<title>Teaching classics with objects?
<subtitle>The acquisition of classical antiquities by British schools, 1860-1950

<running header> Teaching classics with objects?

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British secondary schools amassed collections of antiquities from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. These ordinarily contained classical objects, sometimes alongside Egyptian antiquities, and accompanied collections of natural history, geology and ethnography. This paper uses the collection formed by Bedford Modern School, now housed by the Higgins Museum, Bedford to study this phenomenon of school classical collections. This analysis places school collections within a wider history of 'object lessons', but suggests these collections were more than merely teaching aids. School museums could act as signifiers of power and prestige, connection to alumni and wider local communities, and to a heritage of learning and scholarship embodied by classical antiquities. Furthermore, these collections illustrate individual collectors' personalities and interests, usually of the school masters who were instrumental in their formation.

As early as 1650, educational reformers such as John Dury advocated school collections to assist in teaching through 'the ocular inspection of things'.[1] 'Object lessons'[2] were further endorsed in the late-eighteenth century by the Swiss Romanticist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, whose teachings were brought to England by the educational reformers Charles and Elizabeth Mayo, who published a book on the importance of teaching with objects in 1831.[3] However, it was not until the 1880s that schools such as Bedford Modern School (BMS) actively sought their own collections. An article in the science magazine *Nature* from 1884 states 'in the recent instructions of Her Majesty's Inspectors, it is laid down that an infant school which deserves to be considered 'excellent' and to receive corresponding merit should have a cabinet of objects which it is suggested should be partly collected by the children themselves'.[4] Though this advice was aimed at infant schools, the ensuing discourse on the subject illustrates the effect this governmental instruction had on all levels of school education, including secondary schools.[5]

These treatises exclusively advocate housing science collections rather than antiquities in schools. An intriguing publication from 1889, *The Scholar's Companion to the School Museum*, sets out a template catalogue for school collections.[6] This demonstrates the increase in schools collecting by the end of the 1880s for such a publication to be necessary, and illustrates material which, it is suggested, a school museum should hold.[7] Items detailed in the catalogue include coffee, sugar, candles, soap, cotton, silk, leather, medicines, geological samples and grain. Indeed, the BMS collection was established in 1885 with the donation of

flora, fauna and geological samples.[8] A natural history collection also existed at Eton College long before the inclusion of any antiquities.[9] Though this period saw the genesis of school museums, the late-nineteenth-century school collection was generally less archaeological and more scientific.

School collections were most popular between the World Wars. During this period, school museums became more ingrained in educational practice. At BMS, the Revd P. G. Langdon (see below) led training lessons for the boys, in which Gerald Dunning and William Grimes, both of whom became eminent archaeologists, were given early curatorial experience.[10] The heyday of the school museum seems to have been short-lived. By 1948, Stretton writes on the importance of schools visiting museums, but not necessarily possessing their own collections.[11] Stretton adds, 'there is the inevitable difficulty of space, for not many schools are as fortunate as Bedford Modern School which has a museum "open to the public" and a full-time curator, Mr F. W. Kuhlicke'.[12] This is furthered by Harrison's 1954 guide, detailing the educational possibilities of museum trips, which she describes as 'one of the fashionable tendencies of the moment'.[13] Austerity following the war led to more economical ways of engaging students with object lessons. Indeed, much of the museum work conducted by BMS was stopped by the war and resulting austerity, and it seems likely this was true of other school collections, certainly preventing any schools forming new museums.[14] More recently, school collections have had a revival, with publications illustrating the possibilities of collections for schools as teaching resources, and the methods in which small educational collections can be created.[15]

With this historical framework, it becomes clear the BMS collection fits within the wider history of school museums, and acts as an informative case-study for the changing trends of school collections. When compared to other school assemblages, these trends become more distinct, and seem to fit general patterns of the types of objects collected by schools.

The Prichard Museum, Bedford Modern School: a case-study

Though the collection under review now resides in the Higgins Museum, Bedford, it was originally housed by the Prichard Museum at BMS. The school museum was founded in 1885, when C. E. Prichard, an 'old boy' of the school, donated a natural history collection in memory of his mother.[16] A catalogue was produced by William Theobold in 1887; at this point, the only archaeological object was a single flint flake from a local excavation.[17] The collection was housed in a single room (Fig. 1), but with rapid expansion, it soon outgrew this space.

In 1897, the Revd P. G. Langdon, affectionately referred to by the students as 'Piggy', was appointed as teacher and chaplain;[18] in 1917 he established an archaeological society at the school. During this period, Langdon became curator of the Prichard Museum, and in 1920 wrote in the school newspaper that an archaeological collection had been formed in the museum with finds contributed by the Archaeological Society, and that donations from 'old boys' would be gratefully received by the school.[19] In 1925 and 1926, Langdon also completed a project in removing the objects of lesser importance from the museum and replacing display cases. A postcard survives from this period depicting the museum (Fig. 2). On the reverse Langdon describes the image as the 'museum after I had begged or bought cases . . . and after I had rid the place of rubbish and captured most of the local archaeological finds'.[20] In 1925, a new illustrated catalogue was published, attesting to the size of the local archaeological collection amassed by the school, and Langdon's ambition to form the largest archaeological collection drawn solely from the county.[21] The local archaeological collection consisted of large assemblages of Prehistoric flints excavated principally during local gravel extractions, Iron Age artefacts, and a large collection of Romano-British pottery, glass, and metalwork discovered across the county. The collection also contained a large assemblage of Saxon pottery, predominantly found in the town of Kempston, south-east of Bedford, and Medieval pottery discovered in Bedford itself.

A new hall was built in 1928 and opened in 1929.[22] This change in configuration required moving the museum, which relocated to a building at the far end of the hall, allowing its expansion over two floors.[23] At Langdon's retirement in 1933, the role of curator was taken on by F. W. Kuhlicke, known by the students as 'Klick'.[24] Under Kuhlicke's direction the museum continued to expand, with several large donations of foreign antiquities, including one from Langdon, received before his death in 1955.[25] In 1952 Kuhlicke published a description of the Prichard Museum in the *Bedfordshire Magazine* in which he describes a large collection of Greek, Roman and Etruscan antiquities, illustrating how this side of the collection expanded under his curatorship.[26] In the late 1950s, it was decided by the school that the collection would be better housed by the town council (Kuhlicke having by now retired) and accordingly, in 1962, a new museum opened on Bedford Embankment, incorporating also some pre-existing collections already housed by the council. At this point, the museum ceased to acquire new objects.

The BMS collection may form a template against which the contents of other such school collections may be measured.

Cypriot collections

The bulk of the objects collected by BMS were local archaeological artefacts, particularly Romano-British and Saxon objects, mainly because of Langdon's fascination with the archaeology of Bedfordshire. While Romano-British objects may be considered as classical collections, the assemblage at BMS was primarily distinguished by being exclusively found in Bedfordshire, so that any such objects were acquired not for their classical associations but for their local significance. The foreign classical collections held by the school consist solely of Cypriot antiquities, oil lamps and one Campanian vase, acquired through various means. Fifty-eight Cypriot objects now held by the Higgins Museum were originally collected by BMS. The majority of the Cypriot collection comes from two donors – R. Gunnis and P. G. Langdon. The July 1938 copy of the school newspaper records a sports trip to Cyprus.[27] Between fixtures, the tour party was taken to historical and archaeological sites. For one day, the tours were led by Rupert Gunnis, Secretary to Ronald Storrs, Governor of Cyprus. Gunnis, a member of the committee responsible for the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, took on a curatorial role, removing duplicate objects from the museum's collection, whilst also amassing his own collection of antiquities.[28]

Along with the article recording the Cypriot sports trip, Kuhlicke reports the acquisition of 'a fine set of pottery vessels and figures, mostly first century BC from Cyprus, presented by R. Gunnis Esq', and a further donation in December.[29] It would seem, therefore, that on the occasion of the sports trip Gunnis was made aware of the school collection, leading to these donations. Two fragments of pottery are accompanied by handwritten paper labels describing the fragments and detailing their provenance of Cyprus. These small fragments are unlike the other objects – more complete but unlabelled – in this assemblage. It seems likely, therefore, that these fragments were found, collected and brought back to the school by the students who participated on the sports tour in Cyprus, potentially at one of the sites visited on the tour. An earlier acquisition is detailed in the museum's catalogue, a White Painted Ware bowl (Fig. 3). A catalogue written by Kuhlicke states it was donated by W. L. Jones, an 'old boy', on 20 May 1933. Objects could therefore be donated by individuals, collected by students, or sent back to schools by alumni wishing to contribute to the collections of their alma mater.

The remainder of the Cypriot collection came from Langdon. Kuhlicke records that Langdon's collection came from 'Resa Carpas, Cyprus', and a 1950s label accompanying a large amphora (Fig. 4) states that this vase came specifically from the site of Aphendrika on the Karpaz Peninsula. Quite how Langdon obtained such a large collection of antiquities from

the Karpaz Peninsula remains unclear. Excavations took place at Ayios Philon in the area of Carpasia from 1935 to 1938,[30] and on the Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries of Aphendrika and Tsambres in 1938.[31] The objects from these excavations were dispersed between the Ashmolean (Oxford), the Cyprus Museum (Nicosia), the Museum of Classical Archaeology (Cambridge), the Institute of Archaeology (London) and the Nicholson Museum (Sydney).[32] While no private sales are recorded, it is possible that some objects were sold on to fund excavations, or that objects were deaccessioned from the Cyprus Museum (as Gunnis did when he was honorary curator) and thence were purchased by Langdon. It is also conceivable that Kuhlicke recorded this information incorrectly – perhaps only one or two of the objects were from the Karpaz Peninsula and the others were erroneously given the same provenance. This is further suggested by the fact that one of the lamps donated by Langdon is labelled 'London 1880' in pen on the reverse, suggesting his collection, at least, was acquired from a variety of sources.

Cypriot collections in school museums are not unusual. Harrow School has a collection of Cypriot material dating from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman period, donated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund; some of these are recorded as coming from excavations at Paphos and Marion.[33] A group of Cypriot vases was donated to Winchester College by the British Museum; they are thought to have come from the Scottish archaeologist A. S. Murray's excavations in Amathus between 1893 and 1894.[34] Charterhouse School also boasted a small collection of Cypriot antiquities mainly donated by A.G.L. Gambier of St Albans.[35] The collection at BMS is however the largest of these assemblages. It perhaps seems strange that Cypriot antiquities formed part of these school's collections, given that Cypriot archaeology rarely forms any part of the classical education: more usually it is the history of Greece and Rome that is taught at these institutions. The likely reasons for their presence are twofold. Firstly, these antiquities seem to have been readily accessible on the market – the collector A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers, for example, was able to purchase large quantities of the Cesnola Cypriot collection at Sotheby's.[36] Secondly, while it seems likely that Cypriot collections had no specific educational significance for these institutions, given British Imperial involvement in Cyprus from 1878 it may be that these collections served as reminders of the rich archaeological heritage in lands under British control. Indeed, Major W. J. Myers, founder of Eton College's collection of antiquities, spent time working on behalf of the British Army in Cyprus.[37] The colonial implications of these collections should therefore not be overlooked.

Lamps

There are forty-four lamps in the Higgins Museum from the BMS collection. Twenty come from the William J. Glassby collection, donated to the school in 1932. The school newspaper records that on 2 May of that year a collection of Palestinian antiquities, once belonging to Glassby, was presented by Mr C. Polhill of Howbury Hall, a private house to the north-east of Bedford.[38] Glassby was the estate steward of Howbury Hall, and his obituary from 1932 records 'his great interest' in 'the Jews in Palestine, and he was a prominent member of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews'.[39] The obituary adds that Glassby 'was a seeker of curios, and his collection is always a source of interest to visitors of the Costin Street Mission Hall'.[40] It would seem, therefore, that Glassby acquired his collection during his missionary work in Palestine and that on his death in 1932 his collection, hitherto housed at the Mission Hall, was given by Polhill to the Prichard Museum.

Two of the most active archaeological groups in Palestine in the 1920s and 1930s were the Palestinian Exploration Fund (PEF) and British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE). It is possible that these two organizations were respectively the sources for some of these lamps. Glassby was clearly interested in matters of provenance as well as the objects themselves, as the lamps in his collection have paper labels detailing find-spots and dates. Two of these labels detail their finder as Sir Flinders Petrie and record that they were found in 'Tell Melek' and 'Beth Phelet' in 1930 (Fig. 5).[41] While Petrie's excavations at 'Tell Melek' are lacking in the record, archaeological reports exist for his excavations at Beth Phelet, confirming this provenance and the connection to the BSAE.[42] The BSAE's regulations however state that all antiquities acquired through excavation were to be distributed to public museums,[43] and so how these objects ended up in the private hands of Glassby remains a mystery.

Two lamps come from the collection of Dr Harvey Goldsmith.[44] A well-known ophthalmic surgeon from Bedford, Goldsmith was a former president of the local History Society and a proficient Greek scholar.[45] While not being an 'old boy', the school newspaper records that in February 1918, Goldsmith visited BMS to give a talk on his travels to Constantinople.[46] It seems plausible these foreign antiquities were collected on these travels.

Two other lamps are labelled as coming from the Langdon collection, possibly donated on his retirement (Fig. 6).[47] The lamps are labelled with pen, detailing their find-spots as the 'Catacomb of St. Domatilla' in Rome. Whether or not this provenance is correct, Langdon may well have bought them on a visit to Rome, perhaps at or near the catacombs, or from a dealer elsewhere who supplied the alleged find-spot. These provenances cannot be taken at face value.

Lamps are common objects in school collections, with Harrow,[48] Charterhouse,[49] and Oundle[50] all possessing reasonably large assemblages. Like the Cypriot objects, it seems unlikely that these collections were practically useful in students' classical education; more likely their presence resulted from their low value, accessibility, and the fact that many were sold to tourists as souvenirs, making them readily collectable for travelling alumni. Lamps seem to have formed an important part of the collection at BMS, with Kuhlicke even curating an exhibition of lamps and candles at the museum in 1935, probably prompted by the Glassby bequest.[51] Given their Palestinian provenance, it is possible that (at a Church of England School) these lamps may have provided a link to the world of the New Testament.

Greek vases

The only conventional 'Greek' vase known to have been in the BMS collection is a Campanian bell-krater by the Painter of Naples 146751, depicting a boy (possibly Hyakinthos)[52] atop a swan, and a female head on the reverse (Fig. 7). A small label on the base reads 'Hope, 6 pieces', which alerted the author to the possibility this vase came from the well-known collection of Thomas Hope.[53] Indeed, this vase is described by Tillyard in his catalogue of the Hope collection, and while not photographed, the description is so close that it is irrefutably the same object.[54] Tillyard records that the collection was formed by Sir William Hamilton in 1789-90, sent to England in 1798 and sold to Thomas Hope in 1801.[55]

This vase was therefore part of Hamilton's second collection of vases. From 1806 the vases were stored at Hope's country house, Deepdene, where they were passed down through the family and seen by Michaelis in 1877.[56] The collection was sold at Christie's in 1917, its contents scattered among museums and individuals.[57] While no identifying description of the BMS vase exists in the sale catalogue, it may have formed part of lot 146, described as 'six miscellaneous pieces', of which only two are fully described.[58] A second label on the base reads '£ 5. 10. 0': it seems likely that the krater was acquired by an antiquities dealer, from whom Langdon bought it for that price. This was not an inconsequential sum for a teacher, and Langdon's decision to lend it to the school may have been prompted by his pride in owning such an object, as well as the academic enrichment this vase would lend to his students.

One fragment of Minoan pottery lacks any identifying labels or museum numbers. In an early school museum catalogue, 'two pieces of pottery from Knossos' are listed as being donated by F. W. Kuhlicke in 1932. It is highly likely this fragment is one of the pieces in question, and it is certainly very similar to pottery discovered at Knossos.[59] Arthur Evans was

still working there in the early 1930s, mainly in reconstructing the palace but also excavating the surrounding area.[60] Kuhlicke may have collected this on a trip to Crete, perhaps while visiting Evans' excavations.

Large collections of Greek pottery can be found in more prestigious school collections, such as those at Harrow[61] and Winchester.[62] BMS possessed only one vase of comparable quality – perhaps indicative of BMS's comparative meagreness. Unlike Cypriot objects and lamps, vases would have been easily applicable to school students' classical education, but vases could also illustrate intellectual and financial authority. The Hope connection may well have been important to Langdon and the school – and it could have served to buttress the legitimacy of scholarly collecting.

A comparison of school collections

Very few school collections have been published, and it seems possible that more await study. Classical collections have been catalogued at Harrow, Eton, Winchester, Charterhouse and Oundle, and act here as comparisons to the BMS collection. Firstly, it should be noted the majority of the classical collections at these schools are of a much better quality, but smaller size, than the collection held at BMS, except perhaps Charterhouse which had a similarly low-grade collection of antiquities.[63] Harrow, Eton, Winchester and Oundle boast high-quality collections of vases, bronzes and terracottas,[64] with small collections of Cypriot material and lamps which form the majority of the BMS collection. There are two likely reasons for this. First, these schools were much wealthier and more prestigious than BMS, attracting better donations and enabling larger purchases. Second, the museums at Eton, Harrow, Winchester and Oundle were less encyclopaedic than those at BMS and Charterhouse, with a greater classical or Egyptological focus. It is clear Langdon aimed to form a collection of primarily local archaeology, whilst also being encyclopaedic,[65] and Charterhouse aimed to create a miscellaneous collection of objects reflecting the various interests of its alumni, working across the world.[66]

Langdon's amassing of local archaeology is unique and unlike any collection policies at the other school museums. The collections of Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Oundle and Charterhouse contain no British archaeological objects except the occasional small assemblage. Indeed Langdon persuaded a local antiquary, Mrs Williamson, to move her collection of Roman and Saxon pottery discovered in Bedford from Charterhouse school

museum in the 1920s.[67] In Langdon's 1925 catalogue, he states that the collection is designed to help primarily 'in the study of local history'.[68] In his request for further donations at the end of the catalogue, he reiterates that the school is looking specifically for local archaeological specimens.[69] Clearly, collection policies differed widely between different schools. It should be noted the collection interests of BMS changed with different curators – in 1909 a request for donations to the museum by curator Mr Nightingale asks for objects that would 'illustrate Native Art from different parts of the world'.[70] The influence of individuals and their interests were therefore key to the collection policies of school museums, perhaps surmounting the educational merits of these collections.

Imperial associations are also clear. As has been suggested, the presence of Cypriot antiquities in school collections may have formed a statement of ownership or connection with the colony's archaeological heritage. The connections between Imperial militarism and collecting have been drawn in other contexts, such as the Pitt Rivers Museum.[71] Notably, Major Myers acquired many of his antiquities, which he later bequeathed to Eton, while on campaign in Egypt,[72] and some of the classical antiquities at Harrow were donated by Captain Copeland who acquired his collection while commanding a frigate on the Eastern Mediterranean.[73] The militarism and Imperial involvement link these donors because of the resulting access to antiquities their positions enabled, as Glassby was given access to Palestinian antiquities through his missionary work and Gunnis through his Imperial administrative role in Cyprus.

School museums acquired collections in three distinct ways. Most commonly, and in the case of BMS, schools were gifted a large collection by one benefactor, leading to smaller gifts by subsequent donors. This was the case at Eton where Myers's large donation has been added to by various 'old boys',[74] and at Harrow where Wilkinson's donation of antiquities led to further donations from the Cyprus Exploration Fund, Egypt Exploration Fund and various alumni.[75] Secondly, schools could purchase their own collections and set up museums in a single decisive act: at Winchester, for example, a collection was created between 1893 and 1897 to commemorate the school's 500th anniversary,[76] while Oundle purchased the contents of its museum from the collection of Lord Revelstoke in 1935 and from Henry Oppenheimer in 1936.[77] Presumably these decisive acts of acquisition resulted from competition between schools, and a feeling of inferiority at not possessing a collection. Thirdly, a school could form a collection by requesting donations, as at Charterhouse, which advertised to its 'old boys' in 1874 through its school newsletter that donations of any kind of interesting object would be gratefully received.[78]

Most of these collections were formed in the late nineteenth century, with Charterhouse in 1874,[79] BMS in 1885,[80] Winchester in 1897,[81] and Eton in 1899.[82] The earliest was at Harrow in 1864,[83] while Oundle was unusually late, establishing its collection in 1935.[84] Given that most school collections were established in the late-nineteenth century, a link may be implied to the instructions of Her Majesty's Inspectors to establish school collections in 1884,[85] and the larger trend towards 'object lessons' in this period.

It is noteworthy that all these school collections were opened at some point to the public. Certainly, the BMS museum was accessible from the 1920s,[86] and attracted large crowds of evacuated children and servicemen during the Second World War.[87] Additionally, under Kuhlicke's administration, loan cases were purchased so that objects from the collection could be taken to other schools in the area.[88] This occurred at other schools too, as Gladstone notes the London School Board would issue loan cases to any school museum wishing to loan objects.[89] Engagement with local communities, and public access to school collections was therefore a common feature of school museums.

The purpose of school collections

While holistic collection theories exist for other forms of museums and collectors, no holistic analysis surrounding school collections has been written. This section aims briefly to apply some of the existing theoretical insights about collecting to the specific context of school collections, examining possible reasons why schools amassed objects.

Backland's analysis of the psychology of collecting highlights the importance of competition and one-upmanship for individual collectors[90] - a category that can be extended to include governments and institutions. One issue of the *BMS Gazette* contains a photograph of the museum after it had been moved from its first location in 1929,[91] captioned 'the museum ranks as one of the best and largest school museums in the country'.[92] For BMS, possessing a collection was a way to compete with larger, richer and more prestigious schools such as Eton and Harrow, given that competing academically or for amenities would be inconceivable. BMS clearly felt its collection was a distinguishing feature and a source of pride – one article commending the publication of Langdon's catalogue ends 'what a wonderful museum we have got!'[93] This might also explain why Oundle created a collection through purchasing antiquities in 1935-6,[94] or Charterhouse in 1874.[95] These schools, less affluent than Eton and Harrow, no doubt wanted museums to rival those of their more prestigious competitors. It has been argued

that individuals who feel subordinate collect as a way of gaining stature and notoriety,[96] and it seems this could equally apply to educational institutions.

More recent collections of antiquities have been said to lend the collector legitimacy, given the allusory references to ancestry and classical learning involved in possessing Greek and Roman objects.[97] Perhaps schools acquired a form of legitimacy through this type of collecting. Collections have been characterized as expressions of self-identity, and perhaps for a school, collections may be said to have enabled the accenting of a scholarly establishment.[98] It should be noted while this characterization probably applies to the grander classical collections at Harrow, Winchester and Oundle,[99] the more meagre collections at BMS and Charterhouse can scarcely be said to have commanded such a legitimizing role. While suggesting scholarship and education, collecting in the European tradition has also been associated with power, both intellectual and financial, a tradition that schools may have sought to exploit for reasons of prestige.[100]

The creation of museums by individuals and governments has also been interpreted as an act of philanthropy or civic benefaction.[101] All of the school museums covered in this study opened their collections to members of the public. These collections benefited not just the students but also the wider community with which schools sought to engage. In the 1890s, museums were also associated with a form of paternalism aimed at the working classes. A publication from 1890, outlining suggestions for the establishment of cheap educational museums in British towns, states that museums are important 'to the wage-receiving classes', who would 'shortly add two million voters to our electorate' and therefore 'we should take active steps to raise their general intelligence by means of public scientific and art collections'.[102] The conclusion of the manual invites the reader to act 'with feelings of active benevolence on all those hard-working millions'.[103] Though it cannot be said all schools opening their collections to the public operated within this mental framework, this contemporary commentary may shed light on some of the underlying paternalistic attitudes behind the opening of school museums to the public. The degree of access implied also enabled schools to position themselves as benefactors of local communities, increasing their status and esteem.

The agency of individuals should not be overlooked in the foundation and evolution of school museums. Langdon was pivotal in the development of the BMS collection in its acquisition of local archaeology, and Kuhlicke in its amassing of foreign antiquities. Similarly at other schools, teachers who took on curatorial roles were key in the development of these collections, such as Mr Torr at Harrow, who was the first to organize and catalogue Wilkinson's

donation of classical and Egyptian antiquities,[104] Headmaster Fearon at Winchester who created and financed the school collection,[105] and the Revd William Davies of Charterhouse who collected the bequests of alumni to form the museum.[106] A uniting factor of these schools is a passionate member of staff dedicated to the formation and curation of a collection. The decision to form collections was therefore personal as well as institutional.

Conclusion

Through this analysis of the BMS museum, it has been possible to illustrate the means by which the school museum was created and developed. By using this history, general trends have been extrapolated to other school collections, but it is clear that close studies are required of further school collections in order to further develop these conclusions. The contents of school collections have been analysed, demonstrating that classical collections differed between schools owing to differing financial means, but that many schools contained similar objects, such as Cypriot antiquities, because of their accessibility and connection with the British Empire. The chronology of school museums also illustrates a general trend in schools forming collections in the 1890s, reflecting the growing fashion for object lessons and educational collections used in teaching. This study has also illustrated differing methodologies of collecting in schools, outlining three distinct ways schools could create museums.

It is also clearly questionable whether these collections were purely educational in nature but also carried messages of an institution's power, academic reputation and philanthropic concern. The effect of the individual has also been stressed, and the importance of schoolmasters in shaping collection policies and the evolution of school museums. It is clear that through this individualism, school collections have the capacity to be widely different in substance and history whilst also befitting the general trends outlined in this paper. Given that these school collections shaped many future archaeologists, classicists and museum curators, this study helps contextualize later trends in museum history, and the wider study of late-nineteenth and twentieth century classical collections.

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Figure captions

Fig. 1. Photograph of the Prichard Museum, *c.*1900, published in the *BMS Gazette*. The objects displayed are solely the natural history collection of C. E. Prichard. Courtesy of the Bedfordshire Archives Service © Marshall, Keene & Co.

Fig. 2. Photographic postcard, inscribed by P. G. Langdon, depicting the Prichard Museum *c.*1926, with the inclusion of archaeological collections. The postcard was once owned by the local historian R. Wildman. Courtesy of the Bedfordshire Archives Service © Marshall, Keene & Co.

Fig. 3. A Cypriot White Painted Ware bowl, *c.*1050-750BC, donated to the Prichard Museum by W. L. Jones. Inv. no. BEDFM 645. Author's image, reproduced courtesy of the Higgins Bedford Art Gallery and Museum.

Fig. 4. A large Bichrome Ware amphora, *c.*750-600BC, donated by the then retired curator P. G. Langdon. Accompanied by a label detailing its find-spot of Aphendrika on the Karpaz Peninsula. Inv. no. BEDFM 11649. Author's image, reproduced courtesy of the Higgins Bedford Art Gallery and Museum.

Fig. 5. The underside of a Roman oil lamp, *c.*AD50-150. Collected by W. J. Glassby and donated by C. Polhill. A paper label is attached on the base stating the lamp was 'found at Beth Phelet by Sir Flinders Petrie, 1930.' Inv. no. BEDFM 754. Author's image, reproduced courtesy of the Higgins Bedford Art Gallery and Museum.

Fig. 6. The underside of a Roman oil lamp, *c.*AD300-500. Donated by P. G. Langdon, *c.*1930. The base is inscribed with pen and ink, stating that the lamp was from the 'Catacomb of St. Domitilia' in Rome. Inv. no. BEDFM 764. Author's image, reproduced courtesy of the Higgins Bedford Art Gallery and Museum.

Fig. 7. A Campanian red-figure bell-krater attributed to the Painter of Naples 146751, *c.*320-300BC. Donated by P. G. Langdon, *c.*1930, once part of the Hope Collection. Inv. no. BEDFM 767. Author's image, reproduced courtesy of the Higgins Bedford Art Gallery and Museum.

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