

The Road to Renewal: Refiguring the Art Museum in Twentieth-Century Britain

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Abstract

The thesis critically investigates the ways in which art museums in Britain evolved their curatorial techniques in the first half of the twentieth century, and it specifically charts the career of the scholar and museum director Philip Hendy (1900-1980), by focusing on the three museums under his care: Leeds City Art Gallery (1934-1945); Temple Newsam, Leeds (1938-1945); and the National Gallery, London (1946-1967). Through these case-studies, the thesis explores Hendy's scheme to modernise these institutions during the interwar, wartime and post-war periods (1934-1956), and locates this reform in the context of changing discourses within the museum profession about the purpose of art museums in Britain.

Specifically, the investigation is concerned with the duality that was implicated in this agenda of modernisation, as museums aimed to democratise access to their collections with new display strategies and amenities for visitors, but whose efforts were at the same time characterised by a specialisation of curatorial practice which led to concerns about the status of the profession and the improvement of museum standards. The thesis thus articulates the increasingly professionalised endeavours in the museums under study, and examines how these informed, but also competed with, the concrete methods by which these galleries sought to open their doors to the interests of larger publics.

The focus of the investigation is on museum presentation - encompassing both architecture and display - which acted as a site of mediation between these professional and public spheres and shaped visitor engagement. As the thesis demonstrates, the curatorial techniques in the museums under review emphasised the need for museums to adapt to the demands of the present by updating their methods of exhibition, and secondly, they

intended to make the collections visible to visitors qua viewers, in the belief that this would also make the museum more open and accessible.

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Introduction

In recent years, the discipline of museum history has seen the application of increasingly inter-disciplinary methodologies which have highlighted, as the historian Kate Hill has put it, ‘the processual, relational nature of museum narratives and knowledge’.² From the study of expertise, museum disciplines and their promotion of educational trajectories of self-improvement, to the examination of museum architecture, passing through object biographies or the links of museums with the art market, this growing body of literature continues to reveal the multi-faceted nature of museums regarding their policies of acquisition, conservation and display, the variety of actors operating in them and the intra- and extra-mural networks in which they have participated.³ These approaches can be seen as a direct inheritance and response to the ‘new museology’ that emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which opened new pathways for the historical (re)interpretation of museums as active agents shaping social, political and cultural discourses about knowledge, affect, citizenship and power.⁴ Since then, Foucauldian-inspired critiques, most notably those of Tony Bennett and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, have drawn attention to the internal rationality of museums as social mechanisms operating through as well as enacting wider regulatory cultural logics, and have afforded new vocabularies for investigating museums

² Hill, Kate, ‘Introduction: Museums and Biographies – Telling Stories about People, Things and Relationships’ in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, ed. by Kate Hill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 7.

³ For a methodological overview see *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald (Malden; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), and the recent four-volume series *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald and Helen Rees Leahy (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015).

⁴ Bennett, Tony, *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992). Other publications in a similar vein are *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, ed. by Daniel Sherman, and Irit Rogoff (London: Routledge, 1994); and *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald (London: Routledge, 1998). For recent scholarship exploring the making of disciplines see Whitehead, Christopher, *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines: Art and Archaeology in Nineteenth-century Britain* (London: Duckworth, 2009).

through this lens.⁵ For many of these scholars, the sociological work of Pierre Bourdieu on the subject of ‘taste’ has been influential for exploring the relationship of class and socio-economic factors with conceptions of cultural value, and it arguably remains a referent for the study of art museums in particular.⁶ Such cultural institutions, Bourdieu argued, inscribe a particular ‘social order [...] in people’s minds’ through ‘the hierarchies and classifications inscribed in objects (especially cultural products)’, an argument that is echoed in the hegemonic function that Bennett and Hooper-Greenhill have attributed to the museum, alongside others like Carol Duncan or Allan Wallach, through its function as a classifier and organiser of knowledge and disciplines.⁷ That said, scholarship about museums has continued to respond and in some cases challenge this view, which is based on the understanding that museums wield power effects either through their exercise of cultural capital or through the formation of disciplinary apparatuses. Instead, they have indicated that a grounded examination of the museum’s internal workings may reveal how they have rarely been the outcome of singular ideologies and overarching paradigms.⁸ The present thesis acknowledges both strands in this debate and occupies a middle ground by being cognizant of the regulatory mechanisms at work in museums whilst qualifying such

⁵ See Bourdieu, Pierre and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990; first published in France in 1966); Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010); See the works of Bennett and Hooper-Greenhill in footnote 4.

⁶ See Bennett, Tony, ‘The Historical Universal: The Role of Cultural Value in the Historical Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 5:1 (2005), pp. 141-142.

⁷ Bourdieu 2010, p. 473. See also Duncan, Carol, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995).

⁸ Julia Noordegraaf has made use of the sociology of technology to develop her study of the Boijmans Museum, *Strategies of Display: Museum Presentation in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Visual Culture* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen NAI, 2004). In 2016, the conference ‘Gendering Museum Histories’ (Oxford) tackled issues of gender in relation to collecting, curatorial work and exhibitions, and the profession as a whole. See also Hill, Kate, *Women and Museums 1850-1914: Modernity and the Gendering of Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). Museums are being explored through wide-ranging methodologies and perspectives, as is clear in the anthologies *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, ed. by Sheila Watson, Suzanne MacLeod and Simon Knell (London: Routledge, 2007), and *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. by Bettina Messias Carbonell (Oxford and New Malden: Blackwell, 2004).

perspectives and integrating them into the empirical study of three art museums in Britain in the twentieth century.

This thesis takes its point of departure in the 1930s-1950s, several decades before these scholarly pursuits came to fruition. It was a time when those involved in the running of museums started to adopt more reflexive - though by no means self-questioning - attitudes to their own work and take serious stock of the histories of these institutions as a first step to transforming them. For it was in the twentieth century, particularly in the second half as the historian Samuel Alberti has noted, that in-depth studies of museums, and more synthetic ways of studying collections began to be undertaken, usually, in the first instance at least, by museum staff themselves.⁹ Yet as is commonly agreed, these single-institution histories often ended up being little more than celebratory linear narratives of progress, centred on the figure of a 'charismatic curator'.¹⁰ This thesis is likewise centred around the story of a single (male) curator, Philip Hendy (1900-1980) [Figure 1], and is arguably conventional in its rationale to trace chronologically his career across the three different art museums which he directed between 1934 and 1967, Leeds City Art Gallery, Temple Newsam (Leeds), and the National Gallery (London), which provide the case-studies for the different sections of this thesis. As delineated by the remit of the author's AHRC *Collaborative Doctoral Award* partnership, this focus cannot but lay a good deal of emphasis on Hendy as a personality, but it avoids the triumphalist overtones of preceding accounts by seeing him as

⁹ Alberti, Samuel J., *Nature and Culture: Objects, Disciplines and the Manchester Museum* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 1. Among these early publications, it is important to highlight Gilman, Benjamin Ives, *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1923); Gilman, Benjamin Ives, 'On the Distinctive Purpose of the Art Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 3:7 (January 1904), 213-224; Low, Theodore L., *The Museum as a Social Instrument* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1942); Dana, John Cotton, *The New Museum: Selected Writings*, ed. by William A. Peniston (Newark, NJ: Newark Museum Association; Washington, DC: American Association of Museums, c1999); and Wittlin, Alma S., *The Museum: its History and its Tasks in Education* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949).

¹⁰ Hill, Kate, 2012, p. 2; Alberti 2009, p. 1. See here, for example, the book on the National Gallery by the director Charles Holmes (1916-1928), Holmes, Charles, *National Gallery, Trafalgar Square: Illustrated Guide* (London, 1921); and indeed, by Hendy himself, Hendy, Philip, *The National Gallery, London* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1955).

symptomatic of a larger web of museum practices and authorised discourses that were attempting to reconceptualise the role of public culture in art museums in Britain during this time. As a result, the thesis is distinct from the few existing histories about the National Gallery in the first half of the twentieth century, as by and large these earlier publications have not been critically interpretive of its wider context, or have alternatively sat within more sweeping encyclopaedic surveys of the institution.¹¹ Instead, the thesis responds to the debates resulting from critical appraisals of the museum since the 1980s, using the aforementioned case-studies to interrogate the often ambivalent logics that shaped such institutions and in this way nuance the interpretation of twentieth-century museums as well as of the category of the ‘museum’ in theoretical terms.

Although it is possible to build a general profile of Philip Hendy, his papers and correspondence overwhelmingly reflect his career as a museum curator and administrator in the public sphere and rarely illuminate aspects of his private life, for which the former is the focus of the thesis. Given this dearth of personal documents in the archives, there are methodological reasons for steering away from the biographical genre, and this is tackled in greater detail in the section on archival sources along with a summary biography of Hendy (p. 57). Having been brought up in a middle-class home, Hendy studied History at Christ Church (Oxford), and after a brief stint at the Wallace Collection as Lecturer and Assistant Keeper (1923-1927), he travelled to the USA and Venice to work for the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (ISGM) and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), returning to Britain to take up the post of Director of Leeds City Art Gallery in 1934. At Leeds, Hendy was an outspoken advocate for the reform of art galleries in the regions, and championed many

¹¹ Crookham, Alan, *The National Gallery: An Illustrated History* (London: National Gallery, 2009); and Conlin, Jonathan, *The Nation's Mantelpiece: A History of the National Gallery* (London: Pallas Athene, 2006). For a study specifically concerned with the National Gallery during wartime see Bosman, Suzanne, *The National Gallery in Wartime* (London: National Gallery, 2008). For a summary of the National Gallery's display history under different directors see Saumarez Smith, Charles, 'Narratives of Display at the National Gallery, London', *Art History*, 30:4 (September 2007), 611-627.

contemporaneous British artists through exhibitions and acquisitions of their works (Matthew Smith, Paul Nash, Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore, etc.). After the war, Hendy became the Director of the National Gallery (London), following the footsteps of his predecessor Kenneth Clark, and was tasked with the rehang of the collection and the rebuilding of the war-torn galleries. Hendy would become the Gallery's longest serving Director (1946-1967), emphasising public access to the museum and visitor leisure, as well as the development of scientific methods in conservation. Through such ideas, Hendy helped professionalise and standardise museum practice and visitor facilities in ways that sought to transform the delivery of this public service and reshape the experience of museum visiting.

Museum histories

Much is known about the origins and evolution of national and municipal museums and their collections during the long nineteenth century, especially with regard to their function in Victorian society, as sites of moral didacticism and civic reform. Scholars have explored how issues of class informed the foundation and growth of such museums, the attitudes of their keepers and curators to visitors, the role of connoisseurship in the formation of these early collections, and the relationship between display, perception and contemporary visual culture.¹² In particular, the National Gallery in London has drawn considerable interest from historians, who have mapped themes as diverse as the intersection of art historiography and display, the refiguring of museum architecture, as for

¹² See for example Snape, Robert, 'Objects of Utility: Cultural Responses to Industrial Collections in Municipal Museums 1845-1914', *Museum and Society*, 8:1 (2010), 18-36; Hill, Kate, *Culture and Class in English Public Museums, 1850-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Prior, Nick, *Museums and Modernity Art Galleries and the Making of Modern Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2002a). Museum monographs include Stearn, William T., *The Natural History Museum at South Kensington: A History of the British Museum (Natural History) 1753-1980* (London: Heinemann in association with the British Museum Natural History, 1981); Burton, Anthony, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1999).

example in the Gallery's Barry Rooms in the 1870s, or the Gallery's role in the institutionalisation of the arts in Britain in the hands of directors such as Charles Eastlake or Frederic Burton.¹³ In relation to regional museums - whether housing ethnographic, industrial or fine art collections - to date considerable research has been undertaken, particularly in relation to the nineteenth-century expansion of industrialised cities.¹⁴

In comparison, there has been less reflection on such cultural institutions and their fields of influence in the twentieth century, both national and regionally, although there are signs of a growing interest in the historiography, beginning with Gaynor Kavanagh's study of regional museums in Britain during WWI (1994),¹⁵ and several recent studies which address the relationship between modernist literature and museums at the beginning of the century, studying for example how museums have been reflected in poetry and fiction, or the negotiation between so-called 'high' culture and popular audiences.¹⁶ Furthermore, wide-ranging histories such as Andrea Geddes Poole's *Stewards of the Nation's Art* (2010), Francis Taylor's *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001* (2007), and Andrew McClellan's *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (2008) furnish general discussions about the changes that art museums have undergone in the context of evolving policies and

¹³ Klonk, Charlotte, 'Mounting Vision: Charles Eastlake and the National Gallery of London', *Art Bulletin*, 82:2 (2000), 331-347; Klonk, Charlotte, *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2009); Whitehead, Christopher, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth-century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005b), and Avery-Quash, Susanna and Julie Sheldon, *Art for the Nation: The Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World* (London: National Gallery, 2011a). Also note the recent and continuing doctoral work of Elena Greer and Elizabeth Heath about the National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery Directors, Sir Frederic Burton, and George Scharf, and the one-day workshop 'George Scharf and the Emergence of the Museum Professional in Nineteenth-Century Britain' (2015, NPG).

¹⁴ Hill, Kate, 2005; Woodson-Boulton, Amy, *Transformative Beauty: Art Museums in Industrial Britain* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, c2012); and Gosden, Chris and Frances Larson, *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum, 1884-1945* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁵ Kavanagh, Gaynor, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994).

¹⁶ See here the work of Paul, Catherine E., *Poetry in the Museums of Modernism: Yeats, Pound, Moore, Stein* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), and Hoberman, Ruth, *Museum Trouble: Edwardian Fiction and the Emergence of Modernism* (Charlottesville; London: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

changing trends in patronage.¹⁷ Other instances are monographic studies of museums that focus entirely or partly on the history of these institutions in the last century, among them Samuel Alberti's study of Manchester Museum (2009) and Suzanne MacLeod's of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (2013), and outside Britain, Julia Noordegraaf's book on the Boijmans Museum (2004), Kristina Wilson's about the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in the 1920s-1930s (2009), and Charlotte Klonk's investigation into the interiors of Berlin art galleries in the early twentieth century.¹⁸ One further interesting development has been the growth of ethnography and oral history as methodologies for engaging with the recent histories of such organisations, as exemplified by the current research conducted by Linda Sandino at the V&A.¹⁹

This thesis sits within this burgeoning scholarship about museums in the twentieth century and focuses on the three case-studies mentioned earlier to examine the hitherto under-researched context of museums during the interwar, wartime and post-war periods in Britain (1934-1956). Specifically, it draws attention to the modernisation of museums that curators like Philip Hendy undertook in the first half of the twentieth century, an aspect that often crops up in many of these academic texts, more or less perceptibly but rarely as an integrated aspect of their accounts.²⁰ In the context of the art museum this represented,

¹⁷ Taylor, Brandon, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); McClellan, Andrew, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008); Geddes Poole, Andrea, *Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

¹⁸ Alberti 2009; MacLeod, Suzanne, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013); Noordegraaf; Klonk 2009, pp. 49-85; Klonk, Charlotte, 'Patterns of Attention: From Shop Windows to Gallery Rooms in Early-Twentieth-Century Berlin', *Art History*, 28:4 (September 2005), 468-496. Other examples of institutional biographies are included in *Museums and Biographies 2012*, and *The Museum is Open: Towards a Transitional History of Museums 1750-1940*, ed. by Andrea Meyer and Bénédicte Savoy (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

¹⁹ Linda Sandino's research is ongoing, but see Sandino, Linda, 'For the Record: [un]official voices at the V&A', *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies*, 10:1 (2012), 54-58; Sandino, Linda, 'A Curatocracy: Who and What is a V&A Curator?' in *Museums and Biographies*, pp. 87-99.

²⁰ Amy Woodson-Boulton has explained this shift from 'experience to appreciation', Woodson-Boulton, pp. 148-174. See also McClellan 2008, pp. 13-41.

historians such as Andrew McClellan have argued, a shift towards a policy of ‘aesthetic idealism’ that sought to avoid the ‘taint of materialism and bourgeois superficiality’ that contemporaries attributed to Victorian society.²¹ Scholars have variously discussed this transition, highlighting the new set of concerns which informed this museum policy of aesthetic appreciation, such that curators sought to build representative collections of ‘originals’ with ‘the best’ art, restrict the number of works of art on display, and create different exhibition lay-outs for general and specialist visitors.²² In the scholarly literature, this change is usually considered to have engendered an increasingly elitist and professional attitude that spoke to well-educated middle-class audiences only.²³ As such, it is conventionally set against the instrumentalist and didactic model of the nineteenth-century museum, in which the educational function is given priority and the museum aims to serve its visitors ‘through active involvement in their everyday lives’, as McClellan has noted.²⁴

That said, the museum theorist and historian Suzanne MacLeod has reminded us that these neat distinctions betray an ‘overarching dualism of access versus contemplation’, and as such may fail to recognise the inherent complexities entrenched in such schemes of

²¹ McClellan 2008, p. 28. This shift has also been noted by Halona Norton-Westbrook, see Norton-Westbrook, Halona, ‘Between the “collection museum” and the university: the rise of the connoisseur-scholar and the evolution of art museum curatorial practice 1900-1940’ (unpublished thesis, University of Manchester, 2013), p. 26; Conn, Steven, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Taylor; Woodson-Boulton; and Tzortzi, Kali, *Museum Space: Where Architecture Meets Museology* (Farnham; Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 45-52.

²² McClellan 2008, pp. 30-31; Tzortzi, pp. 50-51; and MacLeod 2013, pp. 101-108, which illustrates the new emphasis through a case-study of the director Frank Lambert at the Walker Art Gallery. Woodson-Boulton also notes the growing interest to build systematic policies and offer an ‘intellectual education’ in museums. See Woodson-Boulton, pp. 172-173.

²³ Paul Di Maggio’s examination of the organisational field of the museum in American museums in 1920-40 is an early example of this positioning of the museum. See Di Maggio, Paul, ‘Constructing an Organizational Field as a Professional Project: US Art Museums, 1920-1940’ in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. by Walter W. Powell and Paul J. Di Maggio (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 267-292. Both Di Maggio and McClellan establish a binary model of aestheticism vs education, the first being identified with the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Benjamin Ives Gilman), as opposed to the Newark Museum (John Cotton Dana). See McClellan, Andrew, ‘A Brief History of the Art Museum Public’ in *Art and its Publics, Museum Studies at the Millennium* ed. by Andrew McClellan (Oxford and New Malden: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 17-23; and McClellan 2008, pp. 28-32.

²⁴ McClellan 2008, p. 30.

modernisation.²⁵ As the art historian Kristina Wilson has observed with regard to modern art museums in America, their transformation into elite spaces in the twentieth century was ‘gradual and uneven’, so that while their promoters owed to their specialised knowledge, ‘they were preoccupied nonetheless with guiding the public, much as their forebears did in the nineteenth century, to an appreciation of art’.²⁶ In the German context, Charlotte Klonk has argued that in the early twentieth century, several curators of art museums such as Hugo von Tschudi (Nationalgalerie, Berlin), Ludwig Justi (art gallery in Frankfurt, and Nationalgalerie), Alfred Lichtwark (Kunsthalle, Hamburg), and Konrad Lange (picture gallery in Stuttgart), sought to reflect contemporary aesthetic concerns and have an emotional impact on visitors, often turning museums into ‘intimate private spaces’ by lowering ceilings, using colourful backgrounds, and displaying pictures well-spaced at eye level.²⁷

Inspired by these accounts and using them as a starting point for a discussion with a different set of foci, the thesis seeks to tackle what the sociologist Nick Prior has described as the ‘allotropic’ status of museums, that is how they have ‘oscillated between contrasting sets of values and exhibited apparently self-contradictory behaviour – inward-looking elitism and populist democratic pedagogy, religiosity and secularism, traditionalism and modernity’.²⁸ These tensions have not altogether disappeared in contemporary museums, and it is arguable that many – and most acutely the art museum – still hover somewhere between ‘constraint and enfranchisement, regulation and transgression, state and distinction’, as Prior suggests.²⁹ As such, the thesis explores how the museums in this study sustained to a greater or lesser degree a dual identity as spaces that were adapting to the

²⁵ MacLeod 2013, p. 21.

²⁶ Wilson, Kristina, *The Modern Eye: Stieglitz, MoMA, and the Art of the Exhibition, 1925-1934* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, c2009), p. 11.

²⁷ Klonk 2009, pp. 55-72, 85. See the entire chapter, pp. 49-85.

²⁸ Prior, Nick, ‘Museums: Leisure Between State and Distinction’ in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. by Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002b), pp. 27-28.

²⁹ Prior 2002b, p. 40.

recreational uses of lay visitors *as well as* being generative of socially exclusive spheres under the dominance of cultural elites.³⁰

The decision to address this dual identity of the museum arose out of the observation that in his modernising pursuits, Hendy like other similarly-minded curators, engaged in a project that worked on two fronts at once – an undertaking that was entwined with ideas about the professionalisation of curatorship and the status of the museum on the one hand, and by an understanding that the ‘modern’ museum would need to become a more democratic institution responding to the changing needs of present-day visitors, on the other. This translated into a concern simultaneously to both update, systematise and improve standards of display, collecting and conservation, *and* to democratise the access and use of museum collections in a way that would resonate with contemporary viewers. In this manner, the thesis articulates the increasingly professionalised endeavours in the museums under review, and examines how these informed, but also competed with, the concrete methods and techniques by which these galleries sought also and contemporaneously to open their doors to the interests of larger publics and enlist them in their modernising efforts.

Tony Bennett has observed that there has been a longstanding mis-match between the demand for public engagement in museums and the rationality constituted in the actual modes of its functioning, which may be reflected, as noted above, in the discrepancy

³⁰ I am influenced here by Prior’s idea of the museum as an ‘allotrope’ imbued with dual properties. Prior complicates this binary conception of the museum, arguing for example that the nineteenth-century museum cannot be reduced to ‘the ideologies of a fully constituted bourgeois class’, as it gradually ‘opened up to the possibility of popular use by more amorphous metropolitan crowds’. See Prior 2002b, pp. 34-40.

between the rhetoric of museum professionals and their practice.³¹ Importantly, Bennett has argued that in the museum

[...] the public rights demand is produced and sustained by the dissonance between, on the one hand, the democratic rhetoric governing the conception of public museums as vehicles for popular education and, on the other, their actual functioning as instruments for the reform of public manners. While the former requires that they should address an undifferentiated public made up of free and formal equals, the latter, in giving rise to the development of various technologies for regulating or screening out the forms of behaviour associated with popular assemblies, has meant that they have functioned as a powerful means for differentiating populations.³²

In this regard, close attention to such conflicting ‘cultural dynamics and relations’ in the early-twentieth-century museum may allow us to inquire into historically specific ‘new forms of political rationality’ that shaped its activity.³³ This concern is at the heart of this investigation, which critically engages with the competing agendas of democratisation and professionalisation, but rather than seeing them as mutually exclusive from the outset, the former liberating and emancipatory, the latter coercive and reforming, as has been usually the case, the thesis investigates their internal logic as a series of co-dependent operations that at one and the same time enabled openness *and* closure, freedom *and* coercion, at once defining *and* blurring the boundaries that separated the public from the expert.³⁴ This may be linked to Bennett’s reading of Foucault’s theory of liberal government, whereby freedom

³¹ Bennett, Tony, ‘The Political Rationality of the Museum’, *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media & Culture*, 3:1 (1990), 35-55 (p. 36). I am also indebted to my colleague Liz Stainforth for articulating this distinction in these terms in the course of our academic collaboration.

³² Bennett 1995, pp. 90-91.

³³ Bennett, Tony, ‘Thinking (with) Museums: From Exhibitionary Complex to Governmental Assemblage’ in *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory*, vol. 1, ed. by Kylie Message and Andrea Witcomb (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), p. 6.

³⁴ A similar tension is observed in McClellan 2008, pp. 55-56.

is not the antinomy of coercive power, but ‘a mechanism by which government operates’ and which is ‘distributed differentially through the social body, and consumed via the processes through which the activity of governing is organized’.³⁵ This type of governmental power, Bennett has argued, can be directed towards ‘the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc.’.³⁶ In this way, (liberal) government is distinct from the state in that it ‘refers to the much broader sphere of practices in which claims to particular forms of knowledge and authority are invoked in the context of attempts to direct “the conduct of conduct”’.³⁷ It is for this reason that the concept of liberal government provides for Bennett a framework ‘through which to think about the role played by the public museum in the development of a distinct set of power/knowledge relations’ which bring about particular notions of culture at the same time as they shape social behaviour.³⁸ In this sense, Bennett conceives of culture as

...a set of knowledges, expertise, techniques and apparatuses which - through the roles they play as technologies of sign systems connected to technologies of power and working through the mechanisms of technologies of the self – act on, and are aligned in relation to, the social in distinctive ways.³⁹

Culture is here further theorised as ‘a historically specific set of institutionally embedded relations of government in which the forms of thought and conduct of extended populations are targeted for transformation [...]’.⁴⁰ In this process, Bennett argues, ‘expertise’ generates ‘particular ways of speaking the truth and making it practical’ and this is in turn ‘connected to particular ways of acting on persons – and of inducing them to act upon themselves –

³⁵ Bennett 2015, p. 5.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁷ Bennett, Tony, ‘Culture and Governmentality’ in *Foucault, Cultural Studies, and Governmentality*, ed. by Jack Z. Bratich, Jeremy Packer, Cameron McCarthy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), p. 61.

³⁸ Bennett 2015, p. 5.

³⁹ Bennett 2003, p. 60.

⁴⁰ Bennett quoted in *Foucault, Cultural Studies, and Governmentality*, p. 6.

which, in turn, form particular ways of acting on the social'.⁴¹ With regard to museums in the nineteenth century, Bennett employs the term 'exhibitionary complex' to describe the acting out of this process and to explain how the museum functioned through 'a set of cultural technologies concerned to organize a voluntarily self-regulating citizenry' by making it the subject as well as object of knowledge.⁴² As he has argued, museums developed in tandem with other so-called exhibitionary apparatuses (e.g. international fairs and department stores) and encouraged populations

[...] to know rather than be known, to become subjects rather than the objects of knowledge. Yet, ideally, they sought also to allow the people to know and thence to regulate themselves; to become, in seeing themselves from the side of power, both the subjects and the objects of knowledge, knowing power and what power knows, and knowing themselves as (ideally) known by power, interiorizing its gaze as a principle of self-surveillance and, hence, self-regulation.⁴³

These are relevant theoretical considerations for this thesis, given the impetus to precisely transform the museum in the first half of the twentieth century, through the double move towards professional expertise on the one hand (through new forms of knowledge and technique), and towards more democratised understandings of culture on the other. Both of these had a bearing on the kinds of artistic perception that could take place within the museum and the types of experience made available to visitors, and by extension, the particular forms of selfhood the museum enabled. That said, it can be argued that the 'exhibitionary complex' sets up a perhaps too direct correlation between 'practices of exhibition and the modalities of power that accompanied the development of the public museum'.⁴⁴ In this respect, Bennett himself has conceded that the exclusive focus on

⁴¹ Bennett 2003, p. 54.

⁴² Bennett 1995, p. 63.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Bennett 2015, p. 10.

exhibition practice fails to account for the more complex ways in which museums may partake in power/knowledge relations, as it does not consider other contexts (e.g. how museums may be resources for research); it limits its purview to an analysis of intended publics (either visitors or audiences reached through other public channels), thus discounting those populations that are not visitors but are figured in the museum's narratives through its field of representation; and lastly, it focuses on the agency of subjects already in the museum (curators, education officers, conservators, architects, public) at the expense of 'the varied forms of agency that are exerted along the diverse routes through which objects reach museums'.⁴⁵ In this thesis, the focus is on the study of curatorial histories in the twentieth century, but it does not claim to be a diagnosis of the entire field of twentieth-century museums, let alone of the logics of power/knowledge that can be derived from the 'museum' in abstract terms. Rather, it is a grounded effort to examine a particular set of problems around public display that a number of regional and national art museums confronted in this period and which resulted in a new understanding of visitors and their practices in the museum.

Perhaps most importantly, Bennett's analysis rests on a set of conditions that were specific to the nineteenth century, and several scholars have accused its undue emphasis on the museum's disciplinary features which, some have argued, betrays a monolithic and uniform view of historically complex networks of social actors and objects.⁴⁶ Such critiques are not entirely unjustified,⁴⁷ however Bennett himself has acknowledged the historical limitations of his proposed paradigm which, as already noted, arose 'from a historically particular set of its relations to the exhibitionary disciplines' that have 'clearly been

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁴⁶ See here Woodson-Boulton; Rees Leahy, Helen, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Hoberman; Wilson.

⁴⁷ Bennett considers many of these critiques misdirected, as he does not equate the museum with disciplinary systems such as the penitentiary, but as a parallel process.

transformed' in the past century.⁴⁸ Notwithstanding, Bennett has argued that the analytical foundations of the 'exhibitionary complex' might still offer a framework in which to locate 'variant formulations of contemporary reorderings of the relations between museums and liberal forms of government'.⁴⁹ In this regard, the thesis attends to governmental aspects of Hendy's project to reform the art museum, but its close reading of primary sources in each of the case-studies - both written and visual - complicates and in some cases calls into question the validity of Bennett's categories. Bennett's account arguably pays insufficient attention to the messiness and inconsistency of historical process, as reflected for example in the ambivalent agenda that underpinned Hendy's curatorial and architectural programmes, in his heterodox approach to historiography, and the external constraints which deterred the realisation of some of his plans. Taking a different direction, the thesis explores the tension between the notional and practical realms in museums, that is how professional discourses and the ensuing discussions in the public sphere manifested themselves unevenly in the museums' actual modes of functioning.

One way of grounding this set of concerns is through the study of the museum's physical environment, as a material field that took on considerable importance in twentieth-century museums as a first step towards the realisation of their transformative potential. In her study of the Boijmans Museum in The Netherlands, Julia Noordegraaf has noted that museum reformers in the early twentieth century were innovative in their use of 'the layout, architecture and arrangement of the museum as a means to guide the imagined viewer during their visit to the museum'.⁵⁰ The case-studies in this thesis similarly reveal the key role played by the museum's visual presentation as a primary object of analysis, providing an

⁴⁸ Bennett 2015, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁰ Noordegraaf, p. 143.

empirical base through which to understand the modernising intent within the museum alongside the host of constraints, physical as well as human, which shaped such processes.

The interweaving of democratising and professional logics in this reordering of museum space engendered two main trajectories within the art museum, as will be argued: the first was concerned with temporality, the second with the question of vision and visibility. In the first case, the impetus towards professionalisation and democratisation inscribed the museum with specific articulations of time which prioritised ‘the present’ – in contradistinction to the past or the future - as a temporal framework.⁵¹ On the one hand, the idea of the democratic museum became temporally equated with this conception of being in the present, emphasising the experience of contemporary visitors and distancing the museum from a past that appeared remote and outdated.⁵² For example, Hendy’s interventions to make the gallery a more welcoming place were aligned with publications that urged museums to become adaptable and responsive to perceived visitor needs. On the other hand, the museum profession likewise sought to distinguish itself from the past by emphasising the dynamism of the occupation and its ability to meet present-day expectations through a process of constant change and specialisation.

Secondly, such concerns were translated into curatorial practice as a means to assist, but also reform, visitor perception, placing an emphasis on the visibility of museum collections and on the ability of visitors to see and look. On the one hand, the

⁵¹ For a discussion of temporality in museums, see Gielen, Pascal, ‘Museumchronotopics: on the Representation of the Past in Museums’, *Museum and Society*, 2:3 (November 2004), 147-160. Gielen uses the concept of the ‘chronotope’, which derives from the literary work of the scholar Mikhail Bakhtin, to think about the narratives that can be constructed within the spatio-temporal frameworks of the museum. See also Walklate, Jennifer Anne, ‘Timescapes: the production of temporality in literature and museums’ (unpublished thesis, University of Leicester, 2013).

⁵² The concept of the ‘present’ is used here only to indicate a temporal moment that is distinct from what is past or from what can be anticipated in the future. It is different from the concept of ‘presence’ theorised by Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht as that which is beyond meaning. See Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004).

implementation of new technical means of exhibition went hand in hand with a policy of institutional openness that endeavoured to maximise access and ensure the best possible viewing conditions, in the belief that these innovations would afford visitors an unmediated experience of the works of art on display. On the other, this project was underpinned by a desire to cultivate self-improving viewing subjects, and as such responded to regulatory discourses about the arts and design that Hendy and like-minded curators identified with their professional ambitions.

The question of visibility has been very present in museum history, and has been variously addressed by Tony Bennett, Christopher Whitehead, Charlotte Klonk, and Julia Noordegraaf, among others.⁵³ The historian Helen Rees Leahy has pointed out that the corporeal techniques of museum visiting have involved not only looking per se, but also ‘who and where to stand, where and how fast to walk, what to say and what not to say, and what not to touch’.⁵⁴ As she argues, this relates to the regime of ‘visuality’ enacted by the museum, whereby the ‘eye’ of the ‘practised museum spectator’ is always ‘embodied within a repertoire of actions’ that ‘reflect and respond to the space of display, to the conditions of viewing and the presence of other spectators’.⁵⁵ Bennett has also written extensively about the role of vision in the development of the modern museum, which opened up objects ‘to more public contexts of inspection and visibility: this is the direction of movement embodied

⁵³ See here Bennett, Tony, ‘Civic Seeing: Museums and the Organization of Vision’ in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon MacDonald (London: Routledge, 2006a), pp. 263-281; Bennett, Tony, ‘Speaking to the Eyes: Museums, Legibility and the Social Order’ in *The Politics of Display*; Bennett 1995. Whitehead has also highlighted the principles of observation and visibility in the National Gallery in the nineteenth century, in Whitehead 2005b, pp. 8-16. Noordegraaf in her study relates the museum to the contemporary visual culture of the department store and the patterns of looking, and some aspects of Klonk’s work reflect a similar approach.

⁵⁴ Rees Leahy, p. 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. The concept of visuality can here be distinguished from visibility and from vision, as well as from visualisation, which are used in the thesis. Visuality invokes not just vision, but a ‘scopic regime’ that exercises some form of hegemonic control. Visuality is discussed by Jay, Martin, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-century French Thought* (University of California Press, 1993), p. 9; Mirzoeff, Nicholas, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Duke University Press, 2011), and Mirzoeff, Nicholas, ‘On Visuality’, *journal of visual culture*, 5:1 (2006), 53-79.

in the exhibitionary complex. A movement that simultaneously helped to form a new public and inscribe it in new relations of sight and vision'.⁵⁶ Bennett has further argued that:

...the development of the exhibitionary complex also posed a new demand: that everyone should now see, and not just the ostentation of imposing facades but their contents too. [...] In Britain, France, and Germany, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a spate of state-sponsored architectural competitions for the design of museums in which the emphasis shifted progressively away from organizing spaces of display for the private pleasure of the prince or aristocrat and towards an organization of space and vision that would enable museums to function as organs of public instruction.⁵⁷

In the present context, vision was central to the task of the twentieth-century art museum as a bodily – both corporeal and cognitive – practice that took two primary meanings. First, it was identified with an aesthetico-formal engagement with works of art and with the pleasure that the viewer could derive from this experience. Secondly, it was linked to a process of visualisation whereby the museum rendered its activity transparent to 'the critical gaze' of visitors and so empowered them to make judgements about 'public facts', to borrow the expression from the political theorist Yaron Ezrahi.⁵⁸ These tactics informed the practice of Hendy across the different museums (though the latter definition is only developed in the context of the National Gallery), aiming to maximise the possibilities that the museum offered to visitors as viewing subjects, as will be discussed.

⁵⁶ Bennett 1995, p. 73.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

⁵⁸ Ezrahi, Yaron, 'Technology and the Civil Epistemology of Democracy' in *Technology and the Politics of Knowledge*, ed. by Andrew Feenberg and Alastair Hannay (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 162.

Professionalisation

The concepts of profession and professionalisation have undergone theorisation since the 1930s within the field of sociology, but they remain elusive in other fields and their application continues to be debated.⁵⁹ In the museum world, professionalisation has been commonly discussed in museum management manuals and standard survey histories, and as a result has been considered, as Kavanagh has noted, ‘as much an ideal as a reality’ which has been treated ‘uncritically’.⁶⁰ This may be related to the complex constitution of the museum professions, which bring together diverse subfields of expertise (curatorship, conservation, education, etc.), to which must be added the relatively recent codification of professional rules of practice (i.e. in Britain, the Museums Association’s code of conduct and the Museums Charter date to 1977 and 1991, respectively).⁶¹ Be that as it may, the museum professions have received little scholarly attention, perhaps with the exception of sociological research in the US in the late 70s and early 80s.⁶² Among these early studies were those of Paul Di Maggio and Vera Zolberg, which addressed the constitution of the

⁵⁹ This observation was first made by Kavanagh in Kavanagh, Gaynor, ‘The Museums Profession and the Articulation of Professional Self-consciousness’ in *The Museums Profession: Internal and External Relations*, ed. by Gaynor Kavanagh (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991), pp. 39-55. More recent work confirms this trend, as seen in Norton-Westbrook 2013, p. 27.

⁶⁰ Kavanagh 1991, p. 39. The discussions in such publications often relate to practical concerns and contemporary agendas for museums in the 1980s-1990s climate. Among may be noted *Professionalising the Muses: The Museum Profession in Motion*, ed. by Peter Van Mensch (Amsterdam: AHA Books, 1989); *Museums: A Place to Work – Planning Museum Careers*, ed. by Jane R. Glaser and Artemis A. Zenetou (London: Routledge, 1996); Boylan, Patrick J., ‘Museum Careers: Ever Changing and Ever Growing’, *Museum International*, 45:4 (1993), 4–7; and Boylan, Patrick J., *Running a Museum: A Practical Handbook*, UNESCO/ICOM, Paris (2005). A useful overview of the museum profession is made in Boylan, Patrick, ‘The Museum Profession’ in *Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. by Sharon MacDonald (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 415-430.

⁶¹ See <http://www.museumsassociation.org/ethics/code-of-ethics> [accessed 17th November 2016]. See also the Museums Charter in *Museums and Professionalism*, ed. by Gaynor Kavanagh (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 17-18. In the US, an earlier code of ethics was published in 1925, Madison, H. L., ‘Tentative Code of Museum Ethics, Published for the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Museums’, *The Museums Journal*, 25 (1925), 19-23. A ‘Code of Ethics for Museums’ was not published, however, until 1991.

⁶² See Hoachlander, Marjorie E., *Profile of a Museum Registrar* (Washington, D.C.: Academy for Educational Development, 1979); and Zeller, Terry, ‘Art Museum Educators: Art Historians, Curators, or Educators? A Question of Professional Identity’, *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 27 (1984), 105–123.

professional fields of the art museum in the first decades of the twentieth century in America. Di Maggio focused on patterns of professionalisation and on what he calls the 'structuration' of the organisational field, by which he referred to the networks that link the organisations that support and regulate policies.⁶³ On her part, Zolberg pointed to the changing aims of museums as their internal organisation came under the influence of social 'macro-trends' such as the 'professionalization of occupations, bureaucratization, elite formation, the democratization of education [...]'.⁶⁴ In Britain, there was a crop of publications dealing with the museum professions in the early to mid-1990s, several of which resulted from conferences where academics and practitioners revised distinct aspects of museum practice (curatorship, marketing, research) in their contemporary and historical contexts (the local economy, collections issues of class, the future agenda for museums).⁶⁵ Gaynor Kavanagh and Lynne Teather stand out among those attempting to understand the development of the museum in relation to the wider sociological literature of the professions, Kavanagh charting a tentative history of the different phases of museum professionalisation in Britain and Teather setting such developments against 'commonly accepted sociological criteria'.⁶⁶

However, many of these publications were coming out of 'current museum thinking and planning' and as such were bound with discussions about the 'quality of museum

⁶³ Di Maggio 1991, p. 267. Di Maggio significantly highlights the role of the Carnegie Corporation in America for the advancement of professional control.

⁶⁴ See Di Maggio 1991; Zolberg, Vera L., 'Conflicting Visions in American Art Museums', *Theory and Society*, 10:1 (1981), 103-125. Zolberg argues that there are three phases: a pre-professional of unspecialised amateurs, a second characterised by increasingly professionalised staffs and an executive, and a third in which the administration of the museum becomes more technobureaucratic in the hands of 'managerial specialists'. See Zolberg, p. 104.

⁶⁵ See Kavanagh 1991; Teather, Lynne 'The Museum Keepers: The Museums Association and the Growth of Museum Professionalism', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 9, (1990b), 25-41; Teather, Lynne, 'Professionalism and the Museum' in *The Museum: A Reference Guide*, ed. by Michael S. Shapiro (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990a), pp. 299-327.

⁶⁶ Teather 1990a, p. 299. Teather's approach is in some ways problematic as it imports sociological models of other professions and considers museums a 'pseudo-profession' that has not yet developed its full potential. This constructs as a result a teleological view of professionalisation.

provision' and 'skilful management' that had dominated museums since the 1980s.⁶⁷ For instance, in the 1990s Kavanagh edited and contributed to several such publications concerning museum provision, and regarded them as influential referent points in 'a decade of anxiety over the management of museums [...]'.⁶⁸ While these studies can be said to inform a particular – if in its own way useful – moment in museum management, professionalisation remains conspicuously absent from the critical literature about twentieth-century museology, which is yet to be fully exploited through a detailed analysis and investigation into these histories.

It is then possible to turn to sociological literature on the professions for answers, however such generic definitions of professionalisation are often ill-matched with the specifics of museum practice.⁶⁹ For instance, Kavanagh has drawn attention to the problems that arise when such theoretical paradigms, which are based on the study of one 'perfect profession', are imposed on others that may share some but not all these characteristics.⁷⁰ Characteristically, she has further noted, the typological traits associated with the professions have been 'skill based on theoretical knowledge; the provision of training and education; tests for competence of members; organization; adherence to a code of conduct; and altruistic service'.⁷¹ Accounts of the professions that focus exclusively on such formal

⁶⁷ Kavanagh 1991, p. 3. See also *Museum Languages: Objects and Texts*, ed. by Gaynor Kavanagh (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991). The two collections (*The Museums Profession: Internal and External Relations* and *Museum Languages: Objects and Texts*), resulted from the conference 'Breaking New ground' (April 1990, University of Leicester) bringing together academics, consultants and museum professionals. Other examples of these discussions about the professions from a practitioner perspective can be found in *Museums 2000: Politics, People, Professionals and Profit*, ed. by Patrick J. Boylan (London; New York: Routledge, 1992). This volume resulted from the Museums Association Conference celebrating the Association's Centenary, and had contributors from the museums profession and the wider political, academic and business communities.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁶⁹ Kavanagh 1991, p. 42.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* See also here Abbott, Andrew D., *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labour* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 15-19.

⁷¹ These are cited by Kavanagh 1991, p. 42, who is referring to the work of Paul Di Maggio (1983), which she argues models the study of the museum professions on Geoffrey Millerson's sociological account of professionalisation. See Di Maggio, Paul, 'The American Art Museum Director as Professional: Results of a Survey', *Bullet* (July 1983), 5-9; and Millerson, Geoffrey, *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalization* (London, New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).

properties without taking into consideration contextual and content-related aspects construct the professions as fixed and monolithic, when they are in fact in a 'state of change'.⁷² This point is particularly significant for the period under review in this thesis, in which a segment of the museum profession was reshaping the delivery of museum service and its attitudes to visitors in terms that not only emphasised a departure from previous work models, but which were also developing unevenly and inconsistently. For example, although curatorship is a more central subfield of museum practice in this thesis than any other, it does not figure as a discrete object of analysis as there are overlaps with other specialist fields, specifically that of conservation. In this way, professionalisation should not be considered 'a historiographical meta-narrative', as the historian Samuel Alberti has noted, rather 'the construction of professional identities' must be studied as 'a historically and geographically contingent endeavour'.⁷³

Museum historians undertaking empirical studies of professionalisation have overwhelmingly turned to the nineteenth century as their subject of study, exploring questions related to the formation of 'museological science',⁷⁴ the relationship between amateurs and professionals and the boundary-work they perform,⁷⁵ the development of natural science and ethnographical collections,⁷⁶ monographs about museum

⁷² Kavanagh 1991, p. 42.

⁷³ Alberti 2001, p. 141.

⁷⁴ Pickstone, John V., 'Museological Science? The Place of Analytical/comparative in Nineteenth-century Science, Technology and Medicine', *History of Science: An Annual Review of Literature, Research and Teaching*, 32:2 (1994), 111-138. See also Pickstone, John V., *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001). At the National Gallery, London, the development of the science of conservation, and the boundaries between artistic and connoisseurial expertise have been discussed in the following: Avery-Quash, Susanna, 'The Art of Conservation II: Sir Charles Eastlake and Conservation at the National Gallery, London', *The Burlington Magazine*, 157:1353 (2015), 846-854; and Avery-Quash, Susanna and James Carleton Paget, 'The Artist as Director at the National Gallery, London: Intention or Happenstance?' in *Artists Work in Museums: Histories, Interventions, Subjectivities*, ed. by Matilda Pye and Linda Sandino (Bath: Wunderkammer Press, 2013), pp. 33-47.

⁷⁵ Alberti, Samuel J.M.M. 'Amateurs and Professionals in One County: Biology and Natural History in Late Victorian Yorkshire', *Journal of the History of Biology* 34:1 (2001), 115-147.

⁷⁶ The work of Simon Knell has tackled these questions. See Knell, Simon J., 'The Road to Smith: How the Geological Society Came to Possess English Geology', *Geological Society, London, Special Publications*, 317:1, 1-47; Knell, Simon J., 'Museums, Fossils and the Cultural Revolution of Science:

keepers/curators,⁷⁷ or studies about the Museums Association.⁷⁸ This is perhaps unsurprising, given the origins of the museum profession in Britain in the late 1880s, when the Museums Association was founded (1889) and with it emerged the ‘first full generation of public service curatorship’.⁷⁹ However, the interwar years (1930-1939) also appear to have been an instrumental period during which a new generation of curators, among which Hendy was one, took over from the ‘old guard’ and were forced to ‘think beyond what they did day-by-day’ and behave ‘professionally as well as work competently’, Kavanagh has argued.⁸⁰ Since its formation, the membership of the Museums Association experienced a noticeable increase after 1927 when the British Museum joined, and the Association passed from having 288 members that year to 519 by the end of 1930.⁸¹ In his history of the Museums Association, Geoffrey Lewis argued that by this time the Association was rapidly becoming ‘an established national organization, recognized internationally, with increased responsibilities and member expectations’.⁸² The twentieth century was a period of expansion for the museum profession as the number of museums in Britain grew rapidly, from about 593 in 1931 to just under 800 in 1938.⁸³ An even greater explosion of museum development occurred after WWII, and most museums we know today were created in the

Mapping Change in the Politics of Knowledge in Early Nineteenth-century Britain’ in *Museum Revolutions*; Knell, Simon J., *The Culture of English Geology, 1815-1851: A Science Revealed through its Collecting* (London: Ashgate, 2000).

⁷⁷Avery-Quash and Sheldon; it is also necessary to note here the ongoing doctoral work of Elena Greer and Elizabeth Heath (see footnote 13).

⁷⁸A key source for understanding the history of the Museums Association, although conventional in its approach, is Lewis, Geoffrey D., *For Instruction and Recreation: A Centenary History of the Museums Association* (London: Quiller Press, 1989). See also Masanori, Oki, ‘A comparative study of professional association in the museum sectors of Britain and Japan’ (unpublished thesis, University of Leicester, Leicester, 2014).

⁷⁹Kavanagh 1991, p. 44.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 47.

⁸¹Lewis 1989, p. 38.

⁸²Ibid., p. 18.

⁸³Earlier figures for museums were 90 in 1860, to 180 in 1880. See Lewis 1989, p. 1. For early sources see Lenyon, F. [Sir], ‘Municipal Museums and Art Galleries’ in *A Century of Municipal Progress, 1835-1935*, ed. by Harold Laski, W. I. Jennings and W. Robson (London; National Association of Local Government: G. Allen & Unwin, 1935), p. 263; Markham, Sydney Frank, *A Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles: (Other than the National Museums)* (Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. Constable Ltd, 1938), pp. 12-15.

second half of the twentieth century, a growth that was paralleled by ‘a massive expansion in the number of museum employees’, as Patrick Boylan has observed.⁸⁴ This was, according to Kavanagh, a period ‘of gradual growth and consolidation of curatorial practice, particularly in relation to the management of collections’ and to the ‘knowledge of conservation requirements’.⁸⁵ Recent scholarship has looked into this emergent professionalism in the decades post-WWII as reflected in its codes of ethics and standards, pointing to a fundamental if under-researched area in the field.⁸⁶ Moreover, if we consider that museum studies scholars and practitioners today are challenging authoritative meanings surrounding professionalisation, complicating the distinction between professionals, amateurs, volunteers, the public, as well their agency as stakeholders,⁸⁷ a growing awareness about how professional idioms and practice have historically evolved in museums throughout the twentieth century may yield important perspectives for this continuing strand of institutional critique.

Professionalisation in context

During the 1930s-1950s the museum professions were making headway towards the codification of their rules of practice, and curatorial methods were being re-examined with a view to the achievement of imitable standards.⁸⁸ In the historiography of museums, the

⁸⁴ Boylan 2006, p. 415.

⁸⁵ Kavanagh 1991, p. 47

⁸⁶ For an appraisal of the ethos of professionalism in museums see Wilkinson, Helen, ‘The Best as the Enemy of the Good: Utopian Approaches to Professional Practice in UK Museums’, *Museological Review*, 17, Museum Utopias Conference Issue (January 2013), 48-61; Wilkinson, Helen, ‘The Dawning of Museum Professionalism: Constructing the UK Museum Profession in the 1970s and 1980s’, *Enquire*, 5:1 (2002), 41-49.

⁸⁷ These accounts have often gone hand in hand with questions of social inclusion and exclusion in the museum (see footnotes 105, 107).

⁸⁸ For a study about the history of the ‘curator’ in the early twentieth century see Norton-Westbrook 2013, 2015. For a discussion about curatorship in Britain from the 1960s onwards see Wilkinson, Helen, ‘Negotiating change: curatorial practice in UK museums, 1960-2001’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2014).

recent study of the evolution of the term ‘curator’ has opened up new lines of research.⁸⁹ This process was uneven across museums, and in the case studies examined terms such as curator and director were used interchangeably, and they are both deployed in the thesis, as Hendy was the director of the various institutions under review but was simultaneously the chief curator of displays and exhibitions. In this thesis, professionalisation is identified as a tripartite process, though this definition is contingent on the historical contexts under examination: first, it requires a recognition by museum workers of a common language, interests and goals, which then form the basis of a shared identity; second, a standardisation of museum techniques that depends on, but also leads to, the ability to abstract and specialise knowledge, creating a system of expertise that differentiates the professional field of the museum from others; and lastly, a concern to increase standards which is underpinned by a desire to extend control over their sphere of influence and improve the status of museum professionals.⁹⁰

The first aspect is related to what the sociologist Geoffrey Millerson called in 1964 the growth of ‘self-consciousness’ in his study of the professions.⁹¹ With regards to the museum occupations, this type of self-reflexivity arose out of a discontent with the lack of training and the existing work conditions and curatorial standards, and it fuelled a desire to update and renew them, distinguishing the ‘now’ (present) from the ‘then’ (past). Since

⁸⁹ For the history of curatorship see Norton-Westbrook 2013, and Norton-Westbrook, Halona, ‘The Pendulum Swing: Curatorial Theory Past and Present’ in *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Practice*, vol. 2, ed. by Conal McCarthy (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), pp. 341-356.

⁹⁰ Norton-Westbrook also charts the professionalisation of curatorship as a three part process, and I am indebted to her model here, which establishes the following stages: first, ‘the recognition by individuals of analogous occupations employed across different institutions that they are united by shared activities and concerns and that they are engaged in a collective struggle to expand their agency and influence’; second, ‘the joint effort of these occupational peers to identify and define the cognitive base that constitutes their work and differentiates it from the work of others’; and third, professionalisation occurs ‘when members of this group seek to leverage this knowledge base for the purpose of increasing their collective institutional authority’. See Norton-Westbrook 2013, pp. 27-28.

⁹¹ Millerson, p. 12.

1901, *The Museums Journal* provided a professional sphere of discussion which included, as Geoffrey Lewis has noted, 'current news about museums and art galleries, reports on museums, descriptive illustrated articles, notes and queries, correspondence, book reviews [...]'.⁹² Although the exact reach of the journal cannot be ascertained, its monthly issues were a medium through which members of the Association could share views, learn about exhibitions and innovations elsewhere, read about new techniques, pedagogy, the care of collections, etc., helping set up an informal network of resources and a knowledge pool.⁹³ In this way, it arguably activated a sense of a common purpose, which was further fostered through annual meetings of the Museums Association, whose proceedings were published in the association's journal (always including the Presidential Speech).

Secondly, the extension of museum specialism relates to the concept of professional 'jurisdiction' as defined in 1989 by the sociologist Andrew Abbott to refer to the 'hold of the profession over a set of tasks'.⁹⁴ The power of the professions, Abbott argued, was vested in their 'knowledge systems, their abstracting ability to define old problems in new ways'.⁹⁵ This ability to redefine old problems anew and to formalise them was ubiquitous across articles in *The Museums Journal* during the first half of the twentieth century, and contributors treated topics as diverse as collecting practices, arrangement of contents and display, visitor facilities, museums architecture, education, the use of new media, etc. In 1930, the establishment of the Diploma of the Museums Association furthered these aims, as training became gradually standardised (even as it also changed over the years). The first set of

⁹² Lewis 1989, p. 18.

⁹³ The advancement of the interests of the museum profession became a more pressing if not always successful venture, and it was stimulated by the Public Libraries Act (1919), which eliminated the limit on rate-borne expenditure and empowered authorities to spend what they considered fit in the libraries and museums. In 1920, the issue of salary scales was taken up with the National and Local Government Officers' Association (NALGO), and these were published in *The Museums Journal* in 1922. See Lewis 1989, p. 31, and Lenyon, p. 262.

⁹⁴ Abbott, p. 9, cited in L'Etang, Jackie, *Public Relations in Britain: A History of Professional Practice in the 20th century*, (N.J., London; Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, 2004), p. 17.

⁹⁵ Abbott, p. 30.

regulations of the Diploma were published 1932 and it was stipulated that those qualifying for the award would have to demonstrate their competence in a discipline related to museum collections, take three courses of the Association, and successfully show a competent knowledge of museum administration, methods and techniques.⁹⁶ Since the late 1920s and 1930s, reports were conducted by the Museums Association in conjunction with the Carnegie UK Trust (CUKT), as will be addressed, which further recognised museum practice and the professions as a specialised field of activity. Outside Britain, supra-national organisations such the International Museums Office (IMO) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM) likewise helped foster and consolidate professional specialisation especially after the Second World War. For example, in its series of biennial conferences, ICOM alternatively focused on the training of ‘museographers’ (1948), ‘restorers’ (1950) and ‘educators’ (1953).⁹⁷

Thirdly, many in the museum profession leveraged this specialist knowledge to make demands for better standards. This also translated into a form of control, which as Di Maggio has observed in the context of museums in the US in the 1920s-1940s, was implicit in strategies such as the enlargement of collections and the boosting of funds and budgets to acquire new works.⁹⁸ Given the focus of this thesis on museum techniques of presentation, it touches very briefly on the history of collecting, and only in some of the case-studies. However, the desire to raise the profile of museums was also observed in the demand to remodel or build new galleries and in the application of specialist knowledge, both of which

⁹⁶ Lewis 1989, pp. 53-54.

⁹⁷ Boylan 2006, p. 419. As noted by Boylan, ‘museography’ at this time included ‘a wide range of support staff, including collection care and exhibition technicians’, so it was not limited to curatorship (p. 419). In Hendy’s context, the term ‘museography’ was more commonly used than museology (as seen in the conference ‘Muséographie’, 1934, mentioned below). Museography is employed in the thesis to refer to the methods and techniques which have practical application in the museum. Museology, less commonly applied by Hendy and his contemporaries, is employed to indicate a form of abstract knowledge and science underlying the practical arrangement and management of the museum.

⁹⁸ Di Maggio 1991, p. 271.

were seen to lend greater professional standing and legitimacy to museum activity. This points to the link between curatorial authority and expertise, the latter which, as Bennett has argued, has been 'centrally involved in mechanisms through which the truth claims of particular discourses are organized and connected to particular apparatuses and programs of government'.⁹⁹ In this way, the thesis is concerned with the relationship between expertise and its actualisation through the application of museum techniques in so far as it generates specific kinds of knowledge and truth effects about it.

The historical study of professionalisation raises its own problems, as the ideals of museum professionals revealed by primary source material cannot always be said to reflect the wider realities of the profession.¹⁰⁰ On the one hand, these writings are not representative of the profession as a whole but usually of small group that acted as its mouthpiece, and secondly, there are likely discrepancies between the notional and the practical realms, that is between what such curators preached and the actual work in which they were engaged.¹⁰¹ Having said that, written accounts provide invaluable evidence of the discussions among museum professionals and of the rhetoric they employed, and can be usefully examined alongside the specific curatorial techniques and methods in which such workers engaged. In that regard, the thesis primarily investigates museum practice on the ground, but reads it side by side with the professional writings of museum workers, in particular publications such as *The Museums Journal*, ICOM's journal *Museion* (later renamed *Museum*), *ICOM News*, as well as reports undertaken by museum experts and commentators over this period.¹⁰² These documents aid our understanding of the museum

⁹⁹ Bennett 2003, p. 54.

¹⁰⁰ Kavanagh 1991, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ This observation is made by Christopher Whitehead with regard to the architectural projects for the Barry Rooms, Whitehead 2005a, p. 204.

¹⁰² For the reports see *Muséographie. Architecture et aménagement des musées d'art. Conférence internationale d'études*, Madrid, 1934 (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (LEAGUE OF NATIONS), Office International des Musées, 1935); Miers, Henry, *A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles, other than the National Museums...to the Carnegie United Kingdom*

profession as a field of practice, but they also have a relevance for locating Hendy as an individual in this domain, given that he was closely involved in the journals *Museum* and *The Museums Journal*, both through written contributions as well as through his membership in the Museums Association of whose Council he would become a member after WWII.

Democratisation

Writing about the political rationality of the museum, Tony Bennett has noted that in the nineteenth century museums ‘progressively opened their doors to permit free access to the population at large’ to espouse a principle of universality which addressed ‘a general public made up of formal equals’.¹⁰³ In practice, however, this impulse for the inclusion of large populations in the ‘formally free and open’ museum was paralleled by ‘pattern[s] of informal discriminations and exclusions’.¹⁰⁴ In the scholarship about museums, both historical and contemporary, this crop of concerns has lent an increasing focus on the modalities of knowledge which are produced, organised and distributed in museums in order to understand how they might be inserted in the social fabric as platforms for civil empowerment and justice, and, contrariwise, how they may have been instrumentalised as disciplinary organs of civic governance in the past.¹⁰⁵ For Bennett, the democratising function of the museum must lead to the break-up of its authoritative voice, that is to say, museums must shift away from their role as guarantors of truth, and instead move towards ‘that of the

Trustees (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1928); Markham 1938. See also the publication Wittlin, Alma S., *The Museum: its History and its Tasks in Education* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949).

¹⁰³ Bennett 1990, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁵ Issues about the role of museums in social justice have been influentially discussed by Richard Sandell in *Museums, Equality, and Social Justice*, ed. by Richard Sandell and Eithne Nightingale (Abingdon, Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2012), and *Museums, Society, Inequality*, ed. by Richard Sandell (London: Routledge, 2002). Others have critically explored how such programmes can be put to the uses of government, see Bennett, Tony, ‘Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood, and the Governance of the Social’, *Cultural Studies* 19:5 (2005), 521–547; Message, Kylie, ‘Museums and the Utility of Culture: The Politics of Liberal Democracy and Cultural Well-Being’, *Social Identities*, 13:2 (2007), 235-256.

possessor of technical competence whose function is to assist groups outside the museum to use its resources to make authored statements within it'.¹⁰⁶ This has been reflected in current attempts to reformulate the social boundaries between experts and audiences in museums, and therefore is linked with a rethinking of professionalisation which has seen the proposal of new kinds of agency at the level of decision-making, curating and other participatory initiatives in museums.¹⁰⁷

Only recently, the question of 'democratisation' has been taken up beyond the practices inside the museum to consider how scholarly writings have also helped shaped its *raison d'être* and meanings. Significantly, Cecilia Rodéhn has explored how academic texts from the 1980s onwards have performed notions of democracy and democratisation in their analyses of museums.¹⁰⁸ As she notes, 'in writing about democracy we are "doing" what we are writing about and co-creating the conditions for democracy and democratization in museums'.¹⁰⁹ Rather than seeing democratisation as a fixed, static, stable and neutral concept, Rodéhn argues that it 'should be understood as a long process of open-ended social constructions' involving an 'ongoing unstructured array of social negotiations' between different actors, material cultures, documents, and power relations.¹¹⁰ Rodéhn's emphasis on the rhetorical uses of 'democracy' relates to the description of 'democratization' by the political science scholar Laurence Whitehead, and it significantly points to the necessary study of sources contemporaneous with the practice of the museum as sites enabling

¹⁰⁶ Bennett 1990, p. 51.

¹⁰⁷ See here for example Black, Graham, 'Embedding Civil Engagement in Museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 25:2 (2010), 129-146; Graham, Helen, Rhiannon Mason and Nigel Nayling, 'The Personal is still Political: Museums, Participation and Copyright', *Museum and Society*, 11:2 (2013), 105-121; and Meyer, Morgan, 'On the Boundaries and Partial Connections between Amateurs and Professionals', *Museum and Society*, 6:1 (2008), 38-53.

¹⁰⁸ Rodéhn, Cecilia, 'The Performance of Academic Discourse on Democratizing Museums' in *Heritage Keywords: Rhetoric and Redescription in Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Kathryn Samuels and Trinidad Rico (University Press of Colorado, 2015), pp. 95-110

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 106.

particular understandings of democratisation.¹¹¹ Democratisation is therefore not, as has Whitehead argued, a ‘timeless’ category that can be derived from ‘logical analysis’ but one subject to ‘contestability, fluidity, and context-dependence’.¹¹² Whitehead further elaborates that, in his opinion, the meanings attached to democratisation depend upon ‘historical and cultural conditions and customary usages, which are malleable’.¹¹³

The current thesis proceeds from this historical perspective to unpick the meanings by which the modernisation of museums was considered a ‘democratic’ undertaking in the first half of the twentieth century, with specific reference to the three case-studies under examination. The early concerns with democratisation in museums were predominantly related to a form of physical accessibility which, in as much as it recognisably transformed the means of public engagement, did not activate participatory processes or lead to a questioning of the museum’s representational agency.¹¹⁴ It must necessarily be distinguished from recent scholarship and museum practice that has tackled these areas, and to that effect democratisation is used in this thesis to refer to the conscious attempt by which museums endeavoured to extend their sphere of influence to larger constituencies, albeit usually addressing an undifferentiated ‘public’, and above all how they redefined their identity as institutions in service *of* and *for* this public in various ways over time.

In the twentieth century, many museums registered a growing desire to fulfil their democratising potential as ‘truly public institutions’ and sought to qualitatively transform their relationship with visitors.¹¹⁵ As several scholars have noted, the democratisation of

¹¹¹ See Whitehead, Laurence, *Democratization: Theory and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹¹² Whitehead, Laurence, p. 14.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Richard Sandell has identified three variables with regard to the question of social inclusion: representation, participation, and access. See Sandell, Richard, ‘Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion’, *Museum and Management Curatorship*, 17:4 (1998), 401-418 (p. 410).

¹¹⁵ *Museums: A Place to Work – Planning Museum Careers* 1996, p. 18. Noordegraaf has noted that the ‘ideal’ model that Benjamin Ives Gilman advocated was ‘designed from the perspective of the visitor’, although this was an ‘ideal’ visitor. In her analysis of the museum script at the Boijmans

museums passed through an improvement of visitor facilities and amenities, an increasing awareness of the educational function of the museum, and a stimulus to provide information about the museum's activity with the view to fostering greater public understanding.¹¹⁶ The primary sources under review in this thesis, specialist articles published in the 1920s through to the 1950s, evince such concerns among museum professionals to renew the institutions in which they worked and to reconceptualise their *raison d'être*. The aim to make museums places that must be accessible, legible and inspiring was a common feature of this new missionary zeal to serve the 'community'.¹¹⁷ For example, it was in the twentieth century that experiments were first conducted, in America and Europe, to ascertain the effect of the museum setting on visitors (lay-out, number of objects displayed, guidance, etc.).¹¹⁸ As a result, museums slowly changed from being collection-oriented institutions targeting the ideal scholarly visitor to becoming public-oriented organisations that emphasised the use of collections and the service to larger society.¹¹⁹ Many curators believed that if the arts were to be made meaningful to the lives of citizens, as an activity that was not exclusively tied to elite or scholarly pursuits, museums would have to make their displays aesthetically pleasing, attractive and include comfortable environments for the visitor.¹²⁰ In parallel, since the early

Museum in the 1930s, the visitor had central focus, and Noordegraaf argues this was eclipsed in the 1950s with the advent of a 'white cube' typology. See Noordegraaf, pp. 86-145. Kristina Wilson has similarly identified changes in American museums and the role of exhibitions for cultivating a public for modern American art in the 1920s-30s as part of a broader US movement to make museum collections accessible. See Wilson, pp. 1-3.

¹¹⁶ This greater social responsibility and outward orientation has also been noted by Paul 2002, Hoberman 2011 and McClellan 2008. See the introduction to Part I.

¹¹⁷ The notion 'community' is used in the thesis as it was frequently invoked by Hendy and his contemporaries to refer to the public.

¹¹⁸ In the early papers of the Association the founding 'list' of interests of its members was comparable to those of gentlemen's club, as Kavanagh notes they made '...no mention of the visitor, nor any reference to how the profession might be regulated'. See Kavanagh 1994, pp. 15-16; and Roberts, Lisa, *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum* (1997), p. 5.

¹¹⁹ See here Van Vleuten, R., 'The Role of the Museum Public Relations Officer' in *Public View: the ICOM Handbook of Museum Public Relation* (Paris: International Council of Museums, 1986).

¹²⁰ This later evolved into more 'customer focused' and 'commercially positive' museum provision, as noted by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and others, a trend which has been linked to the increased standards of care offered to the visiting public since the 1980s. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett refers to this as the 'expo model', while McClellan has referred to it as 'the blockbuster era'. See Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 'The Museum as Catalyst' in *Museums 2000: Confirmation or*

twentieth century the educational potential of museums was being more systematically realised by the 'more enlightened curators', Kavanagh has pointed out.¹²¹ In Britain this was assisted by Lord Sudeley's 1911 campaign for the recognition of the pedagogical utility of museums, setting them on a path to greater democratisation that drew on the idea that a more educated and well-informed citizenry would be culturally enfranchised.¹²² Despite these efforts, the social relevance of museums was increasingly threatened by other popular forms of mass leisure and entertainment (cinema and department stores, and at a later date, television), and many were ultimately unable to compete with mainstream amusements, as Woodson-Boulton has observed.¹²³

It is thus in the first decades of the twentieth century that we find the roots of what the museum studies scholar Rhiannon Mason has called the 'discourse of cultural democracy' of the contemporary museum, which can be distinguished from the Victorian paternalism of earlier institutions in that it addresses visitors not so much as grateful subjects as citizens with a stake in the ownership of museums who are entitled to enjoy their collections.¹²⁴ Mason locates the beginnings of this gradual shift in the open-air folk museums that emerged in the 1890s, and which encouraged visitors to 'see themselves and identify with a larger collective'.¹²⁵ Arguably however, the First World War also prompted a number of museums in Britain to become a testing ground for new curatorial principles, as

Challenge, ed. by Per-Uno Ågren (Stockholm: Swedish travelling Exhibitions: Riksställningar, 2002), pp. 55-66, and McClellan 2008, pp. 210-224.

¹²¹ Kavanagh 1994, p. 16.

¹²² The educational work of museums in the early twentieth century discussed in Lewis 1989, p. 23. In 1902, a new Education Act reorganised the administration of education on a local level, abolishing school boards in England and Wales, and placing all elementary schools 'in the hands of local education authorities under the control of the county and county borough councils'. In secondary education, councils were encouraged to financially support grammar schools. See <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/reform1902-14/> [accessed 16th May 2017].

¹²³ Woodson-Boulton, p. 173. Woodson-Boulton argues that due to the implementation of new standards that were exclusive to an elite subculture, 'the fine arts became elite again' (p. 173).

¹²⁴ Mason, p. 54.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

they participated in social and war-relief campaigns through exhibitions and explored their ability as communicators promoting ‘the relevance of the collections to a society in a state of crisis’.¹²⁶ Moreover, museums were identified with a more ‘humanitarian charge’ as they began to assume diplomatic responsibilities through bodies such as the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (League of Nations) and the IMO in 1926.¹²⁷ Similarly, the post-Second World War has been discussed as a time when ‘the democratisation of culture was promoted as a mechanism for the re-civilisation of a society [...]’,¹²⁸ an activity that was continued by post-war organisations such as UNESCO and ICOM, both founded in 1946.¹²⁹ During the Second World War in Britain, state sponsorship yielded more popular and grassroots cultural forms, supported by semi-autonomous agencies like the Council for the Enjoyment of Music and the Arts (CEMA), the Entertainment National Service Association (ENSA) or the British Institute of Adult Education (BIAE).¹³⁰ At the National Gallery in London for example, the initiatives instigated by its wartime director Kenneth Clark were praised for their popularising character, among them Myra Hess’s musical concerts, exhibitions of contemporary art, or the well-attended ‘Picture of the Month’ displays, which featured masterpieces of the collection brought from the mine in Wales alongside explanatory panels.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Kavanagh 1994, pp. 75-76.

¹²⁷ McClellan 2008, pp. 32-33.

¹²⁸ F. Matarasso quoted in Mason, p. 57.

¹²⁹ Lewis, Geoffrey, D., ‘Collections, Collectors and Museums: A Brief World Survey’ in *Manual of Curatorship: A Guide to Museum Practice*, ed. by John M. Thompson (Oxford; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1984), pp. 18-20.

¹³⁰ For a discussion about the cultural politics during wartime see Foss, Brian, *War Paint: War, State and Identity in Britain, 1939-1945*, (New Haven, Conn., London: Yale University Press, 2007); Taylor; Hewison, Robert, *Culture and Consensus: England, Art and Politics since 1940* (London: Methuen, 1997); Pearson, Nicholas M., *The State and the Visual Arts: A Discussion of State Intervention in the Visual Arts in Britain, 1760-1981* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982); Minihan, Janet, *The Nationalization of Culture: The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain* (London: Hamilton, 1977).

¹³¹ McClellan 2008, p. 35.

Such trends in the museum world need to be situated in the wider context of debates about the social and political relevance of public opinion. Since the 1920s, commentators and thinkers in the United States such as Walter Lippmann, Edward Bernays or John Dewey had grappled with the question of what constituted ‘the public’ within increasingly complex and technology-mediated societies.¹³² The acknowledgement that public opinion was culturally salient also lay at the heart of the British experimental project ‘Mass Observation’ (MO), which between 1937 and the early 1950s gathered the opinions of ordinary citizens about different aspects of British life and generated a so-called ‘anthropology of ourselves’.¹³³ Mass Observation recruited a team of observers and writers to study the everyday lives of people in Britain, touching topics such as war, housing, human relationships, state, childhood, radio, etc., and publishing as a result over twenty books. Alongside this major social experiment, WWI had marked the beginnings of nation-wide information policies, making exhibitions important vehicles to cultivate public support for the war,¹³⁴ efforts that were consolidated during WWII with the foundation of the Ministry of Information (MOI), which would play a key role in shaping citizen morale through its public information activities.¹³⁵ The changing values and aspirations among museum workers in this

¹³² The most insightful of these commentators was John Dewey, a pragmatist philosopher also writing about education and aesthetic experience, themes relevant to the thesis. See Dewey, John, *The Public and Its Problems* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927); Lippmann, Walter, *Public Opinion* (New York; London: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997; original 1922); Lippmann, Walter, *The Phantom Public* (Harcourt Brace and Co., 1925). For an articulation of the problem of the ‘public’ in relation to democracy in Lippmann and Dewey see Marres, Noortje, ‘Issues Spark a Public into Being: A Key but Often Forgotten Point of the Lippmann-Dewey Debate’ in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. by Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT, 2005), pp. 208-217. Edward Bernays has become known as one of the instigators of marketing and commercial propaganda, but he also produced writings on the subject of public opinion. See Bernays, Edward, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926).

¹³³ Mass Observation was founded in 1937 by Tom Harrisson, Charles Madge and Humphrey Jennings. For a list of all Mass Observation publications see <http://www.massobs.org.uk/mass-observation-1937-1950s> [accessed 18th November 2016]. See also Hubble, N., *Mass-Observation and Everyday Life: Culture, History, Theory*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke (2009). Since 1937, the BBC had also begun to conduct ‘Listener Research’, see Hendy, David, *Public Service Broadcasting* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

¹³⁴ See Kavanagh 1994, especially Chapter 5 ‘Role and purpose through exhibitions’, pp. 65-81.

¹³⁵ These efforts were paralleled by the emergence of ‘public relations’ as a profession. Few accounts exist about this, but see here Gillman, F. C., ‘Public Relations in the United Kingdom prior

period reflect a desire to foster a similar public understanding about their activity.¹³⁶ In this regard, the press became the chief conduit used by museums to inform the public as well as to garner support for their agenda, for which reason press cuttings are an important source for distilling museums' public rhetoric. As Hooper-Greenhill has observed, in this period contemporaries recognised that mass media had 'a powerful and persuasive influence on audiences [...]'.¹³⁷ Hendy similarly understood this, and his outward orientation needs to be appraised in the context of changing discourses about the public during this historical period.

The study of museum presentation

In order to bring these two threads into focus - professionalisation and democratisation - the thesis locates how such differing agendas intersected and converged within the sphere of the museum itself.¹³⁸ As the museum historian Suzanne MacLeod has argued, 'histories of architectural change' can 'provide glimpses of tangled stories of occupation and use, often revealing social and professional relationships and the politics and tensions behind architectural development'.¹³⁹ Specifically, the thesis focuses on the communicative agency of 'museum presentation' as expressed through its architecture, through the spatial lay-out of galleries and arrangement of displays, and through other forms of visual presentation in

to 1948', *IPRA Review* 2:1 (1978), and especially L'Etang; L'Etang, Jacquie, and Magda Pieczka, 'Public Relations and the Question of Professionalism' in *Handbook of Public Relations*, ed. by Robert L. Heath (Thousand Oaks, California; London: Sage Publications, 2001), and Scott, Anthony, *Public Relations and the Making of Modern Britain: Stephen Tallents and the Birth of a Progressive Media Profession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

¹³⁶ As can be noted from the emergence of professional 'public relations' (see references in footnote 135), this was becoming an important aspect in public social life.

¹³⁷ Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean, 'Museums and Communication: An Introductory Essay' in *Museum, Media, Message*, ed. by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 7.

¹³⁸ For an examination of museums and the 'public sphere' see Barrett, Jennifer, *Museums and the Public Sphere* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). See also Abt, Jeffrey, 'The Origins of the Public Museum' in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, pp. 115-134.

¹³⁹ MacLeod, Suzanne, 'Significant Lives: Telling Stories of Museum Architecture' in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, ed. by Kate Hill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 103.

printed media.¹⁴⁰ In this respect, the museum may be seen ‘as a technology in its own right – a set of skills, techniques and methods’, as has been noted by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.¹⁴¹ This is especially pertinent to the question of professionalisation, as norms and standards are inscribed in and re-enacted through the museum environment, enabling as well as disabling particular relationships between bodies and objects, and between bodies and other bodies. As well as being a site for the inscription of such professional rules, the museum is a public arena that visitors actively navigate and occupy in ways that may contend with such prescribed criteria.¹⁴² On these terms, the spatial configuration of the museum mediates, materially as well as discursively, between these different planes – professional and public.

Additionally, there are historical reasons for this focus on space, given that in the twentieth century many curators and directors believed, as Noordegraaf has argued, that a physically attractive and well-designed museum was indispensable for recruiting new publics.¹⁴³ This interest in the ways museum architecture and display shape visitor perception dates as far back as the mid-nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries, but it was in the 1920s-1930s, periods encompassed in this thesis, when the first experiments of visitor behaviour were conducted by American psychologists such as Benjamin Ives Gilman and later Edward Robinson and Arthur Melton.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, Noordegraaf and Kali Tzortzi have

¹⁴⁰ I want to acknowledge Julia Noordegraaf for this intellectual framework, which helps extend the definition of museum space beyond that of architecture to other forms of visual representation. However, I am not using it in her terms, as I am not borrowing the notion of ‘script’ from the sociology of technology. This is discussed below (pp. 47-48).

¹⁴¹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett quoted in Rees Leahy, Helen, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 3.

¹⁴² Noordegraaf, pp. 14-17. Noordegraaf uses the notion of the museum ‘script’ to signify museum presentation as the product of ‘both its designers *and* its users’. This is distinct from how it is applied by Carol Duncan, as she sees the museum script as more ritualised and prescriptive. See Duncan 1995. For discussions about public space see Sennett, Richard *The Fall of Public Man* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

¹⁴³ See Noordegraaf, and Tzortzi.

¹⁴⁴ The work of behavioural psychology pioneers Edward Robinson and Arthur Melton in the 1920s-1930s in America must be noted here: Robinson, Edward S., ‘Exit the Typical Visitor’, *Journal of Adult Education*, 3: 4 (1931), 418-423; Robinson, Edward S., ‘Psychological Problems of the Science

both recognised the singular function of architecture for the museum reform movement in the opening decades of the twentieth century, which characteristically reviewed ‘established features of museum architecture’ and led to new display principles to assist visitors in their visit.¹⁴⁵

The spatial exploration of the museum may in this sense afford an understanding of the ways in which social agents may be or may not have been constituted, in the words of Paul Hirst, ‘as persons with certain definite attributes and capacities within certain forms of building/institution’.¹⁴⁶ This takes us back to Bennett’s analysis of practices in the museum, whereby ‘architectural means’ may be used to organise and regulate ‘relations between space and vision’.¹⁴⁷ In the nineteenth-century exhibitionary complex, Bennett has argued, this was characterised by the use of new materials, such as cast-iron and glass, which allowed the enclosure of objects and illumination of large spaces, clear passageways and the placement of exhibits to the sides to allow orderly visitor flow, and the provision of vantage points which made it possible for the public to ‘watch over itself’.¹⁴⁸ Scholars concerned with the study of museums have raised further questions as to the regulatory effects of architectural and curatorial ventures upon visitors’ sensory and cognitive organs, for example how they may structure their routes within the museum and compel them to behave in certain ways. One important precedent to these discussions, though less commonly acknowledged in the museum history literature, is Brian O’Doherty’s critique of

Museum’, *Museum News*, 8:5 (1930), 9-11; Robinson, Edward S., *The Behaviour of the Museum Visitor*, American Association of Museums New Series, 5 (Washington D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1928); Melton, Arthur W. ‘Distribution of Attention in Galleries in a Museum of Science and Industry’, *Museum News*, 14:3 (1936), 6-8; Melton, Arthur W. ‘Problems of Installation in Museums of Art’, *American Association of Museums New Series*, 14 (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1935); Melton, Arthur W., ‘Studies of Installation at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art’, *Museum News*, 10:14 (1933), 5-8.

¹⁴⁵ Tzortzi, p. 23; Noordegraaf, p. 143.

¹⁴⁶ Hirst, Paul Q., ‘Power/Knowledge – Constructed Space and the Subject’ in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, ed. by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 380-381.

¹⁴⁷ Bennett 1990, pp. 41, 47.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 48.

the ‘white cube’ aesthetics of the contemporary art gallery in the mid-1970s. O’Doherty argued that this modernist idiom, now so pervasive, turned the gallery into a sanctuary of art sealed off from the outside world, a self-enclosed timeless capsule where viewers could enjoy a purely optical, but also depoliticised, engagement with works of art.¹⁴⁹ The museum is here seen as an architectural ensemble which performs certain functions and activates particular discourses, and whose curatorial lay-out, as has been further argued by Allan Wallach and Carol Duncan, not only frames the experience of museum-goers, but also scripts their visit to create a ‘stage setting’ that prompts visitors to ‘enact a performance’.¹⁵⁰

There is a growing literature that has attended to the architecture and lay-out of museums, as well as ‘notional’ projects (yet to be built), to address political questions as well as aesthetic, cultural and scientific discourses.¹⁵¹ The historian Christopher Whitehead thus posits display as ‘a form of representation and as a *political public production of propositional knowledge intended to influence audiences and to create durable social effects*’ [his italics].¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ O’Doherty, Brian, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Santa Monica: Lapis Press, 1986, c1976).

¹⁵⁰ Duncan 1995, pp. 1-2. The inquiries pursued by Duncan and Wallach in the 1980s-1990s were very influential for shifting the grounds of discussion about museums. See also Duncan, Carol, ‘Putting the ‘Nation’ in London’s National Gallery’ in *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, ed. by Gwendolyn Wright (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996); Duncan, Carol and Alan Wallach, ‘The Universal Survey Museum’, *Art History*, 3 (1980), 448-469; and Wallach, Alan, ‘The Museum of Modern Art: The Past’s Future’, *Journal of Design History*, 5:3 (1992), 207-215.

¹⁵¹ I borrow the term ‘notional’ from Whitehead 2009, p. 25. Tzortzi has sketched the different methodological approaches to the spatial dimension of the museum into several categories, those focusing on the ‘museum script’ (Noordegraaf, Duncan and Wallach 1980; Duncan 1995); exhibitions as manifestations of ideas (Staniszewski, Mary Anne, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1998); Newhouse, Victoria, *Art and the Power of Placement* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2005)); exhibitions as text (Ravelli, Louise J., *Museum Texts: Communication Frameworks* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006; Bal, Mieke, *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York; London: Routledge, 1996), and ‘Exposing the Public’ in *A Companion to Museum Studies*); the museum as narrative (*Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, ed. by Suzanne MacLeod, Laura Hourston Hanks, and Jonathan Hale (Abingdon, Oxon [England]; New York, NY: Routledge, 2012); or the museum as a map (Whitehead 2009, 2011b). Tzortzi proposes a new theoretical model based on ‘space syntax’ to approach museum space more systematically, see Tzortzi, p. 80.

¹⁵² Whitehead, Christopher, ‘Critical Analysis Tool (CAT) 2: how to analyse museum display: script, text, narrative’ in ‘Critical Heritages (CoHERE): performing and representing identities in Europe’ (2016), p. 2. See <http://digitalcultures.ncl.ac.uk/cohere/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/WP1-CAT-1.2.pdf> [accessed 16th May 2017].

In this connection, the museum has been interpreted as a discursive system which embodies meaning and theory, and this has become wedded with an examination of its material and spatial textures. In the North-American context, Mary Anne Staniszewski and Victoria Newhouse have used the concepts 'installation' and 'placement', respectively, to consider museum presentation, arrangement, hang and display for their aesthetic qualities as well as for their historical associations with contemporary visual culture, going on to suggest, as Staniszewski puts it, the 'time-and-site-bound character of culture'.¹⁵³ In a way that is especially relevant to the present concern with professionalisation and democratisation, McClellan has argued that the 'conflicting ideals' traditionally shaping museums to provide a refined space for attentive viewing *and* a socially engaged medium, have been 'both deeply embedded in the history of the building type', and this signals to the architectural significance of museums for gauging how such ideals and practices were physically embedded in the twentieth-century museum.¹⁵⁴

In this respect, textual readings of the museum have paid special attention to the encoding of cultural meaning in space. The linguist Louise Ravelli has noted that it is possible to examine 'the way the whole institution, or an exhibition within it, makes meaning, communicating to and with its public [...]'.¹⁵⁵ While this emphasis on the museum as a communicative medium has informed the approach to elements such as lighting, air conditioning, furniture, and wall colour as architectural and design components that supported and transmitted particular narratives about the museum and its contents, the linguistic inferences need to be qualified rather than taken literally. As Whitehead has argued, we 'need to consider the possibility of accident and meaninglessness' and must

¹⁵³ Staniszewski, p. xxi; Newhouse, pp. 8-10.

¹⁵⁴ McClellan 2008, pp. 55-56.

¹⁵⁵ Ravelli, p. 1. Bal explains the expository language of the exhibition in 'Exposing the Public', pp. 525-529. Wilson makes use of this model in her book as well, see Wilson, p. 13.

‘avoid the danger of “reading too much” into ensembles that are just haphazard’.¹⁵⁶ In this regard, it may be more useful to consider ‘the relationship between the object and subject’ in the museum - ‘the seen and the seer’ - to follow Hooper-Greenhill, and the thesis considers how such interactions were conditioned by the museum’s presentation especially with regards to the practices of looking it prompted. One useful perspective for approaching the theme of display has been the work by the cultural theorist Mieke Bal, who has argued that exhibitions assign specific subjectivities to the various agents involved in their production and reception: the first person – the museum - tells a narrative to a second person, the audience, about a third person, the collection on display.¹⁵⁷ Bal’s semiotic understanding of display has influenced the analysis of exhibition and helped unpack the discursive means employed in displays, both in terms of the relationships set up between objects (paintings and decorative arts) and their installation (space, seating, lighting, arrangement).

That being said, several scholars have warned that it can be misleading to focus on the physical space of the museum as an object that can be literally read ‘as though it were a pure expression of the intent of its producers’, as Whitehead has noted.¹⁵⁸ With this in mind, it is important to recognise the messier histories of architectural production, its discrepancies with curatorial agendas and the ‘multiplicity of attitudes’ adopted by the actors engaged in them.¹⁵⁹ One way of avoiding this problem is to focus as much on the end product (building or exhibition) as on its process, as well as to draw attention to more speculative, and often unrealised, architectural projects. These, Whitehead argues, are ‘valuable sources of evidence which illuminate the attitudes of their producers to museum architecture’ and ‘re-present visualizations of ideas about the museum or gallery as a

¹⁵⁶ Whitehead 2016, pp. 8-9.

¹⁵⁷ Bal 2006, pp. 525-530, and Wilson, p. 13.

¹⁵⁸ Whitehead 2005a, p. 205. See also Whitehead, Christopher, ‘Towards some Cartographic Understandings of Art Interpretation in Museums’ in *Museum Gallery Interpretation and Material Culture*, ed. by Juliette Fritsch (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 53-66.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

building, an institution and a political project which can be studied alongside discussions [...] in other media'.¹⁶⁰ Across several chapters, the thesis focuses alternatively on experimental display practice, unrealised projects and architectural remodelling as means through which Hendy sought to refigure the museums under his care, and it critically examines the meanings surrounding the tropes of reinvention and modernisation as they became attached to the dual agenda of professionalisation and democratisation.

In her insightful research about museum architecture, Suzanne MacLeod has accused the tendency for architectural discourse to 'limit museum architecture to the activity of the architect, ignoring the institution and the people who use the building'.¹⁶¹ This perspective, she argues, produces a 'smoothed out' version of the museum building that is often complicit with 'linear histories of stylistic progress'.¹⁶² Instead, she proposes a biographical approach that considers 'the lives lived in and through museums as a route towards the telling of new stories of museum making' and which recognises museums 'as social and cultural productions, populated by specific groups of people and shaped through varying forms of occupation and use'.¹⁶³ The challenge here lies with the 'opacity' of museum architecture, whereby the image of the building tends to mask 'the complex of relationships, interactions and negotiations that produced the physical building in the first place'.¹⁶⁴ It represents a particular problem for archival research, given that as Kent Kleinmann has argued, the 'artificial constancy' of the archive fixes and arrests the constantly changing temporality of architecture and thus fails to capture its shifting properties.¹⁶⁵ Largely as a result of the primary source material available, the thesis has retained a focus on the

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 189

¹⁶¹ MacLeod 2013, pp. 16-17. MacLeod also makes this point *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, ed. by Suzanne MacLeod (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 21.

¹⁶² MacLeod 2012, p. 103.

¹⁶³ MacLeod 2013, pp. 7-8.

¹⁶⁴ MacLeod 2012, p. 105.

¹⁶⁵ Kleinmann, Kent, 'Archiving/Architecture' in *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory. Essays from the Sawyer Seminar*, ed. by Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), p. 54.

museum 'building' as its object to primarily address the ideals and intentions of its curator-producer, Hendy. However, these are placed in the context of what MacLeod, following Bourdieu, calls the 'wider social system' and 'field of practice', which is in this case constituted by the professional logic operating in the museum.¹⁶⁶ Hendy is not figured as a single subject with limitless agency, though it would also be erroneous to suggest that he was acting merely as a pawn for the entire profession. As Kavanagh has cautioned, we need to be cognizant of the professional hierarchies at work as the opinions circulated across the publications and reports of the museum profession were 'quite clearly, those of a small, prominent group'.¹⁶⁷ This is an aspect that cannot be ignored, for it is itself telling of the way the museum profession was evolving and being constructed, so that we encounter the same voices time and again, mostly men and frequently curators of museums and galleries in urban contexts.

In this way, the thesis is more focused on the notions of publicness that were implicated in the museum's expository language than on uncovering the experience of visitors as such, and is therefore a study about the production of display more than it investigates questions of reception, even as the two are not disconnected. Noordegraaf has employed the notion of the 'script' from the sociology of technology 'as a tool of analysis that can expose traces of the actual use of the museum by its visitors'.¹⁶⁸ The scripts produced by designers, she argues, in many cases coincide with the 'user-in-the-flesh', but she also concedes that in other cases users might resist the instructions laid down in the museum script.¹⁶⁹ Drawing on the sociological work of Bruno Latour and Madeleine Akrich, Noordegraaf assumes thus that 'museum presentations are the product of both its designers

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁶⁷ Kavanagh 1994, p. 5.

¹⁶⁸ Noordegraaf, p. 14.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

and its users' even as the latter remain 'hypothetical entities'.¹⁷⁰ This may well be the case, and in the thesis evidence of popular reactions to Hendy's displays and rearrangements is culled from press clippings to produce a more varied sensorial map of the museum. However, this is a far cry from suggesting that cues in the museum's presentation indicate an actual audience and its embodied experience, not to mention a specific 'public', slippery and contested categories that are historically difficult – if not impossible – to trace. Evidence from press commentary must be cautiously read, at least on two grounds: first because the statistics of readership for these papers is difficult to establish, and secondly because as several historians have noted, the study of mass media in interwar and post-war Britain needs to pay attention to issues of class and to the cultural discourses exercised by elites.¹⁷¹ For these reasons, the focus is rather on the historically fabricated character of notions about and of the 'public' as they transpired through Hendy's praxis and writing, and on an attempt to understand how these were then mobilised in the sphere of the museum. Although 'visitor' and 'viewer' are preferred terms, the notion of 'public' is used, not in the aim to blindly mirror the views of Hendy and other curators, but to avoid glossing these over with contemporary notions that these historical actors did not necessarily endorse.

Philip Hendy in context: social milieu and archival sources

Philip Hendy was born in Carlisle in 1900 to an 'academic and artistic' middle-class home,¹⁷² his father having been the Headmaster of Bromsgrove School to later become the director

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁷¹ The place that mass media played in the democratisation of interwar Britain has been influentially discussed by D. L. LeMahieu in LeMahieu, D. L. *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988). Another important discussion about culture and class, which extends up to the 1950s remains McKibbin, Ross, *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). More recently, Brian Foss has studied the ways in which ideas of culture were mobilised to hegemonic ends during the wartime period. See Foss.

¹⁷² Mayall, Penelope, *An Eton Childhood* (Lower Bableigh, Landkey, Barnstaple, Devon: Mrs P. Cook, 1990), p. 95.

of the Department of Education at the University of Oxford (1919-1928).¹⁷³ Little is known about Hendy's childhood, except his manifest interest in painting from an early age, which according to his nephew Lees Mayall (1915-1992), a British diplomat, led Hendy to start 'collecting postcard reproductions of great paintings at the age of five'.¹⁷⁴ In her memoir, Hendy's niece Penelope Mayall also recounted that Hendy was 'passionately keen on paintings, and even his father was amazed at the way in which he seemed to absorb knowledge about the old masters as easily as breathing'.¹⁷⁵ At the time, there was no university degree in art history in Britain, and following his education at Westminster, Hendy won a bursary to study History at Christ Church (Oxford), obtaining a third-class degree in modern history in 1923.¹⁷⁶ This Oxford connection also earned him, according to Hendy himself, an opportunity that 'was to prove decisive for my future'.¹⁷⁷ In the early 1920s, Hendy would meet D. S. MacColl, at the time Keeper of the Wallace Collection in Hertford House, who was an old friend of Hendy's father from Lincoln College (Oxford) where they had studied together in the 1880s. Through MacColl, Hendy was appointed Lecturer at the Wallace Collection in 1923, and later Assistant Keeper to Samuel J. Camp, who took over the Keepership after MacColl left in 1924 (1924-1927).¹⁷⁸ Thus Hendy's career began, as he put it, with 'little premeditation'.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³ Ibid, p. 91, and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), 1971-1980 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 395. Hendy's father, Frederick James Robert Hendy has been described as 'a gruff, bearded but benevolent figure'. Hendy's mother was Caroline Potts, daughter of Dr Alexander Potts, a housemaster at Rugby and later headmaster at Fettes. Hendy had three other siblings, a brother, Roland, an army officer who was killed after WWI by the IRA, and two sisters, Beatrice and Isobel. See the memoirs of Penelope Mayall, pp. 84-95, and Mayall, Lees, *Fireflies in Amber* (Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1989), pp. 19-21.

¹⁷⁴ Mayall, Lees, p. 21.

¹⁷⁵ Mayall, Penelope, p. 95.

¹⁷⁶ DNB, p. 395.

¹⁷⁷ Excerpt from an unfinished script dated after 1974, possibly the beginning of an autobiography by Philip Hendy, which he never completed. The script has been corrected by hand, and the annotations appear to correspond to Hendy's laboured writing after he suffered the stroke in 1975, London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/2/5.

¹⁷⁸ Norton-Westbrook 2013, p. 80.

¹⁷⁹ London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/2/5.

At Hertford House, Hendy lectured ‘on the entire collection’, though he began to specialise on French painting and the decorative arts, and was also responsible for the care and maintenance of pictures, liaising with technical staff.¹⁸⁰ During this time, Hendy also wrote *Hours at the Wallace Collection*, drawing ‘on the substance of [his] many lectures’¹⁸¹ and engaging in the formal study of colour, line, light, and composition which evinced a passion for ‘great masters’ such as Titian, Rubens, and Rembrandt.¹⁸² In the book, Hendy exhibited classicising tendencies, with a preference for the ‘Greek love of order and definition’ expressed through its sculpture and architecture, but he simultaneously heralded oil painting as the greatest technical achievement and most elaborate form of artistic expression, indeed as ‘the first age of modern painting’.¹⁸³ Hendy also contributed entries to the new edition of the Wallace Collection catalogue (published in 1928), and it was on this account that he obtained a three-year fellowship from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (ISGM, 1927-1930) to conduct research on Italian painting and produce a catalogue of the ISGM’s collection, whose representation of Italian paintings was particularly rich, including examples by Masaccio, Uccello, Piero del Pollaiuolo or Raphael.¹⁸⁴

In these years, Hendy lived in Florence, but travelled widely in the rest to Europe and the United States.¹⁸⁵ As the ISGM catalogue stated, these trips took him to Madrid, to Budapest, ‘and to many cities and towns that lie between’, and the publication is still highly regarded by staff at the museum as a significant contribution to the museum’s collection.¹⁸⁶ Soon after, Hendy was appointed Curator of Paintings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,

¹⁸⁰ Philip Hendy’s curriculum vitae, London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/1/1.

¹⁸¹ Camp, Samuel J., preface to Hendy, Philip, *Hours in the Wallace Collection* (London: Duckworth, 1926).

¹⁸² See Hendy 1926, and also <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/directors/sir-philip-hendy> [accessed 28th March 2017, authored by Ana Baeza Ruiz].

¹⁸³ Hendy 1926, pp. 19-21.

¹⁸⁴ Hendy, Philip, *Catalogue of the Exhibited Paintings and Drawings* (Boston: The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1931), introductory note (no page number).

¹⁸⁵ Hendy, curriculum vitae, London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/1/1.

¹⁸⁶ Hendy 1931, Introductory note. In email correspondence with the ISGM archivist Shana McKenna (12th June 2015), she expressed that the museum was grateful for Hendy’s contribution.

and was responsible for its 'varied and catholic collection of "old masters"', a post that he held for three years before resigning in 1933 as a result of disagreements with the Trustees about the purchase of pictures.¹⁸⁷ For the first time, Hendy engaged in the buying of paintings, searching European collections and purchasing a wide range of old masters 'from Veronese and Tintoretto, through to Velazquez to Degas and Matisse'.¹⁸⁸ The little existing correspondence indicates that Hendy was particularly keen on securing paintings by Italian masters such as Bellini and Titian, alongside contemporary works of art, the latter on the grounds that they did not fetch such high prices.¹⁸⁹ These preferences find echoes in Hendy's subsequent career, however the archival evidence available to the researcher of this US period is thin and therefore has not been specifically addressed in the thesis. Rather, the thesis primarily considers Hendy's later career in Britain, which he resumed in 1934 upon his appointment as Director of Leeds City Art Gallery, and it traces his professional progression until the mid-to-late 1950s as Director of the National Gallery in London.

The next eleven years (1934-1945) saw Hendy's efforts to establish a vibrant cultural life in Leeds through his curatorial work at both Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam, as will be discussed. This was in line with reformist plans to improve the funding and organisation of national and regional museums and galleries in Britain, which Hendy further pursued through his involvement in wartime and post-war reconstruction committees of the Museums Association and 'The Arts Inquiry' group. At Leeds, Hendy tried to realise the designs for a purpose-built modern art gallery, conducting research into the problems of construction and design of lighting, ventilating, storage, etc.¹⁹⁰ After this unsuccessful venture, which would arguably inform his remodelling of the post-war National Gallery,

¹⁸⁷ Hendy, curriculum vitae, London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/1/1; and DNB, p. 395.

¹⁸⁸ Hendy, curriculum vitae, London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/1/1.

¹⁸⁹ Hendy, Philip, letter to Charles Henry Hawes (Associated Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17th February 1931), Washington, Archives of American Art, Roll no. 2458, MFA, Boston, Director's Correspondence, 1901-54.

¹⁹⁰ Hendy, curriculum vitae, London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/1/1.

Hendy focused on developing Temple Newsam as a public house-museum for the display of decorative arts, old masters, and contemporary painting and sculpture, a project that simultaneously sought to 'restore' the house to its eighteenth-century appearance.

In 1946, Hendy succeeded Kenneth Clark as Director of the National Gallery in London, and would become its longest serving director (January 1946 – December 1967). Hendy's most immediate task was to rehabilitate the Gallery for the display of pictures after they had been returned from Wales, where they had been kept in safe storage during the Second World War.¹⁹¹ The wreckage caused by air raids and shrapnel afforded an opportunity to refashion the Gallery's interior and its displays, leading to substantive efforts to modernise them. However, this project of renewal was met by material and financial shortage, and the full reopening of the galleries had to wait for another 10 years (in 1956). Nonetheless, Hendy endeavoured to incorporate what he considered to be modern systematic procedures and adopt new curatorial techniques, as well as improving the Gallery's overall presentation (seating, lighting, air-conditioning), changes that were informed by the latest discussions in the museum profession both nationally and abroad.

Unlike Kenneth Clark, Hendy did not come from a family with inherited wealth, and his Fabian affiliations in the early 1930s arguably transpired into a commitment to principles of social equality, as reflected in his aims to democratise access to museums.¹⁹² At the same time, Hendy's politics remain ambiguous, given his undeniably privileged social position and his vested interest in the establishment. As Hendy once noted in correspondence with the scientist and thinker Julian Huxley, 'there is always a danger of reform misfiring from the fact that the reformers are naturally inclined to remain bound by the ideas which have brought

¹⁹¹ See Clark, Kenneth, *The Other Half: A Self-Portrait* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986), pp. 76-79. See also <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/directors/sir-philip-hendy-1?viewPage=3> [accessed 29th March 2017].

¹⁹² Hendy was a member of the Fabian Society from 1924, and possibly until 1934, as noted in the membership card index held at LSE, which states that in 1934 he was 'struck off'. London, LSE Library's collections, FABIAN SOCIETY/O.

into being the organisations which they are criticising'.¹⁹³ Doubtless Hendy's personal relations with the art world and links with other intellectual circles assisted him in his professional career. According to Kenneth Clark in his autobiography, Hendy was appointed director of the Gallery 'solely on my recommendation', and this was joined by a testimonial from Vincent Massey, then Chairman of the National Gallery and a Canadian diplomat engaged in the promotion of the arts.¹⁹⁴ Other notable figures that Hendy would have surrounded himself with were outstanding civil servants, such as John Rothenstein or Lord Lionel Robbins, artists like Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth, Ben Nicholson, and influential art critics and intellectuals including Eric Newton, Quentin Bell, Julian Huxley, or the historian Veronica Wedgwood. Hendy must therefore be seen alongside the likes of Kenneth Clark, John Maynard Keynes, John Rothenstein, or Sir Leigh Ashton, men of privilege who endeavoured to reform, as Taylor has put it, the 'national artistic consciousness' of post-war Britain, and foster the educational potential of the population.¹⁹⁵

Extant correspondence shows that Hendy developed friendships with these distinguished individuals through his professional work as an ex officio member of some fourteen advisory bodies by the mid-1940s,¹⁹⁶ among which were the Museums Association, the Council for the Encouragement of the Arts (CEMA), the Arts Council, the British Council,

¹⁹³ Hendy, Philip, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4.

¹⁹⁴ Upchurch, Anna, 'Missing' from Policy History: The Dartington Hall Arts Enquiry, 1941-1947', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 19:5 (2013), 610-622, p. 613. For the Royal Commission chaired by Vincent Massey see Upchurch, Anna, 'Linking Cultural Policy from Great Britain to Canada', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13:3 (2007), 239-254.

¹⁹⁵ See Taylor, p. 169-170, and Foss. Correspondence from Kenneth Clark's papers at Tate also demonstrates that Hendy and Clark were close acquaintances, and possibly even friends. This was also the case with the artist Henry Moore, who was a close friend, and the Director of Tate Gallery John Rothenstein, as revealed in correspondence. The Kenneth Clark Papers at Tate contain correspondence with Hendy for the period 1933-1952, see especially TGA 8812/1/3/1313-1318 and TGA 8812/1/2/3036-3055.

¹⁹⁶ Hendy, Philip, letter to Bosworth Monk (General Secretary of the Fabian Society, 27th June 1946), London, National Gallery, NGA3/5/33/2.

and abroad, UNESCO and ICOM.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, there is little evidence to illuminate how such relations developed informally, in social gatherings and private parties, or at venues such as the Athenaeum and the Beefsteak Club, both of which Hendy was a member.¹⁹⁸ This makes it difficult to build a comprehensive picture of Hendy's social network, and it is likely that such exchanges often went unrecorded behind closed doors. Hendy's stepdaughter Prue Fuller, who was interviewed for purposes of the thesis, recalled visits of friends from these circles and further afield throughout the 1950s, including the art patrons and collectors Robert and Lisa Sainsbury, and Hans Heinrich Thyssen, and artists such as Henry Moore, Ceri Richards, Ben Nicholson and Anna Ticho.¹⁹⁹ Rarely are any personal letters found in the archives, either because they do not exist anymore, because they remain inaccessible (e.g. closed Staff Files at the National Gallery for data protection), or because they could not be included as part of the research (personal letters at Prue Fuller's home).

The same can be said about Hendy's approach to art, which remains inconclusive. In his writings, he rarely cites art historiographical influences that shaped his thinking, and his personal library was either amalgamated with other family books or donated to the National Gallery, as confirmed by his stepdaughter and by the holdings at the National Gallery.²⁰⁰ At the National Gallery, an undated list of publications (possibly made in the mid-to-late 1990s) suggests that Hendy donated thirteen of his books to the Gallery (their date of publication ranges from 1947 to 1971).²⁰¹ The majority of these, however, are catalogues of exhibitions

¹⁹⁷ Hendy lists some of these bodies in a report about the National Gallery organisation, commissioned to the Organisation and Methods Division, H.M. Treasury, in 1951, London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/3.

¹⁹⁸ The list of members for the Beefsteak Club can be found at the National Gallery in London. See London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/3/1.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Prue Fuller (8th July 2014).

²⁰⁰ There are no books organised as part of Hendy's private collection in Prue Fuller's home. It is likely that Hendy donated many of these books to the National Gallery Library, but these could have been dispersed in the Library, and in some cases dispensed with if there were already copies of these books in the collection.

²⁰¹ About half of these books date to the late 1950s, early 1960s and up to the 70s, which is a period that is not discussed in the thesis.

or books about Andrea Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini, several of them being in languages other than English (e.g. Italian, German, and Dutch). It is possible to speculate that Hendy purchased them as a visual record of the exhibitions he visited, and as such they do not offer a blueprint of his intellectual roots, which combined a melting pot of ideas – as is clear from Hendy’s writings and speeches. Some of these built upon the legacy of nineteenth-century notions about art as a self-improving means of instruction, inspiring his reformist programme to provide tasteful and beautiful displays that visitors would easily apprehend. At the same time, Hendy was a zealous moderniser seeking to divorce himself from historicist leanings, mixing old and new in a way that showed affinities with contemporaries such as Herbert Read or André Malraux.

Overall Hendy’s interventions in the museum typically blurred the boundary between the art gallery and the domestic spaces of the everyday, fostering a welcome environment for the visitor that could encourage their appreciation of works of art. Throughout his life, Hendy took this approach to create beautiful yet simple surroundings in his own home, taking ‘an enormous interest in collecting interesting objects and making things out of them. For example, collages of Mexican fiesta decorations which he turned into a large, vibrant three dimensional picture...’, as noted by Prue Fuller.²⁰² ‘As an undergraduate at Oxford’, Lees Mayall noted in his autobiography, Hendy would ‘travel up to London in the evening in order to buy flowers at Covent Garden market and climbed back into college in the early hours of the morning loaded with his purchases with which he decorated his rooms’, painting these in ‘black and silver’, which earned him the contempt and physical abuse of his colleagues from the Bullingdon Club.²⁰³ These preferences later found echoes in the museum reform Hendy would undertake, and according to Mayall,

²⁰² Email correspondence with Prue Fuller (28th May 2017).

²⁰³ Mayall, Lees, p. 21.

Hendy had been 'a genuine aesthete'.²⁰⁴ Similarly, Hendy's stepdaughter Prue recalled that he '...liked bright beautiful things. For example, he had an extensive shell collection which he kept in a 17th-century Venetian cabinet...He was extremely inventive with found objects'.²⁰⁵ Hendy also made bead necklaces for his second wife Cicely, and both worked closely with the modernist architect Jane Drew for the conversion of their barn at Great Haseley (Oxfordshire), which they made into their home. Such anecdotes offer rare glimpses into Hendy's love of arts and crafts, however the evidence is scarce overall given the lack of personal correspondence, and because most friends and acquaintances have long passed away, or were too young at the time.

As a result, the surviving evidence and the sources which have been available to the researcher are by and large administrative records which refer to Hendy's curatorial work as a museum director. These records have shaped the content and thematic structure of the thesis, thereby laying a focus on Hendy's professional public persona in the context of changing discourses in Britain rather than on his private sphere. As Maria Tamboukou has observed, 'the material conditions of working in the archive are not mere practicalities or technicalities', rather they are 'interrelated with specific methodological decisions and theoretical paths that the researcher is led to follow'.²⁰⁶ In this way, the research has mainly drawn on documentation from two main archives, the archive at the National Gallery (London), and the archival sources at Temple Newsam (Leeds).²⁰⁷ As might be expected, the archive at the National Gallery is comprehensive and methodically arranged, and includes the self-contained 'Hendy Papers' donated to the Gallery in 1993 by Prue Fuller along with institutional documents that recorded the affairs for the period of Hendy's directorship

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Email correspondence with Prue Fuller (28th May 2017).

²⁰⁶ Tamboukou 2014, p. 620.

²⁰⁷ Several archives have been consulted in the UK other than those at Leeds City Art Gallery, Temple Newsam and the National Gallery. These include Tate Gallery, The National Archives, Devon Heritage Centre, West Yorkshire Archives, Nuffield College (Oxford), Brotherton Library, and in the US the archives at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston).

(Board Minutes, Board of Trustees Papers, Registry Papers, Press Cuttings, Annual Reports, etc.). There is also a rich collection of photographs, some of which have been digitised for the purposes of this thesis, though an extant part of this archival material remains under copyright protection and for this reason could not be included. The 'Hendy Papers' are particularly significant, as they contain papers that Hendy assembled during his directorship and kept thereafter, and after the donation they were thematically arranged into: administrative records at Leeds City Art Gallery and at the National Gallery (including diaries of travels abroad), Hendy's writings and research (including published and unpublished articles as well as broadcasts and scripts for public lectures), Hendy's correspondence, and papers relating to the Israel Museum, the Museums Association, the British Council and International Council of Museums (ICOM).²⁰⁸ As noted earlier, the nature of these documents is administrative and bureaucratic in tone, lending an emphasis to Hendy's professional set of foci, rather than more biographical aspects.

The clear classificatory paradigm of the National Gallery archive contrasts with the records at Temple Newsam, which are often partial and by and large uncatalogued, so that records are kept in folders with unsystematic references.²⁰⁹ In this regard, the research has benefited from the generous assistance of former senior curators Anthony Wells-Cole and James Lomax, whose comprehensive knowledge of Temple Newsam helped the researcher navigate the archive and piece together its multiple fragments. Broadly the material encompasses press cuttings, Hendy's notes about the restoration of Temple Newsam, correspondence, annual reports, guidebooks of Temple Newsam, exhibition catalogues, and post-war reconstruction reports.

²⁰⁸ See File about the Donation of the Hendy Papers NGA3, Working Office File, London, National Gallery.

²⁰⁹ Due to these circumstances, the archival references relating to the documents at Temple Newsam are not always complete, and can be a single file without any parent sub-fond or fond.

Throughout efforts have been made to qualify the distinctive constraints imposed by the institutional archives at the National Gallery and Temple Newsam with the view to presenting a nuanced interpretation of the processes of modernisation these documents describe. In relation to the National Gallery, the thesis avoids the creation of a cohesive and unifying story, and rather exposes the fragmentary character of museum reconstruction, taking into consideration temporary experiments and the contradictions inherent in Hendy's thinking and practice. Notwithstanding, the trope of modernisation looms large in the archive and there is a risk that Hendy is merely seen as a pioneer renovating an outdated institution. This is far from what the thesis intends, which is instead to consider critically what was implicated in this dual push towards professionalisation and democratisation as it informed the logic of museum modernisation. With regards to Temple Newsam, it has been necessary to resist the dominant view among former staff there that Hendy was first and foremost an uncompromising and interventionist 'restorer' of this country house. The thesis does not directly take issue with this position, but rather shifts its interest and tries to understand how Hendy's 'restoration' fit with a wider agenda of educational reform and museum modernisation.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into four chronological chapters, and these also correspond to the different sites explored (Leeds City Art Gallery, Temple Newsam, National Gallery). This structure mapped the most logical narrative as it allowed a more focused treatment of the distinctive policies generated and adopted at each site and of Hendy's agency in them. More importantly, the different parts of the thesis point to the idiosyncrasies of different contexts: a municipal gallery in the 1930s, a country house in the middle of WWII, both in Leeds; and one national institution in London during post-WWII reconstruction. Arguably there is the

disadvantage that this structure produces a somewhat linear story of Hendy's career, and while links are made between different points of Hendy's professional life, this ordering does not seek to establish a progressive history of causality. Furthermore, it is not biographical but selectively focuses on a period of Hendy's career, the years 1934-1956. The regional case-studies compose the first decade of this period (Part I), and the post-war years are centred on the National Gallery (Part II). Due to the changing circumstances in museums before and after WWII, a brief historical introduction to the contemporary museum culture is provided in Parts I and II.

Chapter One, 'Reforming Leeds City Art Gallery and the task of visual education (1934-1939)' locates Hendy's career in the regional context of Leeds, and traces his curatorial work alongside the self-transforming efforts of the museum profession in Britain in the 1930s, especially with regards to the two major reports undertaken by Sir Henry Miers in 1928 and S. F. Markham in 1938 in collaboration with the Carnegie UK Trust (CUKT). Hendy's urge to modernise the Gallery at Leeds was arguably influenced by such discussions in Britain as well as by his experiences abroad, through his participation in the international conference 'Muséographie' (1934), and his working experience in America (1927-1930). Hendy pursued reform on several fronts, though not always successfully: with regards to collecting he aimed to build a representative collection of masterpieces and to purchase contemporary industrial arts, and in parallel he proposed plans for a civic centre that would provide modern premises for Leeds City Art Gallery which were more welcoming and attractive for visitors. The duplicity of Hendy's motives, to both appeal to viewers and impart visual education, is thus examined through a focus on his transformation of the Gallery's environment.

Chapter Two, 'Temple Newsam and the making of a public museum (1938-1945)' extends some of the threads developed in Chapter 1 to consider Hendy's conversion of this

Yorkshire stately home into a public house-museum showcasing decorative arts and painting. Hendy's intention to animate the house was focused on the unique qualities it possessed as a lived space, whose affective cues he felt rendered it more accessible to visitors. A close examination of his 'restoration' scheme, however, points to ways in which Hendy selectively filtered the past histories of the house to reshape the experience of the public and to advance a programme of visual education that was motivated by discourses of good design. The primacy of aesthetic appreciation, assisted by curatorial criteria of simplicity and clarity, emerge here and are echoed in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three and **Chapter Four** concentrate on different aspects of a broader narrative about the National Gallery during post-war reconstruction. They both trace Hendy's attempts to modernise the Gallery in the wake of debates about museums after 1945, referring more specifically to the intersection of professional concerns to develop the expertise of the institution on the one hand, and a heightened awareness about the satisfaction of public needs by the museum, on the other. Chapter 3, 'Post-war experimentalism at the National Gallery (1946-1947)', specifically investigates the temporary curatorial experiments that took place at the National Gallery immediately after the war, and which served as a platform for trying out less conventional display techniques. Such make-shift interventions fed into the overall policy of reconstruction at the Gallery to different degrees, but they were nonetheless distinct from the more durable and permanent aspects of reconstruction, which is the focus of the following chapter. Chapter 4, 'A modern gallery for modern times: refiguring architectural visions at the National Gallery after WWII (1947-1956)', is thus concerned with changes to the Gallery's organisational make-up, with the refashioning of its architectural interior in a series of six air-conditioned galleries that sought to accommodate visitors' contemporary needs, and with the creation of a new image for the Gallery as an open and democratic institution. As will be argued in both chapters, Hendy sought to enlist the public in a project of post-war modernisation, and this resulted in a

curatorial policy centred on visual access, on accommodating the visitor in a comfortable environment, and on the provision of information about the Gallery's activity.

As will be discussed in the four chapters, Hendy's modernising initiatives were shot through with the tension between different logics to open up the institution *and* to frame and direct this access according to the growing specialism of the museum profession.

Part I: Museums in the early twentieth century

In the few histories that have been written about twentieth-century museums, scholars have commonly identified a paradigm shift whereby curators began to differentiate their strategies of museum presentation from those adopted by their nineteenth-century predecessors. There was a turning point, the modernism studies scholar Catherine Paul has suggested, when museum directors became less focused on presenting a cornucopia of objects from their vast collections to the public, and generated instead selective displays of their contents so as to instructively teach visitors about history, science and artistic taste.²¹⁰ This transition from what Paul calls a stage of 'accumulation' to one of 'digestion' was not only coupled with the perception that overcrowded museums could 'kill' objects, but it also signalled to a growing awareness about the mediating function of the museum and an investment in its communicative power.²¹¹ Along these lines, McClellan has noted that many curators operating under this 'progressive' aegis – most notably those working in American museums - became interested in bridging 'the gap between the informed and the ignorant', and proceeded to establish more systematic arrangements of objects for the comfort of visitors at the same time as they initiated educational programmes.²¹²

The debate about the pedagogic role of museums had its roots in the late nineteenth century, and McClellan cites the British example of William Stanley Jevons, a supporter of public libraries who advocated 'simpler displays, clearer organization, and public education' as early as the 1880s.²¹³ As the space syntax theorist Kali Tzortzi has noted, around this time museums began to depart from monumental typologies with longitudinal exhibition galleries towards an architectural idiom of 'impermanence and flexibility' characterised by the

²¹⁰ Paul, p. 15.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

²¹² McClellan 2008, p. 168.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

increasing use of the free plan.²¹⁴ At the mid-nineteenth-century National Gallery in London, Charles Eastlake defended a rehang of the collection that brought pictures to eye level and gave them sufficient space to assist their visibility.²¹⁵ In so doing, Eastlake wanted to establish displays amenable to museum-goers, an ethos that would also characterise the German museum reform movement led by William von Bode, Alfred Lichtwark or Karl Osthaus and others in the 1880s-1890s.²¹⁶

While it seems clear that curators experimented with their methods of exhibition in the second half of the nineteenth century, it is arguable that the practical application of this ‘new museum idea’ – identified with an outward orientation and with greater accessibility – only began to consolidate in the early 1900s, as the author Ruth Hoberman has suggested.²¹⁷ The faith in the levelling effects of education led a number of curators to embrace this reformist agenda and to pursue the ‘democratisation of museums’ in order to ‘give all men a share in the life of the imagination’, in the words of the American psychologist and pioneering museologist Benjamin Ives Gilman.²¹⁸ As the Secretary of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts between 1893 and 1925, Gilman not only developed the first docent programmes there but also implemented lighting and heating improvements, better seating and signage, and galleries with simplified displays.²¹⁹ These aimed to prevent ‘museum fatigue’, an ‘evil’ that resulted from the ‘inordinate amount of physical effort’ that old methods of exhibition imposed on visitors, causing them to overexert their limbs, eyes and muscles, as was the case with low installations in upright cases or broad installations in flat cases.²²⁰ In parallel with

²¹⁴ Tzortzi, p. 22.

²¹⁵ Klonek 2009, p. 31.

²¹⁶ McClellan 2008, p. 168

²¹⁷ Hoberman 2011, p. 15.

²¹⁸ Gilman cited in McClellan 2008, p. 169. McClellan also refers to John Cotton Dana as the other major museum innovator in the early twentieth century. See McClellan 2008, pp. 172, 202-205; and McClellan 2003, pp. 20-21.

²¹⁹ McClellan 2008, p. 169.

²²⁰ Gilman, Benjamin Ives, ‘Museum Fatigue’, *The Scientific Monthly*, 2:1 (January 1916), 62-74 (p. 63).

new techniques, the dual arrangement of the collection at the Museum of Fine Arts meant that the 'finest objects' were spaciouly hung in the main galleries so that non-specialist visitors could easily apprehend them while objects considered of lesser importance were relegated to reserve collections.²²¹ This 'Boston idea' presented an effective means of segregation and was soon adopted by other museums.²²² As in America, Hoberman has argued, in England the museum gradually became 'less and less a locus for scientific research' and during the period of 1890 to 1914 it emerged as 'a well-established institution increasingly linked to British education and national identity'.²²³ The British Museum, for instance, began to publish its first popular guidebooks in 1903, and in 1911 appointed lecturers to explain the collections to visitors.²²⁴ On his part, the National Gallery's director in the 1920s, Charles J. Holmes, had clearly absorbed elements of Gilman's 'aestheticist' approach, judging from the words of one contemporary critic, who in 1920 described how paintings could be seen 'anew' in 'brighter and more deliberate surroundings'.²²⁵

At the same time, these developments lent a new emphasis to the professional role of curators and to their capacity to shape visitor reception.²²⁶ In 1923, the publication of Gilman's treatise *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method* furnished an early influential discussion about the aims of art museums and instructed curators to redesign techniques such as lighting and installation to encourage the 'appreciation' of art.²²⁷ The late 1920s and 1930s saw a growing spate of publications and debates in specialist journals and conferences which 'revise[d] the established features of museum architecture', Tzortzi has observed.²²⁸ As these distinct museological solutions were proposed by a new generation of curators,

²²¹ Paul, pp. 18-19.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Hoberman, p. 17.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

²²⁵ Howard Hannay quoted in Paul, p. 19.

²²⁶ Paul, p. 18.

²²⁷ Gilman 1923, pp. 89-102.

²²⁸ Tzortzi, p. 23.

Kavanagh has noted that the 1930s possibly were 'the instrumental period in the formation of a [museum] profession'.²²⁹ In Europe, the conference 'Muséographie' (Madrid) in 1934 and its resulting publication represented the first major international gathering of museum specialists, enabling the exchange of knowledge, theory and practice about museum architecture, interior decoration, display, and lighting, among other subjects.²³⁰ In America, Gilman's work was further extended by the empirical studies of the American psychologists Edward Robinson and Arthur Melton, who monitored visitor behaviour in the museum, aiming to streamline display and maximise visitor attention in the galleries. In Britain, two significant reports were published by the Museums Association in collaboration with the Carnegie UK Trust (CUKT): Henry Miers's *A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles, other than the National Museums* (1928) and S. F. Markham's *A Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles (other than National Museums)* in 1938. As will be discussed, both assessed the situation in regional museums in Britain and produced a comprehensive set of recommendations destined to improve their public service and accessibility.

Discussions about the function of museums and exhibition design that were taking place abroad thus made their way into Britain, if slowly and unevenly, and they particularly resonate with Hendy's case, who began his professional life in two American museums, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (ISGM) and the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), both in Boston. That said, the claims made for such major collections and national museums may be less applicable to small scale municipal museums, and the first two chapters of the thesis are concerned with the development of precisely this kind of regional institution in Leeds in the mid-1930s to mid-1940s. Chapter 1 explores Hendy's ideals for Leeds City Art Gallery and the

²²⁹ Kavanagh 1991, p. 47.

²³⁰ *Muséographie, Architecture et aménagement des musées d'art. Conférence internationale d'études*, Madrid, 1934 (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (LEAGUE OF NATIONS), Office International des Musées, 1935). This publication had two volumes, but only volume I is referenced in the thesis.

intersection of democratising and professionalising aims, while Chapter 2 locates this problematic within Hendy's project to endow Temple Newsam country house with the identity of a public museum.

Chapter 1: Reforming Leeds City Art Gallery and the task of visual education (1934-1939)

In the mid-nineteenth century, museum reformers had been concerned with the display of paintings and the applied arts as a means to inculcate notions of beauty and truth in visitors and to educate prospective consumers.²³¹ The model of the South Kensington Museum, with its collection of decorative arts and crafts, had set an example for smaller museums in the regions in the second half of the nineteenth century.²³² For instance, the Municipal Museum and Art Gallery in Birmingham attracted working-class audiences by combining fine and industrial arts in the 1880s, and the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool had begun in the 1870s as a 'Liberal project' providing 'alternative recreation' to the alehouse.²³³ At Leeds, the first museums to realise these visions were philanthropic institutions founded by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: the Leeds Philosophical Hall for housing collections of natural history, geology and antiquities (1821), and the Leeds City Art Gallery (1888) [Figure 2], for the display of works of art under the 'evangelising mission to bring culture and education to the working classes'.²³⁴ Such nineteenth-century municipal museums were disciplinary in their aims to reform the public, as Tony Bennett and others have highlighted, but often they also added civic pride to the city and sought to cultivate and engage popular interest.²³⁵ As the historian Kate Hill has argued, these museums were the outcome of

²³¹ Woodson-Boulton, p. 6.

²³² The South Kensington Museum, now known as the Victoria & Albert Museum, was officially opened in 1857 in its current site, and thereafter extended. Its name was changed to the V&A in 1899. See Burton (especially pp. 41-56).

²³³ Woodson-Boulton, p. 93; Macleod 2013, p. 69. In her thoroughly-researched study, MacLeod however points to the 'messy and complex social and political contexts' out of which the Walker emerged, which have often been masked by subsequent representations of the Gallery that emphasised the altruism of its origins. Specifically, Macleod points to an unease about the sponsorship of the project by Andrew Barclay Walker, a local brewer and publican, and she refers to the unwilling acceptance of Walker's gift to the city of Liverpool. See MacLeod 2013, chapter 2.

²³⁴ Roles, J., *Leeds Museums and Galleries* (Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers, 2014), p. 4; and Douglas, Jane, 'Leeds and the Public Patronage of Fine Art, 1809-1888' in *The Publications of the Thoresby Society*, vol. 11 (2001), p. 73.

²³⁵ See Bennett 1995, pp. 6-7, Hill, Kate, 2005. See also Woodson-Boulton.

negotiations and complexity and evinced ‘a variety of discourses about the world’.²³⁶ Likewise, the historian Amy Woodson-Boulton has illustrated the ways in which many municipal galleries amassed collections of industrial crafts, paintings depicting domestic scenes and everyday themes which could assert the contemporary relevance of these institutions at the same time as they promoted ‘art-as-experience’ as a foil to the ‘debilitating and dehumanizing effects of industrial capitalism’.²³⁷

As is well known, at the turn of the twentieth century many European avant-garde artists and writers such as El Lissitzky, Moholy Nagy, Filippo Tomaso Marinetti, and Paul Valéry instigated the trope that such nineteenth-century museums were obsolescent, charging them with deadness and condemning them as cemeteries of the past.²³⁸ What has been less discussed is the way in which many in the museum profession in early-twentieth-century Britain were similarly accusatory of their predecessors and felt that museums should undergo profound transformations if they were to realise their task as democratic instruments for greater cultural enfranchisement. Indeed, at the beginning of the twentieth century national and regional museums alike came under attack from reformers, for whom regeneration was a prerequisite to their becoming socially significant educational institutions.²³⁹ In the opening decades of the twentieth century art museums would increasingly emphasise free public access to their permanent collections and temporary exhibitions, extending opening hours, and making provision for amenities comparable to those offered by commercial popular establishments such as the cinema, department stores,

²³⁶ Hill, Kate, 2005, p. 15.

²³⁷ Woodson-Boulton, p. 3.

²³⁸ See Valéry, Paul, ‘Le problème des musées’, in *Pièces Sur l’Art* (Paris, 1931); Vidler, Anthony, ‘The Space of History: Modern Museums from Patrick Geddes to Le Corbusier’ in *The Architecture of the Museum* 2003, p. 160-177; Henning, Michelle, *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006a), pp. 67-68.

²³⁹ Michelle Henning makes a distinction between the different kinds of ideas of ‘living’ that modernists and museum people identified in terms of their critique of museums: for the first group, it was linked to notions of presence and agency, and to the ability to act on the world; for the latter, it had to do with introducing contemporary art to mass audience and with educating people as consumers of ‘good design’. See Henning 2006a, pp. 67-68.

etc.²⁴⁰ Museums and art galleries thus gradually began to accommodate restaurants and rest lounges, and regularly host other social events such as music concerts or private receptions.

In parallel with such developments, the museum occupation was consolidating itself through associational links and a growing body of professional literature in the form of reports and articles in such organs as *The Museums Journal* served as conduits for the spread of these new ideas. Of particular relevance for regional museums in Britain in the 1920s and 1930s was the publication of two reports: Henry Miers's *A Report on the Public Museums of the British Isles, other than the National Museums* (1928) and S. F. Markham's *A Report on the Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles (other than the National Museums)* in 1938. Partly as a result of these publications, a new generation of self-aware curators began to interpret the museum's function in terms which attached their collections and displays to the specialist values of professional expertise. The imperative of reform, which had simultaneously led many curators to domesticate museums and galleries to accommodate public needs, thus reflected an interplay of competing desires for inclusion and exclusivity and signalled to the intertwining of professionalisation with a burgeoning agenda to democratise the museum.²⁴¹

These intersecting patterns of openness and closure are the prompt for this chapter, which traces the endeavours of Philip Hendy to popularise and reform Leeds City Art Gallery in the mid-to-late 1930s in the regional context of Leeds, and which locates his project within the terrain of the museum profession's changing aspirations in Britain over this period. On the one hand, Hendy wanted to offer a service to the local community through displays which were deemed more amenable to the modern public, and on the other, he wished to raise the professional profile and status of the art gallery by creating a representative collection

²⁴⁰ Woodson-Boulton, pp. 3, 155-156.

²⁴¹ Suzanne MacLeod has drawn attention to similar processes taking place at the Walker Art Gallery (Liverpool) in 1930s (see MacLeod 2013).

of paintings and by building new premises for the gallery. Therefore Hendy's agenda for democratisation and accessibility enters into a complex dialogue with the ethos of professionalism, which aimed to confer an 'authoritative cultural voice' to the gallery in ways that competed with the democratic principle.²⁴² This tension is at the heart of this chapter, which first provides an overview of the debates regarding democratisation and professionalisation in museums over this period and places Hendy in this context, and then proceeds to focus on the museum environment of Leeds City Art Gallery as a case-study that illuminates such a duality of motives. The discussion is a pendant to chapter 2, which further extends this analysis through a detailed case-study of Temple Newsam, a historic house in Leeds that Hendy adapted according to his contemporary appraisal of the museum.

Playing a part in democracy: art museums in the twentieth century

Among Hendy's contemporaries, the democratic orientation of the museum was considered typical of many American institutions, and Laurence Vail Coleman, then director of the American Association of Museums, observed that many art museums there were indeed becoming 'community art centres'.²⁴³ However, these new cheerful, comfortable and inviting interiors were rarely noted by curators in Britain, who more commonly described the 'indescribable drabness' of British museums, as Markham commented in his 1938 report.²⁴⁴ In relation to the Leeds City Art Gallery, Hendy would be unsparing in his criticisms, and would campaign for the demolition of the building and the establishment of a new purpose-built art gallery in its place, as will be discussed. In this Hendy echoed the recommendation of the respected museum expert Henry Miers, who had made clear that the best a curator

²⁴² I borrow the expression 'authoritative cultural voice' from the museum theorist Tony Bennett. See Bennett 1990.

²⁴³ Coleman, Laurence Vail, 'The Philosophy of a Museums Association', *The Museums Journal*, 37:8 (November 1937), 361-368 (p. 336).

²⁴⁴ Markham 1938, p. 42.

could do was to 'sweep away the conventional attitude towards museums and arouse widespread enthusiasm for them'.²⁴⁵ This suggested that museums would have to adapt to changing times and emancipate themselves from the burden of nineteenth-century ideas, which were considered outmoded and no longer in line with the demands of modern museums. In keeping with this ethos, Hendy would make clear upon his appointment at Leeds in 1934 that the 'history of the City Art Gallery lies therefore in the future rather than in the past'.²⁴⁶

In this regard, a number of historians have considered the relationship between museums and modernity by attending to contemporary forms of visual culture such as film and cinema, world fairs, and commercial architecture.²⁴⁷ This is not the focus of the thesis, but it is nonetheless important to note that, as Suzanne MacLeod observes in her study of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, this phase of museum renewal occurred in the context of a 'changing social geography and popular entertainments of the city, particularly the rise of the cinema as a popular cultural pastime'.²⁴⁸ In Leeds, cinemas had been operating since the 1910s, but it was the 1930s boom that saw new cinemas opening almost on a monthly basis in the city or in the outlying suburbs.²⁴⁹ Many of these, such as the Ritz (1934), the Regal (1936), and the Kingsway (1939) were, as the historian David Thornton has noted, 'opulent

²⁴⁵ Miers, p. 80. Sir Henry Miers had by this point served on all the major committees reviewing museum provision since 1913, he was a Trustee at the British Museum and had been involved in the work of the Museums Association since 1897. See Lewis 1989, p. 43.

²⁴⁶ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1935, for the year ended 31st March), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 1. All annual reports cover the period of the preceding year from April 1st until 31st March of the year in parenthesis (e.g. the annual report of 1943 covers from 1st April 1942 to 31st March 1943). Hendy began his duties as director of Leeds City Art Gallery on 23rd May 1934. See Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (14th May 1934), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

²⁴⁷ See here Henning 2006a; Klonk 2005; Noordegraaf; Baker, Janice, *Sentient Relics: Museums and Cinematic Affect* (Routledge, 2016); and *Museum Media, the International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, vol. 3, ed. by Michelle Henning (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), especially in this volume Henning, Michelle, 'With and Without Walls: Photographic Reproduction and the Art Museum', and Wasson, Haidee, 'The Elastic Museum: Cinema Within and Beyond'.

²⁴⁸ MacLeod 2013, p. 72.

²⁴⁹ Thornton, David, *Leeds: The Story of a City* (Ayr: Fort, 2002), p. 198.

pictures palaces designed to take people out of their everyday humdrum existence' [Figure 3].²⁵⁰ Across Britain, new cinemas offered 'glamour and escapism' against the backdrop of 'luxurious architectures'.²⁵¹

With the growth of this recreational culture, visitor attendance figures at Leeds City Art Gallery annually declined in the years 1934 – 1937 from 199,766 to 191,503.²⁵² This occurred despite the extension of its opening hours, which meant that the Gallery remained open until 9 pm on Saturdays as well as Bank Holidays and Good Friday, and until 7 pm on other weekdays.²⁵³ After 1937, attendance dropped steeply to monthly levels of below 20,000, sinking below the 10,000 mark before the war.²⁵⁴ Hendy himself noted that '[t]he art gallery and the cinema are rivals, and the art gallery is the loser'.²⁵⁵ Most visitors came to the Gallery on Sunday afternoons and Hendy feared that when cinemas began opening on Sundays, 'the statistics of the galleries may well sink so badly that their utility is called into

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ MacLeod 2013, p. 75.

²⁵² While general figures overall dropped, some months registered increased attendance, for example in May 1934 the monthly figure was 12,179 and this increased steadily reaching a peak in February 1937 at 21,000, according to the monthly Director's Reports for these years. These director's reports can be found both at the archives at the National Gallery (London) and in Temple Newsam (Leeds). The reports at the National Gallery are referenced in the thesis, as they are catalogued (see London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1).

²⁵³ It is important to note, however, that increases in visitor numbers were registered in the period 1928-1935 (apart from 1933-1934), from 184,157 visitors in the year 1928-1929 to 215,320 for the year ending 1935. See Annual Reports 1928-1935 (i.e. report of the Public Libraries, Art Gallery and Museums Committee (1928-29); reports of the Libraries and Arts Committee, 1929-30; 1931; 1932; 1933; 1934, and report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1935)), Leeds, Temple Newsam. The committees thus included both the Gallery and Temple Newsam until 1935, when they were split and remained so until 1939 when they were again joined as one committee). See also Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee, 23rd July 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam. The late opening of the Gallery was continued at least until 15th April 1935, as the minutes of this date confirm.

²⁵⁴ Director's Reports (1937-1939), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

²⁵⁵ Hendy, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4. Julian Huxley was an English biologist, philosopher and writer who had a leading role in the independent research group 'The Arts Inquiry', funded by the Trustees of the Dartington Hall (Devon). The resulting report was *The Visual Arts. Report (London: Dartington Hall Trustees and Political and Economic Planning, Oxford University Press, 1946)*. It was a survey of the situation of the arts and design in Britain and published recommendations for post-war reconstruction. After the war, Huxley became the first director of UNESCO, in 1946. The report *The Visual Arts* of 'The Arts Inquiry' is discussed in Chapter 3.

question'.²⁵⁶ By comparison with these glittering venues, galleries appeared to be out of touch, and there was a growing awareness in the museum community that they would be required to refashion their premises and appeal to a contemporary viewership. As Markham alerted his colleagues in 1938, '[c]ulture must fight for its place in modern times, for unless it is willing to speak in as clear a voice as entertainments or sporting events it may gradually become swamped by sheer neglect'.²⁵⁷

On the face of these threats, during the 1930s articles in *The Museums Journal* campaigned for modernisation, often comparing museums with retail outlets that should lure visitors, with one editorial stating that 'every museum, large or small, needs some kind of shop-window in which the display can be changed'.²⁵⁸ Another contributor positioned museum professionals as 'spiritual salesmen' that should 'catch and hold the public attention'.²⁵⁹ As early as 1926, Sir Robert Witt had urged museums to have 'gay posters, well-designed and printed notices' to announce 'what was special, the plat du jour, the pièce de résistance, on your menu'.²⁶⁰ In a speech about the future of museums in 1935, the then President of the Museums Association Eric MacLagan encouraged the adoption of tubular lighting used in commercial department stores, and reminded delegates of their challenge to compete with the cinema.²⁶¹ By the end of the decade, Markham's report on municipal museums warned that 'in these days of advertisement, cultural and educational movements have to fight as hard for recognition as a salesman for his sales' and that the provincial museum had 'as a whole, a great deal to learn about publicity'.²⁶²

²⁵⁶ Hendy, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4.

²⁵⁷ Markham 1938, p. 113.

²⁵⁸ 'Museums and the Press', Editorial, *The Museums Journal*, 33:10 (January 1934), 345-347 (p. 347).

²⁵⁹ Barton, J. E., 'The Education of Public Taste', *The Museums Journal*, 34:8 (November 1934), 297-309 (p. 302).

²⁶⁰ Witt, Sir Robert, 'The Public and the Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 26:4 (October 1926), 101-111 (p. 102).

²⁶¹ MacLagan, Eric, 'The Future of Museums', *The Museums Journal*, 35:5 (August 1935), 153-66 (p. 163).

²⁶² Markham 1938, p. 108.

Since the beginning of the 1930s, Hendy had been engaged in such national and transnational debates about the modernisation of museums and their role in the twentieth century, taking part in the conference 'Muséographie' in 1934, the first major international attempt to review established paradigms of museum design and presentation and then propose new technical solutions.²⁶³ Hendy was especially concerned with the effect of the museum environment and the visual organisation of its contents on the 'ordinary visitor'.²⁶⁴ Ingenious solutions in lighting, interior design and air conditioning could contribute, he felt, to making the museum an 'active educational force', a phenomenon 'so sadly undeveloped for the most part in England'.²⁶⁵ By providing a more intimate and sympathetic setting, the museum would have a welcoming effect on visitors and assist them in gaining a deeper appreciation of the exhibits. The curatorial practice of museums in the USA in the late 1920s and early 1930s was a further influence for Hendy, who had worked in collaboration with the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum to produce a catalogue of its collection (1927-1930), and later through his role as curator of paintings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1930-1933). Although the documentary evidence for this period is thin, Hendy must have encountered the legacy of museum curators, psychologists and educators such as Benjamin Ives Gilman, who was Secretary of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts until 1925, where he had pioneered new installation and exhibition techniques.²⁶⁶ Specifically, Gilman's manual *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method* had helped introduce new standards into curatorship with the aim of

²⁶³ Tzortzi, p. 23.

²⁶⁴ Hendy, Philip, 'The Technique of the Art Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 36:3 (June 1936), 81-88 (p. 82).

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

²⁶⁶ See the discussion in Part I. Among Gilman's innovations was the placement of objects that were considered secondary within a reserve collection, and the display of works of art considered of primary importance in spacious and well-lit galleries. Gilman also introduced a docent programme and eliminated admission fees. See McClellan 2003, pp. 17-21.

mitigating the so-called ‘museum fatigue’ that affected visitors after long periods of standing, bending or kneeling to see exhibits.²⁶⁷

Against this backdrop of ideas from the USA, Hendy went on to propose changes to the Leeds City Art Gallery, both in terms of its architecture and collections, in order to reshape visitor experience and enhance the opportunities for enjoyment and learning. Through these interventions, which, as we will see, included beautifying the interior gallery space as well as a proposal to exhibit contemporary industrial arts, Hendy wanted to make a connection with the everyday realities of visitors and make them feel at home in the Gallery. Underpinning these transformations was a certain belief in the moral duty of museums to act as ‘servants of the community’.²⁶⁸ Indeed, it is arguable that Hendy sought to realise Miers’s advocacy to make museums ‘one of the best-recognised forms of public service’ that would ‘attract the enthusiastic support of the community’.²⁶⁹

This transformed art gallery, Hendy implied in *The Museums Journal*, could fulfil the task towards a ‘national education’ by assisting citizens ‘to develop the whole personality’.²⁷⁰ Education was now, Hendy stated, ‘the great instrument for that fundamental necessity of a democracy, equality of opportunity’.²⁷¹ As Hendy observed, museums in Britain paled in comparison to their American counterparts, which had been recognised as ‘centre[s] for cultural and educational life of the town’ where children could learn to ‘love’ art.²⁷² By

²⁶⁷ For a discussion of ‘museum fatigue’ see Part I and Gilman 1916 and 1923, pp. 251-276. This concept and its application is further discussed in chapter 4 (pp. 201-246). Other publications about the purpose of the art museum by Gilman include ‘On the Distinctive Purpose of the Art Museum’ (1904); and ‘Aims and Principles of the Construction and Management of Museums of Fine Art’ (1906) in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts* ed. by Bettina Messias Carbonell (Oxford and New Malden: Blackwell, 2004).

²⁶⁸ Hendy, Philip, ‘The Aims of an Art Gallery’, *The Museums Journal*, 36:8 (November 1936), 329-335 (p. 330).

²⁶⁹ Miers, p. 80.

²⁷⁰ Hendy, ‘The Aims of an Art Gallery’, p. 331.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² ‘“Leeds without a soul for art. City attitude simply “uncivilised”’. Director hits out after queen’s visit’ *Yorkshire Evening News*, 29th August 1935, Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘Press Cuttings’.

contrast, Hendy recounted his own experience in Leeds soon after arriving at the Gallery, when he had called 50 teachers to arrange parties of children to be taken around the Gallery and be given talks about the pictures, but the scheme had fallen through after receiving no support from any quarter.²⁷³ As Hendy lamented, the children were ‘still growing up in almost complete ignorance of art’.²⁷⁴

In Britain, the progressive acknowledgement of the worth of museum education had been assisted by the passing of a new Education Act in 1902, which gave more agency to local authorities and also extended secondary education. Of particular relevance had been the launch, a decade later, of Lord Sudeley’s educational campaign for museums in 1911, the first major attempt to recognise the important role of teaching and learning in national museums, and which after Sudeley’s death in 1922 continued to promote ‘better public access to museums both in London and the provinces and making them more intelligible to visitors’.²⁷⁵ No longer a mere receptacle of collections, the art gallery had taken a ‘new orientation’, the museum director John Rothenstein stated, and had made the use of its ‘resources even more important than their increase’.²⁷⁶ However, Miers’s report had been less optimistic, as it revealed that by 1928 only three municipal museums, among them Leeds City Council Museum, received grant-in-aid from the local education authority.²⁷⁷ Moreover,

²⁷³ Ibid. I have been unable to find further evidence about the lack of support for an educational scheme to which Hendy refers.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Lewis, Geoffrey, D., ‘Museums in Britain: 1920 to the Present’ in *Manual of Curatorship: A Guide to Museum Practice*, ed. by Thompson, John M. (Oxford; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1984), pp. 38-39.

²⁷⁶ Rothenstein, John, ‘The Relation between Schools and Art Galleries and Museums’, *The Museums Journal*, 37:8 (October 1937), 328-336, cited in Wittlin, p. 171.

²⁷⁷ See Miers, pp. 16-17. The Leeds City Museum was a different institution to Leeds City Art Gallery. Miers’s figures contrast however with those presented by Kavanagh, which uses data from an earlier survey by the British Association (1914) that revealed that 134 museums provided instruction, among them 28 museums by teachers alone, 24 by teachers and curators, and 16 only by staff. Kavanagh singles out the local authorities of Leeds, Aylesbury, Salford (which received grant-in-aid), and Haslemere, Norwich, Sunderland, and Batley as setting a precedent for education in regional museums. See Kavanagh 1994, pp. 89-90. No such scheme seems to have been in place at Leeds City Art Gallery.

the realisation of the educational purpose of the museum came belatedly to Britain if compared to its development in America, where such docent schemes had been established earlier.²⁷⁸ For example, at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Gilman had instigated the first systematic education programmes in 1916 and had a staff of 30 trained guides.²⁷⁹ Even as late as 1949 the museum educationalist Alma Wittlin complained that many European museums were still occupied with preservation and research in contrast with the ‘increasing stress laid on the educational purpose of the museum’ in America.²⁸⁰

Hendy’s own ideas about education were influenced by modern pedagogues and educationalists of the likes of Franz Cizek, Marion Richardson and Herbert Read, all of whom emphasised the importance of art in the cultivation of the personality.²⁸¹ This was predicated on a belief in the powers of creativity and artistic apprehension as a corrective to the deficiencies of what Hendy called ‘universal education’.²⁸² According to Hendy the prevalent educational model in Britain was exclusively ‘in print’ form and for this reason it ‘neglected almost entirely the whole visual and sensuous side of man’.²⁸³ Contrariwise, Hendy’s endeavours at Leeds City Art Gallery focused on helping visitors to ‘see’, an enterprise which he assumed had educational and emancipatory effects.²⁸⁴ Hendy’s approach to the visual

²⁷⁸ See Roberts.

²⁷⁹ McClellan 2003, p. 19.

²⁸⁰ Wittlin, p. 163.

²⁸¹ See MacDonald, Stuart, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2004, c1970); Read, Herbert, *Education through Art* (Faber and Faber, 1943); Richardson, Marion, *Art and the Child* (London: University of London Press, 1948).

²⁸² Hendy, ‘The Aims of an Art Gallery’, p. 332. This kind of education was also the subject of critique in *The Visual Arts* conducted by the so-called ‘The Arts Inquiry’, a collective of museum directors, artists, designers, critics which included Hendy. The report was inspired by the pedagogical ideas noted above, and made demands for the qualitative improvement in elementary and secondary education of artistic sensibilities, advocating the promotion of individual creativity and imagination. See Chapter 3 (pp. 163-200), for a more detailed understanding of this report.

²⁸³ Hendy, ‘The Aims of an Art Gallery’, p. 332.

²⁸⁴ The then director of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Morris Carter, noted that in the talks Hendy gave at that museum he ‘really help[ed] the hearer to see’. Morris Carter further expressed the hope that the catalogue he was working on would similarly ‘help the reader to see them [the works of art from the collection]’. See Carter, Morris, letter to Philip Hendy (30th August 1927), Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, ‘Director’s Papers, Morris Carter - Correspondence with Hendy 1925-28’.

arts becomes clear from the reminiscence of one colleague at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, who observed that Hendy gave lectures ‘about the artistic quality of pictures, the artistic significance of the method, the esthetic [sic] value, instead of using the picture as a peg on which to hang anecdotes and biographical data’.²⁸⁵ This was a sensory and experiential engagement with works of art that attended to their formal features and material properties rather than to discursive narrative or historical facts, which Hendy considered were things less immediately accessible to the lay visitor.²⁸⁶ The premise here was that ‘seeing’ was a natural and self-evident process, and Hendy’s transformation of the Gallery would seek to maximise the viewing conditions inside the galleries. What this disguised, however, was that seeing simultaneously engaged viewers in particular cognitive and bodily processes, and that as a result such changes helped choreograph the manner in which ‘seeing’ would be performed in the Gallery. If this points to intersecting and at times competing agendas, it suggests the need to first attend to concomitant developments for the advancement of the museum profession in Britain in this period.

Museums and the path to professional modernisation

The intention to open museums and make them attractive went hand in hand with the professionalising pursuits of curators and other museums workers. The march towards greater specialisation stemmed from the ability of these employees to self-reflexively examine their own practices and strive for improved standards. This period of transition thus implicated, as the historian Michelle Henning has observed, ways of knowing that became

²⁸⁵ Carter, letter to Philip Hendy (30th August 1927), Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, ‘Director’s Papers, Morris Carter – Correspondence with Hendy 1925-28’.

²⁸⁶ This approach fell within Gilman’s tenets for the art museum, which he elaborated in *Museum Ideals*, pp. 82-102. One of the other major proponents of education in the museum taking a significantly different perspective was John Cotton Dana, who opposed many of Gilman’s ideas. See Andrew McClellan 2003, for a discussion of this debate. See also Gilman 1923; and Dana c1999.

increasingly 'systematic and organized'.²⁸⁷ In Britain, the Museums Association had been founded in 1889 and had taken up the subject of curatorial training from the very beginning, with a number of papers being published on that topic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁸⁸ The question of expertise and professionalism was formally raised again in 1920, when a report issued by the British Association noted that curators were often self-taught or lacked the necessary training to undertake their role, and suggested the need for 'sound training' in museum practices.²⁸⁹ However, it was only after 1930 that the first short diploma courses of the Museums Association were offered in London, and in 1932 that *The Museums Journal* started publishing regulations for the award of this Diploma, as mentioned earlier.²⁹⁰ The training specifically in art history also developed around this time, after the foundation of the Courtauld Institute, London, and the establishment of the first art-history degree in 1932.²⁹¹ As a History graduate from Christ Church, Oxford (1923), Hendy was part of a generation that had not received museological or art-historical-specific education but which had gained experience in positions held, in his case, first as Lecturer and Assistant Keeper at the Wallace Collection, London, then as a research fellow at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (1927-1930), and finally as Curator of Paintings at the MFA, Boston (1930-1933).

²⁸⁷ Henning 2006a, p. 38.

²⁸⁸ These included a paper given by James Paton at the annual meeting about the education of the museum curator (1894), and the Presidential Address by W. E. Hoyle. See Lewis 1989 for an extensive 100-year history of the Museums Association since its foundation until the mid-1980s.

²⁸⁹ Lewis 1989, p. 39. The report of the British Association was the 'Final Report of the Committee on Museums in Relation to Education', *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (1920), pp. 267-280.

²⁹⁰ Lewis 1989, pp. 52-54. Lewis also notes that in 1930 the Museums Association was incorporated as a Company limited by guarantee, thus changing its legal status. In the 1930s and into the 1940s, the Association also issued a series of handbooks on a variety of museological and museographical subjects, intended for the Diploma but also as a manual for curators. See Plenderleith, Harold J., *The Preservation of Antiquities* (London: Museums Association, 1933), and *The Conservation of Prints, Drawings, and Manuscripts* (London: Museums Association, 1937); Kennedy, H. A., *Local Museums: Notes on their Building and Conduct* (London: Museums Association, 1938); North, Frank J., and C. F. Davison & W. E. Swinton, *Geology in the Museum* (London: Museums Association, 1941). In the 1940s, Hendy assisted in the delivery of the Diploma course after becoming director of the National Gallery.

²⁹¹ Woodson-Boulton, pp. 156-159.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, both national and regional museums had become the object of more meticulous scrutiny, beginning in 1927 with a Royal Commission instructed to examine national museums.²⁹² The resulting reports (*Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries*, 1928a; 1928b; 1929a; 1930), pointed out that national museums had been neglected and underfunded by successive governments, and called for more training, museum cooperation and a greater awareness of visitors (schools, students and the general public).²⁹³ At much the same time, the Museums Association was working in collaboration with the Carnegie UK Trust (CUKT) to investigate the situation of smaller regional museums, and the two reports resulting from this partnership were Miers's (1928) and Markham's (1938). Although Miers's 1928 report included the study of art museums though not of picture galleries, it called for a nationwide movement led by the Museums Association to revise the entire existing museum service, which stood 'in need of a complete reformation' regarding its administration, acquisition policies, professional status and educational function.²⁹⁴ Importantly, Miers had found that 530 museums in the country were haphazardly distributed and that the growth of their collections had been miscellaneous, a mere 10% of their premises being purpose-built.²⁹⁵ It was necessary to institute better provision and organisation as well as greater cooperation among museums, to specialise collections by targeting local interests, to encourage dynamism through exhibition programmes and improve the physical infrastructure of museums.²⁹⁶

²⁹² The Chairman of this Commission was Viscount d'Abernon, and the other Royal Commissioners were the Hon. Evan Charteris, Sir Martin Conway, A. E. Cowley, Sir Lionel Earle, Sir Richard Galzebrook, Sir Thomas Heath, Sir George Macdonald, Sir Henry Miers, Col. Sir Courtauld Thomson, and Sir Robert Witt.

²⁹³ Lewis 1989, p. 41. See *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, Interim Report* (London: HSMO, 1928a); *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, Oral Evidence, Memoranda and Appendices to the Interim Report* (London: HSMO, 1928b); *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, Final Report, Part 1: general Conclusions and Recommendations* (London: HSMO, 1929a), and *Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries, Final Report, Part 2: Conclusions and Recommendations relating to Individual Institutions* (London: HSMO, 1930).

²⁹⁴ Miers, p. 67.

²⁹⁵ Lewis 1989, pp. 44-45.

²⁹⁶ See Miers, and Lewis 1989, pp. 44-47.

These desires for improvement were echoed across *The Museums Journal* over the following decade and found another conduit in Markham's 1938 CUKT report. Markham's study extended Miers's earlier report to include nearly 700 museums and galleries, and it treated the challenges they faced in a more methodical manner.²⁹⁷ Markham divided his account into chapters discussing specific museum characteristics and functions: geographic distribution, finance, administration, buildings, collections, staff, conservation, research, visual education, special and temporary exhibitions; opening hours, visitors and publicity; school visits; loans to schools; mechanical adjuncts (cinema and radio); adult education; Museums Association; Museum Federations. In this way, the report at once furnished a detailed overview of the municipal museum sector in Britain and provided a thematic roadmap for thinking about its future development. While Markham saw the Museums Association as 'the recognised voice of the museum movement as a whole' and acknowledged its efforts, he was dismayed by the absence of a central body with oversight for all public museums and art galleries.²⁹⁸ Moreover, he complained about the inadequate finances in over 500 museums, the lack of well-equipped modern buildings and proper training, and the absence of a common purpose in the profession.²⁹⁹ Markham's principal conclusions were that it was necessary to strengthen museum finance, improve basic museum infrastructure, survey the contents of collections, and establish a definite scheme for training future museum workers, as well as further develop museums' educational function through display, school services and publicity.

The interim period between Miers's report of 1928 and that produced by Markham a decade later, corresponds to Hendy's directorship at Leeds City Art Gallery (1934 – 1939),

²⁹⁷ See Markham 1938, and Lewis 1989, pp. 55-57.

²⁹⁸ Markham 1938, p. 147.

²⁹⁹ Lewis 1989, pp. 55-56.

and the deficiencies they addressed resonated with Hendy's experiences there.³⁰⁰ In terms of the status of museum workers, Miers had observed that the Association had so far 'achieved nothing towards improving the status, salaries and qualifications of curators' so that only twelve provincial museums were deemed to have adequate staff.³⁰¹ In the late 1930s, Leeds City Art Gallery had a staff of eleven, yet Hendy would later express the view that it required no less than a director, an assistant director, an assistant junior clerk, a public sales clerk, an electrician and a cinematographer operator, a guide lecturer in temporary capacity, a picture framer and furniture restorer, a packer-handyman, a foreman, six attendants, and five 'women cleaners'.³⁰² Still, Hendy's own situation was not dismal compared to that of directors at other galleries, as he had been appointed to an annual salary of £500, which was subsequently increased first to £600 and then to £650 (1939).³⁰³ A few years earlier, Miers's survey had indicated that only 14% of museums in Britain had fully paid curatorial staff and that on average a curator received a salary 50% below the minimum recommended by Museums Association.³⁰⁴ In the later report, Markham noted that of the total 770 provincial museums in Britain by this time, only a dozen posts carried a salary of

³⁰⁰ Although Hendy was technically speaking director until 1945, the Art Gallery was closed in 1939 at the outbreak of WWII.

³⁰¹ Miers cited in Lewis 1989, p. 46.

³⁰² *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 25th August 1939, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'; and Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945'. During WWII, Hendy was engaged in the writing of several proposals for post-war reconstruction (as noted in the Director's Report of 17th July 1944, London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1). Among the groups in which he was involved were the Leeds Reconstruction Sub-committee, as well as the Museums Association Sub-committee, in the months February – July 1944. Hendy also had meetings with 'The Arts Inquiry' group and helped in the writing of the report *The Visual Arts*, discussed later in the thesis (see archives at Nuffield College (Oxford), NCSRS/D3/1-6).

³⁰³ Alderman Simpson (Mayor of Leeds), letter to Philip Hendy (1934) and contract hiring Hendy as director of Leeds City Art Gallery (8th June 1934), Leeds, West Yorkshire Archives LLD1/1/A9489; 'Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Staff', London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. It was also reported in the press that Hendy had further increases of salary with subsequent raises in 1940 (£25), and 1942 (£25), but this cannot be confirmed. See *Leeds Mercury*, 28th February 1939, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³⁰⁴ Miers, p. 21. The salary scales recommended by the Museums Association, as note in Miers's report, varied according to the size of the locality. For example, for a town with a population under 50,000 the Association recommended a minimum pay of £350 to £500 (while the minimum average salary reported was £45); for a town with population over 150,000 it recommended £700 (the minimum actual salaries estimated being £120); and for towns for over 600,000, it recommended £1,200 (the actual minimum salary was £500).

over £800, some were capped at £500 a year (in great cities or university centres), while the majority were paid less than £500 per annum.³⁰⁵ In Markham's estimates, a professional curator would usually earn £600 per annum or more; given this, by 1939, Hendy was well within this band.³⁰⁶

Although Hendy enjoyed a better financial position than very many other British colleagues, prior to moving to Leeds his average annual salary had surpassed the £1,000 figure, as both at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts he had earned \$6,500 per annum, approximately the equivalent of £1,300-£1,350.³⁰⁷ This discrepancy between his earlier and current salary may be one of the reasons why he applied for the Slade Professorship of Italian Painting at Oxford, to which he was elected on 1st October 1936 with a stipend of approximately £500.³⁰⁸ As this action caused a stir in the council, Hendy wrote a letter to a local councillor to make clear that his professional status in Leeds City Art Gallery was comparable to that of the Keeper at the Wallace Collection. As he put it to Councillor Bullus, had he applied for this vacancy in London he would have obtained a salary of £1,100 per annum.³⁰⁹ Hendy was quick to point out too that his Slade Professorship would make Leeds City Art Gallery more prominent as the first provincial gallery whose director had been appointed to this prestigious chair.³¹⁰ Hendy thus probably saw himself as the ideal professional curator combining the two competencies that Markham

³⁰⁵ Markham 1938, p. 60.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55. Markham's use of the term 'curator' is interchangeable with that of 'director', as he notes that the curator was often the also director of staff and should also have the ambassadorial qualities of 'diplomat' and 'propagandist'.

³⁰⁷ Carter, letter to Philip Hendy (30th August 1927), Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 'Director's Papers, Morris Carter – Correspondence with Hendy 1925-28'; and Archives of American Art Roll no. 2458 (MFA, Boston, Director's Correspondence, 1901-54).

³⁰⁸ 'Report of the Electors to the Slade Professorship of Fine Art', Oxford, Weston Library, Weston Library Special Collection, UR6/FA/1.

³⁰⁹ Hendy, Philip, letter to Councillor Bullus (20th May 1936), Leeds, West Yorkshire Archives, LLD1/1/A9489.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

had suggested, on the one hand 'a liberal education and a technical training' and on the other administrative ability.³¹¹

Shortly after becoming director, Hendy spoke of the 'uncivilised' attitude of Leeds City Council and argued that it was 'merely paying lip-service to the idea of having a Gallery'.³¹² As Hendy put it, the £6,000 the council spent on the building and staffing were not enough to make the Gallery worthwhile running, as it was impossible to make headway in forming 'a serious collection' of reasonable standards.³¹³ This scenario was not untypical in the 1930s, and Suzanne MacLeod has noted that municipal museums were under the firm grip of local committees, so that aldermen and councillors became important actors mediating the demands of professional curators and their implementation.³¹⁴ Working under the auspices of Leeds Sub-Libraries and Arts Committee, Hendy suggested that curators elsewhere enjoyed more freedom and greater purchasing power, as the Manchester Art Gallery, which had bought two major works in 1935 (the year of this particular article), or Liverpool's Walker Art Gallery, which had recently purchased a picture for £15,000 and was spending a considerable sum on reconstructing its gallery.³¹⁵ As was the case in Manchester and Liverpool, other regional galleries had begun to expand since the beginning of the century, adopting new museum techniques and building representative collections, and

³¹¹ Markham quoted here the report of the Public Libraries Committee (1927), see Markham 1938, p. 54.

³¹² Hendy quoted in 'Leeds without a soul for art. City attitude simply "uncivilised". Director hits out after queen's visit', *Yorkshire Evening News*, 29th August 1935, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ MacLeod 2013, p. 81. MacLeod further notes that despite the growing culture of professionalism, 'it would be misleading to suggest that the Museums Association [...] was a well-organised and functioning professional organisation or that the role of museums in formal education was established, even by 1930'.

³¹⁵ 'Leeds without a soul for art. City attitude simply "uncivilised". Director hits out after queen's visit', *Yorkshire Evening News*, 29th August 1935, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

Hendy aspired to jump on this bandwagon of modernisation guided by professional standards.³¹⁶

Funding was thus integral to the score of concerns shared by museum authorities and reformers. In 1938, Markham criticised the glaring disparity between national and local museums in Britain.³¹⁷ The former comprised only 17 institutions and yet were allocated £1,000,000, while all the remaining local museums and galleries were granted the modest sum of £450,000.³¹⁸ This call for more funds was a sore subject in the first years of Hendy's term as director at Leeds City Art Gallery, and he made repeated demands for a permanent purchasing grant in the Annual Reports of 1935 through to 1938.³¹⁹ The year Markham's report was published, the Council finally agreed to provide a grant for the value of £600, which together with a bequest from Sir Gervase Beckett, and the income of the Harding Fund added up to over £1,500.³²⁰ Prior to this, the Gallery had only dispensed with £480 of the Harding Fund and income from its other 'pot', the Leeds Art Fund,³²¹ so the new funds were celebrated as a major triumph.³²² For Hendy, as for other curators, funding was paramount

³¹⁶ For an account of these developments see Woodson-Boulton, pp. 168-74.

³¹⁷ Markham 1938, pp. 21, 54.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ See Annual Reports of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee for years 1935 to 1938, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

³²⁰ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1937-1938), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3. Gervase Beckett was a banker and Conservative politician, and a file at Temple Newsam, dated October 1937, reports the news from his solicitors that Sir Gervase Beckett had left Leeds City Council £500 'to be used for the purpose of purchasing Works of Art for the City Art Gallery at the discretion of the committee in charge of the Art Gallery'.

Colonel Walter Harding was a second-generation industrialist who was elected to the Leeds Council in 1885, 'with the expressed purpose of establishing a municipal gallery in Leeds' (Douglas, pp. 88-90). No file has been found on the Harding Fund specifically, but it seems to have been established during his lifetime and later augmented when he died in 1927. I am grateful to James Lomax, who pointed out these funds and helped me during my search in the archive.

³²¹ The Leeds Art Fund was founded in 1912 by leading citizens in Leeds, such as (Sir) Michael Sadler, the Hon. Edward Wood (TN), Col. Harding (Harding Bequest), or Sam Wilson. It was formed with the aim to build up a collection of works of art (Leeds Art Collections Fund, LACF). When Hendy was director, he encouraged activities for its members, and arranged visits to local country houses. See Read, Benedict and James Lomax, *The Leeds Art Fund: A Centenary History and Catalogue* (Leeds: Leeds Art Fund, Brown Shipley, 2012).

³²² Within the Art Gallery's Committee, a group was constituted for the administration of the Harding Bequest in 1934, and similarly for the Council Funds in 1937 (this was in effect the same committee). The Chairman, Deputy Chairman and Messrs Barran, Fulford, R. H. Kitson, Mackay and

to the ongoing work and future development of Leeds City Art Gallery, and, if expended in the right way, could ensure it remained a living institution. In a speech in 1936, Hendy had made this case by comparing a gallery without pictures to a 'a public library, furnished with everything from the bookshelves to the librarian, but without any books except those which the librarian can beg or steal or borrow from one private person here, from another there!'³²³

Alongside this preoccupation with funds, the reports and articles in *The Museums Journal* mentioned above recommended the build-up of collections along more systematic lines. This was a concern for Markham, who warned against the 'policy of indiscriminate acquisitions' that rendered museums 'miscellaneous collections of ill-assorted material'.³²⁴ The post-WWII publication *The Visual Arts* also cautioned municipal galleries against becoming a 'dumping ground for white elephants', by which it referred to collections of 'large pictures and cumbersome sculptures of no permanent value and impossible to dispose of by reason of irksome legal restrictions'.³²⁵ Likewise, Hendy protested against the overcrowding of regional galleries with 'bad' nineteenth-century pictures.³²⁶ Only if and when galleries had invested in a collection of high standards would they become 'centres of culture', Hendy had argued.³²⁷ Specifically Hendy wanted to improve the unsystematic collection at Leeds by building a representative ensemble of acknowledged 'English' masters.³²⁸ This criterion of quality resonated with the thinking of Charles Carter, Deputy-Director of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, who argued around the same time that galleries should contain 'works

Penzol were elected to advise on the purchase works of art out of Harding Bequest, and asked to report on these purchases from time to time.

³²³ Hendy, 'The Aims of an Art Gallery', p. 330.

³²⁴ Markham 1938, p. 48.

³²⁵ *The Visual Arts*, p. 125.

³²⁶ "Galleries as Art 'Dumps'", *Daily Mirror*, 21st May 1935, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³²⁷ 'Museums and Galleries', *Librarian*, June 1935, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³²⁸ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1935), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2.

only of the highest quality' so that 'only the best should be shown and anything which does not reach this exacting standard [be] withdrawn from galleries used by the general public'.³²⁹

In line with these ideals, the Leeds City Art Gallery's 1935 annual report stated that '[a]n attempt must be made to enlarge and systematise the present haphazard collection of oils' because 'British painting begins to be represented only when there are oil paintings by Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, Constable, Crome and Cotman'.³³⁰ Specifically, it was also noted that 'the 'finest examples of the work of the great watercolourists [were] still needed' especially by Girtin, Turner and Cotman.³³¹ In 1938-1939, the purchases of John Crome's print *Mousehold Heath* and John Constable's watercolour *A Tree at Helmingham* were presented in the report as evidence of the Gallery's steady adherence to the policy proposed in 1935. Oils by Crome, de Wint and Gainsborough were reported to have been acquired,³³² however purchase records show that Hendy rather favoured twentieth-century British painters such as Harold Gilman, Frank Dobson, Walter Sickert, Henry Moore, Matthew Smith, Stanley Spencer, John Nash or Edward Wadsworth.³³³ In either case, Hendy's approach to collecting was selective and methodical, favouring either the paintings of revered old masters or championing the cutting-edge work of contemporary and often modernist artists. This had been the policy adopted in Liverpool by the Walker Art Gallery's director Frank Lambert in the early 1930s, who previously had been director of Leeds City Art Gallery.³³⁴ As director of the Walker, Lambert made his focus the 'assessment of the

³²⁹ Carter, Charles, 'Policy of the Provincial Art Gallery', *The Museums Journal*, 33:2 (May 1933), 44-48 (p. 46).

³³⁰ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1935), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² The List of Acquisitions at Leeds City Art Gallery lists the following paintings by Crome, with their date of acquisition in parenthesis: *Wherries on the Yare* (1935) and *St Benet's Abbey, Norfolk* (1937); a watercolour by Thomas Gainsborough, *A Hilly Landscape* (1935); and several works by Peter de Wint: the paintings *Chelsea Old Bridge* and *Grasmere and Helm Crag* (1936 and 1943), the watercolour *The Drinking Place* (1936), and a drawing by the same name purchased in 1937.

³³³ Annual Reports Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1934-1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

³³⁴ Frank Lambert became director of the Walker Art Gallery in 1931.

permanent collection and an established policy of gap filling', as noted by MacLeod, with the aim of developing 'a representative collection of British painting'.³³⁵ This resulted in purchases of works by Raeburn, Bevan, Epstein, Wilson, Zoffany, Steer, Sickert, Grant and Augustus John, a policy comparable to Hendy's at Leeds.³³⁶

The gallery beautiful: a project for visual education

The urge to establish new standards for municipal collections fell in line with long-standing discussions within the museum profession about the museum's presentation of such works and what impact this would have on the visitor. In 1921, the then director of the Manchester Art Gallery Lawrence Haward was already arguing that the museum should commit to high standards 'in everything it touches, from the building itself to the printed notices about the corridors'.³³⁷ This was in order to 'set the right note as the visitor enters the hall so that he may be able to disregard for the moment the typical museum smell – that curious compound of hot-water pipes, wet mackintoshes and strong tea – and only feel a desire for the aesthetic experience that he knows awaits him'.³³⁸ By the time Hendy became director in Leeds, debates about museum building had received special recognition in the international conference 'Muséographie' (1934), which had carefully considered the latest developments in subjects as varied as architectural design, the disposition and lay-out of buildings; the organisation of rooms and their equipment, lighting - both natural and artificial, heating and ventilation, and air-conditioning. Several British delegates attended this event, Hendy

³³⁵ MacLeod 2013, p. 108.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³³⁷ Haward, Lawrence, 'The Function of Art Museums', *The Museums Journal*, 21:6 (December 1921), 135-41 (p. 140). Haward was director of Manchester Art Gallery between 1914 and 1945. See <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/lawrence-haward-18781957-205357> [accessed 25th October 2016].

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140. Woodson-Boulton also considers Haward's influence on the work of Manchester Art Gallery. See Woodson-Boulton, pp. 169-172.

amongst them, though the majority seem to have been based in London national institutions, such as Eric MacLagan (V&A), J. A. McIntyre (HM Office of Works); Harold J. Plenderleith (British Museum); Isherwood Kay (National Gallery); and C. K. Adams (National Portrait Gallery).³³⁹ Despite their international reach, these museographical conventions had a more limited effect in the smaller museums. For instance, Hendy's frustrations at Leeds City Art Gallery found a parallel in Markham's observation in 1938 that municipal museums in Britain had not yet adopted the 'canon of requirements' in decoration, lighting and ventilation which other museums had implemented elsewhere, in America and Scandinavia in particular.³⁴⁰

Since the turn of the century, many museum curators struggled with the imposing frame of Victorian buildings for the display of their art collections. As the future Royal Commissioner Sir Robert Witt had noted in *The Museums Journal* in 1926, the 'curious ideas' of nineteenth-century architects had inspired buildings with 'lofty rooms' where the display of pictures was 'always unsuitable' even when directors tried to reduce the height by friezes and other devices.³⁴¹ Hendy was confronted by a similar problem at Leeds City Art Gallery, whose Victorian exhibition rooms were undesirably 'lofty' and 'formal', and represented the first obstacle to be surmounted if the Gallery was to become home to the 'representative' collection of British pictures.³⁴² Rather, Hendy felt that no picture could be 'fully appreciated' in this setting, as it required 'a smaller scale'.³⁴³ As Hendy reportedly said, the Gallery

³³⁹ An article in *The Museums Journal* reports the attendance of these museum directors. See 'The International Museums Office Conference at Madrid', *The Museums Journal*, 34: 11 (February 1935), 427-430. This conference was held under the auspices of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (1922-1946), which was a branch of the transnational organisation League of Nations, founded in 1920 with the aim to foster international understanding through the promotion of educational, scientific, and cultural exchanges. See Laqua, Daniel, 'Transnational Intellectual Cooperation, the League of Nations, and the Problem of Order', *Journal of Global History*, 6 (2011), 223-247.

³⁴⁰ Markham 1938, pp. 42-43.

³⁴¹ Witt, p. 105.

³⁴² 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly authored by Hendy and dating to c. 1937 (it was found accompanying a letter from Hendy to Alderman Leigh, dated to 24th September 1937).

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

entrance was a 'rather dingy, sort of tunnel' that put off the visitor at first sight [Figure 4].³⁴⁴ In a report commissioned from the city engineer in 1936, it was stated that the 'narrow and depressing passage from Centenary Street [led] to a [Sculpture] room totally unsuited as an introduction to a building devoted to Art'.³⁴⁵ This rhetoric was rehearsed in articles in the press, such as the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, which reported that the entrance presented a 'forbidding flight of stone steps' after which visitors would turn to the right, enter past the swing doors and come into the sculpture room, which had to be traversed before reaching the turnstiles for accessing the Gallery proper [Figure 5].³⁴⁶ This made the sculpture room 'a sort of no-man's land, for though actually part of the gallery, it [was] outside the turnstiles, and [was] a rather dreary introduction to the home of Leeds's artistic wealth'.³⁴⁷ Implicit here was not only a critique of the building, but also of the organisation of its spaces, which were disorienting and difficult to navigate.

The gallery's interior suffered from several drawbacks, and the engineer argued it had 'never been treated decoratively in a manner worthy of the city' [Figure 6].³⁴⁸ Among its chief inadequacies, a later report stipulated, the ground floor was 'so badly planned as to be for the most part virtually useless'.³⁴⁹ The vestibule, the staircase hall, the sculpture gallery, the central court and the space beneath the galleries housing the Sam Wilson collection,³⁵⁰ were judged 'unsuited by any standards for the exhibition of works of art'.³⁵¹ Furthermore,

³⁴⁴ 'Art Gallery Criticism. Leeds Director on Improvement Plans', *Yorkshire Observer*, 7th November 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³⁴⁵ City Engineer's Report (16th December 1936), Leeds, Temple Newsam, TN: City Engineer's Report on TN & AG. I have been unable to find further details about the commission or authorship of this report.

³⁴⁶ 'Leeds Art Gallery. Progress with Proposal for a New Entrance', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 1st October 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ City Engineer's Report (16th December 1936), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

³⁴⁹ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 12.

³⁵⁰ Sam Wilson was one of the early subscribers of the LACF, and his 'superb collection' came into Leeds City Art Gallery by bequest in 1925. See Read and Lomax, p. 4.

³⁵¹ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 12.

the ‘disproportionate height and deadness of [...] lighting’ of the top-lit galleries on the ground floor made them ‘gloomy and forbidding’.³⁵² This was made worse by the unsatisfactory heating and ventilation systems as they were seen to cause damage to the decorations and exhibits.³⁵³ The inadequacies of the building further extended to its workspaces, and Hendy remarked how its offices and workrooms were wanting, badly lit and insufficient.³⁵⁴ It is likely that some visitors also found the Gallery somewhat bleak, as suggested by the comments made by the Queen Consort Mary of Teck on her visit in 1935, who was quoted saying ‘[t]his is lovely. It’s all very nicely arranged. But it’s not a very beautiful building. Is it?’³⁵⁵

Hendy’s viewpoint was aligned with these concerns, such that his vision of the art gallery was that it should promote the appreciation of the art collections it held in its trust. On no account did Hendy regard the building as a mere container, for in being the lens through which visitors visually engaged with works of art it was, in his opinion, integral to realising the principles of the modern art gallery. As Hendy put it, Leeds City Art Gallery had to be ‘its own chief work of art’ so that its exterior alone could exert a ‘great influence, standing for art before the whole community’ and ‘shaping its attitude to art’.³⁵⁶ In 1938, Markham had voiced similar views that the appearance of a gallery had a ‘very strong influence upon visitors’ and that the first great essential was to create ‘well-planned, beautiful buildings’.³⁵⁷ This had further correspondence with the observations of the American museum specialist Coleman, who, in his *Manual for Small Museums* (1927),

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ City Engineer’s Report (16th December 1936), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

³⁵⁴ ‘The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam’, n.d. but possibly authored by Hendy and dating to c. 1937.

³⁵⁵ Hendy, Philip, Director’s Report (23rd September 1935), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

³⁵⁶ Hendy, ‘Post-war Reconstruction Proposals’ (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘TN: Reconstruction Report 1945’, p. 8.

³⁵⁷ Markham 1938, p. 42.

asserted that it was not enough for a building to 'serve', it should also 'inspire'.³⁵⁸ Leeds City Art Gallery should teach the lesson that the building was 'the expression of an idea' and that 'its beauty or ugliness depended upon the value of this idea and the skill with which it was expressed'.³⁵⁹ Above all, Hendy suggested that 'the beautiful is neither the empty ornate nor the merely functional, but the expression of function in clean form ennobled by harmony and proportion'.³⁶⁰ The Gallery would be conceived as a total work of architecture in which both interior and exterior should perform this duty, so that everything, from the Entrance Hall to the crockery in the Restaurant, would be 'an example of fitness for purpose and of good design'.³⁶¹

The ideas voiced by Hendy and like-minded colleagues to reform and modernise museums on these terms sat alongside the writings and schemes of design reformers in Britain, who had campaigned for modern principles of functional 'good design' since the 1930s.³⁶² In the interwar and post-war years, a spate of organisations concerned with the promotion of modern design had been founded, such as the Council for Art and Industry (CAI, 1934-early 1940s), the British Institute of Industrial Art (BIIA, 1920-1933), the Design and Industries Association (DIA, 1915), the Design Research Unit (DRU, 1943) and the Council for Industrial Design (COID, 1944).³⁶³ Exhibitions showcasing modern design were regularly

³⁵⁸ Coleman, Laurence Vail, *Manual for Small Museums* (New York, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 310.

³⁵⁹ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 8.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² The field of design history in Britain is extensive, and only a few publications can be included here. See *The Design History Reader*, ed. by Grace Lees-Maffei and Rebecca Houze (Oxford: Berg, 2010); *Modernism in Design*, ed. by Peter Greenhalgh (London: Reaktion Books, 1990); Buckley, Cheryl, *Designing Modern Britain* (London: Reaktion, 2007); Darling, Elizabeth, *Re-forming Britain: Narratives of Modernity before Reconstruction* (London: Routledge, 2007). For the post-war period see *Design and Cultural Politics in Post-war Britain: The Britain Can Make it Exhibition of 1946*, ed. by Jonathan M. Woodham, and Patrick Maguire (London: Leicester University Press, 1997); *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain: 1945-1964*, ed. by Becky Conekin, Frank Mort, Chris Waters (London: Rivers Oram, 1999); *British Design: Tradition and Modernity after 1948*, ed. by Christopher Breward, Fiona Fisher and Ghislaine Wood (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

³⁶³ The CAI commenced its work under the chairmanship of Frank Pick, and was financed by the Board of Trade as a design reform agency that 'sought to improve the public's understanding of the

held, notably the annual 'Ideal Home' exhibition organised and hosted by the *Daily Mail* (from 1908 onwards) as well as 'one off' events over the following decades, including 'British Art in Industry' (1935), 'Britain Can Make It' (1946), and the 'Festival of Britain' (1951). Both popular media outlets and specialist publications sympathetic with the modern movement endeavoured to 'improve' public taste through the propaganda of 'good' design (e.g. the *BBC* and magazines such as *Modern Woman* or *Woman* or advice literature such as the *Woman's Own Book of Modern Homemaking, WOBMH*).³⁶⁴ Most famously perhaps, the writings of Herbert Read and Nikolaus Pevsner and their advocacy for 'good design' were influential sources for reformers who, like Hendy, wanted to spread a socially purposeful education in taste among as broad an audience as possible. In *Art and Industry* (1934), Read had championed the 'education of aesthetic appreciation' and the 'education of invention' as a

social, cultural, and aesthetic benefits of design, to enhance standards of design education, and to influence manufacturers' (<http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095642700> [accessed 25th October 2016]); the BIIA was a 'design promotional body [...] with the aim of raising standards of design in British manufacturing industry in tandem with the improvement of public taste' (<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095528242> [accessed 25th October 2016]); the DIA was founded in 1915 by designers, businessmen and industrialists with the purpose of 'changing the way products were designed and perceived by the public' (<http://www.dia.org.uk/> [accessed 25th October 2016]); the DRU was founded in 1943 by the art and design critic Herbert Read, Marcus Brumwell and designers Misha Black and Milner Gray, with the intention of consolidating the position of design in society and of bringing about the collaboration of artists and designers (<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2010/oct/12/design-research-unit-branding-britain> [accessed 25th October 2016]); the COID was established in 1944 under Hugh Dalton 'to demonstrate the value of industrial design in reviving post-war Britain'. It was later renamed as the Design Council (<http://www.designcouncil.org.uk/about-us> [accessed 25th October 2016]).

³⁶⁴ The historian Stephen Hayward has examined the origins of the 'good design' discourse in Hayward, Stephen, 'Good Design is largely a Matter of Common Sense': Questioning the Meaning and Ownership of a Twentieth-Century Orthodoxy', *Journal of Design History*, 11:3 (1998), 217-233. For the promotion of design and through the BBC see Holder, Julian, "'Design in Everyday Things"; Promoting Modernism in Britain 1912-1944' in *Modernism in Design*, ed. by Paul Greenhalgh (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), pp. 123-143; and during the post-war period, Jones, Michelle, 'Design and the Domestic Persuader: Television and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Promotion of Post-war "Good Design"', *Journal of Design History*, 16:4 (2003), 307-318. For popular advice literature about 'good design' see Lees-Maffei, Grace, 'From Service to Self-Service Advice Literature as Design Discourse, 1920-1970', *Journal of Design History*, 14:3 (2001), 187-206; Hackney, Fiona, "'Use Your Hands for Happiness": Home Craft and Make-do-and-Mend in British Women's Magazines in the 1920s and 1930s', *Journal of Design History*, 19:1 (2006), 23-38; and for similar discourses during the later post-war period see Lees-Maffei, Grace, *Design at Home: Domestic Advice Books in Britain and the USA since 1945* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

corrective to the tasteless designs promoted by profiteering industrialists.³⁶⁵ That same year Pevsner's seminal treatise on industrial design, *Industrial Art in England*, was published, a survey of the 'conditions and artistic value of design in English industry' which pointed to the 'degrading, debasing effect of dingy factories, dirty streets and dark dwellings'.³⁶⁶

Hendy similarly envisaged the potential for Leeds City Art Gallery as a testing ground for the promotion of aesthetic trajectories of self-improvement. This seemed especially urgent in the context of Leeds, a city which had faced major housing problems after WWI, with 70% of its housing being 'back-to-backs' that had continued to be built until 1937 despite being legislated against as early as 1908.³⁶⁷ As noted by the historian David Thornton, unemployment had doubled in the three years between 1929 and 1931, and in 1937 about 17,000 people were unemployed, a figure that would increase in the years preceding WWII.³⁶⁸ In the 1930s, following a massive undertaking of slum clearance, several huge estates had been built in outlying neighbourhoods, most famously the Quarry Hill Flats, but also Gipton, Seacroft, Belle Isle and Halton Moor [Figure 7].³⁶⁹ It was against this backdrop of urban deprivation and city planning that Hendy saw scope to implement a programme of visual education, as he wanted to 'give people spiritual food to bite' and 'get rid of the slum spirit'.³⁷⁰ Art was not simply a luxury, Hendy declared, but 'a necessity for poor people', who rarely possessed 'beautiful things' in their surroundings.³⁷¹ Cities such as Leeds, Sheffield or

³⁶⁵ Herbert Read cited in Kinross, Robin, 'Herbert Read's Art and Industry: A History', *Journal of Design History*, 1:1 (1988), 35-50 (p. 39). In this period, many writings flourished about design, to name a few: Read, Herbert, *Art and Industry* (London: Faber and Faber, 1934); Carrington, Noel, *Design and a Changing Civilisation* (S.l.: Lane, 1935); Gloag, John E., *The English Tradition in Design* (London: King Penguin Books, 1947), or Gloag's edited book based on broadcast discussions *Design in Modern Life*, ed. by John E. Gloag (London: Allen and Unwin, 1934).

³⁶⁶ Pevsner, Nikolaus, *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 3, 11.

³⁶⁷ Thornton, p. 191.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

³⁷⁰ Hendy quoted in 'Art Gallery Criticism. Leeds Director on Improvement Plans', *Yorkshire Observer*, 7th November 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³⁷¹ Hendy quoted in 'Mr Philip Hendy: Director of Leeds Art Gallery', *Yorkshire Evening News*, 31st March 1938, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

Birmingham, Hendy told the audience at the Museums Association conference, had ‘never [been] visualised’ and their dwellers had been unable to merge ‘beauty and utility [...] in one’.³⁷² The reform of art galleries in such cities, as he put it, could help remedy this ‘whole collapse of the visual arts’ which he and other reformers blamed on the spread of an unremitting mass production and consumption of generic manufactures.³⁷³

This project of visual education would start in a well-arranged attractive museum, which as Markham recommended in his 1938 report, was itself ‘an educational factor of no mean importance’.³⁷⁴ Aligned with this faith in the museum environment as a conduit for taste, Hendy called for improvements in the style of the Leeds City Art Gallery building and in its standards of display. Doubtless it was necessary to make provision for functional work-rooms for packing, receiving and storing artefacts, but more significantly for the visitor Hendy advocated that the Gallery should install, internally, better floors, more dignified furniture, new lavatories, while outside there should be an improved façade and an entrance which led directly onto the street.³⁷⁵ In its promotion of a new look for the Leeds City Art Gallery, the Sub-Libraries and Arts Committee’s 1938 report outlined the desirable features for an art gallery and directly quoted from *The Museums Journal*. An art gallery in the centre of an industrial city, it was noted, should be air-conditioned even if such an innovation might carry a ‘disproportionate expense’.³⁷⁶ There was no need for a ‘sumptuous building’, as the functions of an art gallery were those for which the ‘extreme simplicity of the modern style is best fitted to serve’.³⁷⁷ Moreover, the interior ‘must be as adaptable as possible to frequent changes of exhibits’, ideally with plain backgrounds suitable for every type of art.³⁷⁸ This

³⁷² Hendy, ‘The Aims of an Art Gallery’, p. 333.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

³⁷⁴ Markham 1938, p. 83.

³⁷⁵ ‘The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam’, n.d. but possibly authored by Hendy and dating to c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

³⁷⁶ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1938), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

architectural modesty meant that no carvings or salient features would compete or interfere with the exhibits.³⁷⁹ Finally, good light and comfortable seating for the visitors were as necessary as adequate working facilities for the staff.³⁸⁰

A certain sympathy for modernism is apparent in the principles of architectural anti-monumentalism, spatial elasticity and simple composition which characterised the designs for a new fully-equipped Gallery at Leeds, which Hendy put forward for the Leeds City Art Gallery in 1938. In his report that year, Markham gave strong support to this innovative project, and as he put it, 'with old buildings such as those in Leeds no amount of tinkering will produce galleries or accommodation worthy of the manifold collections in the possession of the city'.³⁸¹ The 'heroic attempts [...] during the last ten years to weed out the accumulation of seventy years' in Leeds, he noted, could not 'alter the fact that the building is utterly unsuitable for the purpose'.³⁸² The only conceivable solution was to adopt a 'scrap and rebuild' policy.³⁸³ The Committee had come to the same conclusion, and this was why, in 1938, a model and plans were commissioned from the city architect John C. Procter (M.C., F.R.I.B.A) [Figures 8-9]. The new art gallery for Leeds was to be located on the third floor of a purpose-built three-tiered civic centre which would also contain, across different levels, a Library, the City Museum and municipal office blocks for administration [Figures 10-11]. Other examples of civic centres were developed elsewhere in Britain, though many of them appeared later on, as part of post-WWII reconstruction schemes.³⁸⁴ In the case of Leeds, the project was aborted at the outbreak of the war in Austria in 1939 and was never

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Markham 1938, p. 41.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid., p. 37. Markham affirmed that a tendency in this direction could 'produce a very great change in the public attitude towards museums and art galleries [...]'.
³⁸⁴ For a discussion of the 'civic centre' phenomenon in Britain see Larkham, Peter J., and Keith D. Lilley, 'Plans, Planners and City Images: Place Promotion and Civic Boosterism in British Reconstruction Planning', *Urban History*, 30:2 (2003), 183-205; and Larkham, Peter J., 'Rise of the 'Civic Centre' in English Urban Form and Design', *Urban Design International* 9:1 (2004), 3-15.

subsequently revived, although the model remained on exhibition initially at the Gallery until later that year, and then at Temple Newsam for an unspecified period during the war.³⁸⁵ The model was later destroyed, however, and all that survives of the scheme are photographs of Procter's model and plans.³⁸⁶

Procter's design was modern as well as classical in inspiration, its façade in Portland stone standing on a rough grey granite base that exemplified, according to *The Architect and Building News*, 'a dignified and straightforward style of architecture [...] of simplicity that would neither be likely to "date" nor in any way compete with the classic robustness of the Town Hall'.³⁸⁷ *The Museums Journal* also praised its design for its 'clean lines, its finished proportions, its simple but emphatic mass', which offered a balanced solution and was instructive in its architectural taste.³⁸⁸ This journal emphasised 'the very ingenious solution that they offer [...] of combining three different buildings, of which none can be subordinate to the others, under one roof'.³⁸⁹ The civic centre was envisaged as having three separate entrances, which would distinguish the different uses the public would make of the building: the picture gallery amateur would go to the third floor; the student in search of books would go to the library on the first floor; and the scientist attending to his specimens in the museum would use the entrance in the first and upper ground floors.³⁹⁰ It was conceived that the Gallery would 'occupy the uppermost floor so that it may have the possibility of top-lighting throughout'.³⁹¹ In his report, Markham endorsed the scheme wholeheartedly, hailing it as an

³⁸⁵ The Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940) announced the 'indefinite postponement of this scheme', but it was kept on view before the public at Temple Newsam. See Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

³⁸⁶ The model was held at Leeds City Art Gallery archives until it was destroyed (apparently at an unspecified date after 2000).

³⁸⁷ *The Architect and Building News*, 25th March 1938, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³⁸⁸ 'Planning a New Museum at Leeds: Architect's Scheme for New Library, Art Gallery and Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 38:2 (May 1938), 45-50 (p. 46).

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ *The Architect and Building News*, 25th March 1938, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

‘ideal policy’ that would ‘set the example to other cities and boroughs’.³⁹² Technical innovations were to include the modern ‘canon of requirements’ that Markham had defined, good top lighting and ventilation, which would reduce glare and routinely clean the air in the galleries. These improvements would enhance the possibilities for viewing paintings while ventilation would make visitor experience more prolonged and enjoyable.³⁹³ The model rendered a functional archetype and realised that the ‘essence of a museum’s usefulness in the educational field is through the appeal that it makes to the eye’.³⁹⁴

By the same token, the gallery proposal was bent on maximising the conditions for ‘seeing’ and worked to affirm visual education as the gallery’s overriding purpose. The segmentation of the building had streamlined this function, making a distinction between readers, art gallery visitors and museum-goers. The ease of access that was intended with the ‘inner circulation’ corridor surrounding the galleries on the third floor would avoid room-by-room transit, but simultaneously it helped monitor the routes of visitors and minimise anything that could disrupt the visual encounter with the works of art on display. In other words, the designs implied a mode of visual engagement that was concentrated and introspective, evoking a type of bodily comportment familiar only to visitors already acquainted with such gallery norms.

As the visionary plans for this new Gallery fell through, it is instructive to examine the actual implementation of Hendy’s museographical ideas in the existing Gallery. These reveal a more mixed agenda caught in the conflict between an admittedly expert outlook

³⁹² Markham 1938, p. 41.

³⁹³ For ‘museum fatigue’ see Gilman 1916, and 1923, pp. 251-276. Hendy was probably introduced to this concept in 1934 in the international conference ‘Muséographie’ (Madrid), following which he wrote a review of the discussions and its publication. See Hendy, ‘The Technique of the Art Museum’. However, it is possible that Hendy was already familiar with the term, given his work as curator at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (MFA), of which B. I. Gilman had been director less than a decade earlier. A discussion on ‘museum fatigue’, noted in the thesis earlier in Part I, will be elaborated below in chapter 4, as Hendy became more preoccupied with this phenomenon later in his career at the National Gallery.

³⁹⁴ Markham 1938, p. 43.

influenced by the modernist discourse of 'good design', and Hendy's democratising attempts to transform the Gallery into a more open institution where visitors would feel at ease. As such, Hendy simultaneously sought to entice visitors through a code of domestic intimacy and to inculcate a sense of beauty as an incentive to artistic appreciation. Importantly, Hendy described the benefits of '[a]ppreciating art in comfort', whereby the gallery should make provision for pleasant and cheerful surroundings.³⁹⁵ Hendy wanted to strike a welcoming effect that would put visitors in the right frame of mind for engaging with works of art, and one visitor recalled being greeted by floral arrangements of 'bright yellow chrysanthemums and small purple Michaelmas daisies'.³⁹⁶ As the visitor explained to the press, this had given him great pleasure as '[t]he flowers had the effect of turning an institution into a room where people would be pleased to assemble and would therefore start out with more satisfaction on their inspection of the pictures'.³⁹⁷

Major changes were made in the Gallery in the pursuit of this refreshing environment, and in 1939 the annual report recorded that after passing the Sculpture Gallery, the visitor found 'much improvement' as the turnstiles had gone and with them 'the hardly less forbidding black dado which for many years had dominated the scheme of decoration'.³⁹⁸ Furthermore, the Vestibule, the Staircase, the little Watercolour Room and the Queen's Room had been redecorated in a more cheerful key.³⁹⁹ In the South Room, where watercolours were hung, the skirting had been washed and varnished, although no repainting was done.⁴⁰⁰ Likewise, Hendy proceeded to repaper the West Room, whose earlier

³⁹⁵ Hendy quoted in 'Appreciating Art in Comfort', *Daily Mail*, 1st May 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³⁹⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, n.d., probably 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁰ Hendy, Philip, Director's Report (22nd October 1934), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

green background he found unsatisfactory for the display of pictures.⁴⁰¹ Arrangements in the Central Court included the stripping and repainting of three columns and the repapering of nine screens, as well as the transferal there of the entire drawing, prints and pottery collections (except the Leeds pottery collection), so that only paintings and sculptures were displayed in the other rooms.⁴⁰² This division of the displays by object type was a taxonomic decision that probably intended to make the displays more easily apprehensible for visitors. In these years, the Lower Gallery of the Sam Wilson Collection was also redecorated, and the walls of the upper galleries were whitewashed to give more light, while the floors, pillars and doors were scraped and waxed to freshen up their appearance. New paint in this part of the Gallery was in light cream colour matching the Leeds pottery collection, and pink paper with a hand-printed pattern was also installed.⁴⁰³ Both the Vestibule and the Lower Gallery were hung with pictures connected to the history of the city of Leeds and the indigenous pottery on display.

All of this was in line with Herbert Read's suggestion in *The Museums Journal* that the museum ought to be 'warm and cheerful' in virtue of the fact that it was 'a place where people meet, not only for instruction and entertainment, but simply for the pleasure of seeing each other in such agreeable surroundings'.⁴⁰⁴ The plea for 'less forbidding' museums had also been made by Markham, who warned that the 'unfriendliness' of museums in Britain could make 'the visitor [feel] he is being unduly suspected, for almost every move of his is watched by a policeman-like official who follows him round from room to room'.⁴⁰⁵ At the Gallery in Leeds Hendy intended the opposite, providing a more sympathetic setting

⁴⁰¹ Hendy, Philip, Director's Report (22nd October and 19th November 1934), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁴⁰² Hendy, Director's Report (19th November 1934), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁴⁰³ Hendy, Philip, Director's Report (20th April 1936), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. Hendy's notes are ambiguous and does not make clear the relationship between these different parts of the scheme.

⁴⁰⁴ Read, Herbert, 'The Museum of the Future', *The Museums Journal*, 38:1 (March 1939), 566-568 (p. 568).

⁴⁰⁵ Markham 1938, p. 104.

capable of generating the ‘hospitable effect’ recommended at the international symposium ‘Muséographie’ in 1934.⁴⁰⁶ In Britain, Markham had identified other such representative models, like the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Manchester Art Gallery and Port Sunlight (Lady Lever Art Gallery), Merseyside [Figure 12].⁴⁰⁷ In most cases, however, Markham felt museums in Britain still did not compare to the ‘freshness and verve that some American museums display’.⁴⁰⁸ Given his experience in the US, it is likely that Hendy’s redecoration of the Room of the Primitives at the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) was a source of inspiration for the changes at the Gallery in Leeds [Figure 13].⁴⁰⁹ In Boston, Hendy had removed partitions and increased wall space by reducing the scale of doors, removing the moulding and oak panelling, as well as distempering the walls with a pale violet hue to match the colours used by artists such as Arico di Neri Arighetti, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, or Sano di Pietro, whose work was on display.⁴¹⁰

Seating was another factor to which Hendy gave much consideration at Leeds City Art Gallery, and he replaced the ‘present cheap wooden chairs’ with two dozen armchairs bought at Pol and Rowley Galleries in London, which he had seen at RIBA’s exhibition ‘Everyday Things’.⁴¹¹ As Hendy put it, ‘we don’t want luxurious seats so that people will fall asleep in them, but why should anyone be expected to look at beautiful paintings in a hard, upright seat?’⁴¹² The new ‘seat’ could provide that middle-ground between stiffness and complete relaxation, keeping viewers alert while offering comfort. For Hendy the aim was to

⁴⁰⁶ Hendy refers to the ‘hospitable effect’ addressed in the symposium ‘Muséographie’ in his Director’s Report (12th April 1939), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. See also *Muséographie*, pp. 218-219.

⁴⁰⁷ Markham 1938, p. 91.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴⁰⁹ The name given to this gallery in the MFA archives is Museum Council Gallery (Medieval European Art).

⁴¹⁰ Hendy, Philip, ‘A New Setting for the Primitives’, *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 29, Boston (April 1932), 22-23 (p. 22). The works by these artists included *The Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Arico di Neri Arighetti); *The Virgin and Child* (Niccolò di Pietro Gerini); and a triptych by Sano di Pietro.

⁴¹¹ Hendy, Philip, Director’s Report (12th April 1939), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁴¹² Hendy, ‘Appreciating Art in Comfort’, *Daily Mail*, 1st May 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘Press Cuttings’.

keep the viewer in his chair and encourage measured contemplation rather than what he called ‘peripatetic’ perception, by which he clearly meant a rapid moving on from one picture to another.⁴¹³ The ‘light arm-chair, with upholstered seat’ was preferred to fixed settees which lessened ‘the dignity of the building’, did little to ‘fill the unbroken floor space’ and offered ‘very little invitation to the visitor to stop and think’.⁴¹⁴ In this way, the moveable seat furnished a private and flexible viewpoint, allowing visitors to stop and engage in an individuated aesthetic experience.

At the same time, Hendy’s choice of the Rowley Galleries models exhibited at the RIBA show evinced an affinity with design values of elegance and beauty, such that it is not surprising that during his directorship Hendy frequented London retailers such as Heal’s and John Lewis in the search of modern furniture.⁴¹⁵ For example, Hendy purchased Heal’s curtains for the north and east rooms to prevent the fading of watercolours, and visited Heal’s with the intention of purchasing new chairs, though ultimately selecting the RIBA prototypes.⁴¹⁶ Heal’s aestheticised designs, which the historian Stephen Hayward has argued combined ‘tradition and modernity’ and ‘aesthetic exclusivity underpinned by craftsmanship’, could in this way be seen as props performing a similar function as the exhibits for the reform of taste.⁴¹⁷ As the writer Michelle Henning has similarly argued for the modernist museum, its greatest educational lesson was that it ‘school[ed] the visitors in taste and discretion, in the values and the virtues of the “sophisticated” consumer [...]’.⁴¹⁸ In like manner, despite or perhaps because of their domesticated character, Hendy’s changes

⁴¹³ Hendy, Director’s Report (12th April 1939), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ Hendy recorded these trips in his Director’s Reports, London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁴¹⁶ See Director’s Report (25th June-24th September 1934, 12th April 1939), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1; and Minutes 24th September 1934, Leeds, Temple Newsam. The website of Rowley Galleries (which still exists today) notes that in the 1930s the firm turned to furniture and that some of Rowley’s designs in this period ‘were inspired by the utopian spirit of Modernism’, producing ‘furniture and decorative schemes in response to the growing need for space saving devices and good design’ (<http://www.rowleygallery.com/History.aspx> [accessed 25th October 2016]).

⁴¹⁷ Hayward, p. 227.

⁴¹⁸ Henning 2006a, p. 35.

to Leeds City Art Gallery arguably trained visitors ‘in a new kind of aesthetic appreciation, tightly wedded to their skills as consumers, with discretion, good taste and an eye for value’.⁴¹⁹ This was reinforced through a number of exhibitions, many of which took place at the Gallery, and which exposed audiences to the latest modern thinking in architecture and design, for example the shows of RIBA drawings (March 1935), Leeds College of Architecture (July 1936), the Northern Architectural Students’ Association (February 1937), R.I.B.A. Photographs and Drawings of Civic Centres (March-April 1937), ‘Recent Town Planning and Housing in Leeds’ (June-July 1938); and after the war the ‘Design at Home’ exhibition (June 1945).⁴²⁰

The reformist and didactic function of the Gallery thus became entangled with its ability to visually lure the public into the pleasures of a modern and beautiful environment. According to Hendy, the Gallery had a duty to provide ‘comfort’ and ‘facilities for refreshment’, and should be equipped with ‘a comfortably furnished restaurant, in which not only light refreshments but hot meals should be obtainable during the hours of admission’.⁴²¹ Although this did not occur during Hendy’s directorship, Hendy did oversee the development of publicity at the Gallery, when he filled the enlarged Vestibule with two desk cases for the display of publications and photographs.⁴²² This gave the Gallery an opportunity to show its wares and draw public attention. Hendy’s experience of working at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which had a restaurant and a sales office, may well have made him aware of how these amenities could shape the public face of the museum.⁴²³ Having contributed twelve articles to the Museum of Fine Arts’ *Bulletin* in the period 1929-1933, which informed the public about acquisitions, changes in display and exhibitions,

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ See Director’s Reports (1934-1945), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁴²¹ Hendy, ‘Post-war Reconstruction Proposals’ (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘TN: Reconstruction Report 1945’, p. 7.

⁴²² Director’s Report (25th April 1938), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁴²³ *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 29, Boston, p. 122

Hendy had probably realised that ‘publications [were] an essential part of its activities’, as Markham had pointed out with regards to American museums.⁴²⁴ While Hendy did not implement a new publications strategy at the Leeds City Art Gallery, by the end of his directorship he made clear that it was necessary to produce a general guide to collections, including an explanation of its policy and services (i.e. hours of admission, exhibition programmes, etc.), as well as full catalogues, albums of reproductions, postcards and coloured reproductions.⁴²⁵

In essence, this was a process of adapting the Gallery to the conveniences of contemporary social institutions, such as the cinema or the department store. The Gallery, Hendy thought, had to be ‘linked with what is good in modern life and in the modern arts’ and so become ‘an instrument of national regeneration and an essential part of modern life’.⁴²⁶ Aiming to extend this function of the Gallery into ‘more imaginative realms’, Hendy advocated the acquisition and display of modern manufactures arguing that ‘...in a big industrial town artistic education must begin with simple things’.⁴²⁷ To his mind, ‘[t]he gallery should have a collection of good pottery, glass, textiles and furniture, and it should begin with the new, with the things produced under modern industrial conditions, and work back to the old, instead of beginning with the old and stopping there, seeming to disparage the new’.⁴²⁸ In doing so, the Gallery would ‘gain immensely by them’ and ‘have a much more definite and real function in the community than it can claim to have at present’.⁴²⁹ At a Museums Association Conference in Leeds in July 1936, Hendy asked delegates to consider

⁴²⁴ Markham 1938, p. 108.

⁴²⁵ Hendy, ‘Post-war Reconstruction Proposals’ (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘TN: Reconstruction Report 1945’, p. 6. During his directorship, annual reports and catalogues of temporary exhibitions were produced, but they were not innovations per se and did not depart significantly from those issued by previous directors.

⁴²⁶ Hendy, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4.

⁴²⁷ Hendy quoted in ‘Ideal Art Gallery’, *Yorkshire Observer*, 6th April 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘Press Cuttings’.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Hendy, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4.

‘whether we are all doing right in aiming *first* at the highest, whether part of our failure is not due to our aiming too high at least in our beginnings’ (Hendy’s italics).⁴³⁰ In posing this question, Hendy was referring to the ‘stereotyped’ tendency in provincial art galleries to emulate London’s National Gallery when they in fact could not afford to buy the ‘best’ pictures.⁴³¹ While Hendy seemed to be contradicting his own policy to build a ‘representative’ collection of English masters, he did make it clear that the problem, as far as he saw it, was not the acquisition of Old Masters as such, but rather the purchase of ‘bad’ surrogate masterpieces in lieu of the genuine pictures. Far from overturning Hendy’s set of professional concerns, his advocacy of first-rate contemporary industrial arts had the effect of emphasising the criterion of ‘quality’ as a programmatic ideal.

Even as contemporary industrial exhibits were not in the end acquired, Hendy’s advocacy for them reflected a duality of concerns. On the one hand, Hendy noted there was ‘no use being high-brow’ and that the inclusion of household fittings, furniture, utensils and other articles of personal use could popularise the Gallery by unsettling the traditional division of high and low.⁴³² The press reported Hendy saying that if ‘women would look at pictures as they did their own clothes, hats or carpets, and if men would apply to pictures the interest they took in their ties, socks and suits, they would begin to get nearer the essence of what pictures meant’.⁴³³ On the other hand, Hendy’s motives were characteristically informed by a discourse of good design that beckoned visitors to sharpen their powers of appreciation. Hendy even established a direct correlation between the appreciation of the applied and the fine arts, and stated that ‘only when the public is used to looking for good design in the things which it habitually uses will it recognise it in the “fine”

⁴³⁰ Hendy, ‘The Aims of an Art Gallery’, p. 334.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Hendy, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4.

⁴³³ Hendy quoted in ‘Hats and Socks – and Art’, *Leeds Mercury*, 13th April 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘Press Cuttings’.

arts'.⁴³⁴ Such views found an actual parallel in Hendy's scheme to beautify the building, as this had been rooted in a desire to make the Gallery at once familiar to visitors *and* instructive about design principles which visitors could later emulate.

Hendy's tactics need to be situated in the context of writings about visual education that proliferated in this period, especially in *The Museums Journal*.⁴³⁵ Hendy appealed to the visual sensorium of visitors as a direct form of aesthetic apprehension rather than seek to engage the use of their cognitive faculties. The latter, Hendy assumed, was associated to the dominant model of 'universal education' which had produced 'a race who can think only in print, who look upon the use of the visual imagination as something frivolous and apart'.⁴³⁶ Instead, Hendy wanted to awaken the sensorial, though fundamentally visual, capacities of museum-goers. This appeal to the visual powers of the public was frequent in *The Museums Journal*, and in its pages the entrepreneurial administrator and reformer Frank Pick had argued that the 'education through the eye of the citizen, a kind of silent university, [offered] a more direct means to knowledge than books'.⁴³⁷ These ideas were variously thematised in the journal, with the Deputy Director of the Walker Art Gallery, Charles Carter, and the editor of *The Burlington Magazine*, Albert Charles Sewter, advocating an 'aesthetic-stimulation' policy in lieu of the historical surveys practised more traditionally in museums.⁴³⁸ As Carter

⁴³⁴ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 4. The expressions 'fine arts' and 'applied arts' are used because Hendy referred to them in this manner, so their inclusion in the thesis obeys this historical reason.

⁴³⁵ As well as the publications noted earlier, others referring specifically to visual education in relation to the citizen's everyday surroundings include Quennell, Marjorie, *A History of Everyday Things in England: Done in Two parts of which this is the Second 1500 -1799* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1924); Carrington, Noel, *The Shape of Things: An Introduction to Design in Everyday Life* (S.l.: Nicholson and Watson, 1939); Jarvis, Alan, *The Things We See: Indoors and Out* (London: Penguin Books, 1947); and Anthony Bertram's broadcasts for the BBC, published as Bertram, Anthony, *Design in Everyday Things* (S.l.: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1937).

⁴³⁶ Hendy, 'The Aims of an Art Gallery', p. 332.

⁴³⁷ Pick, Frank 'The Form and Purpose of a Local Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 38:6 (September 1938), 285-307.

⁴³⁸ The terminology here is used by Sewter, but Carter's ideas also refer to an aesthetic arrangement vs historical arrangement for provincial galleries. See Carter 1933; and Sewter, Albert C., 'A Policy for Provincial Art Galleries', *The Museums Journal*, 39:2 (May 1939), 60-63.

saw it, the art gallery could in this way help ‘man’ re-create his spiritual self and imagination by ‘vivifying those aesthetic instincts’.⁴³⁹ For Carter, an aesthetically object-focused approach could enable visitors to ‘see the past through the eyes of the present, and to look at the work with the direct and unhampered vision accorded to the things of our own day’.⁴⁴⁰ At Leeds, Hendy endeavoured to assist this perceptual engagement with art, improving the viewing conditions of the Gallery interior and making museum-going a more enjoyable activity. At the same time, he had envisioned a kinship between the collection of old master paintings and contemporary manufactures which, even if ultimately unrealised, sought to update the significance of the Gallery to the lives of ordinary visitors and suggest old and new as part of one aesthetic continuum.

Despite these innovations in the Gallery, Hendy’s goal was arguably reformist at heart and aimed to teach people to differentiate the ‘good’ from the ‘mediocre’ and from the ‘bad’. This programmatic view characterised his plans for the ideal gallery and the acquisition policy of ‘representative’ masterpieces of the English school, but was also at the basis of his refurbishment of the Gallery and his advocacy of the industrial arts. The tension inherent in this dialectic between a democratising intent and a professional agenda raises here questions about the authority to exercise cultural power. For instance, the appeal to the aesthetic as a democratising tool for teaching the public to ‘see’ was clearly emerging out of a culturally normative framework that delimited the boundaries of what was aesthetically discriminating and ‘common-sense’ against the ‘tasteless’ and ill-informed.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ Carter 1933, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴⁴¹ See Jackson Lears, T. J., ‘The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities’, *The American Historical Review*, 90:3 (June 1985), 567-593 (p. 572). Although this is not the specific focus of the thesis, studies in cultural hegemony can provide a productive perspective for analysing this phenomenon, as done more recently by Brian Foss (see Foss). For an examination of determinants of class see Atha, Christine, ‘Dirt and Disorder: Taste and Anxiety in the Homes of the British Working Class’ in *Atomic Dwelling: Anxiety, Domesticity, and Postwar Architecture* ed. by Robin Schuldenfrei (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2012), and the influential analysis of class and culture in Britain in this period, by McKibbin.

As Bourdieu would argue, only those possessing the appropriate ‘cultural capital’, acquired through access to education and through their belonging to a particular socio-economic class, would have internalised such ‘dispositions’.⁴⁴² Bourdieu explains here how taste

...transforms objectively classified practices, in which a class condition signifies itself (through taste), into perceiving them in their mutual relations and in terms of social classificatory schemes. Taste is thus the source of the system of distinctive features which cannot fail to be perceived as a systematic expression of a particular class of conditions of existence, i.e., as a distinctive lifestyle [...].⁴⁴³

At the art gallery in Leeds, Hendy’s transformations made recourse to domestic intimacy and everyday objects in the hope to close the gap with visitors, yet the professional discourses mapped onto the museum’s field of practice rendered its teachings exclusive, only to emphasise a remaining and unbridgeable separation with the uninitiated. As a result, Hendy’s democratising purpose was already subsumed within a project to regulate and domesticate visitor behaviour in ways that could ‘positively’ influence the public’s ‘art of living’ through the ‘improvement’ of their taste, in Bourdieu’s terms. Along these lines, Hendy himself noted that his project at the Gallery ‘was not a question of equalitarianism’.⁴⁴⁴ Rather, as he elaborated in a letter to this letter to the writer Julian Huxley, Hendy wanted to foster a ‘keener and more developed’ version of the popular arts.⁴⁴⁵ This could include artefacts of everyday use but also contemporary entertainments such as film.⁴⁴⁶ In that way, Hendy’s whole approach remained bound to the idea that the so-called lowbrow was ‘capable of being a great art’,⁴⁴⁷ and consequently that one should not abolish it, but

⁴⁴² Bourdieu 2010.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁴⁴⁴ Hendy, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ Hendy, ‘Post-war Reconstruction Proposals’ (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘TN: Reconstruction Report 1945’, p. 5.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

produce instead its refined version and locate it in the sphere of the so-called 'high arts'. Even as this had clear socially exclusive ramifications, it must also be recognised that Hendy's project was contradictory in its intent and uneven in its realisation, as demonstrated by the entanglement of different discourses - rather than one over-arching ideology - and the existence of contingent factors which heavily influenced, and in some cases blocked, the outcomes of this scheme.

Chapter 2: Temple Newsam and the making of a public museum (1938-1945)

In the course of his directorship at Leeds City Art Gallery, Hendy felt that his efforts to improve visual education among visitors had been frustrated by lack of funds and by a Gallery building unfit for the needs of a modern art museum. Consequently, in 1937 Hendy shifted his attention to Temple Newsam [Figure 14], a Tudor-Jacobean stately home with over 4,000 acres of parkland, which he felt offered a unique opportunity to ‘give the public an education in the history of the decorative arts and of social life’ and to impart ‘a sense of beauty which they can apply to their own circumstances, whatever they may be’.⁴⁴⁸ As a result, he proposed to the Leeds Corporation to fuse the management of both institutions and in 1938 became director of both sites, a transition that was completed after the outbreak of WWII, when it was decided, on the grounds of safety, to remove the collections from the city-centre Gallery to Temple Newsam.⁴⁴⁹ This chapter charts Hendy’s project to animate Temple Newsam as a historic house-museum, building on Chapter 1 to explore the practical application of Hendy’s modernising curatorial ideals at Temple Newsam, as informed by

⁴⁴⁸ Hendy, Philip, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam. For a contemporary description of the house see also Kitson, Sydney D., and Edmund D. Pawson, *Temple Newsam* (Leeds: Leeds City Council, 1936, 7th ed.).

⁴⁴⁹ See Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam; and ‘The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam’, n.d. but possibly authored by Hendy and dating to c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam. Although Hendy was director of both LCAG and TN from 1938, the committees that administered both sites remained separate until 1939. Prior to 1934, both Temple Newsam and Leeds City Art Gallery fell under the jurisdiction of the Libraries and Arts Committee, although as separate sub-committees (see annual reports 1928-1933, Leeds, Temple Newsam). In the period 1935-1939, the Libraries and Arts Committee was split into separate bodies, the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) and Sub-libraries and Arts (Temple Newsam). These two committees were again fused during the year 1939, so that the 1940 report (ending 31st March) was of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion). It is important to note that prior to their fusion, the Temple Newsam Committee meetings had been attended by councillors only, while the Gallery Committee also included co-opted members and, from 1937 onwards, members in a consultative capacity. After the fusion, the joint committee functioned as the former Art Gallery Committee: members in a consultative capacity attended regularly, among them J. C. Procter (architect), Frank Fulford (Canadian industrialist and collector), Frank Gott, H. M. Hepworth (former Lord Mayor, father of Barbara Hepworth), A. Mattison (photographer), Lady Martin (collector, wife of Sir George Martin), E. Kitson Clark, R. H. Kitson, Bonamy Dobrée (professor at the University, English). It is not clear why these committees merged in 1939, but this was possibly due to the outbreak of the war.

debates in the Museums Association. In this connection, the chapter considers the changes that Hendy introduced into the management and operation of Temple Newsam, which were characterised by professional concerns with the public status of the house-museum. It examines his efforts, both in theory and practice, to steer it away from the mansion of 'Olden times' associated with the image of stately homes of the gentry, and instead make it an educational institution first and foremost for the population of Leeds.⁴⁵⁰

Hendy's endeavours to increase physical access and attract the public to Temple Newsam sat alongside aims to make museum-visiting an enjoyable experience for visitors by appealing to the everyday qualities of the house. At the same time, his programme to develop a museum of the decorative arts in the historic context of Temple Newsam was connected to discussions among modern design reformers regarding principles of 'good design', and the chapter will also explore these notions through Hendy's agenda to popularise a specific kind of aesthetic education. As will be addressed, Hendy's dual aims to foreground the everyday domestic cues of Temple Newsam and to initiate a project of pedagogical reform were not always reconcilable, and the chapter examines this problematic by investigating Hendy's ideas about aesthetic appreciation.

In order to distil this notion of the aesthetic in the context of Temple Newsam, the chapter considers Hendy's project of 'restoration' of the house in tandem with his acquisitions policy, through which he sought to revivify the house after it had been denuded of most of its former possessions following the sale of 1922.⁴⁵¹ The concept 'restoration' is

⁴⁵⁰ For a discussion of the term mansion of 'Olden Time' see Mandler, Peter, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 31-70. A term associated with nineteenth-century taste for the period 'between medieval rudeness and over-refinement', it exhibited a preference for the Tudors and early Stuarts, which were considered 'neither medieval nor modern' (p. 32). Mandler cites Knole, Haddon Hall and Temple Newsam as examples of Olden Time great houses, and argues that many were ill-kept and left to neglect even while being still very linked to a class that was zealous about its property rights.

⁴⁵¹ *Temple Newsam House* (Leeds: The Libraries & Arts Committee of the Leeds Corporation, E. J. Arnold & Son Ltd., Leeds, 1951), p. 60. The 1922 Catalogue of the Contents of the Mansion listed mainly 'old English furniture of the Queen Anne, Chippendale and Sheraton periods. Lac cabinets

not here inflected by contemporary debates about conservation and the attendant distinction of preservation vs restoration, but is directly borrowing from the language that Hendy used during this period.⁴⁵² Specifically, this was a project to recuperate the past as much as one that sought to make Temple Newsam ‘an alternative centre of the visual arts’ where visitors could appreciate applied and fine arts in beautiful surroundings.⁴⁵³ As a result, Hendy’s scheme to restore the house became less focused on the recovery of history or on the (re)creation of period rooms than on using Temple Newsam as a platform for reforming the public perception about the arts and design. This led, as we shall see, to strategies of selection and rejection of certain artistic styles and historical periods on the basis of Hendy’s criteria of ‘good design’.

The context of the country-house in the 1930s

In 1922, the ownership of Temple Newsam was transferred from the Hon. Edward Wood, MP, to the Corporation of Leeds after a series of ‘neighbourly’ negotiations.⁴⁵⁴ According to

and screens. Antique Chinese bronzes, panels in petit point, pictures and valuable porcelain.’ These were sold by auction by Messrs. Robinson, Fisher and Harding, between 26th and 31st July 1922. Some of these remained, however, and the ‘Official Opening of Temple Newsam’ noted that Mr Edward Wood on passing Temple Newsam to the Corporation had presented and loaned ‘many valuable antiques and works of art’. See ‘A Catalogue of the Contents of the Mansion’ (1922), Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘Country House Sale Catalogues, TA – TE’; and the ‘Official Opening of Temple Newsam’ (19th October 1923), Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘TN Early Guidebooks’.

⁴⁵² The relationship between the modern movement and preservationist lobbies for the conservation of historical buildings has been noted by Raphael Samuel and John Pendlebury, among others. Newly founded organisations included the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, CPRE (1926) or the Georgian Group (1936), while other bodies had been operating since the mid- or late-nineteenth century, most famously the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB, 1877) and the National Trust (NT, 1896). See Samuel, Raphael, ‘Politics’ in *The Heritage Reader*, ed. by Graham Fairclough (London; New York: Routledge, 2008); Pendlebury, John, *Conservation and the Age of Consensus* (London: Routledge, c2009). Pendlebury, for instance, notes that it is in the post-WWII period that the modern ‘conservation-planning system’ emerges (p. 4). For a treatment of the practice of conservation and modernity see Pendlebury, pp. 14-37, and for the development of state policies, *ibid.* pp. 38-60.

⁴⁵³ *Temple Newsam House* 1951, p. 60. The book was published under the directorship of Ernest I. Musgrave, so it is likely that he was author this quote and of others taken from this book and presented in the thesis.

⁴⁵⁴ *Country Life*, 52:52 (7th October 1922), p. 428.

Ralph Dutton and Angus Holden's *English Country Houses Open to the Public* (1935), this arrangement had been settled for the nominal sum of £35,000.⁴⁵⁵ Temple Newsam was not an exceptional case, and patterns in the ownership of stately homes had been changing since the early 1900s, from which point onwards many started to come under the custody of municipal authorities, for example Astley Hall (Chorley, 1922), Wollaton Hall (Nottingham Corporation, 1924), and Newstead Abbey (Nottingham Corporation, 1931) [Figure 15].⁴⁵⁶ It is possible that Edward Wood experienced pressure to sell Temple Newsam on account of the burden of death duties,⁴⁵⁷ and the expense of the house's upkeep and maintenance, as was common at the time, or perhaps due to an aversion towards the new middle- and working-class tourists that were populating the countryside.⁴⁵⁸

As the historian Peter Mandler has noted, in this period many stately homes suffered 'desertion, demolition, [and] disuse' as a result of the retreat of the old social elite from the countryside to the city.⁴⁵⁹ The gradual disintegration of old houses led to a drop in the number of stately homes open to the public so that, as Mandler has observed, 'nearly all of the great show-houses' of the nineteenth century were closed to the casual visitor (Woburn, Eaton, Haddon, Lumley, Berkeley, Cobham, Belvoir, Alnwick, Blenheim Palace, to name but a few).⁴⁶⁰ The First World War in particular, the historian Malcolm Airs has argued, marked 'a symbolic end to an era' of private ownership, as many country houses - including Temple Newsam - were converted into hospitals and became heirless in the aftermath of the war

⁴⁵⁵ Dutton, Ralph, and Angus Holden, *English Country Houses Open to the Public* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1935), p. 239.

⁴⁵⁶ Earlier examples of this were less common, such as Aston Hall, which had been bought by Birmingham Corporation as early as 1864. See Mandler, p. 258.

⁴⁵⁷ Death duty refers to the tax levied on a person's property, money or possessions at the time of death. Since 1986 this has been known as Inheritance Tax.

⁴⁵⁸ See Mandler, pp. 242-254 for an account of the common causes for which country houses fell into disuse or were deserted after the turn of the century.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 247. Mandler notes that close to three quarters of country houses had closed by early 1930s.

[Figure 16].⁴⁶¹ By the 1930s, the stately home's seat of privilege and wealth was under threat,⁴⁶² and in 1936 the National Trust officially launched its Country Houses Scheme, the culmination of years of campaigning for the protection of stately homes.⁴⁶³ From 1937 onwards, owners could donate houses to The National Trust while remaining live-in residents and be relieved of death duties on the condition that the house would be open to the public for part of the year.⁴⁶⁴

Temple Newsam was not taken up as part of the National Trust's Country House Scheme, and its passing to Leeds Corporation raised the question of new beginnings. Mandler has noted that at this time there was 'little concept of "the country house"' by the general public, and that municipal authorities tended to focus on the recreational value of the countryside but treated the houses as 'dumping-grounds' for the collections of their local museums, 'without much regard for matching contents to setting'.⁴⁶⁵ This generalised indifference had been highlighted in Henry Miers's 1928 report, discussed previously, where he had noted that 20% of local authority museums were housed in former country mansions but were 'often ill-adapted for museum purposes'.⁴⁶⁶ According to Miers, the position and size of rooms and windows were very often unsuitable as spaces for exhibiting museum objects, proper heating and ventilation were difficult to introduce, and it was impossible to exercise adequate supervision due to the large number of small rooms.⁴⁶⁷ Of the 507 local museums that Miers had surveyed, only 16 had been considered 'interesting historical

⁴⁶¹ Airs cites Blenheim, Woburn, and Hatfield among other country houses. See *The Twentieth Century Great House*, ed. by Malcolm Airs (Oxford: Department for Continuing Education, Oxford University, 2002), p. 2. Temple Newsam did not however become heirless after WWI.

⁴⁶² Mandler, p. 4.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 265. See especially pp. 265-310 for Mandler's account of the scheme to save the country house from the 1930s onwards.

⁴⁶⁴ Mandler argues that some owners took part in the scheme, most of whom were liberals or even socialists. Despite its limited success, Mandler notes that the scheme did bring discussion about the country house and about 'its status and its fate, into public life'. See Mandler, pp. 266-267.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-258.

⁴⁶⁶ Miers, p. 25, cited in Mandler, pp. 258.

⁴⁶⁷ Miers, p. 25.

buildings furnished so as to present the appearance of an inhabited house of the period'.⁴⁶⁸ By 1938, when S. F. Markham published the second Carnegie Report, the situation seems to not have significantly changed and he noted that few converted properties from Norman times up to the nineteenth century were used for museums of the 'period' type.⁴⁶⁹ More common had been, as he recorded, the establishment of museums in mansions with surrounding parkland as a repository for local collections.⁴⁷⁰

Temple Newsam could easily have become yet another instance among the 'hundred other cases' that Markham noted of former stately homes housing local collections, yet Hendy sought to differentiate it from mansions of old and turn it into an educational country house museum inspired by modern curatorial standards.⁴⁷¹ As Hendy's successor Ernest I. Musgrave observed, the perception was that before 1939 Temple Newsam had been maintained by a 'not too enlightened' attitude that could be summarised as 'here is an empty building, let's fill it with something'.⁴⁷² Hendy's reformist intentions, on the other hand, were to endow the house with a collection of furniture, decorative and fine arts that the public could enjoy, for as Hendy put it '[t]here could be no livelier set of inhabitants for a house than the Muses'.⁴⁷³ That is, if Temple Newsam had hitherto been the preserve of a 'very small and particularly fortunate circle', as Hendy observed, he hoped that the growing visiting public might revive it.⁴⁷⁴ In his remodelling of the house for such new ends, Hendy thus distanced himself from traditionalists such as Ralph Dutton who lamented the loss of 'that small microcosm of nineteenth-century English life'.⁴⁷⁵ In *The English Country House* (1935),

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁶⁹ Markham 1938, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Musgrave, Ernest I., 'The Country House Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 51:9 (December 1951), 219-226 (p. 222).

⁴⁷³ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Dutton, Ralph, *The English Country House* (S.l.: Batsford, 1935), p. 2.

Dutton had recounted the feelings of 'sadness and incompleteness in a village in which the "big house" is derelict, demolished or turned into an institution'.⁴⁷⁶ For Hendy, even if Temple Newsam lacked the 'scullions swarming in the kitchen or ladies and gentlemen taking their ease in the drawing-room', it was 'alive with the ideas of many different centuries up to the present moment and during the summer days at least it [was] swarming with hundreds of eager and curious mankind'.⁴⁷⁷

The conversion of stately homes into public buildings was seen in certain quarters as a sign of commitment to democratic values, and according to the progressive weekly *Picture Post* these repurposed stately homes were 'even without the large staffs of butlers, footmen, gamekeepers' a healthy sign of the future that 'her children are at last beginning to inherit the more spacious traditions of their country'.⁴⁷⁸ As Markham had indicated in 1938, corporations in Nottingham, Walthamstow, Saffron Walden, and Luton had moved their collections to mansions and used the adjoining parks as recreation grounds.⁴⁷⁹ Markham gave the example of Belgrave Hall in Leicester, 'a mellow Queen Anne building' that had 'opened as a period museum' while its 'charming grounds' had been adapted for botanical purposes.⁴⁸⁰ During WWII, some country houses were put to different uses, for instance several were acquired by Dr Barnardo's hospice to house orphans.⁴⁸¹ This scheme was, the *Picture Post* noted, a 'social reformer's dream' come true, as 'families of anything up to 100 Barnardo children' were now happily established in 40 to 50 stately homes all over the country.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁷⁸ 'What to do with a stately home', *Picture Post*, 11th January 1941, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁷⁹ Markham 1938, p. 36.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ 'What to do with a stately home', *Picture Post*, 11th January 1941, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁸² Ibid., p. 32.

The new public identity that Hendy envisioned for Temple Newsam must be seen as part of this wider initiative to collectivise culture, which was further promoted during wartime through the activities of state-sponsored organisations such as the Council for the Encouragement of the Arts (CEMA), the British Institute for Adult Education (BIAE) and the Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA).⁴⁸³ The work of CEMA, the BIAE and ENSA during WWII reflected an educational optimism for the arts, even if this was shot through by tensions between amateur activity and the agenda of middle-class elites driving such organisations.⁴⁸⁴ CEMA, for example, was providing annually 3,169 factory and 371 hostel concerts by 1944, and it delivered a total of 6,140 performances as well as touring exhibitions.⁴⁸⁵ In 1944, a CEMA booklet stated that through its wartime work, it had underlined the 'belief that the arts are a necessary part of everyday life, to be maintained in all weathers, and not merely a luxury for the rich in times of leisure'.⁴⁸⁶ Many progressive intellectuals and planners of the period agreed that, as the influential Labour figure Harold Laski wrote, the concept of democracy would have to be redefined 'beyond the plane of political forms merely, and into those realms of social and economic life where it has genuine meaning in the lives of individual men and women'.⁴⁸⁷ As a former member of the Fabian

⁴⁸³ CEMA and ENSA were organisations that instigated new audiences for art in wartime. CEMA was initially funded by the Pilgrim Trust, and organised cultural events from music to art exhibitions. The BIAE also collaborated with CEMA in setting up and circulating exhibitions around the country. ENSA has been characterised as providing lighter entertainment such as theatre plays, dance and music, variety shows, and films.

⁴⁸⁴ For critiques of CEMA and ENSA see Minihan; Pearson; and Foss. See also Hayes, Nick, 'More than 'Music-While-You-Eat'? Factor and Hostel Concerts, 'Good Culture' and the Workers' in *'Millions like Us'?: British Culture in the Second World War*, ed. by Nick Hayes, and Jeff Hill (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 209-35. For primary sources see Glasgow, Mary C., and Benjamin I. Evans, *The Arts in England* (S.I.: Falcon Press, 1949).

⁴⁸⁵ Hayes, p. 223.

⁴⁸⁶ *The Fifth Year: The End of the Beginning*, CEMA (London: Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, 1944), p. 3.

⁴⁸⁷ Laski, Harold, 'Open Forum: The Question of Supreme Importance of our Whole Conduct of the War: Do We Want a European Revolution?', *Picture Post*, 9th November 1940, p. 30. This is not to suggest that there was nationwide consensus but merely to point that some members of Britain's intelligentsia agreed on the basis for cultural rebuilding and renewal after the war. See Weight, Richard, 'State, Intelligentsia and the Promotion of a National Culture in Britain, 1939-45', *Historical Research*, 69:168 (February 1996), 83-101. For the past three decades, the notion of a 'consensual' Britain during wartime has been challenged by historians, who have pointed to the internal conflicts

Society, a think-tank committed to the principles of democratic socialism, it is likely that Hendy was influenced by ideas about the arts and education espoused by progressive writers and journalists such as Herbert Read, J. B. Priestley, George Orwell and Cyril Connolly.⁴⁸⁸ The emancipation of citizens through material equality as well as by their access to culture was seen in such circles as a democratic undertaking and as a vital component for the development of a wholesome personality.⁴⁸⁹

Hendy's vision for Temple Newsam

In 1937, Hendy wrote a letter to the councillor Alderman Leigh, who at the time was a member of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Temple Newsam) Committee, and laid out his rationale to transform Temple Newsam and give a new use to the mansion.⁴⁹⁰ This, Hendy pointed out, could be done in a manner akin to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the hundreds of art museums in America and the Continent where 'fine period rooms, taken from old country houses are set up and furnished, to show the history of the decorative art and of social life'.⁴⁹¹ Indeed, as well as the rich collections of arts, crafts and ethnography at the V&A, Hendy had in mind the recent refurbishment of the East Wing at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA), which became known as the Decorative Arts Wing and housed the

during the war (political disagreement, strikes, etc.) and indicated the role of major propaganda machines for manufacturing this image of consensus. See Harris, Jose, 'War and Social History: Britain and the Home Front during the Second World War' in *The World War Two Reader*, ed. by Gordon Martel (New York: Routledge, 2004); Lowe, Rodney, 'The Second World War, Consensus and the Foundation of the Welfare State', *Twentieth Century British History*, 1:2 (1990), 152-182.

⁴⁸⁸ See London, LSE Library's collections, FABIAN SOCIETY/O.

⁴⁸⁹ See the pamphlet *Art and Culture in Relation to Socialism*, by Arthur Bouchier (1926), based on a lecture delivered to the Independent Labour Party (ILP). Bouchier argued that culture was being denied to the working classes, and that art could sharpen the powers of observation as well as enhance the individuality curtailed by capitalism. For Labour's approach to the promotion of culture see Hill, Jeff, "'When Work was over": Labour, Leisure and Culture in Wartime Britain' in *Millions like Us'?*, pp. 236-260. Hill argues however that a statist conception about culture within the Labour movement meant that issues of leisure and popular culture were often left in the hands of their traditional commercial or voluntary providers.

⁴⁹⁰ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

Department of the Decorative Arts of Europe and America. These galleries, which were arranged by date and place of manufacture, had opened in 1928 shortly before Hendy's appointment as Curator of Paintings there, and included galleries exhibiting Italian, Spanish, Netherlandish, and English decorative arts of different centuries [Figure 17].⁴⁹² As the historian Walter M. Whitehill has noted in his book about the Museum of Fine Arts, 'textiles, furniture, sculpture, glass, pottery, silver, wrought iron, and leatherwork of each country were placed in harmonious groupings, designed to show both the spirit of the time, the interrelation of various forms of art, and the stylistic influences of one country upon another'.⁴⁹³ Hendy thus noted to Alderman Leigh that by the time he had left the MFA in 1933 'there were already 52 such rooms [...], many of them brought from Europe, reconstructed and furnished at prodigious expense'.⁴⁹⁴

In invoking these comparisons, Hendy was suggesting a kinship with progressive museological ideals rather than with the inherited legacies of the country house, thus intimating that Temple Newsam would need to be popularised as a public museum. For Hendy the development of the 'Mansion' (the name by which he often referred to Temple Newsam) was to be complementary to his (unrealised) plans for a new Gallery, for 'together [they] should provide ideal settings for the whole field of Art'.⁴⁹⁵ Once the plans for the civic centre fell through, however, Hendy felt the separate management of the Gallery and Temple Newsam was costly and unsatisfactory for public and staff alike, and persuaded the Committee that 'a single institution [based at Temple Newsam] should perform the double service far better than it is done at present'.⁴⁹⁶ Hendy foresaw that if the Mansion could be

⁴⁹² For a history of the new Decorative Arts Wing see Whitehill, Walter M., *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History* (Cambridge Mass.: Belknap P. of Harvard U.P; London: Distributed by Oxford U.P, 1970), pp. 407-442.

⁴⁹³ Whitehill, p. 417.

⁴⁹⁴ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam. In his book, Whitehill provides details of some of these acquisitions.

⁴⁹⁵ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁴⁹⁶ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

adapted, it 'would provide an almost perfect combination of the qualities desirable in a museum of art'.⁴⁹⁷

Among Hendy's contemporaries, Markham had warned about the difficulties involved in the conversion of mansions, which often carried considerable expenditure and did not result in 'anything like a satisfactory solution to the many problems involved'.⁴⁹⁸ As Markham put it, such buildings were thoroughly unsuited for museum collections, difficult to oversee or even to keep clean and dry, not to mention the added burden for the curator of looking after the park, gardens and drainage.⁴⁹⁹ In the years that followed, between 1938 and 1945, it would be necessary for Hendy to set in place a programme of technological innovations and restoration of the house, as well as acquisitions and display, to make Temple Newsam a modern museum. For instance, Hendy proposed that areas of the grounds could be used for offices and work-rooms, and in the former dining room he would later install the Director's Office.⁵⁰⁰ This reflected a concern with planning that was shared by other preservationist lobbies in the 1930s, such as the National Trust, which had gradually aligned itself with a modernised version of old English countryside.⁵⁰¹ The 'less sentimental, planning-oriented approach' of such associations coincided with Hendy's professional vision to develop Temple Newsam along more systematic lines.⁵⁰²

In terms of the public use that had been given to Temple Newsam after 1923, Hendy was unsatisfied and complained to Alderman Leigh that the public had not had 'proper

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Markham 1938, p. 36.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ The Director's Office is mentioned in the Director's Reports of 22nd July 1940 and 23rd March 1942, London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. The office corresponded to room 44 in the current plan (see Appendix). Leeds, Temple Newsam. For Hendy's complaints about the Leeds City Art Gallery offices see Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1936), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁰¹ Mandler, p. 276.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 275. Mandler argues that partly as a result of this the membership of the National Trust rose from 1,000 in 1929 to 7,000 by 1939 (reaching 12,000 in 1946), see pp. 335-342.

access' to the rooms, but rather had been deterred by ropes from getting too near to fireplaces, ceilings and other architectural details.⁵⁰³ Visitors had been 'conducted hurriedly in herds' along narrow passages by amateur guides who indulged in 'quasi-historical gossip and monotonously repeated jokes'.⁵⁰⁴ In sum, Hendy decreed that 'no use [had been] made of these rooms as a background for the other decorative arts'.⁵⁰⁵ As such, these fine rooms had been 'maltreated' and were 'almost inaccessible', given that there were only four attendants, who could not provide sufficient supervision.⁵⁰⁶ Lees Milne, of the National Trust, who visited Temple Newsam in 1937, had similarly criticised the 'usual lack of taste of the interior', which paled by comparison to the 'gardens really well kept up by Corporation'.⁵⁰⁷

By contrast, Hendy was keen to emphasise his determination to exhibit decorative arts at Temple Newsam in a manner that would satisfy the 'bare curiosity of the uneducated public'.⁵⁰⁸ This was part and parcel of a more extensive project to educate visitors in the appreciation of art, and which, as we have seen, he had begun at Leeds City Art Gallery. Hendy felt that the house offered a 'sympathetic setting' for the visitor, whose 'ability to appreciate a work of art' depended on the 'whole atmosphere' of the building.⁵⁰⁹ In his venture to turn Temple Newsam into such a public art museum, Hendy laid stress on its 'rooms of superb craftsmanship, which are in their original setting, which are part of our local history, which belong already to the public'.⁵¹⁰ Hendy cherished Temple Newsam's domestic environment on the grounds that it provided familiar cues for visitors and so enabled 'a

⁵⁰³ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁰⁴ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁰⁵ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁰⁶ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁰⁷ Lees-Milne, James, 'Memorandum on Temple Newsam' (15th October 1937), National Trust, MSS, 36/IPF, in Mandler, p. 258.

⁵⁰⁸ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*

certain parallel with their own home and its aesthetic problems'.⁵¹¹ In this way, the house could 'give the public a sense of beauty which they [could] apply in their own circumstances, whatever they may be'.⁵¹² As Hendy's successor at Temple Newsam Ernest I. Musgrave suggested a few years later, the public country house museum was 'the living museum, not merely a museum of the decorative arts, not necessarily a museum that belongs to any one period, but a living, growing and changing entity in which is written the story of a civilization, a continuous story which in most cases has lasted over several generations'.⁵¹³

Temple Newsam exceeded in this way the possibilities of the run-of-the-mill museum, given the everyday intimacy of its domestic environment and 'the original setting and the local interest' it already possessed, as Hendy put it.⁵¹⁴ For one thing, its 'period' rooms made an ideal setting for furniture and the decorative arts, unlike the museum-fatigue-inducing and 'grandiose Victorian' Leeds City Art Gallery.⁵¹⁵ While the Art Gallery in Leeds would 'never be more than a provincial imitation, inevitably second-rate', the exhibits at Temple Newsam could produce a 'greater impression' thanks to '...the more intimate size of the rooms and the more dramatic, varied and vital character of light coming through the windows'.⁵¹⁶ This appeal of the house was fundamentally entrenched in 'the human character of a furnished house built with reference to human needs and proportions', which together with the surrounding landscape 'put the visitor in the mood of enjoyment before he turns to the individual work of art'.⁵¹⁷ At Temple Newsam, Hendy noted, '[a]rt there seem[ed] to be what it is, a part of life, not something produced and kept in isolation'.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵¹³ Musgrave 1951, p. 219.

⁵¹⁴ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵¹⁵ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵¹⁶ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 7.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

Such views echoed the writings of modern commentators such as Herbert Read, who had expanded the definition of culture as ‘something natural if it existed at all – [...] It could not even be described as a by-product of their way of life: it was that way of life itself’.⁵¹⁹ As Read had explained in an article in *The Museums Journal*, the humanised museum of the future should be ‘a place where people meet, not only for instruction and entertainment, but simply for the pleasure of seeing each other in such agreeable surroundings’.⁵²⁰ Julia Noordegraaf has observed similar patterns between museum display and interior design in this period in The Netherlands, noting that by making visitors feel ‘at home’, the museum ‘hoped to stimulate their affinity with the objects on display’.⁵²¹ In 1942, the then president of the Museums Association, Douglas A. Allan, reminded delegates that the ‘completely successful period museum’ had lessons to teach curators ‘in their overpowering sense of atmosphere, impressed upon the visitor and calling forth a spontaneous effort of imagination’.⁵²² Similarly, Hendy valued the human scale, natural landscape and enveloping domesticity of Temple Newsam as an environment attuned to the everyday realities of the visiting public.

This public, Hendy made clear to the Committee, was to be found in the newly-built local council estates nearby, Gipton and Seacroft, provided that their residents were the ‘type of citizen’ which was ‘most important to attract’.⁵²³ Gipton and Seacroft had been developed in Leeds after the slum clearance in the 1930s along with other huge estates such as Sandford, Halton or Belle Isle [Figure 18].⁵²⁴ In 1933, the Housing Committee of the new Labour council in Leeds, led by the Reverend Charles Jenkinson, had introduced a differential

⁵¹⁹ Read, Herbert, *To Hell with Culture* (London: Kegan Paul & Co, 1941), p. 8.

⁵²⁰ Read 1939, p. 568, also cited in p. 109.

⁵²¹ Noordegraaf, p. 143.

⁵²² Allan, Douglas A., ‘Museums Reorganization: A Long-term Plan’ Presidential Address, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Museums Association, 8th July 1943, *The Museums Journal*, 43:5 (August 1943), 65-73 (p. 71).

⁵²³ ‘The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam’, n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵²⁴ Thornton, p. 192.

rent scheme to help the least advantaged to benefit from the new council housing.⁵²⁵ These dormitory suburbs came to enjoy better rail and bus services, with trams operating to Crossgates (1924), Middleton (1925) and Seacroft (1936) although the majority of estates were serviced by buses (Gipton never obtained a tramway).⁵²⁶ As Hendy noted in *The Museums Journal* in 1939, trams ran to the door of Temple Newsam though admittedly its location five miles away from the city centre made it less easily accessible than the Art Gallery.⁵²⁷ For Hendy, however, this physical distance was not necessarily a problem, and could even be seen as an advantage, 'for visitors [were] obliged to come in a mood of leisure and not merely to fill a gap in their timetable'.⁵²⁸ Moreover, Hendy argued that city dwellers usually visited the Gallery when they had longer periods of leisure on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, rather than during the working week.⁵²⁹ In that respect, Hendy assumed that it was 'probable that they would prefer to go to Temple Newsam' whose 'clearer light and cleaner air and a total beauty of effect' were 'quite unattainable in the City'.⁵³⁰

These ideas aligned Hendy with well-rehearsed discourses about the benign effects of rural England as a corrective to the industrialisation and urban sprawl of the previous century. Hendy argued that such modern 'evils' would disappear only after the improvement of 'the general standard of taste, in the whole idea of living', and he demanded that 'cities should be less spoilt, that the home should be more valued, recreation more imaginative'.⁵³¹ These were common themes among the British intelligentsia, and economists, planners and writers voiced similar concerns in publications such as the well-known collection of essays,

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Ibid., p. 194.

⁵²⁷ Hendy, Philip, 'The Leeds Art Collections at Temple Newsam', *The Museums Journal*, 39:9 (December 1939), 387-388 (p. 387).

⁵²⁸ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 11.

⁵²⁹ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 1.

Britain and the Beast (1937), edited by Clough Williams-Ellis.⁵³² For Clough Williams-Ellis and other contributors to this volume, modern society was in ‘a discreditable and rather daunting mess’ because ‘disorder, ugliness and inefficiency are generally accepted and tolerated’.⁵³³ The ‘beast’ of unstoppable development, exemplified by ‘arterial roads dotted with little cars, factories, [...], wireless masts, and overhead power cables’, was here cast as the opposite to the beautiful countryside.⁵³⁴ Modern planners such as Thomas W. Sharp or Patrick Abercrombie envisioned solutions that passed through the integration of urban and rural settings, most famously outlined in Abercrombie and Forshaw’s *County of London Plan* (1943) and later in Abercrombie’s *Greater London Plan* (1944).⁵³⁵ In the milieu of the Museums Association, Alderman Charles Squire had appealed to the preservation of rural England in his Presidential Address of 1937, lamenting the destruction of country houses and the countryside.⁵³⁶ After WWII, the Museums Association produced a museum policy guide that stressed the role of art galleries and museums for stimulating an interest in ‘Nature’ and ‘beauty’.⁵³⁷ Hendy was thus rearticulating these arguments and positioning Temple Newsam

⁵³² *Britain and the Beast* [Essays by various authors on the preservation of rural amenities.], ed. by C. Williams-Ellis (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1937). This included essays by Clough Williams-Ellis, J. M. Keynes, G. M. Trevelyan, J. M. Richards, and S. P. B. Mais. See also Abercrombie, Patrick, *Town & Country Planning* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1933).

⁵³³ *Britain and the Beast*, p. xv.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ Abercrombie, Patrick and John H. Forshaw, *The County of London Plan* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1943); Abercrombie, Patrick, *The Greater London Plan* (London: HSMO, 1945). The geographer David Matless has investigated how such planning schemes were enmeshed with views of the pastoral English countryside especially with regard to post-war reconstruction. See Matless, David, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion, 1998). For an exploration of the moralism that underpinned this rational re-description of cities see Mort, Frank, ‘Fantasies of Metropolitan Life: Planning London in the 1940s’, *Journal of British Studies*, 43:1 (January 2004), 120-151. For a critical discussion about planning as a regulation of the spatial and temporal order in post-war Britain see Hornsey, Richard, ‘“Everything is made of atoms”: The Reprogramming of Space and Time in Post-war London’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 34 (2008), 94-117; Hornsey, Richard, ‘Homosexuality and everyday life in post-war London’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2003).

⁵³⁶ Squire, Charles, ‘Reflections of a Committee Man’, Presidential Address to the Museums Association, Newcastle upon Tyne, July 1937, *The Museums Journal*, 37:6 (August 1937), 205-219 (p. 215).

⁵³⁷ ‘Museums and Art Galleries - A National Service. A Post-war Policy’ [submitted by the Council of the Museums Association], *The Museums Journal*, 45:4 (June 1945), 33-45 (p. 34).

as a powerful antidote that illustrated ‘a sense of beauty which they [visitors could] apply in their own circumstances’.⁵³⁸

Hendy’s lobbying efforts were successful and he was appointed director of Temple Newsam jointly with the Gallery in 1938, after which point he gradually transferred the public interest from the Gallery to the house.⁵³⁹ With the outbreak of the war, the Gallery was forced to close on 29th August 1939, thwarting Hendy’s hopes that it would ‘be kept open and a going concern at all costs’.⁵⁴⁰ The collections at the Gallery were taken for safety to Temple Newsam, where Hendy was able to pursue the project of turning the house into a public museum, despite wartime adversities such as staff shortages, which were commonplace and required Hendy to prevent his own conscription and that of other colleagues, such as the foreman Mr Vickers in 1941-1942.⁵⁴¹ Closing only for only a brief spell in September 1939, the house remained open for the entire duration of the war, and Hendy underlined the necessity that Temple Newsam stand as a ‘tranquillising means of recreation’

⁵³⁸ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵³⁹ Director’s Report (25th April 1938), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. By April 1938, at Leeds City Art Gallery the closures of the Sam Wilson Galleries, of the north and east rooms as well as other rearrangements of the collection, Hendy argued, had led to a drop in visitor attendance. The Sam Wilson galleries had been closed for redecoration, and the north and east galleries for spring cleaning.

⁵⁴⁰ Hendy, Philip, letter to Morris Carter (12th October 1939), Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, ‘Director’s Papers, Morris Carter – Correspondence with Hendy 1925-28’. See also Hendy, ‘The Leeds Art Collections at Temple Newsam’. Leeds City Art Gallery was open for temporary exhibitions in the early 1940s, but the activity was largely transferred to Temple Newsam.

⁵⁴¹ Under Hendy’s directorship, employees were called up for service, particularly if they were men, for example in 1941 the director’s assistants Mr C. J. Webb and Mr A. Campbell (hired since 1934 and 1937 respectively) were called up on the same day, leaving no time to hire additional office staff. Sometimes, though not always, new employees were hired or duties were reallocated to alleviate the workload. In 1941 the document ‘Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Staff’ listed staff both for the Art Gallery and Temple Newsam, but as the document indicated, many employees formerly working at the Gallery were now occupied at Temple Newsam. In this way, the closure of the Gallery and this staff transfer probably meant that Hendy had more staff dedicated exclusively to the house. The document includes Mr Webb and Mr Campbell so it must have been produced before their conscription. It also lists L. Stead (Junior Clerk), W. Vickers (Foreman); B. Hartley and S. Granger (Deputy Foremen); A. Waddilove, A. C. Kirby, T. King, T. Cook, W. Dawson (Attendants); R. Jack (Joiner); A. Schoales, T. Simpson, C. A. Stead (watchmen); N. Ruthen, F. Boville, M. Herringshaw, A. Skinn, M. Procter (cleaners). See ‘Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Staff’, London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

that kept 'civilisation going' and reminded visitors of 'normal life'.⁵⁴² In the context of wartime, Hendy felt similarly to many contemporaries that it was necessary 'to fight hard for one's own little corner of civilisation' against the 'considerable danger of the forces of darkness overcoming England unnoticed while she is busy with the war'.⁵⁴³ In this regard, Temple Newsam could become a palliative to the horrors of WWII, leading Hendy to state in a confidential wartime document that 'the public needs more than ever now to have before it visible evidence of the civilisation for which the war is being fought, as well as recreation which does not merely drug its senses but stimulates its imagination and feeds its resolution in an atmosphere of genuine calm'.⁵⁴⁴ By December 1940, *The Burlington Magazine* editorial was referring to Temple Newsam as an exemplary 'centre of creative beauty' which had demonstrated 'that it appreciated the real values of life'.⁵⁴⁵

Temple Newsam: public museum and aesthetic reform

The reconditioning of Temple Newsam required first and foremost a series of logistical measures, and in 1938 electricity was installed alongside heating improvements, making it possible to extend opening hours during the winter months.⁵⁴⁶ Archival records reveal that in February 1940 Temple Newsam was open to the public from 11.30 until 6.15 pm all year round, with some private visits being conducted after this hour, all of which would have been

⁵⁴² Hendy, 'The Leeds Art Collections at Temple Newsam', pp. 387-388; 'In Case of War' (n.d. but probably 1938, as it was found between the Director's Reports of 19th September 1938 and 24th October 1938), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁵⁴³ Hendy, letter to Morris Carter (12th October 1939), Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 'Director's Papers, Morris Carter – Correspondence with Hendy 1925-28'.

⁵⁴⁴ 'The Defence of Temple Newsam', (n.d., but it is placed between the Director's Reports of 24th June 1940 and 22nd July 1940), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁵⁴⁵ 'Our Museums and the War', Editorial, *The Burlington Magazine*, 77:453 (December 1940), p. 173.

⁵⁴⁶ Two references give October 1938 and November 1938 as the date in which electricity was installed. For the first see Hendy, 'The Leeds Art Collections at Temple Newsam'; and for November 1938 see Pawson, E., *Yellow Book*, Leeds, Temple Newsam. It is significant that Temple Newsam installed electricity only three years after the National Gallery did so in London, so it was a likely forerunner among country houses.

impossible prior to the installation of electricity.⁵⁴⁷ The function of Temple Newsam paralleled in this way Hendy's vision for Leeds City Art Gallery, which in 1934 had remained open until 9 pm on Saturdays, Bank Holidays and Good Friday, and until 7 pm on other weekdays.⁵⁴⁸ However, in 1941 the Sub-committee resolved that during winter the Mansion would open to visitors from 11.30 am until dusk.⁵⁴⁹ Despite complaints from some members of the public, in 1942 it was stipulated that opening hours would not be extended.⁵⁵⁰ It seems that Temple Newsam was in this way comparable to other public house-museums, such as Astley Hall and Wollaton Hall whose opening hours were respectively, 10.30 until 4 pm, and 11 to 3.30 during the winter months, with extended opening times to 6 and 5.30 pm in the spring, and to 8 and 7 pm in summertime.⁵⁵¹ Still, Hendy noted that at Temple Newsam 'our hours of opening are already more liberal than those to be found anywhere else'.⁵⁵² He may have been referring to private country houses, which were generally open to the public only a few days a week, as was the case with other examples in Yorkshire like Castle Howard and Harewood House in the mid-1930s, the first opening only three days a week (1-5 pm in winter and 10 -5 pm in the summer), and the second opening only once a week.⁵⁵³

These measures intended to ease access to the house and represented an attempt to increase local interest. Attendance figures rose from 67,250 visitors a year (1937) and

⁵⁴⁷ Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (8th February 1940), Leeds, Temple Newsam. Dutton and Holden's guide lists the following opening hours for Temple Newsam in 1935, 11.30 to 7 pm (April to October), and 11.30 to 4 pm (November to March), and Sundays 2.30 to 6 pm (May to September). Dutton and Holden, p. 235.

⁵⁴⁸ Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (23rd July 1934), Leeds, Temple Newsam. These extended opening hours were regarded as an experiment, but they were followed at least until 15th April 1935, as confirmed in the minutes.

⁵⁴⁹ Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (20th October 1941), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁵⁰ Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (21st July 1942), Leeds, Temple Newsam. This referred to the complaints by 'Miss Roach', who had written to the Town Clerk to complain that 6.15 was 'an unreasonably early hour to close' the house. See Director's Report (20th July 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁵⁵¹ Dutton and Holden, pp. 81, 130.

⁵⁵² Director's Report (20th July 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁵⁵³ Dutton and Holden, pp. 220-3, 228-30.

67,882 (1938) to 111,546 (1941-1942) and 104,144 (1942-1943).⁵⁵⁴ Since the reopening of Temple Newsam in October 1939 access was free of charge, replacing the previous policy of admission of 6d. per head. However, unprecedented popularity led to the reintroduction of entrance fees in 1943 over the summer period.⁵⁵⁵ As Hendy recalled in one of his reports, the crowd of about 2,904 visitors he had witnessed one Sunday afternoon in 1942 had been 'only just bearable'.⁵⁵⁶ With the introduction of 3-pence admission fees from Good Friday until the end of September visitor figures dropped to 69,884 in 1943-1944, but soon increased again, 73,489 (1944-1945) and 84,016 (1945-1946).⁵⁵⁷ It is likely that Hendy resented the introduction of fees even if this measure had been perceived as a way of curtailing unmanageable visitor numbers. Indeed, educational group visits to the house remained free throughout the 1930s and 1940s and a range of institutions took advantage, including the School of Arts and Crafts (1937), Middleton Boys' School (1944), a group attending a RIBA conference held in Leeds (1937) as well as an independent group of students from the Leeds College of Art (1937).⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁴ Visitor figures declined in 1939 and 1940, in all likelihood due to the war. For visitor figures in 1937 see Annual Reports of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1937-1939), and Annual Reports of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1939-1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam. See also 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁵⁵ See the Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Temple Newsam) Committee (21st September 1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, which stipulated that no charges would be made. This was stated again in the Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (8th February 1940). The introduction of charges is noted in the Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (15th February 1943), which states that 3-pence would to be charged from Good Friday (23rd April) until the following 30th September, except for uniformed members of HM Forces and Allied Forces. Leeds, Temple Newsam. The minutes for the Temple Newsam Committee prior to 21st September 1939 indicate that there were paying and non-paying visitors, for example the figures for 1937 and 1938 were: 1937 (paying: 39,381; free: 31,319), and in 1938 (paying: 48,716; free: 19,166). Dutton and Holden's 1935 guide revealed charges of 6 d. for adults and 3 d. for children at Temple Newsam. See Dutton and Holden 1935, p. 235. See also Hendy, 'The Leeds Art Collections at Temple Newsam', p. 387.

⁵⁵⁶ Director's Report (22nd June 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁵⁵⁷ Annual Reports of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943-1946), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁵⁸ Among others, see minutes of Sub-libraries and Arts (Temple Newsam) Committee (25th March, 27th May, 25th June 1937); and minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (19th June 1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

Such practical measures to open the house and keep it running at all costs are significant, but they cannot be fully appraised without an understanding of Hendy's programme of aesthetic education, and the discourses that informed it. These simultaneously sought to make Temple Newsam attractive for visitors as an assuaging 'reminder of their everyday life' and to establish the house as a site of pedagogical reform.⁵⁵⁹ Eventually this led to a refiguring of Temple Newsam which intended to recuperate the artistic splendour of its beautiful setting. However, this task presented a double challenge, for not only had Hendy inherited 'little more than an empty shell', but also the house, as he noted, had been the object of 'several successive internal revolutions',⁵⁶⁰ all of which had sought 'to turn Temple Newsam into a consistent building' but had 'all been defeated by its sheer bulk'.⁵⁶¹ As Hendy wrote in the magazine *Apollo* in 1941, 'the house is not a work of art in the sense that Castle Howard, for instance is a work of art: the conception of a single great mind, the realization in stone of an idea' [Figure 19].⁵⁶² No, Temple Newsam was '...a growth, almost a natural growth. Its very material records individual eccentricities of every kind and period [...]. So it is something no less valuable perhaps than a work of art, a work of history'.⁵⁶³ On the one hand, Hendy was alluding to the historical processes of discontinuity and change that had been at the core of Temple Newsam's development over time as 'a

⁵⁵⁹ 'In Case of War' (n.d. but probably 1938), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁵⁶⁰ Hendy, Philip, 'Temple Newsam: I. The House from Outside', *Apollo*, 34:199 (July 1941), 1-6 (pp. 1-2).

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.* Castle Howard is a stately home in North Yorkshire, built by John Vanbrugh for the 3rd Earl of Carlisle at the end of the seventeenth century. Hendy's comments possibly point to an overall unified aesthetic conception rather than to the literal execution by one individual, which was not the case. Vanbrugh hired Nicholas Hawksmoor to assist him in the design and construction (1699 – 1702), as he had never built anything of this kind before. The house was incomplete at Vanbrugh's death (1726), and had not been finished when the 3rd Earl died (1738). It was finished only under Sir Thomas Robinson and the 4th Earl of Carlisle, when a wing in Palladian style was added. While Hendy's claims therefore do not stand, this does not diminish the significance of the opposition of values he attributed to Castle Howard and to Temple Newsam. See <http://www.castlehoward.co.uk/house-and-grounds/the-house-and-family/the-building-of-castle-howard> [accessed 5th November 2016]. See also Howard, George, *Castle Howard* (York: Castle Howard Estate, 1974).

⁵⁶³ Hendy, 'Temple Newsam: I. The House from Outside', p. 6.

work of history', and which had resulted from cumulative additions to its building. On the other hand, Hendy saw Castle Howard as 'a work of art' because it had been executed by a 'single great mind', a view which although historically inaccurate, indicated that one could distil a unified and coherent aesthetic conception of the building. It was in that way that, for Hendy, art was above all 'an expression of man's ideals' and therefore of 'his inspiration to a better life'.⁵⁶⁴

Arguably, the properties that Hendy attributed to the work of art, both its internal cohesiveness and aspirational moralism, were better suited to his aims to use Temple Newsam to inculcate the appreciation of the arts than were the successive 'internal revolutions' which had made the house 'a work of history'.⁵⁶⁵ In this sense, in so far as Hendy acknowledged the role that history had played at Temple Newsam, his task to advance a particular visual education would be underpinned by a uniform aesthetic principle, like the one he had observed at Castle Howard, which could assist visitors in this act of appreciation. As Hendy further stipulated, '[a] historical harmony may be a dead harmony, while an aesthetic harmony is a living one'.⁵⁶⁶ Consequently, the emphasis that Hendy would place on the exhibits themselves as conduits for beauty would lend as a result a specific character to his acquisition policy and scheme of restoration. As will be discussed, this privileged the criterion of artistic quality over historical chronology, establishing a curatorial language of simplicity and a mixture of historical periods, all of which sought to create an ensemble of beautifully crafted or painted objects that the public would readily apprehend.

⁵⁶⁴ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 1. There are clear problems concerning the gendered way in which Hendy articulated such visions, but it is beyond scope of this thesis to adequately address the ramifications of this project from this perspective.

⁵⁶⁵ This recalls the definition of 'aesthetic experience' by the American pragmatist John Dewey, which required the unity of life-rhythms and for this reason fundamentally distinct from the disunity of the dispersed on-going-ness of ordinary experience. Hendy may have been influenced by the ideas of the pragmatist philosopher, but he never cites him so this remains speculative. See Dewey, John, *Art as Experience* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934).

⁵⁶⁶ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3.

Simultaneously, these decisions were inflected by a set of museological ideals and a modern conception of the museum regarding standards of collecting and exhibition canons, as we will see.

Art vs history: the restoration at Temple Newsam and the criterion of quality

Hendy's 'restoration' of Temple Newsam led to a selective filtering of the past which privileged the eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Georgian periods, less for their historical particularities than on the grounds that they exemplified 'good' standards of design informed by modern principles. In particular, Hendy highlighted the Long Picture Gallery at Temple Newsam [Figure 20] as being 'perhaps the finest room in England of the period of George II', and further noted that 'there are many rooms there which are excellent examples of XVIIIth century decoration still in almost perfect condition'.⁵⁶⁷ As Hendy observed, these were 'some eight rooms, which by their original interior decoration, their moulded ceilings, carved wainscots and mantelpiece in two cases even their wallpapers, illustrate[d] at their finest both the craftsmanship and domestic life of the eighteenth century'.⁵⁶⁸ Hendy was well aware of the 'full artistic value' of such rooms in the house, and drew attention to them in the annual report of 1939: the ground floor of the South Wing, which included Mr Wood's Library, the Blue Drawing Room, the Great Hall, the Oak Staircase; the first floor of the North Wing which contained the Picture Gallery and the Chapel/Library; and, finally, a few rooms in the West Wing, namely Mrs Meynell Ingram's Room, also known as the Boudoir, the Blue Striped Room, Mrs Meynell Ingram's Dressing Room [known today as the Blue Striped Dressing Room], Miss Ingram's Room [today the Indian Dressing Room],

⁵⁶⁷ Hendy, letter to Alderman Leigh (24th September 1937), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁶⁸ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

and the Blue Damask Room [today the Gothick Room] [Figure 21].⁵⁶⁹ Lying behind Hendy's preferences were his educational aims to inculcate artistic appreciation, aims which led his discriminating eye immediately to rule out certain rooms as insignificant for the realisation of this goal. The kitchen and the South Wing bedrooms on the top floor were dismissed on the grounds that they 'ha[d] never contained anything of serious historical or artist interest'.⁵⁷⁰ For similar reasons, historical periods which were deemed unenlightened - like the Victorian era - would be dispensed with in the architectural overhaul he oversaw at Temple Newsam.

In his series of articles for *Apollo*, Hendy had stated his disapproval of decorative fittings introduced into the house after the 1820s, and only made an exception for Lady Hertford's Blue Drawing Room to the east of the Great Hall (1822) whose elegant dado, window architraves and neat cornice he recognised as being the 'last interesting piece of decoration' in the house [Figure 22].⁵⁷¹ As far as Hendy was concerned, after this period people of taste had begun 'to miss from contemporary design the imaginative spirit and the fine tact' and had instead attempted 'to reconstruct the past'.⁵⁷² Hendy specifically lamented the alterations made by Mrs Meynell-Ingram after 1871, and observed that in the Great Hall the great deal of 'arcading and composition ornaments which were superimposed on the austere features of 1796 still [had] the naiveté of a revival'.⁵⁷³ This view was sustained a decade later in the 1951 Temple Newsam Guide, which stated that 'Victorian encroachments' during the nineteenth century had spoiled The Great Hall, concealing features of a 1796 remodelling with an immense over-mantel [Figure 23].⁵⁷⁴ In the south-

⁵⁶⁹ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, pp. 1, 3.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1. The South Wing bedrooms were later refurbished to hold exhibitions of modern painting, as is addressed later in this chapter.

⁵⁷¹ Hendy, Philip, 'Temple Newsam: II. The House from Within', *Apollo*, 34:200 (August 1941), 29-34 (p. 34).

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵⁷⁴ *Temple Newsam House* 1951, p. 60.

west part of the house, the ‘great oak staircase installed in 1894’, Hendy noted, had blindly copied a Jacobean staircase from Stangham Place in Sussex, and as such belonged ‘to the era of reproductions’.⁵⁷⁵ Its carving, Hendy stipulated, was ‘unusually crude and mechanical’ and had a ‘bad’ colour.⁵⁷⁶

The decline in taste during the nineteenth century to which Hendy referred was a common trope among contemporary observers, such as the modern design advocate John Gloag, who argued that the industrial revolution had ‘destroyed the English tradition in design’ and produced a new rich class that was ‘far more ignorant and tasteless than any new rich class had ever been before’.⁵⁷⁷ Architects and designers of the modern movement, like the London-based Danish architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen, shared the impression that nineteenth-century domestic architecture had been ‘vulgarized’ such that building design ‘proved to be only a varnish, not an expression of culture’.⁵⁷⁸ Hendy’s successor in Leeds, Ernest Musgrave, similarly emphasised in *The Museums Journal* that at Temple Newsam, ‘the nineteenth century had taken its toll of many interesting relics of former centuries, and by the removal of many Victorian accretions it was possible to reveal earlier, and altogether more interesting features’.⁵⁷⁹

Indeed by 1940, many of these ‘heavier Victorian features’ had been taken away, for instance in the Great Hall and its Lobbies, where two large doorways and a stone mantelpiece had been ‘restored to their original appearance of 1796’.⁵⁸⁰ As Hendy wrote in his notes, in the Great Hall ‘excrescences’ such as the heavy wood and composition cornices over the windows or the ‘fantastic obelisks over the large doors’ had been removed along with an

⁵⁷⁵ Hendy, ‘Temple Newsam: II. The House from Within’, p. 30.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Gloag 1947, p. 22.

⁵⁷⁸ Rasmussen, Steen E. *London: A Unique City* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), p. 264.

⁵⁷⁹ Musgrave 1951, p. 223.

⁵⁸⁰ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 4.

overmantle on top of the mantelpiece which formerly reached to the ceiling [Figure 24].⁵⁸¹ Similarly, the 'dark chocolate' colour of the mantelpiece, painted to match the Victorian pine panelling, was now in a much lighter key, providing an 'excellent background' to the Exhibition of Chinese Art held in March 1940.⁵⁸² In the west stairs, the walls were repainted in a light colour and the ironwork of the balustrade made dark again, 'as they were originally'.⁵⁸³ Nineteenth-century fixtures in the stairs, such as its Lincrusta Walton paper, grained pine panelling or the white enamel on the balustrade, had been in this way eliminated.⁵⁸⁴ By measures such as these, Hendy intended to efface any reminder of the nineteenth-century decorative scheme, even to delete its memory from the history of the house.

Having removed such nineteenth-century additions, Hendy sought to return these parts of the house to their 'eighteenth-century appearance'.⁵⁸⁵ For Hendy as for other proponents of modern design, late-eighteenth-century furniture design stood at the apex of 'the good tradition of English craftsmanship'.⁵⁸⁶ Through his alterations to the fabric of the house Hendy thus sought to reinvoké everywhere the 'severe classicism' of the Great Hall of 1796.⁵⁸⁷ Above all, Hendy highlighted the redecoration of the Long Gallery of 1941 as the 'principal achievement of the year', and hailed it as having been the 'climax to the Georgian remodelling of the interior' carried out by the seventh Viscount Irwin between 1736 and

⁵⁸¹ See Hendy's notes about the restoration of different rooms in the house, titled 'Temple Newsam House', specifically the section 'Room no. 3' (October 1, 1945) [the Great Hall], Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.* The exhibition was possible thanks to the loan of Messrs. John Sparks, and was opened by the eminent art historian and collector Dr Thomas Bodkin on 23rd March 1940. It contained more than 200 objects of art of every kind, covering about 3,000 years of Chinese history. See Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940), Leeds, Temple Newsam pp. 3-4.

⁵⁸³ Director's Report (19th October 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁵ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 9.

⁵⁸⁶ Hendy, 'Temple Newsam: II. The House from Within', p. 34.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

1758.⁵⁸⁸ Thanks to the financial support of Mrs Charles R. Brotherton, five hundred yards of damask were specially woven in Sudbury to the pattern of an eighteenth-century fragment in a copper red colour and installed in the Gallery under Hendy's supervision.⁵⁸⁹

Hendy also focused his efforts on the first floor of the West wing, whose rooms he wanted to restore to 'their original character'.⁵⁹⁰ With that in mind, Hendy redecorated and 'brightened up' the Blue Striped Room and Mrs Meynell Ingram's Room, and noted that he had begun a 'process of thorough restoration' likewise in Miss Ingram's Room, the Blue Damask-Room, and Mrs Meynell Ingram's Dressing Room.⁵⁹¹ Photographs of these rooms display a similar aesthetic of classical simplicity, especially evident in Mrs Meynell Ingram's Dressing Room, where the changes wrought by Hendy's 1940s alterations are clearly seen in extant photographs [Figures 25-26]. In this case, Hendy brought forward the alcove because he felt that its earlier placement had 'destroyed the symmetry [of] the room', and also installed a new mantelpiece, taken from the Boudoir, placing it as nearly as possible under the centre of the ceiling.⁵⁹² Similar measures were adopted in the Blue Striped Room, whose alcove was covered over with canvas, and a mantelpiece was placed in the symmetrical centre of the room [Figures 27-28].⁵⁹³ Another intervention to reverse Mrs Meynell Ingram's additions came with the chapel. In 1945, Hendy wrote with regret that Mrs Meynell Ingram had created a Chapel out of the 'Old Library', which had involved her removing bookcases, and installing an altar and modern stained glass, which had dimmed the original brilliance of

⁵⁸⁸ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1941), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid. See also Director's Reports (18th December 1939; 22nd January 1940), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1; and *Temple Newsam House* 1951, p. 54.

⁵⁹⁰ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² See Hendy's notes about the restoration of different rooms in the house, specifically 'Room VII' (October 1, 1945). See also *Restoration! The Rebirth of a House* (2005), the section 'The Blue Striped Dressing Room'. This guide illustrates the restoration undertaken by Anthony Wells-Cole since 1983 of the interior and exterior of Temple Newsam. Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁵⁹³ See Hendy's notes about the restoration of different rooms, specifically 'Room VI' (October 1, 1945). See also *Restoration! The Rebirth of a House* (2005), the section 'The Blue Striped Room'.

the large bay window [Figure 29].⁵⁹⁴ Although Hendy was bound by certain non-negotiable stipulations of the last owner, Lord Halifax, he was able to remove some of Mrs Meynell-Ingram's additions, and to redecorate the room in lighter colours, as shown in the photograph, which according to Hendy had enhanced 'its architectural character' [Figure 30].⁵⁹⁵

Eventually, Hendy was able to note that inside the house, 'an eighteenth-century *décor* predominates, culminating in the salon known as the "Gallery"'.⁵⁹⁶ Hendy's legacy continued under his successor E. I. Musgrave, who would assert in hindsight that Temple Newsam 'had known its greatest glory during the reign of George II', and went on to highlight the 'fine Georgian features' that had survived such as plaster ceilings, 'fine doors, architraves, dados, and window casings'.⁵⁹⁷ It was in this way that Temple Newsam was restored, according to Hendy, to 'something of its former grandeur', and could begin to fulfil an 'active function in the education of the community to which it now belongs' by presenting examples of refined yet simple interior decoration.⁵⁹⁸

Turning now to consider the furniture at Temple Newsam, it is unsurprising to learn that Hendy's furniture acquisitions followed a similar criterion of quality with a preference for the Georgian. Hendy wanted to reverse the previous policy in the house, which had retained, as he described it, 'inappropriate and unwanted collections which have been dumped there out of deference to donors whose gifts should never have been accepted'.⁵⁹⁹ Instead, Hendy wanted to bring about significant new top-quality loans and gifts from

⁵⁹⁴ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1945), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 4.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁶ Hendy, Philip, 'Art – A Provincial Gallery', *Britain To-day*, n.d. (c. 1941-45) London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/1/4.

⁵⁹⁷ Musgrave 1951, p. 223.

⁵⁹⁸ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1941), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁹ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

Yorkshire philanthropists and businessmen, many of them members of the Leeds Art Collections Fund (LACF) whom Hendy entertained.⁶⁰⁰ Hendy's ambassadorial skills had been powerfully felt at the 'Exhibition of Pictures and Furniture' (1938), which had 'advertised' Temple Newsam as a museum of the decorative arts [Figures 31-32].⁶⁰¹ Over a two-month period, the mansion had been filled with loans from thirty-eight Yorkshire houses and works of art presented by Lord Halifax and other distinguished individuals, and the success of the show was registered during its first week when it received as many as 1,600 visitors.⁶⁰² Special attention was given by Hendy to a 1745 suite of furniture lent by Lord Halifax, which consisted of twenty chairs and four settees 'made of carved walnut, entirely gilt and upholstered in the original needlework', as well as to the loan of Frank Fulford's Collection, which was later gifted and became a permanent display in the Blue Drawing Room: English eighteenth-century and French twentieth-century snuff-boxes, enamelled and jewelled, and twelve Chinese carvings in jade and other hard stones.⁶⁰³ As the 1939 Annual Report noted, during the exhibition 'the Mansion fulfilled [...] the function which the Sub-committee would like it to fulfil permanently, that of a museum of decorative arts, showing the craftsmanship of the past against a harmonious background [...]'.⁶⁰⁴ As the catalogue to the exhibition

⁶⁰⁰ Hendy organised visits of the LACF members to nearby country houses, where they would examine the collections. The membership had risen to 126 in 1937 and 131 in 1938, showing a steady if slow increase. See Annual Reports of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee for 1937 (pp. 4-5) and 1938 (p. 5). The last visits of the LACF reported were in July 1939, to Burton Agnes Hall and to Bretton Park. See Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940). During the war, it was impossible to provide the usual activities to the members of the LACF, as indicated in the Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1941), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶⁰¹ Hendy, 'The Leeds Art Collections at Temple Newsam', p. 387.

⁶⁰² Director's Report (23rd May 1938), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁰³ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts Temple Newsam (Mansion) Committee (1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2, and Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts Temple Newsam (Mansion) Committee (1940), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3. A Canadian industrialist settled in England, Fulford later gifted a large collection of furniture and Chinese porcelain (1939-1940), as is discussed below. See the Annual Report of 1940, and Fulford's correspondence with Hendy in 1941, which makes evident the influence of the latter on the museological display as well as the choice of objects (which he had purchased). See correspondence between Frank Fulford and Philip Hendy, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶⁰⁴ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts Temple Newsam (Mansion) Committee (1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2.

informed the visitor, the intention behind the exhibition was to display beautiful objects before 'thousands of the public who cannot possess such things themselves'.⁶⁰⁵

In the war years, further gifts and bequests were made to Temple Newsam, such as Mrs Arthur Smith's collection of European porcelain, pottery and glass, and fifteen pieces of Chinese porcelain of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by Captain George Warre.⁶⁰⁶ New acquisitions of furniture also enlarged the collection, arguably the most important addition being a wide range of late-eighteenth-century furniture gifted by the Canadian industrialist and collector Frank Fulford in 1939-1940 to furnish the Blue Drawing Room (in addition to the already-mentioned gold boxes and Chinese ceramics); a mahogany bureau-cabinet dating to about 1740, which came from Mrs L. A. Tugwell in 1940-1941; a mid-eighteenth-century carved and gilt pine-table presented by Lady Martin; and fourteen eighteenth-century wooden tea-caddies given by Mrs Clive Behrens.⁶⁰⁷ An *annus mirabilis* in terms of acquisitions was 1942, when three major collections of furniture and the decorative arts were given: the Charles Roberts Collection (English furniture, metalwork, pottery, and Chinese and eighteenth-century Worcester porcelain); the Gott Bequest (English furniture c. 1790, and pottery c. 1770); and the Behrens Collection (earthenware objects of the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries).⁶⁰⁸

In terms of the layout of funds for acquisitions, in 1943 a number of furniture purchases were made for the first time through the Harding Fund, including several mahogany cabinets of the 1750s-1770s, a mahogany settee (1770), and a pair of mahogany

⁶⁰⁵ Hendy, Philip, 'Foreword', *Pictures and Furniture Exhibition Catalogue* (1938), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶⁰⁶ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery) Committee (1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 6.

⁶⁰⁷ Annual Reports of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940, 1941), Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶⁰⁸ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1942), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 5.

pedestals (1780).⁶⁰⁹ The following year, the Leeds Corporation Funds were drawn on to purchase a pair of George II carved mahogany settees of about 1740, and a pair of carved fruitwood swags of around 1700.⁶¹⁰ By 1951, the Temple Newsam Guide could with justification claim that the furniture collection was ‘particularly rich’ in Georgian pieces (1720-1820).⁶¹¹ It is arguable that, given the preference for furniture of the 1700s which Hendy had advocated for its fine craftsmanship, Hendy was working towards the creation of a permanent public museum combining architecture and objects as a cohesive ensemble that would be instructive about such paradigms of design.

Given Hendy’s modernising curatorial ideas, it is necessary to consider in more detail why he was drawn to furniture and architecture of the eighteenth-century, particularly of the Georgian era, as a model of ‘good’ design. For one thing, such a penchant was not unusual among advocates of modern design in Britain, a tradition extending from the architectural historian John Summerson’s *Georgian London* (1945) through to John Gloag’s *The English Tradition* (1947). Gloag found affinities between eighteenth-century and modern design in that both brought ‘into coherent relationship the form of everything that was made, through the universal comprehension and use of the rules of proportion’.⁶¹² Similar comparisons were made by certain architects and planners, and in *London: Unique City* (1938), for instance, the Danish architect Rasmussen extolled the box-like quality of Georgian houses, which ‘remind us so much of modernistic experiments of our days, this modernism from about 1800 [...]’.⁶¹³ The planner Patrick Abercrombie likewise suggested that the new look of ‘the square box house, of which examples may be seen in the Swedish and Suburban

⁶⁰⁹ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 8.

⁶¹⁰ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 5.

⁶¹¹ *Temple Newsam House* 1951, p. 74.

⁶¹² Gloag 1947, p. 16.

⁶¹³ Rasmussen, p. 229.

chapters [in the book], is very close to the Georgian square brick house'.⁶¹⁴ Although Hendy did not verbalise these ideas in such explicit terms, his modern approach at the Leeds City Art Gallery had focused, as we have noted earlier, on similar principles of simplified design and unity in visual form, and they arguably also influenced his choices at Temple Newsam.

This confluence of the modern with the Georgian past adhered to a kind of 'conservative modernity' which, as the historian Alison Light has discussed, was 'Janus-faced, it could simultaneously look backwards and forwards; it could accommodate the past in the new forms of the present; it was a deferral of modernity'.⁶¹⁵ The Georgian may have been, in this case, a way of renegotiating the modern standards that Hendy espoused, providing 'a sense of continuity between past and present', in the words of the design historian Cheryl Buckley.⁶¹⁶ Hendy possibly shared the view of many British design reformers that, to cite Buckley, 'being modern and being traditional were not necessarily opposites, but part of a continuum'.⁶¹⁷ The Georgian offered, as the historian Becky Conekin has argued, 'a paradigm of stability' that was both 'pragmatic and visionary; urban and rural; international and national, and most importantly – refined and popular'.⁶¹⁸ Or as the historian Elizabeth McKellar has argued in relation to John Summerson, the Georgian was also 'held up as a model of urban harmony [...]'.⁶¹⁹ It could therefore be deployed as a mediating link between the historical past of the house and the present agenda to spread an aesthetic education of good design. In this sense, it is arguable that the restoration of Temple Newsam was driven

⁶¹⁴ *The Book of the Modern House: A Panoramic Survey of Contemporary Domestic Design*, ed. by Patrick Abercrombie (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1939), pp. xii-xiii. Other contributors to the volume included Bertram Clough Williams-Ellis, the designer Oliver Hill, and the writer John Gloag.

⁶¹⁵ Light, Alison, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 10.

⁶¹⁶ Buckley, p. 83.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁸ Conekin, Becky E., *"The Autobiography of a Nation": The 1951 Festival of Britain* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 90.

⁶¹⁹ McKellar, Elizabeth, 'Popularism versus Professionalism: John Summerson and the Twentieth-century Creation of the "Georgian"' in *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-century Architecture*, ed. by Arciszewska, Barbara and Elizabeth McKellar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 46.

less by the goal to re-create the splendour of the Georgian as such than by the drive to subsume these objects within a wider narrative of ‘good design’ informed by modern ideals. And indeed, as we will see in the next section, in various parts of the house, Hendy endeavoured to create an aesthetic environment that went beyond the Georgian to incorporate modern museological principles of lay-out and the display of contemporary works of art.

Values of clarity and simplicity

In his pursuit of an all-embracing cohesive visual effect, Hendy often juxtaposed different built components in the house. The reconstruction of the Boudoir offers the most detailed and comprehensive example of one such ‘extraordinary patchwork of materials’ through which Hendy intended to create a total aesthetic environment.⁶²⁰ According to Hendy’s reports, the Boudoir’s floor was lowered eight inches to the level of the adjoining rooms, the window bay was remodelled to conceal two radiators and a dado was put in place. Various fixtures and fittings were introduced from elsewhere in the mansion or from completely separate buildings. For instance, a ‘Georgian’ skirting-board and dado-rail were brought from Seacroft Hall,⁶²¹ while two door architraves were taken from the floor above at Temple Newsam, and the mantelpiece and marble lining brought from two other rooms in the house. According to Hendy, the walls were repainted in colours that ‘should only be seen as experiments’.⁶²² Two photographs of 1910 and 1942 show a glaring contrast as we observe

⁶²⁰ Director’s Report (20th March 1944), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶²¹ Director’s Report (21st February and 20th March 1944), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶²² Director’s Report (17th April 1944), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. See Hendy’s notes about the restoration of different rooms in the house, to which notes were added in the 1990s by the then curator Anthony Wells-Cole, Leeds, Temple Newsam. These notes also include the latter’s reassessment of Hendy’s ‘restoration’ and suggest that in 1947 the Boudoir was painted in turquoise colour to replace the previous scheme in red. It seems unlikely however that Hendy chose red as a wall colour, and the photographs, even if black and white, are indicative of a lighter tone.

how a décor based on simplicity, symmetry and formal unity has transformed the earlier character of the Boudoir, which previously had picture-covered walls and was more heavily ornamented [Figures 33-34]. The later photograph further reveals how the furniture and art objects have been pushed to the edges of the room, removing any potentially obtrusive artefacts and directing the visitor's vision to the wall as a surface for display. Moreover, the newly installed cork flooring had turned the room into a space that was easy to navigate, and it was similarly laid in the Crimson Dressing Room, Blue Drawing Room, Indian Dressing Room, Blue Striped Dressing Room in the years 1939-1947.⁶²³ By the variety of means noted above, Hendy transformed the Boudoir into a modern, clinical or certainly uncluttered space for looking at works of art of the past, with the homely qualities of the house subordinated in favour of creating an aesthetically-pleasing display.

The pristine cleanliness of the remodelled Boudoir recalled Abercrombie's vision of a 'domestic museum', which he had heralded in *The Book of the Modern House* (1939) as a solution to the joint problem of decoration and hygiene.⁶²⁴ Abercrombie's domestic museum could overcome such problems by transforming the home into a 'properly fitted storehouse for ornaments, pictures, furniture and even books, in which air-tight cases would obviate dusting and an orderly arrangement would enable articles to be quickly extracted'.⁶²⁵ The rooms of the house would then offer a background for 'a series of carefully planned exhibitions', showing a few things at a time, selected and arranged.⁶²⁶ In museological terms, Abercrombie had singled out the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge as an example of how a modern interior of restrained beauty could be a backdrop for works of art of different periods.⁶²⁷ In this environment, he noted that objects were 'generously spaced out: pictures,

⁶²³ *Restoration! The Rebirth of a House* (2005). This guide illustrates the restoration undertaken by Anthony Wells-Cole since 1983 of the interior and exterior of Temple Newsam. Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶²⁴ *The Book of the Modern House* 1939 (introduction by Patrick Abercrombie), p. xiv-xv.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*

furniture and ornaments, with ephemeral decoration of flowers and human beings'.⁶²⁸ Hendy had similarly praised the 'modern portions of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge', and it is not unlikely that such galleries inspired his remodelling of the Boudoir at Temple Newsam [Figure 12].⁶²⁹ According to Abercrombie, this type of setting was mid-way between bare austerity and the overly ornamental and offered a functional formula for new homes, a view that fitted with the anxieties of design reformers about the management of domesticity in 'poorly furnished, ill-decorated and over-ornamented' working-class homes, as has been argued by the historian Christine Atha.⁶³⁰ Through such reforms, Abercrombie and others sought to 'sanitise' these domestic settings and cultivate a 'discriminating' public, an intention that possibly underpinned Hendy's encouragement of visits to Temple Newsam by the inhabitants of the Gipton and Seacroft estates.⁶³¹

Hendy's interventions therefore drew on a rhetoric of order and simplicity that was guided as much by a design reform agenda as by museological principles to render displays systematic and legible in spacious surroundings. Cultural artefacts were to be allocated a specific position within this harmonious ensemble, and to those ends Hendy blocked doors and passages to install cabinets for their orderly display. Most effort appears to have been put into new displays of Chinese porcelain, as in the display cases of the Oak Passage [Figure 35]. Hendy further saw the West Stairs as 'an opportunity to sink a number of [eighteenth-century] display cases in the openings left by now disused doors'.⁶³² In the West Stairs, Hendy had further enhanced its 'surprisingly plain' appearance by adding a dado-rail and by

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶³⁰ Atha, p. 208.

⁶³¹ Ibid., p. 207.

⁶³² See section 'The Oak Passage' in *Restoration! The Rebirth of a House* (2005). The Director's Report (26th January 1943) states that the Oak Corridor (Passage) had its frieze, ceiling and window bays repainted. In the Director's Report of 20th September 1943, it is stated that in the Oak Corridor 'two obsolete doorways' had been turned into inset cases, lined and glazed, for the exhibition of Chinese stoneware. For Hendy's proposal for West Stairs see Director's Report (21st September 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

enriching doorways that led to the Red Corridor and the Oak Corridor with carved architraves taken from the south end of the domestic corridor.⁶³³

Along similar lines, the Annual Report of 1944 explained that the old Blue Striped Dressing Room had been much improved by the ‘abolition of the early nineteenth-century bed-alcove’ and in its place Hendy again installed a cabinet for the display of ceramics [see Figure 26].⁶³⁴ As Hendy recorded, in order to keep with the design of the room, the former wooden mantelpiece was replaced with one in stone brought from the Boudoir, and its over-mantle was removed and reused as a surrounding frame for the china showcase.⁶³⁵ Display cases were also temporarily installed for certain exhibitions, starting with the exhibition of Chinese Art in the Great Hall [Figure 36].⁶³⁶ The resulting visual effect was similar to that of the Glaisher Gallery of ceramics in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge [Figure 37], while, more generally, these interventions recalled the modernised Courtauld Gallery at the Fitzwilliam, which was broken up into three bays at the end of which mirror-backed bronze display cabinets were neatly arranged [Figure 12].⁶³⁷ In his adaptation of Temple Newsam, Hendy was thus receptive to the innovations of museum curators who sought to create an atmosphere inviting appreciation and careful looking of the objects on display.

Hendy’s reconstruction of the house was underpinned by the assumption that the clear arrangement of furniture and works of art against a ‘harmonious background’ would impart visual lessons in craftsmanship that visitors could easily pick up.⁶³⁸ In this regard,

⁶³³ Director’s Report (23rd February 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶³⁴ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3. See also section ‘Blue Striped Dressing Room’ in *Restoration! The Rebirth of a House* (2005).

⁶³⁵ Hendy’s notes on the restoration of Temple Newsam, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶³⁶ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940), Leeds, Temple Newsam, pp. 4-5.

⁶³⁷ MacLeod 2013, pp. 99-101; see also Bather, F. A. ‘Fitzwilliam Museum: The Courtauld Galleries’, *The Museums Journal*, 31:4 (July 1931), 136-140.

⁶³⁸ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts Temple Newsam (Mansion) Committee (1939), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2.

‘aesthetic harmony’ took precedence over what he called ‘historical harmony’, and indeed for Hendy the first symbolised vitality and life, while the other was potentially uninspiring and ‘dead’.⁶³⁹ As Hendy put it, beauty was ‘not a matter of mere chronology’, and he argued that a room containing the “furniture picture, the flower piece or the conventional landscape’ all of the same period could be lifeless. On the other hand, a room containing ‘a fine portrait by Gainsborough or landscape by Constable’ was ‘an inhabited room’.⁶⁴⁰ This view was reiterated by Musgrave in 1951, who in referring to Temple Newsam noted that ‘there [was] nothing so dead as the period room in the “purist” sense’, informing the readers of *The Museums Journal* that although there had been a tendency to concentrate on the acquisition of English arts and crafts of the eighteenth century, these had not been collected in a haphazard way, rather because they ‘fitted harmoniously into the setting – in other words, it was chosen by use as it might have been chosen by a private owner to add a touch of modernity to the house’.⁶⁴¹

In this regard, the juxtaposition of different components from within and outside the house was encouraged in so far as it extended a programmatic agenda of ‘good design’ rather than because it procured a historically consistent backdrop. Hendy’s approach was in this sense distinct from the ‘period room’ typology, which he would later dismiss saying that ‘...the pure period room of American museum type has [...] too much the feeling of suspended life’ and became ‘dead very soon’.⁶⁴² Rather, Hendy’s heterodox combinations in well-spaced slick interiors resonated with the recommendation made in magazine *Country Life* that country houses should eschew period rooms and instead focus on ‘the valued pieces

⁶³⁹ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ Musgrave 1951, p. 224.

⁶⁴² Hendy, Philip, letter to Mr Astorre Mayer (26th December 1968), London, National Gallery, NGA3/3/2/3. This correspondence relates to Hendy’s involvement in the creation of collections at the Israel Museum (founded in 1965) as expert advisor of UNESCO in 1968. He was later employed by the Israel Museum as Advisor and Chairman of the Executive Committee, an office he undertook until 1972. See London, National Gallery, NGA3/3.

themselves' to impart a greater individuality.⁶⁴³ To cite Hendy, there was 'no livelier set of inhabitants for a house than the Muses', a view that emphasised his enduring faith in the museum's duty to assist visitors in the aesthetic experience of individual exhibits.⁶⁴⁴ If such exhibits had been chosen because they were deemed 'good' (Georgian furniture, and works by artists such as Gainsborough and Constable), they articulated a universal pantheon of the arts that would impart to viewers an exemplary visual education. By default, these criteria excluded whatever was considered ugly (Victorian), minor (the 'furniture' picture) or ordinary (a 'conventional' landscape), thus expelling from the house the humdrum and ordinary on the grounds that it did not obey a logic of good artistic quality.

Several contemporaries voiced similar ideas, and only a few years later Summerson would advocate the aesthetic criterion as a principle for the conservation of buildings. As he observed, this principle meant that buildings could be 'accurately assessed in relation to their time and through their time *in relation to all time*'.⁶⁴⁵ The aesthetic principle could offer in this way a means of connecting the past and the present, an idea already rehearsed by Thomas S. Eliot in his essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1919). Eliot had established a concept of 'tradition' that entailed a symbiotic relationship between past and present, a 'historical sense' that involved 'a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence'.⁶⁴⁶ For Eliot, 'the historical sense' compelled the author to write 'not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe

⁶⁴³ 'Harmonious Conflict: The Case for Mingling Old and New', *House and Decoration Supplement, Country Life* (26th February 1938), 83:2145, p. xx.

⁶⁴⁴ Annual Report of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1943), Leeds, Temple Newsam, p. 2.

⁶⁴⁵ Summerson, John N., 'The Past in the Future' in *Heavenly Mansions and other Essays on Architecture* (S.I.: Cresset P., 1949), p. 221.

⁶⁴⁶ Eliot, Thomas S. 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', *Perspecta*, 19 (1982), 36-42 (p. 37). The essay was first published in 1919 in the literary magazine *The Egoist*, and in 1920 was included in Eliot's book *The Sacred Wood*.

from Homer' which had a 'simultaneous existence' in each individual work.⁶⁴⁷ This both imparted 'a sense of the timeless' and of 'the temporal'.⁶⁴⁸

It was under the influence of these ideas that Hendy undertook another major transformation of the suite of rooms in the South Wing to provide a space for exhibitions of modern art, thus bringing contemporary works into the house and mixing old and new. As early as 1937, Hendy had envisioned two different spaces for the display of different types of objects: he had designated the space on the top floor of the North Wing for galleries for the display of modern art, and the side-lit galleries on the 'uninteresting top floor of the South Wing' for older pictures.⁶⁴⁹ The North Wing was never developed, but the altered South Wing probably completed Hendy's ideal vision for Temple Newsam, as it allowed him to display modern and old works of art in a setting that was custom-made and which had been redecorated for that purpose. In 1941, the committee gave Hendy permission to redecorate the State Dressing Room for use as a watercolour study room, and the South Dressing Room for the display of oil paintings, while the South Corridor was also to be used for showing watercolours and drawings.⁶⁵⁰ Lastly, the remodelled State Bedroom in the South Wing became home to several contemporary art exhibitions.

Among the changes to the top of the South Wing, Hendy's reports reveal that a 'picture-rail' from the Art Gallery was installed along the length of the South Corridor.⁶⁵¹ Moreover, a frieze was said to have been introduced there to reduce the height of the walls, and low radiators were brought from the ground floor corridors and from the north wing, which allowed the removal of the now-superfluous tall radiators which had previously rather

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁹ 'The Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam', n.d. but possibly c. 1937, Leeds, Temple Newsam.

⁶⁵⁰ Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (24th February 1941); Director's Report (19th May 1941), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁵¹ Director's Report (19th May 1941), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

dominated the corridor [Figure 38].⁶⁵² In the rooms themselves, Hendy recorded certain interventions which had been agreed on to produce desirable conditions for a modern art gallery: chimney pieces were removed from three rooms, openings were walled up, and almost all the doors taken down and stored in the cellars.⁶⁵³ The result was a significant increase in the amount of wall space available for hanging pictures. The overall visual effect was probably similar to that of the State Bedroom, a self-enclosed ‘white cube’ which had been pared down to the bare minimum, as seen in an extant photograph [Figure 39].

Several exhibitions were held in the newly refurbished South Wing, among which the CEMA exhibition of Henry Moore, Graham Sutherland and John Piper in the State Bedroom received much acclaim. It was opened by Kenneth Clark, then Director of the National Gallery in London, on July 1941 and lasted until September of that year [Figure 39]. As the photographs of the CEMA 1941 exhibition show, the simplified lay-out adopted for the rooms in the South Wing provided ample space for the display of individual works of art, including sculptures by Moore, such as his *Reclining Figure* (1931), *Bird Basket* (1939), and *Mother and Child* (1923), the latter recorded in a photograph of the exhibition, and seen hanging on the far wall of the State Bedroom [Figure 40].⁶⁵⁴ For this arrangement, Hendy was probably guided by the belief that such sparse displays would make the exhibition more accessible ‘for the layman’ and ensure ‘the undivided attention of the visitor’.⁶⁵⁵ Unlike the ‘practised critic’, Hendy thought the general visitor lacked ‘the necessary concentration to isolate the work which has a meaning for him from a hundred other claims to his attention’.⁶⁵⁶ Over this period, Hendy curated other exhibitions in the South Wing, including ones which showcased

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ See Director’s Report (23rd Jun 1941), and section ‘State Bedroom [1]’ in *Restoration! The Rebirth of a House* (2005), Leeds Temple Newsam.

⁶⁵⁴ For Hendy’s discussion of Moore’s work see Hendy, Philip, ‘Henry Moore’, *Horizon*, 4:21 (1941), 200-206, London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/1/5.

⁶⁵⁵ Director’s Report (22nd June 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid. Here the notion of the ‘general visitor’ needs to be understood in the context of Hendy’s approach.

the work of Barbara Hepworth and Paul Nash (1943), of Roy de Maistre and Gaudier-Brzeska (1943), and also that highlighting Acquisitions of 1943, which was partly installed in the south corridor, and which displayed watercolours by contemporary artists such as Paul Nash, John Nash or David Jones.⁶⁵⁷

In many other cases, however, it seems that contemporary art exhibitions were in fact shown in the more 'historical' parts of house or together with older works, suggesting that Hendy was keen on establishing an aesthetic and temporal continuum between the past and the present. For example, an exhibition of thirty-three sculptures by Frank Dobson was held in the Library and Picture Gallery and one of twenty-nine tempera paintings by Edward Wadsworth in Rooms XVII and XVIII over the north-west room (North Wing), both in July-August 1940.⁶⁵⁸ In the Darnley Room and Rooms XVII-XVIII were exhibited works by their contemporary Augustus John in 1941, and an exhibition of pictures by Matthew Smith and sculpture by Jacob Epstein was organised in rooms XVI to XX in 1942.⁶⁵⁹ Again, in 1944, a display of paintings by Ben Nicholson, opened by Herbert Read in 1944 in Rooms XVI to XIX must have been shown alongside older works, given Nicholson's doubts in correspondence with Hendy that his abstract paintings should be hung in the middle of 'the older kind' of art for fear that his oeuvre would be 'controlled by the past'.⁶⁶⁰

As well as these solo or two-artist shows, group displays were also held, for example of pictures by John Aldridge, John Nash, Matthew Smith and Stanley Spencer in June 1940, possibly to display some of the works of art by British modernists Hendy began to acquire

⁶⁵⁷ 'Selections from the Acquisitions of 1943', Leeds, Temple Newsam. For the exhibition of works by Barbara Hepworth and Paul Nash see Director's Report (17th May 1943), and for Roy de Maistre and Gaudier-Brzeska see Director's Report (12th July 1943), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. The first was opened by the author Sir Paul Dukes, and the second by the then Keeper of the National Gallery (London), William Gibson.

⁶⁵⁸ Director's Reports (24th June 1940; 22nd July 1940), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁵⁹ Director's Reports (21st April 1941; 20th July 1942), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁶⁰ Director's Report (18th September 1944), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1. See also, Nicholson, Ben, letter to Philip Hendy (7th February, probably of 1944), Leeds City Art Gallery, Artists Files, Ben Nicholson.

after securing the Council Funds in 1938.⁶⁶¹ Among his many acquisitions were *The Artist's Home at Bath* (£250) and *St Paul's Church at Night* by Walter Sickert (£125) funded partly with Council Funds; *The Sisters* (£175) by Stanley Spencer; *The River Pant* (c. £26) by John Aldridge; *Lilies* and *The Little Seamstress* by Matthew Smith (about £135 and £168 each), *Derelict cottage, Llanthony* by John Piper (£36 15s) and *Tree Form* by Graham Sutherland (£21).⁶⁶² Bringing these contemporary works into the house, Hendy was intent on facilitating heterodox mixtures that challenged the identity of Temple Newsam as a relic of the past.

In 1951 Musgrave recalled that 'for most people who had known Temple Newsam in its former state' these temporary exhibitions had been regarded 'as a sacrilegious act'.⁶⁶³ Musgrave himself, being critical of the public's 'sentimental and misplaced reverence for the antique' which such displays had challenged, celebrated the fact that Temple Newsam 'was no longer the static monument to its last private owner that [it] had known'.⁶⁶⁴ However, Hendy's modernist displays of Moore, Piper, Sutherland and others were polemic, and in the press members of the public wrote in, accusing the artists of using overly-complicated painterly language to conceal a lack of artistic ability. One critic reported, as did others, that visitors to the 1941 Piper *et al* exhibition had seemed puzzled, aghast, or speechless.⁶⁶⁵ Hendy himself noted that the show had aroused 'an unusual degree of enthusiasm among those *already* interested in modern art [my italics]' and that it had created 'a number of converts'.⁶⁶⁶ Notwithstanding the healthy sales figures of 1,416 catalogues, Hendy conceded that '[v]ery many visitors are unable to make much of it, and this demonstrates again the

⁶⁶¹ Director's Report (24th June 1940), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁶² See Minutes of the Sub-libraries and Arts (Art Gallery and Temple Newsam Mansion) Committee (1940-1941). See also List of Acquisitions, Leeds, Leeds City Art Gallery.

⁶⁶³ Musgrave 1951, p. 223.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁵ 'Leeds Looks at Modern Art', *Yorkshire Post*, 4th September 1941, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

⁶⁶⁶ Director's Report (22nd September 1941), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

need for some such guide-lecturer instruction as the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts provides with its travelling exhibitions'.⁶⁶⁷

The reconstruction proposals for Leeds City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam anticipated a post-war future in which these institutions would have to 'prove to the public its need of art and to put before it the best of contemporary design'.⁶⁶⁸ Hendy's approach had been aligned with earlier discourses about design, as well as with the increasingly central role of planning during wartime for the reform of education, healthcare, urban development, culture and leisure. Specifically, Hendy had sought to transform Temple Newsam into a house-museum about the decorative arts that would offer a pleasing and beautiful environment conducive to art appreciation. The overall philosophy that inspired Hendy was that by exposing the public to the arts the museum would positively influence 'the whole idea of living'.⁶⁶⁹ This resonated with the set of ideas that Musgrave highlighted in 1951, whereby a country house should be 'a living work of art, a combination of decoration, furnishings, and tasteful distribution of objects so as to create an atmosphere which will make an immediate impact on all its visitors'.⁶⁷⁰ The democratic pursuit was here underpinned by the emphasis on the present relevance of Temple Newsam for contemporary visitors, and secondly the ease of access and legibility of the exhibits.

First, Temple Newsam was talked about and discussed as a setting which belonged 'as much to the present as it does to the past' and which 'should be an inspiration as well as a pleasure'.⁶⁷¹ Hendy's interventions were steeped in this idea, provided his inclusion of the work of contemporary British artists alongside fine eighteenth-century furniture, and his restoration scheme to recover Georgian architectural features under the auspices of modern

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid. I have not found any evidence that such a guide existed during Hendy's directorship.

⁶⁶⁸ Hendy, 'Post-war Reconstruction Proposals' (1944), Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'TN: Reconstruction Report 1945', p. 1.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁰ Musgrave 1951, p. 225.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

design criteria. Moreover, Hendy had extolled the domestic features of the house, which he thought would put visitors in the right mood for the appreciation of the works of art. More than at any other time, the currency of Temple Newsam and its significance to the lives of present-day visitors had been stressed at the outbreak of war, when it was promoted as an assuaging 'reminder of their everyday life'.⁶⁷² Musgrave later argued that Temple Newsam could 'only retain its vitality by its constant movement' so that it 'must never become static; it can never be the complete work of art, but must always maintain in a state of constant growth'.⁶⁷³

Secondly, there was an awareness for the need of greater ease of access such that modern technical were installed (electricity and heating) and the hours of opening were extended, as well as granting free access and later an affordable admission fee – all ways to make Temple Newsam appealing for visitors. Hendy had ensured the readability of the exhibits through the spacious placement of objects in the rooms and in well-arranged displays inside vitrines. The principles of clarity and simplicity appeared to be a prerequisite for the transition of Temple Newsam from the status of a country house to that of a public museum. This is line with Tony Bennett's argument regarding the legibility of the public museum, in which during second half of the nineteenth century, 'a new and distinctive emphasis' was placed 'on the need to arrange and label museum displays in way calculated to enhance their public legibility by making their meaning instantly readable for the new mass public'.⁶⁷⁴ At Temple Newsam, Hendy was similarly concerned to create easily readable museum displays, and was likely that he was inspired by the curatorial strategies employed in other museums such as the Fitzwilliam in Cambridge.

⁶⁷² 'In Case of War' (n.d. but probably 1938), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁷³ Musgrave 1951, p. 225.

⁶⁷⁴ Bennett 1998, p. 29.

In this environment, part-house and part-museum, Hendy's curatorial lens had not invoked the classifying modalities that Bennett has referred to as 'representational regimes' of period, region, school, etc.⁶⁷⁵ Rather, his careful management of the physical fabric of the building and of its displays tended to mix different media (painting, sculpture, ceramics, architecture) and periods (Georgian, contemporary, and other periods). Above all, it emphasised the individuality of the exhibits as exemplary models of artistic practice and design and subsumed them within aesthetically harmonious ensembles. Hendy assumed that as long as these works of art were presented in a well ordered and visually clear lay-out, they would be universally appreciated. Such an understanding of the reception of works of art ignored what Bourdieu would argue some decades later, that this was 'not a system of universal forms and categories, but a system of internalized, embodied schemes which, having been constituted in the course of collective history, are acquired in the course of individual history and function in their *practical* state, for *practice* [...]'.⁶⁷⁶ Judging from the few visitor responses that were aired in the press about the displays of contemporary artists, the increased legibility of the displays had not always translated into educationally accessible exhibitions. What is more, Hendy's scheme to make Temple Newsam engaging and relevant to contemporary audiences had simultaneously sought to implement a set of standards regarding public taste and artistic perception which he, like other museum and design reformers, saw as a corrective to the lifestyle choices of many before the war. Such problematics would continue in the era of post-war reconstruction, however at this point Hendy moved from Leeds to the National Gallery in London. Working with a collection dedicated primarily to Old Masters, Hendy's two-decade long directorship would focus his programme of modernisation on the perception of paintings. In this case, the necessities of

⁶⁷⁵ See Bennett 1995, p. 44.

⁶⁷⁶ Bourdieu 2010, p. 469.

reconstruction afforded a *tabula rasa* to test new curatorial techniques and to reshape the museum – and the visual capacities of visitors - according to a modern architectural idiom.

Part II: Museums, reconstruction and the road to modernisation after WWII

In January 1946, Hendy succeeded Kenneth Clark as director of the National Gallery to undertake the major task of rebuilding the museum after WWII and re-accommodating the collection which had been kept in Wales during the war. As Hendy reported early that year to his Trustees, ‘the [Gallery] building is open at all the seams. Ceilings and walls are consequently coated with grime and floors resemble outdoor pavements’.⁶⁷⁷ Hendy foresaw that, under these conditions and as a result of post-war labour shortage, it would ‘plainly [...] be several years at least’ before the current demands of the museum could be met.⁶⁷⁸ This proved to be the case for the National Gallery as well as for most of London’s major national museums, and as the historian Nicola Lambourne has noted, only small repairs had been carried out by the late 1940s, ‘enough to allow them to remain open to the public but substantial reconstruction work on out-of-access rooms and buildings was incomplete’.⁶⁷⁹ It was against this backdrop of material devastation that Hendy sought to reformulate a number of the Gallery’s museographical and museological traditions.⁶⁸⁰

The Second World War had caused ‘a major interruption’ in the life of museums in Britain and on the continent, and many contemporaries shared the view that this period had ‘challenged professional museum people to examine their traditional conceptions and to adapt their thinking to a wide range of possibilities’, as the museologist Grace Morley later recalled.⁶⁸¹ The curator of Birmingham’s City Museum and Art Gallery, Trenchard Cox,

⁶⁷⁷ Hendy, Philip, Extract from Director’s Memorandum 18th January 1946 in document ‘Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)’, London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹ Lambourne, Nicola, *War Damage in Western Europe: The Destruction of Historic Monuments during the Second World War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), p. 176.

⁶⁸⁰ See footnote 97 for a distinction of museography and museology.

⁶⁸¹ Morley, Grace, ‘Museums and Unesco’, *Museum*, 2:2 (1949), 1-35 (p. 13). Grace Morley was the Head of the Museums Section of UNESCO after WWII, and the journal *Museum* was founded under her direction. *Museum* (now called *Museum International*) was an international journal published by

similarly observed that the 'disorganization caused by the War has brought much added anxiety to all museum authorities, but it has compelled them to review their collections in the light of present needs'.⁶⁸² Certainly the evacuation of artworks, to Wales in the case of the National Gallery, had required much 'professional thought, ingenuity and skill' on the part of museum workers, as one museum professional put it, not unusually leading to technical improvements.⁶⁸³ In terms of its wider cultural remit, during the war the National Gallery had been innovative in its organisation of daily concerts and temporary exhibitions of contemporary British war artists, non-art exhibitions on planning-related and reconstruction subjects, and from 1942 the so-called 'Picture of the Month' displays, which featured a small group of Old Master paintings from the national collection brought back specially from Wales for the duration of the display.⁶⁸⁴ Upon his appointment, Hendy declared himself in favour of these popularising ventures,⁶⁸⁵ and expressed the wish to

UNESCO since 1948, following the foundation of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 1946, and became a major platform for exchanging ideas and technical knowledge about museums and cultural heritage. ICOM was preceded by the International Museums Office, IMO (1926-1946), which published the journal *Mouseion* as well as the series *Muséographie*, one of which is addressed in this essay (Madrid, 1934).

⁶⁸² Cox, Trenchard, 'The Provincial Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 49:2 (May 1949), 32-34 (p. 32). This talk, it is reported in the journal, was part of a lecture series on museums organised by the Royal Society of Arts delivered by 'prominent members of the profession'. Other lectures delivered were 'The Functions of a National Museum' (Sir John Forsdyke, Director of the British Museum), and 'Museums and Industrial Design' (Edgar Kaufmann, Head of the Department of Industrial Design, MoMA).

⁶⁸³ Morley, p. 13. Suzanne Bosman's study of the National Gallery in London during wartime provides illuminating examples of the conservation experiments that were undertaken at Manod Quarry, where hygrometers measured the relative humidity, and lighting and temperature were constant, giving the opportunity to test the importance of stable temperature and humidity for the conservation of pictures. See Bosman, pp.73-88.

⁶⁸⁴ Bosman, pp. 35-37 and pp. 95-97. Among the exhibitions held in this period were 'British Painting since Whistler' (1940); 'Recording Britain' (1941); 'Nineteenth Century French Painting' (1942); 'Greater London: Towards a Master Plan' (1943); 'Rebuilding Britain' (1943); 'War Artists exhibitions' (1941-45), as noted in the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries (1938-48) [unrevised version]. This report also noted that mixed use was given to the Gallery during wartime, such as for activities of different wartime committees, or for rehearsals of theatre companies (p. 4). See 'The National Gallery 1938-48, Report to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries [unrevised]' London, National Gallery, NG25/20, pp. 7-9. For list of exhibitions see also Bosman, pp. 91-99, 126.

⁶⁸⁵ Kenneth Clark became known for his popularising schemes to disseminate art during wartime, but even before the war he had been involved in the production of visually engaging publications, such as *One Hundred Details from Pictures in the National Gallery* (London: National Gallery, 1938). In 1969, he wrote and broadcast the famous BBC programme 'Civilisation'.

renew this 'great tradition' which he felt had won the National Gallery 'a unique position in popular esteem as a centre of cultural life' during the war.⁶⁸⁶ If this level of cultural engagement had given the Gallery 'a new character, dynamic and popular', the problem now according to Hendy was how to manage 'in spite of dilapidation, to keep this liveliness and at the same time restore the Gallery to its true function of representing the deepest and finest in the European tradition of painting'.⁶⁸⁷ Hendy pointed out the challenge to make Old Master paintings attractive to contemporary publics, further suggesting a possible conflict between the provision of more democratised opportunities for public engagement and the crystallisation of the Gallery's functions in the post-war world.

Reconstruction promised a *tabula rasa*, not least because the evacuation of museum collections seemed to have furnished, as Morley observed, 'an admirable opportunity for re-installation according to modern methods'.⁶⁸⁸ As Hendy explained, it was not only the great European collections of old paintings that had been hurriedly packed away in 1939, but 'an equal number of old traditions, as to the function of the collection and its arrangement, was packed with them'.⁶⁸⁹ The new museum would have to be adapted to the advancements of the modern museum profession, and Hendy observed that as museums extended and diversified their functions, this would put pressure on staffing requirements and accommodation. In its ongoing task towards specialisation, Hendy stipulated that the post-war museum urgently needed up-to-date equipment for study collections, specialist libraries, studios for conservation, and laboratories for scientific research.⁶⁹⁰ This was matched by concomitant concerns with the professional status of museum workers, as the Museums Association resumed its training courses for its diploma in 1946 (originally begun

⁶⁸⁶ Cox, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁸⁷ Hendy, Philip, 'Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage', *The Times*, 13th April 1946, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/3.

⁶⁸⁸ Morley, p. 13.

⁶⁸⁹ Hendy, 'Picture Galleries', *Museum*, 2:2 (1949), 43-45 (p. 43).

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44. A detailed discussion of this process of modernisation is addressed in chapter 4 (pp. 201-246).

in 1931) and published notes for students in its journal, which were then reprinted in booklet form.⁶⁹¹ In 1951, new Articles in the Association aimed to establish a clearer policy and administrative structure for the Association itself, 'in order to achieve the professional standard which is essential to a uniformly good public service and so as to raise, as far as can be done by this means, the status of the art gallery and museum curator [...]'.⁶⁹² At the same time, changes in its membership enabled professional members to become Associates or Fellows and so distinguish those 'who had progressed beyond the embryonic stages of curatorship'.⁶⁹³ The 1950s saw as a result 'the beginning of an awareness of the need for many specialized, non-curatorial skills, in the manifold functions of museums', as noted by Geoffrey D. Lewis.⁶⁹⁴

During wartime, more or less formal and informal working groups and organisations had brought together experts from the museum world and artistic fields with a view to making proposals which once implemented would form 'a public opinion favouring higher standards' in museums, as Hendy desired.⁶⁹⁵ In 1942, the Council of the Museums Association prepared and submitted a 'Memorandum on Museums and Reconstruction' to the Reconstruction Committee of the War Cabinet, and in March 1943 a deputation of its members had been received by the Ministry of Reconstruction, the Board of Education, and the Treasury.⁶⁹⁶ In 1945, following the discussions between this steering group and the

⁶⁹¹ Lewis 1984, pp. 41-42.

⁶⁹² 'The New Articles', *The Museums Journal*, 51:3 (June 1951), 53-54 (p. 53).

⁶⁹³ Lewis 1984, p. 41; 'The New Articles', p. 54.

⁶⁹⁴ Lewis 1984, p. 42.

⁶⁹⁵ Hendy, Extract from Director's Memorandum 18th January 1946 in document 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2.

⁶⁹⁶ See 'Memorandum on Museums and Reconstruction', *The Museums Journal*, 42:4 (July 1942), 78-80. Hendy was elected member of the Council of the Museums Association in the annual meeting of 1942 (after the memorandum had been issued). The Memorandum Committee was composed of Sir Eric MacLagan (V&A); Douglas A. Allan (Liverpool Public Museums), and Christopher Hawke. See 'The Museums Association: Officers and Council 1941-2', *The Museums Journal*, 42:4 (July 1942), p. 100. The deputation visiting the Ministry of Reconstruction included eminent representatives of the museum world, such as Sir Eric MacLagan; Sir Cyril Fox (National Museum of Wales); S. F. Markham (author of the 1938 report); and others such as M. B. Hodge or S. D. Cleveland. See 'The Museums

Ministry of Reconstruction, the Museums Association published a final set of recommendations, highlighting the need for more funds, professional training and the development of museums along more systematic lines.⁶⁹⁷ Hendy had been elected member of the Council of the Association in 1942, and reported being involved in the arts section of the Museum's Association Sub-committee to prepare proposals, as well as in the Reconstruction Sub-committee in Leeds Council with the purpose of examining the situation of museums in Leeds and assessing their future needs.⁶⁹⁸ The Museums Association report called for 'better conditions of employment in order to maintain an adequate supply of suitably trained recruits', improved rates of pay and facilities for study, and argued that the museum service 'should not depend upon the chance recurrence of leisured volunteers'.⁶⁹⁹ Moreover, the report suggested that the Museums Association could bring coherence to the profession as it was 'competent to speak on behalf of British museums and art galleries in general'.⁷⁰⁰

Since the early 1940s, Hendy had also been informally associated with 'The Arts Enquiry', a private initiative launched in 1941 by the director of the Arts Department at Dartington Hall, Christopher Martin, in cooperation with the Nuffield College Social Reconstruction Survey, and funded by the Trustees of Dartington Hall.⁷⁰¹ Presided over by

Association. Annual Report 1942-1943. Report of the Council', *The Museums Journal*, 43:4 (July 1943), 59-63 (p. 60). See the annual reports of the Museums Association (in *The Museums Journal*) for details about the different committees that were constituted in this period.

⁶⁹⁷ 'Museums and Galleries – A National Service. A Survey of Proposals by the Museums Association', Submitted by the Council of the Museums Association (1945), p. 10.

⁶⁹⁸ Director's Report (21st February 1944), London, National Gallery, NGA3/1/1.

⁶⁹⁹ 'Museums and Galleries – A National Service. A Survey of Proposals by the Museums Association', Submitted by the Council of the Museums Association (1945), pp. 6-8.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁰¹ Among the Dartington Hall Trustees were Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst, the founders of this institution. Dartington Hall combined the study of art and science with experimental education and rural development, as noted by the cultural policy scholar Anna Upchurch. For an in-depth discussion of the Arts Inquiry and its several committees and reports (*The Visual Arts, The Factual Film, Music*) see Upchurch 2013, as well the recently published book Upchurch, Anna, *The Origins of the Arts Council Movement: Philanthropy and Policy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), especially chapters 3 and 4.

Julian Huxley as its chairman, this group counted on the (anonymous) collaboration of artists, museum directors, and policy-makers, Hendy being one of them.⁷⁰² One of the resulting reports, known as *The Visual Arts* (1946), made a plea for a strengthening of the arts and culture in post-war Britain and argued for ‘the establishment of two authoritative bodies’, a Design Council taking the place of the Council of Art and Industry and an Arts Council to further extend the work of CEMA.⁷⁰³ *The Visual Arts* was more comprehensive in scope than the official report by the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries (*Third Report*, 1948), whose review was national in its orientation.⁷⁰⁴ *The Visual Arts*, on the other hand, surveyed ‘the whole field of art in England, from the schoolroom where the young child is taught, to the gallery of the dealer selling products of the famous artist, from design room in factory to board room of art gallery’.⁷⁰⁵ Discussing the report in a broadcast after the war, Hendy noted that its recommendations were of ‘so much value’ precisely because they did not treat the problem of art galleries ‘in isolation’.⁷⁰⁶ Within the narrower field of museums, *The Visual Arts* report took into consideration both the production and reception of the arts and design, and dedicated sections to the educational role of galleries and art schools and their relationship with the public.⁷⁰⁷ Among its recommendations for art galleries were the

⁷⁰² Others included the artists Henry Moore and Barnett Freedman, the director of the National Gallery Sir Kenneth Clark, the director of Tate Gallery John Rothenstein, the designer Misha Black, the art director of CEMA Philip James, or the art critic Eric Newton. See Upchurch 2013, p. 7.

⁷⁰³ *The Visual Arts*, p. 9. Prior to the publication of *The Visual Arts*, the Council of Industrial Design (CoID) had been formed by the Board of Trade, and the contributors to *The Visual Arts* welcomed this appointment.

⁷⁰⁴ See Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, *Third Report: The National Museums and Galleries, the War years and after* (HSMO, 1948). See ‘National Museums and Galleries - The War Years and After’, *The Museums Journal*, 48:9 (December 1948), p. 190; and Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, *Fourth Report 1949-1953* (HSMO 1954).

⁷⁰⁵ Hendy, Philip, ‘A Square Deal for the Artist’, *The Listener*, 915, 25th July 1946, 101-102 (p. 101). An earlier manuscript for this broadcast can be found at the National Gallery, titled ‘The Place of the Arts in Modern Life’ (16th July 1946), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/15.

⁷⁰⁶ Hendy, ‘A Square Deal for the Artist’, p. 101.

⁷⁰⁷ *The Visual Arts*, see pp. 26-30 for the main conclusions of the report on this matter.

installation of simple and dynamic displays to stimulate the visitor's imagination, a building design that would encourage viewing, and areas destined for rest and relaxation.⁷⁰⁸

These demands for better planning in museums and galleries participated in wider concerns about the post-war future of Britain, and were underpinned by a reformist ideology that spanned the fields of administration, architecture, urban and social planning. As already indicated, numerous reconstruction schemes were being drawn up in the aftermath of the war, and most notoriously Abercrombie's *County of London Plan* had endeavoured to bring about post-war order through a balanced urban and rural development. After the war, physical destruction had proved, according to the historian Richard Hornsey, 'something of a catalyst, a moment of opportunity that would be seized by a range of affiliated actors whose agendas for social reform had been gathering momentum throughout the 1930s'.⁷⁰⁹ As the geographer David Matless has argued, '[o]n the city scale bombing opened up a space for reconstruction: for literal rebuilding, for symbolic renewal and for the exercise of a planning authority'.⁷¹⁰ This had been expressed most clearly in the plans and rebuilding of Coventry, a city that sustained extensive damage during the war and was redeveloped according to the principles of 'Modernist-inspired planning'.⁷¹¹ In 1948, the museum curator Charles Carter told colleagues of the Scottish Federation of Museums and Galleries that it was 'only in a planned economy that we will be able to ensure having the right kinds of museums in the right places [...]'.⁷¹² Similarly, in 1946 the then President of the Association,

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 148-149.

⁷⁰⁹ Hornsey, Richard, *The Spiv and the Architect: Unruly Life in Postwar London* (London; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), pp. 3-4.

⁷¹⁰ Matless, p. 208.

⁷¹¹ See Hubbard, Philip, Lucy Faire and Keith Lilley, 'Contesting the Modern City: Reconstruction and Everyday Life in Post-war Coventry', *Planning Perspectives*, 18 (October 2003), 377-397, for a re-assessment of the narrative of reconstruction in Coventry with regard to the popular consensus about its redevelopment plan.

⁷¹² Carter, Charles, 'The Museum in a Changing Society', *The Museums Journal*, 48:4 (July 1948), 66-71 (p. 68). At this point, Carter was the Director of the Art Gallery and Industrial Museum in Aberdeen.

Douglas A. Allan, reminded colleagues that in order to perform its function adequately, 'each museum, large or small, must adopt a plan and work it out'.⁷¹³

Such schemes were not merely the outcome of rationalised planning, however, and were often informed by visions that emphasised 'heightened moral or ethical' ideas about how post-war cities would evolve in the future, as has been argued in the case of the reconstruction of London by the historian Frank Mort.⁷¹⁴ In the context of museums, Hendy and other fellow practitioners rehearsed such moral arguments, often citing the 'humanising influence' of the visual arts for society's spiritual renewal and their ability to stimulate imagination and knowledge.⁷¹⁵ As *The Museums Journal's* report on reconstruction had put it, 'the art gallery [was] one of the most valuable agents for sustaining individuality in a society becoming organized more and more on mass lines'.⁷¹⁶ In the post-war years, the Spanish diplomat and historian Salvador de Madariaga advocated in the pages of the Association's journal that museums could teach people that 'what matters most in life is the useless' and demand spiritual nourishment in a society overly concerned with material utility.⁷¹⁷ Another colleague of the Museums Association argued that 'museums can be oases of individuality in a desert of uniformity for they are especially well-placed to proclaim that though men may be created equal they are seldom alike [...]'.⁷¹⁸ As such, museums were regarded as educational tools for the identification of cultural value and the recognition of cultural difference.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹³ Allan, Douglas A., 'Museums - Mutatis Mutandis', Presidential Address, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Museums Association, Brighton, 16th July 1946, *The Museums Journal*, 46:5 (August 1946), 81- 87 (p. 82).

⁷¹⁴ Mort, p. 123.

⁷¹⁵ *The Visual Arts*, p. 9.

⁷¹⁶ 'Museums and Galleries – A National Service. A Survey of Proposals by the Museums Association', Submitted by the Council of the Museums Association (1945), p. 10.

⁷¹⁷ Madariaga, Salvador de, 'Museums and Education', *The Museums Journal*, 45:8 (November 1945), 135-137 (p. 135).

⁷¹⁸ Carter 1948, p. 70.

⁷¹⁹ The concept of cultural 'value' must be handled with caution, as it relates to complex discussions in cultural policy about the instrumentalisation of the humanities and to critical debates about the

A second related argument to this envisioned moral duty of museums was that they could become instruments for cultural understanding in peacetime. Earlier attempts towards these common goals had been made after WWI with the Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (League of Nations), but this agenda became especially popularised after WWII through the work of the organisations UNESCO and ICOM.⁷²⁰ Both of these bodies had been founded in 1946 with the aim of fostering a culture of international exchange and cooperation worldwide.⁷²¹ UNESCO's involvement in museum matters was made through its 'Museum and Monuments Division' and its quarterly journal *Museum*, and was inspired by the belief, as Geoffrey Lewis has argued, that 'greater cultural understanding between the nations promotes peace'.⁷²² As observed in an UNESCO publication, museums illustrated the originality and diversity of different 'nations' and simultaneously pointed to the higher unity of art which knew 'no frontiers and [expressed] the aspirations of all men toward a finer civilization'.⁷²³ In his years as director of the National Gallery, Hendy was engaged with the work of both UNESCO and ICOM, publishing a number of articles in *Museum*, as a founding

ontology of 'culture'. For the former see *Humanities in the Twenty-first Century: Beyond Utility and Markets*, ed. by Eleonora Belfiore and Anna Upchurch (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), especially the introduction; and Belfiore 2002. For studies on the meaning of 'culture' see Williams, Raymond, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1958); Williams, Raymond, 'Culture is Ordinary' in *The Everyday Reader*, ed. by Ben Highmore (London; New York: Routledge, 2002); Williams, Raymond, 'The Uses of Cultural Theory', *New Left Review*, 158 (1986).

⁷²⁰ This is not to say that previously museums - particularly national collections and those located in urban contexts - did not participate in international networks of exchange prior to the two World Wars. This growing field of research is amply demonstrated in the recent volume *The Museum is Open* 2014. See especially the chapter by Christina Kott, 'The German Museum Curators and the International Museums Office, 1926-1937', pp. 205-218; and by Alessandra Galizzi Kroegel, 'The Journal *Mouseion* as a Means of Transnational Culture, Guglielmo Paccioni and the Dawn of the "Modern Museum" in Italy', pp. 89-100.

⁷²¹ Lewis 1984, p. 18.

⁷²² Ibid. As part of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, the International Museums Office operated during 1926-1946, and its journal *Mouseion* was published from 1926 until 1945.

⁷²³ Leymarie, Jean, *Art Museums in Need* (Paris; New York: Unesco, 1949), p. 15. Jean Leymarie was a French art historian and museum curator, and was probably commissioned this publication by UNESCO (its foreword was authored by Unesco's Director General, Jaime Torres Bodet). By 1956 the faith in the international currency of museums continued to be restated in UNESCO's journal *Museum*, and the recognised museum specialist Georges Salles wrote that 'museums are most advantageously placed' as 'the only place in the world where, with the object as interpreter, a language is spoken that everyone can understand. And this universal language is that of knowledge'. See Salles, Georges, 'Unesco's Tenth Anniversary: A Review of its Work for Museums, Sites and Monuments', *Museum*, 9:3 (1956), 133-137 (p. 133).

member of the Care of Paintings Commission in 1948 and in a later period as ICOM's President (1959-65). He would therefore have been thoroughly versed in such discourses which saw in museums the potential to raise the level of education and enable citizens to 'enjoy a higher standard of life' and 'play their part in a modern world community'.⁷²⁴ As Hendy himself argued, the work of the museum director was 'part of the fight for democracy'.⁷²⁵

In parallel with their professionalising efforts, many in the museum world therefore felt that their educational task would require museums and art galleries to adapt to the needs of their users. As Hendy believed, in order to survive 'as a really living force', museums had to become 'the real inspiration to the community' and 'serve the public at large [...]'.⁷²⁶ As he put it, the 'museum man' should be humble before the public and it was 'a condition of our own progress that we leave off the pedantic frown, that we avoid the sanctimonious hush'.⁷²⁷ This corresponded with the wider view expressed by other colleagues in the Museum Association that museums should steer clear of the perception that they were luxuries appealing 'to the tastes of a marginal public', and instead emerge as organisations responsive to contemporary demands that served the 'whole community'.⁷²⁸ In his Presidential Address to the Museums Association in 1946, Douglas A. Allan urged colleagues to adapt to a world that had 'changed with bewildering rapidity', to avoid 'discouraging

⁷²⁴ Huxley, Julian, *Report of the Director General on the Activities of the Organisation 1947* (Paris: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Unesco, 1947), p. 12. See also Huxley's second report, *Report of the Director General on the Organization in 1948* (Paris: Unesco, 1948). This has a section dedicated to Museums (pp. 66-67), and states that the journal *Museum* 'serves to bring the aims of UNESCO to the attention of museums throughout the world' (p. 66).

⁷²⁵ Hendy, Philip, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', *The Museums Journal*, 52:7 (October 1952), 167-175 (p. 174). Hendy was here citing a book by Walter Pach on 'the history and ideals of American museums', possibly referring to *The Art Museum in America* (New York: Pantheon, 1948). This article was based on a paper read at the Museums Association Conference in Oxford on 22nd July 1952. This script can be found in the archive at the National Gallery (London), NGA3/4/3/6.

⁷²⁶ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 169.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁷²⁸ Carter 1948, p. 67.

uniformity' and to 'experiment in finding the methods which attract, and which stimulate'.⁷²⁹ The rise of other forms of popular leisure and entertainment such as the cinema, radio and later television were implicated in these arguments, and as *The Museums Journal* warned, 'the art gallery [could] no longer afford to work in isolation from the whole field of activity of which it is part'.⁷³⁰ Museums were therefore placed in a double-bind, on the one hand seeking to promote the cultivation of the individual and encourage inter-cultural understanding by reforming attitudes, and on the other being conscious of their need to appeal to a wider audience base through more popular and familiar tactics.

While these debates were not unheard of in the pre-war period, as discussed in chapters 1 and 2, they gained a special momentum after 1945.⁷³¹ In the eyes of reformers, the arts and culture had gained unprecedented popularity during the war, through the work of such bodies as CEMA, the BIAE and ENSA, which, it was argued, had given 'a great stimulus to the service that museums and art galleries render to the general public'.⁷³² This argument was reinforced by rising attendances in museums after the war, as such figures were deemed to provide, as *The Visual Arts* reported, 'a fair indication of the standard and vitality of an institution'.⁷³³ At the National Gallery, for example, attendance in 1949 had nearly doubled by comparison to the pre-war years.⁷³⁴ An editorial in *The Museums Journal* likewise noted

⁷²⁹ Allan 1946, pp. 81, 83-84. Regarding experimentation, Allan was referring specifically to the labels, but overall he was critical of the 'drabness' and 'monotony' of museums (pp. 82, 84), and called for a principle of change or 'mutatis mutandis' (p. 87).

⁷³⁰ Book review of *The Visual Arts*, *The Museums Journal*, 46:6 (September 1946), p. 115.

⁷³¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 63-104, and Chapter 2, pp. 105-149. The origins of such discussions arguably hark back to the turn of the century in the USA, and the chief theories identified with Benjamin I. Gilman at the MFA, known as 'aesthetic', and John Cotton Dana's 'educational' proposals at Newark Museum, as noted in chapter 1.

⁷³² 'Policy in the Post-war Period, The Museums Association Annual Report, 1944-1945, Report of the Council', *The Museums Journal*, 45:4 (July 1945), 67-70 (p. 70).

⁷³³ *The Visual Arts*, p. 144. *The Visual Arts* reported that visitor figures to different national museums for three different years (1913, 1928, 1937) had shown an upward trend between 1913 and 1928, but were comparatively low in 1937, the 30s being the decade in which cinema had become a major mainstream amusement. See *The Visual Arts*, p. 144. The figures for the National Gallery specifically were 617,892 (1913), 669,408 (1928) and 630,358 (1937).

⁷³⁴ The recorded visitor attendance figures at the National Gallery were 1,004,678 in 1949, which was nearly twice as much as those of the mid-to-late 1930s: 528,444 (1935); 614,446 (1936);

that if museums now made the news this was a symptom of the widening interest in the arts.⁷³⁵ Yet these figures need to be read with caution, as this expansion of visitor numbers was uneven across the years so that although they reached a peak at the Gallery in 1949 of 1,004,678 visitors, they gradually decreased in subsequent years, reaching a low of 875,552 in 1955.⁷³⁶ Thereafter, visitor numbers expanded once more and remained relatively steady until 1960: 1,192,678 (1956); 1,178,602 (1957); 1,174,506 (1958); 1,154,342 (1959); and 1,147,226 (1960).⁷³⁷ In any case, these figures do not diminish the fact that a new awareness had instilled in many museum professionals the desire to look outwards beyond their scholarly pursuits.

In order to succeed in its task of attracting the public, the art gallery would have to enlist the wider public in its project of reform. As we shall see, in the years that followed the end of WWII the National Gallery not only launched a scheme to institute new professional methods, but retooled this expertise as a public service, deploying different display strategies that were deemed more accessible, espousing new forms of publicity and transforming the architectural environment to induce visitor comfort and leisure. This was part of a wider trend, and Norton-Westbrook has argued that the post-war period 'saw a large-scale reorientation of the museum's aims toward public service' both among individual institutions and professional museum organizations such as the Museums Association and ICOM.⁷³⁸ In

620,035 (1937); 628,548 (1938). See the Excel file titled 'National Gallery Attendance Figures 1856-present' in Exhibitions Information File, London, National Gallery.

⁷³⁵ 'Home or Away', *The Museums Journal*, 49:2 (May 1949), p. 25.

⁷³⁶ See biennial reports for these years: *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954* (London: National Gallery, Balding and Mansell, 1955); *The National Gallery, July 1956 - June 1958* (London: Publications Department, National Gallery, The Curwen Press, 1958). These figures are confirmed in 'National Gallery Attendance Figures 1856-present'.

⁷³⁷ See the Gallery biennial reports for these years: *The National Gallery, July 1958 - December 1959* (London: Publications Department, National Gallery, William Clowes and Sons, 1960); and *The National Gallery, January 1960 - May 1962* (London: Publications Department, National Gallery, William Clowes and Sons, 1962). In subsequent years, visitor figures alternately increased and decreased: 1,318,554 (1961); 1,547,020 (1962); 1,236,807 (1963); 1,230,465 (1964); 1,486,915 (1965); 1,520,621 (1966). See Biennial Reports 1962-1964; 1965-1966.

⁷³⁸ Norton-Westbrook 2015, p. 346.

1949, UNESCO's journal *Museum* dedicated a special issue to the theme 'Museums in the Service of All'.⁷³⁹ Among the tenets promoted in this issue were that scholarly curators should be 'replaced by men of action' who could make use of 'effective publicity for themselves'.⁷⁴⁰ Also recognised was the need for museums to build and sustain a public, making use of the press, public relations, and other wide-reaching media such as radio and television.⁷⁴¹ Articles in *The Museums Journal* similarly stressed the educational role of museums, and in 1948 the then President of the Museums Association, Frank Lambert, reminded delegates that 'our overriding, obligation is to the general public, who after all support our institutions and pay our salaries [...]'.⁷⁴²

However mutually dependent these two aims of professionalisation and democratisation appeared to Hendy and like-minded museum workers, they were not always reconcilable. This tension will be examined in the following chapters through specific case-studies. As we shall see, this dual attention to issues surrounding professionalisation and democratisation greatly influenced Hendy's endeavours to change the Gallery's curatorial and conservation policies and its organisational structure as he set it on the path of reconstruction. As director, Hendy sought to refigure, though not always successfully, different aspects of the Gallery and to construct for it the public image of a modern institution that kept abreast with changing times and which responded to the needs of the profession and of the public. In this manner, Hendy wanted to redress the public's engagement with the Gallery by generating new forms, or making innovative use of already existing forms, of visual access to the collection through strategies of display, architectural remodelling, and public information about its activities.

⁷³⁹ 'Museums in the Service of All', *Museum*, 2:4 (1949), 141-247.

⁷⁴⁰ Leveillé, André, 'The Crusade for Museums', *Museum*, 2:4 (1949), 197-198 (p. 198).

⁷⁴¹ Several articles in 'Museums in the Service of All'.

⁷⁴² Lambert, Frank, 'Presidential Address', delivered at the Museums Association Annual Conference, Cardiff, 13th July 1948, *The Museums Journal*, 48:5 (August 1948), 89-96 (p. 93).

Chapter 3: Post-war experimentalism at the National Gallery (1946-1947)

The present chapter focuses on the ways in which in the immediate post-war period (1946-1947), Hendy responded to the debates in the museum world addressed in the previous discussion, both in Britain and internationally, by seeking to replace traditional curatorial practice at the National Gallery with avowedly experimental and popularising displays. It specifically examines the manner in which such temporary experiments provided a new basis for the public viewership of paintings that was deemed more democratic. Such new methods drew on wartime experimentalism to reassert the Gallery's theme of reinvention as a key process of its post-war modernising efforts. The chapter focuses on two examples - Hendy's immediate rehang after the war (1946), and the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' (1947) - as independent yet related case-studies both of which aimed at attracting a wider public as well as advancing a professional agenda for modernising the Gallery.

First, the chapter considers how novel art historical narratives were inscribed in Hendy's temporary rehang, reversing display taxonomies inherited from the nineteenth-century museum that had been based on national or regional divisions of its holdings of paintings. Instead, Hendy's so-called 'daring juxtapositions' sought to open up the museum to wider audiences by replacing this earlier pedagogical vision of history with a 'new' aesthetic ideal thought capable of inducing pleasure and empathy as a more accessible form of engagement with artworks.⁷⁴³ Moreover, these displays celebrated a new kind of modernity that separated itself from tropes of nationalism that were associated with WWII and preceding eras, and instead heralded art as a universal medium for self-improvement.

⁷⁴³ The term 'daring juxtapositions', which is used later in this chapter, has been taken from an editorial in *The Burlington Magazine* that was critical of the attempts made by Hendy at the National Gallery to group pictures in a manner different to the schools paradigm. Hendy also referred to his mixed displays as 'juxtapositions'. See 'Italian Museums and the National Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 92:572 (November 1950), London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9, p. 307.

Secondly, the chapter considers the popular (and popularising) ‘Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures’ of 1947 as a cogent example of the Gallery’s intended programme of emancipatory viewership. It does so by exploring the ways in which a distinct rhetoric about access and openness was mobilised in the National Gallery in tandem with its programme of professionalisation. As a result, it sheds light on the rhetorical devices employed by the Gallery in the exhibition, as well as in its related press activity and official publications, to address how it intended to empower visitors in the act of looking at pictures while shaping their practices of visiting and viewership.

Wartime damage and post-war experiment

In 1948, Markham published a survey of public museums in Britain which registered the disappearance of 160 such institutions between 1938 and 1947, as figures had dropped from 780 to 620.⁷⁴⁴ While such closures were the result of multiple causes and indeed many museums had died ‘a natural death’ before 1939, Markham observed, this process had been accelerated during the war as museums had been damaged or destroyed by enemy action and occupied by national or local government departments.⁷⁴⁵ In the regions, Markham noted that the museum in Liverpool had been blitzed in 1941, while in Bristol, the museum had been completely destroyed by fire, and its gallery extensively damaged after a bomb burst inside it.⁷⁴⁶ Among the London museums, Markham recorded that as late as 1947 some were still being used by the government for non-museum purposes, such as the Museum of London (about 79% of its premises were occupied by the Ministry of Works); the National Maritime Museum whose East wing was in use by the Admiralty; the Science Museum,

⁷⁴⁴ Markham, Sydney Frank, *Directory of Museums and Art Galleries of the British Isles* (London: The Museums Association, 1948), p. v.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. vi-vii.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

temporary home to the Post Office and the Ministry of Food, and the Bruce Castle Museum, a part of which continued to be used by the Home Office.⁷⁴⁷ The damage in London had been considerable, and the Battersea Museum and its art gallery had been destroyed, Dulwich College and its gallery of paintings had been very seriously damaged, while the Tate Gallery had been so severely bombed that it remained closed for the entire duration of the war.⁷⁴⁸ Indeed, in his autobiography, Tate's wartime director John Rothenstein noted that it 'had suffered severer damage than any other art gallery or museum in London from both explosive and incendiary bombs' and that 'rain falling into the building open to the sky completed what blast and fire had begun'.⁷⁴⁹ What is more, Tate would experience severe staffing problems and was unable to recruit any formally trained staff during the first years of peacetime.⁷⁵⁰ At the close of the war, the British Museum had only reopened one gallery on the north side while the post-war director of the V&A, Leigh Ashton, was said to have inherited an 'empty museum'.⁷⁵¹

The National Gallery shared the fate of such major London museums, and had sustained significant wartime damage particularly after the raids of May 1941, with a total of nine bombs hitting it over the course of the conflict.⁷⁵² As a result, Gallery XXVI was completely destroyed and the entire West Wing rendered virtually inaccessible [Figures 41-

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. vi-vii. Markham includes more museums and art galleries in this list, both in London and in other towns such as Bath, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Oxford and Peterborough.

⁷⁴⁸ 'State of Art Museums in War Devastated Countries', *Museum*, 2:2 (1949), 73-75 (p. 73); and Bosman, p. 70.

⁷⁴⁹ 'State of Art Museums in War Devastated Countries', p. 73; and Rothenstein, John, *Brave Day, Hideous Night. 1935-1965* (London: Hamilton, 1966), pp. 166-167. For Rothenstein's account of the immediate post-war period see chapter 12 'New Beginnings' (pp. 165-185).

⁷⁵⁰ Rothenstein 1966, pp. 166-167.

⁷⁵¹ 'State of Art Museums in War Devastated Countries', p. 73; 'Reopening the British Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 46:4 (July 1946), p. 57; and Burton, p. 195.

⁷⁵² The Gallery was closed only for a short period, between 24th August and 10th October 1939, and then remained open except for one day due to a bomb threat. See Bosman, pp. 35-72, and 'The National Gallery 1938-48, Report to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries [unrevised]' London, National Gallery, NG25/20, p. 3. For a more extensive treatment of the subject of the destruction of the Gallery and other museums in Britain see especially Bosman, and for more general histories see Lambourne; Markham 1948; and *The Bombed Buildings of Britain*, ed. by James M. Richards, with notes by John Summerson (London: Architectural Press, 1947). Lambourne addresses Western Europe, and includes Britain in this account as well.

42]. In his unpublished autobiography, the former Assistant Keeper Cecil Gould recounted the effects of destruction:

During the raids [...] all the skylights in all the exhibition rooms had been damaged by shrapnel. None of them had preserved more than about a quarter of their glass. The missing areas had been boarded over. Naturally no redecoration had been done since the war – in most cases long before it. The ancient Lincrusta wallpapers, with their patterns in relief, which featured in most of the rooms, were now heavily stained where water had come through the holes in the roof.⁷⁵³

After the war, the Gallery necessitated a much-needed scheme of rebuilding and redecoration, but Hendy faced the more pressing task of re-housing a collection of 2,000 paintings and displaying a portion of it under severe physical constraints. Plans to return the paintings from Wales had begun in October 1944, and by December 1945 the entire collection was back in Trafalgar Square.⁷⁵⁴ The closure of rooms in the West Wing had left accommodation at close to half its pre-war capacity, and in January 1946, Hendy reported that only nineteen rooms of the twenty-nine in the main floor were in use.⁷⁵⁵ These were for the most part located in the East Wing, beginning with Gallery I and continuing eastwards, but visitor circulation remained a crude and immediate problem as Galleries VI and VII were inaccessible [Figure 43].⁷⁵⁶ Even in the opened galleries the situation was unsatisfactory, and only Gallery X had ‘as much as half of its glass’, while some galleries had almost none and

⁷⁵³ Gould, Cecil, ‘Tosca’s Creed’ (1992), London, National Gallery, NG17/3/14 (this is a revised version of the manuscript; the reference for the final draft is NG17/3/12).

⁷⁵⁴ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, pp. 17-18, 21.

⁷⁵⁵ The plan depicting the bombed areas shows that there were 29 rooms in the main floor (including the destroyed room 26, but excluding the Mond and Duveen Galleries), so the figures here may not be exact. The Board Minutes of 11th July 1946 noted 32 rooms on the main floor (London, National Gallery Archive, NG1/12). In the undated article ‘Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage’, Hendy stated that ‘out of the 27 rooms on the main floor only 13 can now be opened to the public’. These different figures can only give an approximation of the circumstances after the war. See Hendy, ‘Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage’.

⁷⁵⁶ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 21.

instead had ceilings patched up with a variety of materials that were not impermeable to air and dirt.⁷⁵⁷

Given such circumstances, plans for reconstruction had to be drawn up, and in mid-January 1946 Hendy informed the Trustees that they would have to vote between regaining 'use of the entire building but under unsatisfactory conditions now present in the reopened galleries [in the east wing]' or 'restoring a reasonable proportion of the whole to the highest possible standard'.⁷⁵⁸ Hendy argued that overall 'it was very much more important to aim at a high standard of quality in the rooms, than of quantity'.⁷⁵⁹ As Hendy saw it, it would be far better 'to stimulate the public by the finest possible presentation than to offer it at once the whole collection shown under the sordid conditions of the present'.⁷⁶⁰ This was related to his view that '[w]ith London looking so battered, the redecoration is needed at least as much for its psychological effect as for a background to the pictures'.⁷⁶¹ This demand for quality over quantity had been argued on similar grounds in 1945 by Salvador de Madariaga in *The Museums Journal*, who felt museums should fight for quality and for what was unique as a foil to a culture that was becoming more uniform and driven by demands for quantity, but arguably also and at the same time, by the imperative to economise.⁷⁶² As Hendy's arguments were backed by Lord John Maynard Keynes, then Director of the Arts Council of

⁷⁵⁷ Hendy, Extract from Director's Memorandum 18th January 1946 in document 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁹ Hendy, Philip, Extracts from Minutes 31st January 1946, section titled 'Restoration and Maintenance of the Building', in document 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2. See also Board Minutes (31st January 1946), London, National Gallery, NG1/12.

⁷⁶⁰ Hendy, Extracts from Director's Memorandum 18th January 1946 in document 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2.

⁷⁶¹ Hendy, Philip, 'Art – The National Gallery', *Britain To-day*, October 1946, 32-33, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/3, p. 33. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Hendy was a regular contributor to *Britain To-day*, a journal treating cultural and political subjects, which included other contributors such as the poet and essayist Stephen Spender, the art critic David Sylvester, the writer Clough Williams-Ellis, and the journalist Ivor Brown.

⁷⁶² Madariaga, p. 136. Madariaga is ambiguous on this point, but it seems that he is referring to the question of individuality against a culture increasingly organised along mass lines.

Great Britain, and 'Lord Herbert' (possibly referring the Deputy Prime Minister Labour politician Herbert Morrison), his plans won the approval of the Trustees by the end of January 1946.⁷⁶³

If quantity was to be sacrificed for the sake of quality, however, this would mean that the public would be unable to see an extensive part of the collection, and indeed immediately after the war a mere 250 paintings were on display.⁷⁶⁴ While this was soon increased to 400, with the reopening of Galleries VI and VII, this figure still represented only a fifth of the entire collection and less than half the number of paintings on show before the war.⁷⁶⁵ In order to make the best of these dire circumstances, Hendy proposed that by implementing regular changes in the hang the whole collection could be seen over the course of a few years, and that these changes might encourage public opinion to support the Gallery in demanding further space for it in the future.⁷⁶⁶ As a result, Hendy treated the temporary rehang of the permanent collection experimentally, breaking away from the conventional arrangement of pictures according to their schools and instead juxtaposing paintings of similar periods but different regional/national contexts.⁷⁶⁷ It was precisely because 'all the proposals were merely in the nature of experiments' that Hendy enjoyed more freedom to alter the curatorial logic of the Gallery in the years that immediately followed the war.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶³ Hendy, Extracts from Minutes 31st January 1946, section titled 'Restoration and Maintenance of the Building', in document 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2. See also Board Minutes (31st January 1946), London, National Gallery, NG1/12.

⁷⁶⁴ See Hendy, 'Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage'.

⁷⁶⁵ Note that these are only approximate figures. See Hendy, 'Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage'. See also Hendy, Philip, 'Director's Report 10th October 1946', London, National Gallery, NG25/18.

⁷⁶⁶ Hendy, Extracts from Director's Memorandum 18th January 1946 in document 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2.

⁷⁶⁷ Hendy, 'Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage'.

⁷⁶⁸ Hendy, Extracts from Minutes 31st January 1946, section titled 'Restoration and Maintenance of the Building', in the document, 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2. See also Board Minutes (31st January 1946), London, National Gallery, NG1/12.

Rehanging the post-war Gallery

In the absence of photographic evidence, it is minutes of meetings, correspondence, Hendy's writings, reports and press cuttings that provide an invaluable source for visualising his unconventional rehang of 1946. In October of that year, Hendy presented a rough summary of the newly completed displays to the Trustees, indicating that the centre of the Gallery had shifted away from Gallery I to the Dome, which now housed large Italian altarpieces.⁷⁶⁹ Rather than filling the Dome's radiating galleries with 'Renaissance pictures', these four rooms (IV, VIII, XI, XVI) had 'the best of the smaller fifteenth century pictures of four groups: Florentine, Venetian, Flemish and German'.⁷⁷⁰ Hendy was especially proud of Gallery X, which was hung with Venetian sixteenth-century pictures, and 'a few deriving from them' – works by El Greco, Rubens, and Poussin.⁷⁷¹ Invoking a similar principle of mixture, Hendy noted that Gallery VII could be given to the Flemish, Dutch and Spanish pictures of the seventeenth century, which required the strongest light and richest background.⁷⁷² Thus, Hendy informed the Trustees that while the 'traditional grouping of schools' had been largely maintained, 'a good many exceptions have been made, partly for the sake of a more harmonious and stimulating ensemble and partly for the sake of historical truth, to show that the spirit of the time is usually more important than national boundaries, and that ideas can transcend both'.⁷⁷³

In the press, reactions to the new hang focused primarily on Hendy's untraditional displays, and ranged from positive appraisals to ironic scepticism. It became clear, as the *Manchester Daily Dispatch* reported, that 'Mr Hendy has decided to break away from the

⁷⁶⁹ Hendy, 'Director's Report 10th October 1946', London, National Gallery, NG25/18. In this report, Hendy writes that there is a plan indicating such changes with red marking, however this plan has not been found in the archive. See also Board Minutes (10th October 1946), London, National Gallery, NG1/12.

⁷⁷⁰ Hendy, 'Director's Report 10th October 1946', London, National Gallery, NG25/18.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*

tradition of hanging pictures strictly by schools. Instead, pictures will be grouped to show the trend in the art in different parts of Europe'.⁷⁷⁴ The conception underlying these changes was to show, as *The Museums Journal* put it, 'how much artists of the same period had in common'.⁷⁷⁵ *The Times* informed the reader that 'one can now see bacchanals by Titian and Poussin side by side, the early Velázquez beside Caravaggio, the late Velázquez beside de Hoogh'.⁷⁷⁶ Moreover, observers would be confronted by 'Chardin beside Hogarth, Hobbema and Ruisdael on either side of Crome'.⁷⁷⁷ As Hendy had suggested to the Trustees, Galleries VI and VII, which had previously housed Venetian pictures now contained paintings by British, Dutch and Spanish masters.⁷⁷⁸ Yet another example were the two views of London by Canaletto, lent by the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, which hung on one wall with English pictures painted at the same date, as *The Times* reported.⁷⁷⁹ In a less positive review, *The Guardian* complained about the way in which Holbein's *Ambassadors* (NG1314) resembled policemen in fancy costume who pretended not to notice Bronzino's highly sensual *Venus and Cupid* hanging besides them (NG651), and it further highlighted how the pair looked prosaic in front of the conscious rhythm of Uccello's battle scene (NG583) [Figures 44-46].⁷⁸⁰ Similar objections were made to the juxtaposition which placed religious works next to mythologies, not to mention their different period and place of execution, as was the case with Titian's *Christ and the Magdalen* (which we can presume to have been *Noli Me Tangere*, NG270), which hung beside Ruben's *The Rape of the Sabine Women* (NG38) [Figures 47-48],

⁷⁷⁴ *Manchester Daily Dispatch*, 14th August 1946, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/11.

⁷⁷⁵ 'National Gallery: Further Reopening', *The Museums Journal*, 46:8 (November 1946), p. 154, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/11.

⁷⁷⁶ *The Times*, 10th August 1946, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/11.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁸ *Manchester Daily Dispatch*, 14th August 1946, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/11. In his report to the Trustees, Hendy does not note that there were British paintings in Gallery VII, so it could be that these paintings were in Gallery VI only. As no photographs have been found, it is impossible to establish this with certainty. Another possibility is that the press was misinformed.

⁷⁷⁹ *The Times*, 10th August 1946, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/11.

⁷⁸⁰ 'National Gallery: Pictures Old and New', *The Guardian*, 6th September 1946, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/11. The dates for these artists are: Holbein (1497-1543); Bronzino (1503-1547); and Uccello (1397-1475).

or El Greco's *Purification of the Temple* (NG1457) which had been placed beside Titian's *Venus and Adonis* (NG34).⁷⁸¹

Charles Saumarez Smith has rightly pinpointed the 'duality' of Hendy's concern 'for the look of paintings on the one hand, influenced by his modernist aesthetic; and, on the other hand, by the intellectual logic of following the *zeitgeist* rather than a layout dominated by national schools'.⁷⁸² As noted earlier, Hendy himself had proclaimed his intention to make a 'harmonious and stimulating ensemble' and to reflect 'the spirit of the time'.⁷⁸³ However, Saumarez Smith's broad characterisation does not fully account for the ideas that underpinned Hendy's museographical programme. Arguably, there were two interrelated but distinct components to Hendy's approach, and they were informed as much by the post-war thinking about museums and the profession after this major international conflict as they revealed a concern with democratising access to the collection through changes in display. As will be argued, in their two distinct ways both revealed an increasingly outward and instrumental orientation of the Gallery, and Hendy noted that the new hang 'might be of more use to the world in its present condition than the old method of emphasising the boundaries [...]'.⁷⁸⁴ On the one hand, Hendy felt that the national school arrangement jarred with the desire for peaceful coexistence among democratic states after World War II, and on the other, its strict geographical demarcation and chronological periodisation were at odds with the aesthetic curatorial paradigm which Hendy advocated as part of his democratising pursuits in the museum. Each aspect will now be considered in turn.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid. The dates for these artists are: Titian (1490-1576); Rubens (1577-1640); and El Greco (1600-1634).

⁷⁸² Saumarez Smith, Charles, *The National Gallery: A Short History* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2009), p. 134.

⁷⁸³ Hendy, 'Director's Report 10th October 1946', London, National Gallery, NG25/18.

⁷⁸⁴ Hendy, Philip, *Spanish Painting* (London: Avalon Press & Central Institute of Art & Design, 1946), p. 5.

Hendy's 'daring juxtapositions'

In his displays, Hendy had favoured 'daring juxtapositions' that brought together the work of artists of similar periods but of diverse geographical origins unified under a common European identity. In his opinion, there had been 'some historical distortions – in the traditional method of hanging pictures strictly according to "schools"'.⁷⁸⁵ On at least three occasions, Hendy restated that geographical genealogies were taxing, for 'period has always been more significant than place', by which he implied that nation-states had often developed after the date of production of many of the paintings in the collection.⁷⁸⁶ For instance, Hendy argued that artists such as Rogier Van der Weyden (c. 1400-1464, Brussels) or Giovanni Bellini (1430 – 1516, Venice) had more in common, in belonging to the fifteenth century, than Van der Weyden and his later compatriot Rubens (1577 – 1640), who despite being of the same country belonged to completely different periods and thus had had no direct exchange at all.⁷⁸⁷

In pursuing this line of thinking, Hendy was reacting to the conventional display format that had shaped the Gallery's curatorial policy since the mid-nineteenth century and which was primarily identified with the legacy of the Gallery's first Director, Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (1793-1865).⁷⁸⁸ As Whitehead has noted, the perception that the museum should act as a 'civilising and socialising force' had involved a departure in the 1850s from eighteenth-century modes of decorative display.⁷⁸⁹ The lay public was to be instructed in the historiography of paintings, and this task was made possible by arranging the pictures by

⁷⁸⁵ Hendy, 'Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage'.

⁷⁸⁶ Hendy, Philip, 'Changes at the National Gallery', *Britain To-day*, August 1950, 26-29, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9, p. 27. Similar arguments were voiced by Hendy in 'Art – The National Gallery', p. 33; and 'Exhibition at Grantham: Of Works by Famous British Artists', *Grantham Journal*, 10th May 1940, Leeds, Temple Newsam, 'Press Cuttings'.

⁷⁸⁷ Hendy, 'Changes at the National Gallery', p. 27.

⁷⁸⁸ For a discussion of Eastlake's directorship at the National Gallery see Avery-Quash and Sheldon; Klonk 2000; Whitehead 2009; Whitehead 2005b.

⁷⁸⁹ Whitehead 2005b, pp. 5-6.

chronology and school. These orderly and systematic displays replaced the hang of the private collection, whose unhistorical character was associated with the cultured amateur.⁷⁹⁰ In all likelihood, Eastlake was influenced by the art historian and museum director Gustav Friedrich Waagen, who in 1853 published the essay 'Thoughts on the New Building to be Erected for the National Gallery of England, and on the Arrangement, Preservation, and Enlargement of the Collection'.⁷⁹¹ This text, Whitehead has written, proposed a system of classification for the museum that was 'based around individual artists, their relations with their school (or schools [...]), and the complex balance of factors in the determination of an individual artist's style – the cyclical relation of instruction, artistic influence, and independent innovation and contribution'.⁷⁹² This arrangement had remained unchallenged for nearly a century, and Hendy's predecessor Kenneth Clark seems to have found it agreeable, as his 'Notes on Reconstruction and Post-war Plans' stipulated that '[t]he present Director cannot envisage any drastic rearrangement of the pictures'.⁷⁹³

In October 1946, Hendy recognised that museums had practical reasons for retaining this 'almost universal practice of national "school" hang'.⁷⁹⁴ In employing this system, the gallery was segmented 'into water-tight compartments, and, when it is so divided, a new acquisition can be introduced into one part with less danger of causing disturbance to the whole'.⁷⁹⁵ This meant that the pictures of great size tended to become 'fixed' and so 'attract round them the smaller fry of the same nationality'.⁷⁹⁶ In the contemporary context of the National Gallery, with its space reduced to half, it was 'not possible to return to the old plan;

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 7-8. Whitehead argues that the development of such displays based on 'modern connoisseurship' were 'unequivocally, if partially, determined by the political choice to popularize the museum in order to educate the masses' (p. 8).

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., p. 18.

⁷⁹² Ibid.

⁷⁹³ 'Note on Reconstruction and Post-war Plans', London, National Gallery, NG25/17.

⁷⁹⁴ Hendy, 'Art – The National Gallery', p. 33.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

or even to any part of it', Hendy observed.⁷⁹⁷ Rather, he noted, 'only the very best' would be hung and it was not possible to fill any of the largest rooms with masterpieces of any one national school.⁷⁹⁸ Furthermore, Hendy went on to suggest that the national school method suffered from 'vices' which made it unsatisfactory, and noted 'the political undesirability of emphasising at the present moment the boundaries of vision which have kept men apart'.⁷⁹⁹ Instead, it was necessary to show that 'what they have had in common has been much more important', for even 'in the most unsettled times artists have always moved about Europe with the greatest freedom [...]'.⁸⁰⁰ As Hendy saw it, 'we might understand history better if our great national collections were less nationalistic in their arrangement'.⁸⁰¹ In making this argument, Hendy was implying that artistic exchange was untrammelled by national boundaries, and that Eastlake's school divisions had been dictated less by historical fact than by scholarly convention and curatorial pragmatism. Contrariwise, Hendy's juxtapositions represented the interconnectedness of artistic production through pan-European displays.

Arguably, these 'daring juxtapositions' were not simply a debunking of previous curatorial methods, and it is worth noting the resemblance of Hendy's rhetoric with the language employed in publications of the newly-founded international organisations UNESCO and ICOM during the same period. In 1949, Hendy wrote to the General Secretary of the Fabian Society, Andrew Filson, and defended the rehang on the basis that '[t]here is an almost political aspect which I should have thought a good Fabian would be the first to appreciate. Art is one of the things which has always flowed over nationalist boundaries'.⁸⁰² Indeed, as he put it, 'Goya and Gainsborough and Longhi and Perronneau are all much more alike than Goya and El Greco or Longhi and Michelangelo or Perronneau and Poussin or

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁰¹ Hendy, *Spanish Painting*, p. 5.

⁸⁰² Hendy, Philip, letter to Andrew Filson (15th March 1949), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

Gainsborough and Dobson'.⁸⁰³ Acting as UNESCO's 'clearing-house' on museography, ICOM aligned itself with this cause and the 1950 editorial of its magazine *ICOM News* encouraged museums to cease 'as far as possible, to arrange their exhibitions in separate sections devoted to their major "national" and "foreign" schools, but instead set the works of different countries produced in successive periods side by side, thus breaking down a number of artificial divisions'.⁸⁰⁴ Along these lines, UNESCO's constitution of 1946 had highlighted its purpose to 'collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication' and to 'recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image'.⁸⁰⁵ In 1950, the 'Museums and Monuments Division' of UNESCO had in this way called museums to join in the realisation of UNESCO's aims 'to contribute to peace and security by providing collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture'.⁸⁰⁶

These messages relied on a far-reaching discourse about the role of democratic states in the post-World War II era for ensuring international peace and extending global citizenship. In the UNESCO publication *Art Museums in Need*, the art historian Jean Leymarie expressed the view that museums were 'exceptionally well qualified to foster international understanding', illustrating as they did the originality and diversity of 'nations' and, simultaneously, 'the higher unity of art which knows no frontiers and expresses the aspirations of all men toward a finer civilization'.⁸⁰⁷ Their significance was not limited by

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ *ICOM News*, Editorial, July 1950. *ICOM News* was the news bulletin published by ICOM six times a year. See 'Museums and Monuments Division', United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Paris, 3rd October 1950), UNESCO/MUS/2, p. 4.

⁸⁰⁵ Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (London, 16th November 1945, with the constitution coming into force on 4th November 1946), p. 3. An updated version of this constitution is available online:

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002269/226924e.pdf>

⁸⁰⁶ 'Museums and Monuments Division', United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Paris, 3rd October 1950), UNESCO/MUS/2, p. 5.

⁸⁰⁷ Leymarie, p. 15.

language differences, and their methods and collections were understood to have ‘universal appeal’, all of which reasserted the principle of the universality of the art museum and of its contents.⁸⁰⁸ During the war, Henty had likewise spoken of the potential for art and the museum to emphasise the ‘unanimity of all the truly civilised people in the world’ as a countermeasure to the ‘harmful aspects’ of nationalism.⁸⁰⁹ Other cultural spokespeople such as Herbert Read would similarly argue that art was the only ‘international language’ which might engage and redirect aggressive impulses towards a common peace.⁸¹⁰

After WWII, this intent to overcome divisions and attain greater inter-cultural understanding had been the subject of various exhibitions, most famously René d’Harnoncourt’s *Timeless Aspects of Modern Art* (November 1948-January 1949, MoMA, New York) followed some years later at the same institution by Edward Steichen’s *Family of Man* (January-May 1955), and in the European context, *Humanity: One Family* at the Natural History Museum, Vienna. *Timeless Aspects of Modern Art*, the historian Mary Anne Staniswecki has argued, relied on a variant of ‘anthropological humanism’ which sought to encourage a vision of a ‘like-minded and related global humanity’.⁸¹¹ Similarly, ‘The Family of Man’ presented images of ordinary people from different parts of the world ‘engaged in universal human activities’, as Andrew McClellan has noted.⁸¹² *The Museums Journal* further suggested that the MoMA exhibitions challenged visitor expectation on account of the affinities they presented between arts of the present and of the past, while the Vienna

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁹ Henty, Philip, ‘Exhibition at Grantham’, *Grantham Journal*, 10th May 1940, Leeds, Temple Newsam, ‘Press Cuttings’.

⁸¹⁰ Read, Herbert, ‘The Problem of Internationalism in Art: Address to the International Council of Art’, Washington (9th May 1960), Leeds, University of Leeds, Special Collections, BC MS 20c HERBERT READ BOX 1A, 9ff, TS; Read, Herbert, ‘Art and Aggression’, Leeds, University of Leeds, Special Collections, BC MS 20c HERBERT READ BOX 1A, 7ff, TS, and Read, Herbert, ‘The Arts and Peace: Aesthetics: Enemy of Violence?’, *Saturday Review* (24th December 1960), Leeds, University of Leeds, Special Collections, BC MS 20c HERBERT READ BOX 1A, 12ff, TS.

⁸¹¹ Staniswecki, p. 124.

⁸¹² McClellan 2008, p. 39.

exhibition *Humanity: One Family* had set an example of the museum's task against the racial prejudice that had been 'indoctrinated in less happy parts of the world'.⁸¹³

Hendy's pan-European displays of Old Master paintings shared the spirit of one-worldism espoused by organisations such as UNESCO and ICOM and other museums in the post-war period, which focused on an outward-looking culture of exchange as a basis for their educational task. At the same time, the National Gallery's displays established a common European identity among these painters that was selective and impermeable, as it highlighted the great masterpieces of the collection at the expense of 'lesser' paintings that did not fall within this rubric of excellence. Moreover, if these paintings had been linked by virtue of their belonging to a common artistic tradition, in this process they were also uprooted from their places of origin and from the extra-European networks of artistic production and influence in which they might have participated.⁸¹⁴ It was rather the aesthetic intensity more than the dialogic quality of these displays that was ultimately emphasised, and it is consequently not surprising that Hendy likewise suggested that even '[a] merely chronological division [...] might prove no better than the national; for the currents between artists can transcend period as well as place'.⁸¹⁵ As a result, Hendy's juxtapositions sought to focus visitors on the visual experience of these paintings as a means to engage them over and above the application of geographical but also temporal categories, and emphasise instead their aesthetic import, and it is to this that we now turn.

⁸¹³ 'Museum of Modern Art in New York', *The Museums Journal*, 50:1 (April 1950), 1-3; and 'Race, Pride and Prejudice' and 'Conference on the Racial Question', *The Museums Journal*, 51:4 (July 1951), 81-82.

⁸¹⁴ Hendy was probably influenced by the writings of Heinrich Wölfflin, which focused on the study and analysis of form in painting, although no reference to him has been found in Hendy's papers. Wölfflin has been considered a central figure in the creation and dissemination of formal art history. See Wölfflin, Heinrich, *Principles of Art History. The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (London: Bell & Sons, 1932).

⁸¹⁵ Hendy, *Spanish Painting*, p. 5.

Aesthetic experience as a link between past and present

As Hendy would later recall, 'those who like[d] change' had been the more fortunate since the war, given that the temporary rehang had disrupted the 'monotony' of older narratives and set them in motion.⁸¹⁶ In this regard, the previous compartmentalisation of paintings by national school appeared inimical to the changing spirit of the museum, and Hendy noted that there was 'a charm' in many of the unexpected juxtapositions, a favourable contrast to the 'tendency to monotony' of the previous school displays.⁸¹⁷ Hendy had in this way rejoiced at the 'freshness or new meaning' of galleries in the post-war years, and confided being 'very much against' the school arrangement.⁸¹⁸ The latter was, in his own words, 'the easy, lazy way to arrange an art gallery; for once it is arranged that way, there is very little change you can make'.⁸¹⁹ By contrast, his juxtapositions had been, as he argued to his Trustees, 'in accordance with the sentiment of to-day' which demanded 'change and the stimulus of new arrangements'.⁸²⁰ This dynamism was made possible through a curatorial method whereby he had begun using photographic reductions of paintings to contrast various 'paper rehangs' before these were finalised, enabling a greater experimentalism [Figure 49].⁸²¹ As a result, the *Yorkshire Observer* had noted that Hendy's novel ideas and controversial suggestions had altogether visualised 'something more imaginative, pictures exhibited in different combinations'.⁸²²

Hendy's interventions ran parallel with the wider perception that if museums wanted to attract the public, they should make their exhibits appealing. In Britain, *The Visual Arts* report had argued that above all 'an art gallery must have vitality' and 'must constantly

⁸¹⁶ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 39.

⁸¹⁷ Hendy, 'Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage'.

⁸¹⁸ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 39; Hendy, letter to Andrew Filson (15th March 1949), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

⁸¹⁹ Hendy, letter to Andrew Filson (15th March 1949), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

⁸²⁰ Hendy, 'Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage'.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*

⁸²² 'Man of Ideas', *Yorkshire Observer*, 30th March 1946, London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/3.

excite curiosity and stimulate the imagination'.⁸²³ It observed that attendances steadily decreased when exhibitions were dull, while they increased if less conventional exhibitions were held.⁸²⁴ On these grounds, it had advocated 'a deeper and more catholic appreciation'.⁸²⁵ Such views were echoed in *The Museums Journal* through editorials and articles that demanded greater dynamism in display policies, and in his 1947 Presidential Address to the Museums Association, the director of the Walker Art Gallery Frank Lambert contrasted the traditional method of 'formal association' which kept objects in watertight compartments with the more desirable 'vital association' that put objects 'in their natural association with objects of other kinds'.⁸²⁶ One evident example of the earlier formal arrangement had been the rigorous division by material at the Victoria & Albert Museum, but Lambert celebrated the new imaginative displays of the its post-war director, Leigh Ashton, which combined 'objects, each brilliant of its kind, borrowed from all departments and shown in groups based on period or style or place'.⁸²⁷ Like Hendy's juxtapositions, these displays suggested 'another way' to make the museum attractive.⁸²⁸ Hendy equally praised this novel approach, observing that Ashton had 'cut boldly across the departmentalism of a century', rejoicing that Ashton had done so as Hendy felt that 'no system could be more stultifying to the public' than the previous strict lines of division by material.⁸²⁹

Outside Britain, the awareness about the visual impact of display on the visitor had already been acknowledged in pre-war manuals for curators such as *Muséographie* (1934) and other publications especially in the American context, as already discussed in Chapter 1.

⁸²³ *The Visual Arts*, p. 148.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁸²⁶ Lambert 1948, p. 93.

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁹ Hendy, Philip, 'Art – English Medieval Workmanship', *Britain To-day*, September 1945, 31-32 (p. 31), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/1/4. Given that Hendy and Ashton were directors of two of the most well-established art institutions in Britain at the same time and were involved in the work of the Museums Association at home and internationally, Hendy would have been very familiar with the work that Ashton was carrying out at the V&A.

In the case of *Muséographie*, the professional community had been urged to revitalise their collections, often through the search of aesthetic harmonies that would prevent a humdrum uniformity.⁸³⁰ These ideas made their way into Britain, and for example in 1947 *The Museums Journal* published a reprint of an article by the recently-appointed Director of Museums of France, Georges Salles. In this paper, Salles suggested that the museum was a theatre whose décor could be varied according to the style and temperament of the period being showcased.⁸³¹ The museum would thus be conceived as a 'provisional settlement', a laboratory in which one could recognise that 'the world of objects continually shift[ed] in relation to the world of living things' and consequently had 'constantly to be re-established'.⁸³² Some years later, the French curator Henri G. Rivière elaborated on the value of temporary displays in UNESCO's *Museum*, arguing that it allowed the museum to experiment with new exhibits and develop themes 'more boldly than the permanent exhibition can hope to do'.⁸³³

Hendy's heterodox arrangement of pictures aspired to impart greater fluidity, and the removal of national-school taxonomies was expected to yield an aesthetic economy open to unforeseen comparisons and new interpretations on the part of the visitor. Through his post-war juxtapositions, Hendy mobilised the aesthetic as a universal, autonomous, and freeing mode for apprehending works of art, and therefore one that was appropriate to the democratic task of the modern museum. As Hendy saw it, each individual received and reviewed images differently 'according to his capacity and, as time passes, according to the decade, the generation, the century'.⁸³⁴ For instance, Hendy himself had found it stimulating

⁸³⁰ *Muséographie*, pp. 202-203.

⁸³¹ Salles, Georges, 'Museums of France', *The Museums Journal*, 47:4 (July 1947), 63-67 (p. 63). This article was reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Summer 1946).

⁸³² Salles 1947, p. 63.

⁸³³ Rivière, Henri G., 'The Organization and Functions of the Museums', *Museum*, 2:4 (1949), 206-214 (p. 210).

⁸³⁴ Hendy, Philip, Manuscript of a review of *The Voices of Silence* (by André Malraux), for *Spectator*, March 1954 (unknown whether published or not), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/16.

to see side by side the studies in the relationship 'between light and colour which de Hoogh and Velázquez made at the same time [but] in very different milieus at opposite ends of Europe, or a bacchanal by Poussin on the same wall as a bacchanal by Titian which Poussin was always studying in Rome'.⁸³⁵ It was through this individual act of observation that the viewer could experience painting subjectively, rather than heed received knowledge about technique, authorship or iconography.

This attitude to the reception of art would find a resonance some years later in the ideas of André Malraux, whose famous book, *Museum without Walls*, had made use of photography to reproduce images of artefacts of various kinds (from sculpture to painting) and of diverse geographical origins, presenting them sequentially and side by side in book form.⁸³⁶ As a result, Malraux had pinpointed 'cross-cultural affinities' between these different objects, based on their formal equivalences of shape and scale.⁸³⁷ Just as Hendy had intended to connect visitors with the paintings and with the past by unburdening the displays from rigid historical classification, so the *Museum without Walls* would later seek to revive such 'forgotten arts', and like 'every resuscitation' it would cast 'great tracts of shadow over other aspects of the past'.⁸³⁸

From an educational perspective, Hendy's 'daring juxtapositions' were underpinned by the assumption that aesthetic stimuli rather than verbal historical lessons were better attuned with the visually-rich sensorium of the present-day visitor and thus more understandable. As such, Hendy maintained that, even after 1950 when the traditional hang had been resumed, the general public might 'find such juxtapositions more helpful than

⁸³⁵ Hendy, 'Changes at the National Gallery', pp. 26-27.

⁸³⁶ Malraux, André, *The Voices of Silence (I. Museum without Walls)*, pp. 13-128), trans. Stuart Gilbert (London: Secker & Warburg, 1954). The original French edition, *Les Voix du Silence*, was published in 1951.

⁸³⁷ See Henning 2015, pp. 591-592; Krauss, Rosalind, 'Postmodernism's Museum without Walls' in *Thinking about Exhibitions*, ed. by Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 241-245.

⁸³⁸ Malraux, p. 67.

those dictated by museum custom and the histories of art'.⁸³⁹ Hendy's intentions were didactic, and were connected to demands for visual education as an emancipatory project of reform in the post-war years. Certainly, in this period numerous articles by curators, designers and educators in *The Museums Journal* alternately signalled to the 'aesthetic side of visual methods', the 'Age of the Eye', the 'learning by images' or the 're-education of the eye'.⁸⁴⁰ In an illuminating example, Douglas A. Allan had expressed without reserve that 'it would appear these days that no educational project is complete without pronouncements on visual education'.⁸⁴¹

At the same time, it is arguable that the aesthetic decontextualisation of paintings - spatially and temporally - limited visitor engagement to a purely visual access. In effect, this rested on 'the idea of art as autonomous and autotelic, the sense of it as self-valuable', as the theorist Rosalind Krauss has argued in the case of Malraux's *Museum without Walls*.⁸⁴² Despite Hendy's drive for accessibility, therefore, these 'daring juxtapositions' were steeped in a curatorial formula which imprinted such 'great' masterpieces with aesthetic values that visitors were expected to commune with and 'appreciate'. In this connection, Bennett has contended that the aesthetic does not stand 'free of any guardian', but itself 'produces distinctive forms of tutelage which induct individuals into certain practices of "guided freedom" that are subject to the direction of distinctive kinds of authority'.⁸⁴³ Although

⁸³⁹ Hendy, 'Changes at the National Gallery', p. 27.

⁸⁴⁰ Rotha, Paul, 'The Film and other Visual Techniques in Education', *The Museums Journal*, 46:8 (November 1946), 141-145; Hawkes, Jacquetta, 'Museums and General Education', *The Museums Journal*, 46:8 (December 1946), 161-166; Laver, James, 'The Place of the Visual Arts in Education', *The Museums Journal*, 47:12 (March 1948), 229-232; Allan, Douglas A., 'Visual Education', *The Museums Journal*, 48:10 (January 1949), 202-209.

⁸⁴¹ Allan 1949, p. 202.

⁸⁴² Krauss 1996, pp. 244-245. Krauss argues that Malraux's decontextualisation is dual: a decontextualisation from its site of origin, and a second dislocation through their photographic reproduction, as artworks are 'unmoored' from their original scale through the 'democratizing effects of camera and press'.

⁸⁴³ Bennett, Tony, 'Guided Freedom: Aesthetics, Tutelage, and the Interpretation of Art', *Tate Papers*, 15 (Spring 2011), <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/15/guided-freedom-aesthetics-tutelage-and-the-interpretation-of-art> [accessed 15th May 2017].

Hendy wanted to value the position of the present-day viewer, he did not acknowledge the normative framework that was in-built in his juxtapositions: more than empowering visitors to interpret the pictures at their own will, Hendy's curatorial programme propounded an autonomous experience of works of art which some members of the public found disorienting and discouraging.⁸⁴⁴ This was clear from letters written by a few visitors, among which were Miss J. Bailey, who wrote as an 'uninstructed member of the public' to 'ask information about the National Gallery pictures'.⁸⁴⁵ Despite her life-long familiarity with the Gallery, as she wrote, the abandonment of the old arrangement by Schools (Netherlandish, Florentine, etc.) meant that she 'could not understand on what principle they [were] now arranged'.⁸⁴⁶ For Miss Bailey, 'it [had] been most difficult to find one's way', and she noted the lack of a common criterion, with some rooms display paintings heterogeneously whilst others contained paintings of the same School (e.g. Flemish).⁸⁴⁷ As she saw it, 'my perplexity is possibly shared by the great majority of those visiting it [the Gallery] at present, and a little explanation of the system on which the rooms are arranged would I am sure be valued by many'.⁸⁴⁸ One possible solution, Miss Bailey proposed, was for 'a brief notice to be exhibited in each room explaining its contents'.⁸⁴⁹ Kate Thorpe, an art lecturer at Borthwick Training College, echoed Miss Bailey's concerns, seeing that the 'constantly changing arrangement of the rooms' at the post-war National Gallery could be, if unavoidable, at least 'minimised if printed sheets were available showing current distribution of pictures'.⁸⁵⁰ These commentaries indicate that not all visitors agreed that Hendy's visually harmonious arrangements and regular changes of exhibition made displays more accessible, particularly

⁸⁴⁴ Hendy, Manuscript of a review of *The Voices of Silence*, London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/16.

⁸⁴⁵ Miss J. Bailey, letter to the Director of the National Gallery (4th October 1947), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁰ Miss K. Thorpe, letter to Philip Hendy (22nd September 1947), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

when information about them was lacking. In this regard, Hendy's approach had been over-reliant on the capacity of artworks to transparently communicate meaning and, more importantly, it had not acknowledged the prescriptive conditions under which such experience took place. The displays seemed to have displaced curatorial authority, making visitors' enjoyment and their subjective freedom to interpret the paintings its key concern over nineteenth-century didactics. However, they still enacted a pedagogical view that bore its effects on the personal capacities of the visitor to look at the work of art as an aesthetic object that exemplified, in and of itself, as Bennett has argued, 'the ideal forms of comportment it aspired to'.⁸⁵¹

The National Gallery's 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures'

The primary focus on visual aesthetic experience which Hendy achieved in the temporary rehang served to thematise the Gallery's immediate post-war project of modernisation. Specifically, the break with the national school arrangement was seen to promote a more accessible form of viewership inspired by the changing spirit of the modern museum. Simultaneously, the motivation for such a rehang had been in response to professionalising discourses regarding the role of visual education and international cooperation in museums as part of post-war reform in Britain and beyond through the work of organisations such as ICOM and UNESCO. The 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures', held less than a year later, provides another case-study in which the activity of looking was retooled to support the democratising agenda of the Gallery as much as to advance its professional interests as a self-modernising museum. This section will examine the manner in which such a concern with 'correct' looking figured within the Gallery's rhetoric about access and openness in the exhibition, and more specifically how it was mobilised in tandem with its programme of

⁸⁵¹ Bennett 2011.

professionalisation. Rather than seeing democratisation and professionalisation as mutually exclusive, this section explores their internal logic as a series of co-dependent operations that simultaneously enabled openness and closure, freedom and coercion, serving to both define and blur the boundaries that separated the public from the expert.

The 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' (1947 – 1948) was the first major attempt to render in-depth information about the Gallery's restoration activities publicly accessible. In this way, Hendy saw it as an 'an experiment towards [an] experiment' for illuminating the processes of picture cleaning, and the exhibition was paralleled by a report commissioned by the Trustees from three independent experts which became known as the Weaver Committee.⁸⁵² To accompany the exhibition, the Gallery published a 100-page catalogue, *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures (1936-1947)*, which explained the treatment undertaken on all the pictures included in the display in that period, and widespread media interest was encouraged both through the exhibition and publication. Such activities were motivated by the controversy over the National Gallery's cleaning practices in the period 1936-1947, which some members of the public, mostly artists attached to the Royal Academy, had found extreme. The controversy over the cleaning of Old Masters at the National Gallery had been precipitated, on this occasion, by Gerald Kelly, a Royal Academician who wrote a polemical letter to *The Times* (30th October 1946), stating that 'a series of terrible mistakes' had occurred in the National Gallery, whereby some masterpieces had been 'so drastically cleaned that worn and spoiled passages in them [were] only too visible'.⁸⁵³ This was followed by a series of further complaints as more artists sent letters to *The Times*, many taking the

⁸⁵² This committee was constituted by J. R. H. Weaver as Chairman (President of Trinity College, Oxford); Paul Coremans (Head of the Central Laboratory, Belgian National Museums); and George Stout (Head of the Department of Conservation, Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University). The conclusions of the report were published in the special issue 'Cleaning of pictures', *Museum*, 3:1 (1950), 113-135.

⁸⁵³ Kelly, Gerald, letter to *The Times* (30th October 1946), London, National Gallery, NG24/1946/5.

view that the results had been damaging to the picture surface, and by implication to what the painting signified as well as to its financial value.⁸⁵⁴

Much has been said about the controversy over the cleaning of pictures, about the successive exchanges in the press by both parties, and about the technical details regarding the Gallery's conservation policy.⁸⁵⁵ On the other hand, surprisingly little attention to date has been paid to the curatorial methods through which the Gallery made its case for cleaning and the rhetorical means it employed to argue its position. It is the latter aspect that this section will address, seeking to understand how, by popularising a discourse of openness and trustworthiness, the exhibition established a continuity between the practice of *looking at* cleaned pictures and visitor's ability to *look into* the Gallery as an institution - and by implication to know and make informed judgements about them.

⁸⁵⁴ Other letters soon followed, and the criticisms and arguments ranged from describing the unity of the original picture against the ruined state of the painting in its cleaned state (Kelly), demands that the Gallery provide facts about the condition of paintings to the public (Rodrigo Moynihan), calls for a special inquiry (Maurice W. Brockwell); the observation that during the varnish removal the paint film had been affected (Leonard Greaves); demands for a safer alternative method of gradual cleaning with weak solvent (Gerald Kelly). See press clippings in London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1; NG24/1947/2; NG24/1947/6.

⁸⁵⁵ Alongside the 1947 catalogue, see Coremans, Paul B., 'The Recent Cleaning Problems of *Rubens' Chapeau de Paille*', *The Burlington Magazine*, 90:546 (1948), 257-261; and for secondary literature on the controversy see Keck, Sheldon, 'Some Picture Cleaning Controversies Past and Present', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 23:2 (1984), 73-87 (pp. 80-83). The links between conservators in the US (Stout) and the National Gallery are articulated in Bewer, Francesca G., *A Laboratory for Art: Harvard's Fogg Museum and the Emergence of Conservation in America, 1900-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Art Museum; New Haven, Con.; Yale University Press, c2010). For Hendy's position about cleaning see Hendy, Philip, 'Taste and Science in the Presentation of Damaged Pictures', reprint from *Studies in Western Art. Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art* (New York, 1961), pp. 139-145, London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/17. For the National Gallery's second controversy about cleaning in 1962-1963 see articles in *The Burlington Magazine* (to mention a few, 'The National Gallery Cleaning Controversy' (editorial), *The Burlington Magazine*, 104:707 (February 1962), 49-50; 'The National Gallery Cleaning Controversy', Letters from Anthony M. Clark, J. Coburn Witherop and Dr. Gombrich, *The Burlington Magazine*, 104:711 (June 1962), 265-266; Thomson, G., 'Science and the Art of Picture Cleaning', *The Burlington Magazine*, 104:716 (November, 1962), 499-500).

A Gallery open to the public eye

The lay-out of the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' is a good place to start examining the visual rhetoric that the Gallery adopted to illustrate its claims for openness. In 1947, members of the public witnessed an exhibition unlike any other previously held at the Gallery, for its chief novelty was that it did not display paintings as *objets d'art* for art-historical consideration of the connoisseur or for the delight of the amateur. Rather, it turned the exhibits into pedagogical documents informing the wider public about the Gallery's practice of cleaning its pictures. As the Assistant Keeper, Cecil Gould, anticipated in his preparatory notes for the exhibition, it would be 'held ostensibly in a friendly manner – suggesting that the NG was merely educating the public in this matter'.⁸⁵⁶ The exhibition was held in six rooms of the Gallery (Galleries XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII, and XVIII),⁸⁵⁷ and it displayed seventy-four cleaned pictures alongside five paintings that had not undergone cleaning, while other paintings were only partly cleaned [Figure 50].⁸⁵⁸ In this way, the Gallery aimed to show the public what pictures looked like before, during and after a process of cleaning.

Among the small group of uncleaned pictures included were *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* (1648) by Claude (NG14), which had not been cleaned since 1899; *A Girl with a Kitten* (c. 1743), attributed to Jean-Baptiste Perronneau (NG3588), which had not been touched since it was presented to the Gallery in 1921, and *Interior of a Picture Gallery* (c. 1620) of the Flemish School (NG1287), which had been revarnished in 1889 but not cleaned

⁸⁵⁶ Cecil Gould's notes about the exhibition, London, National Gallery, NG32/58/1.

⁸⁵⁷ Board Minutes of 13th February 1947 in 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda Concerning Building Reconstruction: January 1946 to February 1948', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2; and *The National Gallery, 1938 – 1954*, p. 42.

⁸⁵⁸ These figures are not always consistent across different sources. The catalogue however lists 88 paintings on show at the exhibition (including cleaned, uncleaned and partly cleaned). Another source states 70 National Gallery pictures cleaned since 1936 and 13 others 'for demonstration purposes' (so these would have been uncleaned and partly cleaned). For the latter figures see 'The National Gallery 1938-48', Report to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries [unrevised]', London, National Gallery, NG25/20, p. 9.

since [Figure 51].⁸⁵⁹ Partly-cleaned paintings also featured in the exhibition on the grounds that, as Hendy informed the Trustees, two members of the Gallery's Honorary Scientific Advisory Committee, Sir Harold Hartley and Sir Thomas Merton, had argued that the exhibition 'would fail in its object in educating the Public and giving a true opportunity of seeing the value of cleaning unless at least one picture was shown as partially cleaned'.⁸⁶⁰ Among such half-cleaned paintings were a landscape by the Dutch painter Aelbert Cuyp, *Landscape, Cattle and Figures: Evening* (NG53) in which two patches of old restoration were revealed [Figures 52-53],⁸⁶¹ and *Flowers in a Vase* (NG1001) by the Dutch artist Jan van Huysum, where partial removal of varnish sought to demonstrate that the varnish had not only changed the artist's colours but also upset the balance of the composition [Figures 54-55].⁸⁶² The famous portrait *Chapeau de Paille* (NG852) by Rubens is another example in which cleaning had been especially controversial [Figure 56], and a patch was left uncleaned to reveal the contrast between the greening effect of aged varnish and the bright blue tones which had emerged after cleaning.⁸⁶³ Another portrait that was shown partly cleaned was the *Portrait of a Lady*, of the Flemish School (NG3132), which hung against a green background and in the same room as a group of paintings by Paolo Veronese, *Four Allegories*

⁸⁵⁹ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures (1936-1947)* (London: National Gallery, 1947), pp. 3-7.

⁸⁶⁰ Hendy, Philip, 'Director's Report 12th December 1946', London, National Gallery, NG25/18. The Honorary Scientific Committee was a body of 'distinguished men of science' which advised the Trustees on scientific matters of concern to the Gallery. It was constituted under Kenneth Clark in 1935, and originally consisted only of three members, but by 1954 there were eight. For the list of members of The Honorary Scientific Advisory Committee in 1947 see *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954* (p. 108), and subsequent biennial reports for later years. The members in 1947 included Professor Harold Plenderleith, Professor E. A. Owen, Sir Harold Hartley, Sir Thomas Merton, Sir Reginald Stradling, and Sir Wallace Akers. See *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, pp. 56, 108.

⁸⁶¹ The present title of this painting is *A Hilly Landscape with Figures*.

⁸⁶² *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. 8. The present title of this painting is *Hollyhocks and Other Flowers in a Vase*.

⁸⁶³ Hendy, Philip, 'Pictures at The National Gallery', 16th October 1947, *The Listener* (Third Programme), 665-666, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1. The present title of this painting is *Portrait of Susanna Lunden (?) ('Le Chapeau de Paille')*.

of Love, the first two having been fully cleaned in 1946-1947 while the other two had not been cleaned or revarnished since 1891) [Figure 57].⁸⁶⁴

The remaining group of about 74 paintings were ‘all the pictures which have been cleaned since the late summer of 1936’, the majority during the war in Wales during wartime, with the exception of three Italian Renaissance pictures and a number of unfinished pictures by Turner which had been cleaned before the war (and which could be found at Tate).⁸⁶⁵ After the collections had been evacuated in 1939, paintings had been cleaned in their respective locations in Wales (Avening, Aberystwyth, and Bangor), and in this time their storage at Manod Quarry had proved that controlled humidity and temperature were beneficial for painting preservation.⁸⁶⁶ The activity of cleaning and restoration had been the work of nine restorers, it was later reported in *The National Gallery, 1938-1954*, and therefore was not the result of one over-arching school or doctrine.⁸⁶⁷ This was not a moot point for the Gallery, as it wanted to dispel any fears of dogmatic attitudes towards cleaning. In the exhibition this would be achieved through the presentation of paintings in their different states (cleaned vs uncleaned, partly cleaned vs uncleaned, and glazed vs unglazed),

⁸⁶⁴ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, pp. 83-84, 42-44. See also ‘Cleaned Pictures on Show: National Gallery’s Reply to the Critics: Artists’ Intentions Brought to Light’, 9th October 1947, *The Times*, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1. *Portrait of a Lady* is today titled *Portrait of a Woman*, and the attribution is in the style of Anthony van Dyck.

⁸⁶⁵ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. vi. See also ‘Director’s Memorandum for the Chancellor of the Exchequer’ (April 1948) in London, National Gallery, NG25/20, p. 3.

⁸⁶⁶ Bosman, p. 79; and *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, pp. 21-22. See also Davies, Martin, *The War-Time Storage in Wales of Pictures from the National Gallery* (London: The Society, 1946).

⁸⁶⁷ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 62. This report stated, however, that the majority of the paintings had been cleaned by three restorers. Documents in the planning stages of the exhibition cite six restorers as having been responsible for the cleaning of paintings since 1936: Mr Coulette, Mr Brown, Mr Holder, Mr Vallance, Mr Isepp, and Mr Ruhemann. See London, National Gallery, NG32/58/1. Before 1946, restorers had been employed on a consultation basis, with Helmut Ruhemann working in this capacity since 1934. In April 1946, steps were taken for the establishment of in-house picture maintenance staff, and Helmut Ruhemann was appointed part-time Consultant restorer (July 1946), to be supported by a full-time assistant restorer (A. W. Lucas); and three first class craftsmen to deal with frames and labels, London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/2/1. The National Gallery only formally employed restorers in 1949 following the recommendations of the Weaver Committee’s report (A. W. Lucas and N. Brommelle were upgraded from their post as assistant restorers). In 1949, the Treasury had agreed in principle to fund the post of Chief Restorer, but this was not realised until 1954 with the appointment of A. W. Lucas. See *National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, pp. 63-64; and London, National Gallery, NG16/49/4 and NG16/49/8.

and through the use of documentary photographs, both of which conjured up multiple comparisons and allowed the Gallery to position itself as a seemingly impartial witness inviting visitors to judge the evidence for themselves.⁸⁶⁸ The exhibition catalogue thus observed that the intention of the exhibition was not to explain methods or even the Gallery's policy of picture-cleaning, but 'merely to put as fully as possible before the public facts about certain pictures upon which the public must form its opinion for itself'.⁸⁶⁹

The placement of the paintings – cleaned, partly cleaned and uncleaned – did however choreograph a narrative around the subject of cleaning, bringing together a range of pictures which encompassed fifteenth-century works by Bellini and Antonello da Messina up to the eighteenth-century British School passing through Rembrandt and Canaletto, given which range pictures of different artistic schools and traditions must have been shown together.⁸⁷⁰ Plans and photographs suggest that visitors would have entered through Gallery XVII which could be accessed from the Vestibule, and which opened onto the smaller Gallery XVIII next to it, both of which would have contained mostly, though perhaps not exclusively, cleaned pictures.⁸⁷¹ Visitors would then emerge to Galleries XV and XIV, each of which contained, respectively, half-cleaned pictures and uncleaned pictures, grouped as ensembles.⁸⁷² Finally, visitors would end their journey in Gallery XII, which must have housed the remainder of the cleaned pictures. In this way, the exhibition gave more prominence to the cleaned paintings at the first two and the final galleries, and dedicated its middle section to its more documentary features.

⁸⁶⁸ Historical precedent for this kind of display was rare, although in 1796 a similar exhibition of half-cleaned pictures had been held at the Louvre to demonstrate the need for restoration. See McClellan, Andrew, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c1994), p. 132.

⁸⁶⁹ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. xxiv.

⁸⁷⁰ For a full list of the paintings in the exhibition see *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, pp. 102-103.

⁸⁷¹ This remains speculative, as no photographs or other form of documentary evidence has been found of these rooms.

⁸⁷² It is possible here as well that these rooms (especially Room XIV) contained also cleaned paintings, but this cannot be ascertained due to the lack of documentary evidence.

In one surviving photograph of the final Gallery XII, it is possible to discern a group of Dutch landscape paintings and portraits, in order of display (left to right): Philip Koninck's *An Extensive Landscape* (NG4251); Rembrandt's *Portrait of Philip Lucasz* (NG850); Koninck's *An Extensive Landscape with a Hawking Party* (NG836); Rembrandt's *The Woman taken in Adultery* (NG45), and Jacob van Ruisdael's *A Landscape with a Ruined Castle and a Church* (NG990). Another photograph of an unidentified room, though possibly Gallery XII as the lay-out and architectural design is identical, shows a series of landscape paintings by English artists (left to right): Constable's *The Cornfield* (NG130); Gainsborough's *Wooded Landscape with a Peasant Resting* (currently at Tate, N01283); Gainsborough's *Cornard Wood, near Sudbury, Suffolk* (NG925); and one by the French landscape painter Claude-Joseph Vernet, *A Sporting Contest on the Tiber at Rome* (NG236). If we can assume that these latter paintings were also hung in Gallery XII, then Hendy was pairing landscape paintings across different schools (Dutch, English, French), establishing formal similes and a continuous narrative of development of the genre from the Dutch seventeenth century to the English and French in the eighteenth-century. At the same time, the inclusion of paintings by Rembrandt in between Koninck's landscapes broadened the scope of the display beyond the genre of landscape painting, possibly to suggest a more complex map of artistic influences, such that it was implied that Rembrandt's earlier portraits and paintings of other subjects may have impacted on Koninck's treatment of the landscape, and by extension, on that of the English and French painters.

Arguably there were other factors that came into play in the lay-out of paintings in the exhibition, as for example in Room XV the partially cleaned Flemish *Portrait of a Lady* (NG3132) was hung as a pendant to Velázquez's recently cleaned portrait of Philip IV (NG745) of the Spanish school. As the catalogue asserted, '[the] contrast between the cleaned and uncleaned portions of this picture [NG3132] therefore constitutes a fair demonstration of

the change in tone and colour that the recent cleaning made in the portrait of Philip IV'.⁸⁷³ As already noted, this room also displayed four large paintings by Veronese, two of which had been cleaned whilst other two had not. As a result, such juxtapositions presented the paintings as self-evident visual object lessons, a principle that was reinstated by the minimal (and in some cases non-existent) labels which can be seen in the photograph of Room XIV [Figure 58]. In this connection, the theorist Mieke Bal has argued that '[by] reducing interfering verbal "noise" to a minimum, this restraint acts out, and thereby asserts, a confidence in the primacy and sole power of visual images'.⁸⁷⁴ And indeed, at the exhibition this visual logic was further affirmed by the spacious and careful hang (particularly in Gallery XV, Figure 57), which allowed visitors to get physically very near to the paintings, thus making an immediate link between physical accessibility and the capacity to look and interpret the works of art on display.

This faith in the 'power of visual images' further became evident through the inclusion of photographs, which were displayed alongside uncleaned paintings in Room XIV (though perhaps in other rooms as well), to further illustrate the process of picture cleaning [Figure 58]. Ultra-violet photographs, macro-photographs (close-ups) and radiographs (x-rays) were displayed on panels, and the catalogue listed nearly 95 photographs of a total of 35 paintings.⁸⁷⁵ Among these were Titian's *The Tribute Money* (NG224); Ribalta's '*Christ Bearing the Cross*' [*The Vision of Father Simón*] (NG2930), and Rubens' *The Judgment of Paris* (NG194) [Figure 59].⁸⁷⁶ Other reproductions included those of the pictures *Philip IV when Elderly* (NG745), and *Portrait of a Woman* (NG3132) [Figure 60], both of which hung in the

⁸⁷³ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. 84.

⁸⁷⁴ Bal, Mieke, *Looking in: The Art of Viewing* (Amsterdam: G+B Arts International, c2001), p. 167.

⁸⁷⁵ Most of the photographs were close-ups or details of the images, and there was a smaller number of x-ray and infrared photographs, as revealed in the list of photographs and colour prints of *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, pp. 85-101. Often there were several photographs of one same picture, therefore not all paintings on display had complementary photographs showing the cleaning process.

⁸⁷⁶ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, pp. 85-101.

room next door; the landscape *An Extensive Landscape with a Hawking Party* by Philip Koninck (NG8536) and *Portrait of Philips Lucasz* by Rembrandt (NG850), which visitors would see side by side in Room XII; and several close-ups of two paintings by Rembrandt (*Saskia van Uylenburgh in Arcadian Costume*, NG4930; and *Woman Bathing*, NG54) [Figures 61-63], as well as Rubens' *Chapeau de Paille* (NG852).

The catalogue thus informed visitors that in 'a good photograph can be an accurate record of the composition of a picture and of the forms which compose it; and in this way it can provide valuable evidence'.⁸⁷⁷ In that regard, the daily *Irish Times* noted that the show 'ask[ed] the public to judge' and 'assist[ed] it in reaching a decision by a display of photographs showing details of pictures before and after cleaning [...]'.⁸⁷⁸ Additional photographs were displayed to show staff members of the Conservation Department at work as well as technical devices and instruments used at different stages of picture examination and cleaning [Figures 64-65].⁸⁷⁹ The catalogue listed photographs of a tintometer (for measuring colour changes), a polarizing microscope as it was being used to examine a panel painting, an x-ray apparatus behind an easel, an ultraviolet lamp in front of a picture, and an infra-red camera.⁸⁸⁰ All in all, 170 photographs of the paintings, technological apparatus and restorers at work were included in the exhibition.⁸⁸¹

The use of photography in temporary displays at the National Gallery predated the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures'. It had been employed during the wartime scheme 'Picture of the Month', which had begun in 1942, when Rembrandt's *Margaretha de Geer* (NG5282)

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁸⁷⁸ 'London Letter', *Irish Times*, 10th October 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

⁸⁷⁹ The only visual evidence for photographs of this kind has been found in contemporary press cuttings, but it is likely these were the same photographs on display. For details about the photographs see *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, pp. 18-22.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸¹ 'The National Gallery 1938-48', Report to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries [unrevised] London, National Gallery, NG25/20, p. 9.

was put on display alongside a few other works for three weeks in the Gallery.⁸⁸² The second painting brought back from Wales and put on display was Titian's *Noli me Tangere* (NG270), and this was shown alongside 'comparative material and X-ray photographs' [Figure 66].⁸⁸³ However, the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' was not only far more ambitious in its scope, but also deliberately positioned these photographs as a factual response to the 'accusations' that had been levelled against the Gallery in relation to its recently cleaned pictures.⁸⁸⁴ As far as Hendy was concerned, these critiques had been answered 'by the selection exhibited from innumerable photographs and X-radiographs' as well as with 'large-scale detail-photographs' which constituted 'the best evidence' that the paint film remained intact after cleaning.⁸⁸⁵ What is more, by presenting paintings in different states alongside photographs illustrative of the cleaning process and of those who performed it, the Gallery exposed itself and its activities and used the display as proof of its frank and rigorous policy.

In its use of photography as evidence, the Gallery intended to differentiate and distance itself from previous controversies about cleaning.⁸⁸⁶ Indeed, the catalogue stated that in the nineteenth century 'controversy was more highly coloured and personal in tone'.⁸⁸⁷ By contrast, evidence now 'would not be dependent upon the biased memories of artists and amateurs. Positive facts would enable it to reach definite conclusions'.⁸⁸⁸ Writing about the exhibition in 1947, the novelist Colin MaclInnes found this photographic evidence 'inherently convincing' and declared that the age was gone in which restorers 'had no

⁸⁸² Bosman, p. 95.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 99. By the end of the war, forty-three paintings had been shown in the 'Picture of the Month', series, including *The Toilet of Venus* (Velazquez, *The Rokeby Venus*, NG2057); *Agony in the Garden* (Bellini, NG726); and *Christ Driving the Traders from the Temple* (El Greco, NG1457).

⁸⁸⁴ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. xx.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁶ The catalogue of the 1947 exhibition dedicated an extensive passage to the previous cleaning controversies at the National Gallery (1846-1853, and 1936-1937) and to their comparison with the 1946-1947 controversy. See *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, pp. xii-xx.

⁸⁸⁷ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. xix.

⁸⁸⁸ Hendy, Philip, 'Science and Picture-Cleaning: How National Gallery Masterpieces are Examined and Cleaned by Modern Means', *The Illustrated London News*, 4th October 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

scientific equipment, no systematic knowledge of art-history, and were suspiciously secretive about their methods'.⁸⁸⁹ The director of the British Museum, Sir John Forsdyke, expressed a similar view shortly after that the museum should present material evidence that counted as 'truth', such as reproductions, photographs, and diagrams.⁸⁹⁰ Such demands were also made by the museologist Henri G. Rivière in the journal *Museum*, who recommended the use in art exhibitions of educative documentation relating to techniques of execution, and their correlation to their historical background and to the development of artistic products.⁸⁹¹ The National Gallery had excelled in this, the *New Statesman* observed, by 'lifting the veil of bureaucracy from the mysteries of the laboratory, and so taking the public into their confidence'.⁸⁹²

This pronouncement was correlated with the Gallery's appointment of a Committee of Confidential Enquiry known as the 'Weaver Commission' which had as its aim to 'restore confidence by laying all the evidence [on cleaning] before trained and impartial experts' who had not been responsible for the picture cleaning.⁸⁹³ The Weaver Committee examined ten cleaned pictures of the National Gallery collection and concluded that 'no damage was found to have resulted from the recent cleaning either because of a partial solution of original paint or because of an abrasion or rubbing of original paint at the time when extraneous materials were removed from it'.⁸⁹⁴ In parallel, Hendy conducted a more comprehensive survey of the

⁸⁸⁹ Colin MacInnes, 'The Cleaned Pictures', *The Observer*, 12th October 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

⁸⁹⁰ Forsdyke, Sir John, 'The Function of a National Museum', *The Museums Journal*, 49:2 (May 1949), 30-31 (p. 30).

⁸⁹¹ Rivière, p. 209.

⁸⁹² Terrick, E., 'New Pictures for Old', *New Statesman*, 18th October 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

⁸⁹³ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 58.

⁸⁹⁴ 'The Weaver Report on the Cleaning of Pictures in the National Gallery', *Museum*, 3:2 (1950), 113-132 (p. 129). See the full Weaver Report in *Museum* for more details (available online). At first, the report was only available in the libraries of the British Museum and South Kensington (V&A), but Hendy's correspondence with George Stout showed that he was keen for the report to be made public. As he noted in Hendy's letter (17th June 1948), 'I myself would be happy if it were printed if only in order to bring a certain amount of pressure to assist me in getting its recommendations carried out', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/2/3.

collection with the Scientific Adviser (Ian Rawlins), titled 'Report of the Director and the Scientific Adviser on the Condition of the Collection and the Requirements for Conservation'. This was to be a supplement to the Weaver Report (mostly focused on works of art from the seventeenth century), and though it did not span the entire collection, it closely evaluated works of five famous artists of different centuries represented at the Gallery and the records attached to them (Duccio, Bellini, Titian, Van Dyck and Gainsborough).⁸⁹⁵ These official investigations matched the climate of openness that the Gallery had consciously cultivated and publicised in its exhibition of cleaned pictures. Making use of such channels of communication as the press, its catalogue and photography, the Gallery had shown that its operations were there for everyone to see, defending a policy of truthful scholarship and professionalism. Even more importantly, it had made a strong case that these tactics had empowered visitors to make such judgments their own.

Looking at pictures: directness, vitality and colour

The rhetoric that was embodied in the Gallery's pledge to transparency in the 1947 exhibition was layered onto the physical act of looking at pictures, emphasising a type of viewing that was supposedly factual, immediate and unrestricted. Paintings could be seen in their different states, while photographs threw light on material aspects unknown to most visitors, emphasising such aspects as the textural and optical properties of pigments used to produce paintings.⁸⁹⁶ Furthermore, glass had been removed from the front of the exhibits and this, the catalogue asserted, would 'enable many pictures to be seen as a whole which have

⁸⁹⁵ See London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/2/2; and Winsor, Peter, 'Government and the Development of Conservation in the United Kingdom', *The Paper Conservator*, 25:1 (2001), 21-32.

⁸⁹⁶ For a discussion of the influence of photography on public perception in the art museum see Henning 2015, pp. 577-602. For the use of media and communication in museums see *ibid.*, and Henning 2006b; Hooper-Greenhill 1995, pp. 1-14.

hitherto been partly obscured by reflections'.⁸⁹⁷ This departed from the Gallery's traditional practice of glazing pictures with glass, which had been thought during the nineteenth century to help conserve paintings by minimising the effect of changes in temperature and preventing polluted air from reaching the picture surface.⁸⁹⁸ Hendy, for his part, put forward the argument that glass and the reflections it produced created a 'psychological barrier' which deprived the public from seeing the pictures, especially if their varnish had decayed and the painting had become more seriously obscured and distorted.⁸⁹⁹ Just as the Gallery had laid out its restoration techniques and processes to the probing eye of the public, the idea that the exhibition itself facilitated the fuller visibility of paintings was variously yet routinely thematised in official publications and the press during Hendy's directorship.

The removal of glass supported the idea that the cleaning process had cast away the veil of darkness and secrecy that had previously made paintings intelligible only to a limited and knowing public. With the old and yellowed varnish gone as well, the popular paper *Daily Worker* proclaimed, lay people could now see these paintings for themselves without an expert to teach them.⁹⁰⁰ At last, it asserted, the ordinary worker could 'see his birth-right without some pedant at his side to "explain" it for him'.⁹⁰¹ The old masters, the reporter went on to argue, were visible in their 'bright, glowing colours' and consequently the exhibition buried the belief that 'great art was incomprehensible to anyone without a special education'.⁹⁰² This confirmed the exhibition's commitment to encourage the public to 'form its opinion for itself' and offered a means to enlist visitors in the Gallery's self-transformative task.⁹⁰³ Arguably this rhetoric had precedents in wartime exhibitions on the themes of

⁸⁹⁷ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. v.

⁸⁹⁸ See Avery-Quash 2015, p. 849.

⁸⁹⁹ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 28.

⁹⁰⁰ Crombeke, Louis, 'Pictures – Clean or Dirty?', *Daily Worker*, 16th October 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰² *Ibid.*

⁹⁰³ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. xxiv.

planning and reconstruction that had been held at the National Gallery during the war. For example, the booklet for the exhibition *Rebuilding Britain* held at the Gallery in 1943 started from the premise of self-help in reconstruction, summoning citizens to inform themselves about their powers and asking, '[h]ow can you, the private citizen, help and make your own personal influence felt in the task of rebuilding Britain?'⁹⁰⁴ The *New Statesman* had also observed that such wartime initiatives eagerly recognised 'the general effect [was] to make the layman see for himself the immense opportunities that lie ahead of us [...]'.⁹⁰⁵

In a similar vein, the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' placed visitors at the heart of its policy of cleaning and compelled them to experience the paintings on their own terms. Cleaning was seen to have enabled a mode of looking that was direct and unambiguous, and as such was identified with a more democratic means to engage the public with painting than had been the case hitherto. Hendy thus noted the 'record crowds' which had 'thronged it during the first month of exhibition'.⁹⁰⁶ Although visitor figures for the exhibition are not indicated in the reports or catalogue, the Annual Report recorded that 942,623 visitors for the year 1947 (January to December), far higher than such pre-war figures as 628,548 for 1938.⁹⁰⁷ The liberal paper *News Chronicle* attributed the success of the show to the fact that the public was 'certainly avid, as never before, for colour and quality'.⁹⁰⁸ The reporter recalled that it had been 'a pleasurable experience to walk into the National Gallery and watch the endless procession of young people of all classes who were studying with concentrated interest the collection of cleaned pictures'.⁹⁰⁹ Likewise, Hendy attributed the popularity to the 'freshness of vision' and 'vitality of emotion' that now shone out of

⁹⁰⁴ *Rebuilding Britain* (London: Lund Humphries, published for RIBA, 1943), p. 64.

⁹⁰⁵ 'Rebuilding Britain', *New Statesman*, 6th March 1943, London, National Gallery, NG24/1943/3.

⁹⁰⁶ Hendy, Philip, "'The New Look" in Pictures', *Britain To-day*, March 1948, 29-32 (p. 29), London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/6.

⁹⁰⁷ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 119.

⁹⁰⁸ Cummings, A. J. 'Spotlight', *News Chronicle*, 2nd December 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/6.

⁹⁰⁹ Cummings, A. J. 'Spotlight' in *News Chronicle*, 2nd December 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/6.

seventeenth-century paintings by Rubens, Velázquez and Rembrandt.⁹¹⁰ Colour thus became an important aspect of this argument for directness of vision, and it was felt that cleaning had restored the luminosity of the paintings. Although not stated directly, it is possible that this enthusiastic embrace of colour was related to restrictions in the design, materials and style of fabrics and furniture which took place under the Utility Scheme during the wartime and post-war periods (1941-51).⁹¹¹ At a time of severe austerity characterised by rationing and by an ethos of 'economical, practical, utilitarian standards to the taste of the nation as a whole', the radiance of the cleaned Old Masters might have provided a positive counterweight for many visitors.⁹¹²

Given the emphasis on colour, it is probably not surprising that the flight of stairs leading up to the exhibition was flanked by a display of six richly coloured pictures by the French painters Renoir, Manet, Van Gogh, Degas, and Delacroix.⁹¹³ This suggested a kinship between the more recent nineteenth-century pictures and cleaned old masters, and Hendy indicated that by lifting 'the heavy veil' away from seventeenth-century paintings by Rubens, Velázquez and Rembrandt, the National Gallery had exposed the origins of 'self-expression' and made these artists continuous with Van Gogh, whom he described as the 'least academic of painters'.⁹¹⁴ Hendy was here rehearsing the ideas inspiring his 'daring juxtapositions', and

⁹¹⁰ Hendy, "'The New Look' in Pictures', p. 32.

⁹¹¹ See Sladen, Christopher, *The Conscription of Fashion. Utility Cloth, Clothing and Footwear (1941-1952)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995). For the Utility Furniture scheme see Denney, Matthew, 'Utility Furniture and the Myth of Utility 1943-1948' in *The Design History Reader*, ed. by Grace Leeds Maffei and Rebecca Houze (Oxford; New York: Berg Publishers, 2010), pp. 135-142. For the broader context of austerity in Britain see Kynaston, David, *Austerity Britain, 1945-1951* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2010)

⁹¹² *Utility Furniture and Fashion. 1941-1951* (London: Inner London Education Authority, 1974), p. 6. Here, it is possible that Hendy's use of the term 'new look' (see Hendy's article in footnotes 906, 910), made a direct reference to the new designs popularised by Christian Dior since 1947, characteristic for their long flowing skirts, which after some initial opposition became increasingly accepted in Britain.

⁹¹³ Jennings, Humphrey, 'Colorado Claro: Thoughts on Cleaned Pictures', *Our Time*, December 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/6. Jennings, a documentary filmmaker, was one of the founders of Mass Observation alongside Charles Madge and Tom Harrisson.

⁹¹⁴ Hendy, "'The New Look' in Pictures', p. 30.

other contemporaries similarly remarked on these connections between old masterpieces and modern painting. For example, the filmmaker Humphrey Jennings noted that the exhibition had illuminated ‘the path of tradition the other way round’, for in it one could see the Old Masters ‘as youthful, visionary creators, whose pictures do indeed look as though they “have been painted today,” who, like Renoir and Degas and Van Gogh enjoyed life, savoured it with passion, and who (no less than more “political” names) can teach us to transform it’.⁹¹⁵ In this way, the exhibition naturalised the more intense colours of the cleaned pictures by acting upon visitors’ visual experience prior to entering the show, drawing on such tropes about brightness to make their acquired modernity desirable and in line with the ideals of post-war change.

This popular excitement over the exhibition spilled into a number of cartoons in newspapers, a good example being an advertisement for Guinness, which depicted an imaginary half-cleaned painting of a knight with a pint of Guinness [Figure 67].⁹¹⁶ The knight’s countenance was split into two: in the cleaned half the smiling knight was represented with a pint of Guinness, his smirk matching the bright and sparkling surface; the uncleaned half, on the other hand, showed a sad knight emerging from the shadows, no Guinness in hand, in a murky atmosphere of gloom. Below the image the text read ‘It’s Guinness, with its healthful cheer, that best restores a Cavalier’ and was accompanied by the slogan ‘Life is brighter after a Guinness’.⁹¹⁷ Once again, cleaning was used as a metaphor for brightness and as a counterpoint to a past that was identified as obscure and colourless. Some years later, an elderly member of the public, Mr Haywood, wrote to Hendy in appreciation of the ‘vivid

⁹¹⁵ Jennings, ‘Colorado Claro: Thoughts on Cleaned Pictures’, *Our Time*, December 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/6.

⁹¹⁶ An image of this Guinness advertisement, preserved in the National Gallery archive (NG24/1947/1), cannot be illustrated in this thesis for copyright reasons. Although every attempt has been made to trace the image, given the absence of date and name of publication, the search has been unsuccessful.

⁹¹⁷ Advertisement for Guinness in press clipping (n.d. publication unknown), London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

appeal’ of the pictures on show at Trafalgar Square, whereas he remembered that ‘as a young lad’ uncleaned old masters had ‘compared poorly with the “girl of the chocolate box”’.⁹¹⁸ Thanks to cleaning, was the implication, the past could now be perceived in its immediacy, it was no longer remote or dreary but familiar, and paintings were assumed to have come back to life.⁹¹⁹ The ‘Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures’ was encoded with a new type of viewership that equated access with, among other things, a sense of contemporaneity.

It is arguable, then, that the policy of investing Old Masters with colourful, lively and ‘impressionistic’ qualities suggested a kinship with contemporary visual sensibilities.⁹²⁰ In *Art and Illusion* (1960), the art historian Ernst Gombrich later made the claim that the Gallery’s policy of cleaning was influenced by present-day vision, in which case the brighter palette, strong and loud colours of Impressionism, twentieth-century art, posters and neon lights could barely accept the tonal gradations of earlier styles.⁹²¹ A similar argument was made by the art historian Edgar Wind in the BBC’s Reith Lectures Series, and Wind suggested a structural affinity between the look which modern cleaning techniques promoted and the over-defined features of photographic reproductions.⁹²² While such statements cannot be explored in full detail in the current context, they do reflect a contemporary awareness of the mediascape in which the Gallery was operating. Hendy himself had been keenly aware

⁹¹⁸ Mr Haywood, letter to Philip Hendy (February 1962), London, National Gallery, NG16/49/12.

⁹¹⁹ The trope of liveliness was a common theme in discussions about museums at this time, and it was extended to the subject of conservation at the National Gallery. See press clippings in London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1; NG24/1947/2; NG24/1947/6. See also *The Museums Journal* articles in these years for debates about changes in museums.

⁹²⁰ For the theorisation of the ideology of liveness in relation to television as a form of visual culture, see Williams, Raymond, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Fontana, 1974); and Feuer, Jane, ‘The Concept of Live Television: Ontology as Ideology’ in *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches – An Anthology* (vol. 2), ed. by Ann E. Kaplan (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1983), pp. 12-22.

⁹²¹ Gombrich, Ernst H., *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Phaidon: Pantheon Books, 1960), pp. 53-55.

⁹²² Hendy must have held copies of all of Edgar Wind’s Reith Lectures in 1960, as copies of their script in *The Listener* are among the Hendy Papers at the National Gallery. See Wind, Edgar, ‘The Mechanisation of Art’, *The Listener*, 15th December 1960, London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/9, p. 1096.

of the possibilities afforded by reproducible media, as was evident from the use of photography in the exhibition. Their main drawback though, he had pointed out, was that the exhibited photographs could not reproduce colour and so could not register changes in tone.⁹²³ Even as he considered them ‘valuable evidence’,⁹²⁴ such photographs had to be seen in conjunction with the cleaned pictures themselves, which in their radiant full colours, sharpness and clarity took on a pseudo-photographic role that was assertive of their modernity.

Through the various ways discussed above, the exhibition allowed the Gallery to present itself as a dialogic and modern institution, as it adopted a rhetoric of access and openness that was thematised through visual activities, both *looking into* the institution and its conservation practices, and *looking at* pictures. The catalogue had proclaimed this embracing spirit when it noted that there was ‘a wide margin for legitimate discussion’ concerning the cleaning of pictures, as this would allow its staff to keep ‘re-examining their principles and methods’.⁹²⁵ This resonates with the observation made by Kristina Wilson that in the early-twentieth-century American museum the ‘principle of the laboratory or the experiment was apparently one of open-mindedness to surprises or new ideas, and, equally important, the empirical search for the most practical solution to a given problem’.⁹²⁶ At the ‘Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures’, such scientific experimentalism, based on visible evidence and in the observation of concrete facts in painting and photography, had similarly engaged viewers in a straightforward and supposedly unbiased analysis of the pictures displayed.⁹²⁷

⁹²³ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. 85.

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

⁹²⁶ Wilson, p. 10.

⁹²⁷ I am also indebted to Kristina Wilson for her analysis of the tropes of ‘experiment’ and ‘laboratory’ as part of a language about exhibitions in American art museums in the 1920s-30s. These, she argues, were seen to be linked with a scientific approach without preconceived theories, open to new discoveries and ideas and thus having a foundation in physical reality and concrete explicable facts. See Wilson, pp. 9-10.

Notwithstanding, it is telling that the catalogue's introduction simultaneously concluded that '[s]uch criticism [of cleaning] fails in this effect, however, it if falls too wide of the mark'.⁹²⁸ The implication here was that not all criticism was valid such that the sphere of debate would be foreclosed if it lay outside the field of specialised scientific or documentary knowledge. Despite or precisely because of the liberalist premise of the exhibition to discredit the impenetrable aesthetic theories of the already initiated and to empower the viewer by rendering its pictures and cleaning methods visible, the Gallery's selective framing of the discussion was more focused on building a rational consensus about cleaning and securing its own professional reputation.⁹²⁹ Indeed, Hendy had explained to the Trustees that 'the controversial matter [would be] kept as far as possible to the documentary section'.⁹³⁰ The Gallery had consistently reinstated its neutrality, first by presenting the paintings as self-evident and demonstrable visual object-lessons that everyone could now see, and also by making use of photography as an allegedly truthful and unbiased medium. However, scientific and photographic methods were also being used to promote a disinterested rationale for cleaning. This did not escape the then director of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Thomas Bodkin, who felt that 'matter which should have constituted the statement of a case [was] offered in the form of final judgment'.⁹³¹ The trope of the public as jury was in this way compromised because the Gallery's rhetoric was both open *and* exclusionary, serving the dual purpose of opening up an institution which one could now 'look into' *and* closing it within the specialist preserve of professional expertise.

This duality evokes Mieke Bal's conceptualisation of 'museal discourse' and its manifestation through display, as the museum simultaneously makes objects visually available to visitors (and in the case of the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' also its

⁹²⁸ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. xxiv.

⁹²⁹ Wilson's observations have been helpful here. See Wilson, p. 10.

⁹³⁰ Hendy, 'Director's Report 12th December 1946', London, National Gallery, NG25/18.

⁹³¹ Bodkin, Thomas, *The Times*, 21st October 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

conservation and cleaning procedures), whilst producing authoritative statements about such objects through choices of lay-out, text and hang. As Bal puts it, visitors are interpellated to 'Look!', but often this also implies 'That's how it is'.⁹³² In this way, 'in publicizing these views, the subject objectifies, exposes himself as much as the object; this makes the exposition an exposure of the self'.⁹³³ At the National Gallery, the 1947 exhibition and its organisation of objects in space (paintings, photographs, labels, glass) offered a means to argue a certain position about cleaning and defend the legitimacy of the Gallery's conservation methods, and some reviewers in the press went on to admire how some rooms in the show were 'almost all argument'.⁹³⁴ The Gallery's unprecedented act of self-exposure thus simultaneously made it the object of the public gaze *and* reinforced the Gallery's authoritative voice by selectively directing and deflecting this public attention.

The exhibition did not do this coercively, but by mobilising the idea that the display had liberated visitors from the privileged gaze of the connoisseur, and certainly some members of the public seemed to agree. Claims for visibility-as-access had been extended to the mode in which visitors would engage with pictures so that cleaning was retooled as a practice that made paintings visible - and by implication comprehensible - to lay publics, as pictures became unglazed and 'unveiled'. This new type of viewership had been defended by the Gallery director and other stakeholders on the grounds of its greater contemporaneity, which was considered to have emancipatory effects for the viewer.⁹³⁵ Arguably though, it was underpinned by the assumption that the initial experience of 'shock' could – and ideally should - be overcome, and as a result it placed demands on visitors to correct their prior beliefs about the Old Masters and update their understanding of the

⁹³² Bal 1996, p. 2.

⁹³³ Ibid.

⁹³⁴ Laws, Frederick, 'No more Filthy Pictures', *News Chronicle*, 9th October 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

⁹³⁵ See press clippings in London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1; NG24/1947/2; NG24/1947/6.

pictorial tradition.⁹³⁶ The unrevised version of the Report to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries thus asserted that the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' had successfully drawn attention 'to the aesthetic superiority of pictures freed from discoloured varnished and restorations'.⁹³⁷ It was in this way that the exhibition hoped to educate self-reflexive observers, organising their field of vision such that they would re-read tradition in the light of contemporary values and adapt to a state of what Tony Bennett has called 'perpetual perceptual revolution'.⁹³⁸ This, Bennett has argued, has been a typical feature of the modern art museum, which has commonly discredited 'forms of perception associated with earlier artistic movements that, while once innovative and able to provoke new forms of perceptual self-reflexiveness, have since atrophied into routine conventions'.⁹³⁹ Although not a modern art museum, at the National Gallery the exhibition of cleaned pictures and Hendy's 'daring juxtapositions' similarly functioned 'to keep the senses in the state of chastened attentiveness' necessary for the production of 'a dynamic of self-formation' which could sustain a 'a dynamic sensory life'.⁹⁴⁰

As a result, while the exhibition did reflect an interest to extend a democratic agenda of public access to the Gallery and its collection, it simultaneously advanced a consensual view about its practice of cleaning and the proper way of looking at pictures. In this process, the Gallery produced the freedom to see, to inspect and delight in pictures, yet it was a freedom carefully managed and bracketed by professional dictates emphasising the continual renovation of sight and the cultivation of personal autonomy. To follow Foucault's writings about liberalism, the Gallery assisted 'not so much the imperative of freedom as the

⁹³⁶ Ibid.

⁹³⁷ 'The National Gallery 1938-48', Report to the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries [unrevised] London, National Gallery, NG25/20, p. 10.

⁹³⁸ See here Henning 2015, and Bennett, Tony, 'Exhibition, Difference and the Logic of Culture' in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. by Ivan Karp and Corinne A. Kratz (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006b), pp. 46-69. See also Ray, William, *The Logic of Culture: Authority and Identity in the Modern Era* (Oxford: Blackwell, c2001).

⁹³⁹ Bennett 2006b, p. 53.

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

management and organization of the conditions in which one can be free [...].⁹⁴¹ Therefore, the production of such freedom entailed ‘the establishment of limitations, controls, forms of coercion, and obligations [...]’.⁹⁴² Bennett has further extended this claim, arguing that ‘the production of the conditions in which (some) individuals are free to be free is the work of intellectual and cultural authorities of various kinds’, who ‘in producing its zones of freedom, also distribute [...] these freedoms unequally, always simultaneously producing freedom and denying or destroying it’.⁹⁴³ At the Gallery, the specialist vocabularies wielded by Hendy made available such freedoms whilst exercising particular kinds of control as members of a professional class responsible for defining, mediating and making accessible this ‘cultural capital’ to the general public.⁹⁴⁴ In this regard, the reform of the art museum, and its avowedly democratic intent, existed alongside a score of concerns to reform the public via the re-articulation of its mechanisms of perception. The particular organisation of vision wrought in the exhibition and in the post-war temporary displays, through the inclusion of photographs, exhibition lay-out and the choice of paintings, played an important role in connecting the freedom to see unhindered to the regulatory demands of the museum profession. In the years that followed, this task was further extended in the remodelling of six new galleries, as is discussed in the following chapter.

⁹⁴¹ Foucault, Michel, *The Birth of Biopolitics, Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79*, ed. by Michel Senellart (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, c2008), pp. 63-64.

⁹⁴² Ibid.

⁹⁴³ Bennett 2011.

⁹⁴⁴ For a discussion of ‘cultural capital’ see Bourdieu 2010.

Chapter 4. A modern Gallery for modern times: refiguring architectural visions at the National Gallery after WWII (1947-1956)

As outlined in Chapter 3, in 1946 the Trustees of the National Gallery lent Hendy their support to execute a long-term scheme to remodel, redecorate and rehang a suite of six galleries in the West Wing of the Wilkins's Building which had been damaged during WWII. In the post-war years that followed, Hendy endeavoured to refashion the chosen galleries - XXIX, XIX, XX, XXI, XXVII and XXVIII - as a trial experiment with the expectation of improving the standard of display and 'stimulat[ing] the public by the finest possible presentation' [Figure 68].⁹⁴⁵ This task of rebuilding was part and parcel of Hendy's agenda to define the basis for what could become, in his eyes, a more democratic cultural economy, and the subsequent remodelling would seek to increase accessibility to the collection through newly adapted interior environments. Simultaneously these changes came to also define the conditions for modern viewership in the art museum, so that the new galleries, in their furnishings and style of presentation, reflected Hendy's efforts to couple the needs of contemporary visitors with the interests of the museum profession. As will be discussed, the galleries helped aestheticise the past in a modern guise, at once giving primacy to the aesthetic experience of paintings and bringing into the space of the museum a code of intimacy that intended to make visitors feel at home among the Old Masters. By the mid-1950s, a host of adjustments and technical innovations from state of the art lighting to air-conditioning were joined by new amenities including a restaurant and increased space for a publications stall, all in the endeavour to transform the relationship between the public and the National Gallery. As he had done in the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures', Hendy would emphasise the efforts to make paintings accessible and visible as being central to the task of

⁹⁴⁵ Hendy, Extract from Director's Memorandum 18th January 1946 in 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2.

attaining ‘mutual trust between the museums and galleries on the one hand and their visitors on the other’.⁹⁴⁶

Planning the modern museum after the war

The correlation between outmoded methods of display and the lack of public interest in museums had been a common trope used to justify the imperative for modernisation throughout the twentieth century, and it became a potent symbol for museum reconstruction after the war. In 1943, the then President of the Museums Association Douglas A. Allan had told associates that many museums had been concentrated ‘upon freezing objects in appropriate settings’ and as a result had come close ‘to being period pieces themselves’.⁹⁴⁷ It was because museums and galleries tended to ‘date’, he argued, that they received less attention compared to ‘publicized drama leagues and playing fields’.⁹⁴⁸ The new museographical doctrine of ‘*mutatis mutandi*’, he argued, would place museums at the forefront of change rather than as its main deterrent. In these years, articles in *The Museums Journal* celebrated the technical and educational challenge of adapting museums to changing times.⁹⁴⁹ As one contributor to the journal put it, everyone now realised that ‘museums are living places and that methods of presentation are devised with the need for public information in mind and not merely to satisfy the personal aesthetic taste of the director’.⁹⁵⁰ Education had to ‘compete with entertainment’ so that leading museum professionals looked forward to the end of an era when museums had displayed ‘collections

⁹⁴⁶ *The National Gallery, January 1965 – December 1966*, Publications Department, National Gallery, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1967), p. 48.

⁹⁴⁷ Allan 1943, p. 65.

⁹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁹ Among some of the following articles can be noted: Wright R. W. M., ‘Museums in the Modern Age’, Presidential Address to the South-western Group of Museums, Bath, 3rd April 1936, *The Museum Journal*, 36: 2 (May 1936), 41-44; Read 1939; Allan 1946, 1949; Carter 1948.

⁹⁵⁰ Rotha, p. 145.

of dead pieces inadequately related to their environment' explained only by 'little illegible labels'.⁹⁵¹ Instead, the necessary updating of museums would enhance their educational facilities and offer 'a greater measure of leisure' for the public.⁹⁵²

At the same time, this activity was underpinned by a professional mandate that ran alongside, but did not necessarily fulfil, the aim of assisting the visiting public in this empowering cultural mission. As the prominent museum specialist of the time Grace Morley noted, in the ensuing period the growing regard for the museum's function as intermediary between the specialist and the man in the street had been matched by an 'increasingly greater authority conceded to scholarship and professional techniques'.⁹⁵³ At the National Gallery, such 'techniques' derived in part from a heterodox mixture of sources, which included Hendy's frequent trips to American and European museums in the 1940s and 50s, knowledge exchanges through the creation of national and international committees, and the circulation of ideas in contemporary journals and publications in Britain and abroad, notably *The Museums Journal*, *Museum*, and *ICOM News*, as well as in the general press. Certainly, these new methods drew on international mobile networks of expertise in which Hendy was well-placed, as the first chairman of ICOM's Commission for the Care of Paintings (1948-1949) and as an engaged player in the global museum community which culminated in his appointment as President of ICOM (1959-1965).⁹⁵⁴ ICOM's journal *Museum*, intended

⁹⁵¹ Ibid.

⁹⁵² Allan 1943, p. 66. See Noordegraaf; Henning 2006a, 2015; and Klonk 2005 for studies about the relationship between the museum and the department store as well as other forms of popular visual communication.

⁹⁵³ Morley, p. 13.

⁹⁵⁴ The Commission for the Care of Paintings was created in 1948, with Hendy as its President until Easter 1949, when the art historian and critic Cesare Brandi took over. The first meeting took place at the National Gallery on 13-15th December 1948, but it admittedly had a European bias and there was limited attendance by restorers. Among the attendees were the curators and art historians Georg Schmidt (Kunstmuseum, Basel); René Huyghe (Louvre, Paris); Cesare Brandi (Istituto Centrale del Restauro, Rome); Arthur van Schendel (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Hendy felt that this organization had overlapping interests with the soon-to-be-established International Institute for Conservation of Museum Objects (IIC), founded in 1950 following discussions among restorers such as George Stout, W.G. Constable (Boston), Ian Rawlins (London) and Paul Coremans (Brussels). See in UNESCO online archive 'International Council of Museums. Commission on the Care of Paintings',

for museum professionals world-wide, thus called on its readership to 'assure their own professional progress by consultation among themselves, drawing full advantage from the renewed international contacts and possibilities of exchange of information and opinion'.⁹⁵⁵ In line with these developments, *The Museums Journal* dedicated articles to the activities of ICOM and included well-illustrated full-length essays about the curatorial policies in museums abroad which could furnish useful models for the reconstruction of museums in post-war Britain.⁹⁵⁶

Modernisation as it was conventionally defined in these publications meant that museums would embrace the 'tendency towards specialization and increased efficiency', in the words of Douglas A. Allan, as this would enable them to adjust to 'an age which demands, and rightly so, from everyone a mastery of his subject and the most up-to-date methods in his technique'.⁹⁵⁷ Along these lines, 'careful planning and cooperation' would replace the 'haphazard development of the past' in the post-war era.⁹⁵⁸ Such views were similarly voiced in UNESCO's journal *Museum*, with Morley stating that the 'universal concern for improved installation and the thought devoted to museum architecture' were matched 'everywhere by a strong desire to bring to the highest possible point of perfection all the technical skills and methods involved in museum work'.⁹⁵⁹ As she noted, 'scholarship and technical proficiency must be fundamental to all serious museum effort'.⁹⁶⁰

ICOM/CP/Conf./1/SR 1, 2, 3. See Bewer 2010. See also <https://www.iiconservation.org/about/history> [accessed 6 October 2016].

⁹⁵⁵ Morley, p. 21.

⁹⁵⁶ Coleman 1937; Markham, Sydney Frank, 'British-American Colleagues Meeting in Sweden, September 1946', *The Museums Journal*, 46:10 (January 1947), 185-187; Bruce-Mitford, R. S., 'Swedish Museums and the Public', *The Museums Journal*, 46:10 (January 1947), 188-194; Lambert, Frank, 'The Art Galleries of Sweden', *The Museums Journal*, 46:10 (January 1947), 196-199; Coleman, Laurence Vail, 'The Museum-building Experience in the USA', *The Museums Journal*, 47:12 (March 1948), 221-227; 'The Museum of Modern Art in New York', *The Museums Journal*, 50:1 (April 1950), 1-3.

⁹⁵⁷ Allan 1943, p. 66.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁹ Morley, p. 18.

⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

These ideas arguably informed the organisational restructuring of the Gallery on different levels, which Hendy felt should absorb such professional principles as 'rationalization and scientific management', to borrow a phrase from the sociologist Michael Roper.⁹⁶¹ In the early years of Hendy's directorship, the first in-house Conservation department was founded (1946), the Scientific department was subsequently enlarged, and the Publications Department underwent a complete overhaul with the express aim to make it more effective and financially profitable (1949).⁹⁶² In 1948, Hendy produced a memorandum for the Chancellor of the Exchequer arguing that the Publication Department's expansion was necessary to generate photography 'by modern methods' for conservation and to provide the public (including schools) with a larger number of high-quality coloured reproductions.⁹⁶³ As a result, the National Gallery Trustees commissioned two reports to the Treasury's Organisation and Methods Department (O&M) along general and financial lines (February and September 1949, respectively).⁹⁶⁴ Eventually this led to the creation of a new post of Head of Publications, to which G. W. Atkins was appointed, becoming responsible for the reorganisation of the department according to more managerial and 'businesslike' methods in stock-keeping, trading and accountancy as well as leading to the adoption of a strategic re-arrangement and enlargement of stalls to make them more attractive to the public.⁹⁶⁵ With regards to the Gallery as a whole, Hendy went so far, in 1951, as to instigate

⁹⁶¹ Roper, Michael, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 48; and see also Perkins.

⁹⁶² Originally founded in 1915 by the Lewis Bequest as the photographic department, the Publications Department included a publishing section from 1934 onwards. See *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 49.

⁹⁶³ 'Director's Memorandum for the Chancellor of the Exchequer' (April 1948), London, National Gallery, NG25/20.

⁹⁶⁴ See Brock, F. H. C., 'National Gallery: Publications Department', Organisation and Methods Division H. M. Treasury, February 1949, London, National Gallery, NG16/179/1; Atkins, G. W., 'Publications Department, The National Gallery: Report Presented to the Chairman, the Trustees' (November 1949), London, National Gallery, NG15/42. Other recommendations of the report were the establishment of biannual income and expenditure accounts and balance sheets, record-keeping of stock, to build trade with wholesalers and retailers and improve the commercial showcase in the Gallery.

⁹⁶⁵ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 50.

a Treasury Inquiry by the Organisation & Methods division into the Gallery's administrative structures.⁹⁶⁶ This report, titled 'National Gallery' and conducted by V. M. Harris, was to clarify the position of the Director in relation to the Trustees and re-allocate the duties among staff, making clear the distinction between the role of the Director (Hendy) and that of the Keeper (William P. Gibson).⁹⁶⁷ As a result, it detailed the specific functions of all employees including the Director, Keeper and Assistant Keepers, as well clerical officers and the warders (the only exception were the cleaners of the Gallery).⁹⁶⁸

One significant obstacle on the road to modernisation was the National Gallery's architectural inheritance, an aspect that has been underplayed in the few existing histories about the National Gallery in the twentieth century, which have cast Hendy as more or less a clinical functionalist.⁹⁶⁹ Rather, from the evidence I have adduced, it has become clear that Hendy hybridised old and new with a view to accommodating the leisurely picture-viewing pursuits of the contemporary public. More than evoking a blindingly modernist faith, Hendy tended to mobilise arguments about the role of aesthetic display and beautiful surroundings for inducing visitor comfort and engaging the public with paintings to make their experience an enjoyable one. These changes often drew on and heeded long-standing debates about the function of museums and the technical means for achieving such ends, particularly Benjamin Ives Gilman's *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method* and the two-volume publication of the international symposium 'Muséographie' (1934), which have already been mentioned in Chapter 1.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁶ 'National Gallery', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/3.

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁸ Over the years, this process of modernisation would lead to an increase in staff, and the 1938-1954 report recorded that in 1939 there had been only a Director, Keeper, three Assistants, a Junior Assistant and an Accountant, but that by 1954 the chief staff consisted of the Director, Keeper, two Deputy Keeper, two Assistant Keepers, Grade I, a Senior Executive Officer, a Higher Executive Officer, and an Executive Officer. It stated the total staff complement numbered eighty in 1954. See *The National Gallery, 1938-1954*, pp. 68-69, 120.

⁹⁶⁹ Conlin, p. 409.

⁹⁷⁰ See *Muséographie*.

Notwithstanding, Hendy did confront the problem of adapting an old building to the modern uses and extended functions of the museum, which would now include up-to-date equipment for its growing staff, libraries of books and photography, photographic studios, scientific laboratories, studios for cleaning and restoration, sales rooms and spaces for stocking wares, and new amenities for the visitor, such as a shop, a restaurant, etc.⁹⁷¹ The challenges Hendy would face were not unusual in the post-war years, and the journal *Museum* praised the ingenious and tasteful adaptations of curators who were 'rarely able to carry out [their] ideas quite free from the limitations of architecture, of old equipment such as cases inherited from previous periods, and of inadequate funds'.⁹⁷² This task was made even more difficult in the dire circumstances of post-war rationing, and at the National Gallery the alleged promise of novelty and progress was long protracted as a result of generalised scarcity of human and material resources.⁹⁷³ While plans to refigure these galleries had begun immediately after the war, delays in the delivery of labour and equipment by the Ministry of Works (MoW) meant that the first Gallery to be remodelled – XXIX, which will be the main focus of this chapter - only opened in September 1950, followed by Galleries XIX and XX in June 1955, and XXI, XXVII and XXVIII in June 1956.⁹⁷⁴ The full scheme, which in its second phase would include new studios and facilities for the growing Conservation Department, a remodelling of the Reference Section, and the extension of air-

⁹⁷¹ Hendy, 'Picture Galleries', p. 44.

⁹⁷² Morley, p. 28.

⁹⁷³ The work of Reconstruction was carried out by the Ministry of Works (MoW), which was financially liable to the Treasury, as was the National Gallery. The ministerial responsibility for the National Gallery was transferred from Treasury to Ministry of Education and Science in 1964. See 'Foreword' to the Director's Report in *The National Gallery, June 1962 – December 1964*, p. 11. Details and plans for the reconstruction of the West Wing can also be found at London, National Archives, WORK 17/358. This file also contains correspondence among civil servants from the MoW, Hendy and Trustees of the National Gallery.

⁹⁷⁴ See the Appendix for the equivalent numbering of these galleries today (for ease of understanding, throughout and in the appendix the term 'gallery' is used to refer to the old premises, and 'room' to the current one). Work came to a halt in 1951 due to shortage in supplies and the economy drive, with only small patching-up work carried out by the MoW. The work on Galleries XIX and XX was resumed in 1954. See *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 24, and Board Minutes for these years (1951-1955) which give a sense of the protracted nature of the work, and the anxieties of the Trustees resulting from this situation.

conditioning there and in galleries in the east wing, reached completion in 1964 when the Reserve Collection was made available to the public.⁹⁷⁵ Given the primary focus on the immediate developments after the war in the remodelled galleries, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to review the later extension of this modernisation programme, and as such the period examined here is broadly the decade between 1946 and 1956.

What follows is an analysis of the physical reconstruction of the Gallery in its broadest sense, which will encompass primarily a discussion of new architectural features but also of other means by which Hendy presented the Gallery to the outside world, including a series of biennial reports. The main focus is on museum space, given its logic of mediation between professional praxis and the museum's public and outward orientation, but some organisational aspects are considered to provide the wider context for understanding changes in the curatorial field. As such, the chapter first examines the modernisation of the old building to make it more amenable to present-day visitors, to their aesthetic tastes and physical needs. It then goes on to consider how such innovations were also informed by debates in the museum profession about the suitability of display techniques and how as a result Hendy's changes in the Gallery would regulate visitors by directing their modalities of viewing. The chapter finally considers how this visual rhetoric was further communicated through textual means from 1954 onwards, when the Gallery began to publish biennial reports which consolidated its narrative voice as both an open and authoritative institution.

A modern shell inside an old building and the comforts of picture-viewing

In 1957, the Gallery Trustees published Michael Levey's *A Brief History of the National Gallery*, a booklet illustrated with black and white images which gave an overview of the

⁹⁷⁵ One section of the Reserve Collection was opened already in 1961, as noted in *The National Gallery, June 1962 – December 1964*, pp. 14-17.

history of the institution and of its recent acquisitions. Published by Pitkin Pictorials, the book was an immediate success and had sold 10,000 copies only five months after its publication.⁹⁷⁶ The foreword, written by Hendy, greeted the reader with two illustrations comparing displays of the National Gallery collection in the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries that reflected ‘past and present’ attitudes to picture display [Figure 69].⁹⁷⁷ The first was a reproduction of the famous watercolour by Frederick MacKenzie showing the interior of John Julian Angerstein’s house at No. 100 Pall Mall about 1830 – the first home of the National Gallery - and the caption read the ‘crowded appearance of the rooms shows that already there was not enough space for expansion’.⁹⁷⁸ The second reproduced a view of Gallery XXI, one of the newly air-conditioned and recently-opened rooms in 1956, where ‘... pictures are hung without glass and not only in a physical atmosphere which helps to preserve them but spaced on the walls in a way which allows each to exist as a painting in its own right’.⁹⁷⁹ Moreover, the caption stated, these rooms were now ‘decorated with discreet simplicity so that nothing distracts from the pictures’ making ‘almost too neat a contrast’ with Angerstein’s gallery hung with pictures in a dense arrangement from floor to ceiling.⁹⁸⁰ These ‘new rooms’ of course referred to the horseshoe of six galleries in the West Wing that had been remodelled between 1950 and 1956, and they were intended as a template for Hendy’s new curatorial programme.

Through the comparison in Levey’s booklet, the National Gallery self-reflexively judged its own distant past and simultaneously cut itself off from it, as if agreeing with the suggestion made in an issue of *Apollo* in 1950 that ‘more traditional methods of display have

⁹⁷⁶ The book was sold at 2/6, which is approximately equivalent to £2.50-3.00 today. See London, National Gallery, NG16/177/7.

⁹⁷⁷ Hendy, Philip, ‘Foreword’ in *A Brief History of the National Gallery. With a Selection of Representative Pictures* by Michael Levey (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1957), no page numbers.

⁹⁷⁸ Hendy in Levey.

⁹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

become themselves museum pieces, sociological documents'.⁹⁸¹ Like other post-war reconstruction projects, the Gallery's modernised rooms were a 'sign of deliverance' promising a more democratic future, as Hendy's colleague and Louvre curator Germain Bazin would later record in *The Museum Age*.⁹⁸² Levey's juxtaposition of image and text in his 1957 book worked as an advertisement for this new spirit and pointed both to a departure from old traditions and to the espousal of new methods and technical innovations. Although it was probably with an awareness that five additional rooms were added in the west wing by the Office of Works in 1909-1911 and that such old picture hangs had not been unrevised in the opening decades of the twentieth century, the main issue was to differentiate the museum from nineteenth-century modes of thought which had informed the wider evolution of the National Gallery and other such institutions.⁹⁸³ By extension, this would commit the Gallery 'to a program of perpetual perceptual innovation', to borrow the expression from Tony Bennett, that would potentially realise new democratic ideals in built form.⁹⁸⁴

As early as 1934, Hendy had pointed to the need to overthrow the traditional turnstiles and awe-inspiring vistas of these early museums, and instead make the entrance hall an inviting reception room that would lead visitors on to quietly coloured rooms of moderate proportions.⁹⁸⁵ At the National Gallery, Hendy took issue with the pomposity of the building, which as he noted had been 'erected to be impressive at the expense of intimacy'.⁹⁸⁶ Moreover, he declared that old museum buildings were ill-suited to the 'modern idea', difficult to adapt and unable to provide space for other uses by visitors and staff such

⁹⁸¹ M.A.Q. 'Post-war Fashions', *Apollo*, 51:299 (1950), p. 84.

⁹⁸² Bazin, Germain, *The Museum Age*, trans. by Jane van Nuis Cahill (Brussels: Desoer, 1967), p. 270.

⁹⁸³ Amery, Colin, *The National Gallery Sainsbury Wing: A Celebration of Art & Architecture* (London: National Gallery, 1991), p. 36.

⁹⁸⁴ Bennett 2006b, p. 53.

⁹⁸⁵ Hendy, 'The Technique of the Art Museum', p. 83. Refer here to the discussion in Chapter 1.

⁹⁸⁶ Hendy quoted in Liversidge, Douglas, 'Science to the Aid of Art', *Huddersfield Examiner*, January 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/16.

as libraries, studios, workrooms, stalls for sales, lecture theatres or restaurants, as already noted.⁹⁸⁷ This preoccupation was echoed by Bazin, who emphasised the characteristic inability of old museums to grow or to meet the demands of an expanding public, a condition that he defined as ‘anachylosis’.⁹⁸⁸

In the post-war years, articles in *The Museums Journal* especially highlighted and praised the modernising schemes of Scandinavian and American museums. For example, the Swedish Technical Museum (Stockholm, 1923) had been designed ‘with an eye of exceptional intelligence on public psychology to meet every public requirement’ and to make visitors feel ‘welcome and comfortable’.⁹⁸⁹ In 1948, the Director of the Association of American Museums Laurence Vail Coleman contributed a paper discussing the need for a planned organisation of space, lighting and air conditioning as well as an extension of the ways in which the public’s point of view was considered, via the introduction of such facilities as lobbies, public restaurants, sales desks, areas designed for rest, etc.⁹⁹⁰ That same year, 1948, Hendy had had the opportunity to study a number of American museums and had been ‘struck’ by the ‘comparatively greater comfort and number of amenities with which they welcomed their visitors: more comfortable seats, rest-rooms, where smoking is permitted, good restaurants, a general air of hospitality [...]’.⁹⁹¹

Attention to the embodied experience of visitors had been a concern among museum professionals working in American museums since the 1920s, and as Kristina Wilson has argued, some like the Metropolitan and the Museum of Modern Art had sought to make art ‘distinct from everyday life – and also as a phenomenon that had social and psychological

⁹⁸⁷ Hendy, ‘Picture Galleries’, p. 44.

⁹⁸⁸ Bazin, p. 274.

⁹⁸⁹ Bruce-Mitford, pp. 191-192.

⁹⁹⁰ Coleman 1948, pp. 222-224.

⁹⁹¹ ‘Visit of Sir Alan Barlow and the Director to the United States, October 21st to November 16th, 1948’, London, National Gallery, NG25/20. Among the museums that Hendy visited were the Metropolitan Museum (New York), the Worcester Museum, the Fogg and the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), and the Art Institute (Chicago).

relevance to ordinary lives'.⁹⁹² It may have been in these years, when Hendy worked in Boston at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and at the Museum of Fine Arts, that he first became acquainted with the agenda of such progressive museums to fulfil an 'active educational force' by 'humanizing themselves and by offering countless services that were formerly unavailable'.⁹⁹³ This was 'linked to a broader movement among museums to make their collections accessible to the general public',⁹⁹⁴ a trend that had been driven by the findings from the research of Gilman, Robinson and Melton into the psychology of visitor perception in the 1920s-1930s.⁹⁹⁵

At the National Gallery, Hendy intervened in the museum environment to build a new gallery inside the 'shell' of the existing one in accordance with this new agenda of accessibility and modern museum design principles.⁹⁹⁶ It was realised most programmatically in the new suite of six galleries discussed below, which opened between 1950 and 1956, however elsewhere in the Gallery such measures were adopted. In 1950, the rather large Duveen Gallery [Gallery XXXI] was divided into bays to show, according to the 'Plan for Re-hanging Pictures' of March of that year, the early German school on the west side and the Netherlandish school in the east side.⁹⁹⁷ German paintings included Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (NG1314), which occupied a central place alongside the works *Madonna and Child* attributed to the workshop of Albrecht Dürer (NG5592),⁹⁹⁸ Baldung's *Portrait of a*

⁹⁹² Wilson, p. 3.

⁹⁹³ Hendy, 'The Technique of the Art Museum', p. 83; and *The Saturday Evening Post* (1928), quoted in Wilson, p. 3.

⁹⁹⁴ Wilson, p. 3.

⁹⁹⁵ Among the publications of Edward Robinson and Arthur Melton see Robinson 1928, 1930, 1931; Melton 1933, 1935, 1936.

⁹⁹⁶ Hendy, 'Changes at the National Gallery', p. 28.

⁹⁹⁷ 'National Gallery. Plan for Re-hanging pictures, March 1950', London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

⁹⁹⁸ This painting is titled today *The Virgin and Child ('The Madonna with the Iris')*. A photograph of this display has not been found and titles of the paintings as given in the contemporary press do not correspond with the title of any painting in the collection today. This makes it difficult to identify the paintings with certainty, but their titles suggest they are the paintings whose inventory numbers are indicated in parenthesis.

Senator (NG245),⁹⁹⁹ and *St Hubert* (NG783), attributed to Roger van der Weyden and workshop [Figures 44, 70-71].¹⁰⁰⁰ In the other two bays hung nearly all the early Netherlandish pictures, among them Jan Van Eyck's *The Arnolfini Portrait* (NG186), Dirk Bouts's *The Entombment* (NG664), and Mabuse's *The Adoration of the Kings* (NG2790).¹⁰⁰¹ Such arrangements in the Duveen Gallery would change subsequently and by 1956 paintings of the Dutch school had been hung there. However, as seen in the photograph [Figure 49], the niches remained, and Hendy would go on to create small groupings of paintings by theme and scale, hanging pictures in single or double rows depending on their size. Small landscape paintings by Dutch artists who had travelled to Rome or received Italian influence, such as those by Jan Both, Nicolas Berchem or Bartholomeus Breenbergh, were hung in close proximity or side by side, encouraging visitors not only to engage in an intimate visual encounter at close range but also to establish a relationship of style and apprenticeship among these artists.¹⁰⁰² Hendy observed in this regard that 'Dutch pictures [...] are hung close together in the belief that the intentions of artists have usually to be discovered at so close a range that anyone looking at one picture is not much aware of the rest of the wall'.¹⁰⁰³ Further stylistic parallels were drawn by the juxtaposition of such Italianate landscapes with paintings of Gerrit van Honthorst, such as *Saint Sebastian* (NG4503) and *Christ before the High Priest* (NG3679), an artist known for being, as the 1960 catalogue of the Dutch School would state, 'one of the principal channels, though not the earliest, through which Caravaggio's innovations reached Holland'.¹⁰⁰⁴ This concentrated distribution of the

⁹⁹⁹ This painting is titled today *Portrait of a Man*.

¹⁰⁰⁰ This painting is titled today *The Exhumation of Saint Hubert*.

¹⁰⁰¹ Mabuse was also known as Jan Gossaert.

¹⁰⁰² The paintings identified in Figure 49 are *A Man and a Youth ploughing with Oxen*, about 1650, by Nicolas Berchem (NG1005); *Peasants with Mules and Oxen*, about 1641-3, by Jan Both (NG959); *The Finding of the Infant Moses by Pharaoh's Daughter*, 1636, by Bartholomeus Breenbergh (NG208).

¹⁰⁰³ Hendy, Philip, 'The New Look in Picture Galleries' (21st September 1953, unpublished manuscript, for *Time and Tide*), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/16.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *The Dutch School*, National Gallery Catalogue (London: Publications Department of the National Gallery, 1960), p. 179.

paintings simultaneously served to focus visitor attention and in extending the function of the bays minimised the commanding presence of the high-ceilinged gallery.

By taking this approach, Hendy was aligning himself with the ‘anti-architectural’ logic that had been adopted since the 1920s in museums such as the Museum of Modern Art (New York), the Fogg Art Museum (Boston) and the Boijmans (Rotterdam), which explicitly rejected palatial architecture in favour of more modest buildings.¹⁰⁰⁵ In Britain, arrangements of this kind had famously been made at the V&A in the mid-1930s under Eric MacLagan, then President of the Museums Association.¹⁰⁰⁶ As in the Duveen Gallery, the forbidding Octagon Court at the V&A had been compartmentalised into room-like habitations, and the formerly crowded showcases had given way to less dense arrangements.¹⁰⁰⁷ The milestone displays at the V&A had been hailed in the journal *Architectural Review* as a ‘small revolution’ which pointed ‘the way to a better museum ... nearer to the heart of the public [...]’.¹⁰⁰⁸ In 1939, the writer and critic Herbert Read had anticipated that in the museum of the future, exhibitions rooms would be ‘separate cells’ of a human and habitable size appropriate to the objects they contained.¹⁰⁰⁹ The new model for the museum sought in this way resist the ‘elephantine’ proportions of preceding models, to borrow the term from the architect Michael Brawne.¹⁰¹⁰

The remodelling of Gallery XXIX, the first ‘experimental prototype’ to be completed, is instructive for gauging the ways in which the National Gallery was remodelled. In particular, Hendy was weary of the ‘rather overwhelming’ proportions of the rooms, which

¹⁰⁰⁵ McClellan 2003, p. 21.

¹⁰⁰⁶ The directors of the V&A in this period were Sir Eric MacLagan (1924-44), Sir Leigh Ashton (1945-55), and Trenchard Cox (1956-66). See Burton.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Burton, pp. 193-194.

¹⁰⁰⁸ ‘The Octagon Court’, *The Cabinet Maker*, 8th February 1936, p. 238; *Architectural Review*, 85 (1939), p. 274, both cited in Burton, pp. 193-194.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Read 1939, p. 567.

¹⁰¹⁰ Brawne, Michael, *The New Museum: Architecture and Display* (London: Architectural Press, 1965), pp. 15-16.

he felt could intimidate the viewer.¹⁰¹¹ A visual comparison of Gallery XXIX in 1932 and in 1950 demonstrates how the interior was refigured under Hendy to look more intimate and less lofty [Figures 72-73]. Ceilings were lowered to reduce the height of the room as well as to accommodate new air-conditioning and lighting systems. The heavy moulding and the door architrave seen in the earlier photographic records had been restored to include a simple marble door frame [Figure 74]. Likewise, the walls were no longer broken up mid-way into two parts but flowed uninterruptedly and its cornice had been simplified, emphasising the airiness of the room. In this case, sparsely spaced paintings hung on damask-covered walls, known for its 'hygroscopic' properties to stabilise the atmosphere's relative humidity.¹⁰¹² This was an especially important feature in a room which now displayed some of the most fragile Italian fifteenth-century paintings from the collection.¹⁰¹³ Gallery XXIX contained pictures by, among others, Cosimo Tura, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned* (NG772) and *A Muse (Calliope?)* (NG3070); Giovanni Bellini, *The Blood of the Redeemer* (NG1233), *The Dead Christ supported by Angels* (NG3912), *Doge Leonardo Loredan* (NG189), and *The Agony in the Garden* (NG726); Masaccio, *The Virgin and Child* (NG3046) and *Saint Jerome and John the Baptist* (NG5962); Leonardo, *The Virgin of the Rocks* (NG1093); and Piero della Francesca, *Saint Michael* (NG769) and *The Baptism of Christ* (NG665).¹⁰¹⁴ With the altered proportions of the room, Hendy explained the logic of its widely-spaced hang:

¹⁰¹¹ Hendy quoted in Liversidge, Douglas 'Science to the Aid of Art', *Huddersfield Examiner*, January 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/16.

¹⁰¹² Hendy argued that silk damask wall coverings were hygroscopic, meaning that they absorbed the moisture in the air and helped stabilise the level of humidity in the atmosphere. See *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 23.

¹⁰¹³ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 25; and *The National Gallery, January 1955 - June 1956*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰¹⁴ The remaining paintings in this room were: *Christ Crucified* (NG1166), *Saint Jerome in his Study* (NG1418), and *Portrait of a Man* (NG1141), by Antonello da Messina; *The Vision of Saint Eustace* by Pisanello (NG1436); *The Virgin and Child*, workshop of Giovanni Bellini (NG280); *The Entombment* by Michelangelo (NG790); *The Adoration of the Kings*, by Giorgione (NG1160); *Tobias and the Angel*, workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio (NG781), *The Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, by Andrea del Verrocchio (NG296); *The Agony in the Garden* (NG1417), *The Holy Family with Saint John* (NG5461), and *The Virgin and Child with Saints* (NG274) by Mantegna; and *A Pope (Saint Gregory) and Saint Matthias* by Masolino (NG5963).

...Italian pictures, at the other extreme [of Dutch pictures], are hung further apart in the belief that the more monumental character of their design is best appreciated at a distance which brings the remainder of the wall into view. Italian pictures, however – and their architectural frames – since they were usually designed for a particular site, come in great variety of shapes and sizes, and the juxtaposition of wide short pictures and narrow tall pictures can make for an additional appearance of spaciousness.¹⁰¹⁵

If the imposing Duveen Gallery required a tighter hang to offset the height of the wall, the more domestic scale of the new Gallery XXIX could afford ample space without the risk of dwarfing the pictures. Even so, the surviving photographs illustrate distinctions: larger paintings which had been part of an altarpiece originally were hung very spaced apart, as seen from the photograph of the north wall (Figure 74, NG790, NG3046, NG1093, NG769, and NG665), while smaller devotional works and portraits on the east and west walls were hung closer together in symmetrical arrangement. By this time, Hendy's 'daring juxtapositions' had given way to a more traditional hang based on national schools, and this had been the organising principle for the plan of the re-hang in March 1950. However, the selection of Italian pictures encompassed a range of differences that resisted such definitive constraints [Figures 73-74]. Though the focus was overwhelmingly on Italian painting in the second half of the fifteenth century, Gallery XXIX included earlier paintings (Masaccio and Masolino) as well as works of the early sixteenth-century by Michelangelo, Leonardo, Giorgione and Mantegna, and the regional span was also broad, covering artists working in northern Italy, Venice, Tuscany, central Italy, Florence, Mantua and Rome. The south wall contained paintings of religious themes but these were not, with one exception, destined for altarpieces, and they ranged from hagiographical subjects to biblical passages or depictions

¹⁰¹⁵ Hendy, Philip, 'The New Look in Picture Galleries' (21st September 1953, unpublished manuscript, for *Time and Tide*), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/16.

of the Holy Family, often mirroring, and thus reinforcing, the visual storyline of the altarpieces on the opposite wall. In the south wall, some paintings by different artists on the same subject were paired, demonstrating similarities and divergences in their treatment of such themes. For example, Mantegna's *The Agony in the Garden* was hung beside Giovanni Bellini's painting of the same subject, implicating the latter's influence on Mantegna's portrayal of this scene. Also, paintings by Masaccio and Antonello da Messina showing Saint Jerome were distinct in their representations of the saint, the one an altarpiece panel in which Saint Jerome is depicted with John the Baptist (NG5962), the other an elaborate scene of Saint Jerome in his study executed circa fifty years later (NG1418). The emphasis was here on reading paintings in dialogue, as regards the continuities or shifts in representation, in order to propose different genealogies of artistic production.

That said, this interpretation of the display needs to acknowledge the fact that, on more pragmatic counts, the rationale to exhibit these pictures in Gallery XXIX, as revealed in Hendy's annotations, responded primarily to the conservation needs of fragile fifteenth-century Italian paintings. Their preservation was in this way considered a priority in comparison to other motives for creating this 'model gallery', which included being able to take the glass off pictures and select paintings whose importance was universally recognised.¹⁰¹⁶ This recalls Whitehead's argument that structural factors, such as conservation requirements, cost, or security, 'can proscribe or compromise the knowledges that can be produced, and maybe even the thoughts that can be thought'.¹⁰¹⁷

The extant black-and-white reproductions of Gallery XXIX do not illustrate the colour scheme, although it seems to have been monochromatic and in a lighter key than the scheme of 1932. Further circumstantial evidence that this was the case comes from Hendy's noting

¹⁰¹⁶ Hendy, Philip, notes 'Choice of Pictures for XXIX', London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

¹⁰¹⁷ Whitehead 2016, p. 8.

in 1956 that most rooms were now decorated in ‘comparatively neutral’ hues such as ‘near-gold, warm grey or grey beige’.¹⁰¹⁸ One contemporary member of the public, Mrs Joan S. Cotton, wrote to the Director, stating that ‘I shall always remember with pleasure my first sight of it [Gallery XXIX] – with the pictures glowing like jewels in a golden setting’.¹⁰¹⁹ Specifically, this gallery seems to have been paler than the ‘warmer’ golden-yellow damask which Hendy planned to install elsewhere, in Galleries IV, VIII, XI and XVI.¹⁰²⁰ The intimate and domesticated ambience of Gallery XXIX was further reinforced by the installation of cork floors, which were intended to provide ‘a feeling of resilience and softness to the feet’ as they were ‘quiet, look well, and contribute to the comfort of picture gazing’.¹⁰²¹ Compared with the ‘slippery and exhausting’ surface of wooden floors of other rooms, cork was noise-absorbent and more practical to maintain.¹⁰²² As the journal *Architectural Design* put it, the more active visitors would also find the new cork-tiled flooring more yielding than wood or stone.¹⁰²³

Turning to the furniture in the room, *Architectural Design* explained that the new fabric-covered furniture of similar tones provided for ‘comfortable viewing’ and approvingly observed that the traditional constraints of the museum had been abated, so that ‘[even] the thin rope, supported by short bronze stanchions of modern form, which inevitably separates the public from the pictures, is designed to embarrass the viewer as little as possible’.¹⁰²⁴ In this welcoming environment, visitors could sit undisturbed in leisurely contemplation on light-weight modern chairs or ‘pleasantly upholstered settees’ which had

¹⁰¹⁸ Hendy, Philip, ‘Reconstruction at the National Gallery’, *The Museums Journal*, 56:5 (August 1956), 113-115 (p. 113).

¹⁰¹⁹ Mrs Joan S. Cotton, letter to Philip Hendy (29th August 1950), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

¹⁰²⁰ Board Minutes (8th January 1953), London, National Gallery, NG1.

¹⁰²¹ *Floors*, 3:1 (July 1956), p. 25, London, National Gallery, NG2/1956/16. These floors can be seen in Figures 73-76.

¹⁰²² *The National Gallery, January 1955 - June 1956*, p. 17.

¹⁰²³ ‘Art Science and the Public’, *Architectural Design*, September 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*

replaced the old 'ugly, uncomfortable seating' [Figure 75].¹⁰²⁵ Drawing on his experience at Leeds City Art Gallery, by 1952 Hendy had brought eighty comfortable chairs into the National Gallery with the aim to correct the perceived problem that visitors spent too little time viewing each picture, a condition that Hendy attributed to lack of concentration and feelings of fatigue brought on by having to stand for long periods.¹⁰²⁶ These comfortable supports would encourage the state of 'passivity' necessary for engaging with the paintings on display, Hendy argued.¹⁰²⁷ Seating was therefore considered an important aspect in the fight against so-called 'museum fatigue', a term coined by Gilman at the turn of the century to explain the affliction that visitors experienced through the continuous activities of standing, bending, and exercising mental effort in art galleries.¹⁰²⁸ In his manual, Gilman had posited seats as one of the most effective weapons against fatigue, as these prophylactic supports were ideal platforms for the viewing of works of art.¹⁰²⁹ For this reason, the placement of benches, often in the literature of the day referred to as 'tabourets', would be in central areas, as observed in the photograph [Figure 75], rather than along walls as they might otherwise become 'inanimate exhibits' and waste precious wall space which could otherwise be given over to the display of paintings.¹⁰³⁰

The suite of galleries XXI, XXVII and XXVIII reopened in 1956 and it was characterised by a similar aesthetic [Figure 76]. Hendy's successor at Temple Newsam, Ernest Musgrave, reviewed Hendy's innovative interventions of the 1950s at the National Gallery and noted how the evenly spread lighting, the yellow and grey damask decoration and the cork tiling provided 'tasteful' surroundings for visitors to the National Gallery.¹⁰³¹ In Musgrave's

¹⁰²⁵ Musgrave, Ernest I., 'Our Art Treasures in a Worthy Setting: Sir Philip Hendy's Big Changes at the National Gallery', *The Yorkshire Post*, 4th July 1956, London, National Gallery, NG24/1956/16.

¹⁰²⁶ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 168.

¹⁰²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁸ For discussion of museum fatigue see Gilman 1923, pp. 251-269. See also Part I of the thesis.

¹⁰²⁹ Gilman 1923, pp. 270-276.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273.

¹⁰³¹ Musgrave 1956.

opinion, this had become the 'most dignified setting [...] to experience the maximum aesthetic pleasure which they [the paintings] can give', and he went on to make the astonishing claim that as a direct result he felt he had got 'to know them intimately for the first time'.¹⁰³² This fell in line with Hendy's ambitions, as he had indicated that the best a museum could do was to create an atmosphere that would encourage visitors to start looking at the works of art on display from the moment they entered the room.¹⁰³³ Museums that were 'dead' and 'stuffy' inhibited enjoyment while galleries whose ambience had been improved encouraged 'active personal attention' and assisted visitors in the aesthetic pleasures of contemplation.¹⁰³⁴ As Hendy put it, 'by its aspect a museum can open eyes, or it can close them', and to further attain a beautiful effect he installed flowers in the Gallery in summertime.¹⁰³⁵

The improvement of the atmosphere also passed through technological innovations, and air conditioning was installed to prevent visitors from feeling discomfort.¹⁰³⁶ In this case, it was assumed that the routine cleaning of air relieved the symptoms of 'museum fatigue' caused by the bad atmosphere of ill-ventilated buildings.¹⁰³⁷ As one contemporary source reported, Hendy felt that the treasures of the Gallery were intended 'for the enjoyment of the people who visit them and everything possible should be done to add to the comfort and pleasure of the visitors'.¹⁰³⁸ Visitors would no longer be overcome by apathy and dizziness, but would enjoy extended periods of picture-gazing, as described in 1955 in the *Evening Standard*:

¹⁰³² Ibid.

¹⁰³³ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 168.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁶ Hendy, Philip, 'Extract from a Memorandum on Air Conditioning sent to the Ministry of Works' (30th January 1946) in 'Extracts from Minutes and Memoranda concerning building reconstruction (January 1946 to February 1948)', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/1/2.

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁸ 'Art, Science and the Public', *Architectural Design*, September 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9, p. 234.

“I could sit here for hours”, says a lady contemplating van Eyck’s Marriage of Arnolfini in XX – and perhaps she does. In the same room the tall attendant becomes enthusiastic as a tonic advertisement: “I used to get that drowsy feeling”, he says, “but I don’t anymore.”¹⁰³⁹

The few existing accounts of post-war changes to the material fabric of Gallery have perhaps unjustly emphasised such oatmeal wall-hangings, the raising of floors and other plasterwork alterations to suggest, either by direct implication or by omission, that Hendy was engaged in a modernist revamping of the Gallery and its history.¹⁰⁴⁰ For instance, the historian Jonathan Conlin cites reconstruction projects in Italy such as that at the Palazzo Bianco (Genoa) and Castelvecchio (Verona) as likely aesthetic models for re-interpreting the collection at the National Gallery in London after 1945.¹⁰⁴¹ Conlin explains how such Italian projects restored old facades but substantially transformed the interiors by spacing paintings against white backgrounds and incorporating restrained labels [Figure 77].¹⁰⁴² It was this ‘simplicity and humility of approach in respect of works of art’ which Conlin suggests underpinned Hendy’s post-war refurbishments.¹⁰⁴³ Whitehead has made a similar implication but is more nuanced in his concern about the way changes in the interior modify the status of the object, as it is ‘isolated in space’ and its surrounding context made as ‘neutral’ as possible in the post-war Gallery.¹⁰⁴⁴ Still, there is perhaps a tendency to collapse ‘post-war’ developments as one homogenous and continuous development uniting Hendy with subsequent directors in the 1960s-1970s (Martin Davies and Michael Levey).

¹⁰³⁹ ‘Art on the dole’, *Evening Standard*, May 1955, London, National Gallery, NG24/1955/17.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Conlin, pp. 408-410; and Clifford, Timothy, ‘The Historical Approach to the Display of Paintings’, *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 1 (1982), p. 103.

¹⁰⁴¹ Conlin, pp. 408-409.

¹⁰⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Whitehead, Christopher, ‘Institutional Autobiography and the Architecture of the Art Museum: Restoration and Remembering at the National Gallery in the 1980s’ in *Museums and Biographies: Stories, Objects, Identities*, ed. by Kate Hill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 158; and Whitehead 2005a, p. 206.

On the contrary, Hendy's travel diaries reveal a certain aversion to less compromising modernist post-war solutions, particularly those practised by Italian architects such as Franco Albini, which Hendy saw at first hand when he visited the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa.¹⁰⁴⁵ Evidence from Hendy's visit to the Palazzo Bianco suggests that he was not impressed by what the journal *Museum* reported as Franco Albini's 'bold venture of converting the old Gallery into a highly modern [one]'.¹⁰⁴⁶ As he recorded in his travel diary, Hendy had found Albini's refitting aesthetically questionable:

...the "mise-en-valeur" [was] quite wrong, with the wrong emphasis every time. Genovese light supreme, yet all windows are covered – Venetian blinds and all objects lit by neon [?] lights. Frames removed from almost all pictures, which are swung from steel rods allowing air at back and leaving edges usually unprotected, as fixed on [?] rods clamped into canoed capitals degraded to the function of weights. Only good feature is spaciousness of arrangements.¹⁰⁴⁷

At the same time, Hendy complained about the newly reconstructed Brera Gallery in Milan, which although a model of hygiene had 'wall colours apt to be too light and cold'.¹⁰⁴⁸ Hendy's feelings for these schemes probably matched his criticism of three museum proposals whose models he examined during this stay in Genova: a museum in the Duomo, a museum of modern art and temporary exhibitions, and a museum of oriental arts (exhibited at the Accademia delle Belle Arti). All of these, he noted, 'seemed bad' because "'functionalism"

¹⁰⁴⁵ For the work of Franco Albini, Jones, Kay Bea, *Suspending Modernity: The Architecture of Franco Albini* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014). Another Italian architect working in a similar vein to rehabilitate old buildings was Carlo Scarpa, see Olsberg, Nicholas et al., *Carlo Scarpa Architect: Intervening with History*, (Montréal, Quebec: Canadian Center for Architecture; New York: The Monacelli Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Argan, Giulio Carlo, 'Renovation of Museums in Italy', *Museum*, 5:3 (1952), 156-160 (pp. 157-158). See also Wittgens, F., 'The Reconstruction of the Pinacoteca di Brera', *Museum*, 4:3 (1951), 148-151.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Hendy, Philip, 'Diary for a visit to Paris and Italy' (June-July 1953), London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/3/20.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Hendy, Philip, 'Diary for a visit to Mougins and Northern Italy' (August 1951), London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/3/11.

[had been] used for effect only and at the expense of the exhibits'.¹⁰⁴⁹ Here, Hendy's plea was in line with Gilman's suggestion that a museum building should avoid competing with the collections for the attention of the visitor and rather be a simple 'unobtrusive frame' for the pictures.¹⁰⁵⁰ Hendy had adopted such a modicum of simplicity and subdued décor at the National Gallery in the remodelling of Gallery XXIX and the subsequently-adapted rooms of 1956, providing an architectural programme that would not preclude the possibilities for change of display, as had been recommended in the manual *Muséographie*, but which did not at the same time turn the building into a self-effacing receptacle.¹⁰⁵¹ This was of particular relevance in the post-war Gallery, given that not until all the rooms were restored could 'there be a promise of relative stasis'.¹⁰⁵²

Despite this aesthetic restraint, Hendy was the first to point out that throughout the whole of the Gallery's main floor the decoration was now 'considerably less austere' than before the war given that the ceilings had two colours and that the new silk and damask wall covering was far more in keeping with the value of the collections than the previous backgrounds.¹⁰⁵³ Indeed, Hendy observed, 'despite its vices there is a richness about the Gallery so far not captured by many modern buildings'.¹⁰⁵⁴ These views were echoed in the press, as reporters noted that the new wall hangings were bound to provide a 'richer and more durable background for pictures' in contrast to the 'harsh plaster' and to the 'drab linings' of other galleries.¹⁰⁵⁵ Such changes had been made in the hope of achieving a

¹⁰⁴⁹ Hendy, 'Diary for a visit to Paris and Italy' (June-July 1953), London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/3/20.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Gilman 1906, p. 413.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Muséographie*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁵² *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁵³ Hendy, Philip, 'Air-conditioning at the National Gallery' (30th January 1946), London, National Gallery, NG25/18; Hendy, 'Reconstruction at the National Gallery', p. 113.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Hendy quoted in Liversidge, Douglas 'Science to the Aid of Art', *Huddersfield Examiner*, January 1947, London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/16.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Hendy, 'Changes at the National Gallery', p. 28; 'Art Science and the Public', *Architectural Design*, September 1950; Moore, W. F. 'Gallery XXIX at the National Gallery', *The Heating and Ventilating Engineer & Journal of Air Conditioning*, November 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

standard of presentation ‘more worthy’ of what the Gallery held ‘in trust’.¹⁰⁵⁶ In this manner, Hendy was not exactly rehearsing a denial of past traditions. Rather, he seemed more intent on obtaining the kind of ‘well-appointed gallery’ that Germain Bazin had curated in the Louvre after the war.¹⁰⁵⁷ This exemplified a new style of presentation that was restrained in its look, suggesting rather than recreating a historical ambience, as was effected in the Rubens Room at the Pavillon des Sessions, in the Louvre [Figure 78].¹⁰⁵⁸

In like manner, Hendy evoked a historical space by retaining traditional architectural museum fittings such as marble skirting and a dado panel as well as by deliberately placing paintings to suggest their original setting through different types of hang (closer and further apart) and richly coloured backgrounds. In a series of rooms devoted to British Pictures (Galleries XXII-XXIV); to Rembrandt, Rubens and Van Dyck (Mond Gallery, XXX, and Gallery VI); and to nineteenth-century French pictures (Galleries XVII-XVIII), the walls were relined in different sensuous schemes of green, dull crimson and brighter crimson, respectively [Figure 79].¹⁰⁵⁹ In response to a letter from an ordinary visitor, Mrs Pauline Dower, Hendy expressed that although ‘the red of the Mond Room [was] a little disturbing’, it was a good background for ‘cool skies’ and that he liked it ‘actually well enough for those Rembrandts which have been cleaned’.¹⁰⁶⁰ A few years later, another member of the public, Miss Joyce R. Simpson, went as far as to ‘voice [her] distress at the violent colours, particularly the crimson-red damask, with which some of the rooms at the Gallery are now hung’, finding the ‘quiet greys and creams’ of the new air-conditioned rooms more ‘seemly’.¹⁰⁶¹ In his reply,

¹⁰⁵⁶ Hendy, ‘Renewed Service to the Public after War Damage’.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Bazin, pp. 271-272.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid., and Bresc, Geneviève, *Histoire du Louvre*, vol. 2 (Paris: Louvre Editions-Fayard, 2016).

¹⁰⁵⁹ Hendy, ‘Reconstruction at the National Gallery’, p. 113. The identification of these rooms has been made thanks to the report *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, and the plan included in Michael Levey’s *A Brief History* (1957).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Hendy, Philip, letter to Mrs Pauline Dower (28th July 1950), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

¹⁰⁶¹ Miss Joyce R. Simpson, letter to the Director of the National Gallery (6th November 1955), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/5.

Hendy noted that he would have been in agreement had Miss Simpson's criticisms been limited to the 'most recent example of red damask' as 'that particular room is much too bright for my liking'.¹⁰⁶² In this sense, Hendy made clear that certain tonalities of red could be usefully employed as a rich background for some pictures in the collection, such as seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings. In the mid-1930s, Hendy favourably observed that many museums had removed their red velvets and silk damasks because their rich patterns and textures competed with the pictures.¹⁰⁶³ However, he also felt that as a background 'the right red' was still the colour that gave 'the best value to the black and white, the blue-grey and grey-green which predominates in most pictures of the seventeenth-century'.¹⁰⁶⁴ In this way, Hendy admired the new silk damasks which had been installed at the Wallace Collection in lieu of painted canvas, and contrariwise, he deplored the 'brownish water-coloured plaster' which had replaced crimson damask walls in the Bellini room of the Accademia in Venice.¹⁰⁶⁵

Hendy may have observed similar approaches at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, where architectural styles prevalent in the countries and during the timeframes of the different schools of painting represented, were suggested in the wainscoting, mouldings and overdoors, as well as different materials selected: for example, plaster was employed for the walls of the rooms displaying the early Italian, Flemish, and German pictures; damask for later Italian paintings; oak panelling for Rubens, van Dyck, Rembrandt, and the other Dutch; and painted panelling for the French, English, and American canvases [Figure 80].¹⁰⁶⁶ Likewise, in the 1920s and 1930s, Alexander Dorner had pioneered what were called 'atmosphere rooms' at the Landesmuseum (Hannover), in which he had evoked the

¹⁰⁶² Hendy, Philip, letter to Miss Joyce R. Simpson (22nd November 1955), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/5.

¹⁰⁶³ Hendy, 'The Technique of the Art Museum', p. 86.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁶ Walker, John, *National Gallery of Art Washington* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), p. 20.

spirit of different ages in order to visually immerse the visitor in them and enhance their experience of looking at the pictures on view.¹⁰⁶⁷ Among Dorner's changes in the Landesmuseum, the walls of the Renaissance galleries were white or grey to emphasise the cubic character of the rooms and associate it with the interest in geometric space and perspective in that period; the Baroque galleries had red velvet walls and paintings were hung in gold frames; and the Rococo colour scheme included pink, gold and oyster-white hues. Although Hendy's attempts were far more restrained in comparison to those at Washington or Hannover, what they had in common was a historical sense that did not claim to represent the past as much as index it through visual articulations of space. This was done with the express aim, as Hendy noted, to compensate as far as possible for the way in which the museum divorced objects from their original contexts.¹⁰⁶⁸

As such, the Gallery was not a historicised interior, but nor did it correspond to neutralising 'white cube' designs implemented elsewhere in European and American museums before and after WWII.¹⁰⁶⁹ In that regard, the museum historian Julia Noordegraaf has noted that in the Netherlands 'the white cube was introduced not so much in new museum buildings but rather by converting existing ones'.¹⁰⁷⁰ One example of such alterations was the Stedelijk Museum (Amsterdam) which was stripped of its original 1895 decoration in 1938, as red bricks were painted white and the wainscoting removed from the gallery walls, the base of which was covered with jute and painted white.¹⁰⁷¹ The

¹⁰⁶⁷ For Alexander Dorner's displays see Staniszewski; Cauman, Samuel, *The Living Museum. Experiences of an Art Historian and Museum Director, Alexander Dorner, etc.* (New York: New York University Press, 1958); and Dorner, Alexander, *The Way Beyond Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1958).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 172.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The term 'white cube' is now part of the common lexicon of the contemporary art world, but it was first employed in 1970s by Brian O'Doherty to define the typology of the 'modern gallery space', characterised by white walls, well-spaced artworks, light and airy environments. One of O'Doherty's chief claims is that the 'white cube' places objects in a timeless space, and thus its contents are perceived as being 'out of time, or beyond time' (p. 7). Julia Noordegraaf also refers to this typology as a prevalent one in the re-construction projects in The Netherlands. See Noordegraaf.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Noordegraaf, p. 159.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-161.

Gemeentemuseum den Haag (The Hague), although only built in 1931, underwent a similar transformation in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when its marble-patterned rubber floor was replaced with parquet, and the wainscoting was removed so that walls were also covered in jute [Figure 81].¹⁰⁷² The most notorious model for this streamlined modernism had been the Goodwin/Stone Building that housed the Museum of Modern Art after 1939 (New York), its self-referential aesthetic and ‘flexible white space’ seen to isolate its contents and divorce them from their temporal and social contexts [Figure 82].¹⁰⁷³ Yet it is telling that Hendy only registered two entries about the Museum of Modern Art in his three trips to the USA (1948, 1951, 1954), neither of which was related to the exhibition space, but to a film screening and a dinner.¹⁰⁷⁴ This contrasts with the numerous entries about the Metropolitan Museum of Art (NY) or the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), whose interiors may have been models with which Hendy felt a closer affinity [Figure 83].

From what has been noted above, it is clear that Hendy was careful to make a distinction between the values of the modern museum necessary to accommodate contemporary visitors in as welcoming a way as possible, and the solutions of the more purist modernist architects who seemingly thought little about the viewer’s reaction in the starker spaces they created. In 1952, Hendy delivered a speech at the Council of Visual Education (CVE), an independent organisation charged with the task of campaigning for ‘a more beautiful and better planned environment for the everyday life of the people’, where he

¹⁰⁷² Ibid.

¹⁰⁷³ See Wallach 1992; Duncan and Wallach 1980. In more recent research, Kristina Wilson considers the first and second homes of MoMA (Heckscher Building of Fifth Avenue at Fifty-Seventh Street, 1929-1932; and a town house on West Fifty-Third Street, 1932-1939), which contrasted with the 1939 building by their allusions to classical museum design, both possessing traditional architecture ‘imbued with similar references to order and authority’, and references to human scale in their use of mouldings and ornament. See Wilson, pp. 130-144.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Hendy, Philip, ‘Diary for a visit to the USA’ (October-November 1948) NGA3/2/3/2; ‘Diary for a visit to New York, Philadelphia and Sarasota in the USA’ (January-February 1951) NGA3/2/3/9; ‘Diary for a visit to the USA’ (January 1954) NGA3/2/3/21, London, National Gallery.

talked expansively about his stance.¹⁰⁷⁵ As he put it, '[t]o think of buildings only in regard to their lighting or acoustics is a confession of failure. It is a confession of not knowing how to be graceful, of spiritual barrenness, of inhumanity'.¹⁰⁷⁶ If the post-war period was a time of beginnings, he observed, it was necessary to realise that 'it doesn't do to try and make a factory look like a church or an office like a palace, we have yet to discover how to make these buildings look as if they were used by human beings, with souls as well as bodies'.¹⁰⁷⁷ Elsewhere, Hendy noted in similar rhetoric that if functionalism confined itself 'mostly to structure problems, to engineering and acoustics and plumbing', then it was 'simply a confession of spiritual failure'.¹⁰⁷⁸ It is through analysis of such commentary by Hendy that we can gain an understanding that his aestheticising impulse was not driven chiefly by functional aspects, but rather it was one that sought to realise his vision of a museum as 'the chief repository today of humanism expressed in visual terms'.¹⁰⁷⁹ The architectural idiom of Gallery XXIX and the suite of remodelled galleries in 1956 as a whole blended modern and traditional features, simplicity with stylistic decorum, and thereby domesticated the museum space to facilitate an embodied experience of the visitor, who was now a 'guest to be treated with politeness'.¹⁰⁸⁰ This further resonated with the view, expressed in the manual *Muséographie*, that there was a psychological need for some form of aesthetic clothing rather than an overly sober style of presentation.¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁵ Matless, p. 260. During its existence, members of the CVE included writers, architects, artists, museum directors, planners such as Herbert Read, F.J Osborn, Clough William-Ellis, William Holford, Noel Carrington, Kenneth Clark, Henry Morris, Oliver Hill, Hugh Casson, or John Betjeman.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Hendy, Philip, 'Art Galleries and Museums and their Influence', Speech for the Council for Visual Education (1952), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/3/6.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 167.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Hendy, 'Art Galleries and Museums and their Influence', Speech for the Council for Visual Education (1952), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/3/6.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Muséographie*, p. 218. This is translated from French, the expression used is 'comme un invité que l'on traite avec politesse'.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ibid., p. 206.

By the end of 1956, Hendy noted in the official published report of that year that public relations ‘might be placed above all the previous sections describing the work of the National Gallery, for all of this is more or less directly concerned with the presentation of the collection to the public or the provision of information concerning it’.¹⁰⁸² This change of orientation could be detected in the new galleries, but it also saw improvements in the amenities offered to visitors, such as the publications stall and the restaurant. In 1950, a counter for the sale of photographs and a supplementary display case of books were installed in the North Vestibule, and after 1952 a larger temporary counter occupied the centre of Gallery I.¹⁰⁸³ By 1956, a new Information Desk had been installed in the West Vestibule, and visitors could now browse through popular publications such as coloured postcards and prints in these enlarged publication stalls.¹⁰⁸⁴ Similarly, the newly redecorated restaurant was opened in 1956 following rearrangements made in response to visitor complaints about long queues, slow service, dirty tablecloths and bad coffee [Figure 84].¹⁰⁸⁵ Newly-purchased crockery and tablecloth in different colours, shapes and materials, were chosen with a view to match the contemporary style of furniture, wallpaper and lighting.¹⁰⁸⁶ Not that the public unequivocally approved of such changes, as one visitor for example complained in 1957 about the lack of cleanliness in the tea room, which now ‘resembled that of a workman’s café in an industrial area’.¹⁰⁸⁷ Be that as it may, the Gallery had adopted an outward orientation in line with Hendy’s belief that the museum would need to ‘serve the public at

¹⁰⁸² *The National Gallery, January 1955 - June 1956*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁸³ *The National Gallery, 1938-1954*, p. 54. Photographs of these book stalls, preserved in the National Gallery archive (NG30/1950/19 and NG30/1953/2), cannot be illustrated in this thesis for copyright reasons.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, p. 18. Other basic amenities included the Gallery’s lavatories, which were ‘completely remodelled and modernized’ in this period (*Ibid.*, p. 18).

¹⁰⁸⁵ ‘Restaurant 1946-58’, London, National Gallery, NG16/187/1. A photograph of the restaurant in 1947, preserved in the National Gallery archive (NG30/1947/3), cannot be illustrated for copyright reasons.

¹⁰⁸⁶ ‘Restaurant 1946-58’, London, National Gallery, NG16/187/1.

¹⁰⁸⁷ W. B. Shaw, letter to the Director of the National Gallery (19th August 1957), ‘Restaurant 1946-58’, London, National Gallery, NG16/187/1.

large' if it was to ensure its 'survival as a really living force'.¹⁰⁸⁸ As a result of the transformation of the Gallery's rooms and the provision of public amenities, Hendy argued that 'now that so many of its chief treasures are displayed in a setting worthy of their fame, a visit to the National Gallery is one of the leading attractions of a visit to London'.¹⁰⁸⁹ And indeed visitor figures appeared to confirm this, as attendance increased from 875,552 in 1955 to 1,192,678 in 1956.¹⁰⁹⁰

The enhancement of vision and the pleasure of looking at pictures

The concern for the comfort of the visitor had influenced the decorative choices, architectural fixtures and furnishings that Hendy brought into the post-war remodelled galleries. In parallel, such changes had been informed by a more programmatic view about the function of the Gallery. Specifically, they had sought, at one and the same time, to realise Hendy's primary curatorial ambition '...to allow people to see the pictures, to encourage them to do so'.¹⁰⁹¹ New display criteria would in this way be conducive to 'looking, and looking, and looking, again and again and again', as Hendy put it.¹⁰⁹² As a result, the existing shell of the Gallery would become, as one commentator noted in the journal *Museum*, a powerful 'means of allowing a work of art to be properly seen'.¹⁰⁹³ The interior of the Gallery and Hendy's curatorial decisions need to be examined in the context of such professional aims to shape the perceptual conditions in the museum with regards to vision, a topic that will be treated in this section.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 169.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹⁰ National Gallery Attendance Figures 1856-present' in Exhibitions Information File, NG Archive.

¹⁰⁹¹ 'Sir Philip Hendy talks to Basil Taylor about his time as Director of The National Gallery', interview with Basil Taylor, *The Listener*, 23rd May 1968, London, National Gallery, NGA3/9/2.

¹⁰⁹² Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 168.

¹⁰⁹³ Morley, p. 14.

As noted earlier, new ways of understanding display in art museums had emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, and as the individuality of the viewer's subjective position acquired more value, the previous custom of hanging pictures in two and three horizontal rows, one above the other, was gradually abandoned, as noted, among others, by the art historian Charlotte Klonk.¹⁰⁹⁴ As early as 1845, the Keeper of the National Gallery Charles Eastlake had proposed reorganising the collection to heighten the singularity of the pictures, suggesting that it was not desirable to cover every 'blank space, at any height, merely for the sake of clothing walls, and without reference to the size and quality of the picture'.¹⁰⁹⁵ The function of the museum was to minimise and even remove all distractions, so that 'in looking at the pictures in a picture gallery, you ought to see no other object but the pictures'.¹⁰⁹⁶

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Benjamin Ives Gilman's so-called 'Boston system', characterised by a small number of widely spaced works of art and a more simplified lay-out, had grown to dominate the displays in many galleries in Europe and America.¹⁰⁹⁷ Hendy saw this as a development of a taste which had been slowly growing since the early nineteenth century,¹⁰⁹⁸ whereby works of art were considered aesthetic objects for contemplation and enjoyment. Since the war, Hendy observed that many museums had adopted ample spacing and that 'nearly all the great collections had drastically reduced the number of pictures on public exhibition, and had thereby greatly increased their value in the eyes of the public'.¹⁰⁹⁹ A similar view was expressed in *The Burlington Magazine*, whose editorial of November 1950 praised the newly opened post-war hang at the Brera Gallery

¹⁰⁹⁴ Klonk 2009, pp. 26-29.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Charles Eastlake quoted in Klonk 2009, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Tzortzi, p. 50; McClellan 2008, p. 126-128. See Gilman's description of the principles of 'segregation' and 'dual arrangement' in *Museum Studies* (2012), p. 414.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 169.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Hendy, 'Picture Galleries', p. 43; Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 169.

(Milan), noting that the authorities there had 'paid their respects to the masterpieces by spacing them wider apart' and letting pictures 'speak for themselves'.¹¹⁰⁰

Working towards such ends in the remodelled galleries, Hendy hung paintings in a single row to give them ample space between one another [Figures 73-74]. As well as heightening the aesthetic appeal of paintings, Hendy argued that such spacing could assist visitors' engagement with them and remedy the intimidating effect of the Gallery's collection of paintings, which spanned 'seven centuries of a tradition, which is broadly continuous [...], with many divisions and subdivisions'.¹¹⁰¹ The challenge to see the works of art would become specially taxing at the National Gallery on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, when long queues formed in front of the paintings, making it difficult for visitors to give them their undivided attention.¹¹⁰² Hendy's attitude was in keeping with the recommendations of contemporaries, such as Douglas A. Allan, whose 1943 Presidential Address to the Museums Association conference had outlined what he held to be best practice, namely that to avoid the confusion created by congestion, curators should be working towards 'limiting the number of specimens exhibited to the public, and towards orderly and attractive arrangement'.¹¹⁰³

In this way, this wide spacing along with the new noise-absorbent flooring and comfortable seats, was to allow the 'undistracted scrutiny' of paintings.¹¹⁰⁴ For instance, Hendy not only highlighted the convenience of the upholstered settees, but also saw them as an aid 'to teach people to sit down'.¹¹⁰⁵ As he observed, even if visitors fell asleep, they would awaken 'refreshed, and every time we wake from sleep refreshed we look with fresh

¹¹⁰⁰ 'Italian Museums and the National Gallery', p. 307.

¹¹⁰¹ Hendy, Philip, unpublished notes for a script about the elements of a great painting, London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/8.

¹¹⁰² Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 169.

¹¹⁰³ Allan 1943, p. 68.

¹¹⁰⁴ Walker, p. 20.

¹¹⁰⁵ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 168.

eyes'.¹¹⁰⁶ Since 1950, the Gallery gradually begun to remove labels which ran across the frame of paintings so as to not break the patterned designs of the frames, as was noted in correspondence between Hendy and Clifford Smith, possibly the English cricket player.¹¹⁰⁷ Such labels were beautifully printed in black and gold, and the information displayed on them was reduced to the minimum - the name of the artists or attribution, the title (if any), the date and the name of the donor and date of presentation – lending greater emphasis to an unmediated visual encounter.¹¹⁰⁸ As such, they were 'precise and unobtrusive', a feature that Herbert Read had recommended for museums, who argued that 'fuller information for those who want it [could be] contained in the guide-books', such as the national school catalogues that visitors could buy at the Gallery's stall.¹¹⁰⁹ All of which would prevent, it was thought, the habit of some visitors to read labels rather than focus on the exhibits. A few years earlier, one contemporary contributor to *The Museums Journal* had complained, as others had done, that visitors to galleries did not look at pictures, but only at the labels, mimicking their exclamations at the discovery of masterpieces, "'Ah! Raphael! "Ah! Rubens!" "Ah! Rembrandt!"'".¹¹¹⁰

New technologies such as air conditioning and a louvre-system of lighting were installed in the galleries in the belief that they could bolster the aesthetic value of the works of art on display and increase the visibility of paintings by revealing details of their pictorial surface. Air conditioning could stabilise the relative humidity of the air and clean the atmosphere and thereby make it possible to display pictures without glass [Figures 85-86]. The art critic Eric Newton commented on this innovation in the newly-installed Gallery XXIX,

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁷ Smith, Clifford, letter to Philip Hendy (17th November 1951); and Hendy, Philip, letter to Clifford Smith (21st November 1951), London, National Gallery, NG16/105/4.

¹¹⁰⁸ London, National Gallery, NG16/129/1.

¹¹⁰⁹ Read 1939, p. 567.

¹¹¹⁰ Laver, p. 229. A similar argument about labels was made by the curator Charles Carter in 'Art Appreciation and the Art Gallery', Presidential Address delivered to the Scottish Federation, 15th April 1950, *The Museums Journal*, 50:3 (June 1950), 56-62 (p. 62).

stating that ‘a psychological, as well as a physical, barrier has been removed with the removal of glass’ and the visitor was ‘at last, face to face with the real Piero or Masaccio’.¹¹¹¹ Pictures, Newton wrote, had been ‘painted to be seen and enjoyed under certain conditions, and it [was] certainly no part of those conditions that the spectator’s eyes should have to penetrate a double protective layer of shining glass and discoloured varnish before it encounters the surface created by the artist’.¹¹¹²

As in the ‘Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures’, this trope of unmediated access was variously rehearsed in the press, and the *Birmingham Post* noted that the ‘glory’ of Leonardo’s *Madonna of the Rocks* (NG1093) reigned supreme among the Italian old masters in Gallery XXIX because it was visible in all its perfection.¹¹¹³ The *Heating and Ventilating Engineer* similarly reported that you could now ‘see these priceless pictures in their new setting, without the noise and echo of the other rooms, without the glass’ that had previously impinged on the artistic experience.¹¹¹⁴ Quentin Bell, a well-known writer and critic, was emphatic about the enveloping effect of the new setting, and informed readers that ‘the pictures had become so vivid, grand and intimate that nothing else mattered and here the absence of glass is peculiarly happy, for the delicate, sensuous colouring of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries invites and rewards close inspection’.¹¹¹⁵ Bell exemplified a type of looking that was direct and absorbed, and the Gallery reinforced this message, explaining to the public that they were ‘now able to see the pictures without the glasses which have

¹¹¹¹ Newton, Eric, ‘A Barrier Removed’, *The Sunday Times*, 27th August 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

¹¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹¹³ ‘Air conditioned Gallery’, *Birmingham Post*, 22nd August 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

¹¹¹⁴ Moore, W. F., ‘Gallery XXIX at the National Gallery’, *The Heating and Ventilating Engineer & Journal of Air Conditioning*, November 1950, NG24/1950/9.

¹¹¹⁵ Bell, Quentin, ‘New Rooms in the National Gallery’, *The Listener*, 5th July 1956, London, National Gallery, NGA24/1956/16.

obscured them for a century. Even if air-conditioning were not vital to the preservation of the pictures, it would be valuable for this reason alone'.¹¹¹⁶

The installation of the system known as 'louvre lighting' in the remodelled suite of galleries likewise was intended to please the eye and direct its attention onto the paintings. The main advantage of this particular system of lighting was that it disguised the direct source of light, diffused its brightness and mitigated unwanted reflections and glare.¹¹¹⁷ The system allowed natural daylight to pass through and combined it with artificial light which came from a continuous line of fluorescent lamps concealed within the louvres forming the laylight pattern [Figure 87].¹¹¹⁸ By comparison with the previous pendant artificial lighting installed at the National Gallery in 1935, which emitted light from a higher and more concentrated source, the newly-installed laylight system was regarded as a major improvement [Figure 88].¹¹¹⁹ For example, it was favourably compared by one journal to another advanced museum lighting system at the Boijmans Museum (Rotterdam), whose louvres focused most light on the walls, rather than on the paintings.¹¹²⁰ At the National Gallery, the journal reported, the suspended ceiling was at just 21ft from the ground and the louvre technology offered an evenly spread lighting that was progressively obstructed towards the top of the wall, thus making sure the paintings were seen 'in the best light'.¹¹²¹ Through such interventions, the National Gallery was seeking to put itself at the forefront of these scientific developments, and to demonstrate in practice the 'tremendous advance in

¹¹¹⁶ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 23.

¹¹¹⁷ Bickerdike, J., 'The Use of Louvres in Buildings', *The Architect's Journal*, 14th December 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

¹¹¹⁸ 'National Gallery: New Air-conditioning and Lighting Plant', *The Builder*, 25th August 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9, p. 251.

¹¹¹⁹ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 25.

¹¹²⁰ 'Art Science and the Public', *Architectural Design*, September 1950; Bickerdike, J., 'The Use of Louvres in Buildings', *The Architect's Journal*, 14th December 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

¹¹²¹ *Ibid.*

lighting in the past ten years' which according to Hendy had been 'one of the most extraordinary things in museum development'.¹¹²²

The quality of lighting in European and American museums had been a recurring theme in Hendy's travel diaries, where he had noted in many of the galleries he visited whether the light was bad or poor as well as cold or violent. His notes suggest, for example, that he was critical of exceedingly bright top- or side-lighting.¹¹²³ In that regard, one likely influence in Hendy's thinking may have been the writings of Gilman, who had pioneered a hybrid light system called 'attic light' to replace top- and side-lighting.¹¹²⁴ Through his psychological experiments, Gilman had found that brilliant light dulled the eye – as the glare was blinding for the visitor - and had consequently proposed that galleries should avoid the use of both direct top and side lighting.¹¹²⁵ The new technology at the National Gallery made this possible, and several papers assured that it provided almost perfect conditions for picture appreciation, as the eye was now relieved of any strain and one could gaze at pictures comfortably from a distance.¹¹²⁶

These travel diaries, which Hendy produced between 1946 and 1963, are further indicative of the type of perceptual experience he wanted to achieve in the renovated rooms at the Gallery, and therefore of the meanings attached to the visibility which had been augmented and perfected through technical means such as spacing, air conditioning and lighting.¹¹²⁷ As well as writing about the display setting of the museums he visited (glazing,

¹¹²² Hendy, Philip, speech at 'The Illuminating Engineering Society' (c. 1957), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/3/9.

¹¹²³ 'Visits Abroad' (34 notebooks), London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/3/1-34. These travel diaries cover a period of 1946-1963, although the largest number of the trips were made in the decade 1946-1957.

¹¹²⁴ Gilman 1923, pp. 167-168.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 163-166.

¹¹²⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 22nd August 1950; 'Art Science and the Public', *Architectural Design*, September 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

¹¹²⁷ 'Visits Abroad' (34 notebooks), London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/3/1-34. One example of cleaning is that of Giotto's *Circumcision* which he saw at the ISGM in 1954. The painting, he observed, 'after cleaning by G. Stout, seems more than ever superior to the rest, not only in

lighting, wall colours, labels, etc.), Hendy especially focused on the formal qualities (design, colour, composition) and material properties (condition, the effect of cleaning) of the pictures he saw and inspected, often describing his emotional response to them. For example, in a trip to Paris in 1951, Hendy wrote of Raphael's *'Three Graces'* that it was in a '[f]ine state, though rather brown. Ground a greyish-brown. Water distant hills a shy blue ladies ivory white, 2 white corals. The ladies are quite symbolic, but they are 3-dimensional and the whole pattern is 3-dimensional too. Rich and touching'.¹¹²⁸ Similarly, of the Giovanni Bellini's *'Vittore'* Hendy noted that 'the impression is fully 3 dimensional, v. decided, v. dignified', but that it is '[h]ard to see in a dark gallery and glazed with bad glass. Inscription illegible and bad light. State consequently difficult to gauge'.¹¹²⁹ In his diaries, Hendy revealed a visual attentiveness towards the details of the pictures under review, notably in terms of composition and colouring as well as what Hendy had called the *mise-en-valeur* or aesthetic of exhibition. A sensuous pleasure transpired in these notes, which Hendy had derived from seeing paintings under such ideal conditions of display, and it was arguably this experience that he wanted to recreate at the National Gallery.

The remodelling of the rooms, which had set out to make pictures visible, also intended to intensify the thrill and excitement of looking at paintings as individual beautiful objects, and it did so by appealing to the private gaze of visitors.¹¹³⁰ Hendy noted that it '[was] not the business of the art museum to teach history from works of art'.¹¹³¹ This fits with the recollection of Hendy's stepdaughter Prue Fuller, who remembered that Hendy felt that '...people should go to the Gallery to look at even just one picture, rather than spending

condition but in simplicity, breadth and strength, nobility of character. [...]. See 'Diary for a visit to USA', London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/3/21.

¹¹²⁸ 'Diary for a visit to Paris' (June 1951), London, National Gallery, NGA3/2/3/10.

¹¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹¹³⁰ 'Art Science and the Public', *Architectural Design*, September 1950, London, National Gallery, NG24/1950/9.

¹¹³¹ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 173.

hours dutifully surveying the rooms of the collection'.¹¹³² This represented a shift away from an 'encyclopaedic' approach based on the telling of stories about art and history, and rather a move towards, in the words of the theorist Rosalind Krauss, the 'intensity of experience, an aesthetic charge that is not so much temporal (historical) as it is now radically spatial'.¹¹³³ Such an understanding about the purpose of the art museum distinguished it from other kinds of museums treating archaeological, ethnographic, or socio-historical subjects. Hendy was drawing on the legacy of Gilman, who had differentiated science and art museums: science museums were said to present specimens and illustrate universal laws that involved the didactic transmission and acquisition of knowledge, while art museums were argued to house 'universal particulars' which engaged the beholder in an aesthetic sensory experience, otherwise known as the appreciation of works of art.¹¹³⁴ This view became popular among many in the museum profession, such as Hendy or his colleague the curator Charles Carter, who defined this act of appreciation as 'a combination of appraisal, approval, understanding and enjoyment, particularly of the latter two'.¹¹³⁵ Painting was an 'an aesthetic object', Carter argued, which translated sense perceptions into a unity through the medium of line, shape, mass, colour, texture, etc.¹¹³⁶ Like Hendy, Carter emphasised that the 'best way of learning how to look at pictures' was precisely 'by looking at pictures'.¹¹³⁷

These assumptions underpinned the curatorial approach in other museums, such as the National Gallery in Washington, which became known, as noted by the historian John Walker, for treating the work of art 'not primarily [as] a historical document, but a source of pleasure'.¹¹³⁸ In London, Hendy's efforts were paralleled by those of his colleague Leigh

¹¹³² Email correspondence with Prue Fuller (28th May 2017).

¹¹³³ Krauss, Rosalind, 'The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum', *October*, 4 (Autumn 1990), 3-17 (p. 7).

¹¹³⁴ Gilman 1923, pp. 80-1. For Gilman's discussion of the purpose of the museum of arts, see pp. 89-102.

¹¹³⁵ Carter 1950, p. 57.

¹¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹³⁸ Walker, p. 21.

Ashton at the V&A, whose post-war rearrangement of objects and lighting techniques intended to '[show] the object to its best advantage, while providing as much information as possible without interfering with the public's aesthetic approach to the object'.¹¹³⁹ In fact, Hendy cited the V&A as an example of how 'an old and most unsuitable building can be transformed in spirit'.¹¹⁴⁰ Groups of objects that were hitherto 'heaped together by the case-full' had been replaced with new displays in which 'the value of each object is heightened by the next and the appetite is constantly stimulated for more'.¹¹⁴¹ Moreover, if these cases had been heretofore 'rigidly segregated according to material, metalwork, woodwork, ceramics, textiles' now there were groups 'representing the harmonious development of all the arts under the influence of a spiritual idea or way of life'.¹¹⁴² This was 'a fundamental revolution in attitude towards both the collections and the public' as visitors were 'invited to enjoy rather than ordered to be instructed' and the arts were now 'part of the imaginative life rather than as specimens of crafts that have decayed'.¹¹⁴³ Ashton took a similar position and argued that the unity of effect thereby attained could make the museum a *Μουσείον*, 'a centre of culture'.¹¹⁴⁴ In this 'mouseion' or 'temple of the Muses', as it had been used in ancient Greek, it became possible to honour, as Hendy put it, 'the varied inspirations of man, his infinite capacity for making beauty'.¹¹⁴⁵ As a result, aesthetic enjoyment and the investment in such ideas of beauty became chief tenets of the curatorial narrative that Hendy, and similarly-minded curators, were producing in their art museums.

¹¹³⁹ Burton, pp. 196-197.

¹¹⁴⁰ Hendy, Philip, 'The New Look in Picture Galleries' (21st September 1953, unpublished manuscript, for *Time and Tide*), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/16.

¹¹⁴¹ Hendy, 'Art – English Medieval Workmanship', p. 31.

¹¹⁴² Hendy, 'The New Look in Picture Galleries' (21st September 1953, unpublished manuscript, for *Time and Tide*), London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/16.

¹¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁴ Ashton, Leigh [Sir], 'The Function of Museums', Presidential Address, delivered at the Museums Association Conference, Edinburgh, 20th July 1954, *The Museums Journal*, 54:5 (August 1954), 115-119 (p. 117).

¹¹⁴⁵ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 167.

This set of aims to present the collection under the best possible viewing conditions influenced later stages of the Gallery's reconstruction scheme, via Hendy's approach to the Gallery's Reference Section on the ground floor. Due to a chronic lack of space it had been decided in the first couple of decades of the twentieth century to introduce at the National Gallery a two-tiered system, possibly inspired by Gilman's dual arrangement. This system had been instituted by the National Gallery's director Charles Holmes, and in effect had divided the collection, differentiating between pictures which, on the one hand, were considered 'masterpieces' displayed on the main floor for the general public in well-spaced galleries, and the latter, considered pictures of lesser artistic interest, put into the Reference Section on the ground floor and intended to be seen only by 'visiting scholars and inspecting craftsmen'.¹¹⁴⁶ However, Hendy soon became concerned that pictures in the Reference Section had been 'densely packed' and therefore could not afford 'the least *aesthetic* pleasure to those who see them [original italics]'.¹¹⁴⁷ Consequently he decided to overhaul the war-damaged Reference Section, and restore it with the intention of presenting pictures in a manner worthy of attention from all the Gallery's visitors.¹¹⁴⁸

The new Reserve Collection, the name that was adopted for the Reference Section in 1964, would be based on the ideas and innovations inspiring the remodelling of the main floor.¹¹⁴⁹ Hendy envisioned an 'enlarged accommodation [...] lit by fluorescent tubes and [...] air-conditioned, so that it should be possible to show most of the pictures without glass'.¹¹⁵⁰ In the 1960s, the remodelled Reserve Collection inaugurated a spacious 'open plan' providing 1,000 feet of wall space, which could be divided and subdivided with screens.¹¹⁵¹ As seen in

¹¹⁴⁶ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 8; and Avery-Quash and Paget, p. 43.

¹¹⁴⁷ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 8.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8, and *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, pp. 25-26.

¹¹⁴⁹ The Reference Section was renamed in 1964/1965 as the Reserve Collection, in order 'to suit the greater degree of accessibility'. See *The National Gallery, June 1962 – December 1964*, p. 13.

¹¹⁵⁰ *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, p. 26.

¹¹⁵¹ *The National Gallery, June 1962 – December 1964*, p. 17.

a photograph included in the 1962-1964 annual report,¹¹⁵² these moveable screens gave flexibility to the display and were distributed in space to create an effect of airiness, conditions that Hendy felt necessary for the pleasurable experience of works of art.¹¹⁵³ Despite the boundary that the Reserve Collection drew between the general public and more 'expert' visitors, by virtue of assigning them different viewing positions, Hendy wanted to ensure that aesthetic pleasure and the passive contemplation of pictures found their way into every part of the Gallery.

In sum, the post-war Gallery had provided the necessary conditions for a commodious atmosphere in which visitors could feel at ease and where they were beckoned to indulge in the pleasures of picture-gazing as honourable guests. At the same time, this environment was to introduce visitors into the worshipful rites of aesthetic appreciation, designating their visual rapport with individual paintings as the ideal form of sensory experience. While new curatorial techniques and state of the art technology strove to adapt the museum to its visitors, they effectively reprogrammed their behaviour inside the building, echoing Bennett's foregoing discussion about the two-fold function of museums as both vehicles of popular education and as instruments of reform of public manners.¹¹⁵⁴ Indeed, this duality resulted from the tensions between Hendy's aims to make the museum a public service that was free, accessible and engaging for all, and secondly to delimit the meanings of what 'public' meant under his rubric of museum reform, and it manifested itself primarily on the perceptual plane.

On the one hand, the interior design and technical apparatus of the modern galleries intended to make exhibits legible by positing the activity of looking as an embodied, unmediated and liberalising means for engaging with and grasping the world. The

¹¹⁵² It has not been possible to include this photograph for copyright reasons.

¹¹⁵³ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 168.

¹¹⁵⁴ Bennett 1990, p. 36.

remodelled rooms incorporated, as Bennett has argued for the nineteenth-century museum, 'principles of auto-intelligibility [...] so that their meaning might be understood directly and without assistance'.¹¹⁵⁵ Through its well-spaced paintings and minimal labels, the museum operated as this 'sphere of visibility' which 'spoke to the eyes' and mobilised 'transparency' as a principle for the 'organization of public life'.¹¹⁵⁶ At the Gallery, this was further transferred onto the readability of museum space, which had been domesticated to a more human scale, blending traditional and modern idioms which reminded visitors of the 'specialness' of their experience whilst providing the conveniences of contemporary life (comfortable seating and lighting, restaurant, lavatories...). Moreover, these new articulations of space implied an intimacy that relied on the supposed emotive power of paintings and the privacy necessary to experience it.

On the other hand, the new galleries were laden with normative understandings about how visitors would distribute their visual attentiveness spatially and temporally: where and how to look, under what conditions and for how long. Air conditioning relieved visitors from the drowsiness and dizzy feelings so they could prolong their stay, while movable seats enabled the inspection of pictures at a closer distance for long periods of time. Ideally, Hendy would argue, visitors in the Gallery would attain the state of 'concentration' and 'loneliness' that was necessary, in his view, to experience a painting.¹¹⁵⁷ The encounter with the work of art would be in this way a rekindling of 'what *individual* man can be, of what he can do when he transcends himself' [original italics], and Hendy expected visitors to connect with the creative energies involved in the act of making a painting.¹¹⁵⁸ Hendy thus equated the moment of production (by its maker or artist) with its reception by the contemporary visitor, prescribing as a result not only the definition of artistic talent

¹¹⁵⁵ Bennett 1998, p. 31.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹⁵⁷ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 168.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

(individual, man, himself), but also the type of experience (aesthetic) that the public should engage in. By this account, the Gallery's displays required - and instructed visitors in - specific faculties and skills that valued aesthetic autonomy of the work of art. Yet as Bennett has eloquently argued, 'collections only function in this manner for those who possess the appropriate socially-coded ways of seeing – and, in some cases, power to see'.¹¹⁵⁹ In this regard, Hendy was not sufficiently mindful of the fact that, as Bennett has noted, 'only those with the appropriate kinds of cultural capital can both see the paintings on display and see *through* them to perceive the hidden order of art which subtends their arrangement'.¹¹⁶⁰ The Gallery's displays framed vision through the lens of professionalised techniques and technologies, and legitimised in this way certain modes of consumption at the expense of alternative kinds of educational engagement.¹¹⁶¹

That said, there were other ways through which the Gallery made its collection and itself communicable to the public. In this connection, Bennett himself has recently noted that an exclusive focus on display ignores, for example, the role played by collections as resources for research practices.¹¹⁶² Taking the analysis beyond the space of exhibition, the understanding of the twentieth-century museum needs to account for new means of outreach originated or extended in this period, which critically assisted its path to modernisation in ways that differed from 'exhibitionary complex' of the nineteenth century, and this is dealt with in the next section.

¹¹⁵⁹ Bennett 1995, p. 35.

¹¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁶¹ See Bourdieu 2010.

¹¹⁶² Bennett 2015, p. 11.

Institutional narratives of modernisation

The completion of the suite of remodelled galleries and the provision of new amenities in 1956 had endeavoured to re-signify the Gallery as a more open and accessible art museum. In parallel with these efforts, the Gallery began publishing reports in 1955 to explain to the wider public its activity and plans for the future, as well as sharing its hopes and fears. In this the Gallery responded to the growing realisation that museums had to provide modern means of communicating with their publics. In 1944, *The Visual Arts* report had observed that in London the national collections had neglected publicity in comparison with their American counterparts, where publicity was handled 'in a more enterprising and methodical manner'.¹¹⁶³ Similar views were expressed in 1949 by the well-known museologist Georges Henri Rivière in the journal *Museum*, where he highlighted and analysed the propaganda methods practised by 'the big American museums'.¹¹⁶⁴ These included, in general terms, posters and leaflets distributed in streets, shops, hotels; the organisation of festivals and competitions; temporary exhibitions; communications in the press and radio; press conferences; announcements in the theatres and cinemas, etc.¹¹⁶⁵ For example, since the early 1950s the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) had distributed illustrated leaflets to libraries, colleges, in railroads and bus lines, and had made use of streetcar advertisements and billboards to inform the public about its opening hours and exhibitions.¹¹⁶⁶ After the war, it had begun making radio broadcasts and by the early 1950s made its first excursion into television, going on to film direct in the galleries in 1955 and hosting three regular programmes.¹¹⁶⁷ Although an isolated example, around this time a number of other museums in America had likewise realised that television held the promise of extending their

¹¹⁶³ *The Visual Arts*, p. 146.

¹¹⁶⁴ Rivière, p. 213.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁶ Whitehill, p. 610.

¹¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 610-615.

reach to 'a vast new audience, never before acquainted with the Museum', as one American curator put it in *Museum*.¹¹⁶⁸

At the National Gallery in London, similar attempts were made from the late 1940s, with the launch of School's Scheme (1949-1956) that circulated for a small fee coloured reproductions of paintings from the collection with an explanatory text containing historical information.¹¹⁶⁹ The subscription was chiefly for schools, but it is likely that other state-owned institutions also participated in the scheme such as hospitals, prisons, the RAF and other local education authorities.¹¹⁷⁰ The number of subscribers fluctuated over the years, from 429 in 1950, reaching a peak at 627 in 1952, and declining again to 433 in 1956.¹¹⁷¹ This activity was part of a wider attempt to reach out to audiences all over the country and by the mid-1950s Hendy noted the Gallery's relationships with the BBC and Independent Television had led to 'many programmes based on National Gallery pictures'.¹¹⁷² Among these was the participation of the National Gallery in the popular BBC television programme, *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* in 1955, a programme in which guest museums in Britain (and in some special cases, also foreign museums) presented a subset of their collections to a jury of experts who – lacking any prior information – had to identify the artefacts according to function, material, period, and location.¹¹⁷³ In the programme highlighting the National Gallery's collection, the panel was shown details or fragments of paintings from the

¹¹⁶⁸ Schoener, Allon, 'An Art Museum's Experiment in Television', *Museum*, 5:4 (1952), 239-244 (p. 241).

¹¹⁶⁹ *The National Gallery, 1938-54*, p. 52.

¹¹⁷⁰ The evidence for this is inconclusive. A note among papers related to the School's scheme contained a list of these institutions, at the bottom of which it was stated 'Total about 600', which suggests this was the number of institutions engaged. See 'Publications Department, 1952', London, National Gallery, NG16/177/3.

¹¹⁷¹ 'Publications Department, 1956-1957, Accounts, lists of publications, minutes of meetings', London, National Gallery, NG16/177/7.

¹¹⁷² *Ibid.* See also *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, p. 64.

¹¹⁷³ London, National Gallery, NG24/1955/11.

collection and asked to identify them.¹¹⁷⁴ Some years later, Hendy also had the National Gallery participate in the 'Painting of the Month', a radio programme launched by the BBC in 1960, in which experts discussed paintings from British public collections.¹¹⁷⁵ Listeners could subscribe for 2 guineas and were sent colour reproductions of the painting accompanied by a text and some black and white illustrations of details, as well as of other pictures by the same artist or similar subject by other painters.¹¹⁷⁶ Among other paintings, Hendy broadcast talks about El Greco's *The Adoration of the Name of Jesus* (NG6260) and *The Virgin and Child with Four Angels* by a follower of Duccio (NG6386).¹¹⁷⁷

As well as being a conduit of information, these techniques were a form of publicity which could authorise the activity of the Gallery and its specific kinds of knowledge. This agenda was assisted by the publication of a new genre of biennial report in 1955 that at once demonstrated the openness of the Gallery and protected its professional status, helping define and consolidate an authoritative voice and institutional identity. In 1955, *The National Gallery 1938 - 1954* was published 'to provide for the public at large, a general view of the life of the Gallery as an organization in action and, for those who are responsible for the formation of opinion and policy, more precise ideas of its needs'.¹¹⁷⁸ The British press responded with many commentaries about this handsomely-illustrated volume which, as the esteemed art historian Professor Ellis Waterhouse claimed, was 'very informative',

¹¹⁷⁴ Philip, Philips, 'Astonishing, is the only word for it', *Daily Herald*, 1st July 1955; Macleod, A., 'Why Panel Games Flop', *Daily Worker*, 4th July 1955; Winton Wigley, H. de, 'The Panel Simply Whizzed Along', *News Chronicle*, 1st July 1955, London, National Gallery, NG24/1955/11.

¹¹⁷⁵ As well as the National Gallery, these included the Ashmolean Museum, Tate Gallery, the National Gallery (Scotland), the Barber Institute, and the Wallace Collection.

¹¹⁷⁶ 'Broadcasting Art', *The Museums Journal*, 59:12 (March 1960), 283-286 (pp. 285-286). This article mentioned a similar programme broadcast in The Netherlands that same year, which had proved to be a 'resounding success' (p. 283).

¹¹⁷⁷ London, National Gallery, NG24/1961/14.

¹¹⁷⁸ *The National Gallery, 1938 - 1954*, p. 7. This was the first report of this kind to be published, and covered a longer period (1938-1954), but thereafter all subsequent reports were biennial (1955-1956; 1956-1958; 1958-1959; 1960-1962; 1962-1964; 1965-1966). See bibliography for details of the different reports.

‘sympathetic’ and ‘encouraging’ in tone.¹¹⁷⁹ According to Waterhouse, it departed from ‘those dry annual reports that used to be submitted to the Treasury up to 1938’, which the Gallery had only reluctantly made available to a limited public.¹¹⁸⁰ These earlier reports had become over time brief and self-referential, and had the sole function of recording information about the Gallery’s activities across the board during the preceding year. The reports conducted by Hendy, on the other hand, were more extensive and narrative in their style, included reproductions of paintings from the collection, and were produced with a simplified lay-out.¹¹⁸¹

It was still unusual for museums in Britain to produce such volumes, but this had been common practice in many American museums, for example the Museum of Modern Art in New York had begun to publish the *Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* in 1933, and others such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) and the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) had started producing such publications as early as the 1900s. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* had been initiated in 1905 with the aim of stimulating interest in the museum by making it ‘better known to the people of our city, by showing them what the Museum can do for them, and what they, on their side, can do for the Museum’.¹¹⁸² In Boston, Gilman was responsible for the launch of the first ‘tall, thin, double-columned Bulletin’ in 1903, which remained virtually unchanged until 1955.¹¹⁸³ When Hendy was Curator of Paintings there, the *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* provided information about objects from the collection, acquisitions, exhibitions, and practical visitor information, and

¹¹⁷⁹ Waterhouse, Ellis, ‘National Gallery’, *The Sunday Times*, 20th November 1955, London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/10.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁸¹ See National Gallery and Tate Reports (1932-1937), London, National Gallery.

¹¹⁸² *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1:1 (November 1905), p. 1.

¹¹⁸³ Whitehill, pp. 630-631.

Hendy must have become familiar with it as he contributed no fewer than ten articles to it between 1929 and 1933.¹¹⁸⁴

Beyond its obvious visual and rhetorical appeal, the Gallery's new genre of reports importantly gave a detailed account of the Gallery's recent achievements, present activity and future aspirations. As Waterhouse saw it, the Gallery had seized the chance to 'address the public directly and to take it into their confidence' and so dispel its shroud of 'secretiveness'.¹¹⁸⁵ These gestures crystallised a contract with the public based on openness and self-exposure, suggesting that the Gallery prized its rapport with prospective visitors. As one later report would go on to state, this relationship had to be cemented through the 'mutual trust between the museums and galleries on the one hand and their visitors on the other'.¹¹⁸⁶ Overall the press embraced this first new-style report, and this unprecedented attention was publicised in none other than the Gallery's subsequent report of 1955-1956, which noted that upon publication, the 1938-1954 report had received much coverage in the national and provincial press, and that the commentary for the most part had been highly favourable, taking up the Gallery's concerns and giving them an even wider airing.¹¹⁸⁷

For example, *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* had published leading articles on the problems of conservation and inadequacies of accommodation confronting the Gallery, while the *Daily Telegraph* concentrated on the financial difficulties of the Gallery, and the *Daily Mail* on the export of pictures. Others, such as the *News Chronicle* and *Daily Express*, emphasised the problem of the deterioration of collection and the need for prompt

¹¹⁸⁴ After 1954 and under a new administration, the Museum of Fine Arts decided to 'supply a new dress for printed materials', and subsequent reports became more attractive and were fully illustrated, often to include brightly coloured covers that reproduced a recent acquisition. See Whitehill, pp. 631-632.

¹¹⁸⁵ Waterhouse, Ellis, 'National Gallery', *The Sunday Times*, 20 November 1955, London, National Gallery, NGA3/4/2/10.

¹¹⁸⁶ *The National Gallery, January 1965 – December 1966*, p. 48.

¹¹⁸⁷ *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, pp. 65-68. See these pages for an overview of the responses of various media outlets indicated above.

action, a view that was rehearsed in the *Birmingham Post* and other provincial papers. Many papers and journals, among them *Time and Tide*, *The Economist*, *Country Life*, and the *New Statesman* called for greater financial support for the Gallery and for the enlargement of its annual purchase grant. As such, even if the public at large had not read such reports, they were made aware through the press of the changes and demands of the post-war Gallery and of its renewed efforts to inform the public about them.

Subsequent reports were judged on similar terms, and in 1958 one contributor to *The Museums Journal* proclaimed that the National Gallery's biennial report of that year was distinguished 'by the same sensitive and graceful prose that has been devoted to the author's other works'.¹¹⁸⁸ As such, the report made 'significant contributions to what is a major phenomenon in the cultural life of our time: an appreciation of the arts amongst the people of Britain that is more sensitive, more well-informed, and more generally diffused'.¹¹⁸⁹ By 1962, the Gallery could safely state in its report that '[n]o other public gallery has taken so much trouble to explain its work and to answer its critics', and it assertively declared that now 'there [was] no secret' about its workings.¹¹⁹⁰ There was a clear precedent for this type of honesty discourse in the 1947 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures', which had been considered a tour de force in its realisation of a 'policy of truthful scholarship' and 'a policy of truthful exhibition' in the post-war Gallery.¹¹⁹¹ Through the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures', the Gallery's own modern methods had been distinguished from those employed in the nineteenth century to institute a new reputation which equated its own experimentalism with a dialogic attitude towards the public, and in a similar manner the new reports extended this vision of the Gallery as an open and embracing institution.

¹¹⁸⁸ Musgrave, Clifford, 'National Gallery Report' (editorial), *The Museums Journal*, 58:9 (December 1958), p. 197.

¹¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹⁰ *The National Gallery, January 1960 – May 1962* (London, National Gallery: William Clowes and Sons, 1962), p. 87.

¹¹⁹¹ *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, p. xxiii.

If this exercise in transparency had lent a new ethos to the Gallery in 1947, at the back of it had also been an agenda to normalise its scientific methods and conservation. Likewise, it is arguable that the Gallery's outward-looking reports from 1955 onwards worked in selective ways to produce normative accounts of the institution. As such, they operated as a platform in which the National Gallery could reinstate its aims and campaign for its causes by making the public aware of its challenges and difficulties. The 'firm, realistic, and lucid document' of 1938-1954, *The Burlington Magazine* noted, had in this way contained 'the Director's admirable survey of the Gallery's activities in every field during its most critical years since the beginning of the war'.¹¹⁹² A few years earlier, Hendy had made clear to fellow colleagues at the Association that museums should cultivate 'a great deal more public understanding' and 'help the public to realize what it needs of us'.¹¹⁹³ If the reports became known for their frankness and for having 'no parallel ... from any country in Europe', this matched their intention to cultivate in the public an informed accomplice.¹¹⁹⁴ As Hendy put it, '[u]ltimately, our hopes must depend upon public enthusiasm' as there had 'never been so much of this before'.¹¹⁹⁵ The lobbying nature of these reports meant at the same time – perhaps inescapably so – that they were selective, and this was well illustrated by the structured argumentation made throughout the first three (also the most comprehensive) publications (1938-1954; 1955-1956; 1956-1958). These comprised between 105 and 125 pages each, and emphasised one chief issue: (1) rehabilitation of the Gallery after the War with future physical and financial needs (1938-1954); (2) proposed reconstruction of the West Wing and procedures of the Scientific and Conservation Departments (1955-1956); and (3) the state of the collection and its main deficiencies, making a renewed and ever more insistent case for an annual purchase grant (1956-1958).

¹¹⁹² *The Burlington Magazine*, 98:636 (March 1956), pp. 67-68.

¹¹⁹³ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 170.

¹¹⁹⁴ Ellis Waterhouse quoted in *The National Gallery, January 1955 – June 1956*, p. 65.

¹¹⁹⁵ Hendy, 'Picture Galleries', p. 45.

In this regard, the reports worked to authorise a National Gallery discourse that had been already advanced through the work of reconstruction, their strategic emphases both informing the public and promoting a particular view as to the duties one should expect of the Gallery as an institution in (and of) the twentieth century. With the demands to modernise Gallery looming large, the reports emphasised the suite of experimental galleries fitted with modern redecoration, lighting and air conditioning.¹¹⁹⁶ While such remodelling was taking place then, the Gallery's accounts were helping define, showcase and normalise the meanings attached to this very process of modernisation. Specifically, this went hand in hand with a growing expertise in the conservation and scientific departments, and which demanded the provision of equipment, technology and knowhow necessary to safeguard both the interests of the public and the collection. The three long reports (1938-1954; 1955-1956; 1956-1958) dedicated extensive passages to these subjects (an average of 20-25 pages per report), explaining the treatment of specific paintings, the principles of cleaning and restoration, new techniques and research about the preservation of paintings. The story that unfolded was further supported by reproductions in colour of paintings in the collection, reproductions of close-up or x-ray photographs in black and white of paintings (often pairs showing pictures 'before' and 'after' cleaning), as well as occasional images related to the rebuilding of the galleries, the Restaurant, the Reserve Collection, etc. Lastly, the appendices enclosed plans and sections of the building illustrating the progress of reconstruction, detailed information about the Publication Department's stock and its financial accounts, lists of the paintings undergoing conservation, and a list of museum staff, Trustees and Honorary Members of the Scientific Committee.¹¹⁹⁷ In this manner, the reports supported a

¹¹⁹⁶ The post of Senior Executive Officer (SEO) was specifically created in 1949 to attend to the needs of reconstruction, and G. Fox was appointed to look after the maintenance and new construction as the liaison with the MoW.

¹¹⁹⁷ This list of staff did not include the so-called 'domestic' or clerical staff (typists, cleaners, warders).

narrative of progressive development that hinged on the Gallery's specialisation and professional expertise as the basis for modernisation.

The breadth of the reports is beyond the scope of the thesis, and deserves a fully rhetorical analysis which may open avenues for future research. That said, it can be argued that these reports mirrored the dual logic espoused by the Gallery - both professionalised and democratising - in its pursuit of post-war reform. As the Gallery had done in the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' and in the remodelled suite, the reports exposed the museum to the public eye, emphasising its ease of access in an engaging and familiar tone. In this manner, they turned the gaze of the museum onto itself and reversed the so-called 'principles of liberal government' which, Bennett has argued, traditionally encouraged visitors to be 'increasingly self-directing and self-managing'.¹¹⁹⁸ Now the museum had also become the object of the public gaze, and this resonates with Ezrahi's point that the 'belief that the citizen's gaze at the government and that the government makes its actions visible to the citizens is... fundamental to the democratic process of government'.¹¹⁹⁹ 'In democracy', Ezrahi argues, 'transparency and visibility are meant to be employed in order to expose actors to the critical gaze of citizen-witnesses, or their agents, and to check the potential utilization of technicalization as a strategy for escaping politically damaging exposures and attributions of responsibility'.¹²⁰⁰ The historian Chris Otter has also noted that in science, public bodies similarly use 'techniques of visibility' such as 'the publication of data, the availability of documents, the openness of the process'.¹²⁰¹ The Gallery was operating under similar principles to overrule the secrecy it had been known for hitherto. However, the reports exposed this activity in an ostensibly singular voice and as a result narrativised the

¹¹⁹⁸ Bennett 1998, p. 31.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ezrahi quoted in Otter, Chris, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 53.

¹²⁰⁰ Ezrahi 1995, p. 162.

¹²⁰¹ Otter, p. 53.

Gallery's account of its own modernisation to reinforce its position of authority. In this manner, these reports were inflected by the Gallery's dialectic of public and professional interests, as it made itself visible and knowable but simultaneously directed and governed the types and forms this visibility would take.

Conclusion

In no small measure, Hendy's reform of the art museums under his care was a concretisation of the debates shaping museums and galleries in the first half of the twentieth century in Britain and abroad. Often, these had represented a backlash against the ideas and practices of nineteenth-century museums, whose buildings appeared as ostentatious as their displays were criticised for being over-crowded and stuffy. Seen as a testament to an age of material accumulation, the reorientation of the museum would instead prioritise the use and presentation of its contents more emphatically than their acquisition, a shift that was met by a greater awareness about its educational purpose in its contemporary context. The survival of such public museums was seen to depend on their ability to galvanise and sustain public interest, particularly with the rise of popular entertainments which had loosened their grip on the meaning of 'culture'. Similarly to other curators of his generation, Hendy endeavoured to instil a newfound modernity that would unburden museums from outmoded methods of arrangement and display and make them instead inspiring and readily accessible institutions at the heart of 'the community'.¹²⁰² The art museum was to assist and facilitate visitors' engagement with the works of art on display, providing a sensuous environment in which audiences would, through their subjective experience, continually define and reinterpret the exhibits. If this differentiated the function of the museum from previous pedagogical models for instructing visitors in the art-historical genealogies of painting, it also reformulated the basis for museum-visiting as an experiential transaction: on the one hand, it promised to generate visually attractive and aestheticised museum settings, and on the other, it championed visual perception as an unmediated, if trainable, faculty.

¹²⁰² I am using the term 'community' here in the way that Hendy employs it across his writings.

In this way, the democratic rights of access to the museum were articulated through the lens of the present, and Hendy's efforts were demonstrative of such a programme to show visitors that the museum had been domesticated and turned into a modern setting responsive to their changing circumstances and needs. At Leeds City Art Gallery, Hendy had advocated the collection and display of contemporary industrial manufactures alongside 'fine art' objects, propounding an egalitarian vision which, even if unrealised, sought to undo hierarchical classifications and validate both as part of one continuum. At Temple Newsam, Hendy's 'restoration' invoked Georgian domesticity as an 'assuaging reminder of everyday life' that would be familiar to visitors and provide them with cues that found a parallel in their modern homes. Lastly, Hendy's post-war experimentalism at the National Gallery, as seen in its temporary exhibitions, in its remodelled galleries and in the new channels of information it provided, harnessed a project to update and open up the Gallery to the public. The 'daring juxtapositions' had questioned the educational legitimacy of the older national school arrangement while technical means such as photography had hailed the modernity of cleaned Old Masters, which were argued to have become 'living' objects with relevance to contemporary viewers.¹²⁰³ In a more durable manner, the reconstruction of the suite in the West Wing had departed from previous formats, lessening the imposing presence of the Wilkins' nineteenth-century building in order to accommodate modern amenities in an inviting and comfortable setting of subdued décor, where visitors could feel welcome and at leisure to engage in the visual pleasures of looking. These developments were recorded and publicised in the Gallery's biennial reports, which had further made the museum the 'object of the [visitor's] gaze', to borrow the expression from the political theorist Yaron Ezrahi.¹²⁰⁴ In the eyes of Hendy and many of his contemporaries, all these measures equipped the museum to respond to public demands and to the opinions that were publicly made about

¹²⁰³ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', p. 173.

¹²⁰⁴ Ezrahi Yaron, *The Descent of Icarus: Science and the Transformation of Contemporary Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 115.

it. As a result, the question of democratisation was absorbed by this figuration of the museum as an up-to-date and evolving institution which continuously re-examined its methods. By extension, this legitimised the idea that the museum of the past was its opposite: backward, undemocratic and lifeless.

This brings to mind Cecilia Rodéhn's argument that heritage discourses about democratisation have articulated the present as 'transformative' while the past has been cast as something 'negative' and 'undemocratic'.¹²⁰⁵ In the rhetoric of such writings, democratisation is often structured temporally as an 'evolutionary process' that requires a logic of differentiation from the past and a perpetual striving towards 'something better' in the future.¹²⁰⁶ This purview, she has noted, has been inflected by Western conceptions about social development that could lead to the enforcement of 'Eurocentric values of democracy in other cultural contexts'.¹²⁰⁷ Rodéhn thus points out the power effects that can be wrought by such discourses about democracy, and this is relevant for the twentieth-century art museum, in which such effects were played out in the museum's relationship with its publics. In other words, the identification of the museum's modernising processes with its democratic purpose prompted an image of the public as perpetually self-modernising, indeed as a subject that continually moved forward and made new demands which the museum, keen to 'progress' in its own techniques, was only too happy to provide. As gleaned from archival evidence, it was not unusual for visitors to feel dazzled, and even shocked, by the routine changes taking place in the museum, for which reason such transformative energies were less a response to the specific material needs of visitors than of those envisioned – and arguably produced – by museums professionals. The democratisation of museums was mediated by the modernising imperatives of the profession, implicating that

¹²⁰⁵ Rodéhn, pp. 98-99.

¹²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

while museums may have put themselves *at the service of* the public through more wide-ranging means of display, they had simultaneously become - via the implementation of such new curatorial and architectural regimes - increasingly *regulative of* the activity that could take place within them.

The demands made by Hendy and other colleagues in this regard arose out of discussions within the museum profession, in *The Museum Journal* and other related spheres, and they offered a means to leverage their knowledge and expertise through programmatic reforms. In the case-studies examined - Leeds City Art Gallery, Temple Newsam and the National Gallery - displays included a distinctive range of technical innovations in the form of new lay-outs, air-conditioning, seating, flooring, or lighting, which would structure the types of bodily comportment in the museum and the ways in which visitors perceptually engaged with its collections. By and large such displays gave priority to the heightening of the visual senses: objects were laid out in orderly fashion, glare was avoided with new lighting technology, glasses were taken off the pictures to ensure their full visibility thanks to air conditioning, and the entire space, with its soundless floors, comfortable seats, restrained labels and harmonious architectural ensembles, encouraged the visual experience of works of art. These measures put into relief the aesthetico-formal properties of such objects at the expense of explanatory verbal descriptions about them. Rather than presenting visitors with unintelligible aesthetic theories or periodised histories, Hendy wanted to encourage an unhampered visual engagement and so capacitate visitors to freely and subjectively interpret the works on display. Underpinning this positioning of the art museum was the empiricist premise that vision was 'the most unmediated, freest, way of interacting with, and thinking about, a world we can potentially control', as Chris Otter has written about the understanding of vision in nineteenth-century Britain.¹²⁰⁸ This

¹²⁰⁸ Otter, p. 48.

aesthetic approach, taken to enable a direct apprehension of the world, seemed to render objects immediately knowable and graspable, and thus to fit with the museum's pledge to democracy. At one and the same time, however, in his writings Hendy made clear that he expected the viewer to commune with the work of art in a state of concentration and introspective passivity. Arguably the new techniques and curatorial choices placed an emphasis on this kind of viewership, commanding a type of individual and self-absorbed subjectivity that could thrive on an autonomous aesthetic experience. The spacious arrangements, the lighting which drew attention to individual paintings, the moveable seat, and air-conditioning for prolonging the museum visit, all directed visitor towards a state of concentrated attentiveness on single paintings. Moreover, as had been clear from Hendy's 'daring juxtapositions' and from his earlier interventions at Temple Newsam, the viewer would ideally unite with the work of art – as the creative product of the artist – beyond the confines and specificities of time and place. Visitors were in this way invited to surrender to the delights and pleasures of picture-viewing and to admire the singularity and non-reducibility of the work of art in an environment that had aestheticised the experience of museum-going itself.

As Bennett has argued, museums have espoused principles of transparency in their exhibitions since the nineteenth century, organising 'well-planned collection[s] of instructive labels' and 'well selected specimens' that would directly 'speak to the eyes' of museum-goers.¹²⁰⁹ The present case-studies signal to the continuing importance of the relationship between vision, visibility and knowledge as coordinates for investigating the twentieth-century art museum, not least because public museums have arguably involved 'significant transformation[s] in the spheres of visibility [they] formed a part of as well as in the relations of visibility to which they gave rise', again to cite Bennett.¹²¹⁰ With regard to the nineteenth-

¹²⁰⁹ Bennett 1998, pp. 26, 28.

¹²¹⁰ Bennett 1995, p. 35.

century museum, Bennett has pointed out the panoptic regime of the exhibitionary complex, whereby the museum 'provided its visitors with a set of resources through which they might actively insert themselves within a particular vision of history' and which as a result made society 'perfectly transparent to itself and, as a consequence, self-regulating'.¹²¹¹ As has been discussed, Hendy's curatorial strategies also implicated governmental technologies, increasing access to the museum and ensuring the legibility of its spaces whilst simultaneously constructing visitors as self-reflexive and self-reforming subjects who could redirect their modalities of viewership and their lifestyle choices. However, panopticism might prove incomplete as a theoretical lens for the study of the twentieth-century museum, in which other intersecting motives were at play. At the National Gallery for example, this logic of transparency was not solely directed at visitors but it also underpinned a process of institutional self-regulation through which the museum made itself the object of public scrutiny by opening new channels of communication in the media, through exhibitions and publications. This singularly problematises the question of vision and the relationship between 'seeing' and 'being seen', which applied as much to the institution as to the public it wanted to reform. Moreover, it suggests that the problematic of seeing was bound with wider dilemmas at the heart of democratic process within liberal forms of government. As Ezrahi has observed, in modern liberal democracies the tensions between individual and collective public action on the one hand, and between inclusive participation and unevenly distributed power on the other have been 'partly resolved [...] by the contemporary strategies of rationalizing the eye of the democratic citizen as a reliable instrument for establishing and judging "political facts"', and by 'technicalizing public (political) actions as visible, transparent factual events produced by voluntary and therefore accountable agents'.¹²¹² At the National Gallery, the visualisation of this activity at the exhibition of

¹²¹¹ Ibid., p. 47.

¹²¹² Ezrahi 1995, pp. 160-161.

cleaned pictures and through its biennial reports tried to practically solve similar democratic imperatives by devolving responsibility to the public and capacitating it with the ability to make judgments.

Having said that, the Gallery's configuration of this visibility was no doubt selective and exclusive, and it helped extend the professional discourses informing its activities. If we are to understand how the democratic undertaking of these museums was entangled with other social, economic and cultural factors, it is thus necessary to examine the parallel professional discourses as they originated, and moreover how they were distributed and embedded, often unevenly, in the actual praxis of the museum. In this thesis, such relational dynamics between the concrete practice on the ground and the rhetorics and discursive strategies employed by Hendy and other museum professionals in the public domain has revealed a set of conflicting trajectories, which Bennett also sees in the museum's dual function as both a democratic sphere and as an instrument 'for the reform of public manners'.¹²¹³ Unlike Bennett's characterisation, however, the thesis has demonstrated how these tensions were not mutually exclusive, one-sided or uniform. Rather they were often interdependent, variable and contingent upon factors such as the nature, location and size of the collections (regional, national, art historical, decorative arts, etc.), infrastructure (nineteenth century, stately home), external historical events (World War II), their professional structures, funding and staff capacities. At Leeds, Hendy's venture to regulate the practices of seeing at the Gallery was hampered by lack of resources and came to a halt at the outbreak of World War II when the civic scheme project fell through, so that he was only able to effect cosmetic changes to the building. At Temple Newsam, Hendy's efforts to render a public museum were fraught with questions about the architectural fabric of the building and about the articulation of aesthetic and curatorial principles that could unite and

¹²¹³ Bennett 1990, p. 36.

overcome its distinct histories. It was perhaps only at the National Gallery where Hendy was able to realise his modernising museological vision most fully, thanks to the destruction caused during wartime, but even here post-war shortage presented serious constraints. As already argued, the processes that ensued at the Gallery in London, in the temporary displays, the permanent galleries and the new reports, were more complex than is often acknowledged in governmental accounts of the museum.

Another important aspect to revisit concerns the more experiential aspects of the art museums studied. The case-studies register Hendy's zeal to make visually enticing and harmonious displays that would instil a sense of 'wonder', placing the work of art outside of time rather than as part of an evolutionary series.¹²¹⁴ This occurred in Hendy's displays across the three institutions, perhaps most clearly Hendy's 'daring juxtapositions' in the post-war National Gallery, which defied the conventions of representational regimes (e.g. by school, period, etc.), to propose universal aesthetic affinities based on colour and form, and on craft and artistic skill. Also at Leeds, Hendy endeavoured to mix industrial arts and the 'finer' arts at Leeds City Art Gallery, even if such attempts were in the end unsuccessful; at Temple Newsam he similarly set up displays that combined eighteenth-century decorative crafts and modern painting so that visitors could see them in unison. This is significant because it has been somewhat underplayed in Bennett's passing account of the exhibitionary apparatus of the art museum.¹²¹⁵ Bennett has criticised the widespread scholarly tendency to single out the art gallery – given the alleged dazzling power of the work of art – as the other of the 'representational regimes' characteristic of public museums in the nineteenth century.¹²¹⁶ Bennett draws on Philip Fisher's argument about the 'technology of the series' in the nineteenth-century art gallery, which established new forms of exhibition involving

¹²¹⁴ See here Bennett 1995, pp. 44-45.

¹²¹⁵ In his work on the formation of the museum, Bennett has primarily focused on anthropological, ethnographical and historical collections.

¹²¹⁶ Bennett 1995, p. 44.

'instruction in history and cultures, periods and schools, that in both order and combination was fundamentally pedagogic'.¹²¹⁷ Such new arrangements were 'inimical to the logic of the masterpiece' of preceding displays,¹²¹⁸ and they departed from eighteenth-century decorative combinations of 'paintings, mirrors, tapestries' which had produced 'a pleasing harmony'.¹²¹⁹ What is striking about the case-studies is that they appear to reverse precisely this point and suggest the emergence of new – if not the return to pre-nineteenth-century - regimes during the twentieth century. And yet, Hendy's modernist sensibilities did not entirely preclude historical classification, which as has been discussed would become more entrenched in the National Gallery's permanent displays from the 1950s onwards. The resulting strategies of display thus point to a set of polyvalent values and choices in the art museum in the twentieth century, which was both seeking to differentiate itself from nineteenth century representational modes whilst simultaneously building on the legacy of these earlier curatorial systems. Again, this begs for a nuanced understanding of the changing patterns and discursive strategies in the museum profession, in particular at a time when this sphere was also expanding geographically through its increasingly global reach, as seen in Hendy's participation in international (and internationalist) discussions and networks.

In retrospect, it seems clear that Hendy's museographical interventions, through his activities of collecting, display and conservation, were inserted within a rubric of reform of the kind that would be later critiqued by Bourdieu and others, regarding its culturally hegemonic effects. In this connection, Hendy's project was akin to the nineteenth-century agenda to cultivate a more discriminating public by 'improving' its taste, as reflected in the vocabularies employed within the museum profession to promote 'good art and design'

¹²¹⁷ Fisher quoted in Bennett 1995, p. 44.

¹²¹⁸ Bennett 1995, p. 44

¹²¹⁹ Ibid.

through the recruitment of ‘representative collections’ and ‘masterpieces’, and the application of curatorial ‘high standards’ which would be conducive to the public’s ‘appreciation’ of the arts. At Leeds City Art Gallery, Hendy created a welcome space in which to illustrate his ‘representative collection’ of paintings in order to ‘help’ visitors differentiate good from bad art, beguiling them with beautiful modern furnishings, bright flowers and comfortable seating. Likewise, the domestic properties of Temple Newsam, with which visitors might associate, were offset by a project of ‘restoration’ whose exclusive principles of ‘taste’ not only amounted to a reductive historical framework but also aimed to reform the public’s ‘art of living’.¹²²⁰ At the post-war National Gallery, the modern comforts of picture-gazing in the remodelled galleries disguised the fact that this was a highly-controlled environment in which visitors were compelled to use their visual powers and bodies to ‘appreciate’ the paintings on display. This resulted in a conflict between the exclusivity of the art gallery – and its attachment to the values of the educated middle and upper-middle classes – and the aims and intentions to make the museum a popular and familiar place for everyone. The art museum was to be welcoming but must also remain distinct from the daily spaces of everyday life, for fear of falling ‘into the homogeneous, [and] the undifferentiated’, to follow Bourdieu.¹²²¹ For this reason, Hendy had been an indefatigable proponent of ‘quality’ opposing ‘mediocre’ provincial collections and ‘bad’ buildings, acquiring instead renowned works of art and remodelling galleries according to what he deemed were high standards of curatorship and interior design. Hendy’s pursuits were in this way inseparable from professional and middle class anxieties about cultural ‘levelling’, ‘trivialization’ or ‘massification’, to borrow Bourdieu’s terms, and need to be seen in the light of these later repositionings of the museum and culture.¹²²² In the art museums examined, Hendy had aspired to constitute what Bourdieu called the ‘pure’ aesthetic gaze ‘capable of considering

¹²²⁰ I am borrowing this expression from Bourdieu. See Bourdieu 2010.

¹²²¹ Bourdieu 2010, p. 471.

¹²²² Ibid.

the work of art in and for itself'.¹²²³ As Bourdieu pointed out, this was not a natural process, but one 'linked to the *institution* of the artwork as an object of contemplation' and to the 'parallel development of a corps of professionals appointed to conserve the work of art, both materially and symbolically'.¹²²⁴ Hendy himself had outlined such motives when he observed that 'art is a tradition; and the museum, whatever its contents, can do no more fundamental service than by preserving it'.¹²²⁵ As he wrote to Julian Huxley, '...most of us who are engaged on this enquiry [for post-war reform] have at least a mental vested interest in the status quo, and naturally we tend to think more of putting it into better working order than of formulating new ideas which would need a different set of conditions for their expression'.¹²²⁶ Thus the modern museum, which was to pave the way for a more democratic cultural sphere by opening it up to change and re-evaluation, simultaneously embraced a logic of conservatism in so far as its founding categories remained unchallenged. By this account, Hendy never acknowledged that the cognitive and perceptual mechanisms which he and other museum professionals had mobilised in their displays were not necessarily universally shared, but rather that they corresponded to the 'internalized, "embodied" social structures' of a privileged few, in the words of Bourdieu.¹²²⁷ The revisionist process that Hendy and others had celebrated as democratic would reorder the sensorium of visitors to position them as perpetually self-modernising subjects, and as a result it exercised less a devolution of authority than a form of guided self-government that would help extend the museum's own process of professional modernisation.¹²²⁸

¹²²³ Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), p. 36.

¹²²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²²⁵ Hendy, 'The Art Gallery and the Community', pp. 173-174.

¹²²⁶ Hendy, letter to Julian Huxley (31st December 1942), Oxford, Nuffield College, NCSRS/D3/4.

¹²²⁷ Bourdieu 2010, p. 470.

¹²²⁸ This conclusion is largely in keeping with Tony Bennett's analysis of the public museum.

Illustrations

Figure 1. Photograph of Philip Hendy (1959) © National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 2. View of Leeds City Art Gallery in front and Town Hall in the background (1938).

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Figure 3. Regal Cinema, Cross Gates, Leeds (1937). Reproduced by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Services, www.leodis.net.



Figure 4. View of Alexander Street to the rear of Municipal buildings and City Art Gallery (1936). Reproduced by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Services, www.leodis.net.



Figure 5. View of the Sculpture Gallery, which leads to the Leeds City Art Gallery at the far end (c. 1911). Reproduced by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Services, www.leodis.net.



Figure 6. Exhibition at Leeds City Art Gallery, displays of maps, models, photographs and plans (1933). Reproduced by kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Services, www.leodis.net.

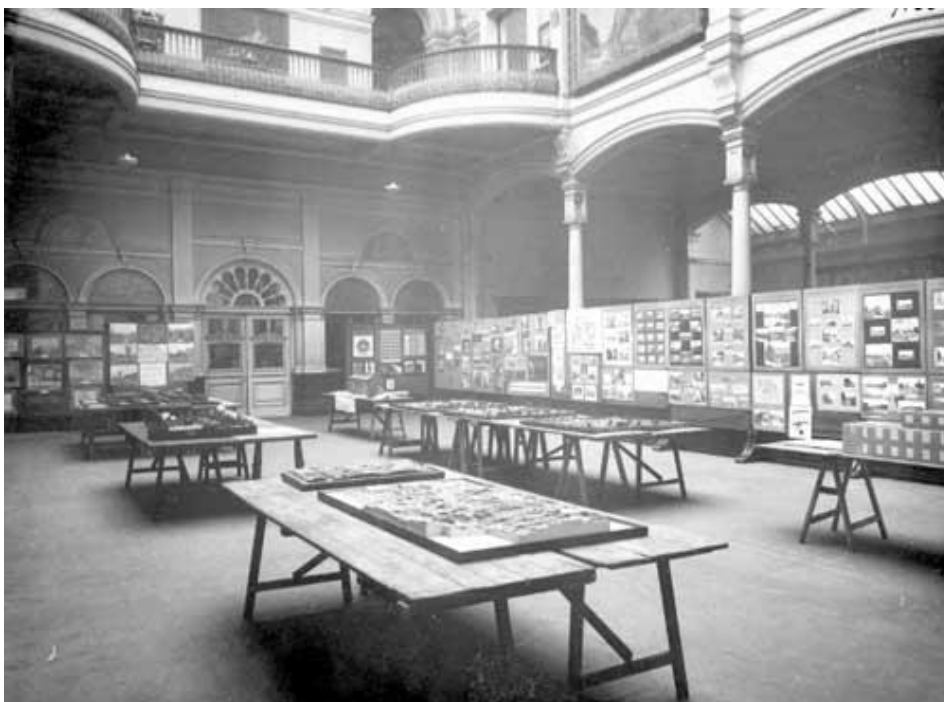


Figure 7. Aerial view of Quarry Hill Flats (4th August 1939). Reproduced by permission of Historic England Archive (Aerofilms Collection).

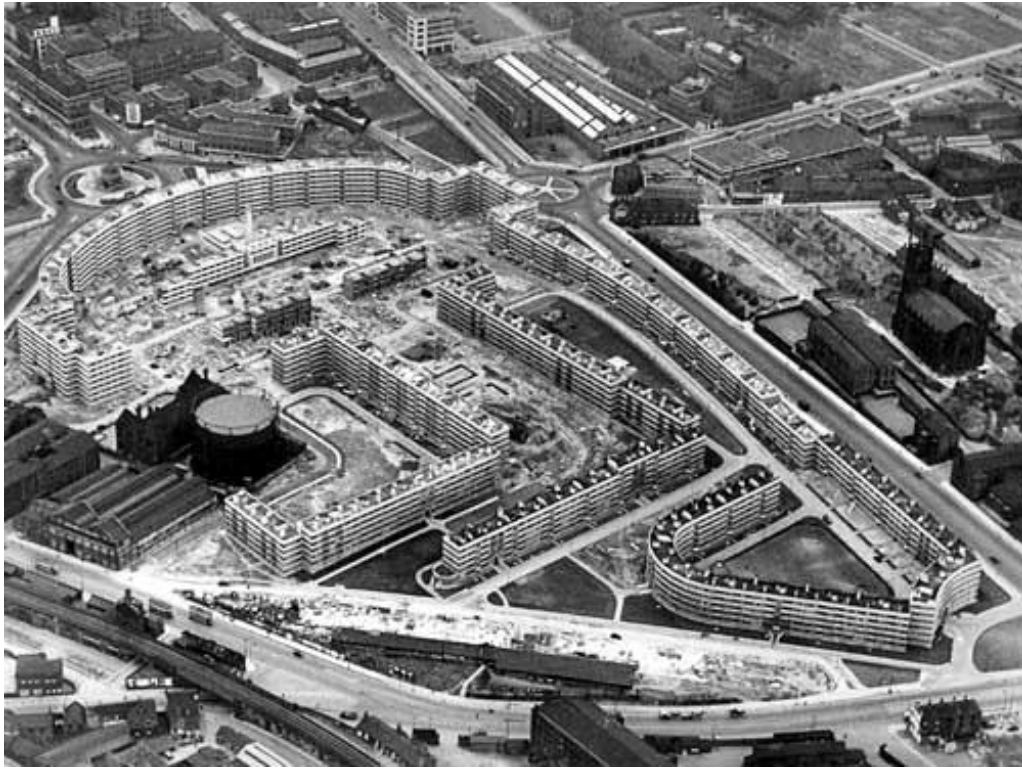


Figure 8. Photograph of model for Leeds civic centre (Southern Frontage and Gallery entrance). Source: Markham Report (1938).

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Figure 9. Site plan of the proposed building (1938). Source: *The Architecture and Building News* (25th March 1938).

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Figure 10. Photograph of the third-floor plan of the civic centre, housing the top-lit Art Gallery (1938). Source: *The Architecture and Building News* (25th March 1938)

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Figure 11. Photograph of the first-floor plan of the civic centre, housing the City Museum and office buildings (1938). Source: *The Architecture and Building News* (25th March 1938).

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Figure 12. View of the Courtauld Gallery, Fitzwilliam Museum (1931). ©

The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 13. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Museum Council Gallery (Medieval European Art), (31st February 1931). Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Figure 14. View of the exterior of Temple Newsam House looking east (1922). Reproduced
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Figure 15. Orangery, Showing Goodlake Collection of Crimean Relics, Newstead Abbey (1948). Photograph © North East Midland Photographic Record. All rights reserved.



Figure 16. View of South Bedroom, as a hospital during the First World War, Temple Newsam (exact date unknown) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 17. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Adam Gallery (November 1928). Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Figure 18. Aerial of Harehills and Gipton estate (top) (1988). Reproduced By kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Services, www.leodis.net.



Figure 19. Exterior view of Castle Howard (castlehoward.co.uk).

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Figure 20. View of the Picture Gallery, Temple Newsam (1923) © Leeds Museums and
Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 21. Plan of Temple Newsam, reproduced in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 99 & 100 (1987).

For equivalences of the room numbers see Appendix.

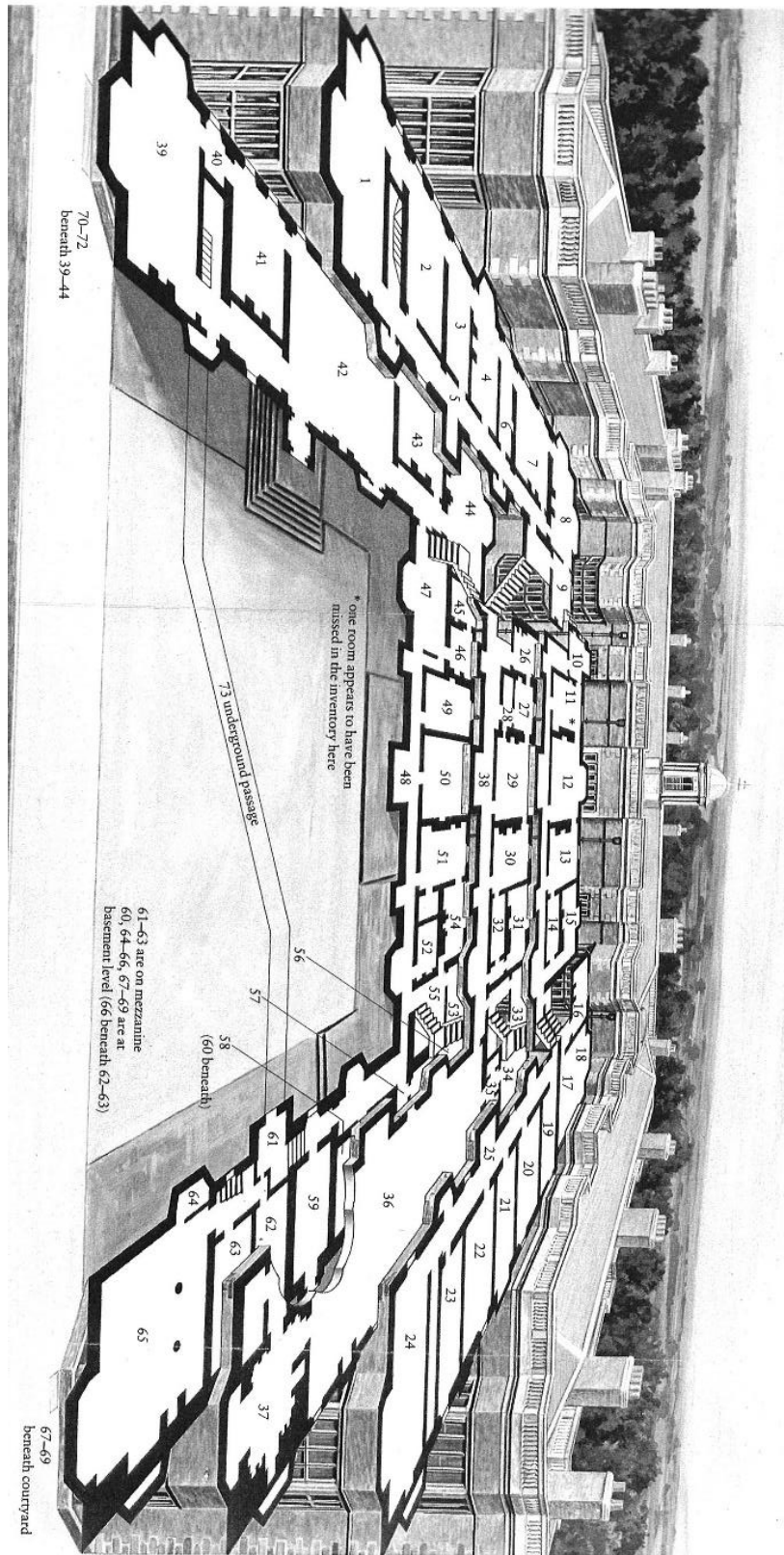


Figure 22. View of Blue Drawing Room, Temple Newsam (1922) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 23. View of the Great Hall, Temple Newsam (1922-1923) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 24. View of the Great Hall during the Chinese Exhibition, after Hendy's alterations (1940) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 25. View of Mrs Meynell Ingram's Dressing Room, Temple Newsam (1938) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 26. View of Mrs Meynell Ingram's Dressing Room opening to the Blue Striped Room after Hendy's alterations (c. 1943) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 27. View of the Blue Striped Room, Temple Newsam (1938) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 28. View of the Blue Striped Room, after Hendy's alterations (c. 1943) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 29. View of the Victorian Chapel, Temple Newsam (1922) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 30. View of the Victorian Chapel, after Hendy's alterations (c. 1944) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 31. View of the 'Exhibition of Pictures and Furniture' in the Blue Drawing Room, Temple Newsam (1938) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 32. View of mahogany and satinwood Pembroke table (c. 1785) on show at the 'Exhibition of Pictures and Furniture' (1938) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 33. View of the Boudoir, Temple Newsam (1910) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 34. View of the Boudoir after Hendy's alterations (c. 1940) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 35. View of the Oak Passage, Temple Newsam (c. 1950) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 36. View of the Great Hall during the Exhibition of Chinese Art (1940) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 37. View of the Glaisher Gallery, Fitzwilliam Museum (1931) © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 38. View of the South Passage (South Wing) during the exhibition of Henry Moore, John Piper and Graham Sutherland, Temple Newsam (1941) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 39. View of the State Bedroom (South Wing) with sculptures by Henry Moore on pedestals, during the exhibition of Moore, Piper and Sutherland (1941) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 40. View of *Mother and Child* (on left) by Henry Moore, in exhibition in State Bedroom (1941) © Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam House)



Figure 41. View of the west wall of wrecked Gallery XXVI and West Reference Section following a bomb attack during WWII, National Gallery (12th October 1940) © The National Gallery, London (NG30/1940/46; P4109_017)



Figure 42. Debris in Gallery VI caused by bomb on roof of Mond Room, National Gallery (7th November 1940) © The National Gallery London (NG30/1940/31; P4109_007)



Figure 43 (see next page). Plan of the National Gallery showing the damaged areas surrounded in black (1946), London, National Gallery, NG16/258/1

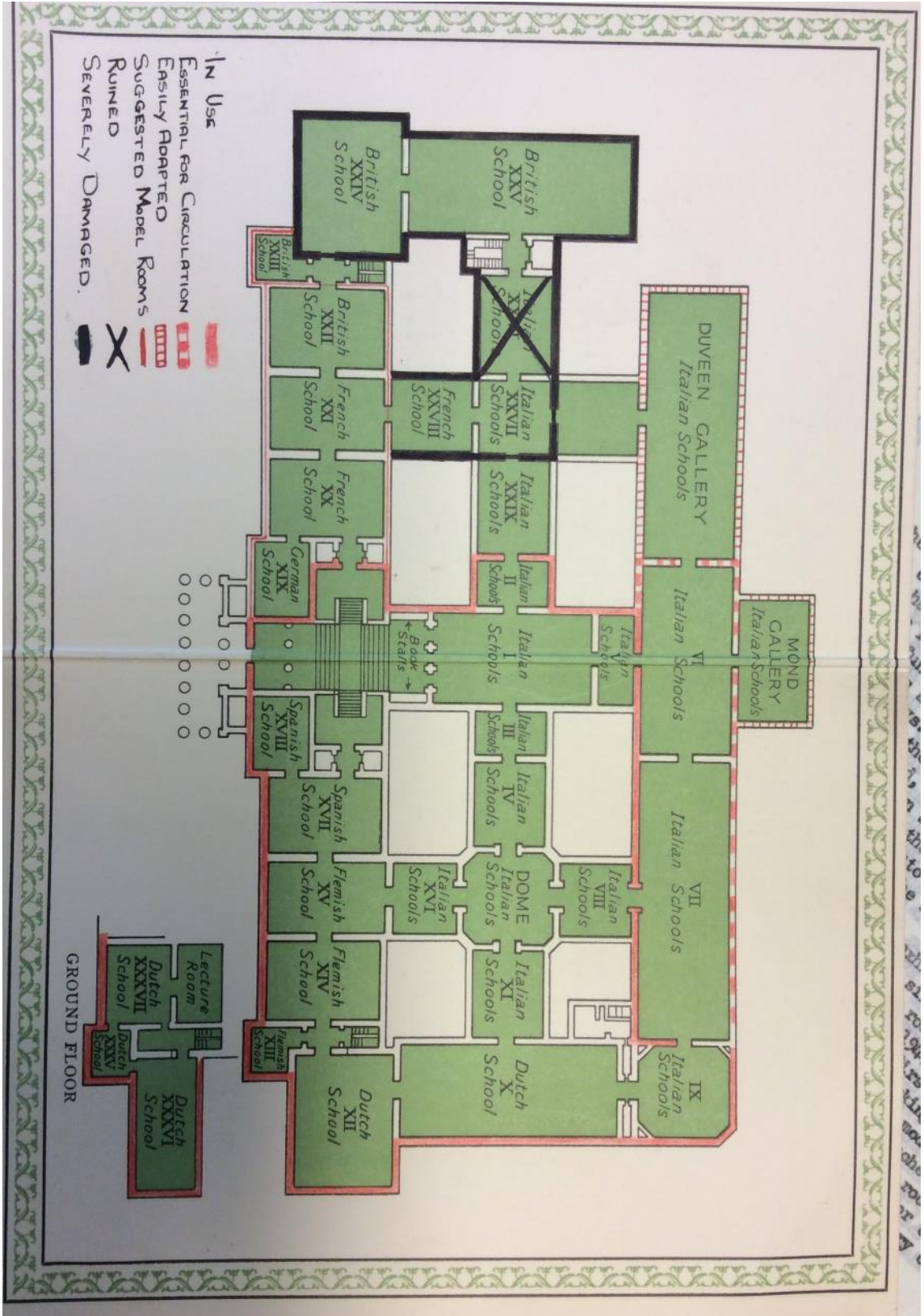


Figure 44. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve* ('The Ambassadors'), 1533, oil on oak, 207 x 209.5 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 45. Bronzino, *An Allegory with Venus and Cupid*, c. 1545, oil on wood, 146.1 x 116.2 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 46. Paolo Uccello, *The Battle of San Romano*, c. 1438-1440, egg tempera with walnut oil and linseed oil on poplar, 182 x 320 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 47. Titian, *Noli me Tangere*, c. 1514, oil on canvas, 110.5 x 91.9 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 48. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, c. 1635-1640, oil on oak, 169.9 x 236.2 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 49. Philip Hendy rehanging paintings in Gallery XXXI, the Duveen Room (1st January 1956) © The Advertising Archives (Photo: A. Whittington) (P3812_001; NG30/1956/13).

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Figure 50. Plan of the Gallery showing the area where the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' was to be held highlighted in red (c. 1946), London, National Gallery, NG16/258/1,

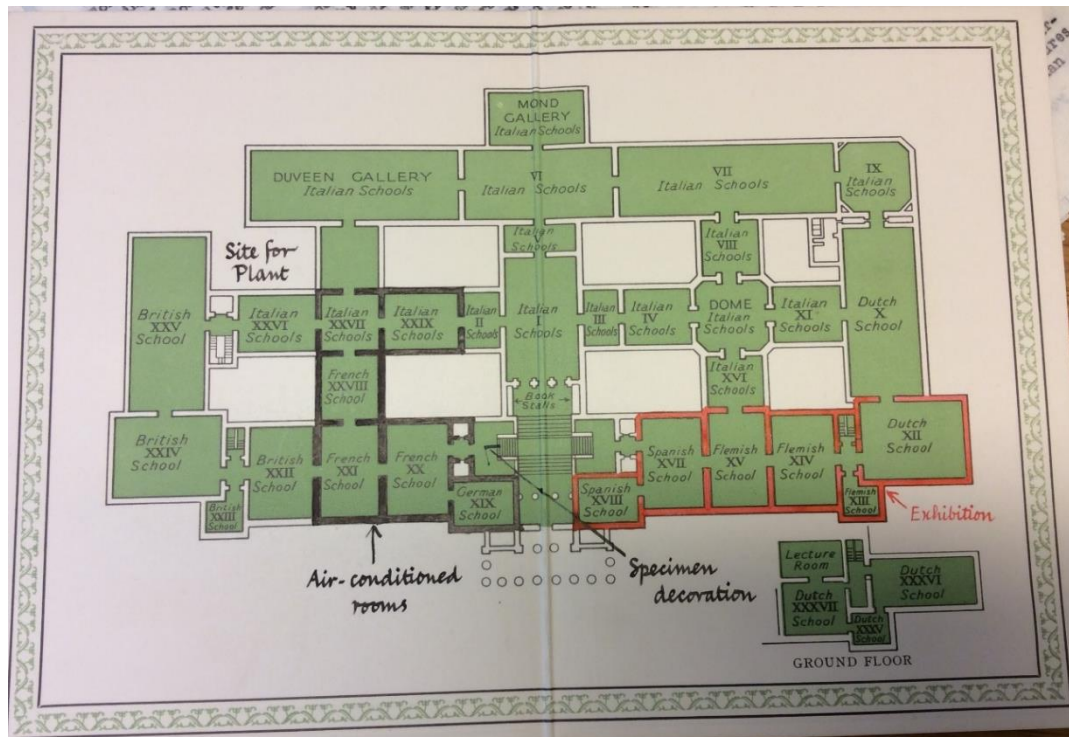


Figure 51. Photograph of *Seaport with the Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, by Claude, before cleaning (1939) © The National Gallery, London (N-0014-00-000080)



Figure 52. Photograph of Albert Cuyp's *Landscape, Cattle and Figures: Evening*, during first cleaning (22nd December 1948) © National Gallery, London (N-0053-00-000032)



Figure 53. Photograph of *The Illustrated London News*, 11th October 1947, with a reproduction of Albert Cuyp's *Landscape, Cattle and Figures: Evening*, British Library, London.

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Figure 54. Photograph of Jan van Huysum's *Flowers in a Vase* (4th February 1947) © The National Gallery, London (N-1001-00-000009)



Figure 55. Photograph of *Future*, 3:6, 1948, showing Albert Cuyp's *Flowers in a Vase*, British Library, London

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Figure 56 (see next page). Photograph of *The Illustrated London News*, 23rd November 1946, with a reproduction of Peter Rubens's *Chapeau de Paille* in three states (before cleaning, top left; cleaned, top right; during cleaning, bottom), British Library, London

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Figure 57. View of the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures', showing *Philip IV of Spain in Brown and Silver* (NG1129) in the centre, and *Philip IV when Elderly* (NG745) on the left, National Gallery (October 1947) © National Gallery, London (NG30/1947/36; P4768_002)



Figure 58. View of the 'Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures' showing photographic reproductions on a board alongside paintings (October 1947) © National Gallery, London (NG30/1947/33; P4678_001)



Figure 59. Photograph of *Country Life*, 24th October 1947, showing two reproductions of Ribalta's *Christ Bearing the Cross* (before cleaning, left; cleaned, right, with the revelation of a figure of the visionary), British Library, London.

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Figure 60. Photograph of *The Illustrated London News*, 11th October 1947, with a reproduction of the partly cleaned *Portrait of a Woman* in the style of Anthony van Dick, British Library, London.

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Figure 61. Photograph of *Future*, 3:6, 1948, showing a reproduction of an x-ray photograph of a detail of Rembrandt's *Woman Bathing*, British Library, London.

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Figure 62. Photograph of *Future*, 3:6, 1948, showing a reproduction of a detail of cleaned *Woman Bathing*, British Library, London.

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Figure 63. Photograph of *Future*, 3:6, 1948, showing a reproduction of cleaned *Woman Bathing* as it appeared to the naked eye, British Library, London.

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Figure 64. Photograph of *The Illustrated London News*, 4th October 1947, showing a photographic reproduction of the Scientific Adviser, Ian Rawlins, taking an x-ray of one of the Gallery's pictures, British Library, London.

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Figure 65. Photograph of *The Illustrated London News*, 4th October 1947, showing a tintometer (an instrument used for the comparison of colours), British Library, London.

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Figure 66. View of the installation of Titian's *Noli me Tangere*, the first 'Picture of the Month' (1st January 1941), with the reproductions on the board on the right © National Gallery, London (P4200_001)



Figure 67. Photograph of Guinness advertisement (unknown publication, n.d.). London, National Gallery, NG24/1947/1.

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Figure 68. Plan of the National Gallery showing the horseshoe of galleries to be remodelled and air-conditioned in black (1946), London, National Gallery, NG16/258/1.

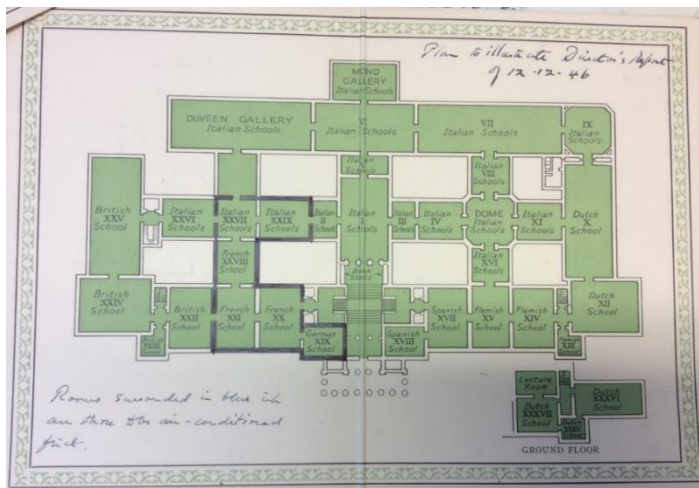


Figure 69. Photograph of Michael Levey's *A Brief History of the National Gallery* (1957), with the two illustrations of the National Gallery (Watercolour by Frederick MacKenzie, 1834; photograph of Gallery XXI, 1956).

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Figure 70. Workshop of Albrecht Dürer, *The Virgin and Child* ('The Madonna with the Iris'), 1500-1510, oil on lime, 149.2 x 117.2 cm, National Gallery, London

Figure 71. Hans Baldung Grien, *Portrait of a Man*, 1514, oil on line, 59.3 x 48.9 cm, National Gallery, London.

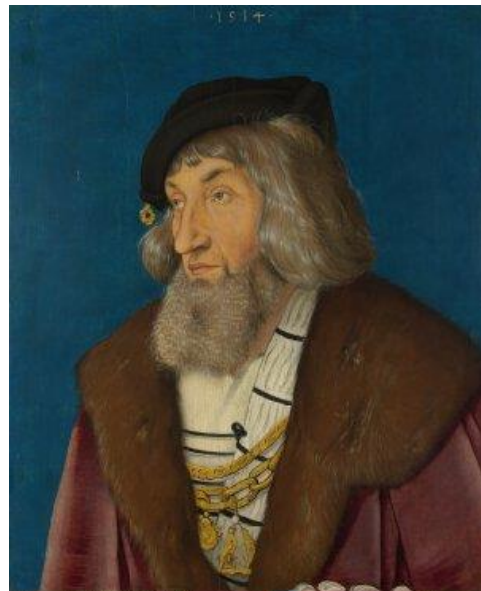


Figure 72. View of Gallery XXIX, with experimental lighting, National Gallery (1932) © Fox Photos Ltd., National Gallery, London (P4990_001).

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Figure 73. View of Gallery XXIX, the first of the air-conditioned rooms to be opened,
National Gallery (29th August 1950), The Ministry of Works (NG24/1950/16; P6409_001)



Figure 74. View of Gallery XXIX (29th August 1950), The Ministry of Works (NG30/1950/15; P6409_002)



Figure 75. View of visitors in Gallery XXIX (1950) ©Alpha Press (NG24/1950/14; P6409_003)

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Figure 76. View of the remodelled Gallery XXI after the installation of air-conditioning, National Gallery (June 1956) © National Gallery, London (NG30/1956/26; P4950_004)



Figure 77. View of the renovated gallery of the Palazzo Bianco by Albini, Genoa © John M.

Hall Photographs



Figure 78. Rubens Room, south wall, Pavillon des Sessions, The Louvre (display by Jean-Charles Moreux, Emilio Terry and Germain Bazin, 1951-1953) © Michel Chassat.

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Figure 79. View of Gallery XXII with paintings from the British School, National Gallery (1956) © National Gallery, London (NG30/1956/33; P6397_001)



Figure 80. National Gallery of Art main floor gallery 45, showing works by Rembrandt, Washington (c. 1941) © National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gallery Archives (26A4_2471_001)



Figure 81. View of modernised gallery at Haags Gemeentemuseum, The Hague (1954), from *Strategies of Display*.

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Figure 82. View of 'Art in Our Time: 10th Anniversary Exhibition', Museum of Modern Art (Goodwin and Stone building), New York (1939) © Museum of Modern Art, New York.

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Figure 83. View of Northern and Italian Primitive Galleries, from *The Modern Eye* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926 © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

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Figure 84. View of The National Gallery Café, London (1956) © National Gallery, London
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Figure 85. View of roof space above the laylight in Gallery XXIX, National Gallery (July 1950)
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Figure 86. Photograph of *The Heating and Ventilating Engineer & Journal of Air Conditioning* (November 1950), British Library, London.

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Figure 87. View of louvre laylights, National Gallery (1950) © Crown Copyright
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Figure 88. View of experimental lighting system in Gallery X, National Gallery (1935) © Fox Photos Ltd. (NG30/1935/13; P3194_001).

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Manchester Guardian

New Statesman

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Appendix

Correspondence of Galleries with their Numbering Today (former name followed by current number)

(1) Temple Newsam (the rooms listed are those mentioned in the thesis, see jointly with plan Figure 21)

Prince's Room: Room 1

South Bedroom: Room 2

South Dressing Room: Room 3

State Bedroom: Room 4

State Dressing Room: Room 6

French Room: Room 7

Darnley Room: Room 8

Room XVI: Room 16

Room over the North-West Room: Rooms 17-18

Rooms VI (Blue Striped Room): Room 26

Room VII (Mrs Meynell Ingram's Dressing Room): Room 27 (Blue Striped Dressing Room)

Room VIII (Blue Damask Room): Room 29 (The Gothick Room)

Room IX (Miss Ingram's Room): Room 30 (The Indian Dressing Room)

Room X (The Boudoir, or Miss Meynell Ingram's Sitting Room): Room 31

Room XI (Mrs Meynell Ingram's Room): Room 34

Room XIV (Picture Gallery): Room 36

Chapel/Library: Room 37

Room I (Mr Wood's Library): Room 39

Blue Drawing Room: Room 41

Great Hall: Room 42

Dining Room (Philip Hendy's Office): Room 44

(2) National Gallery, London (the rooms listed are those which existed on the Main

Floor when Hendy was director, 1946-56)

Gallery I: Central Hall

Gallery II: Room 12

Gallery III: Room 39

Gallery IV: Room 38

Gallery V: Sunley Room

Gallery VI: Room 30

Gallery VII: Room 32

Gallery VIII: Room 37

Gallery IX: Room 33

Gallery X: Room 34

Gallery XI: Room 35

Gallery XII: Room 41

Gallery XIII: Room 42

Gallery XIV: Room 43

Gallery XV: Room 44

Gallery XVI: Room 40

Gallery XVII: Room 45

Gallery XVIII: Room 46

Gallery XIX: Room 1

Gallery XX: Room 2

Gallery XXI: Room 4

Gallery XXII: Room 6

Gallery XXIII: Room 7

Gallery XXIV: Room 8

Gallery XXV: Room 9

Gallery XXVI: Room 10

Gallery XXVII: Room 11

Gallery XXVIII: Room 5

Gallery XXIX: Room 12

Gallery XXX (Mond Gallery): Room 31

Gallery XXXI (Duveen Gallery): Room 29

Gallery XXXII: Room 14