and us. And we, in addition, must be mute on that point, and also on its radical defects for its object. The light is so bad below the wide galleries, that nothing can be exhibited well there. Above the galleries, the angle of light is quite wrong for pictures. The iron produces excess

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A.D.
1851-1873.

Part I.

Iron build-
ing for
museum at
Kensington.

The
"Boilers"
commenced.

Mr. Cole
disclaims
having de-
signed them.

Use of iron
inappro-
priate.

¹ Memoranda.

² (of Alderley).

³ Diary.

⁴ To General Grey.

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Mr. Cole
urges dis-
solution of
partnership
between
Commis-
sioners and
Government.

of heat in summer, and cold in winter. It offers no virtual protection against fire, which will burn the contents and prevent ready succour from the outside. This question was fully investigated in 1851, and Mr. Braidwood was all in favour of *wood* for the outside. In this case, where is the responsibility—with the Commissioners or the Treasury?"

XIV. In the same letter, addressed to General Grey, he urged the desirability of dissolving the partnership in the tenure of the Kensington Estate, between the Commissioners and the Government. "Various circumstances had made it clear to my mind that insuperable difficulties would arise from the partnership between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Government in owning this land, and I advocated a dissolution of it. I represented this conviction to the Prince. He gave my views that unprejudiced attention which was so striking a feature in him, and finally expressed his entire concurrence with them."¹ The partnership between the Government and the Commissioners was dissolved in July, 1858, the Government receiving from the Commissioners the money they had advanced, together with the interest which the investment had realized. The main portion of the estate now became the sole possession of the Commissioners; the site of twelve acres upon which the "Boilers" had been erected, falling by agreement into the proprietorship of the Government.

Completion
of "Boilers."

XV. The "Boilers" being completed and ready for use, the different collections were transferred to them. The Department of Science and Art, by means of a grant from Government of £10,000, moved its offices and Museum of Ornamental Art from Marlborough House, and became established at South Kensington. At this time,² an event

Removal
of museum
from Marl-
borough
House to
Kensington.

¹ Memoranda.

² July 31st, 1856 :—"With Richard Redgrave and Fowke to see Mr. Sheepshanks, who would make the

offer of his Collection to the Nation, when he had seen Mulready in a week." Diary.

of importance occurred, in the presentation by Mr. John Sheepshanks to the nation, of his splendid collection of Modern British Paintings. Suitable accommodation could not be found in the iron buildings; and, according to the terms under which the Government accepted this gift, the construction of a special gallery was taken in hand. Captain Fowke, R.E., who, after the Exhibition of 1855, had become attached to the Department as Engineer and Director of the "Museum of Construction," designed the gallery, in conjunction with Mr. Redgrave. The principles adopted are described in the Department's Fifth Annual Report for 1858; and, speaking at a later period, my father said, "he (Captain Fowke), as an architect, demonstrated an accurate formula upon which a picture gallery must be built, in order to exhibit pictures without glitter or reflection." The picture galleries for the Great Exhibition of 1862, were constructed upon identical principles. Their "exact proportions" were reproduced "as incapable of improvement" by the French Imperial Commission for the Exhibition of 1867, and General Scott used them for the picture galleries of the Annual International Exhibitions of 1871-1874.

XVI. Mr. John Sheepshanks expressed a wish that his pictures should be shown to the working classes on Sunday afternoons—a wish, however, that has not been realized; although, for a time, members of the legislature and their friends had the privilege of visiting the Kensington Museum on Sundays, upon signing their names in a book kept for that purpose. This, however, was some years after the "Boilers" and the galleries containing the Sheepshanks Collection, had been opened by Her Majesty the Queen, on the 20th June, 1857.

XVII. There had been a good deal of uncertainty as to whether the opening should be invested with formality. Mr. Cole pressed for an inaugural ceremony, and at

THE SOUTH
KENSINGTON
ES-
TATE.

A.D.
1851-1873.

Part I.
Presentation
of Sheep-
shanks
Collection
of Paintings
to the na-
tion.

Special
gallery
erected.

Captain
Fowke's
principles
as to erec-
tion of
picture gal-
leries.

Mr. Sheep-
shanks'
desire that
the collec-
tion should
be shown on
Sunday.

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Opening
of Museum
by Her
Majesty the
Queen.

Opening of
Museum at
night.

Name of
South Ken-
sington sug-
gested by
Mr. Cole,
and adopted.

Considera-
tions re-
sumed for
use of main
portion of
Commis-
sioners'
estate.

length the matter was definitely settled, Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince coming to the Museum at 9.30 in the evening of the 20th June, when Lord Granville (Lord President) and Mr. Cowper¹ (Vice-President) received the Royal Party, who "expressed themselves quite pleased with all the arrangements."² For days previously, the Prince, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred, had been to see the progress of the works. The opening of the Museum at night, implying a system of lighting it up, was perhaps the newest departure in the administration of any museum or public gallery, and it met with universal and unstinted approbation. As a general practice it is now, a quarter of a century later, gradually being adopted. The British Museum Reading Room is lighted, the Royal Academy gives evening conversazioni at Burlington House, and before long, the National Gallery will no doubt be similarly lighted for opening at night. It was in December, 1856, that, in conversation with the Prince Consort, the title "South Kensington" was suggested by Mr. Cole, for the Museum; and this was formally approved by the "Board" on the 21st May, 1857—the day after Her Majesty had opened the Museum.

XVIII. The inauguration of the South Kensington Museum, and the dissolution of the partnership between the Commissioners and the Government, partially diverted attention from the use of the main portion of the Commissioners' estate lying to the west of the Museum. It was, however, "desirable to find some temporary use for a part of it at least. I had formed an opinion that it would be inexpedient to place buildings in the centre of the ground, and thus give away the frontage to the occupiers of houses surrounding the principal area. These occupiers would be sure to be troublesome and critical of what buildings might

¹ Afterwards Lord Mount Temple.

² Diary.

be subsequently set up. They would probably claim rights and create difficulties as the owners of houses had done in the case of the Exhibition buildings in Hyde Park. Moreover, valuable frontages to Exhibition and Prince Albert's Roads would thus be given away. I stated my views in writing to the Prince, and illustrated them by a plan which my friend Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A., prepared.

"Through the intervention of Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke, the Royal Horticultural Society was induced to take a lease of some of the ground. We were walking together on the chalk downs between Newland's Corner and Shere (near Guildford), on the 28th March, 1858, when I suggested to him that he should bring the idea before the Council of the Society. He did so; and, after negotiations, Her Majesty's Commissioners granted the Society a lease of some twenty acres on the main part of their estate, upon certain conditions,"¹ which were, briefly, that the Society and the Commissioners should each spend fifty thousand pounds² in laying out the gardens and erecting arcades, &c., about them. The Gardens were opened on the 6th June, 1861, when the Prince Consort made a speech, in the course of which he said;—"We may hope that it (this garden) will at no distant day form the inner court of a vast quadrangle of public buildings, rendered easily accessible by the broad roads which will surround them—buildings where Science and Art may find space for development with that air and light which are, elsewhere, well-nigh banished from this overgrown metropolis."

XIX. The Society was to pay as rental five per cent. on the Commissioners' outlay. "If this rental was not paid once in five years, then the lease was to lapse."¹ The expectation that the Society would pay a regular rental, was

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A. D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

Royal Hor-
ticultural
Society.

Grant of
lease of land
to Society.

Opening of
Royal Hor-
ticultural
Gardens at
South Ken-
sington by
the Prince
Consort.

¹ Memoranda.

² The £50,000 spent by the Royal

Horticultural Society was raised by debentures and subscriptions.

THE SOUTH
KENSING-
TON ES-
TATE.

A.D.
1851-1873.
Part I.

not fulfilled up to 1873. Rentals were certainly paid in 1862 and in 1871, and thus the terms of the lease were technically met. On both occasions, however, the Society received from the authorities of the International Exhibitions held in those years, moneys paid in consideration of certain privileges, and out of those moneys the Society paid the two rentals referred to. It is not perhaps necessary to enter into the details of the story of the Society's failure, its litigations, or of the debenture holders' losses. My father writes: "The household interest of the neighbourhood in the Gardens superseded that of the Royal Horticultural Society. Instead of being gardens for the Society and the general public, they are now (1874) monopolized by the nursery maids and children of the neighbourhood."¹

XX. In the next chapter some account will be attempted of the designing and construction of the architectural and decorative works which were carried out by the staff at South Kensington, under Mr. Cole's supervision.

¹ Memoranda.





ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE ATELIERS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

PART I.

1857-1873.

I.

IN this chapter on "the establishment of Architectural and Decorative Ateliers at South Kensington," nothing beyond a mere outline of the work which emanated from them is attempted.

II. After the Science and Art Department had been removed to South Kensington, the construction of a special gallery for the Collection of Paintings by British Artists, presented to the nation by Mr. Sheepshanks, was undertaken. Captain Fowke designed this gallery, which has already been referred to (see p. 325, Vol. I.). Its western exterior was decorated with panels of sgraffito by Mr. Andrew MacCallum, which are in good condition, and to be seen from the present inner quadrangle of the Museum buildings.

III. At the time, Mr. Cole, who had suggested the use of this process, was occupied in considering the architectural character to be imparted to the series of arcades with

ARCHITECTURAL AND
DECORATIVE WORKS
AT SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

A. D.
1857-1873.
Part I.

Sheepshanks
Gallery at
South
Kensington.

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A.D.
1857-1873.
Part I.

which it was proposed to surround the land allotted by Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Royal Horticultural Society. On the 16th July, 1858, a committee consisting of Mr. Richard Redgrave, Captain Fowke, R.E., and Mr. Cole, was appointed by His Royal Highness the Prince Consort to prepare a plan for laying out this land. Mr. Cole suggested that here would be a favourable opportunity for developing the resources of the architectural offices under Captain Fowke, as well as for probably giving students of the National Art Training Schools, a chance of doing considerable decorative work. The Lord President sanctioned the proposal, and in a degree practical effect was thus given to an opinion Mr. Cole expressed as long previously as in 1848 to the Board of Trade. (See p. 115, Vol. I.) In order to prevent any misconceptions, such as have occurred, it may be well to say here that the expenses of the work done in the South Kensington Ateliers, for the arcades of the Horticultural Gardens, were borne by Her Majesty's Commissioners. Mr. Sydney Smirke, A.R.A., was called in to prepare architectural designs for the Commissioners, and these designs were reviewed and revised by the above-named Committee. Eventually, a part of the northern and central arcades was erected from Mr. Smirke's designs, whilst the southern arcades and conservatories, in which modelled terracotta columns are freely used, were built from designs prepared by Captain Fowke assisted by Mr. Godfrey Sykes.¹

Designs for arcades round the Royal Horticultural Society's Gardens.

Mr. Godfrey Sykes.

IV. Almost immediately after the Committee had commenced their meetings (22 July, 1858), "Sir James Clark

¹ He had been master of the School of Art at Sheffield, and was a pupil of the late Alfred Stevens. He had proved his ability as a designer and modeller, and his services were first engaged by the Science and Art Department in July, 1859, when he commenced making a series of de-

signs suitable for execution in sgraffito, terra-cotta, &c., which might be useful, not only for study in the Training School and in local Schools of Art, but also for use in the completion of the outside of the buildings of the Museum.

said I ought to get complete rest for twelve months or so, and advised Italy." A month later, Mr. Cole started on a tour, accompanied by Mr. Richard Redgrave and the late Mr. Samuel Redgrave,¹ who travelled with him until the end of September, visiting Turin, Genoa, Spezzia, Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Mantua, Venice, Padua, Verona, Milan, and so by Bellinzona, Airolo, over the St. Gothard Pass, to Lucerne, where the two Messrs. Redgrave left him, and he was joined by my mother. He remained with her in Switzerland from October to December, when she returned to England, and two of his daughters came out to him, and travelled with him to Rome and Naples and back to England, which they reached early in March, 1859.

V. Throughout the whole of this journey he kept a detailed diary of places visited, things seen, people met, and the suggestions which the new life brought to him. A few quotations from this diary may show better than anything else how his thoughts reverted to Kensington, and the application of the architectural and decorative suggestions which he derived abroad, to the development of buildings, &c. at Kensington. "Rome, Sunday, 19 December, 1858. Our route to church is along the Pincian Hill, and then past the Academy of France, which is held in the Medici Palace or Villa. The gardens are open, and we stroll into them. They are laid out with box-hedges, now three feet high, and suggest what we might do at Kensington." . . . "The garden front of the house is ascribed to M. Angelo. It has been arranged so as to receive bas-reliefs of antiquity, and they are very happily brought

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A. D.
1857-1873.
Part I.

Mr. Cole's
tour in
Italy.

Rome.

¹ Formerly of the Home Office, and joint-author with his brother, of "A Century of Painters of the English School," and author of "A Dictionary of Artists of the English School." Mr. Samuel Redgrave frequently rendered

most valuable services in directing the arrangement of pictures and other art objects, exhibited at the South Kensington Museum and at International Exhibitions in Paris and London.

in. We should have a photograph of it and also of the colonnade at the side. This is about twenty-five feet high, and I think shows that that height would hardly be sufficient for our colonnade at Kensington." 23 December. "To the Museums of the Capitol, passing the Fountain di Trevi. It shows that it is volume of water which makes a fountain effective, and it suggested that we might have a good flow of water down the Upper Terrace at Kensington." 5 January, 1859. "Wrote a letter recommending that Captain Fowke should come out to Rome to prepare himself for the Kensington plans." 7 January, 1859. "Walked past the St. John Lateran and by the old Via Latina to see two tombs the property of Mr. Fortunati, and one of which had only been discovered last April. We descended about fifteen steps, once covered with marble, and found one tomb arched over, and the vault of the arching quite covered with light and graceful plaster work—very free in execution. The reliefs were not prominent. The subjects pagan. The scroll-work very pretty and lightsome. The figures were in circular compartments. This tomb has been constructed of fine brick-work—the mouldings and ornamental parts of light buff, the other parts of red. A rather large building in the same field showed this treatment more plainly. The pilasters were of red brick, but the Corinthian capital of yellow—not cut, but moulded before they were baked. I hope we shall adopt this system at Kensington, rather eschewing the use of stone, except where stone would be decidedly best." There are many other notes, as to the use of sgraffito,—glazed earthenware, &c.; and upon the Roman mosaic manufactory, where "the old art and real purpose of mosaic seems almost gone out."

VI. Although these quotations from the diary may serve to indicate how constantly Mr. Cole was on the watch for suggestions likely to be of use in the architectural and de-

corative works at South Kensington, it will not be forgotten that for years previously he had given careful study to similar sources of suggestion; a study which is most apparent, perhaps, in his guide books to Westminster Abbey and Hampton Court, where he describes varied productions of artists and art workmen, engaged throughout many past centuries, upon the construction and ornamentation of those historic structures.

VII. Upon his return from abroad, the works on the Commissioners' estate were in progress, and new buildings for the South Kensington Museum were contemplated. Additional picture galleries were constructed adjoining the Sheepshanks gallery, and a large glazed court at the N.E. end of the Museum precincts, was planned and erected by Captain Fowke. New buildings were provided for the National Art Training Schools, which had been housed in temporary wooden sheds. And soon after, followed the erection of four official residences, the decorated façade of which forms the western face of the present inner quadrangle of the Museum buildings. The style adopted by Captain Fowke is the key-note of that subsequently followed for the later buildings. It is based upon that usually seen in North Italian buildings of the fifteenth century—red brick with fawn-coloured and red terra-cotta being chiefly used. The modelled ornaments were designed by Mr. Sykes, under whom, at this time, there were two or three pupils, notably Mr. Reuben Townroe, and Mr. James Gamble.

VIII. In continuation of the glazed north court above mentioned came, southwards, double courts with iron ribs and columns. The decoration of these was devised by Mr. Godfrey Sykes, and carried out by him and his pupils. On each of the outer sides of these courts is a series of long lunette-headed panels each filled with a portrait of some artist. These,

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A. D.
1857-1873.
Part I.

New buildings contemplated for the South Kensington Museum.

National Art Training Schools.

Double south court at the South Kensington Museum.

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A. D.
1857-1873.
Part I.

Mosaic works.

Inner quadrangle of South Kensington Museum.

panels were designed from time to time by various artists, and subsequently worked in mosaic ; a process to which Mr. Cole gave much attention. In 1862, a class of mosaicists was started, and carried out many of the different mosaic decorations which adorn the interior and exterior of the permanent buildings. One of the largest of the mosaic works executed at a later date by the mosaicists, is the frieze round the Royal Albert Hall.

IX. The central block of the inner quadrangle at South Kensington, is remarkable for specimens of decorative work carried out in different materials. Besides the moulded terracotta, of which Mr. Sykes's group of columns is so beautiful an example, there are panels of mosaics wrought both in unglazed earthenware and vitreous tesserae. Over the door modelled from Mr. Sykes's design, which is reproduced in bronze and gilt, are panels in relief in glazed earthenware, after the manner of Della Robbia ware. The interior of the principal refreshment rooms is decorated almost entirely with glazed modelled earthenware and tiles, the ceilings being of enamelled iron. The dado and panels of the western staircase, the decoration of which was designed and executed by Mr. F. W. Moody, and the columns in this gallery containing the Museum's collection of pottery, are also of glazed earthenware.

Commissions to Royal Academicians and other artists.

X. To enlist the interest of artists generally, in the decoration of the Museum, was a particular aim of Mr. Cole's, and from time to time commissions to Royal Academicians and others were sanctioned. Various panels were designed for the decoration of galleries built for exhibiting the "National Competition" works of Art Students—galleries now given up to the Jones bequest, where may be seen lunettes illustrative of stages of instruction in modelling, painting, anatomy, by Mr. George Leslie, R.A., Mr. Marks, R.A., Mr. Pickersgill, R.A., Mr. Val Prinsep, A.R.A., Mr. Eyre

Crowe, A.R.A., and others. Mr. E. J. Poynter, R.A., designed the decorations painted on tiles for the "grill-room" of the refreshment department, and the companion room, a dining-room, was decorated by Messrs. Morris and Co.¹ About the wainscoting of that room, are panels painted by Mr. E. Burne Jones, who also designed the windows. The ornamentation in Persian and Chinese styles of a division in the Museum set apart for oriental objects, was carried out by Mr. Owen Jones. Stained glass and painted windows for the staircases and in the gallery containing the pottery collections, were executed by Mr. Townroe, Mr. Gamble, Mr. Moody, and Mr. W. B. Scott. My father had thought that a copy of Raphael's "School of Athens," if done in mosaic, would form a suitable decoration for a large lunette space in one of the centre courts. A committee of artists was appointed to consider the question; but they decided against it; and, eventually, Messrs. Leighton,² Watts, and Pickersgill were invited to make special designs for the space: that by Mr. Leighton, R.A., "The Arts of War," was chosen, and has since been painted in spirit fresco.³

XI. A great loss occurred in the death of Captain Fowke, in 1865, which was shortly followed by that of Mr. Sykes. Their offices and ateliers had, however, become thoroughly organized for work. Colonel Scott was appointed to succeed Captain Fowke, and among the more important of the buildings at South Kensington, erected under Colonel Scott's supervision, were those of the great South-Eastern courts, and the present Normal School for Science. In much of the interior arrangement of the latter building, as well as in the adaptation of the iron sheds or "boilers," as they were nick-named, to the purposes of a new museum at

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A. D.
1857-1873.
Part I.

Stained glass and painted windows.

Death of Captain Fowke and of Mr. Godfrey Sykes.

Appointment of Colonel Scott, R. E., as Director of New Buildings.

Museum at Bethnal Green.

¹ Mr. William Morris, author of the "Earthly Paradise," is the head of this firm.

² The companion, "Arts of Peace," is in progress to fill the opposite lunette.

³ Afterwards Sir Frederick, P. R. A.

Bethnal Green, he was assisted by Mr. James Wild. Amongst my father's papers, I have found a sketch by him, dated 1868, for the façade in Exhibition Road, of the Science Schools, with its upper overhanging colonnade, a feature upon which he insisted. The building as ultimately erected shows but little departure from his design. It was about this time, 1866-68, that the building of the Royal Albert Hall at Kensington Gore, was commenced, and with that building, both in its internal arrangements and external architecture, Mr. Cole and Captain Fowke were intimately concerned. For many years previously, the building had been contemplated. Indeed, as early as 1858, rough plans and sections were sketched by Mr. Cole of an elliptical or oval shaped covered Hall, capable of holding 30,000 persons. Numerous models, plans, and designs were made for the Royal Albert Hall; with the exception of one by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, all were executed in the architectural and decorative ateliers at South Kensington. But these, again, as in the case of works undertaken for Her Majesty's Commissioners, were paid for out of funds other than those voted by Parliament for works at South Kensington.

XII. Some interest may attach to the opinions upon architectural matters given by Mr. Cole in 1869, when under examination in May and June, before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Hungerford Bridge and Wellington Street Viaduct. Two papers which he handed in are printed as the appendix to the Committee's Report, and are now reprinted (p. 296, Vol. II.). That dated 1869 was prepared by him after a conversation with Mr. Lowe, who had discussed with him "how to keep architects and their estimates in order, and asked me to prepare a memorandum. I said, a design could not be made all at once. Man was not made at one effort." "You mean,"

said Mr. Lowe, "that the monkey was an imperfect experiment."

XIII. During the International Exhibition held in Paris in 1867, Mr. Cole delivered an address to the students of the Ecole Centrale d'Architecture, which is printed in Vol. II., p. 301. And at p. 305, Vol. II., will be found a letter written by him to the Editor of the "Times" in 1872, upon "Public Architecture."

XIV. Before concluding this brief enumeration, it may be mentioned that Mr. Cole paid much attention to devising various forms of cases and frames for exhibiting different classes of objects in the Museum, and economizing space; amongst others, a stand upon which hung a series of radiating frames, to be turned round for the examination of each frame. By this means, a large area of flat space for showing drawings, medals, plaques in low-relief, &c., was obtained in a small compass. The Jury of the Imperial Commission of the Paris Exhibition in 1867, awarded a medal of Honour to Mr. Cole for this ingenious exhibiting stand, the principle of which has since been adopted by many public museums at home and abroad.

XV. The architectural offices and studios were visited daily by Mr. Cole. Here, he would discuss and suggest; make rough sketches, and see specimens of materials in use, or proposed for use. When in residence, from 1863 to 1873, his early morning tour of inspection was round the buildings in progress, as well as the carpenters' and smiths' workshops on the premises.¹

XVI. His contentions with the Treasury in securing grants for proceeding with the buildings for the Museum,

¹ He was always accompanied by his little dog "Jim," a small Yorkshire terrier, whose portrait appeared in "Vanity Fair" in 1871. His grave in the Museum grounds is marked by

a tablet which records that he died in 1879, aged fifteen years, and was the "faithful dog of Sir Henry Cole of this Museum."

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A. D. 1857-1873. Part I.

Cases and frames for exhibiting objects in the Museum.

Mr. Cole's supervision of architectural offices at South Kensington.

Mr. Cole's contentions with the Treasury.

ARCHITECTURAL AND
DECORATIVE WORKS
AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A. D.
1857-1873.
Part I.

Transfer of
charge of
buildings to
the Board of
Works.

were numerous. In the course of them, he was supported by the political heads of the Department, who, almost without exception, cordially urged him to get as much as he could from the Treasury. As a rule, he did not strive without some compensating success; but eventually, a year or so before his retirement, the Treasury decided to transfer the charge of the buildings and their erection, to the First Commissioner of Works, in consequence of which, the ateliers and architectural offices gradually ceased to exist after his retirement.





SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT AND SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

PART I.

1860-1873.

I.



MUCH could be written about the succession of subjects with which my father was called upon to deal, during his tenure of office at the Science and Art Department; but it is only possible to refer to a few. The selection, therefore, that has been made, can but slightly indicate the variety of his official duties between 1860 and 1873.

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AND ART
DEPART-
MENT AND
SOUTH KEN-
SINGTON
MUSEUM.

A. D.
1860-1873.
Part I.

HOUSE OF COMMONS' INQUIRY INTO SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

II. A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1860, to inquire into the South Kensington Museum. During the previous year, a similar Committee had taken evidence respecting public institutions generally. Before both these Committees, as well as before a third, which dealt with the British Museum in March, 1860, Mr. Cole appeared, and was examined at considerable length.

House of
Commons'
Inquiry into
South Ken-
sington
Museum.

Mr. John Locke (Member for Southwark at the time) was a prominent objector to the South Kensington Museum.

Mr. John
Locke, M. P.

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MUSEUM.

A. D.
1860-1873.
Part I.
Mr. Cole's
evidence.

He was on the Select Committee, and was untiring in his efforts to convict Mr. Cole in his evidence. Thus he opens an attack :—

“Has it been a subject of complaint that the South Kensington Museum should be established in a great measure for precisely the same purposes that ought to be answered in the British Museum?” (Mr. Cole.) “I am not aware; I think that they are completely distinct institutions.” “Is not that one of the complaints made with respect to the South Kensington Museum?” (Mr. Cole.) “I am not aware that there has been any expression of feeling that the British Museum ought to take charge of the Art Schools throughout the country.” “Is that a complaint or not?” (Mr. Cole.) “I never heard it.” “What are the complaints which you have heard?” (Mr. Cole.) “Perhaps the Honourable Member will allow me to read his speech in Parliament.” “What was the complaint I made?” (Mr. Cole.) “One was that the South Kensington Museum afforded an illustration, on a small scale, of all the jobs which have ever been carried out in similar undertakings. Another complaint was, that it was in every respect a complete failure, that it was idle to talk of extending what in the eyes of a vast number of persons (probably the 500,000 who came there) was a nuisance; that pictures had been taken out of the different galleries and put into most inconvenient places, and that altogether the concern was in a woeful plight.” “Are you aware that what I said then was with reference to the proposition of the right hon. gentleman now in the chair, as to the extension of the buildings at South Kensington?” (Mr. Cole.) “I am quite aware that the right honourable gentleman’s speech was in reference to an application for money for extended buildings, but I cannot admit that those expressions apply to buildings.”

Report of
Select Com-
mittee.

The Report of the Committee, however, conclusively cleared up a number of suspicions which had been entertained, such, for instance, as extravagance in the formation of the collections, competition with the British Museum in the purchase of specimens, and centralization in the metropolis of the possible benefits of the institution.

UNIVERSAL CATALOGUE OF BOOKS ON ART.

III. As may have been gathered, the confidence of Parliament in the value and utility of the institution, increased from year to year. When some new work of unusual character was projected, or taken in hand, there were objectors who saw in it some terrible job. The compilation of a universal Catalogue of Art Books was a case in point. It is a work of some magnitude, and the following extracts from memoranda, dated 22nd January, 1870, on the subject, may be suitably inserted here.

"1. On the 5th April, 1864, I had the honour to submit the following Memorandum to the Lord President of the Council (the Earl Granville, K.G.), and the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education (the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, M.P.), who were pleased to approve of the proposal.

"1. Instead of making the Catalogues for the Art Library and the educational and other scientific divisions of the South Kensington Museum dependent upon the accidental collection of works, I recommend that measures be taken for forming a Catalogue of all those works in the languages of all countries, which ought, if possible, to be found in the respective divisional libraries.

"2. To do this, it would be necessary to search the Catalogues of the British Museum, the Bodleian and other British libraries, as well as the libraries of continental Europe and the United States.

"3. The proposed Catalogues would therefore represent certain classes of literature tolerably complete up to a given date.

"4. Such Catalogues being once printed, would supersede the necessity for the editions at present constantly recurring.

"5. By indicating in the Catalogues the works as they are obtained, the deficiencies of the collection, as well as its possessions, would always be patent.

"6. Such Catalogues would be useful in all libraries, and to

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Universal
Catalogue
of Books on
Art.

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SINGTON
MUSEUM.

A. D.
1860-1873.
Part I.

Minute on
New Cata-
logue of Art
Books.

students in all parts of the world, and would in the end prove more economical and much more useful than the present system.

“This recommendation is based on a suggestion of Mr. Dilke’s, made in the ‘Athenæum’ before 1851. (Mr. Dilke died in 1864.)

“At a Board Meeting, 12th October, 1865, a minute was passed in which it was determined that :

“The New Catalogue shall include not only the books in the Library, but all books printed and published, at the date of the issue of the Catalogue, that could be required to make the Library perfect ; that is, to compile a universal record of printed Art books which are known to exist up to that period, wherever they may happen to be at the time.

“It is obvious that immediate perfection cannot be expected in such a work, and that many deficiencies, errors, and imperfections must constantly be met with. It is therefore proposed, by means of occasional supplements, to rectify them, and to add notices of any books not brought to light at the time of issue, as well as of such further publications as continue to appear.

“By reference to the proposed Catalogue, any reader in the Art Library of the Museum, would thus find a clue, not only to the works he was looking for in the actual collections of the Library, but to other works bearing on his course of studies which had not as yet been obtained, but which had been ascertained to form part of other libraries, whether public or not, either in our own or in any foreign country. All rare books would have a reference given to the libraries in which they are to be found. By this means also the deficiencies of the Art Library would be demonstrated, and provision made for its ultimate completion.

“Such a Catalogue, it is thought, would prove a valuable acquisition to Art literature throughout the world, and would have such an international interest as to justify Her Majesty’s Government in inviting the co-operation of other Governments towards its accomplishment.

“The nature, however, of such an undertaking, entails difficulties partly inherent, as having reference to the proper limits of the special subject-matter of the Catalogue itself, and partly from the scattered position of libraries and collections, many of them unfurnished with any trustworthy and attainable account, either

printed or manuscript, of their own contents, from which the Catalogue, so far as it refers to books not in the South Kensington Library, must of necessity be compiled.

"2. Accordingly, the materials for the titles of the books have been obtained, with the uniformly courteous assistance of the Librarians, from the Catalogues of the Libraries of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Trinity College, Dublin, Royal Society, London, London Institution, Royal Institute of British Architects, London Library, the Athenæum, Soane Museum, the Cicognara Collection, and numerous Foreign Libraries, together with those in the National Art Library at the South Kensington Museum. These materials have been enriched by notices which have been furnished from time to time, and received from the commencement of the Catalogue to the close of 1869, from upwards of 400 correspondents in different parts of the world. The following return will show the various languages in which titles of books have been received, towards the completion of the Catalogue:—

Danish	.	.	.	.	.	.	7
Dutch	.	.	.	.	.	.	96
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,575
French	.	.	.	.	.	.	7,935
German	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,348
Italian	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,786
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Latin	.	.	.	.	.	.	721
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	.	179
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	.	60
Swedish	.	.	.	.	.	.	85
							<hr/>
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	14,794

"Instead of waiting for years before printing the titles in course of being collected, it was decided to publish portions of the Catalogue in 'Notes and Queries,' as *proofs*. This

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Materials
obtained
from Cata-
logues of
various
Libraries.

Portions to
be published
in "Notes
and
Queries."

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Publication
of Catalogue
in "Times."

work must therefore only be judged as one subject to future revision, condensation, and additions. There is no doubt that a mass of information has been obtained through this mode of publication, which would have been impossible except by some such process."¹

No mention is made in the foregoing, of the publication in the "Times" of the proof sheets of the Catalogue, an incident of no inconsiderable moment at the time. My father desired to give the greatest publicity to the undertaking, in order to obtain corrections and additions for the work before it should be printed in a book form, and the managers of the "Times" acceded to his application to them for assistance in the matter. The political heads of the Department sanctioned the proceeding. On the 8th and 14th May, a whole page of the "Times," containing a commencement of titles, under letter A, of books on Art of all periods and countries, appeared.

The columns of book-titles attracted notice particularly from Mr. Dillwyn, M.P.—always a sceptic in respect of South Kensington and its proceedings—who plied Lord Robert Montagu (the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education) with a series of questions in the House of Commons, on the 14th May. Was the publication authorized? What was the object of it, &c.? Further questions on the 17th May, were asked in the House by Mr. W. H. Gregory, who suggested that the South Kensington department was playing into the hands of the "Times." In compliance with the evident intention of these questions, the Lord President had directed on the 15th May, that the further publication of the Catalogue in the "Times,"² should be suspended. Arrangements were

Mr. Dill-
wyn, M.P.

Mr. Gre-
gory, M.P.

¹ See Parliamentary Paper, "Universal Art Catalogue," ordered to be printed, 13th June, 1867.

² A leader in the "Times" on the 17th May, 1867, concludes as follows:—"As far as regards this jour-

subsequently made for the Catalogue to be published through the medium of "Notes and Queries."

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Part I.

Develop-
ment of Art
Collections.

DEVELOPMENT OF ART COLLECTIONS.

IV. A memorandum upon the principles which should apply to the development of the Art Collections of the Museum, was prepared by Mr. Cole in 1863. Some sections—the Mediæval Art of Italy, for instance—were well represented. It was therefore recommended that

"Future purchases be confined to objects wherein fine art is applied to some purpose of utility, and that works of fine art not so applied should only be admitted as exceptions, and so far as they may tend directly to improve art applied to objects of utility. The decorative art of all countries should be represented. Second-rate works should only be acquired as substitutes until better works be obtained. Where the taste of the age or country has been low, few specimens only will be necessary. Original works are to be obtained as far as possible, but where this would seem to be impracticable, the system hitherto pursued of representing the finest known examples by electrotypes, casts, and drawings will be followed, it being always kept in mind that the aim of the Museum is to make the historical and geographical series of all decorative art complete, and fully to illustrate human taste and ingenuity."

From this date the Museum began acquiring reproductions of objects of art, and a system, first-rate in its importance to the formation of art museums generally, was established. Amongst the more notable of the reproductions, that of the Bayeux Tapestry—or, more properly speaking, embroidery—may be signalized, and in connection with

Reproduc-
tion of
Bayeux
Tapestry.

nal, we need only add that the publication of the Catalogue in our columns, which could never be profitable, is at this season of the year especially inconvenient, and that if the House of

Commons will take the task off our hands by requiring the Department to cease from its enterprise, it will earn our sincere thanks."

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1860-1873.

Part I.
Inter-
national
Exchange
of Copies of
Works of
Fine Art.

it the quotation of a letter from Mr. Carlyle may be interesting.¹

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF COPIES OF WORKS OF FINE ART.

V. In 1864, Mr. Cole drew up a memorandum upon the International Exchange of Copies of Works of Fine Art. It commenced thus :—

“ 1. The collections of the South Kensington Museum now possess many examples of works of fine art executed in various kinds of materials, which are unique for their beauty, excellence, and variety. 2. In like manner, most of the art museums of the Continent contain similar works. 3. Such objects must always remain permanently as national treasures of the respective countries possessing them. 4. Although the originals cannot be acquired, various modes of reproduction are now matured and employed, such as electrotyping, photography, elastic moulding, &c., whereby

¹ “5, Cheyne Row, Chelsea,
“20th May, 1873.

“DEAR COLE,
“I went yesterday with two companions for a look at your Bayeux Tapestry in the Albert Hall, and I cannot but express to you at once my very great contentment with what I saw there. The enterprise was itself a solid, useful, and creditable thing; and the execution of it seems to me a perfect success—certainly far exceeding all the expectations I have entertained about it. Mr. Froude, who was one of my companions, was full of admiration; and a brother of mine, who had seen the tapestry itself at Bayeux last year, seemed to think that this copy you had managed to make (I hope in a *permanent* and easily *repeatable* manner) was superior in vivid clearness, beauty of colour, &c., to the very original. Nothing amiss in any part of the series did I notice, or suspect, except perhaps, in one part of

the series, the Funeral of King Edward preceding his Death; which is a point you can easily examine, and, if wrong, put right.

“As the work is in essence photographic, I flatter myself you have preserved the negative and other apparatus whereby the thing can be completely repeated as often as you like, and at moderate expense—in which case it might, with evident and great advantage, be imparted in the same complete form to all British large towns, British colonies, and even in America itself would be precious to every inquiring and every cultivated mind. In a word, I am much obliged to you for sending me to see this feat of yours (by far the reasonablest in completeness of its kind yet known to me), and very much obliged, above all, for your having done it, and so done it.

“Yours truly, with many thanks,
(Signed) “T. CARLYLE.”

Mr. Carlyle's
letter on the
Bayeux
Tapestry.

admirable substitutes may be obtained with perfect security to the originals."

These points, more fully developed, were adopted as the bases of a minute passed by Lord Granville and Mr. Bruce, which was circulated through the Foreign Office to Her Majesty's ministers abroad. Foreign museums were invited to exchange copies of their catalogues with the South Kensington Museum.

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INTERNATIONAL ART INVENTORY COMMENCED.

VI. Numerous catalogues from abroad were received in response; but it was found that little or no information had been gleaned in respect of monuments or collections in the treasuries of cathedrals, churches, monasteries, &c. It was, therefore, suggested by Mr. Cole that an universal inventory of objects dispersed in churches, public buildings, and such like, should be undertaken, and arrangements were sanctioned for the prosecution of this work. In the course of ten years, four parts relating to works of art, mosaics, and stained glass, goldsmiths' work, enamels and ivories, metal work, bronze, brass, copper, and lead, foreign monumental brasses, ironwork, woodwork, sculpture in marble, alabaster, and stone were published. The work was edited by Mr. Cole, who offered to continue it after his resignation in 1873; but his offer was declined, and the compilation carried no further, notwithstanding that much matter for inventories of textile fabrics, painting, &c., had been collected. The utility of these inventories, both for noting objects worth reproducing, for supplying students and others with a consultable work important in facilitating the study of the history of art, is too obvious to require comment. Foreign governments have adopted the idea, and are acting upon it in a systematic manner in respect of their National Art Treasures.

Inter-
national
Art Inven-
tory com-
menced,

and progress
suspended.

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Indian
architecture.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

VII. In November, 1866, Mr. Cole paid special attention to the representation in the Museum, of Indian Architecture and decorative carving, and from this time, many casts of types of Indian architecture, Buddhist, Hindu, Mohammedan, &c., were obtained. Sir Stafford Northcote, who was Secretary of State for India at the commencement of this work, warmly sympathized with the object my father was desirous of attaining, and the Government of India recognized its importance.

PUBLIC EDUCATION, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY.

Public edu-
cation,
primary and
secondary.

VIII. During the vice-presidentship of Lord Robert Montagu, Mr. Cole was invited to submit to him a few notes on Public Education, which were merely "brief suggestions for maintaining and improving the then existing arrangements," rather than proposals "for any new or comprehensive plan." The headings of these notes are somewhat as follows:—Under Elementary Education: Payments on results for reading, writing, and ciphering should be made without conditions as to the employment of certificated teachers. Such conditions being removed, State aid could be easily extended to all schools throughout the country, and a partial if not perfect system of national education would be possible without disturbance to the existing voluntary system. The status of a certificated teacher might be recognized as advantageous to the possessor of it, by (a) a low registration fee, whether employed or not; (b) an augmentation grant, when employed; and (c) a capitation grant, for the attendance and good order of his school. All idle vagrants under twelve, should be sent to the union schools, and the parents be compelled to pay towards their teaching. A *permissive* local rating bill would be very desirable; "it exists already for libraries, art schools, and

museums, why not for primary instruction?" Measures might be usefully taken to induce the children of *all* classes of society, to attend elementary schools. Under Secondary or Technical Instruction, he recommended that—

"The managers of elementary schools be free to establish classes for teaching science through certificated teachers, and that payments on results be made to them, and that all fears of competition with elementary education be ignored."

"If effective measures can be taken to deal with the funds and management of the old free and common grammar schools, the teaching of art and science might be usefully introduced into them."

The State might, with advantage, establish at the cost of a few thousand pounds, professorships with prizes, and perhaps scholarships for science, at Eton, Harrow, Rugby, &c., as well as at the universities. Four establishments should be formed in the nature of training colleges for teaching practical science.

"Public libraries, galleries, and museums should be viewed as the highest instruments of public instruction. Full labels, inventories, and catalogues should be prepared as well for the learned as the unlearned visitor."

Both on religious and moral grounds, Mr. Cole recommended,—

"That arrangements be made as at Kew Gardens and Museum, Hampton Court, and Greenwich Picture Galleries, to admit the public to national institutions on Sunday afternoons."

Public libraries and museums, supported in the main by public funds, should be placed, for reasons of efficiency and economy, under a minister of the Crown. Boards of numerous members are obstructive for executive management, though useful for counsel. The institutions specially referred to in this respect, were the British Museum, the National Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, Patent Museum,

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Secondary or
Technical
Instruction.

Opening of
museums on
Sunday.

Public libra-
ries and mu-
seums under
a minister of
the Crown.

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Part I.

A Minister
of Public
Instruction.

in London ; also the National Gallery and Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and the National Gallery in Edinburgh. In conclusion, he summed up the general principles of administration thus :—

“I consider that elementary education, secondary or technical instruction, the management of public libraries, galleries, and museums, and all the votes for education, science, and art, should be concentrated in the administration of them, so far as the expenditure of public funds at least is concerned, under the sole authority of the same minister of the Crown. This Minister of Public Instruction ought not, I think, to be the Lord President of the Council. The work is ample enough to engage the sole attention of a minister who, I venture to say, ought to rank as a Secretary of State. He would sit in either House, according to the circumstances of the Cabinet. There should be an under secretary also in Parliament.

“In my opinion, the present work at the Privy Council office, with all the calls for charters, health, cattle plague, quarantine, &c., made upon the attention of the Lord President, make it impossible for that high functionary to devote sufficient time to numerous questions involved in public instruction, viewed comprehensively.

“To enlarge elementary education, making it truly national, to reform educational charities, to increase technical instruction throughout the United Kingdom ; to reorganize the British Museum, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, &c., so as make them work efficiently and harmoniously together, are functions which ought not, I conceive, to be treated as of secondary importance to any others.”

This document is dated 27th November, 1867. In the previous year my father had written an article for the “Edinburgh Review,” upon “Irresponsible Boards,” extracts from which the editor has kindly permitted me to print in Vol. II., p. 309.

Irresponsible
Boards.

SCHOLARSHIPS ESTABLISHED BY SIR JOSEPH
WHITWORTH.

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MUSEUM.

A. D.
1860-1873.
Part I.
Scholarships
established
by Sir
Joseph
Whitworth.

IX. Reverting, however, to Mr. Cole's connection with technical instruction, mention may be made of the establishment by Sir Joseph Whitworth, of thirty scholarships of the annual value of £100 each, to be applied (as stated in his letter of the 18th March, 1868, to the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, M.P.) for the future instruction of young men, natives of the United Kingdom, selected by open competition for their intelligence and proficiency in the theory and practice of mechanics and its cognate sciences. In reference to this, a note in the Diary for the 6th December, 1867, runs thus: "Mr. Whitworth called; asked me to prepare a scheme for his leaving £100,000 to promote technical education, and to see MacDonald and discuss it with him." And, again, on the 1st March, 1868: "Started from Manchester in a snow-storm with J. Whitworth, Reed,¹ and Smiles,² to Darley Dale, where Whitworth has brought together a property worth over £120,000. It includes the famous Darley Dale stone quarry. He has laid out the rocks and grounds, and is about to build a house. He showed us his cattle and dairy and stallion, all as good as possible. It is a most lovely spot, and we spent the day walking about. Reed full of ships, Whitworth of his guns, I of scientific education. Scheming with Whitworth before dinner as to endowment. He wished some preference to be given to Lancashire, Yorkshire, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. Came to my room early to tell me of this plan, which I was to put on paper. He would write to Dizzy, and get me to take the letter, as his agent, and give explanations." The next morning "Whitworth met me coming

Endowment
for scholar-
ships.

¹ Sir E. J. Reed, M.P., formerly
Chief Constructor of the Navy.

² Mr. Samuel Smiles, author of
"Self-Help."

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down, and said, 'I have been considering, and my plans won't do.' 'We must get the best men.' I gave him a plan on his first idea, and he wished for another; and I gave him one after breakfast." Again, on the 18th: "With Donnelly, to dine with Whitworth, and to discuss his scholarships. Whitworth would establish thirty, to be obtained in open competition for promoting studies in mechanics and the cognate sciences. We were three hours settling the letter, and did not leave till 12.45. Whitworth was to take the letter himself to Disraeli." About a week afterwards, "Donnelly brought Whitworth's letter about his scholarships, which Disraeli had sent to the Duke (of Marlborough), and passed on to me." Minutes were then passed for the regulation of the competition for these scholarships, which since then has been conducted by the Department of Science and Art as part of its scheme of annual local examinations.

EMPLOYMENT OF ROYAL ENGINEERS AS CIVIL SERVANTS.

Employ-
ment of
Royal En-
gineers as
civil ser-
vants.

X. The employment of members of the corps of Royal Engineers as civil servants of the Crown, was a subject bearing in a marked manner upon the Department at South Kensington, and in November, 1869, circumstances induced Mr. Cole to draw up a memorandum about it, which he brought before the Lord President, and other members of the Government. Extracts from it are given in Vol. II., p. 323. Incidentally, he had expressed some of his views in this respect, in his paper upon "Army Reform," alluded to hereafter in the chapter upon the Society of Arts.

FOREIGN TOURS. REPORT ON CONSERVATOIRE DES ARTS ET MÉTIERS.

Foreign
tours. Re-
port on

XI. He wrote various reports upon his official journeys abroad; as for instance, upon the *Conservatoire des Arts et*

Métiers, in Paris, an institution he visited in company with the late Captain Fowke, in 1865, in obedience to the instruction of the Lord President, to "examine into the relations which exist between the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers* and system of French patents." This report is published in Appendix M of the 12th Annual Report of the Science and Art Department. In 1869, with Colonel Scott, R.E., he reported upon "Mosaic Pictures for Wall Decorations," after visiting Venice, Ravenna, Rome, Naples, Palermo. An interesting series of reproductions of mosaics, dating from the 1st century, resulted from this journey, and is exhibited in the South Kensington Museum. The Report was published in the 16th Annual Report of the Department.

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Conservatoire des
Arts et
Métiers.
Report on
mosaics.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUMS.

XII. In 1865, when Lord Granville and Mr. Bruce were Lord President and Vice-President of the Council, a meeting was held to consider the question of the establishment of Metropolitan Museums. One for Bethnal Green was the first to be undertaken. Its special purpose was to be the exhibition of the Collection of Food and Animal Produce with the allied industries, a section which was gradually becoming overcrowded in the parent Museum at South Kensington. A principle in the scheme of Metropolitan Museums was, that each should have a distinguishing characteristic, and not degenerate into merely second-rate *replicas* of earlier established National Museums in the metropolis. The establishment of the Bethnal Green Museum, took many years to accomplish. Its history is set forth in a return of correspondence which was laid before Parliament in 1872. A Minister in authority was reported to have set his face against any grant for the maintenance of such a Museum, and ignoring all that former

Metropolitan
Museums.

Food Collec-
tion.

Bethnal
Green
Branch
Museum.

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Opposition
of the
Treasury.

Opening of
Museum.

Governments had done in favour of the principle, decided "not to give a shilling to make it one of King Cole's Hens and Chickens." On the other hand, when the controversy with the Treasury as to ways and means for the Museum, ran high, Mr. W. E. Forster (Vice-President of the Council) said to my father, "You will have Museums all over the country, and increased grants for purchases, and I shall welcome such a result." But immediately previous to the opening, further difficulties arose with the Treasury, who were averse to sanctioning a proposed expenditure of £500 to prepare the Museum for the opening ceremonial.

It was well known that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had been invited, and had consented to formally open the Museum on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen; that the Lord Chamberlain's Department was engaged in framing the "Proceedings" for the occasion; that the thousands of inhabitants in the East-end, were dressing their shop and house fronts with flags, hangings, garlands, and mottoes of welcome; that the local authorities, who had found the ground for the Museum, were straining their utmost to mark the event as one of public rejoicing, bestirring themselves in the matter of guards of honour, reception committees, and so forth; still the Treasury maintained their opposition to the very last. At length they were compelled to give way. Accounts of the brilliant success of the inauguration of a new Museum in the midst of one of the most crowded of the artisan districts of London, appeared in the newspapers of the 25th June, 1872.

LOCAL PROVINCIAL MUSEUMS OF ART.

Local
Provincial
Museums.

Museum at
Notting-
ham.

XIII. Whilst the foundation of the Bethnal Green as a new "National" Museum was in progress, the idea of establishing a "local" Museum to be administered by the municipality at Nottingham, arose. The town had for many years

possessed a flourishing and large School of Art, but there was no Art Museum. In respect of this latter, the late Mr. W. G. Ward, of Nottingham, applied to Mr. Cole for advice in 1871. On the 15th January, 1872, he addressed a letter upon the subject to Mr. Ward, who was then Mayor of Nottingham. It began thus:—

“The Lord President of the Council having instructed me to be in town on Tuesday, to attend the summons of certain members of the Government, I have to inform you with regret that I am unable to fulfil the engagement which the Marquis of Ripon had permitted me to accept, of distributing the Prizes to the students of the Nottingham School of Art. I request you, therefore, to make this apology for my absence to the committee and the students of the School of Art. I had accepted the duty with pleasure, not so much because I should have had the opportunity of congratulating the town of Nottingham on possessing one of the very best Schools of Art in the country, but because I should have been enabled to prove that the town must adopt further measures for maintaining this position, and extending the influence and advantages of a Museum of Science and Art, especially illustrative of those industries which have given Nottingham the eminent position it holds among the great manufacturing centres of the United Kingdom. I think I should have been able to show that if Nottingham does not establish such a Museum, the fault will not rest with Parliament or Her Majesty’s Government, or the administration of the votes for Science and Art, but solely with the town.”

He then proceeds to explain certain official conditions under which the Department at South Kensington could give aid in promoting the formation of such a Museum, and concludes:—

“The prosperity of a town depends on its manufactures, which themselves depend upon the knowledge and application of principles of Science and Art. These principles must be demonstrated by practical examples, as they are comparatively unfruitful without them. Such a Museum would provide the examples. It would educate not merely your young men and women. It is the only means of educating the adult who has passed the period of

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Letter from
Mr. Cole on
proposed
Museum at
Notting-
ham.

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Opening of
temporary
Museum at
Nottingham.

Conversion
of Notting-
ham Castle
into a
Museum.

Opening by
Prince of
Wales.

attending school. It would teach the young child to respect property and behave gently. It is the chief means by which the knowledge and the aspirations for excellence of the workmen, the manager, the manufacturer, the capitalist, and the consumer are all led to work in harmony for successful results."

The following March, Mr. Cole went down to Nottingham. "In the afternoon (of the 10th March) with the Mayor and Mr. Hine, the Duke of Newcastle's agent, over the Castle which was burnt down in Reform riots. Mr. Hine would recommend it should be used as a Museum of Science and Art, and put in order. It would make a splendid work."¹ The Corporation had decided to commence with a temporary Museum with loans from South Kensington, in the Town Hall. This was opened on the 20th May (1872), by the Town Council and the Mayor, when speeches were made, and amongst them one by Mr. Cole. The possible conversion of the Castle into a Museum, was mooted by two or three of the speakers and received with applause. After the ceremony was over, Mr. Cole went to the "Castle with the Mayor and the Town Clerk (Mr. Johnson). The site is admirable for a Museum."¹ The following year Mr. Cole accepted an invitation to distribute the prizes to the students of the Nottingham School of Art. There was a very large attendance, and much interest manifested in the plan for establishing a permanent Municipal Museum at the Castle. Mr. Cole's speech is printed at p. 339, Vol. II. In the course of the succeeding five years, the contemplated conversion of the Castle was effected, mainly through the untiring exertions of the late Mr. Ward, whose untimely and sudden death occurred on the 15th June, 1878. On the 3rd July, 1878, the "Midland Counties Art Museum, Nottingham Castle," was opened by their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales.

¹ Diary.

MR. COLE'S RESIGNATION.

XIV. Mr. Cole had, on the 4th December, 1871, handed in his resignation to Lord Ripon (the Lord President). On the next day, however, a letter from the Treasury was received at South Kensington, by which it was endeavoured to fasten upon him (Mr. Cole) the blame for the defalcations of the professional Accountant.¹ He, therefore, at once asked Lord Ripon to allow his resignation to be held in abeyance, until the question as to who was to blame had been disposed of. Thus he did not actually retire until April, 1873.

¹ See the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Public Accounts, published 13 May, 1872.

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Mr. Cole's
resignation.





ROYAL ALBERT HALL AND NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MUSIC.

PART I.

1858 - 1873.

I.

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Royal Al-
bert Hall.



REFERENCE has already been made to a project, conceived by my father as early as 1858, for building a great hall upon the estate of H. M. Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851; and although this chapter was originally to have been devoted to an account of the founding of the National Training School for Music, a short relation of the steps by which the projected Hall advanced to a reality, may perhaps be appropriately given here—since one of the principal purposes of the proposed hall was the advancement of music.

A "Chorus
Hall Com-
pany" sug-
gested.

II. Whilst abroad in 1858, Mr. Cole drew up a prospectus of a "Chorus Hall Company," with a capital of £150,000 to be raised by life subscriptions and shares of the value of £5 each. The company was "to erect a public hall of much larger size than any existing in this country." It was to be devoted to popular uses, such as musical performances, exhibitions, flower shows, &c., and was to have been inaugurated in connection with the

International Exhibition of 1862. But financial considerations stood in the way of its construction at that time (see pages 242 and 243 of this volume), and the idea had to be abandoned.

III. After the death of the Prince Consort, a Committee appointed by the Queen, recommended that a great central Hall of Arts and Sciences should form part of the National Memorial to H.R.H. "At one of the last interviews I had with the Prince in 1861, standing near the very spot where the Royal Albert Hall now is," writes my father, "H.R.H. expressed his hopes that some day there should be built a central Hall of Arts and Sciences." On the 9th June, 1862, Mr. Cole went to Windsor, and the following memorandum of his visit, is, with the permission of Her Majesty the Queen, here given:—

"Left Witley by 8.56 train to Waterloo; by Windsor train at 10.50. Windsor at 12.30. Grey showed me the printed report of the architects invited by Lord Derby's Committee to suggest nature of Memorial to the Prince. It recommended a Personal Memorial of Sculpture in Hyde Park, facing the Conservatory of Horticultural Society and the commencement of a Hall for Science and Art. Grey also showed me Eastlake's letters and a letter from the Prince to Lord Granville, when Lord Mayor Challis proposed a memorial to him. The Queen sent down to ask when I proposed to go back to town, and then to say she would see me about two. Grey and I went up to the Prince's room. His hat and gloves were laid out in the accustomed way, and his desk table looked just as it used to do. The Queen came in—looked calm and collected. Asked me if I thought the suggestion for the Memorial was practical. Said she had no taste—used only to listen to him—not worthy to untie his latchet—when the 'Times' objected to his having a statue, the Prince himself

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as part of
National
Memorial
to Prince
Consort.

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said he ought not to have one in his lifetime. She said she was much struck with his remark, and felt the solemnity of it. Talked over the buildings at South Kensington—thought the Exhibition buildings ought not to come down—it would be a pity! Gladstone did not think the refusal of his British Museum Bill of much importance. The Queen thought the Prince had taken his fever from the Horticultural Gardens. He was as much interested in them as in the Exhibition of 1851. Indeed, during the last year, she scarcely had any of his company. He was always at the Horticultural Gardens. She wished that all the local Memorials to him should be recorded on a brass plate in the Hall—wished me to ascertain what they were—but I suggested that Lord Derby's Committee should do it, and the Queen approved. She also wished that the site of the Exhibition of 1851 should be marked by four stones as the Prince recommended in his letter to Lord Granville. This letter was to be printed with the Prince's memorandum read at Osborne in 1851."

Raising of
capital for
building of
Hall.

IV. Now, the subscriptions to erect the Personal Memorial being insufficient to cover the cost of the Hall, my father set himself to consider how some £250,000 (the probable cost of the Hall) could be raised; and in November, 1863, drew up a prospectus. This he sent to General Grey, who soon after told him that Her Majesty approved of it. He accordingly commenced to canvass privately for support. General Grey did the same. The capital was to be raised by the allotment of "perpetual or freehold admissions,"—"transferable" or "saleable" to subscribers of £100 each. Amongst the first of the supporters were Earl Granville and the late Sir Titus Salt, Sir Anthony de Rothschild (who agreed to be a trustee), Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., and Mr. George Moffatt (hon. treasurers), and Messrs. Coutts (bankers). By the end of 1864,

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had given his name as president, and the list of vice-presidents included over fifty distinguished names of members of the royal family, peers, ministers, members of the House of Commons, presidents of scientific and artistic bodies.

V. The question as to architectural style for the great Hall, was under consideration during 1864, and many looked to Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. Gilbert Scott as the right man to be commissioned to design the Hall as part of the National Memorial to the Prince Consort. 5th March, 1864 : "G. G. Scott came and talked over the Memorial Hall. I asked him if he would design the outside and be one of a Committee for the inside. For outside he should have two votes, for inside one only—Fowke, Redgrave, and myself to be his colleagues. He preferred the oblong to the round—inclined to an early Gothic treatment with a tinge of Byzantine."¹ Mr. Cole determined, however, to adhere to a Coliseum-like treatment for the Hall itself—the designs for the interior of which were entrusted to Captain Fowke. Towards the end of the year, he and Mr. Cole visited Nismes and Arles to see the Roman amphitheatres there. Upon their return, Captain Fowke set to work upon further plans, and a model, in which the arrangement of arena, amphitheatre, tiers of boxes, with an arcaded corridor or picture gallery crowning the interior, was shown. With some modifications, the leading ideas of his model have been adopted in the present building of the Royal Albert Hall.

VI. On the 29th January, 1865, Mr. Cole and Mr. Redgrave attended at Osborne by command of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. General Grey and Sir Charles Phipps were also present, when Mr. Cole laid before His Royal Highness a copy of a printed announcement

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Architec-
tural style
for the Hall

Mr. Gilbert
Scott.

Captain
Fowke.

Visit to see
Roman am-
phitheatres
at Arles and
Nismes.

Scheme,
plan, and
models sub-
mitted to
the Prince
of Wales.

¹ Diary.

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of the proposed Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences, which had been circulated confidentially to a limited number of persons. This document showed that upwards of seventy persons of eminence had signified their willingness to act as vice-presidents of the Hall, or as officers in various capacities, if invited to do so by the proprietors of the Hall. Mr. Cole submitted to His Royal Highness a ground plan showing the proposed site of the Hall, a drawing prepared by Mr. Gilbert Scott, R.A., of the entrance building to the Hall proposed to face the Memorial to the Prince Consort,¹ which he had designed, and a model of the interior of the Hall, which Captain Fowke, R.E., had prepared. After hearing explanatory details of the proposed buildings from Mr. Redgrave and Mr. Cole, His Royal Highness was pleased to express his approval of the elevation and model, and a desire to see them executed. Mr. Cole then reported that all whom he had personally invited to take investments in sittings, had agreed to do so, and he mentioned several persons who had each expressed a willingness to take ten sittings in the

¹ With reference to the site of the Prince Consort's Memorial, I find the following note by my father.

*Site of the Prince Consort's
Monument.*

I believe this was suggested by General Grey, as overlooking the South Kensington estate, and also being the westward extremity of the Great Exhibition of 1851, both institutions due to the Prince. It was said that Lord Palmerston declared he had heard from the Queen, that Her Majesty had sent for me and asked my opinion: that I had pointed out this site as the intersecting point of two straight lines, one drawn through the site of the '51 Exhibition, the other through the Royal

Horticultural Gardens: that the Queen instantly accepted the idea, and called it a "revelation from Providence." If Lord Palmerston told this story, it was most likely his own invention. I am not aware that I even discussed the site with General Grey or any one. Possibly when General Grey talked to me, I concurred in the propriety of the present site, and he may have spoken of my concurrence. The selection of Gilbert Scott's design was virtually made, I believe, by the Princess Royal, after Lord Derby's Commission had reported in favour of another design. I wrote two short papers pointing out my objections to this design, as not suitable for an out-of-doors treatment.

Investments
in sittings in
proposed
Hall.

proposed Hall, of the value of one hundred pounds each sitting; others who would take five sittings, others three sittings, others one and two sittings. Mr. Cole stated that his inquiries led him to believe that societies, like the Sacred Harmonic Society, the Society of Arts, the Art Union of London, would connect themselves with the use of the Hall. His Royal Highness agreed that the time had now come when he might give every assistance in his power towards the execution of the work, and decided to summon to Marlborough House, a meeting of all the persons mentioned in the announcement, to receive a communication as to the further steps which it might be considered necessary to take.

VII. After this, the prospectus of the Hall was amplified. In it a full description was given of the building, which was to be a spacious amphitheatre of nearly the same proportions as that at Nismes, but somewhat smaller. It was to be about 320 feet long by 200 feet wide, and 100 feet high. It was to consist of an arena and an amphitheatre (like the ancient *Mænianum*), with two tiers of private boxes (being the ancient *Podium*). Above the boxes, there would be a corridor thirty feet wide, lighted from the top, affording space for the exhibition of pictures and sculpture, and for a spacious promenade. Access to and egress from the building, would be amply provided for by numerous separate entrances and staircases (like the ancient *Vomitoria*), nine feet wide. Plans and a model were placed on view in the contractor's offices at the Prince Consort's Memorial in Hyde Park.

VIII. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales presided at the "First Meeting of the Provisional Committee" of the "Royal Hall of Arts and Sciences," on the 13th July, 1865, after which date, it may be said, that the scheme for building the Hall was fairly floated. After Captain Fowke's death at

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Hall de-
scribed in
original
prospectus.

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ing of Pro-
visional
Committee
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General
Scott.

the end of 1865,¹ General Scott, R.E.,² was appointed to the post of architect of the buildings at South Kensington. The erection of Mr. Gilbert Scott's façade for the Hall, had not been found possible within the expenditure contemplated, and an elevation in the Italian Renaissance style had therefore been designed under Captain Fowke's direction. This, with the general scheme for the interior, was used by General Scott. Mr. Reuben Townroe, one of Mr. Sykes' principal assistants, designed and modelled the terra cotta details, so largely employed in the adornment of the present Hall. Mr. Cole, General Scott, and Mr. Townroe used to meet and discuss the modifications of Captain Fowke's designs as circumstances required. The drawings and models, as finally proposed by them, were submitted to the judgment of a committee of architects, consisting of Sir William Tite, M.P., Sir M. Digby Wyatt, Messrs. Fergusson, Fowler, Hawkshaw, and Redgrave, R.A.

Advising
Committee
of Archi-
tects.

Contract for
building.

IX. By the 3rd April, 1867, estimates for building the Hall for £200,000, were submitted by and accepted from Messrs. Lucas. On the 20th May of that year, Her Majesty the Queen laid the foundation stone, in the presence of some 5,000 spectators. State ceremonial was observed on the occasion.

Foundation
stone laid.

Great organ
for Hall.

X. It was not until 1871, that the Great Hall was opened. In the interim, the construction of the great organ by Mr. Willis, was a subject in which my father was highly interested. After his visit to Spain in the spring of 1870, when he had noticed the characteristic arrangement of organ pipes in many of the cathedrals, he suggested that the Albert Hall organ should be similarly treated. The

¹ The Memoir of Captain Fowke, Papers" of the Royal Engineers, is re-written by Mr. Cole for the "Corps printed at p. 349, Vol. II.

² General Scott died in 1883.

pipes themselves were, therefore, grouped and displayed with a minimum of framework, as now to be seen.

XI. On the 29th March, H. M. the Queen opened the Royal Albert Hall, an occasion which was at the time, fully described with all the circumstances of the pomp with which it was invested. The musical arrangements were under the direction of Sir Michael Costa, who had given frequent and valuable advice during the construction of the Hall, both as regards its acoustical properties and the size and quality of the great organ. My father notes on the 29th March, 1871: "R. A. Hall opened with success. It had been my aim since 1858, when I made some plans with H. H. Cole."¹

XII. I may now pass to the foundation of a National Training School for Music. This was the result of a series of incidents, which date from as far back as 1854. In that year, the Directors of the Royal Academy of Music addressed a memorial to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, "praying for the grant of a site on the Kensington Gore estate." Briefly reciting the growth of the Academy since 1822, the Directors showed that the state of the Academy's funds "had not at any period been in a prosperous condition." They had become possessed of a sum of about £4,000, which they could apply to building purposes. They urged their want of a large Music Hall, a Music Library, and rooms for the Exhibition of Musical Instruments, in addition to the rooms for instruction and practice. Provision of space for Music thus formed a place in the Commissioners' scheme for promoting Arts and Sciences; and Music was duly noted by my father as a subject to come under treatment when the opportunity might serve. A Committee of Her Majesty's Commissioners was named to consider the Memorial of the Royal

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State opening
of Hall
by H. M. the
Queen.

National
Training
School for
Music.

Royal Aca-
demy of
Music and
H. M. Com-
missioners.

Provision for
Music in
scheme
drawn up -
by H. M.
Commis-
sioners.

¹ Now Major Cole, R.E., Curator of Ancient Buildings in India.

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Critical state
of Royal
Academy of
Music.

Society of
Arts Com-
mittee on
Musical
Education.

Commence-
ment of
negotiations
between
Royal Aca-
demy and
Science and
Art Depart-
ment.

Academy of Music ; but nothing of a definite nature came of it.

XIII. Ten years later, however, the Directors of the Academy found that the affairs of their institution were becoming critical, and that immediate measures were necessary. Mr. Cole was aware of this, and determined to make a strenuous effort to reform the Academy in its relation to the musical education of the country. He therefore brought the subject before the Society of Arts, in January, 1865, and obtained the appointment of a Committee on Musical Education. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales agreed to be the Chairman of this Committee, provided he should not be called upon "to take part" in the contemplated inquiries into musical education, and that "nothing should be done hostile to the Royal Academy of Music."

XIV. At the same time, Sir George Clerk (a leading Director of the Academy) commenced a correspondence with Mr. Cole, which in due course became official in character, and showed the desire of the Directors that the Science and Art Department should undertake the reform of the Academy. Sir George Clerk writes to inquire if there is "any prospect that the Royal Academy of Music may obtain accommodation in some public building, as we must positively quit our present premises at Midsummer," and, later, "I have communicated to the Directors that Earl Granville desired to know what changes the Directors would be prepared to accept in the present system of management; and I beg to state that they will cheerfully submit themselves to any improvements which his Lordship may desire." How far the preliminaries to the contemplated improvements were carried, may be inferred from the following notes:—"7th February, 1866, Lord Granville agreed to take Royal Academy of Music into South Kensington Museum if Costa was professional Director;"¹ and,

¹ Diary.

again, 13th February, "Sir George Clerk authorized my asking Costa to be Director of Royal Academy of Music;" and, 15th February, "Costa accepted at £1,200 a year and a house."¹ But it appears that the Directors had not plenary powers in regard to the development or reform of the Academy. The professional staff not only claimed to have a voice in the proposed re-arrangement, but asserted themselves in such a way that after some eighteen months' negotiation between the Department of Science and Art and the Royal Academy of Music, it was not found possible for the Department "to accede to the request of the Royal Academy of Music for temporary accommodation at the South Kensington Museum. The changes proposed in the management of that institution, were not of a nature to justify establishing a connection with it, which would have given the public an impression that the Government shared the responsibility for the present action of the Academy."

XV. During the occurrence of the foregoing, the Society of Arts Committee was holding its meetings and collecting information from competent witnesses, as to musical institutions and means of instruction in this country. Through the Foreign Office, the Committee received a number of valuable returns concerning *conservatoires* and academies of music on the Continent. My father's correspondence with various people, such as Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, and others, during 1865 and 1866, supply the details of his scheme for enlarging the operations of the Royal Academy, giving its administration a more responsible and public character, bringing it into relation with the central hall of Arts and Sciences (subsequently the Royal Albert Hall), and forming scholarships to be competed for by persons having musical talent throughout the country. These points are detailed in the first Report of the Society of Arts

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Sir Michael
Costa as
professional
director of
reformed
institution.

Failure of
scheme.

Action of
Society of
Arts.

¹ Diary.

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Further
attempt of
Directors of
Royal Aca-
demy of
Music to
obtain land
at Kensing-
ton.

Proposed
surrender of
Charter of
Royal
Academy.

Mr. Cole on
Royal Aca-
demy of
Music.

Committee, which, drafted by him in June, 1866, was submitted to the Committee, and adopted by them for issue.

XVI. Again the Directors of the Royal Academy made an attempt to secure premises on the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Kensington. They addressed a prayer to Her Majesty the Queen, to accept their surrender of their Charter of Incorporation. In accepting this surrender, General Grey, writing¹ by command of Her Majesty, said that the Queen's regret would be greatly "increased if she thought this step necessarily implied the abandonment of all hope of seeing any successful efforts in future for the development of the musical talent of the country. . . . But Her Majesty would not yet despair, notwithstanding the failure of former efforts, and the dissolution of the present Academy, of seeing some plan matured, bearing, perhaps, more of a national character, and a wider sphere of action, which shall have for its object to encourage a science which commends itself above all others to popular favour, as affording the means of giving pleasure and gratification to the great mass of Her Majesty's subjects." But even in their attempt to clear the way for new action, the Directors of the Royal Academy did not succeed. The formal surrender of the Charter involved expenses, to meet which the Directors had no funds at command. The Professors of the Academy, at this juncture, strained their utmost to save the moribund institution. In the Sixteenth Report of the Science and Art Department, my father writes, that "The Royal Academy of Music appears to have been re-organized, notwithstanding that the Directors had resigned their Charter. It may probably maintain itself as a private institution, and it may be well it should do so. But its constitution will prevent it from becoming a National Training School for Teachers, and for the cul-

¹ To the Earl of Wilton, 14 Jan., 1868.

tivation of natural musical ability, inasmuch as to have such a school the students must be supported by public funds, the administration of which implies responsibility to Parliament. All experience proves that public responsibility and private responsibility cannot work together."

XVII. For a time the Society of Arts remained passive in respect of a National Training School for Music. But in 1869, as the building of the Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences progressed, my father commenced to consider how immediate action might be taken towards accomplishing the object in view. In spite of the successive failures to secure co-operation with the Royal Academy, the idea was still strong in influential quarters, that any new National Academy or School for Music should be, as it were, an outgrowth of the old Royal Academy. "March 5th, 1869, at the Queen's *levée*, discussed Musical Training School with Sir John Pakington¹,"² and soon after, the Committee on Musical Education at the Society of Arts, recommenced its meetings. Lord Dudley, one of the principal Directors of the Royal Academy, was not, at one time, unfavourably inclined to enlarging the old institution, and giving it a character more in keeping with that of a national conservatoire or training school. My father and Sir John Pakington had several discussions with him. They hoped that by the autumn, the opinion of those who had opposed any union of the forces of the Society of Arts with those of the Royal Academy, would have become modified. But Dr. Sterndale Bennett,³ the then Principal of the Royal Academy, was "so opposed to union with the Society of Arts," that the prospects of any successful issue following from the autumn meeting, grew smaller and smaller. "Lord Dudley and Sterndale Bennett both objected to the Society of Arts' petition praying that the

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Society of
Arts scheme.

Sir John
Pakington.

Lord Dud-
ley.

Dr. Stern-
dale Ben-
nett's
objections.

¹ Now Lord Hampton.

² Diary.

³ Afterwards Sir Sterndale.

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Funds raised
for new National Training
School for Music.

First subscribers to
Fund for
Scholarships.

Royal Academy should be the foundation of a future institution."¹ August 1st, "Sullivan called; told him that all treaty with the Royal Academy of Music was ended."¹

XVIII. An endeavour to raise funds for starting the new School of Music, was made by the Society of Arts in 1871, when six concerts were given at the Royal Albert Hall, which was opened that year. Publicity for the proposed new National Training School for Music, was obtained, but the concerts resulted in a loss of about £100 to the Society of Arts. This served to turn Mr. Cole's attention to other methods for raising money to support the new School. In November, whilst on a visit to Lord Carnarvon, my father wrote out a "Scheme of Musical Scholarships," and at once commenced seeking support to it, which was readily granted by Lady Carnarvon, Lady Chesterfield, and others staying at Highclere, who agreed to open subscriptions for scholarships to be competed for by persons of musical ability, in the county or town with which they were particularly identified. A volume of letters which he received during 1871 and 1872, in reply to the requests he made for aid to raise funds for these scholarships, is now deposited in the South Kensington Museum.² It was from this commencement, that

¹ Diary.

² The following promised assistance:—

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, M.P.
Lord and Lady Acton.
Sir C. B. Adderley, M.P. (now
Lord Norton), for Staffordshire.
Miss M. Alderson.
W. Amherst Tyssen Amhurst.
Frederick Arrow.
Thomas Ashton (for Lancashire).
Mr. T. Bass, M.P. (for Derby-
shire).
Sir Thomas Bazley, M.P. (for
Lancashire).

Hon. and Rev. S. Best.
Rev. Canon Birch.
F. J. Bramwell (now Sir).
R. Bray.
Mr. and Mrs. Brocklehurst.
Colin M. Campbell.
The Archbishop of Canterbury.
Mrs. (now Lady) Cardwell.
Earl and Countess of Carnarvon.
Lady Margaret Cecil.
Countess of Chesterfield.
Frederic Clay.
Mrs. and Miss Cohen.
Sir Daniel Cooper.
Mrs. Day.

the plan of founding scholarships for musical education, was eventually developed throughout the country.

XIX. In 1872, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh consented to join the Musical Committee of the Society of Arts; and at this time, attempts were made to use the scheme of Scholarships as a means of reconciliation between the Directors of the Royal Academy and the National Training School. A public dinner was given at Willis's Rooms, on the 3rd July, when Mr. Cole announced that £5,000 worth of Scholarships could be offered to the Academy, if that institution remodelled its administration. Lord Dudley, who took the chair, in the absence of the Duke of Edinburgh, "spoke for five minutes, and said the

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H.R.H. the
Duke of
Edinburgh
joins Musi-
cal Com-
mittee of
Society of
Arts.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Lord De l'Isle. | Sir John and Lady Pakington (Lord Hampton). |
| Countess of Derby. | Lord Clarence Paget. |
| Right Hon. M. E. and Mrs. Grant Duff. | T. Gambier Parry. |
| Earl and Countess of Essex. | Albert Pell, M.P. |
| George Field. | Mrs. Pender. |
| The Fishmongers' Company. | George Plucknett. |
| Miss Gerard. | Wyndham S. Portal. |
| G. Goldney, M.P. (now Sir). | W. Rathbone (for Lancashire). |
| Earl and Countess Granville. | Marquis and Marchioness of Ripon. |
| T. Hawkshaw. | Sir Titus Salt. |
| John R. Hollond, M.P. | Earl and Countess Somers. |
| John Holms, M.P. (Middlesex). | Earl Spencer. |
| Mrs. Howard (Cumberland). | Thomas R. Storey. |
| Henry A. Hunt (now Sir). | Lord and Lady Sydney. |
| Miss Alice Hunt. | Christopher Sykes. |
| Marquis of Lansdowne. | Right Hon. W. Cowper-Temple. |
| John Leslie. | Miss Thackeray. |
| Lord and Lady Lyttelton. | Miss Elizabeth Thackeray. |
| J. T. Mackenzie. | Sir George Verdon. |
| The Duchess of Marlborough. | Earl and Countess of Warwick. |
| George Melly, M.P. | Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford. |
| Samuel Mendel. | John Webb. |
| The Mercers' Company. | G. Wedgwood. |
| Frank Morrison. | The Marquis of Westminster (for Cheshire), now Duke of. |
| J. Nasmyth. | Lord and Lady Wharcliffe. |
| Lord Northbrook. | The Archbishop of York. |
| Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote. | |
| The Duchess of Northumberland. | |

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Negotiations
renewed
with Royal
Academy of
Music,

and failure
of them.

Funds for
building a
new School.

Royal Academy ought to try and get their £500 grant from Government made £15,000."¹ On the 9th July, "lunched with the Duke of Edinburgh. With His Royal Highness to Royal Academy of Music. Examined their premises. Bennett timid, but agreeable. The Duke invited the directors to meet, and see the accommodation available at the Royal Albert Hall."¹ Three days after this, Lord Dudley and Mr. John Hullah met the Duke of Edinburgh, who was accompanied by Mr. Cole, at the Royal Albert Hall, and went round the building, looking at the rooms which could be made available for the Royal Academy of Music. This informal inspection was preliminary to that made on the 17th July, when His Royal Highness conducted Sir Sterndale Bennett and a number of the Professors of the Royal Academy over the same ground. But, again, these overtures to bring the Royal Academy into harmony with a new scheme, terminated in nothing; for, at the last of the meetings held between the Directors and Professors of the Royal Academy and the Musical Education Committee of the Society of Arts, Sir Sterndale Bennett thanked His Royal Highness for his kindness in having proposed to him the use of rooms in the Royal Albert Hall, and declined the offer, the Professors preferring to remain at Tenterden Street, in their "happy home."

XX. The Society of Arts now named a sub-committee, consisting of the Duke of Edinburgh, Mr. Tufnell, Mr.² Freake, Major Donnelly, and Mr. Cole, to consider, amongst other matters, on what terms £20,000 should be raised, for the erection of a building for the new National Training School for Music. The Council of the Society of Arts endorsed the proposals submitted to it by this Committee, and agreed to undertake the collection of funds

¹ Diary.

² Now Sir Charles Freake, Bart.

for the Scholarships. Numerous meetings were held during 1874 and 1875, in different parts of the country, to promote the establishment of Scholarships; and my father attended a good many of them. *Ab initio*, it was set forth, that the effort was tentative, inasmuch as the scholarships were to be granted for five years from the opening of the National Training School. At the end, or before the end of that time, the Council expressed the hope that the School would have proved itself worthy of being transferred to the responsible management of the State.

XXI. The movement for Scholarships received strength from the announcement that difficulties in finding funds for the erection of the building, had been removed by Mr. C. J. Freake, who said, that "if Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition would find the ground, he would build the school."¹ A site was granted by the Commissioners, and the preparation of the plans was undertaken by Lieut. H. H. Cole, R.E., who acted as Honorary Architect. "29th April, 1873. Discussed elevation and plan of School." "14th July. Mr. Freake came and signed the Musical Report, saying he would build the School at his own risk. With him to look at the ground."¹

XXII. On the 18th December, 1873, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh laid the first stone of the National Training School, on ground to the west of the Royal Albert Hall, which had been assigned for the School by Her Majesty's Commissioners.

XXIII. The administrative arrangements were now considered, and a Prospectus of Management was drawn up. This was discussed and revised during the first six months in 1874. It was as follows:—

"1.—The Committee of General Management, under the presidency of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, consists of

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held to
promote
Scholar-
ships.

Mr. Freake
offers to
build the
new School.

Foundation
Stone laid.

Administra-
tion of new
School.

Committee
of General
Manage-
ment.

¹ Diary.

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two members appointed by the Council of the Royal Albert Hall, three members appointed by the Society of Arts, and two by Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851. It has the general control and superintendence of the School, and the appointments of all its officers.

"2.—The Committee of General Management proposes that when the building of the School and the endowment funds are sufficiently advanced, five members shall be added to its body, representing the founders of scholarships, and subscribers to the scholarships and general school endowments. In the meantime, the Committee of Management will provisionally elect five representatives from the first five towns which shall each found ten scholarships.

"3.—After the first year of the working of the School, these five members will be elected annually by the general body of founders and subscribers. Every £1 of annual subscription to the scholarship or general school fund, will give a subscriber one vote for the year, and every £25 of donation or endowment to the scholarship or general school fund, will give the donor or his representative a vote in perpetuity.

"4.—The conduct of the School will be divided into three distinct sections :—

- (a) General Administration.
- (b) Professional Direction of Studies.
- (c) Examinations.

Registrar.

"5.—THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION will be conducted by a resident officer, to be called the 'Registrar,' with an Assistant if necessary. He will be charged with the registration and conduct of all correspondence, issue of prospectuses, enrolment of students, superintendence of accounts, compilation of the Examiners' returns of examination; he will also be responsible for moral discipline; for correctness of attendances of the Professional Director, Professors, and all other officers and students; for proper order of the establishment; for issue of orders for stores, music, instruments, and invitations to concerts, &c. He will also attend all meetings of the General Committee, and call and attend any of the meetings of the Professors which may be held. A Receiver and an Accountant will also be appointed.

"6.—THE DIRECTION of Studies will refer solely to the curriculum prescribed for students, and to the methods of instruction.

"The Committee of General Management will appoint the Director of Studies, to be called the 'Professional Director,' who shall hold his office for one year, but be eligible for re-appointment. He will have the control and superintendence of the courses and methods of instruction, and he will prescribe the text books to be used. He will recommend the Professors for appointment to the General Committee, and intimate to the Registrar when he desires a meeting of Professors. All his recommendations involving expenditure will be submitted to the General Committee through the Registrar.

"7.—EXAMINATIONS. A professional board of Examiners, composed of musicians of the highest eminence, will be named annually by the Committee of Management, to supervise the local examinations of the candidates for admission to the School, and conduct the annual examinations of the School.

"8.—The Sessional Examinations, say one at Christmas and one at Midsummer, will be conducted by the Professional Director, who will report the results to the Committee of Management.

"9.—PROVINCIAL BRANCH SCHOOLS. As soon as the Training School is established and is in working order, the Committee will direct their attention to the formation of Provincial Branch Schools.

"10.—The Lords of the Committee of Council on Education have this year directly recognized the importance of Music in Elementary Education, by making a grant of one shilling on behalf of every child taught singing. It is to be hoped that this action may be completed by the establishment of Provincial Schools of Music, and connected with the Training School as part of a National System.

"11.—CHARTER OF INCORPORATION. When the arrangements are sufficiently matured, a petition will be presented to the Queen, praying for a Charter of Incorporation."

XXIV. On the 15th June, 1875, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as President of the Society of Arts, held an important meeting at Marlborough House, "to promote the establishment of Free Scholarships for the Metropolis,

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Director.

Examina-
tions.

Provincial
Branch
Schools.

Charter of
Incorporation.

Meeting
at Marl-
borough
House for
Metropoli-
tan Schol-
arships.

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Board of
Examiners
and appoint-
ment of
Professors.

in the new National Training School for Music." At this meeting, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales publicly announced the munificent gift of the building, which Mr. Freake made to His Royal Highness.

XXV. The attention of the Committee of Management was turned upon the appointment of the Board of Examiners before that of the Professors for the School. And it was upon the advice of the Examiners that the Professional Staff was finally appointed. Dr. Sullivan¹ accepted the post of Principal and Chairman of the Board of Professors. Early in 1876, competitions in different parts of the country were held for the scholarships, which by that time had been subscribed for, and the National Training School for Music with fifty scholars, each holding a scholarship, was opened on the 17th May, 1876.

XXVI. The limits of the "Fifty Years of Public Work" have already been exceeded, and it would be going too far beyond them, to enter into any detailed account of the career of the School, during the six years of its existence. At the end of the five years, a new scheme for a Royal College of Music had been broached, and the Committee of Management of the National Training School were encouraged to keep the School in action for another year. This, through the continuation of the scholarships by favour of their founders, was effected. It had been a fundamental principle in the organization of the School, that no scholar should be admitted who, as an amateur or dilettante, might desire to attend short courses of instruction, and pay fees for attending them. Holders of scholarships only, were admissible. To these, having proved in competitive examinations, their ability as persons of musical talent and knowledge, grants of scholarships were made conditionally, upon their agreeing to undergo a fixed term of two, three, or

Opening of
School.

¹ Now Sir Arthur Sullivan.

more years' instruction. The School, therefore, avoided rivalry with any of the numerous Academies and Colleges where fee-paying students, giving optional attendance, were admitted. Its work was, therefore, all the more serious and regular. When the Training School closed in March, 1882, there were over a hundred scholars, each holding the scholarship he or she had gained in public competition. Funds in hand amounted to £1,000, and these with the fixtures, instruments, books, &c., were transferred to the Royal College of Music.

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Closing of
the School.





THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

PART I.

1846-1873.

I.



MR. COLE'S connection with the Society of Arts, dating from 1846, when Mr. John Scott Russell, its secretary, induced him to become a member, covers a period of thirty-six years.

Established in 1753, by William Shipley, a drawing-master of Northampton, the Society of Arts had been successively presided over by Lord Folkestone, Lord Romney, the Duke of Norfolk, H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, and H.R.H. the late Prince Consort. The encouragement of art in all branches, held a foremost position in its work. It offered premiums, in the earlier years of its existence, for the discovery of cobalt, for the cultivation of madder, to incite boys and girls to become proficient in the art of drawing, to encourage English carpet-makers to produce carpets in imitation of Turkey carpets. It awarded prizes to young boys destined to become great artists : to Cosway in 1755 (when he was but twelve years of age) ; to John Flaxman, 1766 (aged eleven years), and in 1847, to John Everett Millais, a gold medal for "an original composition in oil." As early as 1760, the Society had identified itself with exhibitions. A "first" exhibition of the works of native artists, was held

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Early work
of the
Society.

in the great room of the Society in the Strand, opposite Beaufort Buildings, from which the Royal Academy eventually developed in 1768. The early annals or "Transactions" of the Society, furnish a quantity of historical matter in respect not only of encouragement of art, but also of invention, manufactures and commerce, the retrospect of which cannot be quickly or easily made. On the other hand, from the year 1852 onwards, a weekly journal of the proceedings of the Society has been published, and in its detailed and readable form, anyone may trace the Society's rapid development during the last thirty years in numbers of members, its activity in promoting various undertakings, and in discussing different subjects.

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Journal of
the Society.

II. In 1845, the Society was feeble in existence. Its annual presentation of medals and premiums, had not secured for it vivacity of action and did not yield it a promise of long life. At the end of a ninety years' life, it could number hardly more than three hundred members, and in its ninety-first year, apparently almost at the end of its resources, the only remaining stock of the Society was ordered to be sold. However, in 1846, a fresh effort was to be made. Its constitution and organization were remodelled, and the Society's first council determined to offer prizes for the production of articles of everyday use, the collection of which was to be exhibited in the Society's rooms. Already interested in the general subject of fine art in its application to all sorts of materials, Mr. Cole's energies in this direction were still further stimulated by his success in gaining, as Felix Summerly, one of the Society's silver medals for a tea-service, the story of which has been told at pages 104 to 107. As a member of the Society, he was instrumental in causing exhibitions of art manufactures to be held by the Society, during the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, exhi-

Feeble con-
dition of
Society.

Reorgani-
zation of
constitution.

Exhibitions
of art manu-
factures.

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bitions of paintings by British artists (Etty and Mulready), with a view to establishing a Gallery of National Art, and in 1850, an Exhibition of Ancient and Mediæval Decorative Art.

Mr. Cole a
member of
council.

III. Notwithstanding their success, these exhibitions were not acceptable to certain of the older members of the Society. Mr. Cole had been elected a member of the Society's council, but, in 1850, on the 12th of March, he found reason to address the following letter to the secretary of the Society:—

Letter on
the policy of
the council.

“ Sir,—As I cannot help connecting Mr. W——’s motion to alter the bye-laws, with his previous attempt in council to affirm the inexpediency of having further exhibitions of manufactures and pictures, and with his declaration that such exhibitions were not the ‘legitimate’ business of the Society, and as the meeting carried Mr. W——’s motion, which I view as being likely to prejudice the best interests of the Society and its progress, I am unwilling to continue longer a member of council, and be a party to a policy I disapprove of, or be in any wise an impediment to the successful working out of that policy by those who advocate it. In resigning this office, I have the satisfaction of being able to record the fact that, during the last three years, when the present bye-laws were in operation, the number of contributing members has increased from about 320 to 660 members, and that the exhibitions, if terminated, will have done so in making the Society celebrated throughout the world, for being the instrument in promoting one of the noblest institutions which has ever been proposed.”

Resignation
of Mr. Cole.

Proposed
termination
of exhi-
bitions.

Mr. Cole's
resignation
accepted.

IV. The “noblest institution” was the projected Universal Exhibition of 1851 (see pages 120 *et seq.*, Vol. I.). Mr. Cole's resignation was accepted on the 18th of March, and he at once set to work to canvass the members for support in maintaining the Society's action with regard to exhibi-

tions. On the 3rd of April, an unusually large number (207) of members held their annual meeting for the election of council and officers. Upon the adverse decision of the majority, the council which had opposed exhibitions was turned out. Mr. Cole became, as it were, the hero of the situation, and twelve days later, he was elected deputy chairman of council, member of a special finance committee, and member of the committee of management. On the 11th of December, he was elected chairman of council, and, in accordance with a bye-law of the new council, the duty of delivering the first annual address of the chairman, devolved upon him. His address was delivered on the 15th of January, 1851, and the following are a few extracts from it:—

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1846-1873.
Part I.
Council
turned out.

Mr. Cole
elected
chairman of
council.

“GENTLEMEN,—The predecessors of the present Council made a bye-law to render it imperative on the Chairman, as soon as possible after the annual election of officers, to prepare, and read to the members of the Society, an address which should embody the outlines of the policy by which the new Council purposed to increase the public usefulness and promote the welfare of the Society, during their tenure of office; and I have now the honour to lay before you the first of such proposed annual addresses. You will, doubtless, agree that it was a sound and wholesome regulation, to make it obligatory on the Council to have some definite purpose or policy, without which neither corporations nor individuals can be of much use; and also to oblige them to declare to you what that purpose is. The Council believe that this relation between the members and themselves, is destined not only to foster reciprocal confidence, but to exercise a very beneficial influence on the progress of the Society, and to enlarge public sympathy with its objects. Indeed, the Council believe that the present flourishing state of the Society is to be attributed to the steady maintenance of a policy during the last few years through good and bad report, and to the means taken to interest the members and the public in that policy. It will be within the memory of many members, that only as far back as the year 1844, the numbers had

Mr. Cole's
address as
chairman.

considerably declined. At the present time, they considerably exceed 1000. It must be obvious that if the decline of the Society was an index which showed that the public was losing its faith in the usefulness of the Society, so the late rapid advance may be accepted as a satisfactory token that there is a returning confidence, and that if members now in numbers seek admission to the Society, it is because they feel that it is usefully at work. The present position of the Society must, therefore, be accepted as a proof that a purpose or policy has for some time been influencing the proceedings of the Council ; and it is because the Council are sensible of this fact, and its importance as a principle of action, that they have imposed on themselves the obligation of having always before them a precise aim in conducting the management of this Society, instituted to promote the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of the country, and of causing a declaration of it to be laid before the members. And accordingly, the Council will shortly have to ask you to confirm this resolution of theirs, by making it a standing bye-law.

“It is with societies as with individuals, they do not, cannot prosper by following mere formulas. An individual who has no purpose in the world but to vegetate, may as well not exist ; and whether he be rich or poor, the world soon finds out that he is little less than an incumbrance, and treats him with indifference. To prosper, indeed, in these times, the man must be at work. We find the same analogies existing with societies. Unless they prove their ability to work, and work to some useful purpose, they become virtually extinct. A society cannot exist merely upon its name. Not only must it be alive to perform the functions it affects to do, but it must perform them in accordance with the advancing knowledge and increasing demands of the time. Men’s wants in 1851, are very different from what they were in 1751, when the public wants created the Society of Arts. The Arts, the Manufactures, and the Commerce, at the two several periods of development, appear to be scarcely the same class of things. To teach or practise art as it was taught in 1751, would be held to be ridiculous at the present day. So with manufactures. The Hargreaves and Hoyles, who print calicoes by miles, would smile at the manufacturer who should propose to re-establish a factory at Chelsea, and paint patterns on cottons by the camel’s-hair

pencil, as was the case a century ago, in the early days of calico-printing. To go to market again on pack-horses, and not by railways; to carry guineas in pouches, and to be robbed of them on the highways, rather than to use blank cheque-books of the Bank of England; to pay postage in shillings rather than pence,—would be only to revert to the practices of commerce in 1751.

“The Society of Arts had rather too long relied on promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, by the same means and in the same spirit as it had done at its institution a century ago. But that phase in its existence is now passed; and we may hope that the Society is starting afresh on a new career of usefulness, more in accordance with the wants of the present age.

“Considering the intimate and honourable connection of the Society with the great coming event of the year, the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, (which, it is no exaggeration to say, is setting the whole civilized world in motion, and which, with the aid of His Royal Highness the President of the Society, is the chief result of the policy already alluded to,) the Council think that their great object during the present session, should be to aid the Exhibition of 1851 by every means in their power.

“The Council do not propose to hold any further Exhibitions this season, in order that the rooms of the Society may be free at all times to promote the interests of the Great Exhibition.

“But it is not only upon the direct, but also the indirect circumstances and wants arising out of the Great Exhibition, that the Council will bestow their attention, and contribute the influence of the Society. There can be no doubt that the Exhibition will give rise to many new relations between men and things. Already a stronger connection between the artist and manufacturer is springing up, beneficial to both. It will be the duty of the Council to foster this connection; and they are considering a plan by which a friendly meeting for the discussion, investigation, and best means of promoting the union of art and manufactures may take place every year, in some one of the great manufacturing centres, somewhat on the principle of the meetings of the British Association and the Archæological Societies. Connected with such a union, the Council feel that much remains to be done to educate the mass of the people in the perception and practice of art, which the Exhibition will probably make but too apparent; and taking advantage of

the lesson we are likely to be taught, the Council purpose making an effort to establish elementary drawing and modelling schools throughout the country.¹ They have submitted this proposal to His Royal Highness the President, and they have the satisfaction of knowing that he thinks it may prove very useful.

“Already the members of the Society may be congratulated on the successful results of the labours of the influential committee of its members, which has been formed to promote legislative recognition of the rights of inventors.

“The Council believe that at the present time, the Society of Arts will do well to make a considerable change in the kind of inquiries which it promotes. The time is gone by when it was desirable to hold out small rewards for little inventions, because there are now so many other and better modes in which all inventions of real practical value, are published and rewarded. There are other inquiries, which, though of the greatest importance, bring no profit or reward to those who carry them out, the benefit which they yield being shared alike by the whole community. The exposure of unfair monopolies, and the collection of authentic facts and evidence showing the evil effects of legal or commercial edicts upon manufactures or trade, are services of this sort; and the Council, therefore, propose to direct their attention in the ensuing session to a few subjects of this nature, rather than to a larger number of less important matters. Amongst the inquiries which it is proposed first to take up, they may mention the Manufacture and Supply of Coal Gas; the Supply of Water to London; the Influence of the Excise Laws on several Arts; the Manufacture of Sugar in the British Colonies; the Adulteration of Food, &c.

“In conclusion, I have to say that both the past and the present Council have been of opinion that the elections to the offices of the Society should be thrown more open to the members of the Society, than they are by the present bye-laws, which do not provide any proper check against a permanent continuance in office of the Vice-Presidents and Council.

“Such is a brief outline of the policy which the Council hope to carry into effect during the present session; they trust that it will

¹ This, as will have been seen (p. 302, Vol. I.), was a work undertaken by Government upon the close of the Great Exhibition of 1851.

meet with your approval, and that their labours will receive your confidence and support."

V. During the Great Exhibition in 1851, Mr. Cole suggested the offer by the Society, of a prize for a good colour-box, "at a price which would put it within reach of the poorest artisan." A successful colour-box was produced, and in 1870, the maker reported to Mr. Cole that 11,000,000 boxes had been sold!

VI. In 1852, he was again elected chairman of council, and about this time, he urged the Society to examine into the working of the Museums and Free Library Acts throughout the kingdom. At his suggestion, the Society of Arts went in deputation to Government, to induce it to purchase the Bernal and the Soulages Collections, at times when pressure of this description was of use in manifesting public opinion. The question of making the collections of metropolitan museums and the National Gallery available in some way—by loans or grants of surplus examples—to local institutions, was also brought before the Society, in 1857, by Mr. Cole; and in the following year, a Committee was appointed at his request, to report on the establishment of galleries of science and art in different parts of the metropolis. By such means, he endeavoured to arouse a more extended popular interest in subjects closely allied with his official work.

VII. But besides this class of movements having an educational aim, there were others—such, for instance, as Army Reform. During his vacation in 1868, he read certain pamphlets and books relating to the organization of foreign and British armies, which incited him to address three letters on the reform of the army in this country, to the editor of the "Times." On the 3rd, 14th, and 20th September, these letters, bearing the signature, "Lee Cromwell," were published. They furnished the basis of a paper

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1846-1873.
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Society's
colour-box.

Mr. Cole re-
elected
chairman.

Bernal and
Soulages
Collections.

Committee
on establish-
ment of
galleries of
science and
art in the
metropolis.

Army Re-
form.

THE
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which he read at the Society of Arts on the 17th February of the succeeding year, when Mr. Mundella, M.P., took the chair. A lengthy discussion ensued, and lasted over two subsequent meetings of the Society, at the last of which Sir Charles Trevelyan said, "that the present assembly had been called in ridicule, 'King Cole's Parliament;' but, for his own part, to his dying day, he should be proud of having taken part in its deliberations." Extracts from my father's paper are given at p. 328, Vol. II.

Drill in boys'
schools.

VIII. The first step in Army Reform, he considered, lay in "making drill a part of national education in every boys' school in the country." And, with this object in view, he proposed some three weeks later, and the Council of the Society of Arts resolved, to appoint a committee to consider and promote the introduction of drill into all schools.

Visits to
schools.

IX. Two days afterwards (24th March, 1869): "With Chadwick to Limehouse Union School for pauper children. Witnessed drill, playing, and singing."¹ And again, on 27th March: "With Chadwick and George Bartley to Hanwell Central District School." "To Faversham," on the 17th April, "with G. Bartley; Chadwick came from town. Inspected Infant School; two divisions of the National School; Commercial School and Grammar School, founded by Johannes Cole. Queen Elizabeth restored the endowment, and gave the town the choice of a school or an M.P. Lunched with the Mayor and Trustees."¹ The main business of drill seemed to be threatened with absorption into a far larger work, for "Chadwick said he should suggest to Lord de Grey (then Lord President) to take me from the Museum, and set me to organize National Education."¹ In consequence, perhaps, of which, Mr. Cole proposed that the Council of the Society of Arts should consider

Endowed
Schools
Bill.

¹ Diary.

how the Endowed Schools Bill could be rendered operative, in regard to existing endowments for education. Another proposal he brought forward, was that "a conference of working class representatives be held to consider the question of Primary Education."

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X. But the subject of drill in boys' schools supervened; and public annual reviews of schoolboys' drill were established. The first of these was held before the Duke of Teck, at the Crystal Palace. Prince Arthur presided at the second, which took place in the gardens of the Royal Horticultural Society, South Kensington, in 1871. In 1872, the third annual review was held in Hyde Park, before Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and prizes were afterwards distributed by the Prince in the Royal Albert Hall. Upon Mr. Cole's suggestion, the Society of Arts offered a banner and challenge prize to be annually competed for. As regards the schools of the London School Board especially, annual drill reviews of school children have grown to be a recognized institution.

Annual re-
views of
school boys'
drill.

Society of
Arts banner
for drill com-
petition.

XI. The Reform of London Cabs was another subject at which Mr. Cole worked in conjunction with the Society of Arts. But to recapitulate the details of this and other movements connected with improvements for social convenience, would require far more space than is available. The Society's action in respect of Musical Education, has been referred to in the immediately preceding chapter. Much of my father's later work with the Society of Arts—that, for instance, to promote National Instruction in Domestic Economy—was undertaken during a period after 1873. In 1871, the Society of Arts awarded the Albert medal to Mr. Cole, "for his important services in promoting art, manufactures, and commerce, especially in aiding the establishment and development of science and art, and the South Kensington Museum." On the 6th March,

London
Cabs Re-
form.

Musical
Education.

Domestic
Economy.

Albert
Medal
awarded to
Mr. Cole.

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Health and
Sewage.

Guilds of
Health.

1872, "To see the Prince of Wales, the first time since his illness. He gave me the Albert medal."¹

XII. To Sir Henry Cole's energy was due, the holding by the Society of Arts of conferences between 1876 and 1880, on National Health, Health and Sewage of Towns, and National Water Supply, as well as conferences on Domestic Economy at Birmingham, in 1877, at Manchester, in 1878, at London, in 1881, briefly referred to at page 397, Vol. I. My father's scheme of Guilds of Health appeared in 1882, and secured promises of support from many well-known sanitarians. A letter from H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on this subject, dated the 17th April, 1882, the day before Sir Henry Cole's death, runs as follows :—

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,
PALL MALL, S.W.,
17 April, 1882.

DEAR SIR HENRY COLE,

Letter from
the Prince of
Wales on
Guilds of
Health.

I have read with much attention your proposal to establish Parish Guilds of Health throughout the United Kingdom. So wide a question as that of National Health, affecting in so high a degree the prosperity and happiness of the country, is one in which I naturally take a deep interest, and I can only repeat what I feel assured has occurred of late to all thoughtful persons, that every effort which tends to direct closer attention on the part of the public to the preservation of health, and to the wide diffusion of a knowledge of simple rules bearing on the subject, is deserving of sincere encouragement.

It is satisfactory to note that the support already accorded to the projected Guilds of Health, comes from many of the highest authorities upon sanitary knowledge in this country ; and I am glad to find, as President of the Society of Arts, that the Society, in continuance of a work usefully com-

¹ Diary.

menced by it some years ago, is arranging to discuss the means for promoting the formation of these Guilds in all parishes, in cities, towns, and villages.

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PART I.

The labours of the legislature to improve the broad conditions of health generally throughout the United Kingdom, and the efforts of all local sanitary authorities, should be supplemented by the knowledge and exertions of every individual. I conceive it to be most desirable that everyone should make him or herself acquainted not only with the elementary rules which science may give us, but also with the work of existing organizations for the preservation of good health; and I do not hesitate to express the opinion, that it would be a most humane deed to set in motion measures by which everyone could be encouraged and assisted in obtaining practical information in connection with this subject.

I wish all success, therefore, to the Guilds of Health, and I shall be glad if you will request the Council of the Society of Arts to keep me informed from time to time, of the progress of the movement for promoting their organization and establishment.

Believe me,

Dear Sir Henry Cole,

Very sincerely yours,

ALBERT EDWARD, P.





CONCLUSION.

PART I.

1849—1880.

I.



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SION.

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1849-1880.
Part I.

COMPLETE indication of the way in which he had intended to have treated the topics for this book, did not exist when my father died; nothing more than the slight outline, such as that given on pages 1 and 2, had been provided. As the work has proceeded, it has seemed desirable to preserve, if possible, some sort of chronological arrangement in dealing with the subjects detailed at pages 1 and 2. But the periods with which they are connected overlap one another, and hence some difficulty in arrangement has arisen. On arriving at the concluding chapter, there are some few incidents not already mentioned, but not the less worthy, perhaps, of classification under "Public Service." They have not found a place in any of the foregoing chapters, and are therefore grouped together in the present.

A JOURNAL OF DESIGN.

II. The establishment by my father of a monthly periodical called the "Journal of Design," of which he was the

The "Journal of Design."

editor, took place in 1849. The first number is dated March of that year, and the last number was published in February, 1852, at which time Mr. Cole having entered upon his duties in connection with the Department of Practical Art, he determined to discontinue the issue of the journal. A novel feature of the "Journal of Design," which was copiously illustrated, was the introduction into it of "actual patterns of manufactured fabrics, both British and foreign." These patterns were "necessarily small, but even the smallest piece of any fabric itself is nearer the reality than any verbal description or colourless diagram." The editor's first address concludes :—"The 'Journal of Design' will have, as it ought to have, politics of its own. In this matter of Ornamental Design, we hope to prove ourselves thoroughly conservative of the best interests of manufacturers, designers, and all parties concerned. We are the advocates for better laws, and a better tribunal to protect copyright in designs, and for a largely increased extension of copyright. We think the restless demands of the public for constant novelty, are alike mischievous to the progress of good ornamental art as they are to all commercial interests. We think that Schools of Design should be reformed and made businesslike realities. We shall wage war against all pirates; and we hope to see the day when it will be thought as disgraceful for one manufacturer to pillage another's patterns, as it is held to be if he should walk into his counting-house and rob his till. These are some of the points of our political creed with which we start on our undertaking. In conclusion, we profess that our aim is to foster ornamental art in all ways, and to do those things for its advance in all its branches, which it would be the appropriate business of a Board of Design to do, if such a useful department of Government actually existed." These words were written when the inquiry into

CONCLUSION.

A. D.
1849-1880.
Part I.Editor's
address.Copyright in
designs.Ornamental
art.

CONCLU-
SION.
A. D.
1849-1880.
Part I.

the almost effete Schools of Design had taken place ; when the Society of Arts was at work organizing its annual exhibitions of art manufactures, when the scheme of the Great Exhibition of all Nations in 1851, was approaching maturity, and when a Government Department of Practical Art was not actually contemplated.

TILLINGBOURNE ASSOCIATION.

The Tilling-
bourne
Association.

III. A movement in 1856, started by my father of a different character, is bearing fruit at the present day. Of it he has written :—

“In 1856, I took a cottage at Shere, a village near the vale of Albury, midway between Guildford and Dorking, a lovely spot with hills of sand and chalk, and rich with foliage native to those formations. The Tillingbourne stream runs sparkling through the village, and yields trout to the fisherman. The church shows remains of ancient architecture at least six hundred years old, of several varieties, a Romanesque archway, some lancet windows, some decorated tracery. After talking to Mr. Delafosse, the Rector, Lady Lovaine, Mr. Bray, and others, a meeting was held at the school to consider the founding a rural society for the improvement of agricultural labourers, to be managed by themselves.

Mr. Henry
Drummond,
M.P.

“Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P., was present at the meeting. The Rector moved that he should take the chair. ‘No! no!’ said Mr. Drummond, ‘every cock on his own dunghill.’ Mr. Drummond represented the parish of Albury, and was the owner of its beautiful park.

“I was called upon to explain my views of the society which I called ‘The Labourers’ Improvement Society.’ The society was to hold an annual meeting, to show the produce of the labourers’ gardens and specimens of useful

needlework, &c. Continuing further details, Mr. Drummond interposed, and said, 'Have you done?' and so I ended. Then Mr. Drummond proceeded: 'You don't understand the agricultural labourer. He does not want an annual holiday to show vegetables. His pleasure is to grin through a horse-collar, and climb a greasy pole, and run a race in a sack. I object to the name 'Labourers' Improvement Society.' If we make a Labourers' Improvement Society, the labourers will make a 'Landlords' Improvement Society,' and much more it's wanted. When they have improved us, then (looking at the Rector) they will improve other classes who want improvement. I object to the thing altogether! but I will give you two pounds a year to help it on!' And so the Tillingbourne association was founded, and its meetings have been held every year since with increasing interest."

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SION.
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Part I.

WEEK-DAY MUSICAL CHURCH SERVICES.

IV. At my father's suggestion, week-day musical church services were held by the late Rev. Dr. Irons, in his church (Holy Trinity, Brompton), and should be mentioned. After arranging preliminaries with Dr. Irons, amongst which my father stipulated that at none of the services should the sermon or discourse occupy more than ten minutes (the Reverend Doctor as a rule used to preach for fifty minutes or an hour), an announcement was made by means of large placards and handbills, of the proposed evening musical Church services. Workmen with their wives and families were especially invited to come, and to take part in the services. Mr. Arthur Sullivan undertook to direct the music, and the organ was to be accompanied, as at St. Paul's Cathedral, with drums, trombones, and trumpets. At the time, Mr. Lowe twitted Mr. Cole, telling him that he expected to see

Week-day
musical
church ser-
vices.

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SION.

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Part I.

him "prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts for violating the rites of the Church." On the other hand, "Mr. Cardwell sympathized warmly with my Church-music scheme, because he knew I was no Ritualist." Subscriptions to defray necessary expenses were raised by a few friends, and the services were attended by large crowds of people, principally of the working and poorer classes from the neighbourhood. The offertories at these services consisted of many hundreds of pennies and half-pence, the contribution of which was especially invited, numerous boxes being placed about the church to receive them.

Services
held at
Birmingham
and

V. The success of these services was such, that when Mr. Cole was living at Birmingham in 1877, and afterwards at Manchester in 1878, he induced the vicars and rectors of many churches (not only those of the Established Church) to hold similar services. The hon. secretary at Birmingham reported that "the movement also is being taken up by other churches and chapels in Birmingham, and it is confidently hoped that not only will the attendance at the churches and chapels of the town become very much larger, but that an impetus will have been given to the interest of the people in Church music and singing, which will doubtless be beneficial alike to places of worship in the district, whether they have adopted the musical service movement or not." In Manchester, the movement was warmly supported by the Bishop, who preached at the first of the series of week-day musical services. Similar services were held in many of the Manchester churches.

at Man-
chester.

SPEECHES AT DISTRIBUTIONS OF PRIZES.

VI. About this time, Sir Henry Cole was frequently receiving invitations to preside at distributions of prizes to students of Science and Art classes, in different parts of the

country. Some of his speeches, especially those in which he censured the proposition, made after his resignation, of transferring the management of the South Kensington Museum to the Trustees of the British Museum, were sharply criticised in the "Times," "Saturday Review," and other newspapers. From those which appear to have something more than a passing interest, one on "National Culture and Recreation" has been printed at p. 357, Vol. II.

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SION.
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National
culture and
recreation.

A NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR COOKERY.

VII. In the scheme framed by Mr. Cole for the series of annual international exhibitions, that for 1873 included "Substances used as Food," "Cooking and its Science." A "School of Popular Cookery," was accordingly organized in connection with the Exhibition of 1873. During that year, daily lectures were delivered by Mr. J. C. Buckmaster, and demonstrations of cookery in all its branches were given, attracting considerable public notice. The success was such, as to lead Mr. Cole to consider how this temporary school might be converted into a permanent institution. Accordingly, he invited a number of gentlemen to act as an Executive Committee for the proposed training school. The objects of the school were—

National
Training
School for
Cookery.

1. To train and qualify persons to become instructors in cookery in training schools, board schools, poor schools, and similar institutions.

Objects of
the school.

2. To send instructors and lecturers with the necessary apparatus to localities and institutions in the provinces, willing to incur the attendant expense.

3. To instruct persons desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the principles of cookery, and paying the necessary fees.

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SION.

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Meeting
at Grosvenor
House.

VIII. A public meeting was held on the 17th July, 1873, at Grosvenor House. The plan and objects of the proposed training school, were received and discussed with favour. An Executive Committee was constituted, and the Duke of Westminster agreed to be the President, and the Hon. E. F. Leveson-Gower, M.P., became the Chairman of the new institution, for which, as in the case of the National Training School for Music, Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, granted the use of ground upon their estate. For the first two or three years of the school's existence, my father was almost daily engaged in assisting its growth and organization, but afterwards, when he left London for Birmingham and Manchester, the supervision of the school was more immediately undertaken by its Executive Committee.

Handbook
of National
Training
School for
Cookery.

IX. The official handbook of the National Training School for Cookery, compiled at Mr. Cole's instance, contains many hundred recipes for cookery, framed upon a uniform model, and in so detailed a manner that the series forms a complete course of practical cookery, commencing with lessons upon the use of culinary utensils, and the economical employment of foods suitable for artisans and wealthier persons. This handbook was destined to serve as the published text-book of the practical instruction given at the school itself.

Establish-
ment of Pro-
vincial
classes.

X. In a short time, lecturers who had been trained at the school, found opportunities for doing work in various parts of the country, and gradually, a few provincial classes in connection with the school came to be established. The work and aims of the school were briefly summed up in a letter addressed by Sir Henry Cole to the "Times," dated the 17th August, 1875 (see p. 370, Vol. II.).

DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

XI. The obvious national importance of sound instruction in economical cookery, led my father to consider how the influence of the work he contemplated should be extended. Accordingly, whilst at Birmingham in 1877, he induced the Society of Arts to hold a conference upon domestic economy as a branch of general education. In the proceedings of this conference, which attracted a large amount of attention from educational bodies and others, my father naturally took a leading part. His paper upon the "Practical Development of Elementary Education through Domestic Economy," is printed at page 373, Vol. II. The Report of the Conference, together with the papers read at it, was published by the Society of Arts.

XII. A similar conference was held in Manchester in 1878, and at p. 378, Vol. II., is printed Sir Henry Cole's paper upon the establishment of a National College of Domestic Economy. A third conference on the same subject was held in London in 1881.

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Part I.Domestic
economy
and elemen-
tary educa-
tion.National
College of
Domestic
Economy.

NATIONAL HEALTH AND DRAINAGE OF TOWNS.

XIII. It has been incidentally mentioned that in 1877, Sir H. Cole was at Birmingham. For upwards of three years, *i.e.*, from 1876 to 1879, he lived first at Birmingham and then at Manchester. He had determined to make an effort to induce the Corporations of these two great cities to adopt one or other of the processes invented by the late General Scott, F.R.S., C.B., for the disposal and utilization of sewage. A small company to promote the adoption of General Scott's inventions, had been formed, and my father undertook to act as managing director. To convince corporate bodies and sanitary authorities that they had

National
health and
drainage of
towns.General
Scott's pro-
cesses for
utilization of
sewage.

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SION.
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1849-1880.
Part I.

much new work to perform, and to create a public opinion as to the unscientific and wasteful processes adopted by public bodies responsible for the sanitary disposal of sewage, were tasks requiring a longer time than that which Sir Henry Cole could devote to them. His activity will, no doubt, be still remembered at Birmingham, Manchester, and a few smaller towns in Lancashire. In 1880, Sir H. Cole returned to reside in London. His work had helped to prove, without question, the commercial value and scientific practicability of General Scott's processes to convert sewage either into a portable pulverized manure, or into a cement.

XIV. The first indications of Sir Henry Cole's endeavours to serve the cause of National Health, had been given in his address to the Society of Arts in 1851 (see page 384, Vol. I.), and it is, perhaps, right to have cursorily alluded to them here, although strictly speaking they are outside the prescribed limits of his "fifty years of public service."

END OF VOL. I.





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