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Author: Janet Elizabeth Owen

The Collecting Activities of Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913)

Abstract

This thesis explores the archaeological and ethnographic collection of Sir John Lubbock as a source of evidence for the study of late nineteenth century social discourse, and the role of individual agency and contingency within. In doing so it makes the case for the importance of historical museum collections as resources in the historiographical investigation of the development of disciplines. It draws on a methodology based primarily upon theories of collecting, discourse, cultural theory and chaos theory to produce a model that analyses the internal coherence of the collection, using evidence for the way artefacts were collected, used and disposed of.

The results of this analysis are used to explore the relationship between the collection and the wider social discourse within which it was created. In particular, the collection as a statement of late nineteenth century sociocultural evolution discourse is discussed, but it is also part of a fluid and complex discourse landscape incorporating liberal, upper middle class, Broad Church, domestic, masculine, nationalist and imperial values, rules and social practice.

The collection analysis also facilitates study of the role of individual agency in the creation of the collection, and how the collection itself influences wider social discourse as an active agent through the concept of intertextuality. Drawing upon chaos theory and theories of contingency, the thesis also explores the impact of locally sensitive initial conditions on the development of the collection, its use and disposal.

The thesis concludes by bringing together the various strands identified above and exploring a holistic meaning for the collection.

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The Collecting Activities of Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913)

Two Volumes: Volume One

Janet Elizabeth Owen

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Ph.D.

University of Durham

Department of Archaeology

2000

DURHAM

19 SEP 2001

The Collecting Activities of Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913)

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The Collecting Activities Of Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913)

Introduction

Objectives

> *'Everything. Been it. Seen it. Mean it.*
>
> *You think you've had a demonstrably hard time? Your job, let me guess, is made of solid odium?*
>
> *Now, I've been used: abused, disabused, misused, mused on, underenthused, unamused, contused, bemused and even perused. Any compound of used, but chiefly used: shaving bowl, vinegar jar, cinerary urn, tomb good, pyxis, vase, rat-trap, krater, bitumen amphora, chamber pot, pitcher, executioner, doorstop, sunshade, spittoon, coal scuttle, parrot rest, museum exhibit, deity, ashtray. If you're quiet, don't fuss and take it, it's staggering what people will dump on you. If it's vile, I've had a pile - and I know more than five thousand languages...'* (Fischer, 1997: 5)

Every object tells a story. Every object is more than it seems. The archaeological and ethnographic collection created by Sir John Lubbock in the late nineteenth century[1], now at Bromley Museum[2], tells many stories. This thesis focuses on one aspect of that narrative - the relationship between the collection, John Lubbock and the nature of late nineteenth century society. In doing so, it intends to shed light on more than just this one particular example or case study. There is also a broader objective to demonstrate how museum collections can be used as a key source of evidence in historiographical studies of scientific, archaeological and ethnographic disciplines.

Numerous histories of archaeology and ethnography have been written focusing upon published works and unpublished archives of people considered key figures in the development of these disciplines. It is rare that the various collections in museums, collected and deposited over the last 200 years, are considered as primary resources (for example Feest, 1995; Knell, 2000; Pearce, 1995; 2000; Petch, 1998; Stocking, 1985). Indeed, material culture studies and histories of archaeology tend to focus upon different research questions or different perspectives on the same questions. This thesis argues for the recognition of collections as important sources making their own valuable contribution to any broader historiographical study. It identifies a model for

---

[1] Also known as the Avebury Collection because John Lubbock was granted a peerage in 1900 and took the name Lord Avebury in memory of his work to save the monument at Avebury in the 1870s. The term 'Avebury Collection' is one used by Bromley Museum to describe the material held in its care, but as far as I can determine was never used by Lubbock to identify his collection. The material at Bromley Museum is on long-term loan from the current owners, the Orpington Historical Society. The British Museum also houses some of Lubbock's original collection, but does not classify it as such: the items are dispersed across the Prehistoric Collections and classified according to period and site rather than by donor. Part of the collection was distributed to 29 museums across the UK by the British Museum (British Museum Archive, "letter from CH Reade to 'Dear Lord Avebury', August 31st 1916"). Unfortunately no records have been found identifying the 29 museums, although the museums at Derby, Ipswich, Leeds, Peterborough and Nottingham have material from the Lubbock collection.

[2] Located in the London Borough of Bromley.

collections analysis that enables this integrated approach, and applies it to a specific case study. In doing so, it is hoped that the thesis will also point to new, interdisciplinary ways of interpreting and using these collections within the museum context.

Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection lends itself well as a case study for the study of this broader objective. It was created during the period 1863 - 1913, at a time when the disciplines of archaeology and ethnography emerged as part of the scientific discourse. Its focus on relevant subject matter at a time when these disciplines developed is intriguing. When we consider that Lubbock may have been a significant player in the scientific and social discourse that inspired them, a study of his collection becomes even more worthwhile. Little recent research has been carried out on the collection, nor on Lubbock's role within late nineteenth century discourse. Numerous assumptions on this theme are made within both published and unpublished contributions to studies of this period. Desmond (1994: 258), for example, regards his contribution as negligible through his tendency to treat Lubbock as invisible:

> Re Darwin waiting for publication of *Origin*: *'He [Darwin] was now lame in his spa at Ilkley, with a swollen face that left him 'worse than when I came'. He clung to Hooker's enthusiasm and Lyell's support, and 'If I can convert Huxley I shall be content'.'*

There is no mention of Darwin's deep regard for Lubbock's support at this difficult time:

> *'If you ever arrive at any definite conclusion, either wholly or partially for or against Pangenesis, I should very much like to hear; for I settled some time ago, that I should think more of Huxley's and your opinion, from the course of your studies and clearness of mind, than of that of any other man in England.'*[3]
>
> *'I am glad you [Lubbock] have got my Book, but I fear that you value it far too highly.- I shd. be grateful for any criticism. I care not for Reviews, but for the opinion of men like you & Hooker & Huxley & Lyell & c.'*[4]
>
> *'I forget whether I told you that Hooker, who is our best British Botanist & perhaps best in World, is a full convert, & is now going immediately to publish his confession of Faith;....Huxley is changed & believes in mutation of species: whether a convert to us, I do not quite know.- We shall live to see all the younger men converts. My neighbour & excellent naturalist J. Lubbock is enthusiastic convert.'*[5]
>
> *'Although you will be overwhelmed with congratulations, I must write to say how heartily I rejoice over your success. Your speech at Maidstone struck me as quite excellent, and I fully expect to see you a great man in Parliament, as you are in Science. But even in the moment of triumph, I must let one little groan escape me for poor*

---

[3] Reprinted in Hutchinson, 1914: 49. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated 15th February 1860".

[4] Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 388. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated [22nd November 1859]".

[5] Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 279. "Letter from Charles Darwin to A. R. Wallace, dated 6th April 1859".

> *deserted Science. Anyhow, I know that you will always love your first-born child, and not despise her for the sake of gaudy politics.*'[6]

This thesis seeks to redress this balance in part, by considering Lubbock's role through an exploration of the collection and its relationship to the wider late nineteenth century discourse of which it is a part.

The Evidence

Lubbock's collection is an extremely well documented collection. Two small notebooks (the Avebury Catalogue, Volumes 1 and 2) reside within Bromley Museum and act as a catalogue for the original collection. They describe the acquisition of 1331 items (or groups of items) by Lubbock. Several artefacts have identifying marks or labels providing information that can be linked to specific catalogue entries. Within Lubbock's correspondence archive and diaries now housed primarily at the British Library frequent reference is made to his collecting activities, and archives relating to other individuals within his collecting network also contain relevant information. Through this evidence, the collecting process and the meaning of the collection as a whole can be explored.

The Collector

John Lubbock (plate I) was born in 1834, eldest son of City banker and influential intellectual, John William Lubbock, and an enthusiastic and 'liberal minded' mother, Harriet (nee Hotham). (Plate II). The Lubbock family came from the North Walsham area of Norfolk and developed mercantile and banking interests in London in the late eighteenth century. The Lubbock business was established in partnership with Sir William Lemon at 11 Mansion Street, London, on 5th February 1772 (Hutchinson, 1914). When it amalgamated with Robarts, Curtis & Co. in 1860, the business moved to the Robarts premises at 15 Lombard Street. By the mid-nineteenth century the family was well established at the High Elms estate near Down in Kent (plates III and IV), a location more accessible for the London metropolis than the Norfolk villages (Hutchinson, 1914).

John Lubbock was born on 30th April 1834 at 29 Eaton Place in London. Parental interests ensured he had plenty of opportunity and encouragement to develop his own in science, and

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[6] Reprinted in Hutchinson, 1914: 73. "Letter from Charles Darwin, Down House, to John Lubbock dated 25th February 1865". Regarding Lubbock's successful first political speech.

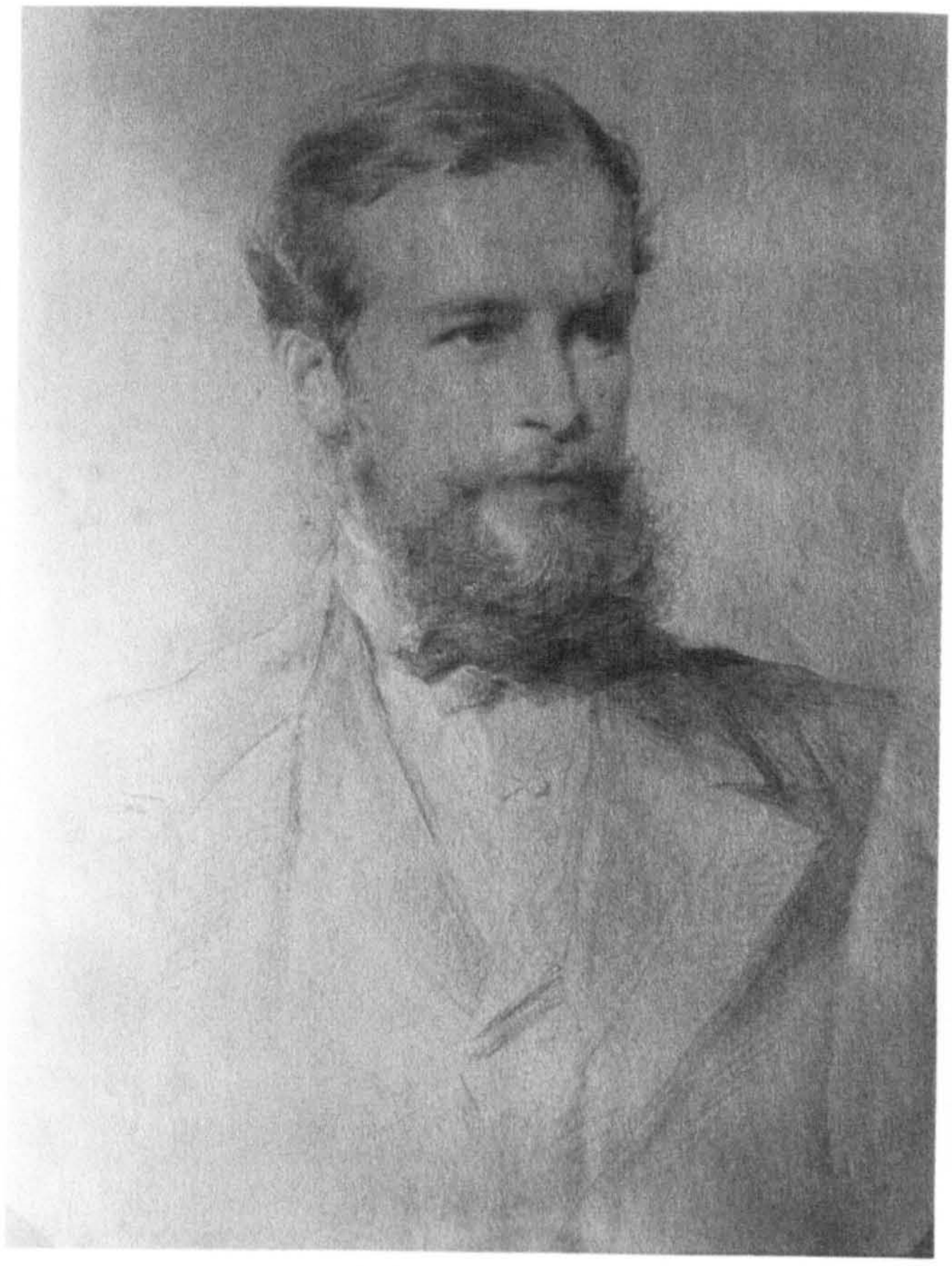


Plate I: Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913) aged 33



Plate II: Sir John William and Harriet Lubbock, 1851



Plate III: High Elms Summer 1843

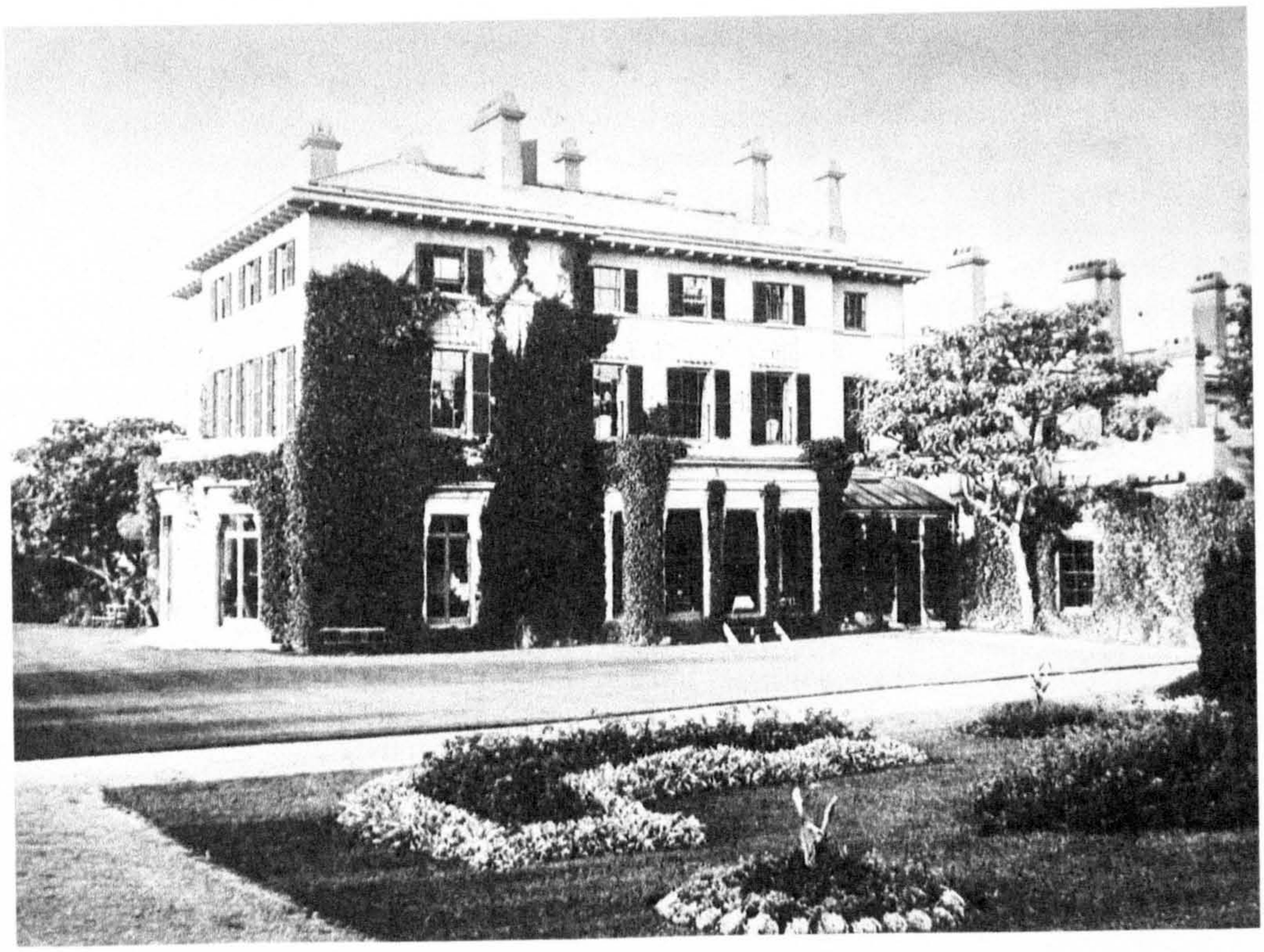


Plate IV: High Elms c. 1885

he appears to have done so at an early age. His mother's diary records how at the age of 4 he loved insects:

> '*His great delight is in Insects. Butterflies, Caterpillars or Beetles are great treasures, and he is watching a large spider outside my window most anxiously.*' (Hutchinson, 1914: 6).

These scientific interests were not actively catered for at the schools Lubbock attended, Abingdon Abbey and Eton, to the disgust of his father. He was sent to these because of their excellent reputation, but was withdrawn from formal education at the age of 14 to assist in the family business. However, during his school years Lubbock spent a great deal of his own time studying natural history and geology, rather than the classics required during his hours of formal education (Hutchinson, 1914). These studies were continued after Lubbock left school and began work at the bank. In 1850 he gave his first lecture, on the Wireworm, to villagers at Down (Hutchinson, 1914).

Having Charles Darwin as a next door neighbour, close friend and mentor possibly sealed Lubbock's passion for science, evolutionary theory in particular (Keith, 1924). Darwin moved in to Down House about a mile from High Elms in 1841, and proved an influential person in Lubbock's developing role in the scientific discourse:

> '*He induced my father to give me a microscope, he let me do drawings for some of his books, and I greatly enjoyed my talks and walks with him. My first scientific original work was on some of his collections, and appeared in the Natural History Magazine for January 1853. In 1849 I was elected a member of the Royal Institution, and in 1853 attended my first meeting of the British Association. In 1854 I was introduced to Sir C. Lyell and Sir Joseph Hooker, in 1855 to Kingsley, Prestwich and Sir John Evans, and joined the Geological Society. In 1856 I met George Busk, Huxley, and Tyndall, and the following year was elected a member of the Royal Society.*' (notes by John Lubbock reproduced in Hutchinson, 1914: 23-24).

Lubbock's first article (1853) described a new species of Atlantic Calanidæ which he named *Labidocera Darwinii*. In 1853 and 1854 Lubbock continued working on Darwin's collections and those at the Royal College of Surgeons producing three further papers describing several new species. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1858, in recognition of publishing a paper on Daphnia in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (Lubbock, 1857), a paper that received high praise from influential figures including Richard Owen and Thomas Henry Huxley (Hutchinson, 1914).

Lubbock was a 'professional amateur', a Victorian polymath. He pursued his interests in science whilst working as a merchant banker, and from 1870 onwards also acting as a Member of Parliament for Maidstone (1870-1880) and the University of London (1880-1900). He first entertained the thought of entering Parliament in 1863 when he was invited by the Liberal Committee of the City to stand on their behalf, but his father forbade him from accepting the

invitation. He stood as the Liberal candidate for West Kent in 1865, and 1868, but failed to secure the seat on both occasions.

Though his scientific hobbies took up a lot of time during the first 40 years of his life, his diaries suggest he was an active participant in the local social scene[7]. In 1852 he joined the Kent Artillery Militia, as did many young gentlemen at this time in the light of civil unrest and nationalist fervour on continental Europe. He made his impact in banking too, most notably by introducing the Country Clearing System (Hutchinson, 1914).

Though entomology and botany were perhaps his keenest scientific interests he dabbled in geology, archaeology and ethnography and was heavily involved in the debates of the 1860s regarding sociocultural evolution. In this regard he was perhaps best publicly known for the publication of *Prehistoric Times* (running to 7 editions during his lifetime), and *The Origins of Civilisation*, first published in 1870. Lubbock had a keen interest in preserving ancient monuments, and in 1871 purchased part of Avebury, in Wiltshire, to protect the prehistoric site from impending destruction. As an MP he steered the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 through Parliament, and when made a peer took the title Lord Avebury.

He married twice, first to Ellen Francis Hordern ('Nelly') in 1856 who shared Lubbock's interest in archaeology but who died in 1879. Nelly was an orphan, only daughter of the late Reverend Peter Hordern of Chorlton cum Hardy whom Lubbock met through his friendship with the Haighs at Liverpool (Hutchinson, 1914). In 1884 Lubbock married Alice Lane Fox, daughter of Augustus Pitt Rivers. Lubbock died in 1913. (Plates V and VI).

The Thesis

The thesis is divided into six chapters and a concluding statement. Chapter one proposes a methodological framework for analysing the collection as a starting point from which it is possible to explore its relationship with wider social discourse, human agency and contingency within late nineteenth century society. This framework is developed from approaches used within discourse analysis, cultural theory, material culture studies and chaos theory. Chapter two explores the nature of late nineteenth century sociocultural evolution discourse and its relationship with wider social discourse within contemporary society. Analysis of the collection (chapters four, five and six) suggest that it is primarily a statement of the sociocultural evolution debate though it is shaped by the complex inter-relationship between a range of discourse acting upon it. Chapter three describes the nature of the evidence used in the collection analysis and identifies the strategies used to gather this data, developing the relationship between these

[7] British Library MS Add 62679-62684 inclusive.



Plate V: Ellen Frances Lubbock (nee Hordern) c.1856



Plate VI: Alice Lubbock c. 1899?

strategies and the methodology outlined in chapter one. It introduces both the primary and secondary sources of information used in the research, and discusses the influence of twentieth century discourse, individual agency and contingency on what has survived to study.

Chapter four outlines the results of analysing the collection data gathered and defines the internal coherence of the collection using the model described in chapter 1. This coherence is used to explore the meanings of Lubbock's collection within nineteenth century society. Chapter 5 begins this process by discussing the collection as an important element of sociocultural evolution discourse as well as a statement of wider social discourse. Chapter 6 considers Lubbock's motivations for collecting archaeological and ethnographic material and his role as human agent in the development, use and disposal of the collection. It also explores the active intertextual role played by the collection in shaping and reflecting discourse, how it is constructed from previous statements and contributes to future publications and collections. Finally, the role of contingency or historical accident in the development of the collection is discussed. The conclusion draws all these influences together and considers the collection's meanings from a holistic perspective.

Chapter 1: Identifying the Methodological Framework

Writing Histories

Writing histories is a complex act of social and cultural representation. Anyone embarking on such a journey should spend time to reflect critically on what he/she is thinking and arguing. Although this process of self-reflection is difficult, I will attempt to do so before discussing the theoretical basis of this study in more detail.

History as Truth?

Can history be regarded as a producer of knowable truths? Can historians uncover objective fact or are they always constructing an artificial reality which says as much about their present as their past? This thesis is based upon theoretical assertions that take a middle position within this debate.

There is an element of reality in the world, an external referent that shall be called 'evidence', which historians can observe. For example, Lubbock did accumulate, or collect, archaeological and ethnographic material and described it in a catalogue; he made selective decisions about what to collect and what not to collect; he received correspondence relating to the development of this collection; he displayed the collection, or at least some of it, around the walls of his house at High Elms; the objects in his collection exist. Primary sources available for study enable us to explore this evidence. However, it is also fragmentary and biased distorting any interpretation derived from it. Historians should critically analyse the nature of the evidence rather than taking it at face value.

In this thesis, I argue that these elements of reality are integrally related to the wider society and individual agency that created them, enabling historians to explore that broader relationship. Lubbock's collection was part of a complex interaction of influences. Lubbock created it to meet a certain functional role relating to knowledge construction within late nineteenth century society, but the approach adopted was also culturally and politically determined. Chance and other contingent agencies played a part in shaping his collection and the nature of these can be investigated in further detail. However, in exploring the broader relationship between collection, society and individual, the historian plays an active role in developing meaning from the realities of the past. The evidence can be read in many different ways, and the perspective taken is dependent upon the particular world-view of the author. The reader also has a powerful role in creating meaning from a text by mediating its content through his/ her own world-view.

The writing of histories is therefore an exercise combining real external referents from the past with a complex interpretative framework which has a clear element of subjectivity shaped by particular world-views as well as the evidence. This lies at the heart of history and is why it is such a dynamic discipline characterised by active debate. Writing history is about taking the elements of past reality, the evidence, and interpreting them within a working theoretical model that creates a reasoned argument with referential integrity to the evidence. It provides a plausible explanation for what happened in the past, but does so from the world-views of both author and reader.

In taking this standpoint the thesis denies the extreme positions of objective and relative histories, whilst recognising some validity in both types of argument as proposed by the Annales historians (Bintliff, 1988; 1991). It welcomes the emphasis placed on using primary resources and rigorous methodology by historians of the Rankean and social science schools (Bentley, 1999; Elton, 1984; 1991; Evans, 1997; Hobsbawm, 1997; Iggers, 1997; Thompson, 1978) but questions their faith in the ability to identify a single objective truth about what happened in the past. Elton (1984; 1991) has argued that the quest of history is to uncover an objective truth concerning the past. Uncovering a narrative political history should be the key priority for all historians because it is in this subject area, with its rich documentary evidence, that there is the best hope for such objectivity. However, I would argue that the nature of this 'truth' depends upon the particular perspective from which a historian approaches the evidence available. In doing so, I follow a relativist intellectual tradition emerging as a dominant school of thought in the early twentieth century and embraced by historians including R. G. Collingwood, George Macauley Trevelyan and Edward Hallett Carr (Bentley, 1999; Carr, 1986; Evans, 1997; Jenkins, 1995). These historians drew their inspiration from theoretical ideas developed in astronomy that the position of the observer influences what is observed. The selection of source material, research questions and methods of assessment depends upon a historian's own preconceptions about the present and the past and the paradigm within which he/ she works. I have decided to study the archaeological and ethnographic collection of Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913) because I have a long-standing interest in the collection itself, and a desire to promote museum collections as evidence for the study of the history of archaeology. I therefore wish to explore how the collection can shed new insight into the broader social context within which it was formed, and have prepared a methodology that enables me to do so. Thomas Kuhn published *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962, and questioned the empiricist nature of science and the objectivity of scientific knowledge advocated by Karl Popper (1986; 1991). Kuhn's most influential argument was that scientific knowledge is relative but represents an intellectual consensus within an identified set of theories or assumptions, a scientific paradigm. In this thesis, I am working within a critical historiographical paradigm that recognises a degree of reality and relativity within writing histories, and also a museological paradigm that promotes the importance and relevance of museums and their work as a legitimate area of academic study.

Historical relativism within a post-modern context has taken an extremist turn, drawing upon a phenomenological tradition founded in the work of Hegel (1931; 1975) and in the nihilism of Nietzsche (Cupitt, 1984; Nietzsche, 1996). Post-modernist historians refute the validity of a scientific approach to history, arguing all knowledge construction is relative and rooted in the ideology of the present. History is instead a narrative or rhetorical discourse, a form of rhetorical fiction that creates an artificial sense of truth and is not a direct reflection of any real, objective past (Bann, 1990; Barthes, 1983; Bennett, 1995; Jenkins, 1995; Schama, 1991; White, 1973; 1987). Jenkins (1995) suggests that the 'past' and 'history' are two very distinct concepts and that the past does not exist because what survives is all text-based (sources and narrative) and therefore what people thought or think (Bentley, 1999). Hayden White has argued (1973; 1987) it is possible to identify facts from historical sources available to create a chronicle, but that as soon as a historian places these 'facts' within a historical plot, or story, he/she undertakes a cultural activity determined by the present not the past. The writing of history becomes a rhetorical exercise, an act of persuasion in the present. By placing facts into a narrative they are given meaning, a plot or story is developed with a beginning, middle and a sense of closure achieved usually in the form of moralising reality (White, 1987). Schama (1991) takes this idea to a logical conclusion in his ground-breaking work, *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)* in which he consciously develops an imaginary narrative concerning the deaths of General Wolfe and George Parkman closely located around the documented record, and in doing so seeks to 'dissolve the certainties of events into the multiple possibilities of alternative narrations' (Schama, 1991: 320). White believes the language of history is used to validate values of the present, either as a conscious or unconscious act by its authors. History, in his eyes, becomes a powerful tool within the wider discourse that can be used to reinforce dominant power relations within society, but also has the potential to undermine this status quo. I would argue referential integrity to the evidence ensures that history is not merely about the present but is a complex inter-relationship of past and present which provides insight into both society and individual agency in the past and present. Histories can become powerful tools within the wider discourse with regard to power relations, but cannot be reduced to just this purpose.

A rigorous methodology taking the external referent as the interpretative starting point is essential to ensure referential integrity between evidence and interpretation. This integrity enables peer assessment regarding the plausibility of any particular history but rigorous analysis does not create a body of objective facts that can then be subjected to an interpretative exercise. Instead analysis creates a blend of external referent and subjective theoretical assumption that is difficult to disentangle. Even the methodological framework I develop to analyse the external referent is a theoretical construction created by me to make sense of the evidence in relation to the questions that I wish to explore.

Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida have taken the idea of historical relativity to what they would argue is its logical conclusion by suggesting historical texts have no reference to an

external reality, but are contained within themselves (Barthes, 1977). Drawing upon Foucault's and others work regarding textuality (1970; 1972) Barthes concluded that not only does history have no reference to the factual reality of the past but it is also independent of its author. The reader constructs the meaning of a text afresh each time it is read, and the intentions of the author are immaterial. Sean Burke (1998) amongst many others, questions this conclusion however, arguing the author cannot be 'written off' completely and plays a fundamental role in every reader's creation of meaning from a text. The author shapes and forms the text through emphasis, de-emphasis, selection and rejection of material to include. I concur with Burke's proposal, that Lubbock's world-view (his views, perceptions, ideas, experiences and beliefs) influenced the content of his collection. These in turn influence the meanings I ascribe in this analysis. The personal agendas Lubbock had in creating this collection are an essential element of the discourse contributing to the creative act that is the collection.

A critical reflective stance is therefore adopted in this thesis, recognising the existence of an external reality but not taking it, or the interpretations derived from it, at face value (Bintliff, 1988). The work produced will seek to demonstrate clear referential integrity between the external referent and interpretations drawn from it. In doing so it will contribute in a cumulative sense to the writing of history by revealing more about the nature of the external referent than is currently 'known' and by developing ideas future historians may wish to respond to. However, any historian who does use this work and the results of my analysis should do so within a critical and reflexive framework bearing in mind the difficulty of disentangling external referent from theoretical concept.

Non-Progressive, Plural Histories

If history can be written from a number of viewpoints and if the same evidence can be analysed from a number of different perspectives each ensuring referential integrity to that evidence, then there cannot be a single objective history waiting to be written. This thesis advocates an integrated approach to the study of a particular cultural context within late nineteenth century society, and in doing so explores the plurality of meaning embedded within Lubbock's collection. It also regards the historical past as cumulative in the sense that what happens before will impact upon what happens after, but also as non-progressive with respect to the fact that there is no pattern of progress or improvement through time.

The debate between progress and discontinuity will be considered first. The liberal histories of the Rankean School argue for history as progressive, as elucidating the events of the past and tracking how they move forward towards an improved and ultimately utopian future (Bentley, 1999; Carr, 1986; Elton, 1984; 1991; Evans, 1997; Iggers, 1997; Jenkins, 1995; Thompson, 1978; 1997). The social scientists of the "New Historicist" movement similarly seek to reveal the

progress of human development and endeavour in the social, economic, technological and cultural spheres. Their belief in progress is based upon the assumption that by default a positive relationship exists between the development of an industrial and technologically modern society and social and human progress (Bentley, 1999; Evans, 1997; Iggers, 1997; Jenkins, 1995). Perhaps the most well known application of this theoretical assumption can be seen in the ideas expressed within Marxist historical science. For Lenin and many of his followers, history was about charting the inevitable and desirable course towards the social principle, communism (Iggers, 1997). The focus upon industry and technology resulted in an emphasis on Western society and only those aspects that directly influenced industrial production.

However, the notion of progress relies on an optimistic outlook on the world creating an illusion that society can only improve over time, whether advancement be in the social, technological cultural, economic or political sphere. Many historians now question this degree of optimism. E.P. Thompson and other Cultural Marxists for example have become more pessimistic rather than optimistic about the impact of technological developments upon society, as technology became associated with negative images such as unemployment and inequality as well as social improvements (Bentley, 1999; Evans, 1997; Iggers, 1997; Thompson, 1963). This probably reflects a shift in attitudes and focus within contemporary society (Bentley, 1999; Bintliff, 1991) that increasingly undermine the interests of establishment in favour of individualism, a trend associated with post-modernism.

Thomas Kuhn (1970) began to explore the idea of discontinuous history in his paradigmatic theory of scientific re\ olution. Michel Foucault and his postmodernist disciples have taken this argument further believing that history has no unity or coherence, and represents a series of discontinuous, fragmentary events taking place within society (Foucault, 1972). Foucault identifies a series of influential discourses, or ensembles of ideologically determined social practice bounded by clearly set rules, within which events take place and histories are created. These discourses cut across each other, reinforcing and conflicting with each other, and are ultimately embedded within the power relations existent within the society of which they are part. They are not shaped by any underlying universal progressive principles, but by the particular *episteme*, or mode of knowledge, current at any particular time in space. Foucault identified three distinct *epistemes* operating prior to Postmodernism: the Late Renaissance (c.1550-1650), the Classical Age (c.1650-1790) and the Modern Age (1790-1900) respectively (ibid). There is no progressive transformation from one mode of knowledge to the next; the watershed is sudden and a complete break from what has gone before. It is contemporary society and power relations that inform the nature of the *episteme*, not what has preceded it (ibid.).

Foucault's model is a very powerful critique of the idea of progress, and has a lot to contribute through its emphasis on history as fragmentary and also as shall be discussed later the framework of discourse developed. However, its insistence that the break between each *episteme* is complete

creates a history which is too fragmented and which fails to recognise the cumulative nature of history, that the past has and does influence the present. Annales historians adopt an intermediate stance on this debate, but also disagree with the idea of a unilineal progressive history. A key principle of their work is that it is not appropriate to explore a process of directionality across history. Instead, history should be about studying a particular culture or age and exploring its plurality of meaning, looking at how history works at the level of event and structures, undertaking 'total history' (Braudel, 1972; Iggers, 1997; Ladurie, 1980). This thesis seeks to write a form of 'total history' though does not adopt a strictly Annales model or definition for this work.

The Cultural Marxist, Annales and postmodernist schools of thought emphasise the plurality of meaning, and recognise historical evidence can be considered from many different perspectives. This 'opening up' of history, again probably reflective of an increased emphasis on individualism within society, has encouraged the development of a range of histories that seek new insights into the past: class histories, women's histories, colonial histories, to name a few.

The developing argument that traditional liberal approaches to history are rooted in a bourgeoisie discourse having its origins in the Modern episteme of the late eighteenth century, has encouraged historians more recently to explore history from within a working class discourse (E.P. Thompson for example, and the development of the whole social history movement). Women's history developed as a recognised area of historical analysis in the 1960s-1970s as part of the feminist discourse gaining momentum. History presented only a partial truth because women were often excluded from study (Scott, 1993). In the 1980s-1990s a shift in emphasis within feminist and gender discourse towards gender dynamics has resulted in the perception that women themselves are complex, plural entities influenced by cultural, ethnic and class issues (Hennessey & Mohan, 1993; Scott, 1993). Colonial histories focus upon non-European communities and the relationship between these and their encounter with European societies (Wesseling, 1993). An important contribution to the development of histories of the 'Other', is the work of Edward Said combining a Foucauldian and Marxist approach in his ground-breaking work, *Orientalism*, first published in 1978 (Chrisman & Williams, 1993; Said, 1995). Said created the concept of a colonial discourse identifying its own set of rules. It consisted of the diverse range of textual forms through which the West produced and coded knowledge about cultures under colonial control (Chrisman & Williams, 1993; Said, 1993; Said, 1994; Said, 1995). Henry Reynolds, an Australian historian, has examined the aboriginal reaction to European settlement in Australia during the last 200 years, for example (1982). A post-colonial discourse has now emerged concerned not just with the relationship between colonist and colonised but broader issues relating to non-European culture in a post-colonial era (Chrisman & Williams, 1993).

This thesis recognises the plurality of history and draws upon work undertaken in the fields of class, gender and colonial/ post-colonial history. The outcome is a study of Lubbock's collection

within a number of different inter-related discourses, especially those shaping Modernist bourgeois science, class, imperialism, nationalism and gender.

A History of Everyday Life?

> *'an enquiry into the extent and nature of free will within the general structure of human society'.* (a definition of microhistory: Levi, 1993).

Is it possible to write histories about the details of human life as well as the structural aspects of society at a broader level? Can we explore the micro-history and still retain the referential integrity appropriate to a historical work? Can a study of history at a detailed level offer anything of value and relevance to history as a wider discipline and today's society as a whole? This thesis advocates an approach to writing histories beginning with a microhistorical study of a specific cultural aspect of the gentry class in late nineteenth century London society and ends by commenting on how this study can inform a macrohistorical perspective. It provides a case study of how it is possible to write histories about the details of human life as well as the structural aspects of society at a broader level, and demonstrates the value of doing so.

It rejects Rankean and social science philosophies that do not perceive it possible to get at the detail of people's lives in the past (Bentley, 1999; Iggers, 1997). It also rejects post-modernist historians who question our ability and need to explore motivations and experiences of the individual in the past, regarding the writing of history as ideological statement in the present and the role of the individual as passive in relation to wider social discourse (Barthes, 1977; Foucault, 1972).

The Rankean focus upon political and state institutions is in part constrained by the methodological basis underpinning their work: the need to refer back to primary documentary sources in historical research. As the majority of primary sources available relate to political and state institutions rather than other aspects of society, it is perhaps only natural this focus existed. However, it is also argued that the overarching concern with politics and state also reflected the context within which Ranke and his disciples developed their approach to the historical discipline. After the French Revolution of 1789, Evans (1997) argues that history was seen as a way of emphasising the status quo of existing power systems in Germany and Europe, particularly the ideas of state and nationhood:

> *'The purpose of history was seen...simply in finding out about the past as something to cherish and preserve, as the only proper foundation for a true understanding and appreciation of the institutions of state and society in the present.'* (Evans, 1997: 16).

European history was a subject taught at universities targeted at the managerial elite of a nation rather than a part of general education during the nineteenth century (Bentley, 1999). Trevelyan, and his contemporaries such as the Prussian historian, Droysen, and the French historian,

Michelet, was also a nationalist historian. Trevelyan's work focused on the history of England, placing England into a prestigious position in relation to other European countries especially Germany (Evans, 1997). As well as being a pioneer in social history, he concerned himself with broad trends within the history of nations and the relationships between nations.

The social scientific method of history also aims to identify universal laws of human behaviour, not just within the political sphere but more importantly within the social, economic and cultural workings of society (Bentley, 1999; Evans, 1997; Iggers, 1997). This shift in emphasis reflects wider concerns within society, and perhaps a recognition amongst historians that political and state histories do not reflect the modern requirements of a democratic and industrial society (Bentley, 1999; Evans, 1997; Iggers, 1997). In the United States for example the "Progressive Historians", as they labelled themselves, focused upon the social, economic and cultural issues post-dating the 'break-away' of the States from Europe, the beginnings of modern America (Iggers, 1997). With the advent of computers in the 1960s - 1970s, studies became increasingly focused upon data crunching and statistical testing of general hypotheses relating not to individuals but to groups (Evans, 1997).

This thesis draws upon the theoretical positioning of historians in both Cultural Marxism and the Annales School who are interested in the human and everyday aspects of living in the past and have developed rigorous methodologies. The cultural and social history of E.P. Thompson, and others, places greater emphasis on individual social contexts and gives histories a more human face. Still concerned with class dynamics and exploitation, Thompson turns his attention to working class people as people, rather than as a passive element of a larger system, and explores the qualitative nature of popular culture as well as focusing on quantitative data (Iggers, 1997; Thompson, 1978). He looks for evidence of exploitation and power domination in all aspects of life not just within the state institutional context (Iggers, 1997).

Cultural Marxism is helpful in shifting focus from macro- to micro-history, and its examination of the relation between. However, by giving power relations and class exploitation the central role in historical interpretation it fails to provide an interdisciplinary model enabling us to recognise plural histories.

The Annales School, and in particular the work of Braudel and Ladurie, provide an interesting way forward. Braudel (1949) proposed a model of time, *durée*, which enables study of a particular event ('Short-term History') within the context of broader structural influences working in the medium- and long-term. Though Braudel failed to illustrate this model effectively in his work (Bintliff, 1991), Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie presents an excellent case study of this approach in *Carnival, A People's Uprising at Romans 1579-1580* (Ladurie, 1980). This book focuses on a two-week period in Romans' history during February 1580 when the annual Carnival became the focus of an uprising by certain interest groups in the town. It tells the story

of that uprising within the broader political, cultural, religious, economic and social context in which the event was embedded. The historian may conclude, as Ladurie did in Carnival with his emphasis on the War of Religion, that one context was perhaps more influential than the others for any given event, but the conclusion was not a pre-given as it would be in postmodernism or Marxism. Similarly, Clifford Geertz' anthropological model, 'thick description', is useful within the study of microhistory by its placing of a social event into its full cultural context (Geertz, 1993; Iggers, 1997; Sharpe, 1993).

This thesis starts with a particular event, Lubbock's collecting activity during the late nineteenth century, and explores its relationship to the wider context in an 'open minded' exercise. However, it uses a concept of 'discourse' to provide an added depth to the analysis undertaken, and this approach will be discussed later in the chapter.

Writing Histories of Archaeology

To position this thesis within the above discussions it is useful to consider how others have approached the writing of histories about archaeology. These histories of a discipline have been written from the perspective of numerous historical schools (Jensen, 1997). All are in narrative form, but differ in their perception of objectivity and relativity and in their attitude towards progressive histories.

Glyn Daniel wrote his histories of archaeology (Daniel, 1975; 1981) from within the Whig liberal tradition: the discipline developed in a progressive way, constantly improving, driven by the impetus of key people and events:

> *'The two discoveries that persuaded the scientific world to accept the contemporaneity of man and extinct animals were those of Falconer and Pengelly at Brixham, and of Boucher de Perthes in the Somme Valley.'*(Daniel, 1975: 57)
>
> *'It was the reading of Lyell's Principles that suggested to Darwin the general theory of evolution, just as it was the reading of Malthus's 'Essay on Population' that suggested to him the ideas of the Struggle for Existence and the Survival of the Fittest.'* (Daniel, 1975: 64)

Landmark events such as the publication of *Origin of Species* and the development of the Three Age System all contributed to the production of the archaeology we know today. Daniel presented the historical development of archaeology as a given, as an objective fact derived from study of the appropriate primary and secondary sources (Jensen, 1997). His work is 'internalist' (Jensen, 1997) and descriptive, an accumulation of 'facts'. There is no analysis of how these developments relate to other aspects of society. It was not considered appropriate to do so because archaeology was only influenced by events and thinkers within the discipline:

> *'When Gabriel de Mortillet insisted on the picture of technological evolution which prehistory presented, was he making an objective archaeological evaluation which enabled prehistory to confirm the Victorian idea of progress, or was he projecting into prehistory his own widely shared ideas of progress? And, later was there real archaeological proof of decay and regression in prehistory or was this a late Victorian defeatism projected into the archaeological record?'* (Daniel & Renfrew, 1988: 51)

This quote is a rare reference in Daniel's writings to a wider context for archaeology, but interestingly he then goes on to advocate an internal cause for the decay and regression observed, the discovery of Upper Palaeolithic cave paintings in the late nineteenth century.

Daniel's work is based upon an underlying assumption that archaeology today is more advanced than that of yesterday - that the archaeological discipline pursues a march of progress towards a better way of doing things. This Whig approach to writing histories (also visible in the work of Clarke, 1973, Malina and Vasicek, 1990, and Klindt-Jensen, 1975 for example) is written within a scientific epistemological framework recognising the validity of objectivity and the production of knowledge as unbiased and singular. Whig historians believe the history of archaeology can be written as simple truth, although evidence revealed in the future might challenge these ideas and theories could therefore be disproved. In part, however, they are involved in a knowledge paradigm that needs to predict and control both the past and present (Jensen, 1997).

However, other histories of archaeology have been written. Histories that put forward the case for the development of archaeology as a discipline within a broader context. Rather than seeing archaeology as self-sufficient, isolated and oblivious to external factors within society, 'externalists' (Jensen, 1997) regard archaeology as a product of the society in which it is based (Bintliff, 1986; 1988; 1993; 1995; Bowden, 1991; Chapman, 1989; Hudson, 1984; Kristiansen, 1991; 1993; Levine, 1986; Murray, 1989; Trigger, 1989; 1994; 1996). Bruce Trigger (1989; 1994; 1996) emphasises the political context within which archaeology takes place as shaping the nature of that archaeology. He defines three types of archaeological interpretation: nationalist, colonialist and imperialist. Archaeology plays a significant propaganda role in the construction of any of these identities, and the type of archaeology developed will depend upon the political needs of any given context. Archaeology as a discipline does not develop through these types, or stages, in any progressive chronological plot, but moves from one to the other in different regions of the world depending upon the political nature and perceived needs of a society at any given moment in time.

> *'Most archaeological traditions are probably nationalistic in orientation. The development of European prehistoric archaeology was greatly encouraged by the post-Napoleonic upsurge of nationalism and romanticism...Danish national pride had suffered badly during the Napoleonic period and was to receive further blows from the Germans in the course of the nineteenth century. It is not surprising that the Danes...turned to history and archaeology to find consolation in thoughts of their past national greatness.'* (Trigger, 1996: 618)

Externalist writers support a more relativist perspective on history, and a Kuhnian approach to knowledge construction. They are concerned to expose the role undertaken by archaeology in

perpetuating a reality presented as natural and ordained rather than dynamic and relative. Marxist theorists, such as Trigger and Kristiansen, are particularly keen to reveal how archaeology is used and abused in the authentication of particular political ideologies within society (Jensen, 1997).

Postmodernist commentators on the history of archaeology bring linguistic theory and Foucauldian concepts of discourse, knowledge construction and power to bear on the subject (Carman, 1994; Hides, 1996; Jensen, 1997; Pinsky, 1989; Schnapp, 1996). We are encouraged to turn the focus as much on ourselves, as writers and readers of this history in our own archaeological discourse, as the archaeology in the past that is the supposed object under study. John Carman (1994) explores how the inherently political nature of archaeology has become excluded from contemporary archaeological discourse, yet was an explicit element of the discourse when it developed during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Carman argues that in Lubbock's archaeological work and publication (particularly *Prehistoric Times*) he unashamedly made connections to the Liberal political agenda with which he was closely associated. Similarly, his critics such as the Duke of Argyll, used archaeology as a political tool representing a different, Tory aristocratic, ideological position. Through these historical explorations, Carman prepares an impassioned argument for the return of politics to archaeology today.

Shaun Hides (1996) explores the history of archaeology via Michel Foucault's framework of *epistemes* (1970). Archaeological theories concerning cultural identity are shaped by the modes of knowledge dominant in any particular time and space. Hides discusses the development of such theories in the *epistemes* of the Late Renaissance, Classical and Modern eras to support his argument that theories concerning cultural identity in use today are cultural products of a current *episteme.*

Postmodernist and cultural Marxist histories of archaeology have also explored the subject area in a pluralistic way, from different perspectives orientated within different discourses. For example, Margaret Diaz-Andrew and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (1997) edited a volume of work exploring the role of women in European archaeology past and present.

This thesis adopts a critical approach to writing a history of archaeology. It focuses upon a particular spatial and chronological aspect in the development of archaeology as a discipline, and examines it from an externalist perspective. It starts from the evidence and considers the multiple social influences within nineteenth century society shaping Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection and its historical context, and in doing so explores the plurality of meaning held by the collection. The epistemological framework, the social discourses and the individual agency working within come under study. The influence of contingency in the shaping of outcomes is also explored. It seeks to broaden our knowledge base regarding nineteenth

century archaeology, whilst also arguing for the fundamental relevance of material culture in museums to archaeological studies in the twenty-first century.

Looking at Collections: Defining an Approach

A collection forms the focus of this particular offering to the history of archaeology. Collection and collecting studies have flourished over the last 15 years, developing into a discipline of their own (Pearce, 1995). Collection studies are those that tend to focus on the collection as a physical entity existing in its own right described from a biographic perspective. They tend to ignore the collecting process and concentrate on high culture collections. In such studies there is little emphasis on critically reflective concerns about how the act of collecting is a product of both social discourse and individual agency working within that discourse (Pearce, 1995)[1]. Collecting studies, drawing upon the work of various cultural theorists and psychologists, take a much more reflective approach to looking at collections and collecting, and regard collections as part of a broader social context both in the past and present[2].

This thesis is a collecting study that regards Lubbock's collection as a material culture text, a set of signs and symbols whose meanings are an outcome of a complex system of influences (figure 1.1). This approach recognises the influence of social discourse throughout the history of the collection (Pearce, 1995; Stewart, 1993), the influence of individual agency and the creation of self-identity through collecting (Muensterberger, 1994; Pearce, 1995; 1997; 1999; Stewart, 1993) and the impact of historical accident, contingency, on the construction of meaning. Its theoretical base draws heavily upon the approach to collecting studies advocated by Pearce (1992; 1995) and places great emphasis on the inter-relationship between the three types of influence identified.

Defining *collecting* and *collection* has been a significant area of debate during the development of this discipline and is succinctly summarised by Pearce (1992; 1995; 1997). Words associated with collection are *accumulation*, *stockpile*, *hoard*, *mass*, *aggregation*, *set*, *series*, *array*, and

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[1] Examples of collection studies include Davies, 1998; De Hamel, 1996; King, 1994; McEvansoneya 1996; Nurse, 1996; Petch, 1998; Spier & Vassilika, 1995; Thomas, 1999; Thompson & Renfrew, 1999.

[2] Examples of collecting studies include Bann, 1994; Belk, 1994; Belk et al., 1988; Belk et al, 1989; Belk et al., 1990; Clifford, 1988; Elsner & Cardinal, 1994; Feest, 1995; Heleniak, 2000; Hermann, 1972; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Knell, 2000; Muensterberger, 1994; Olmsted, 1991; Pearce, 1992; 1995; 1997; 1999; 2000; Pomian, 1990; Skeates, 2000; Stewart, 1993; West, 1991.

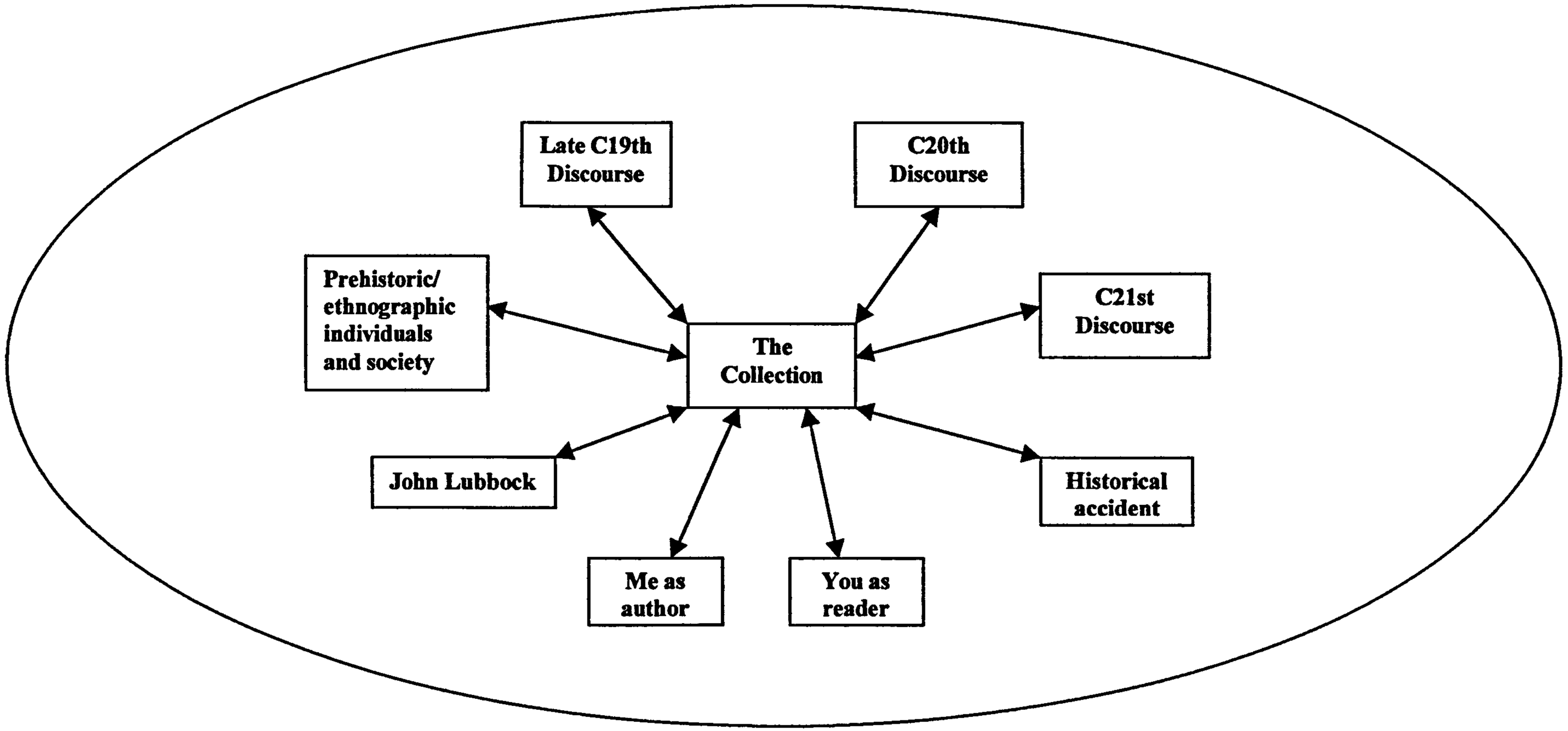


Figure 1.1: A model summarising the complex system of meaning that is John Lubbock's collection of archaeological and ethnographic artefacts

assortment to name a few (Kirkpatrick, 1994). However, collections are more active and dynamic than this selection of words suggests. Many researchers have tried to pin down what they are:

> *'We take collecting to be the selective, active, and longitudinal acquisition, possession and disposition of an interrelated set of differentiated objects (material things, ideas, beings, or experiences) that contribute to and derive extraordinary meaning from the entity (the collection) that this set is perceived to constitute.'* (Belk et al., 1990: 8)

This definition reflects the active nature of collections and the ability of a group of objects to take on complex meaning through the process of selection, possession and seriation. Objects are selected that are perceived as related in accordance with a particular structuring principle to form a set. It also begins to explore the role of the collector and observer in perceiving the collection has meaning. Pearce takes this latter point further in her assessment of what a collection is, and also introduces the idea that collections are about individuals constructing meaning in the world:

> *'non-utilitarian gathering, an internal or intrinsic relationship between the things gathered-whether objectively 'classified' or not-and the subjective view of the owner are all significant attributes of a collection, together with the notion that a collection is more than the sum of its parts. At some point in the process the objects have to be deliberately viewed by their owner or potential owner as a collection, and this implies intentional selection, acquisition and disposal....some kind of specific value is set upon the group by its possessor, and with the recognition of value comes the giving of a part of self-identity.'* (Pearce, 1992: 50)

> *'collecting...a set of things which people do, as an aspect of individual and social practice which is important in public and private life as a means of constructing the way in which we relate to the material world and so build up our own lives.'* (Pearce, 1995: 4)

Others stress the act of possession as key to collecting (Baudrillard, 1994), because it involves the abstraction of the object from the real world into a symbolic system of relationships and values.

This emphasis on perceived value and its relationship with self-identity is an intriguing one that will be explored further in this thesis. It will certainly become clear that Lubbock's 'collection' of archaeological and ethnographic material falls in part into this definition. However, the collection is not only about self-identity and this thesis will consider its definition from a number of different perspectives: as a hobby, a research tool for intellectual study or a statement of social discourse for example, in addition to being a statement about the place of an individual within society. The act of collecting is about the manipulation and re-negotiation of the meaning of a set of objects in accordance with a multitude of agendas determined by social discourse and individual psyche (Stewart, 1993).

In seeking to define 'collection' and 'collecting' Pearce (1991; 1992; 1995) has identified three primary modes of collecting: *systematic*, *fetishistic* and *souvenir*. Although they are not mutually exclusive and often characteristics of more than one can be perceived in a single collection, in most collections one aspect tends to dominate over others. Systematic collecting is part of a modernist tradition and consists of material acquired with particular taxonomic or typological

objectives in mind - items collected according to a particular intellectual rationale to represent a particular type of material according to a broader classification system, or way of seeing the world, in operation. Usually now associated with collecting in the arena of natural history, the immediate concerns of a systematic collector are to acquire representative items relevant to the subject matter and intellectual purpose of the collection, to contribute towards the development of knowledge and understanding. However, Pearce (1995) argues for deeper motivations behind this mode of collecting: the making of some form of truth claim that is ratified as knowledge through the authenticity of the real artefact.

The motivations for collecting in the fetishistic mode are desire and obsession (figure 1.2), and collections created as a result have no intellectual rationale, though often relate to a particular theme (Pearce, 1992). These themes can perhaps be usefully divided into the 'socially acceptable', represented by collections of fine art for example, or 'socially abnormal', represented by collections of pornographic material or even collections of frogs made by adults (Pearce, 1995). Muensterberger (1994) argues that collectors' obsessions relate to an unconscious need to counteract loneliness and self-doubt engendered in childhood. These deep-seated psychological motivations probably play a significant role in fetish collecting.

Leisure	Sexual foreplay
Aesthetics	Desire to reframe objects
Competition	The pleasing rhythm of sameness and difference
Risk	Ambition to achieve perfection
Fantasy	Extending the self
A sense of community	Reaffirming the body
Prestige	Producing gender identity
Domination	Achieving immortality
Sensual gratification	

Figure 1.2: list of motivations for fetishistic collecting (after Pearce 1992)

Souvenir collections are constructed by individuals to create an autobiography - a record and memory store of a life being lived containing objects that authenticate experience (Pearce, 1992; Stewart, 1993). The *souvenir* collector creates a selective, usually romantic, life story for him/ herself through the acquisition and retention of personal memorabilia. Souvenirs are concerned with making sense of people's lives and internalising public experiences of the individual collector, of moving from the event to an individual memory and nostalgia (Pearce, 1992; Stewart, 1993).

The identification of these modes provides a useful framework within which to explore the diverse nature of collections and collectors' motivations for collecting. We will consider how

Lubbock's collection relates to these three definitions, and use this case study to explore the inter-relationship that often exists between them within a collection both through time and space.

Pearce (1995: 24) regards the process of collecting, the moving of objects from the 'profane to the sacred' sphere of existence as the most important factor in understanding a collection's role rather than the content or outcome of that process (also Belk et al., 1989). Certainly an understanding of the collecting process is essential to shed light on the meaning of a collection, and this thesis explores the processes of selection undertaken by Lubbock. However, it is also necessary to study the content of the collection, how it was used and how it was disposed of. These aspects need to be studied holistically if we are to gain a richer understanding of the collection's meanings to Lubbock and other people in the past and today.

Theoretical models developed in material culture studies and derived from linguistic theory provide useful starting points for exploring the meaning of collections of objects. An item of material culture behaves like a word, it is a *signifier* that signifies a mental concept, the *signified*, through difference and association (Barthes, 1977, Levi Strauss, 1977; Tilley, 1991; 1990). Meaning (the relationship between *signifier* and *signified*) is constructed on a number of planes, and I will draw on Chris Tilley's work on the Swedish rock art at Nämforsen to illustrate this point (Tilley, 1991). Tilley (ibid.) uses a model of analysis developed by Roland Barthes (1977) to propose that at one level the rock art designs are denotative and mean exactly what they describe. However, their meaning can also be iconographic (signifies a *signified* because it resembles it) and symbolic (an arbitrary relationship between *signifier* and *signified* made by the interpreter using codes familiar to him/ her within their own society). According to Tilley (ibid.) it is the iconographic and symbolic meaning (the connotative meaning, after Barthes, 1977) that help to explore the questions: why are these particular designs selected and why the particular relationship between each other was established?

The relationship between *signifier* and *signified* is determined by a set of rules or codes established within a particular social discourse (Tilley 1991). Positioned outside of this discourse it becomes harder to understand or relate to the nature of the *signified* and the meanings of the *signifier*. However, an outsider still generates meanings for that *signifier* rooted in the code of meaning shaping his/ her way of looking at the world. Words and images as *signifiers* can hold a diverse range of meanings especially at the connotative level. Meaning is given at this level through the context provided by the sentence and text within which a word sits or the grouping within which an image is located and by the discourse within which the sentence, text or image grouping is interpreted. Thus a *signifier*, whether it is a word, image or item of material culture, has the potential to be polysemic in nature.

Lubbock's collection can be regarded as a text composed of words (the individual items in the collection) and sentences. Items have been selected by Lubbock from a set of structured data

originally authored by prehistoric and ethnographic peoples to be a part of this collection. Others have been rejected, and selective decisions have also been made regarding the collection's use and disposal. Lubbock acts as editor as much as author influenced greatly by existing data available to collect but subjecting it to a process of selectivity that adds connotative as well as denotative meaning to the archaeological and ethnographic items in the collection (Pearce, 1992). Selection has been undertaken in accordance with the social rules or codes within which Lubbock created his collection. Through selection, and the conscious or unconscious associated assignment of connotative value, the meaning of the collection becomes greater than the sum of its parts (Stewart, 1993). These models adopted from material culture studies enable an exploration of the plurality of meaning held by the collection, and the role of discourse in creating that meaning. However, they do not enable investigation of the role of individual agency and contingency within meaning construction, and this will be discussed further later in this chapter. A model of collection analysis will be devised which incorporates all these aspects of study, and which also avoids the hierarchical approach to meaning construction adopted by Barthes, Foucault and other commentators. It will provide an integrated, holistic approach in which the many influences on meaning construction have a valid (though not necessarily equal) role.

Developing a Model of Collections Analysis

Our model must enable a holistic analysis of the complex system of meaning embedded within Lubbock's collection (figure 1.1). Taking the collection as starting point and working outwards from there, it will consist of a form of analysis exploring the nature of discourse in late nineteenth century society. However, this discourse analysis model will also recognise the important roles played by individual agency and contingency. It will not consider the twentieth and twenty-first century influences on the creation of meaning, though these will be discussed briefly in chapter 3 when the evidence surviving for analysis is discussed, nor will it be concerned with the original meanings of artefacts to the prehistoric and ethnographic peoples who created and used them.

Discourse analysis has been used for a number of reasons. It enables an exploration of the diverse influences in the past and present on the construction of meaning in history. It provides a mechanism through which the complex interrelationship of these many influences, or causes, can be explored. Rather than placing analysis of the Lubbock collection within the context of a progressive history of archaeology, it enables a focus on the particular social characteristics shaping its creation at a given 'moment in time'. It also provides a logical methodology facilitating movement from the micro-history to the macro-history; to use the collection and Sir John Lubbock as start ng points from which I can explore their interactive relationship with the wider social discourse of late nineteenth century society. It supports a rigorous methodology ensuring referential integrity between the external referent, or evidence, and the interpretative

tools applied. However, discourse analysis also acts as a reminder that we sit within our own social discourse which influences our analysis of external referents (events, collections etc.). This fits the other key purpose of my thesis - to explore the potential of collections housed in museums to further our understanding of the societies that create and constantly re-create them.

A Reflexive Approach to Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a major player in linguistics, social psychology and cultural theory. The model used to analyse Lubbock's collection draws upon approaches used in linguistics and cultural theory. In doing so, it follows the work of critical linguistics and social psychologists by seeking to integrate the critical approach advocated by cultural theorists with a systematic framework of analysis devised by linguists (Mills, 1997), as well as adopting an open-minded approach as advocated by Wittgenstein (Bintliff, 2000).

Contribution of a linguistic approach

Discourse analysis provides a methodology through which pieces of written text and verbal speech can be considered in relation to the social context within which they are used as opposed to being analysed as language in isolation (Mills, 1997; Nunan, 1993). Discourse is defined as:

> *'a stretch of language consisting of several sentences which are perceived as being related in some way'* (Nunan, 1993: 5).

The analyst explores the particular linguistic elements used within a piece of discourse to construct specific meanings. Various text forming devices work together to create a coherent discourse and set it apart from a random mix of sentences or utterances (Nunan, 1993: 57). The analyst also considers mechanisms external to the discourse which are used by the readers, writers, speakers and listeners to construct and interpret discourse. A context is created based on our experiences, background knowledge and our understanding of the use of language. This context and therefore the meaning of a discourse is constantly being negotiated by those participating (Nunan, 1993). A systematic framework for the analysis of pieces of discourse is thus produced, providing the basis for the approach to discourse analysis adopted by critical linguists.

However, critical linguists critique traditional linguistic methodology for a number of reasons. Primarily, it fails to analyse the relationship between a piece of discourse and its social context in anything but a superficial way. It does not draw upon the work of Michel Foucault, Michel Pecheux and Louis Althusser that enables linguists to explore the relationship between pieces of discourse and the wider power relations acted out within society. This is the field so ably

explored by cultural theorists and shall be discussed shortly. Secondly, traditional linguistic analysis considers all utterances/ sentences within a piece of discourse as transparent, rather than as holders of an infinite number of meanings whose formulation is dependent upon the different participants and their differing world-view (Mills, 1997: Fairclough, 1992).

The great contribution of linguistic discourse analysis is its rigorous methodology for analysing a piece of discourse as a cohesive entity - the part of the analysis that focuses on 'text-forming devices'. This aspect will inform the method of analysis adopted in this thesis. However, its treatment of external mechanisms influential in the creation of meaning from a text is fundamentally flawed, and it is here that the thinking of cultural theorists will play its part.

Contribution of a cultural theory approach

Cultural theorists have developed theories of discourse from a very different perspective. Their work is based to a great extent on the ideas of Althusser, Pecheux and Foucault (McDonnell, 1986), and the definition of 'discourse' as a concept is quite different. Discourse is not so much 'a stretch of language consisting of several sentences which are perceived as being related in some way' but more the social practice within which these 'stretches of language' are produced. Shanks, in his study of the discourse of classical archaeology (Shanks, 1996: 103 - 104) explores the concept in more detail:

> *'... discourse is not simply text or communicative acts. Discourse is a term that summarizes a particular ensemble of social practices through which the world is made meaningful and intelligible, embracing narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices and more... The concept directs attention not so much to the content, but to the way something is written or told, and the social and historical conditions surrounding writing and telling. Discourse may consist of people, buildings, institutions, rules, values, desires, concepts, machines and instruments... These are combined in heterogeneous networkings - technologies of cultural production which enable and are the conditions within which statements may be made, texts constituted, interpretations made, knowledges developed, even people constituted as subjectivities. ...Discourses include media of dissemination...'*

Cultural theorists regard the very nature of these 'ensembles of social practice' as socially embedded in the power relations acted out within society. These are located across all aspects of society (for example, state institutions; formal and informal relationships at work; family relationships; peer relationships). Power relations are in a constant state of negotiation, struggle and instability. However, at any one point in time and space they will shape the pattern of discourse within society. In particular they construct the dominant discourses perpetuating and reinforcing particular power relations, and suppress those discourses that oppose the 'social norm'. (Mills, 1997; McDonnell, 1986; Foucault, 1970; 1972; 1981; Pecheux, 1982). Because truth is a social construct, not a universal concept that transcends society, dominant discourses prevalent at a particular time and place shape what is accepted as truth and knowledge in society. Perhaps more significantly they shape what is not accepted as truth and knowledge.

Foucault argues for a series of external and internal rules operating within discourse to control knowledge construction (Foucault 1972). Externally, anything which potentially undermines the dominant discourse and power relations it supports is prohibited as taboo or refuted on the grounds of falsehood or insanity. Within discourse, rules and structures exist to ensure that statements made correspond to the required norm. Statements contributing to the construction of 'truth' and 'knowledge' are perpetuated through their elaboration by works of commentary. Academic disciplines are created which through the development of particular domains of knowledge, methods of analysis and social practice determine what is considered truth within their domain. Though theoretically an author could write/say anything, they feel constrained to work within the norms of their particular discourse and the fact that they have to attach their name to their published work reinforces this need to work within socially agreed boundaries. A discourse is not open to everyone, and access is restricted to certain elements of society who are 'qualified' to contribute. Rules of qualification may vary from academic to financial to status. As power relations change, the *episteme* alters, the nature of discourse shifts and attitudes to particular knowledge as truth are transformed.

Discourse boundaries are not precise and clear-cut, and a discourse is defined more by what it is not than what it is (Mills, 1997; Foucault, 1981). A discourse exists in its opposition to other discourses (for example, the discourse of feminism only exists in opposition to the discourse of femininity), and cultural theorists argue they are in constant conflict as an effect of power struggles taking place within society. Individual utterances and texts (such as conversations, lectures, books, articles, letters, collections, displays of objects), Foucault's 'statements of discourse' (1972: 79-87), are the sites of this conflict where struggle take place (Mills, 1997; Pecheux 1982). They can be grouped together according to particular discourses of which they are an effect (Foucault, 1972; Mills, 1997). Pecheux argues that utterances and texts have no meaning in themselves, but that meaning is provided by the context of the discourse within which they are read. Whether we can categorically say this is the case, we do need to be aware of the fluidity of discourse and the positioning of statements within.

The primary contribution of cultural theory to the discourse analysis model developed in this thesis is its ability to provide a framework for linking Lubbock's collection, a statement of discourse, to the other statements of discourse and social discourse being acted out in late nineteenth century English society.

However, a Foucauldian approach lacks any systematic methodology to explore statements of discourse in detail and consider their relationship to wider discourse. It also leaves the clear impression that discourse is just about power, and though the power discourse is undoubtedly a key player its complete dominance has been questioned (Bintliff, 1988; 1993; 1995; 1998; 2000; Monk, 1990; Searle, 1995; 1999; Wittgenstein, 1953). In addition, it fails to recognise the role played by contingency and historical accident in social action, treating history almost as a pre-

ordained system yet without providing any mechanism to explain change. Finally it removes all sense of individual agency by identifying a passive role for the individual. These perceived weaknesses in the Foucauldian model will be addressed in the approach adopted to analyse Lubbock's collection.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has developed as a branch of analysis over the last 10 years that integrates linguistic and cultural theory approaches to the analysis of textual and conversational discourse. CDA draws on the strengths of each and resolves many of their weaknesses. It has developed a method of studying discourse rooted in systematic analysis of data but which also explores the role of texts and conversation in the construction and perpetuation of power relations within society (Billig, 1999; Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1995; Fairclough, 1992; 1995; Hodge & Kress, 1988; Van Dijk, 1994; 1998; Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Rather than following the descriptive formula of cultural theory, CDA researchers use linguistic approaches to structure the external referent and analyse it using a rigorous method. This integrated approach is a very useful one, and will be adopted in this thesis to study Lubbock's collection. However, CDA has its own drawback as it still highlights the role of power relations in the shaping of society.

Power is not everything?

Power relations are an important aspect within many discourses, however they are by no means the only influencing factor. Drawing upon Wittgenstein's theories (1953) and John Bintliff's interpretation of these (Bintliff, 2000), we can begin to identify other cross-cutting influences within discourse (figure 1.3). Wittgenstein defines discourse as:

> *'a major form of dynamic debate focussed on a particular way of understanding the world, but a debate that has developed its own internal critique and standards, its own criteria for effective argument.'* (Bintliff, 2000: 9).

A collection can be viewed as a 'state of affairs' the meaning and our understanding of which is derived from the particular *language-game* or discourse applied to it (Bintliff, 2000; Kenny, 1994; Monk, 1990; Sluga & Stern, 1996; Wittgenstein, 1953). Elements of language are used as a tool in each game according to the rules of that game. Wittgenstein's ideas are not easy to penetrate, but his key argument in relation to this context is that language-games are not fixed or singular but constantly changing and multiple (ibid.). We use language to make sense of the world from our particular 'world-picture' and within the particular language-game or discourse in which we locate ourselves at any given moment. New types of language, new language-games with new rules, come into existence all the time whilst others become obsolete (ibid.). The meaning of any text will alter according to the game played and the rules and vocabulary specific to that game (ibid.). Validity of any single approach and what is defined as acceptable

Influences on discourse	Definition
The external referent	The real thing that exists.
Function	Human actions have a functional purpose in society.
Cultural identity	Human actions maintain a particular cultural identity in society.
Power relations	Human actions are rooted in power relations within society.
Individual agency	The role of the individual in shaping of discourse through selection/ de-selection of statements of discourse.
Contingency	The unplanned, accidental events in history that influence the nature of discourse and opportunities open to individual agency.

Figure 1.3: cross-cutting influences within discourse

knowledge is measured against the rules of the discourse within which it is located and not against any given absolute. Of course, the particular use of a tool in one discourse may not be acceptable to the rules of another but that is immaterial as long as social action in the targeted discourse recognises the approach as valid (ibid.). The power game could be identified as a Wittgensteinian language-game but it has no priority in terms of importance over any other game in existence, the functional game concerned with constructing knowledge consensus in a particular discipline for example. All of these games are inter-related but also have their own identity worth exploring in their own right as well as analysing relationships between.

Figure 1.4 defines various areas of discourse relevant to late nineteenth century English society and therefore of relevance to the study of Lubbock's collection. Individual discourses are situated within; for example gender discourse includes feminine, masculine, feminist and queer discourse. However, all are inter-related and cannot be regarded as existing in isolation from one another. We fail to appreciate the complexity of discourse if it is reduced to one aspect: power. The inter-relationship of discourse shapes history, and it is not possible to predict this relationship only post-dict it.

Knowledge construction is not merely an elaborate charade intended to authenticate particular power dynamics in any given social context (though it can be used in this way). It is also about developing a coherent intellectual consensus of opinion about what constitutes knowledge in a community seeking to understand and explain the world in which it lives whilst working within the bounded rules of discourse (Kuhn, 1970) and the constraints provided by the external referent. This knowledge consensus is built up from external referents within a functional, cultural and political context and is influenced by people and contingency. Statements of

Area of discourse	Definition
Domestic discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding private family and friends. Values, rules and vocabulary.
Scientific discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding scientific aspect of social discourse. Values, rules and vocabulary.
Political discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding political aspect of social discourse. Values, rules and vocabulary.
Religious discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding religious aspect of social discourse. Values, rules and vocabulary.
class discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding class aspect of social discourse. Values, rules and vocabulary.
gender discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding gender aspect of social discourse. Values, rules and vocabulary.
Nationalist discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding nationalist aspect of social discourse. Values, rules and vocabulary.
colonial discourse	Ensembles of social practice regarding imperialist aspect of social discourse. Values, rules and vocabulary.

Figure 1.4: areas of discourse relevant to late nineteenth century English society

discourse are part of this construction process and act as concrete symbolic markers and guides for the development of consensus (Pearce, 1992).

Collections and Collecting as Statement of Social Discourse

The relationship between social discourse and the shaping of collections has been widely discussed in collecting studies (Bann, 1994; Belk, 1994; Pearce, 1992; 1995; 1997; 1999; 2000; Stewart, 1993). A study of the denotative and connotative meanings of a collection through analysing the collecting process facilitates investigation of this relationship.

Private collections are ordinarily a leisure activity pursued within the domestic sphere and often kept separate from the working life of an individual (Pearce, 1992). They are influenced by the structuring principles governing family relations and networks of friendship as well as the

workings of the home space itself. Collections can act as a valuable tool in the study of domestic discourse. The systematic mode of collecting is particularly associated with scientific discourse (Pearce, 1992), and the intellectual rationale and rules within which objects of human and natural origin are classified into representative sets is determined by the scientific paradigm in which the collection is constructed, and re-constructed. It is a more public form of collecting than the souvenir and fetish modes, created to develop understanding of the material world both in terms of research and also education. Systematic collections are therefore a very useful means of analysing the nature of scientific discourse of which they are part.

The relationship between collecting and European discourse throughout history has been explored in detail by Pearce (1995). Collecting is an activity within the European tradition popular because of its emphasis on materialism and consumerism (Belk 1994; Pearce, 1995; Pearce, 1997). In the western world today approximately one third of adults would regard themselves as collectors (Pearce, 1997). In a society shaped by capitalist values and an increasing secularist discourse collecting perhaps represents a way of internalising and taking an element of control over the potential destructiveness of materialism (Martin, 1998; Pearce, 1997). Pearce (1995) argues that collecting is a characteristic unique to the 'European tradition' and an important component of its discourse. This discourse has a shared idea of social structure, a shared polar way of looking at the world that distinguishes between 'this' and 'that', 'then' and 'now', a shared classical and Christian tradition, a shared history, and a stress on the concept of the individual (Pearce, 1995). Using a methodological framework drawing on Braudel's ideas of dureé and Foucault's epistemes, Pearce examines how the accumulation and collection of objects has been carried out by Europeans (including those in the 'New World' of European descent) over the last four millennia, and how it is influenced by the changing episteme and discourse dominant at any given point in time. Her discussion of the Classic Modernist collecting paradigm is especially relevant to this thesis, focusing as it does upon the period of time within which Lubbock was actively collecting material. It will be discussed further in chapter 2.

Pearce (1995; 1997; 1999) explores the class-specifics of collecting practice by developing a theory about the politics of value. The collection of objects that can be regarded as authentic masterpieces with high cultural and financial value is the realm of the wealthy and aspiring classes within society not least because they have financial and cultural access to this type of material. Similarly, authentic artefacts of high knowledge value within a scientific paradigm are equally sought after by this sector of the population. Their 'habitus' (Harker et al., 1990) places a cultural value on this type of material. However, an underclass of collecting exists associated with the acquisition of popular culture, non-authentic artefacts of low financial value (Pearce, 1995; 1997; Stewart, 1993). In a postmodernist world, this form of collecting is increasingly regarded as anti-establishment, anarchical and pro-individual (Pearce, 1997). Though this assessment is a little too simplistic (how do metal detectorists fall into this model for example) an

analysis of the politics of value within Lubbock's collection should enable comment regarding its relationship to class discourse within late nineteenth century society.

Being European is not only about being middle class, it is also about being male. The male-dominated gender dynamics of European society is a key attribute of the European discourse (Pearce, 1995). Collecting is heavily influenced by these dynamics, with valued collecting usually associated with a male sphere of activity, and more spurious collecting with the female sphere (Pearce, 1999). Several studies illustrate the role of collecting within the modern gender discourse at least. Belk and Wallendorf (1997) describe collecting activities of a husband and wife and the different way in which each is regarded. The wife's collection of mouse replicas is exhibited in Mouse Cottage and its brochure prepares you for the spectacle inside:

> *'Enter the Mouse Cottage and you'll squeak with delight! Once upon a time, in the early 1920s, there was a little girl so clever and charming in character and petite in stature that her mother...called her 'mouse'. The childhood name inspired the little girl's imagination with a life long passion for collecting mice of every description.'* (Belk & Wallendorf, 1997: 5)

The mice are exhibited in a domestic context, and the sweet and rosy image is indicative of a 'nice' but powerless and ultimately insignificant experience. This contrasts strongly with the husband's exhibition of his collection of fire equipment. The subject matter of the collection has a more immediate value within our social context, and the material is displayed in a professional manner on a much larger scale.

A similar picture of modern collecting was identified by Pearce in her *Contemporary Collecting in Britain Survey* (1993). Results suggest women's collecting is more focused around the family home and is displayed throughout the house to look pleasing to the eye. Men tend to collect material lending itself to classification and ordering, enabling a structured approach to display and storage which is often set apart from the main living spaces within the home (Pearce, 1997).

Pearce (1992) argues historically collecting, especially systematic collecting, has largely been undertaken by men not least because until recently it was difficult for women to participate in the discourse of which systematic collecting was a part. As a result the rules governing systematic collecting are influenced more by masculine than feminine discourse (Pearce, 1995). Collecting it seems is therefore part of the gender discourse.

To define what it is to be European, it is necessary to do so in opposition to a perceived 'Other' (Pearce, 1995). Collecting provides a mechanism for such an exercise of definition. Collecting 'Us' concerns the acquisition of material that has a value Europeans recognise - usually financial or knowledge based. Collecting the 'Other' can be both from within the European tradition, collecting a counter-culture, or from another cultural context. Collecting the latter can be regarded as an exercise in control and domination, whereby the Western meaning of items is considered more significant than indigenous meanings (Feest, 1995; Jordanova, 1989; Pearce,

1995; Stewart, 1993). By appropriating and reducing non-western culture to the status of a Western commodity to be collected, analysed and exhibited a very powerful message is conveyed regarding the relationship between 'Us' and the colonial 'Other' (Pearce, 1995). By removing ethnographic artefacts from their original context, and placing them as 2D images into a new series of meanings within the pages of a voyage book (Elsner & Cardinal, 1994) or as 3D images within a Western collection (Clifford, 1988; Feest, 1995; West, 1991), they are decontextualised and treated as natural history specimens with little or no reference to the people and society who made and used them, and for whom they held very particular meaning. This is an act of power and domination over those people and societies by a Western culture, and collecting is part of the colonial discourse (Clifford, 1988; Elsner & Cardinal, 1994; Feest, 1995; Pearce, 1995; West, 1991).

A collection therefore is a statement that cuts across social discourse and its study facilitates discussion about its relationship with individual aspects of that discourse (gender, class, politics etc.) as well as providing a focal point at which the inter-relationship between these aspects can be explored.

Individual Agency

Discourse theory, as proposed by Foucault and Pecheux amongst numerous other cultural theorists, identifies a passive role for the individual. The individual is constructed through discourse, and is ultimately an effect of power, similar to any other statement of discourse. The very concept of the subject, the self, is a 'truth' constructed by a particular Western, liberal discourse (Mills, 1997; McDonnell, 1986; Foucault, 1981), the 'European tradition' discussed by Pearce (1995). However, evidence suggests the individual is not merely forced to behave in a particular way by discourse, but actually has an active role working with and through it. Fairclough (1992; 1995), through exploring real texts and verbal speech between individuals at a detailed level, is convinced individuals are active agents positioning themselves within the discourse appropriate to any given context. He analysed a number of dialogues between doctor and patient, and argues for a clear controlling of the discourse by the male doctor keeping it within the bounds of technological medicine discourse, despite the patient's attempts to draw him into the discourse of the patient's life world (Fairclough, 1995; Mills, 1997). It is the inter-relationship between discourses and the role of human agency in this relationship which intrigues Fairclough and which he regards as significant. Similarly, Edward Said suggests authors of the individual works he critiques in *Orientalism* and *Culture & Imperialism* were not just shaped by the society of which they were part but also played an active role in shaping that society (Said, 1994).

These arguments are most developed in feminist theory, where discourse analysis with its focus on power in relation to social practice has been advocated as a most useful theory (Mills, 1995; 1997; Smith 1990). The assumption that the individual is subjected to discourse is strongly questioned. Instead, it is argued that the individual acts as active 'agent' negotiating his/ her position in the world through a selective use of various elements of discourse.

> *'Texts are not somehow divorced from social contexts and individual participants simply because we analyse them in terms of their discursive structures.'* (Mills, 1997: 85).

Individuals have a choice of how to orientate/ position themselves within their specific social location, although this location will shape their perspective (Dant, 1991; Smith, 1990). They wish to make sense of the world within the mental space in which they live and work, and in doing so influence its nature and development.

Braudel's model of *duration* provides a mechanism facilitating study of the individual and the record of human action but within a context of the broader social structures at work in the medium and long-term (Bintliff, 1988; 1991; Febvre, 1973). The model developed in this thesis seeks a balanced analysis of the influence of human agency and structural framework on the nature of Lubbock's collection, and is concerned with using the collection as evidence for both social discourse and Lubbock as agent in the late nineteenth century.

This links into a broader debate: whether statements of discourse are passive effects of discourse or whether they have an active role in the shaping of that discourse. Norman Fairclough (1992; 1995) draws on Julia Kristeva's concept of 'intertextuality' to explore this question. All statements are woven from the ideas and content of pre-existing ones, and go on themselves to contribute to further statements. Fairclough places this concept into a Foucauldian framework of social context and power relations. He argues (1992; 1995) that through this intertextual relationship, individual statements influence the development of discourse, knowledge and power relations, subject to the limitations imposed by discursive rules in existence. Indeed Fairclough, and others who have taken up his ideas, identify intertextuality as one of the key influences in bringing about change (Candlin & Maley, 1997, for example). Pearce (1997) takes this argument to collections of material culture, and argues that collecting is embedded in culture but is also active within it.

Collecting and the Individual

Collecting as a subject area lends itself to exploring the role of individual agency within social discourse, with its immediate focus on material presence and 'individual' acts of selection, use and disposal. Collecting can be regarded as a deliberate (though not necessarily conscious) act over time and space of creating self-image within an individual life world, within the family and peer networks, and with regard to gender and cultural identity. A collection becomes an extension of the collector's persona in the same way as any other material culture owned by that person

(Pearce, 1992); it is experience internalised and externalised in the same moment. The influence of individual psyche upon the shaping of collections is a keen topic of debate in collecting studies. Pearce describes it as the 'poetics of collecting' (Pearce, 1995: 31), a phrase that encompasses the meaning of collecting to the collector, how it impacts upon their lives and how through collecting the individual influences social discourse. Collecting is concerned in part with creating an image of yourself for you and for the outside world. For those who collect it is an important component in the construction of their place in the world, their self-identity (Belk et al., 1988; Clifford, 1986; Heleniak, 2000; Muensterberger, 1994; Pearce, 1992; 1995; 1997; 1999; 2000; Stewart, 1993).

Those who argue for a passive individual acted upon by the material world fail to recognise the powerful role of emotion and decision-making in the relationship between individual and discourse (Pearce, 1995). A psychoanalytical study of collecting enables an exploration of these aspects and their influence upon this social concept. Individual identity is constructed through a number of influences, including genetic inheritance, personal history remembered and a range of emotions in addition to the social discourse within which he/ she sits (Muensterberger, 1994; Pearce, 1995). Pearce calls upon the social psychological theories of George Herbert Meade, Sidney Shoemaker and Hewitt labelled 'symbolic interactionism' (Pearce, 1995) to explore the role of the individual in collecting. This line of thought argues that material symbols act as vehicles for bringing private experience into social discourse, and vice versa (ibid.). It is therefore important to identify evidence for personal motivation in the collecting activity under analysis (ibid.).

Pearce (1995) talks of the self as 'player' and the collector as playing a game with authentic reality in a given set of socially determined rules (also Danet & Katriel, 1989; Rheims, 1956). Individuals place a value upon an object, for a variety of reasons, desiring it for their collection almost to the extent of being an addiction (Belk et al., 1988). Once under their control they are able to handle, to show or to keep hidden, they can have direct physical contact with the object's past as well as present, they can dispose. These very personal actions and decisions are all part of the individual negotiating his/ her place in relation to him/ herself, to others and to the world in which the collector lives. Collecting is a rare activity in our lives that we can control: through the content of the collection and its labelling; through our direct access to it; through the way we structure our collecting activity; through our motivations that determine the opening and closing of a collection; through the potential to collect both high culture and anti-establishment subject matter (Danet & Katriel, 1989; Pearce, 1992; 1995; Stewart, 1993). Collecting provides a perceived sense of gaining control over the real world, the authentic (Stewart, 1993). Baudrillard (1994) argues that a child collects as part of a strategy to make sense of the outer world and gain control over it. Stewart (1994) suggests the painting and collecting activities of an eighteenth century American, Charles Willson Peale, were part of a conscious mechanism to resolve his anxieties about death and the destructiveness of war.

The role of individuals in controlling the plot or narrative of a collection has been considered in detail by Pearce (1992; 1995) and Bal (1994). Bal proposes that the beginning of collecting is defined only in retrospect but is contingent at the time, a historical accident reliant on initial sensitive conditions. This proposal is supported by the practical survey work undertaken by Russell Belk (Belk, 1994). Only through the subsequent narrative manipulation of events does it becomes identified as the beginning (Bal, 1994); by identifying a boundedness for the narrative meaning is constructed and the possibility of closure created (Belk et al., 1988; Stewart, 1993). As motivations for collecting change (across time and space) the narrative of collecting changes - motives at any one point in time and space may be fetishistic, souvenir or systematic, or a combination of any of these three.

Systematic collecting is about image construction, but the two other main types of collecting identified by Pearce (1992) are perhaps more so. Souvenirs are about creating a personal and private identity in the present built upon impressionable experiences in the past. They are about providing a concrete personal identity within an impersonal world (Pearce, 1992; Stewart, 1993). The fetishistic collector is obsessed with collecting a particular aspect of material culture and in an almost alien way the collector's identity is absorbed into the collection (Pearce, 1992). There is no sense of intellectual rationale shaping the development of the collection, it is purely personal with the act of collecting often more important than what is collected. The addiction to collecting is perhaps driven by psychological trauma hidden deep within an individual's psyche (Belk, 1994; Muensterberger, 1994). The amazing collection of historical and natural scientific artefacts amassed by the Harper-Crewes and now on display at Calke Abbey in Derbyshire provides a good example of this random fetish accumulation. Joseph Mayer has been regarded as a fetishistic collector (Pearce, 1992) yet his collections carried great respect and formed the basis of collections at Liverpool Museum. The antiquarian collection of the Reverend S.S. Lewis (1836-91) is now on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Spier & Vassilika, 1995). However, fetishistic collecting was normally perceived as a bit of a joke by those who stood outside it (Pearce, 1992).

The meaning of a collection, and objects within, is constantly re-negotiated throughout its life, and after its death, as a result of changing motivations (Pearce, 1995). Ultimately, active collecting ends and the collection takes on a mature form (as a 'complete' entity, an heirloom, as a museum piece) or is deconstructed (through fragmentary disposal). Hermann (1972) suggests that in many instances it is only after an owner has died that his/ her accumulation of material becomes perceived as a collection. The end of a collection can be for a number of reasons, both deliberate and contingent (Bal, 1994; Danet & Katriel, 1989; Pearce, 1992). It may be a perfect collection with all the gaps in a set filled and the best items acquired. A display space may have been completed and an aesthetically pleasing display achieved. It may be that lack of storage and display space, resources to acquire, a change in interest and motivation, death of the collector and other arbitrary factors influenced the closure of a collection. Robert Opie, a prolific twentieth

century collector, stopped collecting stamps because other people began to collect them and furniture because he ran out of space to keep acquisitions (Opie, 1994). Danet and Katriel (1989) suggest pursuit of closure is one of the primary motivations for collecting, it is an aspiration to pursue even though the chances of achieving it may be slim. The more bounded and focused a collection is at its beginning the more likely it will be perceived as finite and natural closure will be achieved (Stewart, 1993).

The gender trends observed in collecting have already been noted, and it is argued collecting is used by the individual to position him/herself within the gender dynamics of European society (Belk and Wallendorf, 1997; Pearce, 1992; 1995; 1999). This may present itself in the form of collection theme and how the collection is used (Belk and Wallendorf, 1997; Pearce, 1992; 1999). Pearce compares this process to European notions of gender depicted in the etiquette of a Victorian dinner party (1995). The status of women (child, unmarried, young married or mature mother) fundamentally influenced how they should behave on such occasions. Likewise, their collecting practices are quite distinct, supporting their role either as little girl or family matron. Collecting subjects tend to focus on superfluous matters and upon the home, domestic life and family (Dolin, 1993; Pearce, 1992; 1995; 1997; 1999). However, men (young and old, single and married) use collections as a way of appearing masculine to the outside world (Pearce, 1995). They select masculine subject matter - beer mats, military artefacts, machinery, scientific objects - and structure their collections in a way that appears to make sense outside of the individual - an objective and systematic (or pseudo-systematic) approach to collecting emphasising control and dominance (Pearce, 1995; Pearce, 1997):

> *' Male collecting is seen as a distinct, and important, even self-important, activity. It frequently happens in a specific place, usually one set aside. It involves set times and settled practices. The paraphenalia which surrounds the collection - cabinets, records, books and catalogues - may well be as striking as the collection itself. The whole assemblage is obtrusive in every sense...'* (Pearce, 1995: 214)

Pearce (1992) suggests in the past women have been less inclined to collect on a grand scale. However, perhaps the invisible nature of female collectors is due in part to the fact they do not always perceive themselves as collectors and therefore their collections and associated evidence are less likely to survive. Pearce's own study of contemporary collecting (1997) indicates that women now are more likely to collect than men and yet a considerable number of respondents did not perceive themselves as collectors until they received a copy of the survey questionnaire.

Collections are an important element in the construction of identity within the family context, and impact upon/ reflect relationships between family members. Here we are concerned with who has access to the collection, and to what level, who participates in the collecting process both at a practical and financial level. Collecting can reinforce ties or enhance problems in relationships, particularly between husband and wife (Pearce, 1995). Within the domestic context, gift-giving is

frequent, particularly involving women, and often the collection is drawn into an arena of reciprocity (Pearce, 1997).

Outside the immediate family circle, close friends and an outer network of acquaintances and colleagues can also form a source of collecting. Contrary to popular myth, collectors rarely collect in isolation and often call upon the reassuring support of other collectors through correspondence, and informal and formal meetings (Pearce, 1992; Pearce, 1995). Again in these contexts, collecting is in part about the collector positioning him/ herself in relation to the wider network (Martin, 1998). The act of collecting, of swapping, giving or receiving reinforces existing relationships between individuals and the broader discourse in general (Levine, 1996; Pearce, 1995). The element of competition that might develop between peers through their collecting activity is also a mechanism for positioning oneself within the peer network (Heleniak, 2000; Pearce, 1992). The individual prestige associated with collections reflects similar motivations at a civic, national and imperial scale creating the rich museum collections of the late nineteenth century (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Pearce 1992; 1995) and the current Museums & Galleries Commission' Re:source "Designation of Nationally Important Collections in Provincial Museums Scheme".

Collecting is therefore partly a strategy by collectors orientating themselves within the discourse they experience to achieve a sense of control and status. This strategy is not just achieved through what is collected and how, it is also achieved through the way the collection is used both spatially and through time. Pearce (1992; 1995; 1999) argues that collections are a mechanism through which people structure parts of their life. They can assist collectors in getting through particularly emotional experiences by providing structure and routine, and they can mark and act as a record for particular events within an individual's life. Sigmund Freud, for example, began collecting ancient classical and eastern antiquities after his father's death in October 1896 (Forrester, 1994). Collections are physical reminders of a past once present and now gone. They are 'perfect pets' (Baudrillard, 1994: 11) representing the ideal and not the real. The collecting of the distant past is an act of fascination and voyeurism (Pearce, 1995; 2000) whereby physical remains of this past are appropriated but ultimately fail to satisfy because the personal memories they represent are lost and forgotten. Ultimately the narrative experience developed through collecting is not real, but imaginary (Stewart, 1993). Children between the ages of 7-12 represent a significant group of collectors, and are attempting to gain control over the world around them (Baudrillard, 1994). According to Baudrillard, men in their forties are also more likely to collect things. He correlates collecting with sexuality and the various stages of a person's sexual development. Collecting compensates during periods of less sexual activity, and though it is not sexual in itself 'brings about a reactive satisfaction that is every bit intense.' (Baudrillard, 1994: 9). Collections also appear to be a means of creating immortality - taking collectors beyond the grave by surviving after they are gone. Thus a collector cheats the inevitable and in the ultimate rite of passage comes to terms with his own death (Pearce, 1995). Heirlooms play an important part in

immortalising an individual within family history, but the ultimate immortality for any collector is for their collection to end up in a museum, an eternal public shrine to their taste and influence (Belk et al., 1988; Heleniak, 2000; Pearce, 1992; Pearce, 1995).

Collectors structure their lives within domestic space through how they spatially conceive, store and display their material (Belk et al., 1988; Stewart, 1993). A different message is conveyed dependent upon whether the collection is displayed aesthetically to furnish a room or to represent a particular knowledge consensus, or world view (Pearce, 1992; 1995; 2000). The latter is often associated with male, systematic collecting, and the former with female, souvenir and fetishistic collecting. Stamp collectors are concerned with filling gaps in their collection; others deliberately display in such a way that the design itself is a deliberate illustration or a symbolic message (Pearce, 1995; 1999). These two latter uses of space are again associated with fetishistic and souvenir collecting (ibid.).

Contingency

The model must be able to recognise that contingency has an influential role in the shaping of discourse, and enable us to explore the unpredictability of late nineteenth century society (Bintliff, 1997; 1999; Gleik, 1988; Gould, 1989). *Chaos Theory*, developed in the natural sciences, explores the identification of patterns of unpredictability or chaos within complex, non-linear systems (Bintliff, 1997; 1999; Byrne, 1997; Gleik, 1987; Gould, 1989; Lewin, 1993; Lindenfield, 1999). It has been adopted by historians (Lindenfield, 1999) and archaeologists (e.g. Bintliff, 1997; 1999) to provide an analogous framework for exploring the complex pattern of causation resulting in a particular historical event or longer term social phenomena. Rather than seeking to identify a s ngle dominant cause or the mere identification of an infinite number of causes, *Chaos Theory* is concerned with the interaction between different types of causes. These causes are at a societal, structural level and at an individual level of human agency. A fundamental concept of *Chaos Theory* is the idea of 'sensitive dependence on initial conditions' (Gleik, 1987), meaning two events may be imperceptibly different yet lead to widely divergent results (Lindenfeld, 1999). This perceived phenomena, known as the 'butterfly effect', was first proposed by Edward Lorenz in 1961 when he realised that in missing off a couple of decimal places on re-entering data into a weather prediction computer programme to repeat an experiment he produced markedly different results. This introduces another key element into the pot, contingency. Gould (1987; 1999) argues that at any stage in the historical process local conditions influence th e broader outcome. He suggests that if history could be replayed like a tape machine it would turn out different every time because of small changes at a local level having a disproportionate impact on later developments. Local conditions can cause sudden collapse (catastrophe), a sustainable or enhanced complexity (Bintliff, 1997; 1999). Lindenfield proposes an example of the snowballing impact of contingent factors in his work on Hitler's rise

to power in Germany (1999). He points to how the Nazi party used a fortuitous local election victory in the tiny province of Lippe to turn around their flagging electoral fortunes in January 1933. Bintliff argues the plague epidemics of Europe were a contingent factor that speeded up the collapse of an over-complex system of life in many European states during the 14th century, feudalism (Bintliff, 1997).

We need to focus on local sensitive conditions for each aspect of collecting activity. Artefacts available to collect were random components that had survived from their original context, attracted together by Lubbock's desire to collect archaeological and ethnographic material. The influence of even minor changes in the physical, social, cultural, political and economic discourse within which Lubbock's collecting was imbedded would have altered the development of his collection to increasingly significant degrees. An exploration of contingency and its impact upon local conditions must be built into the method of collection analysis.

Conclusion

Material culture collections can be regarded as a form of text and as 'statements' of discourse. According to McDonnell (1986: 4) 'whatever signifies or has meaning can be considered part of discourse'. Collections of material culture certainly fit into that category. A collection would also fit neatly into a more Foucauldian definition of 'statement' - an utterance or text which makes some form of truth-claim and which is ratified as knowledge (Mills, 1997: 59). A collection is also a state of affairs, as are its constituent parts that can be the subject of multiple 'language-games' and explored by using numerous items from Wittgenstein's 'tool-kit'. Collections of material culture have meaning which is more than just literal in nature (metonymic); they have metaphoric relationships of meaning relating to their social context, as well as shedding light on the enigmatic concepts of contingency and individual agency.

The model of analysis developed combines approaches to discourse analysis used in Critical Discourse Analysis and Wittgensteinian philosophy with concerns regarding individual agency and contingency. A rigorous methodology based upon linguistic analysis will explore the internal coherence of the collection, and the results of this analysis will be used to critique the collection as 'statement' of discourse from a cultural perspective. The proposed model considers the role of Lubbock, his collection and contingency in the shaping of discourse in late nineteenth century society.

A Model for Analysis

Discourse analysis enables us to work from the external referent to the interpretation. As evidence, we have the surviving remnants of the collection itself: the catalogue Lubbock wrote to accompany it; surviving correspondence in Lubbock's archives and in the archives of those he collected from; diaries written by Lubbock and Alice Lubbock recording events associated with his collecting activities. Chapter 3 describes these sources in further detail. The model of analysis proposed works from this evidence to explore the following questions:

1. What is the internal coherence of the Avebury Collection?

A systematic framework of analysis, based on linguistic analysis, will be developed to consider this question. The sentences of a collection are, I would argue, not so much the individual objects which make up the collection (these are perhaps akin to words), but the events, or actions, which surround their acquisition and use within the collection, and their disposal from it. I will use the terms 'act of collecting', 'act of use' and 'act of disposal' when discussing each of these types of sentence within the collection. It is the relationship between these sentences that creates a holistic concept, the collection as a 'statement' of discourse greater than the sum of its parts.

The following cohesive 'text-forming devices' (Nunan, 1993) have been identified contributing towards a collection's ultimate meaning:

- **Acts of Collecting:** text-forming devices
  - The thematic content of the collection
  - When the collection was acquired
  - Method of acquisition
  - The nature of sources from which the collection was acquired
  - Methods used to record collecting event

- **Acts of Use:** text-forming devices
  - As a research tool
  - reference to collection in published books/ articles
  - domestic display
  - public exhibition

- **Acts of Disposal:** text-forming devices
  - disposal to whom
  - method of disposal

- reason for disposal
- date of disposal

The analysis of the collection (chapter 4) will explore each of these text-forming devices for Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection. As well as looking for cohesiveness, it is also important to look for evidence of discontinuity. What are the fractures in the picture of cohesion that emerges? This discontinuity may be temporal or spatial and is an important tool in being able to construct the plurality of meaning for the collection. The devices of cohesion and discontinuity in each of the text-forming devises work together to provide an internal coherence to the collection.

2. How is Lubbock's collection a statement of late nineteenth century discourse?

Drawing on approaches to discourse developed within cultural theory we can explore the 'place' of the collection within the broader ensemble of social practice in late nineteenth century English society. In particular the following areas of discourse will be considered:

- Sociocultural evolution discourse as part of broader scientific discourse
- Domestic discourse
- Political discourse
- Religious discourse
- Class discourse
- Gender discourse
- Nationalist discourse
- Colonialist discourse

Chapter 2 discusses the nature of these areas of discourse in further detail and justifies the reasoning behind focusing upon them in particular. Chapter 5 uses the results of the analysis in chapter 4 to locate the collection and its meaning within this network of discourse.

3. Agency, Intertextuality and Contingency

In chapter 6 the evidence for human agency, intertextuality and contingency suggested by the collection analysis is considered.

The active role of the collector as agent in shaping the collection, and using it to position himself within his own worldview and the social discourse of late nineteenth century English society will be explored. Evidence for his collecting motivations will enable insight into the poetics of Lubbock's collecting. How it reinforced his image within family, peer networks and society, and how he used it as part of a structuring principle throughout his life. Using intertextual analysis the role of the collection as active agent in shaping discourse will be assessed. Specifically its relationship with the construction of other statements of discourse will be considered. Finally we will examine how sensitive local conditions at various stages in Lubbock's collecting career influenced how he selected, acquired, used and disposed of items in his collection. The significance of this influence on Lubbock's collection will be critically evaluated.

Chapter 2: The Sociocultural Evolutionary and Social Discourse

Analysis of Lubbock's collection discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 suggests his collecting activity was primarily part of the scientific discourse of late nineteenth century England relating to sociocultural evolution in particular. This chapter discusses the nature of this discourse and its relationship with wider social discourse (figure 2.1). The scientific discourse did not exist in isolation and was heavily influenced by broader codes of social practice focused around politics, religion, class, gender, home and family life, nationalism and colonialism. The values, content (knowledge constructed) and social practices of these various discourses are briefly considered and their relationship to sociocultural evolution discourse. McClintock (1995) has argued that categories of race, gender and class should not be considered in isolation, but with reference to their fundamental inter-relationship. To provide structure, this chapter considers each discourse in turn but it will become clear that each impacts upon and cuts across the others with statements of discourse (such as Lubbock's collection) representing a meeting point where they interact and contribute to the construction of the text.

Sociocultural Evolution and Broader Scientific Discourse

On 22nd November, 1859, the *Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin went on sale to an expectant and intrigued public. 1250 copies were produced in the first print and were sold out on publication (Gunther, 1980). The book received a great public reception stirring the minds of the public at large as well as the intellectual elite (Bowler, 1989; Desmond & Moore, 1991). The publication of this book, and the ideas contained therein, acted as a catalyst for a passionate debate within scientific discourse during the 1860s. Though *Origin* provoked the ensuing debate that culminated in widespread acceptance of human evolution and the antiquity of humankind, ironically the ideas that emerged were not Darwinian in nature (Bowler, 1989; 1993; Desmond & Morris, 1991; Gould, 1978; Stocking, 1987). They did not adopt his radical and random mechanism for evolutionary change, natural selection, and instead promoted a non-Darwinian progressive outlook on evolution. Despite this, by 1870 the nature of scientific discourse had fundamentally changed, and a discourse of sociocultural evolution had been created closely associated in the public mind with Darwin and his ideas (Van Riper, 1993).

The discourse of sociocultural evolution was concerned at a functional level with exploring the evolution of human culture and society. It was referenced within the broader rules and codes of late nineteenth century scientific discourse but had a uniqueness of its own in its interdisciplinary approach. Unlike geology, zoology, botany, astronomy, mathematics, archaeology or ethnography, for example, it did not have its own clubs, organisations, or other elements of social

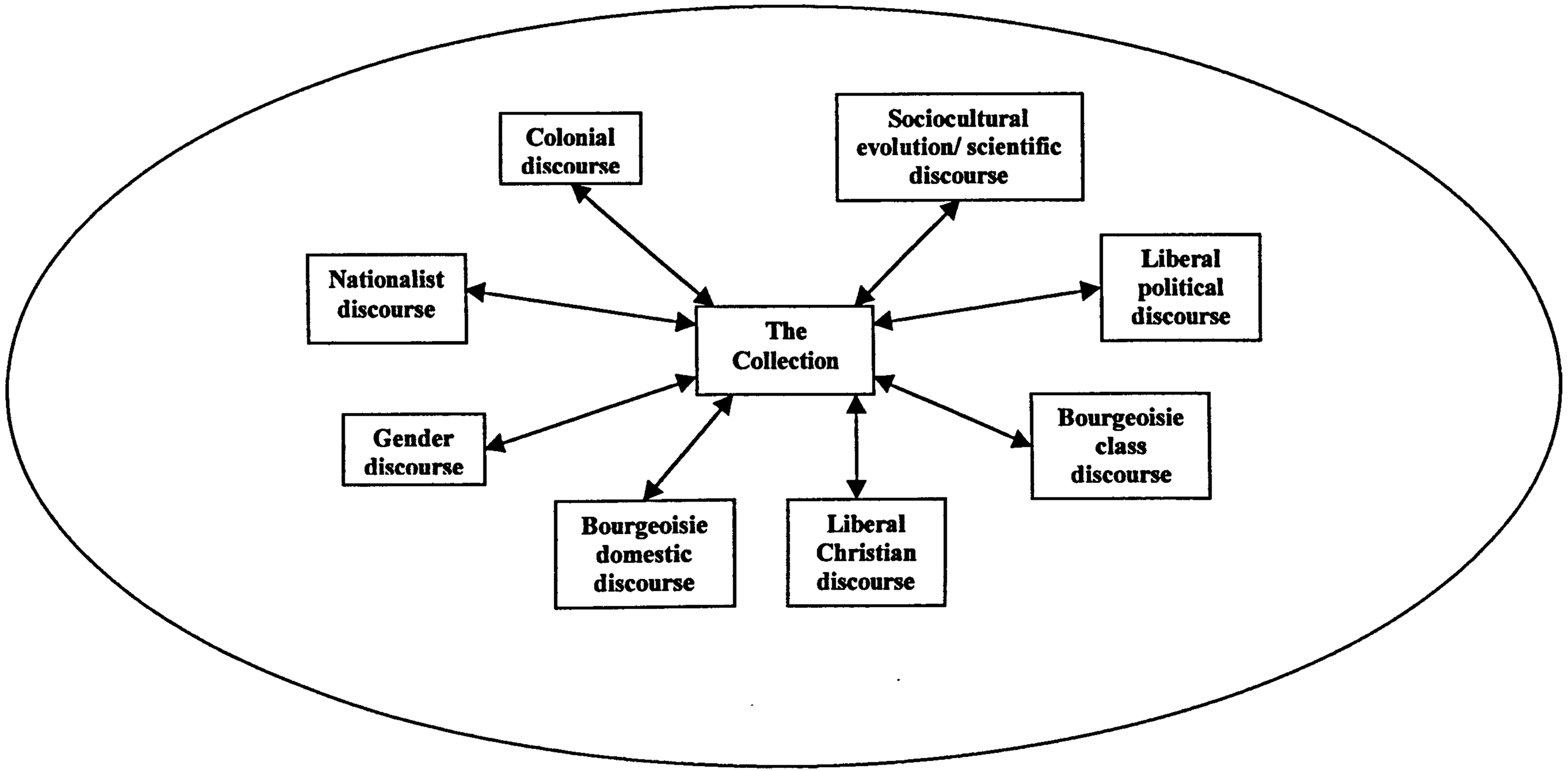


Figure 2.1: Aspects of nineteenth century discourse influencing the meaning of John Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection

practice but drew upon the ideas, social practices and networks of a variety of other scientific disciplines to create its identity (Van Riper, 1993). Though discussions concerning biological human evolution have sometimes been regarded as separate to the sociocultural evolution debate (they are often treated separately in published literature), they underpinned and were influenced by developments in the latter. I therefore regard them as an essential aspect of the sociocultural evolution discourse.

Sociocultural Evolution: a particular worldview

A particular grouping within the scientific community participated in the sociocultural evolution discourse, 'the Darwinist community' (figure 2.2), and worked within a specific set of values and rules structuring the construction of knowledge (Valle, 1997; Gunnarsson, 1997; Halliday, 1993). It was only when the broader social context enabled the development of these values that ideas of human evolution and the antiquity of humankind could be taken seriously as concepts and ultimately become accepted as 'truth' by wider society.

Values and Rules

An underlying principle of the sociocultural evolution discourse was that the study of the human past should be scientific and empiricist. Historians and antiquarians had dominated this area of study until the early/ mid-nineteenth century. Though objects and monuments were subjects of antiquarian study, their value was primarily aesthetic and they were not regarded as sources of evidence about the past without being accompanied by documentary evidence (Malina & Valisek, 1990; Pearce, 2000; Schnapp, 1996). During the early part of the nineteenth century the relationship between original artefact and the past became increasingly recognised and valued (Pearce, 2000). The application of geological techniques and methodology to the study of material culture remains from the past created new lines of enquiry (Daniel, 1975; Daniel & Renfrew, 1988; Schnapp, 1996; Trigger, 1989; Van Riper, 1993; Viles, 1998). Objects became regarded as 'fossils' of past lives that could be ordered, classified and dated relatively using a systematic approach. It therefore became imperative to create a databank of relevant empiricist evidence - information and objects - to form the basis of classification systems developed. The construction of knowledge within sociocultural evolution discourse revolved around an inductive approach, developing theories based upon detailed quantitative analysis of all available information and object data (Bowden, 1991; Chapman, 1989; Shipman, 1994).

Another key principle of the sociocultural evolution discourse was the desire to separate scientific enquiry from religion (Bowler, 1976; 1989; 1993; Cook, 1997; Desmond, 1992; Desmond & Morris, 1991; Desmond, 1994; Gould, 1978; Schnapp, 1996; Stocking, 1987; Trigger, 1989).

Name	Primary occupation	Key scientific positions of power and influence
Thomas Huxley (1825-1895)	Professional scientist	RSM (lecturer) 1854-1885 Geological Survey (naturalist) 1855 RCS (Hunterian Professorship) 1863-1869 Royal Institute (Fullerian Professorship) 1865-1867 Geological Society President 1869 Ethnological Society President 1869 British Association President 1870 Royal Society Secretary 1871-1880 Royal Society President 1883-1885 Member of X Club
Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911)	Professional scientist	Botanist to Geological Society 1845 Assistant Director, Kew 1855 Director, Kew 1865 Royal Society President 1873-1878 Member of X Club
John Tyndall (1820-1893)	Surveyor for railway company 1840s Professional scientist	Professor of Natural Philosophy at Royal Institute 1853 Superintendent of Royal Institute 1867-1887 Scientific adviser to Trinity House and the Board of Trade 1866-1883 Member of X Club
Thomas Archer Hirst (1830-1892)	Professional scientist (physicist and mathematician)	Professor of Mathematical Physics, University College London 1865 Professor of pure and applied mathematics 1867 Professor of pure mathematics 1868-1870 Director of naval studies, Royal Naval College, Greenwich 1873-1883 Member of X Club
George Busk (1807-1886)	Naval surgeon Gentleman scientist 1855	President of Royal College of Surgeons 1871 Treasurer of Royal Institute Hunterian professor and trustee

		of Hunterian Museum President of Anthropological Institute 1873-1874 Member of X Club
John Lubbock (1834-1913)	Merchant banker and politician	Liberal MP Maidstone 1870-1880 Liberal MP London University 1880-1900 President of Ethnological Society 1864-1865 President of Entomological Society 1866-1867 President of International Association of Prehistoric Archaeology 1868 President of the Metaphysical Society 1869 Vice President of Royal Society 1871-1872, 1878-1879, 1892-1894 President Royal Anthropological Institute 1871-1873 Vice Chancellor London University 1872-1880 President of British Association 1881 President of the Linnean Society 1881-1886 President Society of Antiquaries 1904-1908 Member of X Club
Herbert Spencer (1820-1903)	Sub-editor of London Economist 1848-1853 Gentleman philosopher	Member of X Club
Edward Frankland (1825-1899)	Professional scientist (chemist)	Professor of Chemistry at Royal Institute 1863-1868 Professor of Chemistry at Royal College of Chemistry 1865 President of Chemical Society 1871-1873 President of the Institute of Chemistry 1877-1880 Member of X Club
William Spottiswoode (1825-1883)	Queen's printer Gentleman mathematician	President of Mathematical Society 1870-1872 President of Royal Society 1879-1883 Member of X Club
Charles Lyell (1797-	Professional and gentleman scientist	Professor of Geology at Kings

1875)		College, London 1831-1833 President of Geological Society 1835-1836, 1849-1850
George Rolleston (1829-1881)	Professional scientist (physician)	Linacre Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, Oxford University 1860-1881
Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (1827-1900)	Lieutenant-general Anthropologist and archaeologist	Vice-President Society of Antiquaries First Inspector of Ancient Monuments 1882
John Evans (1823-1908)	Director of family paper-making business Gentleman scientist and archaeologist	President of Geological Society 1874-1876 President of Numismatics Society 1874-1908
Joseph Prestwich (1812-1896)	Wine merchant Professional scientist (geology)	Professor of Geology, Oxford 1874-1888
Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897)	Professional antiquarian/ archaeologist	Keeper of department of British and medieval antiquities and ethnography, British Museum 1866 Director Society of Antiquaries 1858-1867, 1873-1880
Francis Galton (1822-1911)	Explorer Gentleman scientist	Founded eugenics laboratory at University College London 1904
Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917)	Professional anthropologist	Keeper of University Museum, Oxford 1883 First Professor of Anthropology 1896-1909

Figure 2.2: Key late nineteenth century Darwinist supporters

Prior to the 1860s, the idea of evolution and 'transformation' had been under discussion for at least 50 years (Bowler, 1976; 1989; Cook, 1997; Desmond, 1992; Morrell & Thackeray, 1981; Schnapp, 1996), and various individuals had raised questions regarding the identification and age of stone tools found across Europe (Boucher de Perthes in 1847, Frere in 1800 and Thomsen in 1836, for example). However, theories concerning human evolution and antiquity were constrained by the religious framework provided by the bible and the Ussher Chronology with its theory of creation dating to 4004 B.C. (Cook, 1997; Malina & Vasicek, 1990; Morrell & Thackeray, 1981; Schnapp, 1996). Only through perceiving science as separate from religion could the Darwinist community freely explore evidence for evolution and antiquity. Darwin's *Origin* gave them the courage to think in this way, because it presented an abundant body of empirical data in support of a materialistic view of the world (Bowler, 1976; 1989; 1993; Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Morris, 1991; Gould, 1978).

The Darwinists had no qualms about using science in an overtly political way to support liberal views of progress. By no means all of them supported this notion, Darwin for example did not

regard evolution as a progressive mechanism of change but a random one (Bowler, 1989; Gould, 1978; Desmond & Morris, 1991). However, Spencer, Lubbock, Darwin and Huxley all placed human biological and cultural evolution within a progressive framework (Darwin, 1871; Huxley, 1863; Lubbock, 1865; 1870; Spencer, 1851; 1862). They structured their desire to make sense of the human cultural diversity observed across the world using this framework. This faith in the universal law of progress replaced the old dependence on direct divine control (Bowler, 1976).

Finally, it was essential that the study of past human societies should become a professional discipline. In the hands of antiquarians and their eccentric ways of looking at the world, the study of monuments and prehistoric objects had become a source of public amusement and folly (Levine, 1986; Schnapp, 1996). It was the arena of gentlemen of leisure, participating for fun and enjoyment. Darwinists wanted to place the study of human antiquity on a professional footing, enabling talented individuals to earn a living in pursuit of knowledge.

Content of Discourse

Darwin made only passing reference to humans in *Origin*. However, combined with events and trends within wider scientific and social discourse it encouraged a materialistic perspective on nature in general and the content of discourse during the 1860s focused increasingly upon human biological and cultural evolution (Bowler, 1989; Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Gould, 1978; Stocking, 1987).

Descent from Apemen

Darwin had deliberately not taken his ideas regarding 'descent by modification' to their logical conclusion by discussing their application to humans. However, his opponents quickly realised the implications of his work and raised public awareness about this perceived heresy. The Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, took his first opportunity at the Oxford British Association meeting in June 1860. He locked horns with Huxley and began a series of exchanges between Wilberforce, Huxley and Richard Owen regarding human evolution that continued over at least the next three years (Bowler, 1989; Desmond & Moore, 1992; Jensen, 1991; Shipman, 1994). In particular attention focused upon the form of ape and human brains. Owen argued that the hippocampus present in human brains was not present in ape brains, and that there could be no common ancestry between the two species (Bowler, 1989; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Gould, 1978; Jensen, 1991; Shipman, 1994). Huxley explored this theory and others in his work *Man's Place in Nature* published in 1863 and argued that evidence for a common ancestry existed in the anatomy of modern apes and humans. He used ethnographic skeletal evidence as well as post-mortem analyses of apes to develop his ideas, and proved the existence of the hippocampus in an

ape's brain. Darwin himself began work on the *Descent of Man* (1871) in which he finally applied his evolutionary theories to the human species. He discussed two themes: the anatomical evidence, both modern and fossil, for the relationship between 'men' and apes, and the archaeological and ethnographic evidence for the sociocultural evolution of the human species.

The antiquity of stone implements and associated artefacts

In the 1830s and 1840s Boucher de Perthes discovered stone implements in the Somme river gravels at Abbeville, northern France (Daniel & Renfrew, 1988). Working from the geological evidence he argued for their great antiquity, but was not taken seriously until the work of Charles Lyell (1830-1833), Charles Darwin (1859) and their network of supporters encouraged people to question the Ussher Chronology. In 1859, Joseph Prestwich and John Evans visited Boucher de Perthes to review his discoveries concluding that the axes found in gravels also containing the remains of extinct animals had been deposited with the gravels not later (Evans, 1943). The discoveries of ancient stone artefacts and bones of extinct animals at Brixham Cave in southwest England were reassessed and found to support the argument for human antiquity. In France, Edouard Lartet and Henry Christy excavated cave sites of the Perigord region, discovering a wealth of artefactual evidence for occupation of caves whilst reindeer lived in the area and before the use of metal. In Scandinavia, Christian Thomsen, J.J.A. Worsaae and Japetus Steenstrup investigated shell middens found in coastal regions containing stone tools, animal bones and vast quantities of shell. Megalithic tumuli and other monuments across Western Europe also captured the imagination of those exploring the origins of human society. In Switzerland, naturalists and geologists, such as Troyon, Morlot and Keller, investigated remains of lake-villages discovered across the country. These villages provided both inorganic and organic evidence to suggest farming existed as a way of life before the regular use of metals.

Charles Lyell, John Lubbock and John Evans analysed this evidence and published various theories about the sociocultural evolution of human society. In 1863, Lyell published *The Geological Evidences of the antiquity of man, with remarks on theories of the origin of species by variation* which explored geological evidence proving human antiquity and the relative and absolute dating of the evidence found. Lyell did not pursue the question of how prehistoric Europeans lived, leaving many Darwinists unsatisfied. Japetus Steenstrup for example was 'not quite satisfied' by Lyell's book[1] and Joseph Hooker wished Lubbock had written the chapters on bronze, iron and stone[2]. To fill this gap John Lubbock was persuaded that he should publish his various articles about prehistory in the form of a book (Van Riper, 1993). In 1865 Williams &

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[1] British Library MS Add 49640 48. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated [1]0th March 1863".

[2] British Library MS Add 49640 27-28. "Letter from Joseph Dalton Hooker to John Lubbock, dated Sunday [1863]".

Norgate published the first edition of 'Prehistoric Times'. It ran into seven English editions during his lifetime, sold 20 000 copies (Sherratt, 1983) and was translated into several languages. The American edition almost sold out within two days of its publication[3]. In this book, Lubbock synthesised the current state of prehistoric archaeology for a general audience and provided his own opinions about that debate. He emphasised the debt prehistoric archaeology owed to geology and placed the archaeological evidence discovered throughout Europe into the Scandinavian Three Age System developed by Christian Jurgensen Thomsen in the 1820s and 1830s (Pearce, 1992; Rowley-Conwy, 1984; Schnapp, 1996; Van Riper, 1993). He popularised the use of terms still familiar today, *Palaeolithic*, *Neolithic* and *Bronze Age*. Archaeological objects and monuments from across Western Europe were thus classified according to their material and form into a relative dating sequence. Lubbock devoted one chapter to the discoveries of similar artefact types in North America, and three chapters to modern ethnographic communities whom he used as comparison to explore the prehistoric European way of life. Published reviews of the first edition were favourable (Anonymous, 1865; Hutchinson, 1914: 75-6), but the unpublished informal peer reviews also make interesting reading. They suggest that though members of the Darwinist camp were impressed by Lubbock's work, outside of the supporters' circle a more critical reception awaited. In December 1866, for example, Walter Bagehot wrote to Lady Lubbock and commented

> *'I am afraid it will be a very long time before people will give up talking nonsense on Prehistoric Times. They have not quite given it up as to present times, and views so new as Sir John's and so entirely contrary to strong traditions will not be thoroughly understood, much less universally accepted, for many years.'*[4]

In 1872, John Evans published *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain*. This work presented a detailed typological survey of stone artefacts discovered across Western Europe, focusing upon their form and function and drawing upon ethnographic data to a limited extent.

However, as Bagehot's letter to Nelly Lubbock suggests, the Darwinists had their opponents who questioned their arguments concerning human antiquity. Thomas Wright for example was strongly opposed to the Three Age System (Daniel & Renfrew, 1988; Stocking, 1987; Van Riper, 1993; Wright, 1866), and argued the bronze items that Lubbock and Evans ascribed to the Bronze Age were in fact Roman in date. Nothing had yet been found to question the Ussher Chronology[5]. James Fergusson argued that Stonehenge and Avebury were late Roman/ post-Roman in date

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[3] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Thursday 4th April 1872".

[4] Reprinted in Hutchinson, 1914: 91-92. "Letter from William Bagehot to Lady Lubbock, December 1866".

[5] British Library MS Add 49640 70. "Letter from Thomas Wright to John Lubbock, dated [10th June 1863]".

whereas Lubbock considered both belonged to the Bronze Age (Fergusson, 1872; Lubbock, 1872c)[6].

The relationship of ethnographic peoples to western society

The three chapters in *Prehistoric Times* devoted to 'Modern Savages' reflected a growing interest in ethnographic cultural information as a source of comparative information when exploring prehistoric life in Western Europe and North America. Darwinists believed ethnographic hunting and gathering peoples across the world still using stone tools were remnants of civilisations identical to those living in Europe thousands of years ago (Bowden, 1991; Bowler, 1993; Chapman, 1989; Coombes, 1994; Stocking, 1987; Van Riper, 1993). The concept of a ladder of progress emerged identifying various states of being that each society progressed through from savagery towards civilisation (Bowler, 1993; Stocking 1987; Van Riper, 1993). Western Europe was at a stage of advanced civilisation and had evolved into the technologically, socially and culturally advanced nation states of the nineteenth century, whereas elsewhere in the world society had stagnated and fossilised into previous forms of social and cultural development. In the spring of 1868, Lubbock delivered six lectures at the Royal Institution on the theme 'Savages'[7]. These lectures formed the basis of his other main publication on sociocultural evolution issued in 1870, *On The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man.* Published by Longman, Greens & Co., it focused upon the:

> *'social and mental condition of savages, their art, their systems of marriage and of relationship, their religions, language, moral character and laws.'* (Lubbock, 1902: vii).

Two thirds of Lubbock's *Origin* focused upon just two social institutions: marriage and religion (Stocking, 1987). It was another popular publication selling 800 copies out of 1000 within the first few months of publication (Stocking, 1987).

Several other writers explored this theme during the 1860s - 1870s. Both Edward Tylor (1865; 1871) and John McLennan (1865) focused upon the social institutions of marriage and religion (Stocking, 1987; Van Riper, 1993). Herbert Spencer published a raft of sociological and philosophical work during the period 1862 - 1899 in London through Williams and Norgate. He regarded biological and cultural evolution as the progressive differentiation from uniformity to variation, from simplicity to complexity and specialisation (Gay, 1998; Malina & Vasicek, 1990; Shipman, 1994; Turner, 1985). It was a gradual process relying on 'survival of the fittest' and the demise of those groups that could not progress (Malina & Vasicek, 1990; Turner, 1985). It was Spencer who coined the phrase 'survival of the fittest' a term now synonymous with Darwinism

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[6] British Library MS Add 49642 72. "Letter from James Fergusson to John Lubbock, dated 26th October 1867".

[7] Royal Institution Guard Book 4 (now renumbered 3): 71 and 76.

but based upon a Lamarckian model of evolution eight years before Darwin published his ideas (Spencer, 1851).

A unifying principle behind the work of Lubbock, Tylor, McLennan and Spencer was that all human society was derived from a single human species. Cultural diversity was not a reflection of different genetic origins but a result of differing rates of social and cultural evolution acting upon societies in different places (Shipman, 1994; Stocking, 1987). Because different societies across the globe were at different stages in the progressive ladder of development, they could be used to explore the past of civilised societies - those in Western Europe. The works of Lubbock, Tylor, Evans, Lyell, McLennan and Spencer incorporate adopt this approach. The comparative use of ethnographic artefacts when analysing the origins of human civilisation in Europe can also be seen in General Augustus Pitt Rivers collecting of ethnographic material. It is acquired not for its own intrinsic interest, but for the insight it provided on the archaeological material also collected (Bowden, 1991; Chapman 1989; Coombes, 1994; Petch 1998). A powerful opposing view was held by scientists believing in polygenesis, particularly James Hunt and members of the Anthropological Society. They argued the human races living across the globe in the late nineteenth century were representative of several human species. They used the same physical anthropological evidence as the Darwinists but interpreted the data according to different values and criteria to demonstrate the very diverse nature of human anatomical attributes.

Polygenecists held strongly racial views regarding the relationship of other human species to Western society. They regarded non-western peoples as culturally and biologically inferior, incapable of intellectual development, and towards the latter part of the 1860s the Anthropological Society became known for its extreme racism (Desmond & Moore, 1991; Stocking 1987; Van Riper, 1993). Darwinists also painted a depressing and patronising portrait of non-western cultural groups, reflected in their use of the label 'savages' to describe them (Lubbock, 1865, for example). However, their belief in monogenesis meant they regarded non-western societies as open to change and capable of adopting Western social norms if given the opportunities to do so (Bowler, 1993; Jones, 1980; Shipman, 1994; Stocking, 1987).

The 1870s Watershed

During the 1870s the focus of debate shifted from a basic need to demonstrate antiquity of the human species and the evolution of human culture to an emphasis on refining classification systems and other knowledge structures developed during the 1860s (Daniel, 1975; Daniel & Renfrew, 1988; Shipman, 1994). The Darwinists were winning the battle (Caudill, 1994; Desmond, 1997; Stocking, 1987; Van Riper, 1993). The great intellectual excitement of the 1860s was not recaptured in the 1870s which was more a time for synthesis and consolidation within the establishment (Chapman, 1989; Evans, 1943; Morris, 1996; Stocking, 1987).

> *'As Pitt Rivers suggested in 1872, certain major issues had been settled: the antiquity and descent of man, his ultimate monogenetic origin, and the progressive character of the growth of civilization. What was needed now was more and better data...'* (Stocking, 1987:258).

Some opponents were persuaded by Darwinist arguments; Daniel Wilson, for example, who in his first edition of *Prehistoric Man* (1862) supported a creationist view of human origins had, by the 1876 edition, removed all reference to biblical chronology (Trigger, 1994).

The new scientific archaeologists began looking outside Europe for evidence of human antiquity and the development of Western culture, testing the reliability of the bible and other historical documents as historical source. There was an increased interest in the prehistoric archaeology of the Near East and in 1883 the Egypt Exploration Fund was founded in London (Daniel, 1975). Flinders Petrie undertook a number of excavations in Egypt over the next 20 years uncovering pre-dynastic sites. Heinrich Schliemann began excavating prehistoric Aegean sites in Greece from the late 1860s to prove the accuracy of Homeric legend (Daniel, 1975; Daniel & Renfrew, 1988).

The discovery of prehistoric cave art in the French and Spanish caves continued the fascination with and emphasis on prehistory that had marked the previous decade. However, it also began to raise questions about the simplistic notions of progress proposed by people like Lubbock, Tylor and others during the 1860s (Daniel & Renfrew, 1988). Cave art represented a certain degree of cultural progress yet it had then disappeared: evidence of regression rather than progress? The pessimistic idea of natural degradation became more popular within the scientific community. The culmination of this concern was the development of 'eugenics'; the science of managing genetic development within the human species to ensure the fittest groups, physically and intellectually, would survive and dominate society (Jones, 1980; Shipman, 1994). By the turn of the century, anthropology had developed into a discipline in its own right (Stocking, 1987), and began to move away from the 'racist' social evolutionary theory of 1860s-1870s towards the concept of cultural relativism (Hegeman, 1998; Winter, 1998; Stocking, 1987).

However, in general terms the basic concepts relating to sociocultural evolution of materialism, human antiquity and the evolution of the human species changed little between the 1860s and the end of the nineteenth century. As Daniel and Renfrew (1988) point out, a quick glance at the contents of the various editions of *Prehistoric Times* during the period 1865-1913 reflect very little major change in the way human antiquity and evolution was viewed.

Social Practices and Networks

Networks of People

Darwinists participated in many areas of scientific debate, particularly geology, zoology and botany, as well as sociocultural evolution. Their background was in the natural sciences, rather than historical archaeology and antiquarianism (Van Riper, 1993). In the early 1860s, Darwin supporters were in the minority but also in the ascendancy (figure 2.2). Their core was a young, up and coming generation of scientists and intellectuals (professional and amateur) knocking at the door of establishment intelligentsia, determined to enter and re-discover science on their own terms. They were a vocal, astute and increasingly well connected group of people (gentlemen) who ultimately engendered strong public support for their views (Levine, 1986). Though some belonged to families that had already developed aristocratic pretensions (Darwin, Lubbock and Pitt Rivers for example), they formed part of a general movement calling for greater involvement of the new middle class bourgeoisie in scientific and other intellectual and political affairs. The Darwinist core was held together by two principle networks especially during the 1860s-1870s: the X Club and the Evans-Lubbock network.

The X Club epitomised the rules and values of the sociocultural evolution discourse through its objectives and membership. Its creation in November 1864 placed on formal footing the developing Darwinist network. Huxley had attempted to set up a 'club' of Darwinist supporters on several occasions during the early 1860s, and finally succeeded in bringing key individuals together on 3rd November 1864 at St. George's Hotel close to the Royal Institute (Barton, 1976; Desmond, 1994; Jensen, 1991). Membership of the Club was exclusive, Spencer having once recorded the demanding criteria for membership: an exceptional mental capacity and to be on terms of intimacy with other members (Turner, 1985; Jensen, 1991). As a result, the Club consisted of only nine individuals (figure 2.2), and frequent guests carefully selected from those who supported Darwinist theories and believed passionately that science must be untangled from religious dogma. For the latter reason, the older Unitarians, Lyell and William Carpenter, were not included within its ranks. The Club membership was based upon earlier close friendships between Tyndall, Hirst, Frankland, Huxley, Hooker and Busk (Barton, 1976; Desmond, 1999; Jensen, 1991; Turner, 1985). The sense of intimacy between members was also reflected in the social dimension of the X Club. Between 1865-1875, members and their wives went on a ritual social outing every June along the Thames valley (Desmond, 1999; Jensen, 1991; Turner, 1985). For example, on Sunday 23rd June 1872 Lubbock went to Windsor with Nelly, Huxley, Tyndall, Mr and Mrs Spottiswoode, Hooker and Mrs Hooker and Herbert Spencer[8].

[8] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Sunday 23rd June 1872".

Members were also carefully selected to ensure the Club had access to and influence in key areas of society - the City, Parliament, medicine, industry, the liberal church and the scientific establishment. Though the majority of membership was academic, it also included Lubbock, Spottiswoode and Spencer (Barton, 1976; Desmond, 1994). Lubbock in particular provided a point of access to the new wealth created by the Industrial Revolution forming a new bourgeoisie class within late nineteenth century society. The last formal meeting of the X Club took place in 1893, attended by Hooker, Frankland and Lubbock. Between 1864 and 1893 it met 240 times with meetings more frequent in the earlier years (Hutchinson, 1914). Later it became increasingly difficult for members to meet, due to the pressure of other commitments and ill health[9].

The X Club was no mere talking shop, in the 1860s and 1870s it was a group intent on converting their views into action. From the outset, they began to use their growing contacts and influence to achieve their aims. In November 1864, for example, they succeeded in persuading the Royal Society to award the Copley Medal to Darwin (Desmond, 1994). In October, 1870, Huxley and the X Club engineered Lubbock's nomination as Treasurer of the Royal Society after the post was made vacant by the previous incumbent's death:

> *'I can think of no one so proper as yourself and I wish you would turn this over in your mind so that we may talk it over at the X on Thursday'*[10].

This was clearly intended to be a group decision as well as an individual one for Lubbock. The proceedings of the Club were held in secrecy, and it soon gained a reputation of a powerful but secret scientific society within the intellectual establishment (Barton, 1976; Desmond, 1994; 1999; Jensen, 1991).

Lubbock was also a member of an informal grouping of people keen to encourage change and reform within the traditional archaeological establishment. Morris (1996:164) talks of a 'dynamic Lubbock-Evans network' (John Evans, Augustus Pitt Rivers, Augustus Wollaston Franks and Lubbock) working to promote the development of these new values within the Ethnological Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the Archaeological Institute and the British Archaeological Association (Bowden, 1991; Chapman, 1989). Van Riper (1993: 192) adds William Boyd Dawkins to this list, and identifies Lubbock as 'the leader of the "prehistoric movement" '. These institutions all underwent a transition during the early 1860s, from private club ethos to that of a scientific establishment and their membership increased markedly (Chapman, 1989). Their journals contained articles proposing classification systems and demonstrated closer links with

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[9] In June 1886, for example Lubbock commented in his diary entry about how well attended the X Club was for a change with Huxley, Tyndall, Frankland, Hirst and Lubbock being present, but he also commented on the fact that Busk could not be there for reasons of ill health. Busk died on 10th August 1886. British Library MS Add 62683. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Thursday 3rd June 1886".

[10] British Library MS Add 49643 106-107. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 3rd October 1870".

the broader scientific community (Chapman, 1989). The Ethnological Society in particular transformed into a focus for debate about sociocultural evolution (Van Riper, 1993).

To some extent, Lubbock played a linchpin role linking together the X Club and Evans-Lubbock network, providing a point within the sociocultural evolution discourse where the interests in biological and cultural evolution, natural sciences and geological archaeology met.

Institutional Infrastructure

A strong institutional infrastructure supported the intellectual and social networking between these individuals during the late 1850s and early 1860s. Many belonged to the Athenaeum, the Royal Society and the Royal Institute, and would have met up at meetings and through regular use of facilities (Barton, 1976; Levine, 1986). The Athenaeum Club was the principal social gentlemen's Club to be elected a member of, and to be seen in, during the late nineteenth century in London (Esott, 1914; Jensen, 1991). It published a regular journal, *The Athenaeum Journal*, updating members with news and events taking place particularly within London and drew its subject matter from intellectual, social and political spheres. Members were elected by secret ballot using a system of black and white balls: if the majority of its voting members did not support a candidacy the candidate would be 'black balled' by the institution[11].

The Royal Society in London was founded in the mid-seventeenth century 'for improving natural Knowledge' (Boas Hall, 1984: 1) and by the late nineteenth century played a key role in providing an interdisciplinary overview of a science rapidly developing into numerous specialist niches (Boas Hall, 1984). At weekly meetings papers on current scientific research were presented by members, honours and awards were bestowed and grants of money for research announced (ibid.). But they were also a time when people from varied walks of life and occupations interested in science met up and discussed scientific and broader social issues, as well as getting to know each other socially. The Royal Society was a venue where conflict between old and young generations was often expressed. For example, in 1864 Darwin was awarded the Copley Medal but the President deliberately omitted to mention his evolutionary work in his congratulation speech (Boas Hall, 1984).

Friday evening lectures at the Royal Institution provided opportunities for professional and social interaction. Lubbock gave his first lecture at the RI in February 1863 presenting a paper on the Swiss ancient lake habitations. Attendance at more specialised societies would provide further opportunities to network with colleagues holding similar interests and discuss scientific theories: the Geological Society; the Zoological Society; the Linnaean Society; the Ethnological Society,

[11] Lubbock was elected a member of the Athenaeum Club in March 1857, 150 white balls to 4 black. British Library MS Add 62679. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 15th March 1857".

for example. Membership of all of these clubs and societies was achieved through election, and usually required candidates to have demonstrated an active contribution to the relevant scientific area, in addition to relating socially and personally to the organisation's ethos.

Some groups were exclusive such as the influential Philosophical Club of the Royal Society, a dining club with clearly stated political objectives as well as a social remit. It aimed to:

> '*check any retrograde tendencies in the Council of the Royal Society, to stimulate the intellectual activity of its members, and to strengthen the influence of science in Britain*' (Barton, 1976: 10-11).

Members not only had to achieve Fellowship of the Royal Society, but also had to fit into the progressive ethos of the Philosophical Club. By 1864, Lubbock, Busk, Huxley, Tyndall, and Hooker were all members and sought to influence the policy and direction of the primary scientific institution in London.

Every year the British Association meeting provided an opportunity to broaden peoples' geographic horizons and encouraged networking with like-minded individuals outside of London. The Darwinist contingency was well represented both in terms of presence and participation throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Contributions were made to various sections, and to the more informal debating forums that took place during the Meeting - the Red Lion Dinner and the various field excursions for example. The Red Lion Club was created as a protest against traditional science, and had an anarchistic constitution and ritual tradition in deliberate stark contrast to formal banquets of the British Association. In 1866 and 1872, Lubbock chaired the Red Lion Club dinner at the annual BA meetings held in Nottingham and Brighton respectively[12].

This intellectual network of scientific bodies had an international dimension. Many other countries in Western Europe and in the colonies had their own societies. Through advances in travel, particularly by rail and sea, it became increasingly possible to attend conferences abroad. In 1866 the International Prehistory and Ethnography Congress was formed held in a different European country every year. In 1868 it came to Britain, chaired by John Lubbock with Augustus Pitt Rivers (then Colonel Lane Fox) as Secretary, and was held at Norwich in conjunction with the British Association meeting.

Universities were an important element of the institutional infrastructure within sociocultural evolution discourse, particularly the University of London. The Oxbridge universities provided little professional training and concentrated on character building and religious indoctrination (Becher, 1984; Desmond, 1992; Harte, 1986; McMakin Garland, 1980). The University of London was set up in 1836, and developed a modern syllabus with an emphasis on medicine and

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[12] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entries dated 18th July 1864 and Tuesday 21st August 1872".

other professional training (Desmond, 1992; Harte, 1986). It represented the liberal voice of science education throughout the nineteenth century, reflected by the presence of several Darwinists on the Senate committee during the 1860s (Harte, 1986). Lubbock was appointed Vice Chancellor of the University in 1872[13].

Informal Networking

Friendships and alliances developed within the formal intellectual network were reinforced outside the public institutional sphere. Indeed, Van Riper (1993) argues the private sphere was the place where real debate took place, and presentation of ideas within the public sphere was a process of formalising these discussions. The X Club network was founded upon a pre-existing professional and social intimacy. Lubbock had first met Joseph Hooker in 1854, and Thomas Huxley, John Tyndall and George Busk in 1856 (Jensen, 1991). In 1855, Lubbock was invited to dine with Charles and Lady Lyell on Monday 10th December at 7 o'clock[14]. In 1861, George Rollaston made arrangements for Lubbock, Huxley, Davey and himself to share a house at Manchester during the British Association meeting[15]. In 1866, the Busks, Lubbocks, John Tyndall and John Hirst all took lodgings together to attend the Nottingham British Association conference. From 1863, the Lubbocks held open house in Chislehurst inviting various liberal intellectual figures, playing an important role in consolidating the Darwinist network (Barton, 1976; Hutchinson, 1914; Jensen, 1991). This social role continued when the Lubbocks moved back to High Elms in 1865 on the death of Lubbock's father[16]. In return the Lubbocks were invited to social events held in the Huxley, Hooker and Tyndall households for example[17]. These

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[13] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Wednesday 19th June 1872".

[14] British Library MS Add 49638 25. "Letter of invitation from Charles Lyell to John Lubbock, dated 6th December 1855".

[15] British Library MS Add 49639 25-26. "Letter from George Rollaston to John Lubbock, dated 8th June 1861".

[16] For example, the Spottiswoodes and Francis Galton were came for the weekend on Saturday 4th January 1873. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 4th January 1873".

On Saturday 13th October 1888, the Evans and Francis Galton were amongst the guests invited for Sunday. British Library MS Add 62683. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 13th October 1888".

[17] For example, on Friday 4th May 1887 he dined with the Huxleys. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 4th May 1887".

On Wednesday 8th August 1885 Alice and John Lubbock went to stay with the Hookers at Sunningdale. British Library MS Add 62683. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 8th August 1885".

socials provided the opportunity to enjoy each others company and meet others within the intellectual circle.

Tyndall, Huxley, Hooker and Lubbock went on walking and climbing expeditions to the Alps during the 1850s-1860s facilitating the male bonding process between this group of friends (Jensen, 1991). A letter written by Tyndall to Lubbock in 1868 suggests how close they were. Tyndall makes the following comment in response to receiving some photographs of Lubbock sent by Mr. Sawyer:

> *'I do not think I have ever seen anything so good of you. There is sweetness in the face and earnestness in the eye, and there is ease in the position. I will keep this and [like] instead of the original'.* Tyndall prefers this reverence and earnestness to the *'brilliance which dazzles and delights so many of your Friends. But the union of both - this substance of earnest[ness] and the [rippling] surface phenomena of brilliancy - is I have little doubt destined to bamboozle the world some day...I have no doubt whatever as to the final effect of these qualities in the House of Commons'*[18].

Similarly, a private and personal note in Lubbock's diary written on Tuesday 10th August 1886[19] following the death of George Busk reflects their strong friendship:

> *'He has been a kind & good friend for many years, & his example was one to do everyone good. He was not only able, but most good & kind. His friendship was certainly one of the greatest privileges of my life.'*

John Lubbock and Joseph Hooker became god-parents for two of Huxley's children[20]. On entering parliament in 1870, Lubbock received warm letters of congratulations from Evans[21], Franks[22], Huxley[23], and Frankland[24]. Lubbock, Spottiswoode, Huxley and Hooker were pall bearers at Charles Darwin's funeral in 1883 (Desmond & Morris, 1991; Desmond, 1999). Darwin's sons made it clear, in a letter to Lubbock dated 22nd April 1882[25], that he was invited to

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[18] British Library MS Add 49642 167-170. "Letter from John Tyndall to John Lubbock, dated 3rd September 1868".

[19] British Library MS Add 62683. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 10th August 1886".

[20] Invitation to John and Nelly Lubbock to become godparents for Huxley's new daughter. British Library MS Add 49640 153-154. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 6th May 1864".

[21] British Library MS Add 49643 61-62. "Letter from John Evans to John Lubbock, dated 27th February 1870".

[22] British Library MS Add 49643 63. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 27th February 1870".

[23] British Library MS Add 49643 51-52. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 26th February 1870".

[24] British Library MS Add 49643 50. "Letter from E. Frankland to John Lubbock, dated 26th February 1870".

[25] British Library MS Add 49645 128-129. "Letter from W. and G. Darwin, dated 22nd April 1882".

be pall bearer because of his long-standing friendship with Darwin rather than his distinguished position within the scientific community.

Ellen Busk, Ellen (Nelly) Lubbock, Nettie Huxley and Emma Darwin played a key role in this bonding process through their social adeptness, intellectual awareness and support for their husbands' work[26] (Barton, 1976; Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991). Evidence from letters and diaries suggest Tyndall, Hirst and Darwin were very fond of Nelly (Barton, 1976; Hutchinson, 1914), and her spell was cast further afield when the Lubbocks visited Denmark in 1863:

> *'The Englishman [John Lubbock] has a young beautiful wife with him. She has deep brown eyes full of jest - you can probably imagine the rest...'*[27]

The Darwinist wives did more than keep the network socially oiled; they also supported their husbands' work. Nettie Huxley and Emma Darwin proof read their husbands' papers; Nelly Lubbock looked up references for Lubbock and prepared diagrams for his lectures (Hutchinson, 1914). She also acted as hostess, inviting members of the network to social gatherings at Lammas and High Elms[28].

> *'...the warm interest she took in all her husband's pursuits must have afforded him at once encouragement and aid in many of his undertakings. Her sympathies also extended to her husband's friends...Lady Lubbock contributed a paper on the Shell-Mounds of Denmark to the volume "Vacation Journals" for 1862-3...these, however, would afford but a poor criterion of all that she has directly and indirectly done towards the advancement of natural science.'* (Anon, 1879)

Collections: Of Objects and Information

An essential element of sociocultural discourse was the collection of archaeological and ethnographic material culture from across Europe and the colonies. Collections of objects and information provided data enabling the testing of various hypotheses (Bowden, 1991; Shipman, 1994; Stocking, 1987). Objects underpinned studies into the typological evolution of artefacts used by societies; human skeletal material facilitated the analysis of human biological evolution;

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[26] *'Lady Lubbock is a real helpmeet to her husband, the accomplished naturalist. She is an accomplished amateur artist, and, taking the keenest interest in his pursuits, she often assists him in illustrating his works'.* British Library MS Add 62690 26. "Commonplace Book of Ellen Francis Lubbock: Cutting from Philadelphia Bulletin [November 1878]".

[27] Reprinted in *Worsaae, J.J.A.: Af en oldgrandskers breve.* Copenhagen, 1937. "Letter from J.J.A. Worsaae, Stockholm, to his wife, dated 18th July 1863". Translated for me by Anne Katrine Gjerløff.

[28] For example, Nelly Lubbock invites Henry James to a social gathering at High Elms, which James has to decline due to pressures of work. British Library MS Add 49645 27. "Letter from Henry James to Lady Lubbock, undated".

information and observations, both archaeological and ethnographic, enabled the construction of ladders of cultural and social progress.

The richness of botanical, zoological, palaeontological, archaeological and ethnographic material making its way to museums, laboratories and studies of researchers at this time was greatly enhanced by imperial activity on a global scale. Military, missionary, merchant and adventurer excursions enabled scientists to place orders for live animals, fossils, artefacts and observations from exotic locations in the South Seas, the Arctic, the Americas, the African continent and Asia. The development of land and mining for materials to fuel the Industrial Revolution at home revealed palaeontological and archaeological finds to stoke the scientific revolution also taking place (Bowden, 1991; Desmond, 1994; 1999; Winter, 1998). Material collected by non-scientists was perfectly acceptable to Darwinists (Gunther, 1980; Stocking, 1987), and even eighteenth century sources were recycled into the new debate (King, 1994; Pearce, 1995).

This collecting was part of a thriving collecting discourse in nineteenth century England that emerged within a growing culture of material consumerism (Pearce, 1995; 1999). It falls within the systematic definition of collecting identified by Pearce (1992) and was also perceived as systematic by those who participated in it (Lubbock, 1855, for example). In the midst of a general social and fetishist desire to collect rare books and distinguished libraries, classical art and archaeological artefacts, coins, gems and curios of both natural and human origin (Davies, 1998; 1999; de Hamel, 1996; Herrmann, 1972; Pearce, 1995; 1999; Spier & Vassilika, 1995; Thomas, 1999), a growing interest developed in the collecting of natural history, ethnography and archaeology for 'serious, scientific' reasons regarding natural and human evolution (Knell, 2000; Pearce, 1995). Human artefacts were placed within a scientific framework of typology and classification, as fossils of an earlier state of civilisation akin to fossils of other animal species found by geologists and palaeontologists. They were classified by form, material and level of workmanship, and their detailed geographic and cultural context was ignored (Pearce, 1995; Van Riper, 1993). Many key players in the sociocultural evolution discourse controlled the acquisition of both public and private systematic collections at this time, and were in a position to use them actively to support their world-view.

Huxley was well-placed at the Royal School of Mines to acquire palaeontological material from the carboniferous formations yielding coal across the country (Desmond, 1994; Jensen, 1991). As Secretary of the Geological Society, he was 'taking on the empire's fossils....unpacking the crates from missionaries and explorers, governors and garrison commanders' (Desmond, 1994: 255). The collection of human skeletal material from across the empire housed at the Royal College of Surgeons provided a good source of evidence to compare with fossil human remains (Desmond, 1994). Huxley ordered any human remains he required from the various naval expeditions patrolling the seas. For example:

> '*...the Nassau would sail out with Huxley's shopping list of Fuegian skulls, and a reminder to pick up fossils of rhinoceros-sized guinea pig (Toxodon) spotted at the Straits of Magellan'* (Desmond, 1994: 347).

Augustus Wollaston Franks was appointed assistant in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum in 1851, with the remit to develop the pre-Roman and Anglo-Roman collections (Cook, 1997). His position gave him unprecedented access to nationally and internationally significant material relevant to the debate. Franks was not a geologist or palaeontologist, and in many ways remained a traditional antiquarian collector with a love for antiquities (Cook, 1997). However, he welcomed the influence of the natural sciences on extending the time-scale within which antiquities could be interpreted, and certainly collected material for the British Museum relating to the human antiquity debate (Cook, 1997; Gunther, 1980). Franks relied heavily on the purchasing power provided by the Christy Bequest (Cook, 1997). Henry Christy worked in partnership with the French palaeontologist, Edouard Lartet, on the excavation of cave sites in south-west France during the period 1860-1864. Their work lent strong support to Darwinist evolutionary theories under development. In 1865, Christy died and named Franks, Lubbock and Hooker as Trustees to his collection of Palaeolithic and ethnographic implements[29]. The British Museum acquired the collection, and Franks continued its development in line with Christy's wishes using funds left by Christy for the purpose (Cook, 1997).

John Evans was perhaps the most well-known private collector of prehistoric and ethnographic human artefacts during the 1860s. He had been excavating, collecting and writing about coins and archaeological material since the 1840s (Evans, 1943; Sherratt, 1983). During the 1850s he became interested in the geology of river gravels and the age of animal bones and artefacts found within them, and in 1859 went with Prestwich to Abbeville to see the discoveries of Boucher de Perthes and collect specimens. Evans acquired a representative collection of archaeological and ethnographic prehistoric implements through field collection, purchase, gift and exchange. For example, at Easter 1864 he travelled to the Perigord region of France and collected various stone and bone implements from Laugerie Haute, Grotte des Eyzies and other cave sites excavated in the vicinity (Evans, 1943).

> *'I am afraid you will be frightened when you come to unpack the harvest I have gathered'.*[30]

Evans travelled around the UK on business, frequently visiting company offices in Belfast. He took the opportunities presented to go into the field and collect artefacts, particularly from the gravels at Lough Neagh (Evans, 1867; Evans, 1943). He also nurtured relationships with local

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[29] British Library MS Add 49641 63-66. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 3rd July 1865". British Library MS Add 49641 102-103. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 5th November 1865".

[30] Reprinted in Evans, 1943: 120. "Letter from John Evans to his wife, Fanny, dated 1864".

collectors to keep in touch with discoveries made in his absence. Robert Day of Cork and William Arthurs of Ballymena were regular correspondents supplying Irish prehistoric antiquities (Evans, 1943). However, they were also competitors for finds, as were Franks and Greenwell, the latter acquiring a significant collection of prehistoric archaeological material from Britain both through field work and antiquarian collecting activity. In 1863, Evans began work on a comprehensive publication about flint implements and the collection of implements he acquired provided the basis for this work (Evans, 1943). The publication, *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain*, (Evans, 1872) reflects detailed access to a fantastic wealth of research and source material - both in Evans' own collection and through comprehensive analysis of other public and private collections.

General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers was the most prolific collector of prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material during the late nineteenth century. He may have been inspired by the 1851 Exhibition to collect his first obsession, historic firearms (Bowden, 1991; Stocking, 1987). At some point after this date he began to collect ethnographic material (Chapman, 1985; Chapman, 1989) first through purchase and as his collection became known through gifts and bequests (Bowden, 1991; Chapman, 1989). After 1859, Pitt Rivers enthusiastically applied Darwin's biological principles to the development of human artefacts (Pearce, 1992). He acquired and integrated archaeological objects into his evolution-based classificatory system (Pitt Rivers, 1875). Fieldwork at Cissbury in 1867 and 1868 and in the Thames gravels at Acton in 1869 provided a variety of flint implements for his collection. However, the majority of material was derived from dealers, auction rooms and a network of contacts developed in the various intellectual societies to which he belonged (Petch, 1998). He prepared an elaborate catalogue of his collection, with sketches and descriptions for each individual catalogue entry (Chapman, 1989; Petch, 1998; Thompson & Renfrew, 1999). In 1874 Pitt Rivers returned to active duty and lent his collection to the new Bethnal Green Museum to enhance public access (Bowden, 1991; Coombes, 1994; Pearce, 1995). He still added items originating from his own fieldwork whilst on active service and from purchases made from dealers and auction rooms. In 1884 the collection was given to Oxford University to enhance their educational facility in the field of anthropology and archaeology. Recent work on these collections by Alison Petch (1998) suggests at least 17 000 items were transferred to Oxford at this time, but Pitt Rivers did not stop collecting. He began afresh and created a vast ethnographic and archaeological collection housed at his home, Rushmore, or made available to the public at his museum in Farnham, Surrey (Bowden, 1991; Petch, 1998). This collection, like the one before, was created primarily through purchase and archaeological fieldwork.

Commercial dealers and auction houses played a significant role in the re-distribution of cultural merchandise collected by private individuals and public collections. Most dealers in the late nineteenth century introduced prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic items as a side-line to their main antiquarian/ natural history focus. For example, Bryce McMurdo Wright Senior was

from 1843 until his death in 1874 principally a mineral, shell and fossil dealer based first in Liverpool moving down to London in 1855. However, he was also 'one of the first professional dealers in ethnographic and archaeological material in the capital' (Cooper, 1999: 13). Franks was a particularly frequent customer of Wright.

The impact of railways on people's ability to travel both within Britain and across continental Europe certainly influenced these collecting activities. Railways opened up new horizons and new expedition plans that otherwise might have been less readily considered. The ability to glean information about and visit key prehistoric sites across Europe, to attend conferences and meet fellow enthusiasts may well have been a key factor in the sociocultural evolution debate of the late nineteenth century. This desire to travel and to work within an international framework is also a result of the geological influence on the development of prehistoric archaeology. Unlike the insular approach adopted by historical archaeologists, geologists explored universal principles across territorial boundaries (Van Riper, 1993).

Collecting, of information and material culture was an underpinning activity of research within sociocultural evolution discourse, and the collections produced formed a fundamental part of the discourse re-negotiated during the vigorous debates taking place particularly during the 1860s and early 1870s.

Spreading the Word

A variety of media was used to disseminate the values and content of the sociocultural evolution discourse. Darwinists published extensively in a wide range of both popular and scientific publications during the 1860s-1870s, waging an assertive and effective publicity campaign orchestrated by Darwin himself (Caudill, 1994; Shipman, 1994). He may have been less prepared to defend his argument directly, but Darwin was calculating and shrewd in the way he encouraged others, particularly Huxley and Hooker, to do so on his behalf (Caudill, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Shipman, 1994). There was a clear sense of purpose in their use of public media, and not content with making the most of pre-existing publication outlets they also gained editorial control over their message. In 1860, Huxley, Lubbock, Rolleston, Busk and Carpenter acquired the *Natural History Review*[31]. On the demise of this mouthpiece Huxley, Spencer, Tyndall, Evans, Lubbock and Spottiswoode procured the *Reader* in 1864 (Barton, 1976; Desmond, 1994):

> *'a number of us Spencer, Tyndall, Galton, Pollock, Busk, Evans, Spottiswoode etc. have bought the "Reader". I have one share'.* [32]

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[31] British Library MS Add 49639 14-15. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 17th July 1860".

[32] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Christmas 1864".

The *Reader* was very much a creation of the X Club benefiting from the its determination to promote science within the wider social community. However, it was not until November 1869 that a successful liberal science weekly journal was created by the Darwinists: *Nature*. Edited by Lockyer, it focused on developments in scientific theory and related discussions within the intellectual community. It targeted a knowledgeable, interested but not specialist audience reflected in its 4d. price, its magazine format and its financial reliance upon adverts for 'everyday things' (Desmond, 1994). There was considerable interest in these publications abroad, and key texts were translated into several languages during the late nineteenth century. The international network of conferences and personal contacts that developed facilitated the sharing of information and objects relating to archaeological and ethnographic work taking place across national boundaries[33].

The language used by nineteenth century scientific communities has recently come under scrutiny (Gunnarsson, 1997; Halliday, 1993; Valle, 1997), and Valle (1997) argues that by the 1860s scientific articles had a more authoritative and systematic style compared to work produced previously. Halliday (1993: 103) analysed extracts of text from Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and reveals that Darwin' style moved between the accumulation and presentation of masses of evidence and a 'monumental', or rhetorical mode, reflecting his knowledge that a historically significant text was being produced. In a similar way, Van Riper (1993) notes the blend of grandiose rhetoric and detailed description of data in *Prehistoric Times*. He also argues this reflects Lubbock's intention for the book not only to synthesise and present data and ideas, but also convert people to the very approach of prehistoric archaeology itself[34].

Darwinists wanted to spread the word about their science to an increasingly broad audience. Huxley, Lubbock and others presented their ideas to working artisans in various forums. In March 1861, Huxley presented a series of lectures about evolution and the ape-human question at Jermyn Street, Picadilly on Thursday evenings to working -class men (Desmond, 1994). On 7th January 1866, thousands of working men and women attended Huxley's lecture at St Martins Hall, Covent Garden to inaugurate the doomed Sunday League's 'Sunday Evenings for the People' (Desmond, 1994), the poor being let in free whilst the more wealthy had to fight for tickets. The radical press were not slow to plagiarise Darwinist ideas for their own ends, and Robert Hardwick published Huxley's Working Men lectures as four penny weeklies without Huxley's permission. In 1868, Huxley became the first Principal of the Working Men's College in South

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[33] For example, Lubbock's correspondence with Morlot during the early 1860s provides a record of how they used to send each other copies of articles published in different countries and discussed particular sites or issues. For example, British Library MS Add 49640 9-10. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 12th February 1863".

[34] The address delivered by Lubbock at the Section of "Primeval Antiquities" at the London meeting of the Archaeological Institute in July 1866 is a similar act of rhetoric (Lubbock, 1866).

London, Lubbock and Tyndall sat on the Council, and John Ruskin and Tom Hughes provided the Library (Desmond, 1994).

The Literary and Philosophical Societies which had sprung up during the mid-nineteenth century continued to thrive in terms of membership and represented active provincial involvement in the debate (Bowden, 1991; Levine, 1986). New societies emerged, and many began to develop museum and library collections concerning the origins and development of human society. In 1850 there existed almost sixty museums yet by 1887 there were at least 240 (Pearce, 1992). For example, the Keswick Literary and Natural History Society set up a museum in 1875 (Cooper,1999b).

Pitt Rivers believed collections represented a powerful tool for communicating new ideas to the wider public, and he lobbied with other members of the Evans-Lubbock network for opportunities to exhibit archaeological and ethnographic material in a pedagogical context. Displays of prehistoric artefacts as cabinets of curiosities in art museums were of no value or use in the developing knowledge systems emerging within the new discourse. A museum of comparative archaeology was needed (Schnapp, 1996). Thomsen's displays at the National Museum in Denmark, created in the 1820s and 1830s, were the first to achieve such potential. Thirty years later, the Evans-Lubbock network supported the development of a separate department for British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum established under Franks in 1866 (Chapman, 1989; Gunther, 1980; Pearce, 1995). By 1871 Franks had re-structured existing displays according to principles of the Three Age System (Pearce, 1995). A new gallery of archaeological and ethnographic material was opened at the British Museum in 1886[35]. A national museum remit for the display of prehistoric archaeology and ethnography symbolised scientific recognition of the value and importance of this area of study (Chapman, 1989). At civic level, several museums opened in the large cities of Britain to educate local audiences about the latest scientific discoveries (Pearce, 1995). In the late 1860s, Pitt Rivers and Franks mounted special exhibitions on Palaeolithic and Neolithic archaeology at the Society of Antiquaries (Chapman, 1989). Pitt Rivers also created a museum experience for a wider public audience at his Farnham Museum opened in the early 1880s (Bowden 1991). This venture had the explicit objective of educating working people about the idea of gradual evolutionary progress of society (Bowden, 1991).

The exhibition of prehistoric archaeological material culture at national and international exhibitions also reflected national and international recognition of the importance and value of the subject matter it represented reflecting cultural and technological progress. The first exhibition of this kind, the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Pearce, 1995; Stocking, 1987) continued permanently at the South Kensington Museum, included cultural objects drawn from the British

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[35] British Library MS Add 62683 55. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Saturday 10th April 1886".

Empire but no prehistoric archaeological material from Western Europe. However, the International Exhibition held in Paris in 1867 incorporated displays of prehistoric archaeological material from a number of organisations and private individuals, including the British Museum (Cook, 1997).

The Opposition

The sociocultural evolution discourse inspired opposition from other areas of scientific and social discourse. This opposition sheds light on how the boundaries of one particular discourse related to numerous other ways of valuing the world. Opponents shared much of the ensemble of social practice familiar to Darwinists, and indeed it was in the arenas of the Royal Society, the British Association and other societies that battle lines were drawn and contended. However, the values brought to bear were different. The opposition of James Hunt and his supporters, who agreed that science should become disentangled from religion but disagreed with the Darwinists over monogenesis, has already been discussed. Two of the most vocal opponents of Darwin and Huxley in the early 1860s were Richard Owen and Samuel Wilberforce (Bowler, 1976; Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Gunther, 1980; Van Riper, 1993). Both believed that science played an essential role in advancing understanding about life, but advocated strongly that Christian belief was at the centre of that understanding. Science explored the wonders of the natural world and God's design in its creation and development. They wished to use science to validate the status quo within wider society, the church and aristocracy, rather than as a tool to champion the new liberal bourgeoisie order. The Duke of Argyll took great issue with Lubbock's assumption that society could only progress but not degenerate (Van Riper, 1993). Their debate came to a head at the Dundee British Association meeting, when Argyll argued that contemporary 'savages' had degraded from a higher state of civilisation created by God within the Ussher Chronological framework. They were not vestiges of earlier more primitive civilisation (Lubbock, 1870; Viles, 1998). During the early 1860s, the Darwinists were in the minority of public opinion, a point illustrated by William Carpenter in January 1864. The Hartley Institute in Southampton turned down an offer of a talk on the 'Antiquity of Man' afraid it would be too controversial, although the Polytechnic Institute took up the offer enthusiastically[36]. Darwinist ideas were certainly not generally accepted by 1864!

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[36] British Library MS Add 49640 116-117. "Letter from William Carpenter to John Lubbock, dated 15th January 1864".

The 1870s Watershed

By 1870, the Darwinists were emerging as a dominant force within the wider scientific community (Desmond, 1997). Many Darwinists held, or had held, key positions of power within the London scientific community, and Huxley was elected President of the British Association for the Liverpool meeting in 1870. Desmond talks of 'the old school handing over the sceptre' to the new generation (1994: 370). Huxley became President of the Geological Society in 1869. Lubbock had been President of the International Prehistoric Archaeological Congress in 1868. When the Ethnological and Anthropological Societies merged in 1871, Lubbock was elected as the first President of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Until 1873, the President of the Royal Society had always been elected from the old established network of scientists. However, with Hooker's election in 1873 this tradition ended and for the next 12 years all the Presidents of the RS elected were also members of the X Club (Boas Hall, 1984). When Darwin died, a statue was unveiled in the Great Hall of the new Natural History Museum and his body was buried at the ultimate establishment symbol, Westminster Abbey (Desmond, 1994; 1999; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Gould, 1978; Gunther, 1980; Shipman, 1994).

During the latter half of the 1870s the strong networks of the 1860s weakened. After 1875, the X Club social outing no longer took place. From the late 1880s the X Club became severely weakened by illness, death and people moving away from London to a more relaxed lifestyle in the country[37] (Jensen, 1991). The friendships made continued throughout their lives, though Lubbock's diaries suggest in a less intensive way than during the 1860s and 1870s[38]. They all remained involved to differing degrees in the scientific discourse, but they also developed other lives. By the 1890s, they had become ghosts of their former selves within the scientific discourse. From being the dynamic and radical X clubbers, many were part of the establishment. Networking ties still existed as events of 1902 suggest: Lubbock nominated Herbert Spencer for the Nobel Prize, and Lubbock was awarded the first Royal Society Prestwich Medal and gave the first Huxley Memorial lecture. However, by the time they died, with the exception of Huxley and Darwin, their role in the traumatic and influential events of the 1860s had been largely forgotten (Burrow, 1966; Sherratt, 1983), as the thwarted attempt to place a memorial to Herbert Spencer in Westminster Abbey perhaps demonstrates (Gay, 1998).

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[37] For example, in July 1888 Huxley informed Lubbock that he has had an attack of pleuresy and is in Bournemouth to recover, and that he was 'also a defaulter at the X'. British Library MS Add 49651 68-69. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 2nd July 1888".

[38] British Library MS Add 62683 - 62684 inclusive. "John Lubbock Diary".

Sociocultural Evolution and the Liberal Political Discourse

John Carman (1994) suggests the sociocultural evolution discourse was overtly political. Whatever the nature of the relationship its content and form were closely associated with late nineteenth century radical liberal political discourse.

Values

Radical liberalism emphasised a value system centred on laissez-faire ideology and the concept of self-help (Bellamy, 1990; Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998; Newsome, 1997; Parry, 1993). The state should provide equality of opportunity for all individuals and freedom of action to improve themselves (ibid.). Underlying this was a fundamental belief in progress: technological, economic, social and moral. Through individual action society improved towards a goal of utopian civilisation. The Industrial Revolution represented a key stage in this progressive development. However, in the mid-nineteenth century there were many obstacles that advantaged members of the aristocracy and the Established Church holding other individuals back and inhibiting social progress (ibid.). Liberalism was about removing these privileges, and replacing the order of lineage and religion with one based on meritocracy and materialistic moral hierarchy (ibid.). This moral framework determined how an individual should conduct him/ herself within society and keep self-interest in check (Kleer, 1995). In particular, the liberal political discourse was concerned to avoid social revolution by advocating a form of gradual progress and change. The Napoleonic Wars, the French Revolution of 1848, and the various working class unrest within Britain during the nineteenth century meant revolution was regarded as a real danger. If people were given the freedom and opportunity for self-development, and lived according to a particular moral creed, society would naturally evolve and progress without aggression and without the need for state interference and expense (Porter, 1987).

Liberalism proved an effective political creed during the 'age of optimism', 1850-1870 (Parry, 1993; Porter, 1987), but the non-interventionist stance of government became less tenable as the 1870s with its economic depression came to a close (Parry, 1993; Porter, 1987).

Content and Social Practice

Liberalism as a political force developed in the early nineteenth century (Desmond, 1992; Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998; Parry, 1993), based upon the philosophical and economic ideas of Lord Brougham, Samuel Smiles, Adam Smith and William Cobden for example. The political champion of the 1860s radical liberalism was William Gladstone who led the Liberal Party to

victory in 1868 forming the first of four Gladstonian liberal governments (Jones, 1980; Hoppen, 1998; Parry, 1993).

Emphasis was placed upon educational and constitutional reform, financial rigour in matters of government and the encouragement of a capitalist society. England was developing as an industrial and commercial nation with new technological and urban-based industries outpacing traditional agricultural and land-based economic activity in terms of employment and wealth production (Cannadine, 1994; Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998; Newsome, 1997; Parry, 1993). Government promoted free trade and provided optimum conditions for fair and effective competition in a global market, enabling the generation of wealth and capital through the competitive manufacture and trade of goods. In 1851, the Great Exhibition at Hyde Park spectacularly represented the emerging capitalist nation and celebrated the wealth and economic influence of Great Britain. It was an important formative inspiration for many individuals participating in the liberal political discourse of the 1850s and 1860s (Evans, 1996; Stocking, 1987). New opportunities for individual economic and social enhancement emerged, undermining the status quo and enabling non-aristocracy to take up positions of social power (Cannadine, 1994; 1999; Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998; Newsome, 1997; Rubinstein, 1996).

Education was regarded as the primary tool for enabling individuals to help themselves improve their social position. In 1870, Parliament passed an Act providing a universal right to secondary education, although the continued influence of the Church in education was a sensitive issue of debate (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998; Parry, 1993). By the end of the 1860s non-Anglicans could matriculate at Oxford and graduate at Cambridge. In 1871, the University Tests Act opened up most academic posts to all men on equal terms, removing the traditional stranglehold of the Established Church (Hoppen, 1998). The Acts of Parliament Lubbock secured whilst a Liberal MP, the Bank Holiday Act (1871) for example, were intended to provide a society within which individuals could help themselves improve.

Relationship with the Sociocultural Evolution Discourse

Many Darwinists, and the entire X Club membership, were liberal supporters (Barton, 1976; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Gould, 1978; Jensen, 1991), and Lubbock became a Liberal MP in 1870 representing Maidstone and West Kent. Darwin's evolutionary theory was heavily influenced by the liberal, laissez faire economics of Adam Smith. Once artificial religious and class-based social barriers were removed creating a level playing field, order should arise naturally from the struggle between individuals (Desmond & Moore, 1991; Gould, 1980). The 'survival of the fittest' concept that became closely associated with the sociocultural evolution discourse was influenced by, and in turn reinforced, the liberal belief in self-help (Bowler, 1993; Jensen, 1991; Jones, 1980). The existing barriers to evolutionary progress, the aristocracy and the

Church, had to be removed before the desired progress of civilisation could continue. Darwin provided a mechanism to remove the dominant role of the Church within society, materialistic evolution, and therefore supplied both the motive and the means (Jones, 1980). He was aware of the likely impact of his ideas, and this worry undoubtedly caused him to put off their publication for at least 15 years (Desmond & Morris, 1991). When it was published *Origin* acted as a catalyst for social change that would probably have happened anyway (Bowler, 1993), and it was certainly exploited by liberalists to further their cause.

William Bagehot made explicit reference to biological evolutionary theory in his political works defending the concept of liberal democracy (Bagehot, 1872). Only a society encouraging intellectual freedom and allowing innovation, debate and change could produce enough social variation to enable it to evolve and progress (Bagehot, 1872; Jones, 1980). Pitt Rivers argued that evolutionary theory provided a scientific and factual basis for the gradual progressive development of society through education as opposed to revolution (Bowden, 1991). Hence Pitt Rivers' use of archaeological and ethnographic collections for educational purposes to inform the masses, Huxley's work educating Working Men's Clubs in the progressive theories of biological and cultural evolution; Lubbock's political work enhancing the scientific curricula studied in schools[39]. The public display of archaeological and ethnographic material culture within a progressive typological framework represented an explicit and powerful statement normalising the gradual evolutionary progress of civilisation (Bowden, 1991; Hegeman, 1998; Stocking, 1987). It therefore supported liberal ideas of self-help and progress rather than radical ideas of socialism and co-operativism (Gurney, 1994). The focus upon technological progress as the primary index for the history of civilisation reinforced the social position of nineteenth century industrialists and capitalists who had taken technological achievement to another level of sophistication (Kehoe, 1992).

Values of liberal political discourse echoed those of the sociocultural evolution discourse: a desire to separate religion from matters of state, to encourage a meritocratic society and a belief in the philosophy of progress. Sociocultural evolution discourse provided scientific verification for this particular political ideology.

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[39] Lubbock was Vice Chancellor of the University of London, and served on the Royal Commission on Public Schools (1868), the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction (1874-5) and the Royal Commission on Elementary Education (1886).

In 1875 he co-ordinated a survey of schools to ascertain the amount of time given over to science in their studies. British Library MS Add 49644 65-68, 124-126, 137, 138, 139, 140.

His maiden speech in the House of Commons was on military education and the need to give greater attention to scientific studies within the curriculum. By 1882, William Carpenter felt motivated to say to Lubbock '*You are so identified with the cause of scientific education....*'. British Library MS Add 49645 138. "Letter from William Carpenter to John Lubbock, dated 5th May 1882".

Yet by the turn of the twentieth century, the optimistic liberal movement was a spent force and its participants a generation in decline. A new radical and pessimistic socialist tradition emerged as a powerful political force to compete with the Tory movement. The possibility of mass democracy and the swamping of the educated middle classes by the mediocre masses inspired the development of eugenics within the scientific community (Bowden, 1991; Gay, 1998; Jones, 1980; Shipman, 1994).

Sociocultural Evolution and the Developing Bourgeoisie Class Discourse

Values

A close relationship existed between late Victorian political discourse and the strong class identities emerging at that time (Cannadine, 1999; Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998; Newsome, 1997). Liberalism became a value system of the emerging upper middle classes, many of its advocates representing individuals who had worked their way into a position of power and influence through their own merits. The changing distribution of power and wealth associated with the Industrial Revolution and the development of industrial capitalism (Cannadine, 1994; 1999; Evans, 1996; Hall, 1992; Porter, 1987) created new opportunities for a developing section of the population. The individuals concerned found themselves in a position of increasing social influence yet were frustrated by the obstacles put in their way by a society designed to retain power in the hands of the traditional elite. This body of successful merchants, bankers, industrialists, professional lawyers, scientists and other now propertied individuals perceived themselves and were perceived by others as the bourgeois classes by the late nineteenth century (Cannadine, 1999; Evans, 1996; Gurney, 1994; Hoppen, 1998). Other key values were shared by this class group apart from a tendency to support liberal ideology, a belief in the self-made individual and a strong emphasis on the role of the Industrial Revolution and technological advancement as providing the basis for capitalist development in Britain (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998).

There was strong resistance to many aspects of Toryism (though not all as shall be seen when discussing issues of race and colonial discourse) generally associated with the traditional established aristocracy and the Establishment Church (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998). These politics preached the retention of the status quo and that power and opportunity was a God-given right of birth rather than a goal that could be aspired to by all. It is not surprising that both the aristocracy and Church were happy for the balance of power and privilege to remain within existing spheres of influence. They felt threatened by the development of a new bourgeois class and the increasing unrest of the working classes, and this threat was clearly real. For example, a

significant number of the bourgeois classes were members of non-Establishment Church denominations, and those that were members of the Anglican Church primarily followed the Broad Church liberal theology believing Anglicanism should not have the monopoly on religious and state affairs (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998). The aristocracy was criticised for its lack of work ethic, and its degenerate and arguably effeminate nature, contrasting with middle class advocacy of the dignity of work, morality and the ability of the individual to make a difference (Hall, 1992).

Although a majority of the upper middle classes were anti-aristocracy, by the mid-nineteenth century they began to adopt certain aspects of the traditional aristocratic value system, and failed to develop a distinctive independent bourgeois culture (Seed & Wolff, 1988). Not least was the adaptation of aristocratic concerns with family, lineage and inheritance to the bourgeois context to ensure continuity of power and wealth, and also the exploitation of cultural wealth and knowledge as status symbol. With wealth came the desire for a minority to move out of urban domestic dwellings and take up residence in the country, to become landed gentry (Hoppen, 1998; Rubinstein, 1996) and to become involved in landed leisure pursuits[40]. To an extent therefore it is possible to detect a blurring of boundaries between aristocracy and new bourgeoisie during the late nineteenth century, with members of both communities adapting each others values and practice to their own ends (Cannadine, 1994; Hoppen, 1998; Newsome, 1997). Certain members of the landed aristocracy were actively involved in industrial capitalism, for example by selling mining rights to raw material sources on their lands, or from allowing railways to be built across their estates. Porter (1987) has argued that this inability to throw off traditional aristocratic values, founded in the land, contributed to the 'Great Depression' of the 1870s by diverting resources into activities and investments that were more status driven than business decisions.

Attitudes towards lower middle and working people varied but followed a general principle of laissez-faire. Many of the new bourgeois class advocated a form of liberalism that pushed for state reform to remove obstacles and ensure everyone had equal opportunity for self-improvement. Others took a more extreme view based on an assumption that the poor and working classes were inferior and destined to suffer as a consequence (Shipman, 1994). Nature would run its course and there was no point in spending time and money on providing for their improvement.

Content and Social Practice

It is unlikely that a single middle class consciousness existed, but instead a range of identities created as a result of available wealth, the method of earning a living, family, geographic location

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[40] For example Lubbock went fox hunting at High Elms on at least two occasions. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entries dated Monday 4th March 1870 and January 1872".

and many other variables (Cannadine, 1999; Harris, 1993; Hoppen, 1998). Hoppen (1998) defines the middle classes as those with an income of more than £100 per annum but who were not members of the traditional landed aristocracy. Evans (1996) suggests they represented approximately one-fifth of the British population. However, within this percentage only 0.3% had a considerable income of more than £1000 per annum (Hoppen, 1998) and can be considered as upper middle class, powerful and wealthy. Most people classified as 'middle class' would not have been part of this elite group and would have been less well off (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998). The wealthiest were based in the financial and commercial centres, particularly London, rather than the industrial centres. Although there were a number of very successful industrialists, Isambard Kingdom Brunel for example, the wealthiest individuals were primarily merchants and financiers whose fathers had been in business, a shopkeeper, farmer or small trader (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998).

The upper middle class, or bourgeois, discourse networked in various ways, particularly through membership of elite but progressive social and professional societies, and by attendance and hosting of social events such as breakfasts, dinners and parties. Voluntary organisations, established around particular issues (the Metaphysical Society and the Philosophical Club at the Royal Society for example), had a particularly important role to play during the 1840s-1870s, compensating for a lack of middle class influence in traditional arenas of power including Government. These societies were used to drum up private and public support for values and ideas through strategic programmes of lobbying and publicity (Hall, 1992). Dining clubs played a significant role in shaping this network, and particularly influential were the very exclusive clubs that existed especially in London[41]. Strict rules of expected individual behaviour were developed controlling all aspects of the bourgeois social discourse both within public and private spheres (Hoppen, 1998).

Culture had an important social role within the developing bourgeois discourse becoming part of a strategy to transform new ways of doing things into becoming accepted as the established norm (Francis, 1996; Hoppen, 1998). Intellectual pursuits became important tools of status and power within upper middle class communities (Hall, 1992). Traditional cultural pursuits and interests were appropriated, and in the second half of the nineteenth century literature, painting, music and architecture became popular pursuits (Evans, 1996; Heleniak, 2000; Hoppen, 1998).

Businessmen and industrialists collected original artworks and became active philanthropists of the arts to enhance their status (Heleniak, 2000; Hoppen, 1998; Levine, 1986). 'Serious' collecting of high culture and scientific material became a fashionable bourgeois pursuit in contrast to the romantic and spurious collecting of the working classes and aristocracy (Knell, 2000; Pearce, 1995). Museums with their imposing and powerful architecture and pedagogical agenda became

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[41] When Hirst died in 1892, Hooker wrote to Lubbock asking him to join 'The Club', the *'blue ribbon of such like Clubs (always excluding the X!)*'. British Library MS Add 49658 59. "Letter from Joseph Hooker to John Lubbock, dated 17th February 1892".

highly visible symbols of the increasingly influential upper middle classes (Heleniak, 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Pearce, 1995). Intellectual individuals became very influential: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and John Ruskin for example (Hall, 1992) and those that were involved in the sociocultural evolution debate.

Relationship with the Sociocultural Evolution Discourse

Many active Darwinists can be assigned to the upper middle classes, or aspiring towards them. The scientific discourse as a whole was predominated by this sector of society (Hoppen, 1998). Van Riper (1993) suggests the participants in public debate concerning human evolution in the 1860s were upper middle class and to a limited extent upper class, and that well into the 1870s most people in Britain believed the World had lasted only 6000 years. *Prehistoric Times* was regarded as a popularising publication but its frequent use of French and other foreign languages including Latin without translation suggests its market was presumed to be well-educated. The debate was therefore a bourgeoisie middle class phenomenon, affecting a small percentage of the population until a long time after it had been concluded as far as science was concerned.

Many of the key players came from typical, though diverse, middle class backgrounds. Huxley was a school teacher's son born above a butcher's shop, who refused to compromise his views in order to accept aristocratic patronage for his work, struggling as a result for many years to keep a reasonable existence (Desmond, 1994). Tyndall was a native Irishman whose father was employed in the Irish Constabulary (Barton, 1976). Tyndall and Hirst were railway company surveyors who through sheer hard work and determination obtained positions of scientific research. Spencer was the only surviving child of a Derby schoolmaster. John Evans was the second eldest son of a curate in Gloucestershire who took a job with his uncle, John Dickenson, in his paper manufacturing business at Nash Mills and became a partner on his marriage in 1848 (Evans, 1943). Darwin belonged to the Wedgwood family which made its fortune in the Midlands industrial revolution of the eighteenth century (Desmond, 1994). The Lubbock family came from the Norfolk developing mercantile and banking interests in London in the late eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century the family was established at the High Elms estate near Down in Kent.

Their interest in scientific and other cultural pursuits can be interpreted as part of a broader strategy to obtain the desired social status within the broader community (Knell, 2000; Levine, 1986). Involvement in business retained a social stigma as an 'ungentlemanly' livelihood, and professional and cultural occupations were regarded as high status despite the fact they often did not pay well (Hoppen, 1998; Levine, 1986). Collecting was a visible material symbol of participation in appropriate cultural pursuits. The systematic collecting activities pursued by Darwinists have already been discussed, but they also collected in a more fetishist mode. For

example, we know that Hooker had a fascination for Wedgwood and collected this material in an almost obsessive manner[42]. Franks collected porcelain (Evans, 1943: 103) and Lubbock collected fine art paintings (often inspired by the human antiquity theme) and library books[43].

In the early nineteenth century, archaeology and science were almost exclusively upper and upper middle class pursuits that only those people with money could afford to undertake. Positions of power were held by the traditional elite: for example the Trustees at the British Museum were all upper class (Gunther, 1980). The Darwinist community wanted to create a professional career structure enabling aspiring middle class individuals of great talent, such as Huxley, to have the opportunity to participate in the scientific and sociocultural evolution discourse (Jensen, 1991; Stocking, 1987). Despite this motivation the marginal social role of Wallace in the Darwinist camp is interesting and it has been argued this was because he did not originate from an appropriate social background (Shipman, 1994).

Huxley, Lubbock and other Darwinists wished to educate working people and the lower middle classes to understand that social evolution provided the way forward rather than revolution (Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Jensen, 1991; Stocking, 1987). They believed in the superiority of the upper middle classes and wanted the working classes to have opportunities to develop these superior cultural skills (Francis, 1996; Jones, 1980). This became a very active cause, and during the BA meeting at Liverpool in September 1870 they toured working class sections of the city seeking inspiration for their liberal ideologies concerning education (Desmond, 1994; Hutchinson, 1914). Lubbock also gave a lecture to a group of 'Working Men' in Liverpool on the moral and social condition of savages[44]. They became involved in Working

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[42] British Library MS Add 49640 20-21. "Letter from Joseph Hooker to John Lubbock, dated 17th February 1863".

[43] Bromley Museum has a collection of 19 paintings by Ernest Griset depicting scenes of life in prehistory, commissioned by John Lubbock in 1869-1871.

In September 1890, Augustus Franks drew Lubbock's attention to a watercolour painting of Kitts Coty House by the artist, Frost R.A., which he has seen for sale in a London gallery. British Library MS Add 49655 71-72. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 18th September 1890".

During the 1880s, Lubbock purchases a number of drawings and paintings by Edward Lear. British Library MS Add 49647 129. "Letter from Edward Lear to John Lubbock, dated 14th December 1884". British Library MS Add 49648 50-51. "Letter from Edward Lear to John Lubbock, dated 14th April 1885".

In April 1905 Lubbock is sent a copy of a book by the author, Sir N. Nowath, '...shall be much pleased if you can...add it to your collection.' British Library MS Add 49673 37-38. "Letter from Sir N. Nowath to Lord Avebury, dated 9th April 1905".

In September 1890 the hall is re-arranged at High Elms, and Lubbock notes in his diary 'also arranged books in the hall which began to look very well'. British Library MS Add 62683 105. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Wednesday 17th September 1890".

[44] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated September 1870".

Men's' Institutes on a long-term basis and supported the development of publicly accessible museums as popular media within which their explicitly ideological scientific message was communicated. However, not all Darwinists shared this philanthropist view. Spencer, for example, regarded working class people as inferior and incapable of improvement. In the guise of poverty, squalor and mortality, natural selection was at work ensuring non-survival of the unfit. Government should not intervene in this process as in the long-term society would profit (Shipman, 1994). Other scientists looked for physical as well as psychological reasons for the inferiority of working classes (Jones, 1980).

Sociocultural Evolution and Liberal Christian Discourse

Values

The liberal Christian discourse challenged traditional Christianity on two grounds: its arbitrary domination over social practice and the nature of its doctrine. Its roots lay in a gradual process of secularisation observable throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hoppen, 1998; Kent, 1997). It has already been discussed how the Established Anglican Church controlled social institutions and practices (especially education) until the late nineteenth century. Indeed it has been argued that Protestantism provided the essential framework necessary to hold Britain together as a nation (Colley, 1992; Hempton, 1996). Liberal Christian discourse was concerned with removing power from the Established Church and opening up social influence to a large sector of the dissenting population following different belief systems, including Unitarianism, Methodism, Catholicism and agnosticism (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998). Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century reform made this participation easier. However, the erosion of Anglican dominance had serious long-term consequences for the fabric of British society (Colley, 1992).

Christian liberals believed in a rational, scientific approach to studying Christian scripture and theology. They questioned many of the deep rooted beliefs and values of the High Anglican Church, and cast doubt on the literal translations of the Old and New Testaments (Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Morris, 1991; Jensen, 1991; O'Gorman, 2000; Prickett, 2000). Well-known and respected clergy supported a more symbolic interpretation of religious concepts, especially miracles. The liberal Christian discourse also emphasised the importance of a materialistic moral code as an essential structure for social progress. The Christian values of truth, honesty, goodness, decency, justice and rectitude formed the core of this code and were independent of any religious belief system advocated (Kleer, 1995; Shipman, 1994).

Individual agents in the liberal Christian discourse advocated a diverse range of religious beliefs. What they shared was a conviction that freedom of thought and action should be allowed within

religious and other discourse without fear of reprisal (Gould, 1978; Jensen, 1991). Despite this belief in freedom of religious thought hostility towards the Catholic Church remained throughout the nineteenth century especially with regard to Ireland (Colley, 1992; Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998).

Content and Social Practice

The liberal Christian discourse emerged during the first half of the nineteenth century (Desmond, 1992; Pearce, 1994), and had some success in developing social agendas at this time, including the establishment of a sectarian University of London (Desmond, 1992; Harte, 1986) and the eligibility of Dissenters for positions of public office in 1828 (Desmond, 1992). However, it became increasingly influential during the 1860s - 1870s. The Broad Church Movement was established within the Anglican Church in the early nineteenth century, lobbying for religious and political reform against High Church Anglicanism and the Oxford Movement creating a more open society of choice and equality (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998) and a belief system recognising the role of science in religion. This reform movement formalised a loose network of intellectual Anglican clergy across the country and Empire. Many of its followers were upper middle class (Hoppen, 1998). In 1860, a few months after *Origin* had begun to rock society, the movement published *Essays and Reviews*. This book brought together in a series of essays, primarily written before *Origin* was in the public domain, the ideas of seven liberal theologians questioning the non-rational aspects of the bible, particularly miracles (Desmond & Morris, 1991). It was hugely successful, selling 22 000 copies by 1864, and inspired 400 publications either in support of or in opposition over the next 5 years (Desmond & Morris, 1991). However, the ideas contained within were also controversial, and by 1862 two authors had been indicted for heresy and forced to leave their jobs, the result of a very effective campaign by Wilberforce, the Archbishop of Canterbury and other High Church Anglican leaders (Desmond & Morris, 1991). In 1862, the Bishop of Natal, John William Colenso, faced similar condemnation from the Established Church after publishing his translation of Genesis into Zulu (Colenso, 1862; Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Morris, 1991; Pickard, 2000; Van Riper, 1993). During the translation process he begun to question its literal truth and came to the conclusion that 'all men stood equal before God' (Desmond, 1994: 315). In this time of crisis, Colenso visited London to be closer to the network of people who would support him.

The Metaphysical Society was founded in 1869 suggesting that by the end of the decade the idea of freedom of thought in religious matters had gained considerable intellectual credence. It brought together notable individuals representing diverse Christian doctrines to discuss God's existence. Founded by the architect James Knowles and the Poet Laureate, Tennyson, members included Lubbock, Huxley, Cardinal Manning, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, the Bishop of St. David's, Gladstone, the Duke of Argyll and Ruskin (Desmond,

1994; Hutchinson, 1914). Such a society could not have formed in the early 1860s, and its foundation is perhaps a symbol of changing attitudes and the increased influence of the liberal Christian discourse during the late 1860s and 1870s. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the 'new' generation of Dissenters was integrating into society and the boundary between Nonconformists and Establishment Church became increasingly blurred (Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998).

Relationship with the Sociocultural Evolution Discourse

A direct relationship existed between the liberal Christian and sociocultural evolution discourse. It has already been discussed how, as part of the desire to remove Established Church dominance from state institutions, the sociocultural evolution discourse was concerned with removing the influence of religion from a particular aspect of science, human origins and biological and cultural evolution. Darwinists sought to remove the religious scientific paradigm constructed by Ussher, Cuvier and William Paley (Desmond, 1992; Klaver, 1997) and replace it with a materialistic rationale based on the concept of evolution. A scientific framework that destroyed popular understanding of Genesis by shattering the 6000 year human antiquity barrier provided unprecedented weight to the arguments put forward by the Essayists and Colenso (Van Riper, 1993). In 1864, Pope Pius IX published the *Syllabus of Errors* seeking to curtail the perceived ascendancy of materialism and free progress in science unfettered by religious belief and theological argument (Desmond, 1994). Huxley responded with a scathing attack on the role of religion in science in his article 'Science and "Church Policy"' (Huxley, 1864). Darwinists' chief opponents were High Church Anglicans especially Bishop Wilberforce and Richard Owen the latter of whom clung hard to a combined Paleyite and Coleridgean view of natural theology throughout the 1860s (Desmond, 1992; Desmond and Moore, 1991).

Darwinists sought to actively introduce materialistic scientific rationale into religion (Jensen, 1991). Many actively supported the liberal theologians who dared to question High Church Anglicanism publicly in *Essays* and the *Pentateuch* (Colenso, 1862). A letter was sent to the *Times* in support of the Essayists in 1861 signed by Lubbock, Darwin, Busk, Lyell, Carpenter and Spottiswoode amongst other literary and scientific supporters (Barton, 1976). In February and March 1861, Lubbock organised the signing of a memorial to Archbishop Temple, an Anglican bishop who had objected strongly to *Essays and Reviews,* opposing the censure of the Essayists[45].

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[45] British Library MS Add 49639 30-31. "Letter from Charles Lyell to John Lubbock, dated 25th February 1861". British Library MS Add 49639 32-33. "Letter from William Carpenter to John Lubbock, dated 27th February 1861". British Library MS Add 49639 34. "Letter from Leonard Horner to John Lubbock, dated 27th February 1861". British Library MS Add 49639 35. "Letter from George Bentham to John Lubbock, dated 1st March 1861". British Library MS Add 49639 37-38. "Letter from J.W. Herschel to John Lubbock, dated 2nd March 1861". British Library MS Add 49639 39-40. "Letter from C.B. Airy to John Lubbock, dated 4th March 1861". British Library MS Add 49639 43-50. "Letter from Charles Kingsley to John Lubbock, dated 6th March

Signatories included Lyell, Carpenter, Bentham, Airy, Kingsley and Busk. Colenso was also actively supported when he came to London in 1863. Darwinists' belief in 'freedom of enquiry of thought' within society[46] shaped their view that Colenso, and the Essayists, should not be ostracised as an outcome of the views they held and expressed. A letter from Huxley to Lubbock written in February 1863 asked Lubbock to use his influence on the Athenaeum Club committee to ensure Colenso was not black-balled from membership because of his controversial writings. Membership of the Club should be independent of people's political or religious views and Huxley threatened to resign if Colenso was rejected[47]. The Metaphysical Society included Darwinists, with Lubbock representing Broad Church and Huxley *agnosticism*. Huxley first coined the phrase *agnosticism* at the Metaphysical Society to label his particular view that it was impossible to say whether God existed without scientific proof.

Despite these shared values, the complex relationship between liberal Christian and sociocultural evolution discourse must be recognised. As membership of the Metaphysical Society suggests, individuals within the Darwinist community represented many different viewpoints regarding religion. Huxley's disillusion with the Church and Christianity began during his teen years. He later identified himself as an agnostic though always believed in Christian moral values (Desmond, 1994; Jensen, 1991; Shipman, 1994). Pitt Rivers was not a regular churchgoer but attended at major religious festivals, weddings, funerals and held family prayers at Rushmore (Bowden, 1991). Lubbock, Lyell and Busk were liberal Anglicans and part of the Broad Church Reform Movement (Barton, 1976). Moore (1989) argues that Darwin lost his Christian beliefs as a gradual process during the period 1836-1852, though again he held onto an idea of natural morality that drew upon Christian ethical values. These differences occasionally caused tension within the Darwinist community, and when Huxley published his vehement response to the *Syllabus of Errors* in 1864 he offended a number of his supporters and damaged the cohesion of networks over the long-term (Desmond, 1994)[48]. Huxley believed religion should be completely separated from science whilst others argued it was possible to reconcile the two belief systems (Jensen, 1991). At various points in their lives, individuals underwent crises of faith illustrating on the one hand their conviction about Darwinism but also their doubt and fear of life and death

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1861". British Library MS Add 49639 75-76. "Letter from George Busk to John Lubbock, dated 1861".

[46] British Library MS Add 49640 27-28. "Letter from Joseph Hooker to John Lubbock, dated Sunday [1863]".

[47] British Library MS Add 49640 15-18. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated [16th] February 1863".

[48] George Rollaston for example. He had always been uneasy about extreme Darwinist views concerning religion. He had written to Lubbock in September 1860 defending the role of God in nature and refused to sign the memorial Lubbock prepared for Bishop Temple in 1861. British Library MS Add 49639 20-21. "Letter from George Rollaston to John Lubbock, dated September 1860". British Library MS Add 49639 53-54. "Letter from George Rollaston to John Lubbock, undated".

without God. In 1860, When Huxley's son, Noel, died from Scarlet Fever, he had deep theological discussions with Charles Kingsley (Desmond, 1994). He only identified god-parents for his offspring because of his wife's religious views:

> '*You may judge what my opinions are touching the sacrament of Baptism*'[49].

Alfred Russel Wallace turned to spiritualism in later life. Darwin was racked with torment over the death of his favourite daughter, Annie, in 1850 (Moore, 1989). Lubbock prayed that he might meet a friend again as he said goodbye on her deathbed[50]. Perhaps the ultimate symbol of this conflict between their scientific conviction and religious dilemma was the burial of Darwin in the bastion of the Established Church, Westminster Abbey, in April 1882. Galton, Huxley, Lubbock and others took an active role lobbying the Dean of Westminster. Lubbock organised an influential letter of petition signed by 32 leading political signatories, including Sir G. O. Trevelyan (Secretary of the Admiralty), Lyon Playfair (Deputy Speaker), Arthur Russell, Henry Campbell Bannerman and Brassey[51]. They clearly wanted Darwin to be buried within the hallowed symbol of Anglican establishment.

Sociocultural Evolution and Bourgeois Domestic Discourse

Values

The term 'domestic' suggests privacy, family and individualism, as Ruskin's description of what home should be in *Sesames and Lilies* published in 1865 and 1871 implies:

> '*This is the true nature of home - it is the place of peace - the shelter not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt and division.*'

However evidence suggests the domestic sphere was also an area in which social practice reinforced status within the wider context of bourgeois class discourse (Davidoff, 1995; Gerard, 1994: Pearce, 1999). A key value of the Bourgeois domestic discourse was to blatantly flaunt wealth and status through material things (objects and activities) both within the private and public spheres of domestic life (Davidoff, 1995; Hoppen, 1998). The family unit was very important (Vicinus, 1972), as was a harmonious and caring environment within the home in contrast to the stark coldness of a competitive capitalist outside world (Evans, 1996; Hall, 1992;

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[49] British Library MS Add 49640 153-154. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 6th May 1864".

[50] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Monday 11th June 1864".

[51] British Library MS Add 49645 124-125. "Letter from John Lubbock and other signatories to the Dean of Westminster, dated 21st April 1882".

Rose, 1992). The ability for a family to spend time together and not work every available hour reflected their wealth (Hoppen, 1998). The concept of childhood appeared in middle class literature, and the idea of a child being protected from the realities of the world whilst undergoing education emerged as a normal occurrence (Hoppen, 1998). It became unfashionable for women in the family to work, and they increasingly provided a comfortable and efficient domestic sphere protecting the husband from everyday irritants of domestic life (Franklin, 1981; Gerard, 1994; Hall, 1992; Hoppen, 1998; Lewis, 1984; McKendry, 1994). A hierarchical series of values relating to husbands, wives and children emerged with the husband clearly identified as the head of household (Evans, 1996; Rose, 1992). Davidoff (1995) argues that sibling relationships were also important. Death was never far away and deadly diseases targeting children in particular were not class specific (Hoppen, 1998). Health care and religion played an important role in an attempt to combat this threat.

Content and Social Practice

Family sizes decreased during the late nineteenth century and by 1900 a family with 5-6 children was considered large (Hoppen, 1998). The importance of the family unit can be perceived in many aspects of social discourse - the smaller family size, the difficulty in obtaining a divorce, the stigma of an illegitimate child, the silver framed family photographs and genre paintings of family scenes for example (Brander, 1975; Hoppen, 1998). To ensure marriage within the appropriate social ranking various codes of social behaviour were developed around the act of courting. These were adapted from those used by the traditional aristocracy and during the 1860s-1870s bourgeois professional and business families increasingly participated in the annual London courting 'Season' (Hoppen, 1998). In marriage, both status and money were at stake (Hoppen, 1998). Despite 'family' being important, children were not necessarily considered an integral part of family in bourgeois households. In many, they were looked after by servants in separate parts of the house, with mothers having little contact, and when old enough boys were often sent away to public school (Franklin, 1981; Hall, 1992; Hoppen, 1998). Parents had less to do with their children when they were young, although they may have been paraded ceremoniously before parents and guests at dinner parties (Brander, 1975). It was at school that children were given their ideological training and developed an understanding of their social role (Hall, 1992). A role reinforced by what they experienced and observed within their own households. In at least fifty percent of landed families, women did not undertake general domestic chores, servants were employed to do so, but the mistress of the house would still probably have managed the family economy, domestic arrangements and social gatherings (Gerard, 1994).

Religion was very important within the domestic sphere providing a means of coping with illness and mortality. Prayers were said in many households on a daily basis, and grace was given before

meals (Brander, 1975). The discourse of death was dramatic, particularly in the middle of the nineteenth century, perhaps reflecting a concern with religion but also with wealth and status. Funerals were ostentatious and letters of condolence, with their coded black edging, reflected the network of family and friends who respected the deceased (Hoppen, 1998). Towards the end of the century, funerals became simpler possibly reflecting the gradual reduction in religious influence within social discourse (Hoppen, 1998).

The family home was an important expression of wealth and status tied up in bricks and mortar (Reynolds, 1998). Wealthier bourgeois families would have owned or rented a town house and a country house, and during the period 1835-1889 500 country houses were built or substantially remodelled (Hoppen, 1998). These were not estates on the grand aristocratic scale but sizeable dwellings with a small allocation of land, perhaps a few hundred acres (Hoppen, 1998; Rubinstein, 1996). Villa styles were popular with landscaped gardens, a library and up to 10 bedrooms (Hoppen, 1998). Through design and layout these homes segregated private from public space, male from female, juvenile and servant space (Davidoff, 1995; Franklin, 1981; Gerard, 1994; Hoppen, 1998; Wolff, 1988). Material chattels symbolised the wealth and status of a family: servants were expensive; the food and meals eaten; the clothes and fabrics worn; the musical instruments played; the games of cricket, golf and tennis; the collecting of library books, paintings and other objet d'art (Hoppen, 1998; Pearce, 1999). Selected members of the wider social network were invited into the domestic sphere in part to demonstrate achievement and status by showing off material wealth (Davidoff, 1995; Franklin, 1981).

Relationship with the Sociocultural Evolution Discourse

Darwinists were part of the domestic discourse outlined above, although to differing degrees depending upon their wealth and status (Bowden, 1991; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Desmond, 1994; 1999; Evans, 1943; Hutchinson, 1914; Turner, 1985). All were brought up as one of a number of children in large families. Of the X Clubbers, only Hirst and Spencer remained unmarried, the rest found themselves at the head of sizeable households. Their experiences within this context may have influenced their ideas and behaviour in the scientific discourse, and vice versa.

Ideas developed within sociocultural evolution discourse underpinned many domestic Victorian values. Stocking (1987) suggests Tylor, Lubbock and McLennan highlighted the study of marriage in their ethnographic work because of the focus placed upon this social institution within Victorian society. They sought to demonstrate the evolutionary development of marriage from communal polyandry into the socially stabilising monogamous and patriarchal concept of Victorian times. Victorian marriage systems ensured sexual activity and reproduction were

controlled, wealth and social status were maintained and a respectable moral code of behaviour was pursued.

The sociocultural evolution discourse had plenty to say about women and children and their role within society, commentary based on both ethnological and biological observation. The attitude towards children in ethnographic societies was discussed in the context of marriage and sexual reproduction (e.g. Lubbock, 1870) rather than from any general interest in the lives children experience as individuals within different social contexts. Lubbock (1870), for example, discussed children in relation to infanticide and as a measure of the relative superiority of various marriage contexts with regard to care and upbringing of offspring. He argued children were best brought up in a monogamous marriage system rather than a communal situation for genetic as well as environmental reasons. The anatomy of children came under scrutiny as part of the recapitulation theory debate. Scientists argued that individuals in their embryonic and juvenile growth repeated the adult stages of their ancestors. White children passed through and beyond the intellectual stages characteristic of adults in 'lower' races (Gould, 1978). This patronising and detached view of children was perhaps related to the way children were regarded within domestic discourse.

Sociocultural Evolution and Gender Discourse

Values

The gender discourse is complex incorporating a diverse range of values concerning the nature of men, women and their relationship (Rose, 1992). It cannot be considered in isolation from class and ethnicity (Harris, 1993; Levine, 1990; Lewis, 1984; McClintock, 1995; Owen, 1989; Rose, 1992; Wolff, 1988). Late nineteenth century gender dynamics within capitalist upper middle and upper class society were structured by three inter-related value systems and discourse practice: femininity, masculinity and feminism. It is difficult to generalise but a patriarchal masculine/ feminine discourse predominated throughout the period, rooted in dominant religious discourse (Owen, 1989). However, a feminist discourse gained an increasingly vocal role sowing seeds for later more radical change. Within the predominating discourse men were active and world-wise participating in the public sphere and dealing with its dangers and pitfalls. At least until the 1870s women were the property of men, whether as children to their father before marriage or wife to her husband (Hall, 1992; Lewis, 1984; Stocking, 1987). They were regarded as less intelligent than men, therefore less capable of undertaking professional and business pursuits within society (Gould, 1980; Hall, 1992).

In addition to their domestic role, women's primary contribution was reproduction and it was essential to control this function to ensure heredity fidelity (Reynolds, 1998; Stocking, 1987).

Girls and women were to be kept innocent and protected from the rudeness and vulgarity of the outside world (Hoppen, 1998). Women were not allowed to contemplate sexual pleasure for themselves, but only to regard sex as a necessary obligation owed to their husbands (Hall, 1992). They were portrayed as mothers, playing an essential role in the continuity of a family, a class system and a nation (Yeo, 1999). Men were associated with the cultural sphere, women with the biology of reproduction, with sexuality and with nature (Evans, 1996; Rose, 1992).

Within feminist discourse the primary concern was to demonstrate that women were as intelligent and capable as men and could play, given the opportunity (particularly in regard to education), an active role within the public and cultural sphere. Stocking (1987) suggests this movement was fuelled by a gradual reduction in emphasis on reproduction towards the end of the century when birth rates decreased and by increased wealth in society enabling the employment of servant staff to undertake domestic duties. The sexual domain was only one of several in women's lives, especially after childbearing age (Reynolds, 1998), and Reynolds introduces the concept of 'incorporated wives' (1998: 6-7) taking a natural role promoting the interests of their husbands and families. We have already discussed how many of the X Club wives supported their husbands' work. Certainly an increased number of upper middle class women participated within public society and sought further opportunities to do so (Gerard, 1994). A considerable minority of middle class women had no choice but to work in order to earn a living, the most common occupation being a governess. Feminism was in part concerned with raising the status of this group of people often stigmatised by the rest of middle class society because they threatened the ideal concept of the home (Dyhouse, 1989; Hall, 1992; Lewis, 1984; Vicinus, 1972).

Content and Social Practice

These gender values were translated into practice that controlled female sexuality and gave men the dominant public role (Rose, 1992). Women were excluded from actively participating in much of the social discourse discussed in this chapter. The legal system enshrined the principle that women were the property of men, and on marriage the husband and wife became one legal entity, that of the husband. Unless specifically contracted otherwise, everything the wife owned including herself and any children she bore became the property of the husband (Stocking, 1987). Divorcing a husband was very difficult and the wife would probably lose most of the materials she was used to in everyday life (Hoppen, 1998). In the middle classes, though less so within the aristocracy, a woman was expected to demonstrate female chastity and fidelity, although it was more acceptable for a man to have indulged sexually before marriage (Hoppen, 1998).

Rules and regulations in public institutions made it difficult for women to become actively involved in professional and other public pursuits (Hoppen, 1998; Reynolds, 1998). Menstruation was one of the reasons often quoted for this exclusion from education, public life and sports as it

was suggested that during menstruation complete physical and mental rest should be observed (Hoppen, 1998; Showalter, 1972). Childbearing also weakened some women physically and emotionally in the long-term given the higher birth rate and less developed medical provision during the late nineteenth century. Menopause struck at middle age and many women would have experienced the impact of this life process (Dyhouse, 1989). These physical rites of passage contributed to the perception that women were the 'weaker sex' unable to gain developed intellectual insight. The only educational provision available for women prepared girls for marriage and courtship rather than earning a living (Hall, 1992). In the mid-nineteenth century facilities available for women's higher education were non-existent (Harte, 1986).

Rules kept women invisible within broader society in other ways - it was taboo to mention a lady's name in business negotiations for example or to utter her name in a military officers' mess (Shipman, 1994). In the middle classes particularly, women's leisure pursuits were restricted to the domestic sphere, and the female of the species could only attend the theatre for example if accompanied by a man (Wolff, 1988).

Cultural practice and imagery, including collecting, played an important role within this patriarchal masculine/ feminine discourse, sustaining ideal gender relations (Dant, 1991; Dolin, 1993; McKendry, 1994; Pearce, 1995; 1999; Rose, 1992; Wolff, 1988). Women collected distinctive categories of material culture associated with domestic discourse, blue and white china for example (Pearce, 1995; 1999). Elizabeth Gaskill's *Cranford* provides a wonderful depiction of the feminine collecting discourse at work (Dolin, 1993). The systematic collecting of antiquities, ethnography and natural history was associated with intellectual pursuit and the external world and therefore with the masculine domain of gender relations (Pearce, 1995). Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin and Alfred Tennyson adopted a patronising attitude towards women in their literature, regarding men as intellectually superior and women as loyal and obedient wives and mothers (Hall, 1992; Wolff, 1988). Painters highlighted the feminine and sexual qualities of their female sitters rather than their intelligence and power (Hoppen, 1998; McKendry, 1994; Reynolds, 1998). Mrs Craik's *John Halifax Gentleman*, written in 1857, epitomised the Victorian masculine ideal in its hero who is a gentleman not by birth but by hard work and Christian morality; a devoted husband, loving father, paternal employer and responsible public man (Hall, 1992). The design and construction of houses emphasised the masculine qualities of men and protected the feminine nature of women (Wolff, 1988). The male-centred domain focused on the billiard room, smoking and gun rooms, dressing rooms, study and sometimes the library (Franklin, 1981; Wolff, 1988). Women were restricted ordinarily to the more private spaces within the house (Wolff, 1988).

Many of those women that participated in scientific, literary and other public affairs played within the rules of masculine discourse. Mary Ann Evans, for example, wrote very successful commentaries on mid-Victorian society under the male guise of George Eliot (Hughes, 1999).

However, the fact that some women were energetic in pursuing leisure and professional activity within the public domain is important (Hoppen, 1998). From the 1850s there was a growing area of feminist social practice, rooted within radical non-conformism, and George Eliot was an important part of this (Hughes, 1999). The feminist discourse was concerned with developing educational and employment opportunities for women (Dyhouse, 1989; Hall, 1992: Levine, 1990; Symonds, 1999). Women's suffrage and property rights became more important towards the latter part of the nineteenth century (Stocking, 1987). The first college in England to be established for the education of women was set up at Queen's College in Harley Street in 1848, by a Christian Socialist clergyman, F. D. Maurice (Desmond, 1994; Harte, 1986). Throughout the 1850s and 1860s various attempts, led by campaigners including Elizabeth Garrett, were made to open University of London degrees to women and in 1869 the first 9 girls sat a special examination (not a full degree!) for women (Harte, 1986; Levine, 1990). In the 1870s Newnham and Girton colleges were founded for women students at Cambridge. From 1875, landed women participated in local politics by serving as Poor Law Guardians (Gerard, 1994). Spiritualism became popular with the middle and upper classes during the 1860s centring upon the concept of woman as medium with the spirit world, and many women became powerful and respected mediums (Owen, 1989). Ironically, it was their feminine characteristics that were valued and placed mediums in an influential position within feminist discourse (ibid.). When in a trance, the medium could talk about anything, and often spoke of political and social issues that in other contexts would have been taboo subjects for women (ibid.). In the seance female sexuality escaped the strict controls of bourgeois class discourse and the vocabulary used was often overtly sexual (ibid.). Interestingly the spiritualist movement declined in influence after the 1870s (ibid.).

Autobiographical evidence suggests many women felt trapped by their prescribed passive role within life and within marriage, including Florence Nightingale (Dyhouse, 1989). Women who undertook educational opportunities and developed their own economic independence were nervous about entering into a marriage situation whereby they would lose that independence. When Harriet Taylor married John Stuart Mill in 1851, they entered into a contract rejecting any form of legal ownership over Taylor by Mill in terms of person, property and action (Dyhouse, 1989). This kind of arrangement was exceptional, but it does remind us that some men were also sympathetic to the feminist cause (Symonds, 1999), and indeed Mill played an active role in lobbying for the development of educational and employment opportunities for women.

Recent feminist theory suggests the domestic and reproductive roles of women were important in their own right, and stresses their powerful influence in managing households and shaping families, the middle classes and the nation (Davidoff, 1995; Gerard, 1994; Reynolds, 1998; Yeo, 1999). The mistress of the house was the point of contact with the wider social circle enabling her to influence family status and position within a particular class consciousness (Gerard, 1994). Gerard (1994) argues the regulations established as social etiquette acted as an alternative system of social power controlled by women. Women became increasingly involved in charitable work

(Gerard, 1994; Vicinus, 1972) inspired by the enjoyment of supporting others less fortunate but also by the political motivation of reducing class conflict. Charity symbolised a superior-inferior but interdependent relationship between provider and receiver. It encouraged deference to the local landed family by being awarded only to those who acted deferentially. Women's charitable work played an important role in maintaining class relations and class status quo (Gerard, 1994; Vicinus, 1972). The word 'mum' is a term that dates to the 1880s used within both feminine and feminist discourse. In the latter, it was part of a broader, public strategy depicting mothers as confident and assertive contributors to society who deserved greater rights of citizenship particularly with regard to suffrage (Hoppen, 1998; Yeo, 1999). In the late 1880s, marriage separation was more socially acceptable although divorce was still rare. Anderson (1999) suggests this attitudinal change was an outcome of liberal emphasis on the individual as well as a shift in the gender discourse of late nineteenth century society.

Relationship with Sociocultural Evolution Discourse

Sociocultural evolution discourse perpetuated nineteenth century patriarchal masculine/ feminine discourse (Hoppen, 1998; Stocking, 1987). Darwin, Spencer and other Darwinists developed the recapitulation theory arguing that white female physical and behavioural features were more juvenile and closely related to behavioural characteristics exhibited by 'lower' races making white females less intelligent than white males (Gould, 1980; Hoppen, 1998). Juvenile features included women's powers of intuition, perception and imitation (Hoppen, 1998). Spencer concluded that women had not evolved intellectually as much as men because they required their female energy for reproduction leaving none available for intellectual development (Conway, 1972). Galton argued white female brains were smaller than male brains and therefore less intelligent (Gould, 1978; 1980; Hoppen, 1998). This scientific evidence was used authoritatively by commentators who argued that providing intellectual educational opportunities for women was a waste of time and money. Women were genetically not capable of attaining the same intellectual capacity as men.

Spencer, Pitt Rivers and other evolutionists drew on the 'survival of the fittest' concept to create a hierarchical relationship between educated British men and women that exploited women domestically and reproductively but at the same time gave a sense of natural inevitability about their inequality (Bowden, 1991). Huxley sent out confused signals regarding his attitude towards women and science (Richards, 1989). He supported Elizabeth Garrett's campaign to admit women to the University of London (Desmond, 1994; Jensen, 1991), but resisted Lyell's efforts to introduce women into the Geological Society and actively sought to banish women from the Ethnological Society (Desmond, 1994; Richards, 1989). He empathised with Hunt and the anti-feminist Anthropological Society which believed that women were inferior and at a very practical level could not attend lectures without severely restricting topics of discussion. Moral decency

required that sexual subjects not be discussed in the presence of ladies (Richards, 1989) and the *Natural History Review* had already found it necessary to remove anatomical pictures from its pages to avoid offending female readers (Desmond, 1994). Huxley believed only a very small minority of women could be educated to a level of value to scientific men, but that most would lose motivation on the way and would become an unnecessary burden on the profession (Richards, 1989). The internal tension regarding gender within the Darwinist community is perhaps summed up by a comment made by Morlot in a letter to Lubbock dated 15th December 1864:

> *'I don't think certain questions, such as those moved above [moral development of humankind], cannot be properly attacked without feminine intervention. Women of rank & education must find a better use in creation than reading novels, or else they will sink, & then carry us along to the devil'*[52].

He suggested upper middle class women might have an active role to play in the sociocultural evolution debate, but failed to perceive the myths perpetuated by this debate actually held women back!

Ironically, women played an active role in promoting and supporting this very discourse that held back feminism. When writing *The Mill on the Floss* in 1859-1860, Eliot drew heavily on Darwin's ideas of natural selection and placed them within the context of sexual selection (Gardner, 1998; Hughes, 1999). Darwinists drew heavily upon the travel writings and liberal philosophy of Harriet Martineau in the development of their sociocultural evolution ideas (Winter, 1998). The X Club wives were themselves a talented group of women who played a significant but silent role in their husbands' achievements. They provided a peaceful domestic haven for their husbands, and contributed to the intellectual debate through support for their husband's work (Anon, 1879; Barton, 1976; Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Hutchinson, 1914; Richards, 1989). Acting as social hostesses they kept the Darwinist network together (Barton, 1976) and Branca (1975) likens them to a 'silent sisterhood' playing a crucial role in Victorian society and retaining a balance of power greater than any superficial analysis of gender might suggest.

Sociocultural Evolution and the Nationalist Discourse

Values

A tide of nationalist sentiment swept across Europe and the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century fundamentally influencing international affairs. This nationalism,

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[52] British Library MS Add 49640 182. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 15th December 1864".

emphasising a social group's shared language and culture, was rooted primarily in a liberal political discourse (Carr, 1991; Robbins, 1994). It created 'an imagined political community' we can define as a nation (Colley, 1992) and was the outcome of transplanting ideas of individual self-help, freedom of action and the desire for progress to the level of nationhood. Liberalism inspired a sense of identity and pride within national communities, and combined with a romantic desire to break free from the arbitrary shackles of current territorial status quo to re-kindle nations in control of their own destiny. Nationalism took forward eighteenth century Enlightenment values of equal rights and sovereignty for the people that had culminated in the American Constitution and the French Revolution (Kristiansen, 1981). It gained particular credence within a world coming to terms with the territorial and cultural upheaval caused by the Napoleonic Wars (Colley, 1992; Pearce, 1999; Schnapp, 1996). It also gained credence within a world increasingly shaped by capitalism and the resulting competition between nations (Carr, 1991).

Content and Social Practice

British nationalism was enhanced as an outcome of the Napoleonic Wars. The country suffered severe economic difficulties as a result of this conflict, but still perceived itself a Great Power superior to its European neighbours (Gash, 1978). It was also regarded as such by these European neighbours and over the next 40-50 years was able to trade on this reputation as a substitute for a large army which liberal politicians were loathe to raise taxes for (Gash, 1978; Pearce, 1999; Porter, 1987). This sense of superiority was founded in more than victory against Napoleon; it was also rooted in a strong sense of self-belief. Belief that the technological, economic and political system developed in Britain by mid-century was more advanced than the conservative traditional governments of continental Europe (Evans, 1996; Porter, 1987). Britain was certainly far outstripping these countries in terms of individual wealth and trade (Evans, 1996; Porter, 1987). A myth developed that individual freedom was the reason for Britain's current prosperity and progress (Porter, 1987). Britain did not wish to become embroiled in expensive European conflict from which there would be little trading or commercial gain. British nationalism pursued a policy of isolation from the rest of Europe, at least until the 1870s (Porter, 1987).

Nationalist feeling elsewhere in Europe inspired a series of disputes and conflicts reaching a climax during the 1860s. With Garibaldi's campaign Italy became unified under Victor Emmanuel II in 1871 Bismarck's *Realpolitik* resulted in the foundation of the Second German Reich in 1871 with William I as Emperor. France established a 'Liberal Empire' by 1871, and the Franco-Prussian War placed Germany and Italy squarely into the European system of states. Power dynamics were being redrawn, and in particular Germany was emerging as the pre-eminent nation in continental Europe.

The only nationalist conflict Britain became directly involved in was within its own territory. Throughout the nineteenth century Irish nationalism was a regular focus of political and public attention (Colley, 1992; Robbins, 1994). A key element of British nationalism was Protestantism, a shared value system dominant in England, Wales and Scotland, but not in Roman Catholic Ireland. Religious difference was the primary reason for conflict between Britain and Ireland, a conflict with a long history. The Irish were regarded as the 'Other' and Britons regarded their occupation in Ireland as a colony of the British Empire (Colley, 1992).

British nationalism manifested itself in ways other than direct conflict. It played an important role in encouraging social reform to create a meritocratic society in which able and talented individuals from all sectors of society could make their contribution to sustaining a 'Great Britain'. During the 1850s nationalist feeling in Britain may have drawn working and middle class people together through a common desire for individual respectability, national strength and improved community identity rather than a gulf widening between them culminating in revolution (Harris, 1993; Hoppen, 1998). It was important that Britain, who had taken the lead with the Industrial Revolution, kept ahead of other countries in terms of commercial and technological success. In 1841 Thomas Brassey, for example, exported British railway technology abroad, and began building the French, Belgian, Italian, Austrian, Danish and Canadian railway systems (Newsome, 1997). The establishment of the world-leading Bank of England and the City of London finance centre was all part of this strategy (Harris, 1993; Colley, 1992). National and civic pride also inspired a series of grand social statements designed to create a strong visual impact on the international stage. The Great Exhibition of 1851 in London was a major achievement within this context; no other European country so soon after 1848 could have presented such a united presentation to itself and the wider world (Evans, 1996; Porter, 1987; Stocking, 1987). It was clearly a statement of social control and a public reaffirmation of liberal capitalism on the international stage. Media propaganda did much to reinforce the superior British attitude throughout the nineteenth century. The *Illustrated London News*, for example, regarded the construction of a strong national identity as a primary objective (Sinnema, 1995).

Relationship to the Sociocultural Evolution Discourse

The development of the sociocultural evolution discourse and of archaeology as a discipline has its roots in liberal nationalist discourse (Kehoe, 1992; Kristiansen, 1981; Malina & Vasicek, 1990; Schnapp, 1996; Trigger, 1989). A strong sense of national identity often triggers a keen interest in the development of a nation, a desire to construct knowledge about its past (Schnapp, 1996). Schnapp (1996) suggests ideas regarding human antiquity were accepted earlier in Denmark than elsewhere primarily because the study of the Danish past was an important part of a strong nationalist discourse. Nationalism was undoubtedly a key factor in the development of Danish archaeology (Kehoe, 1992; Kristiansen, 1981; Trigger, 1989) and in 1806 the National

Museum of Denmark was founded in direct response to the development of similar initiatives in France (Kristiansen, 1981). Trigger (1989) argues that a nationalist form of archaeology develops in any country which experiences political insecurity, and nineteenth century Denmark would certainly fall into this category (Carr, 1991).

Theories regarding evolution and the survival of the fittest were adopted to promote the nationalist cause. An extreme example of this can be found in the social Darwinist work of Ernst Haeckel in Germany in which he applied biological evolution ideas to a broader social and political context (Desmond, 1994; Shipman, 1994). He argued for a meritocratic society rather than one based upon aristocratic privilege to ensure the best people were able to take Germany forward (Desmond, 1994). However, he developed these arguments further, entered dangerous territory and laid the foundations of German nationalism that underpinned the worst excesses of Nazism during the 1930s -1940s. Haeckel took a pre-existing Aryan myth, identified Germans with the true Aryan race and that race with the power and landscape of German territory (Shipman, 1994). British Darwinists agreed with Haeckel's proposals regarding 'survival of the fittest' and a meritocratic society, and Spencer developed similarly strong social Darwinist ideas (Shipman, 1994). The development of the social Darwinist movement, eugenics, in the latter years of the nineteenth century was also a statement of nationalist discourse and one of its leading theorists, Karl Pearson, believed the key struggle for survival was between nations not individuals (Shipman, 1994). Eugenicists argued that the British people must be improved through selective breeding if Britain was to survive as a nation into the twentieth century (Shipman, 1994).

The sociocultural evolution discourse was also influenced by nationalism at a practical level. The desire to create an elite British scientific community able to lead the world in scientific discovery was one such influence, and Huxley was an important promoter of this vision (Desmond, 1994). So was the Royal Society of London which took the lead role in an unsuccessful attempt to form an international english-speaking forum for science during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Boas Hall, 1984). The sociocultural evolution discourse sometimes presented itself as above nationalism however, and an informal and formal international network of individuals was created. The ability and desire to communicate with these individuals varied according to the political situation in relevant countries at any one time, however, and this did have an impact on discourse[53]. Lubbock's plans to publish *Prehistoric Times* in 1864, for example, were delayed a year partly because of communication problems with Denmark created by the German-Danish War[54].

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[53] The negative impact on scientific study caused by the American Civil War for example. British Library MS Add 49640 33-34. "Letter from Silliman and Dara to John Lubbock, dated March 1863".

[54] British Library MS Add 49640 106-107. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated 7th December 1863". British Library MS Add 49640 135-136. " Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated 1st March 1864". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from

Sociocultural Evolution and the Colonial Discourse

Values

Liberal capitalist imperialism interacted with nationalist sentiment to create the colonial discourse that emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century. The British Empire was not an outcome of a desire for world dominance but of 'free trade' being taken to the global stage. Trade was arguably the driving force behind colonial expansion throughout the nineteenth century (Cohn, 1996; Hopkins, 1999; Newsome, 1997): expansion to open up new markets, exploit new sources of raw materials and in later years to protect existing imperial trade links (Porter, 1987; Robbins, 1994). Financial investment in the colonies became increasingly important to the British economy from the 1870s (Porter, 1987). However, colonial expansion was also the product of an innate sense of British superiority over the rest of the world, including continental Europe (Evans, 1996; Said, 1995). Superiority in the economic, cultural, technological, political and moral spheres, because in these spheres British society had progressed further than any other country (Evans, 1996: Porter, 1987). Britain opened up global trading posts and networks for the benefit of all, not just for Britain, believing that completely open and free trade created healthy competition but also harmony and peace between countries (Porter, 1987). Liberal imperialists believed Britain had a duty to share its wonders of civilisation with the wider world. Hence the colonial discourse was also concerned with imposing British cultural values on other societies. Thomas Carlyle (1849) talked of the 'chosen nation' promoting its progress and cultural ensemble across the world for the good of all mankind. Rudyard Kipling (1899) labelled it the 'white man's burden'. Pre-existing culture and values of pre-colonial peoples, the 'Other' (Said, 1995), were perceived as inferior in comparison, ignored as worthless and gradually eroded by force or cultural attrition (Shipman, 1994). Said (1995) identifies a discourse of 'Orientalism' starting in the late eighteenth century which was constructed through cultural strategies that devalued Arabic and Islamic worldviews within the context of Western cultural superiority.

By the end of the nineteenth century the world had become a global stage within which Britain competed economically, and increasingly militarily, with other dominant European powers, particularly France, Germany and Russia. White middle class men owned 85% of the earth's land surface (McClintock, 1995), and the British Empire accounted for approximately 20% (Gash, 1978). Imperial prestige and status, as well as wealth and power, were key elements of the nationalist and colonial discourse. A form of scientific imperialism also developed closely associated with exploration of new trading opportunities, involving an active desire to explore

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Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 19th February 1864". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 2nd March 1864". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 14th May 1864".

and appropriate 'unconquered' continents: the arctic and Antarctic, and remote parts of Asia and Africa (Boas Hall, 1984; Spufford, 1996).

The colonial discourse existed at home as well as in the colonies, and helped to define the bourgeois class discourse developing in Britain (Burton, 1998; Harris, 1993; Lindeborg, 1994; McClintock, 1995). Most of late nineteenth century social discourse in Britain was underpinned by financial wealth derived from the British Empire abroad. Much of the wealth that impacted upon the existence of all classes was ultimately derived from British imperial trade activity (Porter, 1987). There was also a very close relationship between gender values and social practice idealised at home and the development of values regarding ethnicity at home and abroad (Hall, 1992; McClintock, 1995). The nature of these values is complex and it can be misleading to simplify, but in general terms two polemical racial extremes can be identified in Victorian society, particularly the upper middle classes. Hall (1992) has personalised this debate during the 1850s and 1860s in her discussion of the work of Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill. Carlyle regarded non-western European men and women with similar intellectual contempt he regarded Western women. Black people were members of an inferior race born to be servants whereas white people were genetically superior and natural masters (Carlyle, 1849; Hall, 1992). Black people would never integrate into Western society and could be exterminated if they blocked the inevitable progress of (Western) civilisation (Bowler, 1993; Stocking, 1987). Unlike Carlyle, John Stuart Mill regarded ethnic communities as part of the same human family as Western men and women, and in line with his stance on Western women, applied liberal ideals of individual freedom to black men and women (Hall, 1992). Winter (1998) argues convincingly that liberal educational pedagogy, so influential in education at home, determined liberal values that emerged within colonial discourse. Indigenous peoples living within the colonies could be re-educated to integrate with Western civilisation, thus ensuring individual happiness and a more effective contribution towards the capitalist agenda.

Content and Social Practice

Institutions and practices adopted in the colonies varied considerably, depending to a great extent upon local conditions and contingent circumstances (McClintock, 1995). These included the relative importance of an area for trade, and the degree of control required over people living there. South Africa, for example, was regarded as a small trading outpost strategically located on the main sea route to India until 1867 when a small girl discovered a diamond and the 'diamond rush' began (McClintock, 1995). The need to create new systems of government in Africa to uphold the British Crown ensured direct British foreign office involvement (Robbins, 1994). Similarly, the British government assumed direct responsibility for the government of India after the Indian Mutiny in 1857 (Robbins, 1994). In other parts of the Empire, colonial settlers created their own governments and judicial systems. These were the colonies where people had

emigrated from Britain in huge numbers to what they regarded as 'empty lands' ripe for occupation, a perception that the indigenous populations undoubtedly disputed: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and later South Africa (Robbins, 1994).

Colonial discourse involved a complex interweaving of masculine/ feminine and colonist/ colonised dynamics (Cannizzo, 1998; Gilman, 1985; McClintock, 1995; Said, 1994) producing a diverse range of individual experiences depending upon colonial context and individual status. McClintock (1995) explores how colonised societies in South Africa in which women used to be the economic provider in pre-colonial times were turned on their heads when Western values of gender were imposed. Colonised men and women both worked, but black women were perceived primarily as sexual objects by a white middle class society shocked by differing values placed on women and sexuality in indigenous societies (Gilman, 1985; McClintock, 1995; Wiss, 1994). Missionary groups provided African communities with educational opportunities focusing upon a Christian moral code and the idea of self-development. In India, colonised men (from the appropriate caste) were in contrast provided with opportunities to study at universities established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras for colonialist families (Robbins, 1994). Male colonialists wielded the visible power within the colonies, with many colonial communities reflecting the social practices of the home country. Indeed strong connections were kept with Britain with many prosperous colonialists sending their children to public school and university in England and Scotland (Robbins, 1994). In the British governed colonies such as India and South Africa, colonial women held a degree of borrowed authority over colonised men and women, managing estates in their master's absence for example (McClintock, 1995). In New Zealand and Australia, the feminist discourse was more active and influential within society, with some New Zealand women being given suffrage in 1893 (Robbins, 1994).

British government sought to keep military involvement to a minimum, adopting a pacifist policy to keep down costs to the home taxpayer (Porter, 1987). Private investment and entrepreneurialism were encouraged as the driving force behind colonial expansion, supported by the quest for scientific discovery. Sir George Nares' 1874 expedition in search of the North West Passage had a geographic, scientific and trade value: if a passage could be found it would create more effective trading route to the Far Eastern Empire.

The policy of government non-intervention became increasingly difficult to maintain during the 1880s and 1890s however, as other European countries began to compete with Britain on the global stage. In 1882, for example, Gladstone was forced to authorise the invasion of Egypt to secure continued access to a key trade route, the Suez Canal, in the light of Ottoman instability and Russian threats (Hopkins, 1999; Judd, 1997). In the 1880s and 1890s, German and French interest in African territories close to the Suez route created a period of territorial aggrandisement labelled the 'Scramble for Africa' (Robbins, 1994). In addition there was often resistance to

colonial rule within colonised societies which at times became intense for a variety of local reasons and required direct action (Said, 1994).

Home aspects of colonial discourse cut across geographic location and cultural identity and were manifest in many aspects of British culture throughout the nineteenth century. Culture played a powerful role in legitimising and perpetuating colonial myths of this period (Said, 1994). The novels, newspapers and magazines read by white Europeans, the private collections and public museums established, the theatre and music hall shows visited, the discussions held in private and public debating arenas, the language used, the arts created and many other elements of culture were influenced by and in turn influenced the values held about the Other (Barringer, 1998; Burton, 1998; Coombes, 1994; Crook, 1999; Gilman, 1985; Hooper-Greenhill, 1998; Karp & Levine, 1991; Lindeburg, 1994; McClintock, 1995; Pearce, 1995; Pennycook, 1998; Said, 1978; 1994; 1995; Sinnema, 1995; Spufford, 1996; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). As well as being good entertainment, they were an essential part of the strategy to rule the 'Other' (Said, 1994). McClintock (1995) has undertaken a study of *King Solomon's Mines* (Haggard, 1886) to explore how literary texts in particular contributed towards the creation of concepts of blackness and whiteness within late Victorian society. Ostensibly about the adventures of male western explorers in the newly discovered diamond mines of South Africa, McClintock suggests this famous novel is also a clear statement about white male dominance as a natural progressive state in society's march towards utopian civilisation. Barringer (1998) and Hooper-Greenhill (1992; 1998) have explored how the appropriation and re-use of colonial culture within a British domestic context publicly reinforced the power relationship between the centre of the Empire, Britain, and the colonised margins. School educational curricula were equally ideological in promoting the idea of British imperial superiority over other European nation states and over non-European cultural communities (Hopkins, 1999), as was the emphasis placed on the use of English as a global language (Pennycook, 1998).

Mid-Victorian debate concerning race and ethnicity peaked in London during 1865 stimulated by the Jamaican Eyre Revolt (Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Hall, 1992; Judd, 1997; Shipman, 1994). The Revolt highlighted differing attitudes people held about black people with regard to their status as human beings. In Jamaica, Governor Eyre had ruthlessly put down an uprising by local black communities (once slaves but emancipated in 1833) tired of living in poverty whilst the absentee landlords raked in profits from their work. The final straw was when Eyre hung William Gordon, a native baptist minister, for incitement without any recourse to the law. A liberal group in London, led by John Stuart Mill, set up the Jamaica Committee to prosecute Eyre for Gordon's murder. In response, Thomas Carlyle and supporters that included Charles Kingsley, Ruskin, Tennyson and Dickens established an Eyre Defence Committee. The former succeeded in ensuring Eyre lost his post as Governor of Jamaica but the latter persuaded government not to prosecute Eyre. The Eyre Defence Committee also persuaded a considerable percentage of otherwise liberal middle class people to support their views on race and to a lesser

extent slavery (Hall, 1992; Judd, 1997). The racist discourse had grown in popularity since the late 1850s, influenced by events demonstrating an increased ethnic resistance to Western commercial exploitation: the Indian Mutiny in 1857 and the American Civil War in 1861 for example (Desmond, 1994; Hall, 1992; Jones, 1980; Judd, 1997). In the Civil War, a sizeable proportion of the middle classes felt more strongly about their own economic wellbeing than human rights and therefore supported the South (Bernstein, 1998). Slavery ensured economic reliability, reduced black idleness and provided more wealth for their coffers. A belief system placing colonised societies in a naturally inferior position to the colonialists provided a moral escape route for Christian white people who found themselves backing slavery for economic reasons.

Relationship with Sociocultural Evolution Discourse

Sociocultural evolution theory supported both liberal and conservative colonial values and practices. Indeed, Pitt Rivers sought to have anthropology represented as an essential tool within the colonial administration enabling the explanation and integration of the 'Other' revealed by colonial activity (Jones, 1980; Pearce, 1995).

The idea of a monogenetic origin for the human species, psychic unity and the belief in a progressive ladder of cultural evolution supported the liberal belief that people from all societies were capable of learning and progress if given the opportunity to become educated in Western values and practice (Bowler, 1993; Crook, 1999; Desmond 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Stocking 1987; Winter, 1998). Many members of the Darwinist community became actively involved in the racist question, advocating an anti-slavery stance (Desmond, 1994; 1999; Desmond & Moore, 1991;Gould, 1980; Jensen, 1991; Jones, 1980). Huxley, Lyell, Darwin, Wallace, Spencer and Lubbock signed up as members of the Jamaica Committee for example (Desmond, 1994; Hall, 1992). However, they still regarded the 'Other' as intellectually and morally inferior, and Jones (1980) argues that in part they supported anti-slavery campaigns because to do otherwise would weaken arguments for meritocracy within their own society.

Herbert Spencer's racist views, shared increasingly by other liberal Darwinists including Lubbock later in his life, were more pessimistic. He advocated a monogenetic origin but believed that non-western peoples had stagnated for so many years they were incapable of 'catching up' with Western society regardless of how much education they received (Bowden, 1991; Bowler, 1993; Jones, 1980; Stocking. 1987). Recapitulation theory suggested that because black people retained juvenile anatomical traits and smaller brain size than white Europeans they would never be as intelligent or morally responsible (Gould, 1978; 1980; Jones, 1980). A struggle for existence would ensue if an inferior and superior society came into contact that would inevitably result in the survival of the fittest, in this case Western civilisation (Bowden, 1991; Bowler, 1993; Jones,

1980; Stocking, 1987). The school of eugenics emerged from this perspective on race. Interestingly, though many phrases associated with Darwin's theory of biological evolution (natural selection, for example) were adopted within the colonial discourse their use was more rhetorical than intellectual and certainly the racist ideas developed had little to do with Darwin's original theory (Crook, 1999).

The polygenetic school of thought, advocated by Hunt and other members of the Anthropological Society, provided the scientific support for Carlyle's racist views. Similarly rooted in Western superiority, the philanthropic aspect of the Darwinist community was missing. Many polygenecists regarded the 'Other' as intrinsically inferior and of scientific value to study like any other species of animal that may or may not become extinct. They argued that race conflict was one of the key forces behind evolution, and this attitude towards race became very influential during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century leading up to World War 1 (Bowler, 1993).

Monogenecists and polygenecists both used archaeological and ethnographic data and material culture in the development of their arguments (Bowden, 1991; Kehoe, 1992; Stocking, 1987; Willey & Sabloff, 1993), and were happy for the human remains and cultural artefacts of the 'Other' to be removed, sometimes forcibly, from their cultures of origin in the name of science (Desmond, 1994; Desmond & Moore, 1991; Shipman, 1994; Stocking, 1987). Collecting became an important statement within colonial discourse, undertaken for both financial[55] and scientific gain. Archaeological and ethnographic material was collected within a value system of *them-us*, *inferior-superior*, and this made a considerable impact upon the type of material collected (Cannizzo, 1998; Coombes, 1994; Pearce, 1995; Stocking, 1987). In 1910, Balfour justified the British occupation of Egypt by referring to Britain's ability and efforts to uncover the history of Egyptian civilisation, placing emphasis on knowledge as power over and above military and economic justification (Said, 1995). It is no coincidence that renewed archaeological interest in Egypt began in 1883, just one year after Britain conquered the country for trade reasons. The interpretation of ethnographic material in juxtaposition with prehistoric archaeology and within a framework of cultural evolution similarly removed indigenous people from their own history and identity subjugating them into narratives of Western superiority and progress (Barringer, 1998; Cannizzo, 1998; Coombes, 1994; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Pearce, 1995; Hegeman, 1998; West, 1991). Inuit material collected during voyages to the Arctic provide a good example. Victorian upper middle classes were fascinated by the Inuit culture, particularly given the archaeological discoveries suggesting their ancestors probably lived in arctic conditions during the Stone Age (Spufford, 1996). After the Danish re-colonised Greenland in the seventeenth century, explorers and travellers looted Inuit graves removing cultural artefacts to supply Western scientists and

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[55] In 1898, Lubbock acquired Egyptian artefacts from Abydos excavated by a company part owned by Mr. Butrus for example. British Library MS Add 49677 155. "Letter from E.A. Wallis Budge to John Lubbock, dated 30th August 1898".

collectors (Spufford, 1996). During the late nineteenth century, these artefacts were mediated through the context provided by sociocultural evolution discourse, and the values and belief systems of the Inuit were repackaged within yet another aspect of Western culture.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter it has become clear the various discourse discussed are inter-related and cannot be regarded in isolation. The sociocultural evolution discourse was shaped by this inter-relationship and human agency acting within it, as was the statement of that discourse we are particularly interested in: Lubbock's collection of archaeological and ethnographic material. We are now ready to proceed to the main purpose of this thesis - the study of this collection as a place where the social discourse described in this chapter, and human agency and contingency interact.

Chapter 3: The Collection Analysis - Gathering the Data

It is only possible to undertake a historical analysis of John Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collecting activities because a significant amount of evidence relating to it survives for study. This short chapter describes the surviving material and the methods used to gather data from it. These methods were determined by the model of analysis discussed in chapter 1 and by the practicalities of examining the data available. There is also a brief commentary about how all of the above is influenced by twentieth century discourse and individual agency and contingency acting within it, in addition to discourse and individual action in the late nineteenth century.

The Catalogue

The Avebury Catalogue consists of 2 notebook volumes, both held at Bromley Museum. It is a hand-written record of Lubbock's collection, listing 1331 entries for archaeological and ethnographic items acquired. The first volume is written in a mediocre quality notebook with no title page and no cover (plate 3.1). The second volume is written in a marbled, covered notebook of reasonable quality and has a title plate on the cover: 'Catalogue of My Collection' written in John Lubbock's hand (plate 3.2). Both volumes are called the Avebury Catalogue today as the group of objects it records is called the Avebury Collection. However, it was mostly written and the items were mostly collected before Lubbock became Lord Avebury. Hence my use of the term 'Lubbock's collection' throughout this thesis.

A computerised database table was prepared in Microsoft Access, *Avebury Catalogue*, with each record representing one entry in the Avebury Catalogue. The information recorded in the Catalogue about each item was split into logical chunks for recording purposes (appendices 3.1 - 3.3). The database was designed to ensure all information available for each entry could be recorded, and to enable appropriate analysis of the data around key variables (figure 3.1). This database provided the starting point for the gathering of data relating to the collection. Other sources of information were scrutinised and the data obtained added to the relevant *Avebury Catalogue* record.

The Collection

The material recognised as Lubbock's collection is primarily housed at Bromley Museum (plate 3.3). It was acquired by the Museum in 1965 when it was called Orpington Museum, and was accessioned into the formal museum collections during the period, 1968-1988. This drawn out

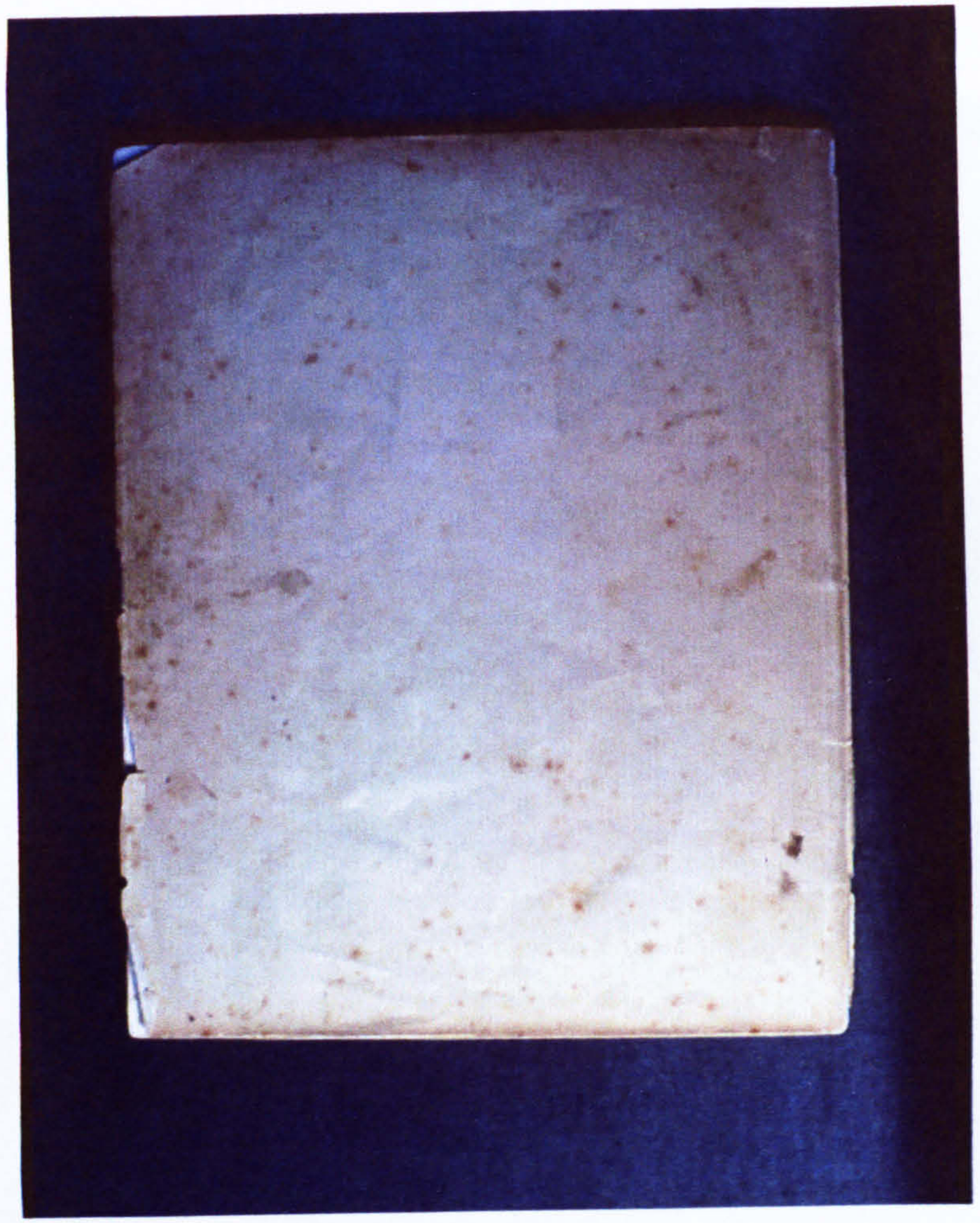


Plate 3. 1: Cover of Avebury Catalogue Volume 1

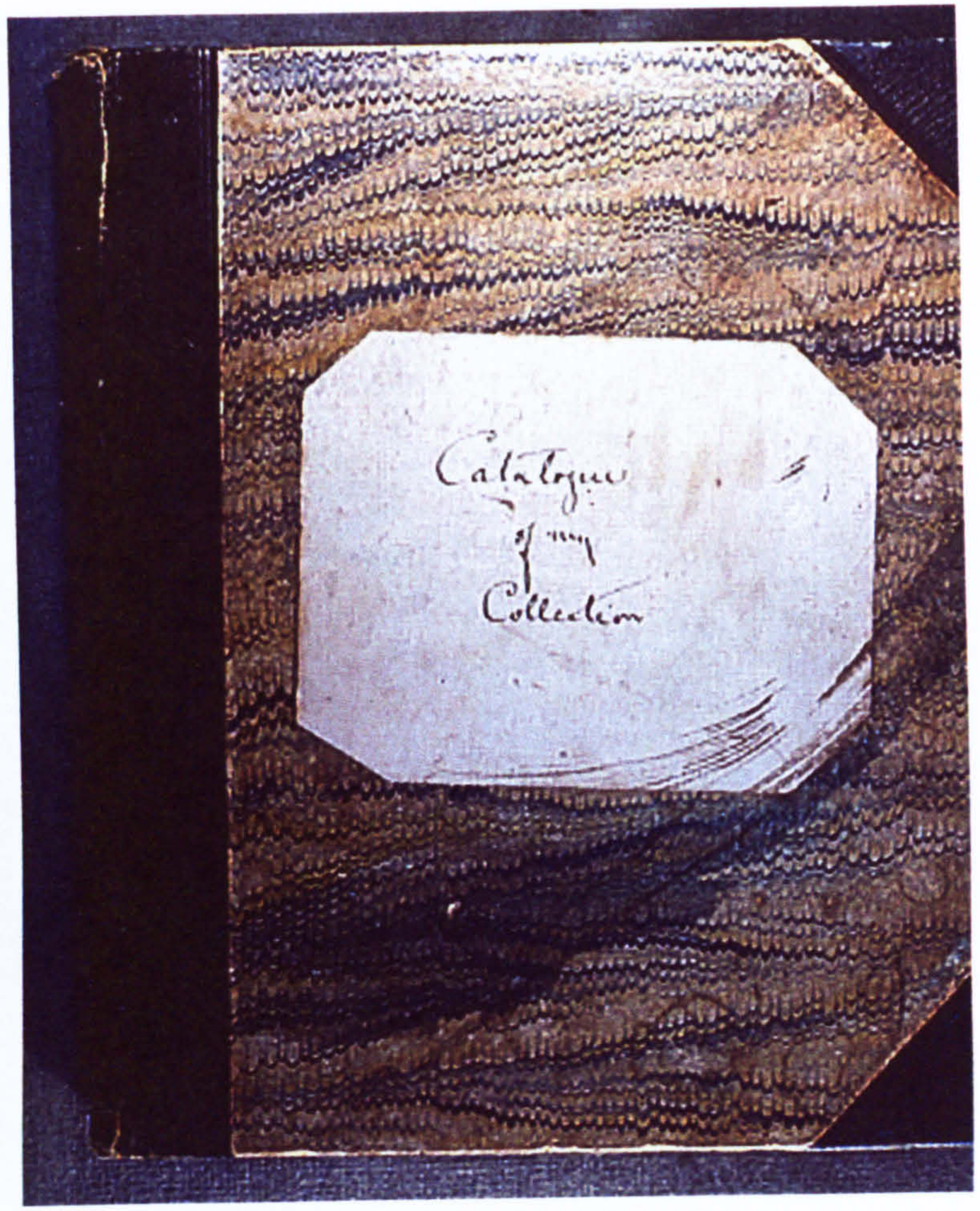


Plate 3. 2: Cover of Avebury Catalogue Volume 2



Plate3. 3: Bromley Museum

Key variables	**definition**
Subject classification (subjectclass)	Archaeology or ethnography
Country of origin (findcountry)	Country in which item originated
Site of origin	Site where item was found (for archaeology)
Material (material)	Raw material from which item is made
Archaeological period (archperiod)	The chronological period from which the item originates (for archaeology)
Ethnographic communities (Ptcommunity)	The ethnographic community from which an item originated (for ethnographic material, and using terminology used by Lubbock in *Prehistoric Times*)
Simple name (objectname)	Simple, or common name of artefact.
Year of acquisition (acqyear)	The year in which Lubbock acquired the item.
Method of acquisition (acqmethod)	The method by which Lubbock acquired the item: purchase; gift; exchange; field collection
Place of acquisition (acqlocation)	The location where Lubbock acquired the item
Source type (sourcetype)	The type of source Lubbock acquired the item from.
Acquisition person (acqperson)	Who Lubbock acquired an item from

Figure 3.1: Key variables to be used in analysis of Lubbock's collection

accessioning process was in part due to shortage of staff to undertake the work and a lack of appreciation by early staff of the need to provide a unique museum reference number for each item in the museum collection. As a result, Lubbock's collection is not grouped together in the accession register as a single entity, but spread across the pages of more than one register. At Bromley Museum the collection is known as the 'Avebury Collection', and a small selection of items is on public display in a room (the Avebury Room) set aside to tell the biographical story of Lord Avebury (plates 3.4 - 3.5). However, the majority of the collection is housed in museum stores as the Avebury Collection in one location, boxed and bagged or wrapped in bubble wrap.

Another significant part of Lubbock's original collection is held at the British Museum in London (plate 3.6). It acquired a small amount of material from Lubbock during his lifetime (plate 3.7), but the main contribution is a representative selection of Lubbock's collection acquired in 1916, when the British Museum accessioned 356 items from the collection, 1916.6-5.1-356 (plate 3.8). This material was donated by Lubbock's son, the second Lord Avebury. It primarily originated from the Iron Age cemetery at Hallstatt in Austria, but included many items illustrated by Lubbock and referred to in his book, *Prehistoric Times*. A few of the items from Hallstatt are now on display at the Museum in galleries relating to European prehistory (plate 3.9). However, the vast majority of items are held in store grouped according to the particular material type and

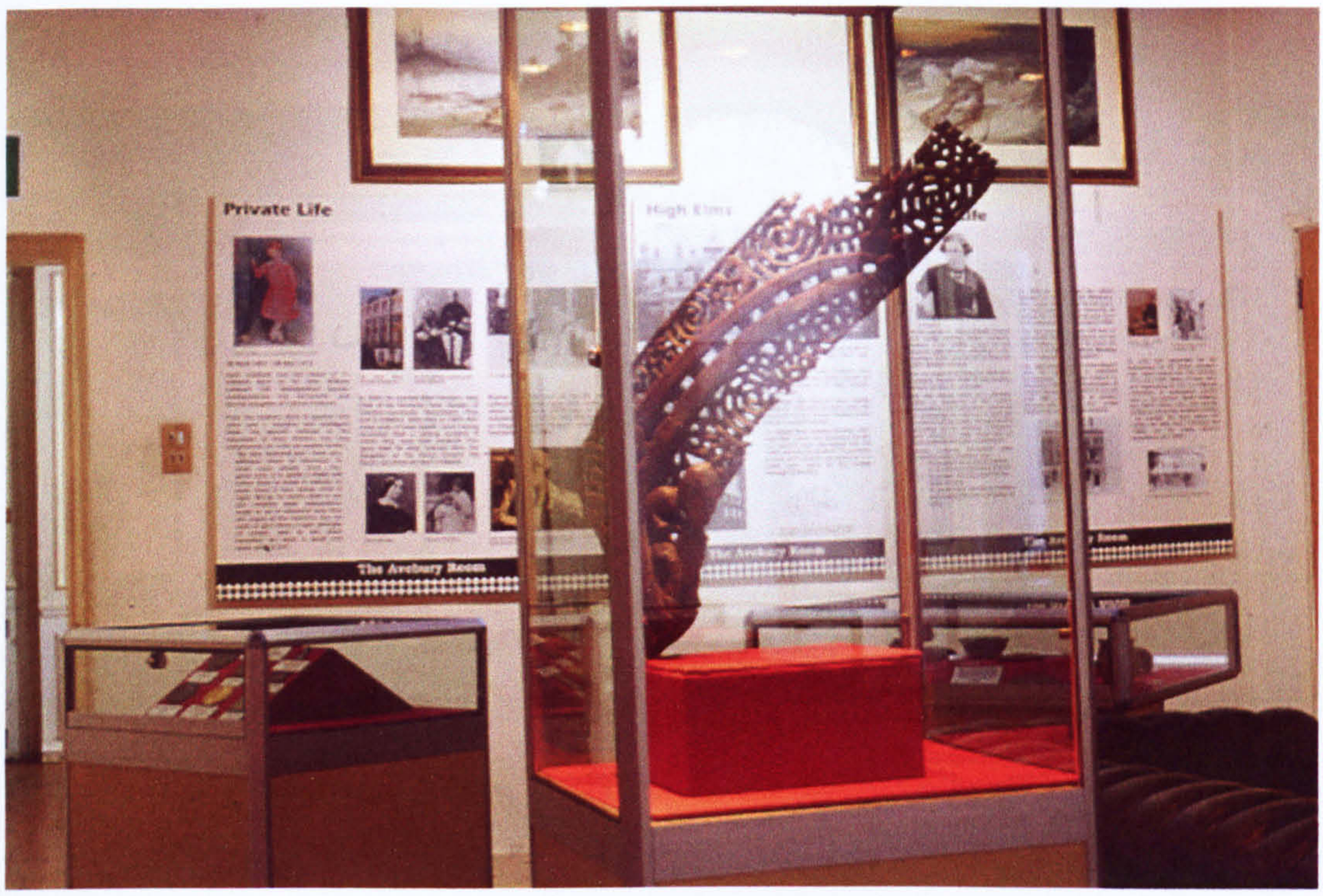


Plate 3. 4: Avebury Room, Bromley Museum

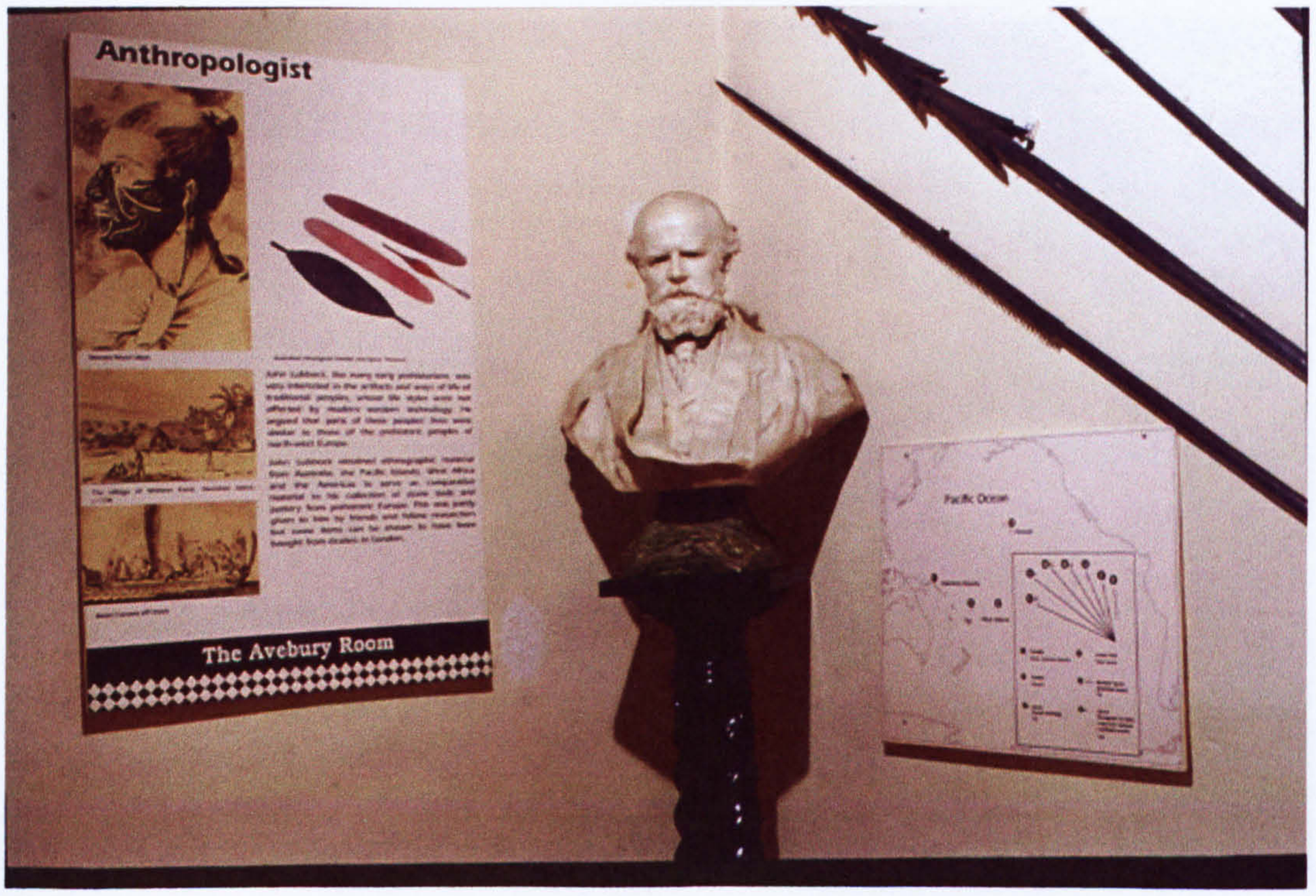


Plate 3.5: Avebury Room, Bromley Museum



Plate 3.6: British Museum, London

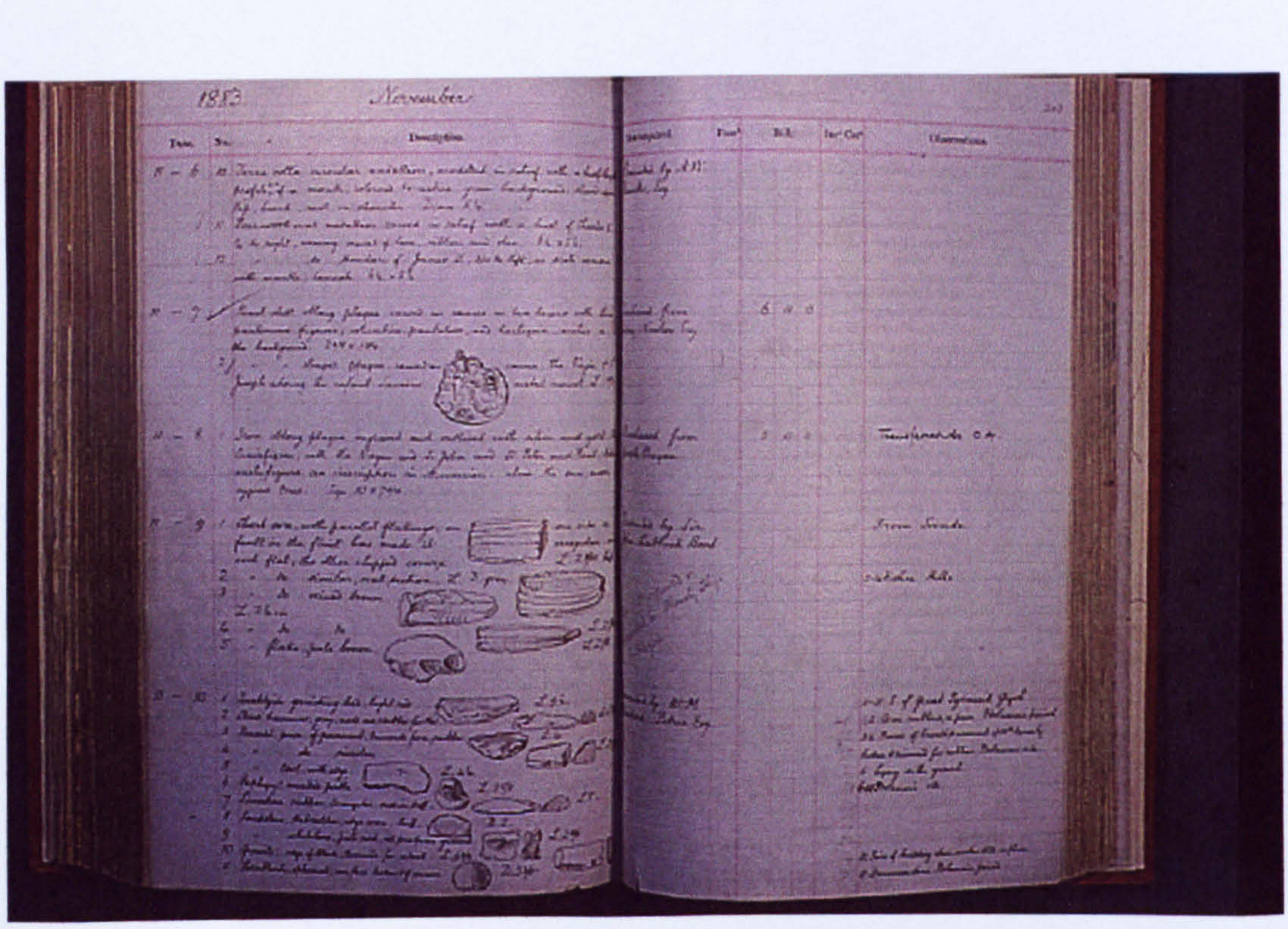


Plate 3.7: Extract from British Museum accession register. Depicts the entries for a gift of material by John Lubbock to the British Museum in November 1883.

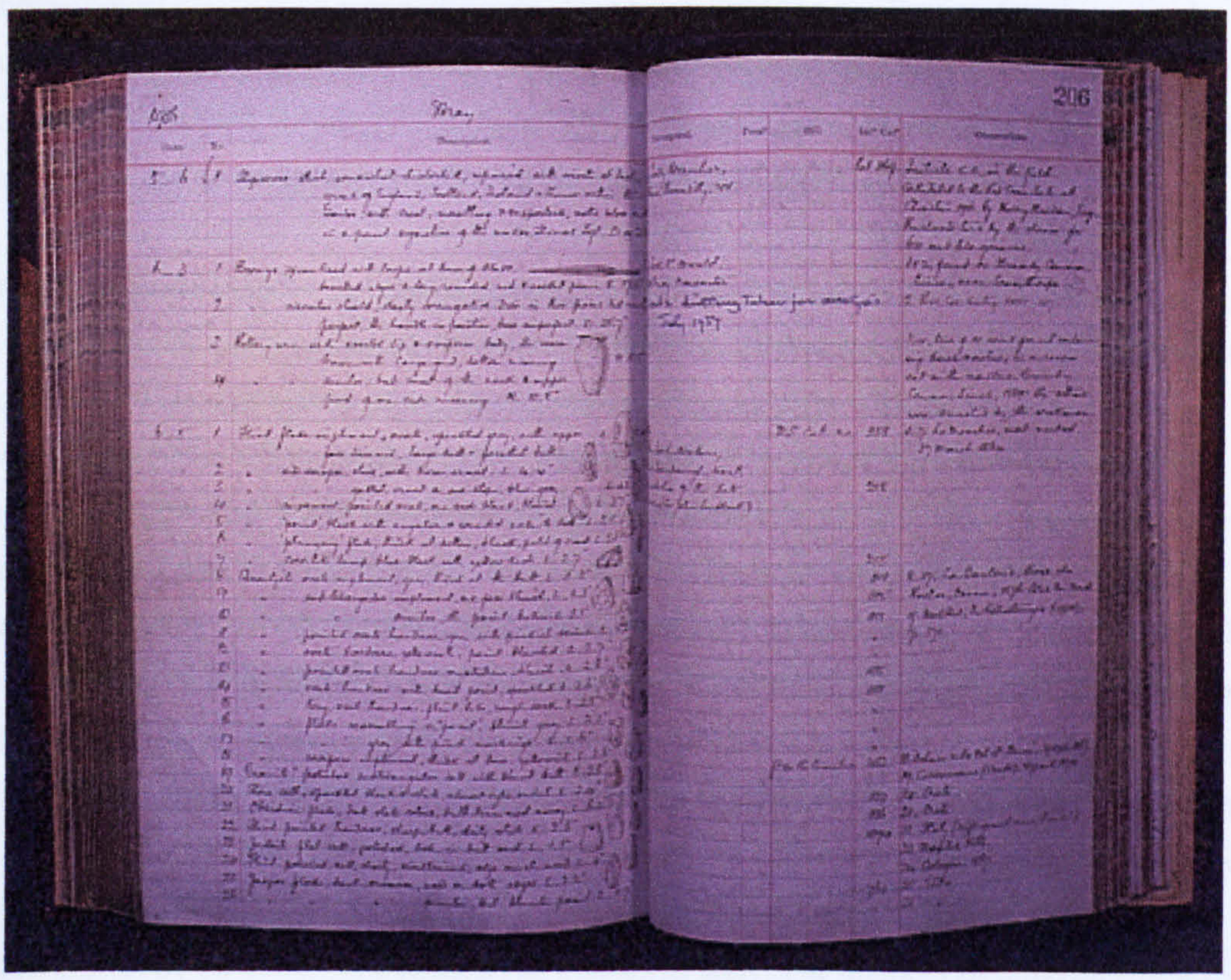


Plate3. 8: Extract from British Museum accession register. Depicts entries for a gift of material by the Second Lord Avebury to the British Museum in May 1916.



Plate3. 9: British Museum Display containing artefacts from Hallstatt, Austria, given by John Lubbock and John Evans to the British Museum during the 1860s.

chronological period each represents rather than being stored as a collection forming a single entity. Several other museums across the country also acquired small amounts of material from Lubbock's collection (Leeds, Nottingham, Petrie Museum, Derby, Ipswich and Peterborough for example) either given by Lubbock during his lifetime or acquired after his death.

During the period 1995-7, a detailed analysis of all the material associated with Lubbock at Bromley Museum and the British Museum was undertaken, and Derby and Nottingham Museum collections were also visited. If an object could be assigned to its relevant Catalogue entry, information gleaned from its observation was recorded in the relevant *Avebury Catalogue* database table record. It was possible to assign items studied to 348 Catalogue entries (for some group entries more than one item was found): Bromley Museum has items relating to 282 Catalogue entries; British Museum has items relating to 63 Catalogue entries; Derby Museum has items relating to 3 Catalogue entries. However, if an object could not be assigned to its Catalogue entry (usually because the original number assigned by Lubbock and recorded in the Catalogue was missing) it was recorded as an individual entry in an *Unknowns* database. Over time and the collation of further data it has been possible to identify the relevant Catalogue number for some of the 'unknowns' and the information recorded has been transferred to the *Avebury Catalogue* table. However, there are 860 entries in the *Unknowns* table. The majority of these undoubtedly relate to entries in the Avebury Catalogue but cannot be assigned with any degree of certainty to a particular entry because they are no longer marked with their Catalogue number and are not distinct enough to be assigned without.

This close observation of the objects themselves provided a variety of data for analysis. It was possible to link 28% of the entries listed in the Catalogue to existing objects and to identify what these objects are by today's knowledge. Some items had further information written directly on to the object regarding where they were found and how Lubbock acquired them. It was also sometimes possible to identify whether an item belonged to a previous collection - perhaps old numbers are marked on it or other references to a previous collection exist including old labels. Labels proved a particularly interesting source of information, either in terms of information written on them or a distinctive type of label might suggest the source from which an item was obtained (plates 3.10-3.21). Distinctive handwriting styles were also noted as evidence, though a systematic analysis of handwriting style was not undertaken.

The Correspondence

Sir John Lubbock's papers were primarily deposited at the British Library after his death where they are classified as Additional Manuscripts. They consist of his correspondence (both as Lubbock and Lord Avebury), his diaries and notebooks, and also notebooks and correspondence relating to his wives, Nelly and Alice. The correspondence is catalogued primarily in date order



Plate 3. 10: Label on an Australian aboriginal shield (Bromley Museum 83.46.1). Given to John Lubbock by Mr. Habgood in 1866 (AC 414).



Plate 3.13: Label on an axe from Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.61.20). The number does not relate to an Avebury Catalogue entry and presumably relates to a previous collection number or perhaps auction lot?



Plate 3.11: Label on a rusted iron object from Hallstatt, Austria (British Museum 1868.9-22.20). Given to the British Museum by John Lubbock in 1868.



Plate 3. 14: Label on a Neolithic polished axe from Avignon, France (Bromley Museum 68.50.4). The number does not relate to an Avebury Catalogue entry and presumably relates to a previous collection number or perhaps auction lot?



Plate 3. 12: Label on a flake tool from Acton, England (British Museum 1916.6-5.147). Given to the British Museum by the Second Lord Avebury in May 1916. 'A.L.F.' probably stands for Augustus Lane Fox.



Plate 3.15: Label on Lower Palaeolithic handaxe from Brandon, England (Bromley Museum 68.39.23).



Plate 3. 16: Label on a Lower Palaeolithic hand axe from Amiens, France (Bromley Museum 68.54.21). Given to John Lubbock by Lord Derby in August 1890 (1152a).



Plate 3. 19: Label on flake tool from Acton, England (British Museum 1916.6-5.147). Given to the British Museum by the second Lord Avebury in May 1916. Presumably given to John Lubbock by Colonel Augustus Lane Fox (Pitt Rivers) in 1871.



Plate 3. 17: Label on Palaeolithic flake tool from Thetford, England (Bromley Museum 68.32.6). Probably given to John Lubbock by John Evans, date unknown.



Plate 3. 20: Label on axe from Silkeborg, Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.61.5). Purchased by John Lubbock from Vilhelm Boye in 1863 (AC 10).



Plate 3. 18: Label on paddle from the South Pacific Islands (Bromley Museum 83.44.1). Purchased by John Lubbock from William Wareham in April 1869 (AC 741).

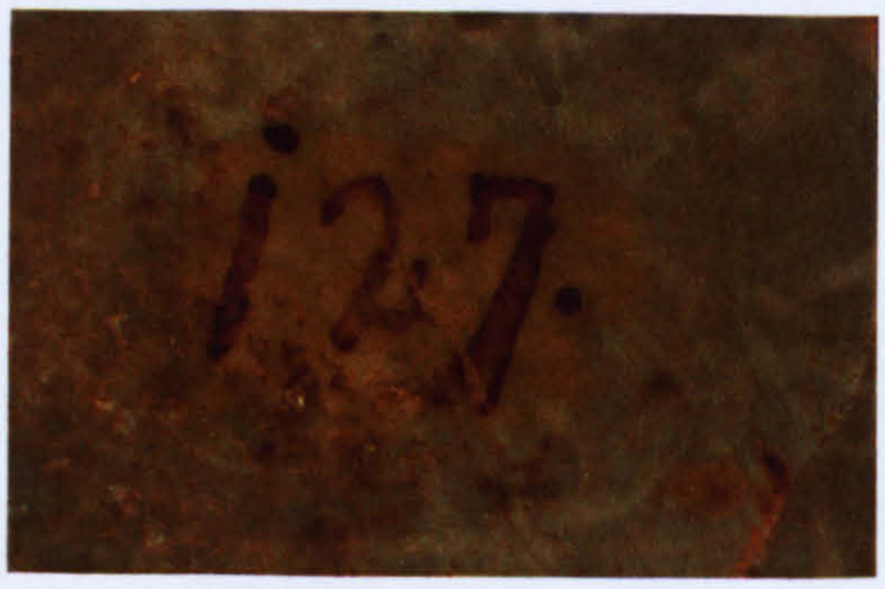


Plate 3. 21: Label on axe from Kalundborg, Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.60.3). Purchased by John Lubbock from Vilhelm Boye in 1863 (AC 127).

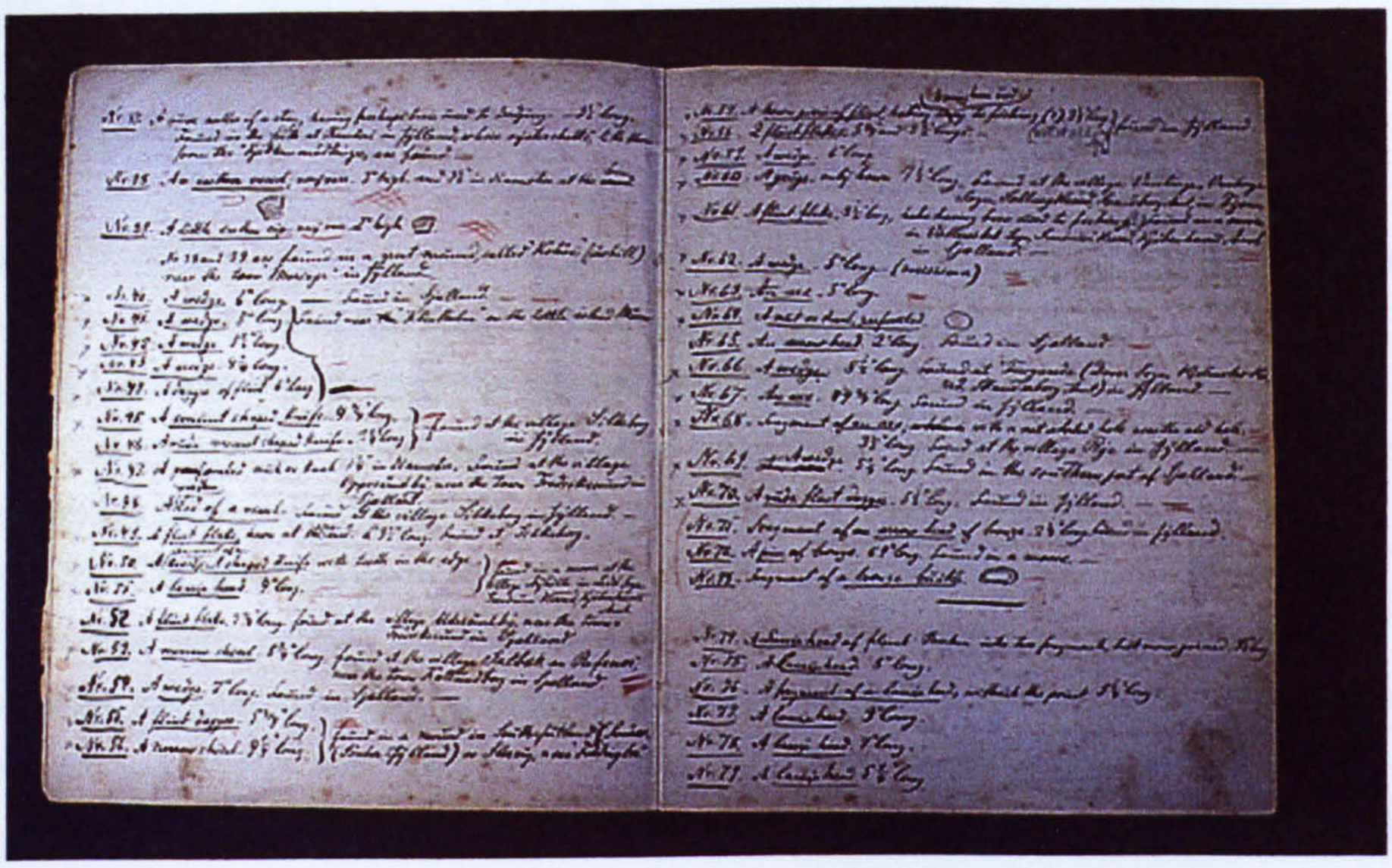


Plate 3.22: Extract from the Avebury Catalogue Volume 1. Depicts entries written by Vilhelm Boye showing similar handwriting to that used on the object labels.

(MS Add 49638-49675), although there are also thematic volumes, including one about Lubbock's collecting activity (MS Add 49677). Some of Lubbock's correspondence is still in the possession of the Lubbock family[1].

The correspondence files were studied to extract information about Lubbock's collecting activity and his role within related archaeological and ethnographic debate during the late nineteenth century. A comprehensive study of MS Add 49677 and volumes relating to letters dating 1855-1883 was undertaken and correspondence files post 1883 were sampled, 1 letter in every 10 plus any letters from a correspondent of note in archaeological or ethnographic studies. It was recognised from the Catalogue that collecting activity primarily took place during the period, 1863-1880, with very little being collected after this date (see chapter 4). However, it was felt important to spend some time focusing upon the post 1880 period to identify if and what changes in Lubbock's lifestyle took place after that date. The correspondence of Alice Lubbock, 1884-1911, (MS Add 62692) was also sampled in this way, and a comprehensive study of the volume MS Add 62693 was undertaken because this contained letters of condolence to Alice Lubbock on the death of her husband, John, in 1913.

The Diaries and Notebooks

John Lubbock's diaries and journals are also housed at the British Library (MS Add 62679-62684). They provide an interesting record of his daily activities during the period 1853-1913 but unfortunately do not reveal much about his thoughts and motivations. He was not a diarist who used a diary to record his inner most thoughts, but they do provide an itinerary and record of what he did (though there are odd tantalising references to his more personal emotions). Similarly, his notebooks are fairly descriptive and particularly relate to his travels and field excursions. These are housed at the British Library but also with the Lubbock family. Both sources also have notebooks and diaries created by the female figures in Lubbock's life, his mother and his two wives (British Library MS Add 62690 and 62691). The Royal Society holds notebooks relating to Lubbock's intellectual work and in particular relating to the various publications he produced during his lifetime, including the archaeological/ ethnographic volumes *Prehistoric Times* and the *Origin of Civilisation* (Royal Society LUA 3, LUA5, LUA 15 and LUA 16).

The diary volumes and notebooks were studied and information relating specifically to Lubbock's collection and his relationship with the wider archaeological and ethnographic discourse extracted. Information regarding key events and personal relationships in Lubbock's life was also

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[1] Including photograph albums, correspondence between John Lubbock and various correspondents, scientific and travel notebooks, a catalogue of Lubbock's herbarium specimens and a journal written by Lubbock's mother, Harriet Hotham. Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection.

recorded in to place him within a wider 'lifeworld context' to assist in exploring the poetics of Lubbock's collecting.

The Archives of Others

A study of Lubbock's correspondence, though extremely useful, only provides part of the story - the responses of others to Lubbock. The other side of the discussion was missing, Lubbock's response to others. It was therefore felt appropriate to identify a few key archives that could be analysed from this other perspective. Once the key contributors to Lubbock's collection had been identified from analysis of the above data (figure 4.21) it was decided to study the archives of two key sources as examples: those of John Evans and Joseph Dalton Hooker. The other two important influences emerging through the data gathering exercise and its resultant analysis were the beginnings of the collection centred on the acquisition of a collection of Danish archaeological and ethnographic antiquities from a Danish archaeologist, Vilhelm Boye, and the influence of Charles Darwin on Lubbock's expanding intellectual network. It was therefore decided to study the archives relating to the Danish acquisition currently housed at the Nationalmuseet and the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and the Darwin archives housed at Cambridge University Library.

Relevant material in these archives included correspondence from Lubbock, and references to Lubbock in letters to others and in notebooks/ diaries kept. Working from pre-existing indexes of material, the items most likely to generate information were studied in detail and relevant information regarding Lubbock's collecting and his relationship to the wider archaeological and ethnographic discourse was noted.

Drawing the Information Together

Information from the above sources was drawn together via the *Avebury catalogue* database to inform the systematic analysis undertaken and the results are outlined in chapter 4. A good example of how this integrated resource gave a clearer idea of Lubbock's collecting activity is provided by the acquisition of material from Vilhelm Boye in 1863. Volume 1 of the Catalogue has been written by two individuals: the first 249 entries are written in a different hand to the rest. The handwriting used for the later entries is Lubbock's, but the early entries are not by him. After the entries 1-183z there is a name written and a date, 'Vilhelm Boye, Marts 1863'. Looking at objects now housed at Bromley Museum, it has been possible to identify a few with Catalogue

numbers relating to these early entries[2]. Some of the numbers are written directly onto the relevant object in black ink, and others are written in black ink onto labels stuck to the object. The labels used are distinctive as is the handwriting both on the labels and directly on the objects (plates 3.20 and 3.21). It is the same handwriting used to write the early entries in the Avebury Catalogue (plate 3.22). Correspondence now housed at the British Library, London, and the Royal Library, Copenhagen, indicate Lubbock bought a collection of Danish stone archaeological and ethnographic antiquities from Vilhelm Boye, via Professor Japetus Steenstrup in Copenhagen, during the period March-June 1863 for 20 guineas[3]. These letters indicate Boye wrote out an English translation of a catalogue to accompany this collection. A trawl through the archives of the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, revealed the original catalogue Boye made for his collection (1857-1862), written in Danish, part of which he translated for Lubbock in 1863[4]. The Danish version contains more information about where Boye originally acquired items in the collection than the version he completed for Lubbock and is a rich source of information in its own right. It is probable that volume 1 of the Avebury Catalogue started out as the English translation prepared by Boye for Lubbock, and that Lubbock then continued to use it as a place to record later collecting activities.

This example provides a springboard from which we can begin to explore Lubbock's role within the wider international, and particularly Scandinavian, archaeological and ethnographic discourse.

A Product of Twentieth Century Discourse, Agency and Contingency?

The material available for analysis is not just an outcome of social discourse, human agency and contingency in the late nineteenth century and before. These influences have also been at work throughout the twentieth century shaping what has survived. Take, for example, the collection

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[2] For example, two Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age unpolished flint axes from Fyen in Denmark (Bromley Museum accessioned items 68.30.37 and 68.60.39) recorded as entry numbers 6 and 5 respectively in the Avebury Catalogue, volume 1.

[3] British Library MS Add 49640 48. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated [1]0th March 1863". British Library MS Add 49640 71-72. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated 21st June 1863". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 1st May 1863". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 24th June 1863". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 12th September 1863".

[4] Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet Arkiv IV 118 Boye. "Catalogue of 1855-1859 Collection", "Catalogue of Greenland Collection", "Catalogue of 1860-1862 Collection".

and catalogues that survive at Bromley Museum for their more recent history has been just as interesting.

The survival of this element of the collection is due in part to a local community desire after the Second World War to create a museum for a local Kent village of Saxon origin, Orpington (Owen, 1990; Various authors 1975). Orpington was rapidly becoming subsumed into a London suburb and its museum opened in 1965 just as the village became part of the London Borough of Bromley (Various authors, 1975). Exhibitions of local history and archaeology were held during 1945 and 1946[5] (anon 1945), with the latter exhibition being organised by the newly formed Orpington Historical Society (OHS) which also began lobbying for a permanent museum. When responsibility for libraries, museums and art galleries provision in Orpington moved from Kent County Council to the Orpington Urban District Council (OUDC) in 1957 (OUDC Minutes 24: 751) the impetus grew for the building of a museum[6] (OUDC Minutes 24: 1111). Prior to that time the OUDC had regarded any construction of a museum in Orpington as the responsibility of Kent County Council. In 1957, they immediately began steps to house a museum in the grade II listed building, Orpington Priory (OUDC Minutes 24: 1111; OUDC Minutes 24: 1545; Seely & Paget, 1957). Little happened between 1957 and 1963 other than a venue being identified and a budget allocated. However, it was the imminent transfer of responsibility for Orpington's affairs from the OUDC to the London Borough of Bromley in 1965 that spurred the Council into action and between 1963-1965 the museum was constructed in Orpington Priory and opened. The opening of the museum was part of a programme of improving the village's civic amenities and during 1963-5 the OUDC drew up plans for a swimming pool and shopping centre as part of a defiant last act before Orpington became part of Bromley (OUDC Minutes 30: 811):

> *'nothing happened until Orpington was about to be incorporated into Bromley, when the Council quickly decided to appoint a curator and establish a museum in the Priory'*[7]

The Avebury Collection was an important consideration in this museum development, and one of the key reasons why a museum was called for in the first place (Owen, 1990). The Lubbock family had given this part of the collection to the OHS in 1947 on condition it remained within the Orpington area (OHS Minute 1947). This Society acted as the main pressure group calling for a museum during the late 1940s and 1950s to house and display the recently acquired Avebury Collection (OHS Minutes 25th May 1948, 3rd September 1951 and 29th May 1956). In 1959, the collection was stored by the OUDC in completely inadequate conditions in St. Mary's Cray library awaiting the development of a museum. The Collection had by this time become closely

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[5] Personal communication: Interview with Andrew Fordyce, an Orpington historian and first Chair of the Orpington Historical Society, Spring 1990.

[6] Personal communication: Interview with Andrew Fordyce, an Orpington historian and first Chair of the Orpington Historical Society, Spring 1990.

[7] Published in the Orpington & Kentish Times, 24th January 1974. "Letter written by Andrew Fordyce to the Editor, Orpington & Kentish Times, dated [January 1974]".

associated, certainly in the minds of the Orpington Historical Society[8] and the Lubbock family (OHS Minute 1947), with Orpington's civic pride; a pride heightened as an outcome of the Second World War and perhaps even more important as the inevitable amalgamation and take over by neighbouring Bromley loomed on the horizon (Various authors, 1975). The opening of a new Orpington Museum as one of the last actions of the OUDC can be seen in part as a political statement regarding the independent identity of a once Kent village community with a strong sense of pride in itself. The fact that the Museum was opened by Mrs. Adelaide Lubbock, mother of the current Lord Avebury, reinforces the suggestion that the Avebury Collection played a central role in the development of the Museum and was regarded in part as a symbol of local Orpington pride (High Elms was within the boundaries of Orpington). The refusal of OHS to donate the Collection to the Museum (the material is only on long-term loan even today) because they do not want it to leave the Orpington area (OHS Minutes 5th April 1965) reinforces this notion.

Though the above suggests there was a strong social impetus within discourse to set up a museum, individual agents and also contingency played an important part. Neighbouring communities such as Croydon and Bromley also wished to set up museums about their local identity but neither managed to do so. Why was Orpington different? In terms of local sensitive conditions, Orpington had suffered considerable bomb damage during the War and underwent considerable re-development and suburban expansion during the 1960s which both contributed to a feeling of loss of village identity (Various authors, 1975). The decision to separate Orpington's administration from Kent and then a few years later to amalgamate it with Bromley clearly also had a role. Neither Bromley nor Croydon were subsumed in the suburban expansion; they both remained dominant identities. The homeless nature of part of Lubbock's collection was also a contingent factor. There were also some very strong individuals (especially Andrew Fordyce, owner of a local road construction company, and A. Eldridge, a council workman with a large local archaeological collection) fighting for a museum for Orpington who were prepared to exploit and work with the discourse of the moment (Owen, 1990).

This background to the acquisition of parts of Lubbock's collection by what is now Bromley Museum (ex-Orpington Museum) perhaps explains how the collection is treated within this Museum. The rationale used to display and store this collection is its link with its creator, John Lubbock (Lord Avebury). The material is important more because of this context than because of its own intrinsic interest. The insistence on referring to this as the Avebury Collection is perhaps in part tied to the idea that the collection is a symbol of local civic pride through the greatness of the individual associated with it.

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[8] Personal communication: Interview with Andrew Fordyce, an Orpington historian and first Chair of the Orpington Historical Society, Spring 1990.

A similar story of survival influenced by social discourse, historical accident and individual agency could be explored for each of the sources identified above, but this brief analysis of how Lubbock's collection and associated catalogue has survived for me to study at Bromley Museum provides an example of the influence of the twentieth century on this thesis and the data left for analysis. Part of Lubbock's collection survives as a result of the wider social discourse and the role of museums within, as well as the individual agency of Andrew Fordyce, the Lubbock family and others.

Chapter 4: The Analysis of John Lubbock's Collection

In this chapter, Sir John Lubbock's collection of archaeological and ethnographic material is analysed according to part 1 of the analytical model outlined in chapter 1. The collection's internal coherence is explored from which it is possible to take a new perspective on the late nineteenth century social context within which it was created. The internal coherence is studied according to three key parameters: collecting activity ('acts of collecting'); use of the collection ('acts of use'); disposal of the collection ('acts of disposal'). A theory of coherence is developed for each parameter by exploring evidence for both cohesiveness and discontinuity. The data described in chapter 3 is used as the basis for this analysis, and the collection as a Wittgensteinian 'state of affairs' is defined. No single meaning for the collection will emerge but a complex network of meanings that create a dynamic and fluid internal coherence, reflecting the various discourses in which the collection has a role.

Collecting Activity

Thematic Content of the Collection

The Avebury Catalogue (AC) clearly defines the boundaries of Lubbock's formal, catalogued collection: it consists almost entirely of ethnographic and prehistoric archaeological material, with only a few minor exceptions.

<u>Archaeological Component</u>

The archaeological artefacts account for 57.4% of the identified material within the collection (figure 4.1). Analysis of this material supports the following primary conclusions regarding the archaeological component of Lubbock's collection:

1. Figure 4.2a-b demonstrates how the artefacts originate from 42 countries spanning the globe. 80% of the archaeological artefacts derive from prehistoric sites in Western Europe. Denmark is by far the most represented country, with 298 entries in the Catalogue derived from Danish sites (39% of archaeological artefacts). As shall be discussed in the section on collection recording, it must be remembered that the method of cataloguing differed

Figure 4.1: Thematic content of the collection

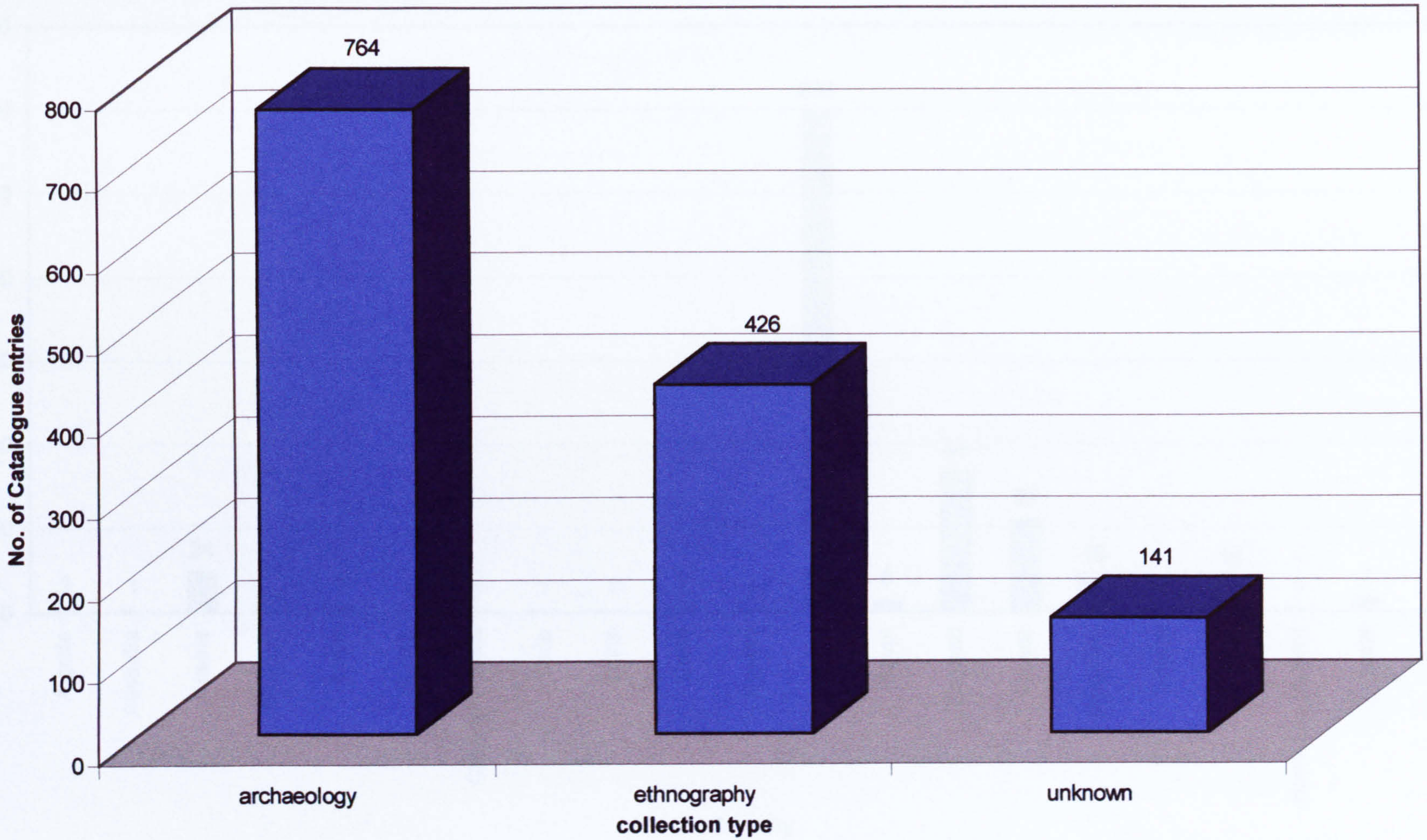


Figure 4.2a: Country of origin (archaeological artefacts)

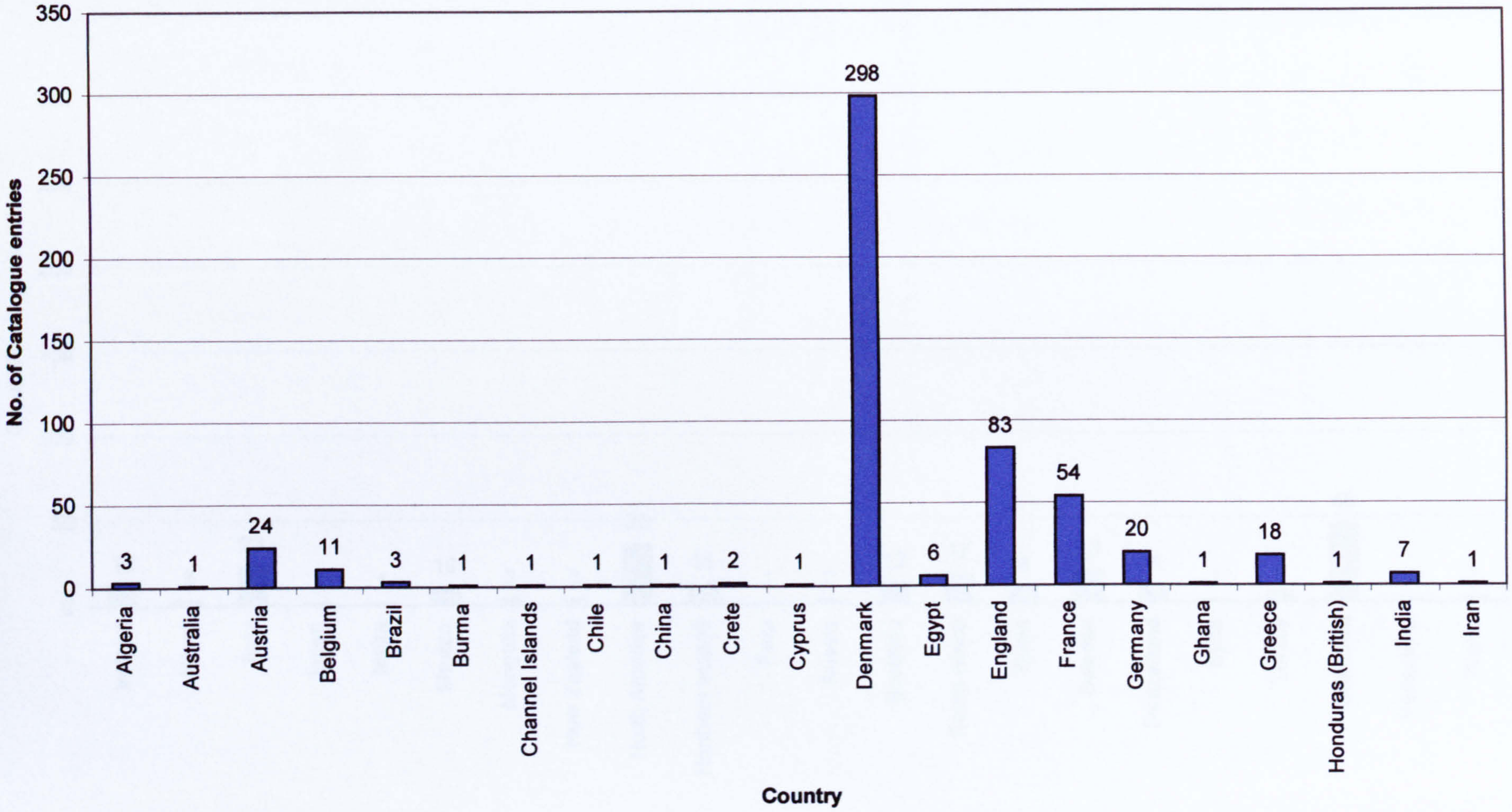
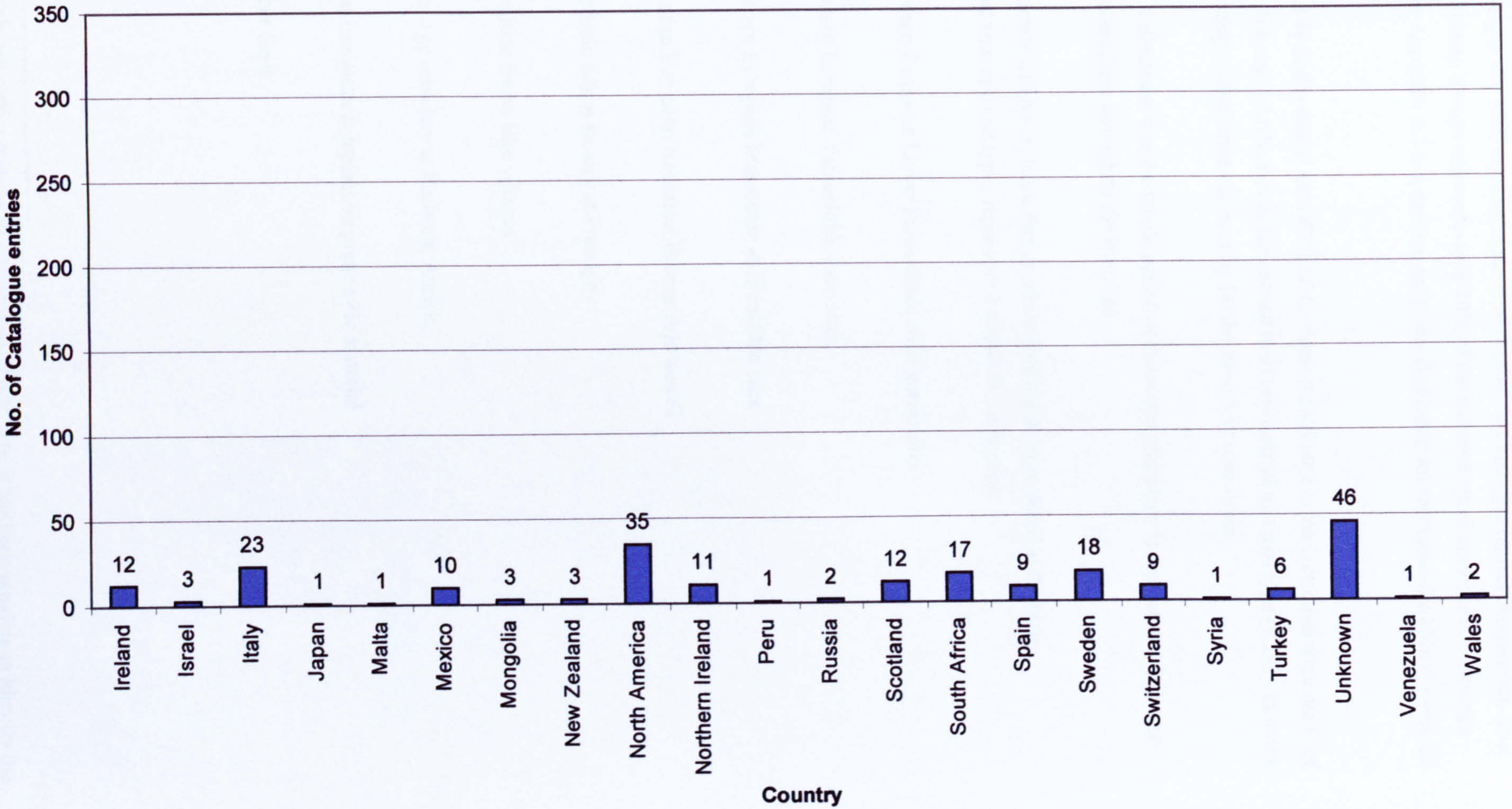


Figure 4.2b: Country of origin (archaeological artefacts)



between many of the Danish acquisitions and other material. However, the Danish material still outweighs any other country in terms of number of Catalogue entries. Acquisition from outside Western Europe represents only 20% of the archaeological artefacts in Lubbock's collection. Appendix 4.1 is a detailed list of the find locations represented within the various countries.

2. Figure 4.3 indicates that at least 67% of the items represented in the collection were made of stone[1], 510 items, with bronze as the second most represented material type (9.2%). In terms of archaeology, lithic artefacts were by far the most collected items.

3. Figure 4.4 illustrates that the whole period of European prehistory is represented from the Lower Palaeolithic through to the Iron Age.

These three trends will be explored further whilst looking in more detail at the main archaeological sites and site types represented within the collection:

- Western European Lower Palaeolithic river gravel sites
- Western European Palaeolithic cave sites
- Western European Mesolithic shell midden sites
- Western European Neolithic/ Bronze Age tumuli
- Neolithic lithics factory at Pressigny
- Neolithic Swiss lake villages
- Iron Age cemetery at Hallstatt, Austria
- Non-European comparative prehistoric material
- Other finds

[1] Of 764 Catalogue entries relating to archaeological artefacts, it has been possible to identify the material type of all but 116 entries.

Figure 4.3: Material type (archaeological artefacts)

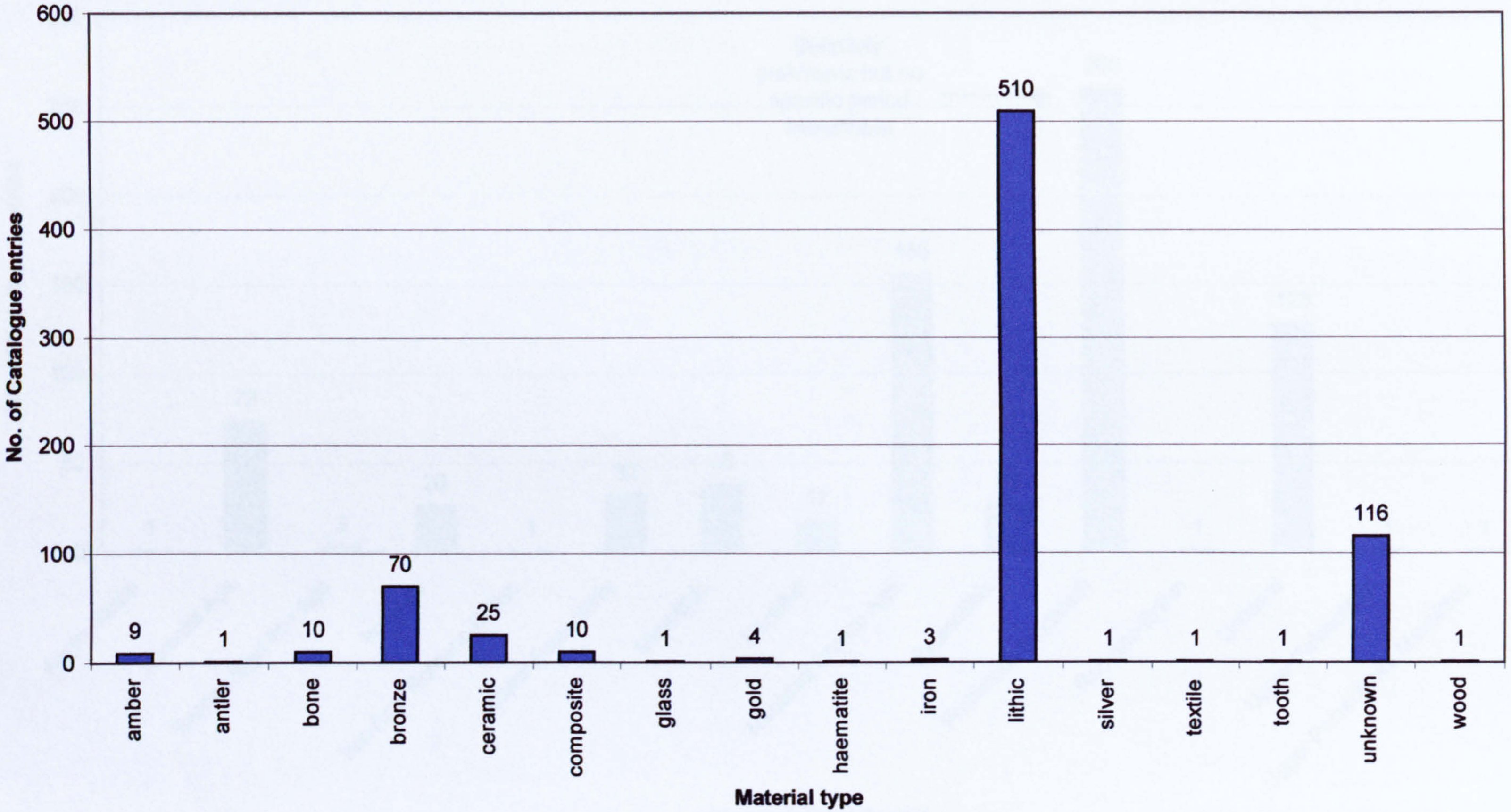
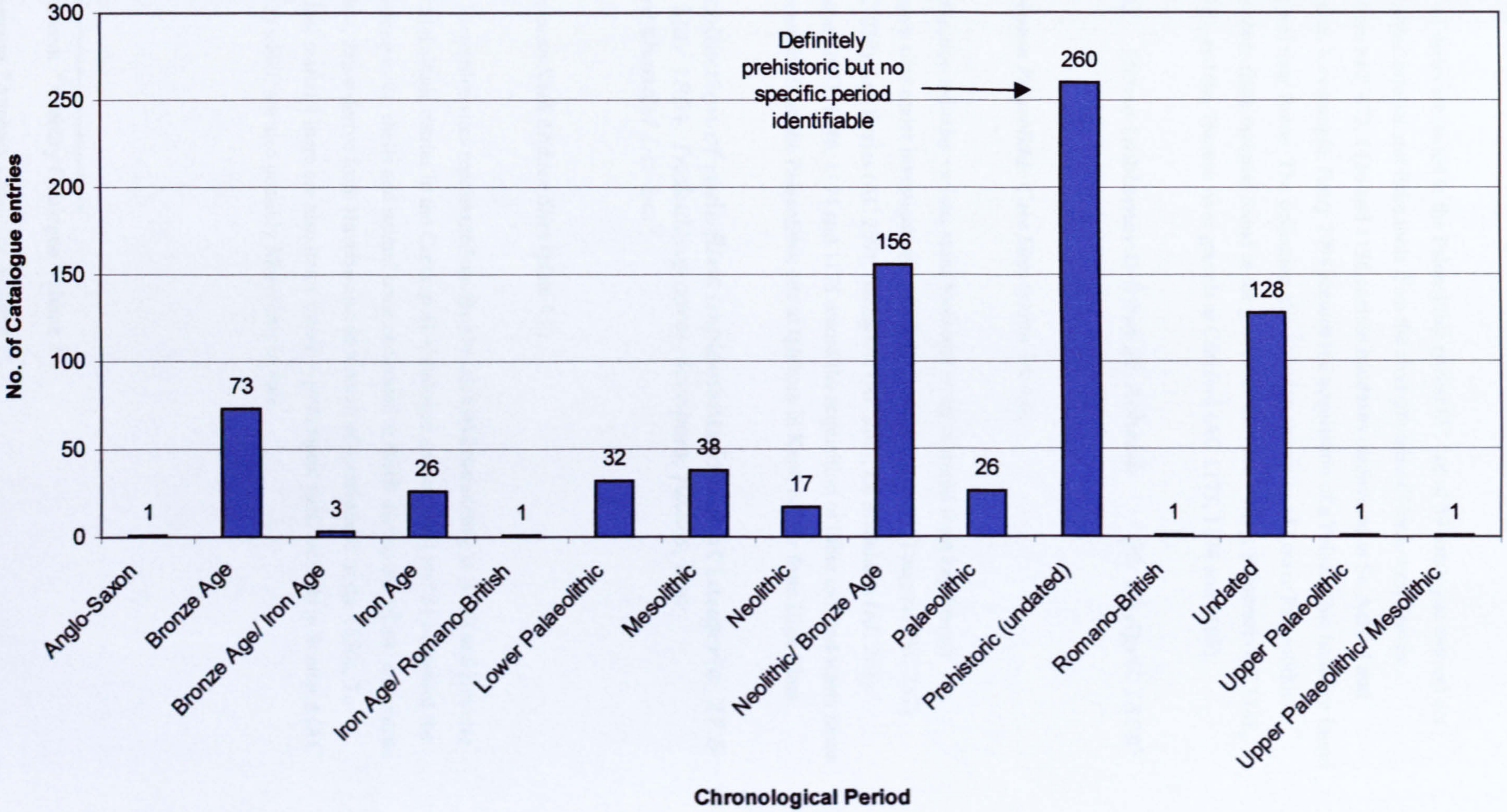


Figure 4.4: Chronological period of origin (archaeological artefacts)



Western European River Gravel Sites (plates 4.1-4.3)

The majority of items attributed to the Palaeolithic period (32 out of 59 catalogue entries) are Lower Palaeolithic bifaces and flake tools from the river gravels of North-west Europe. Catalogue entries 642, 672, 1126 and 1138 contain handaxes discovered at St. Acheul and Moulin Quignon, for example. Entry 1094 records the acquisition of a Palaeolithic handaxe found in the drift gravel near Rome. The collection also contains examples of Lower Palaeolithic handaxes and other flake material found in the gravels of the Axe Valley, Somerset (AC 1148, 1171 and 1172), and the Thames river gravels at Crayford (AC 1173, 1174 and 1185).

'642 *Stone implements from St. Acheul* Bt. 10 April 1868'[2]

Western European Palaeolithic Cave Sites (plates 4.4-4.6)

Lubbock's collection includes various stone tools and waste material from key French Palaeolithic cave sites under investigation in the late nineteenth century: Laugerie (AC 257); Moustier (AC 258); Les Eyzies (AC 259); Badegoule (AC 260); La Madelaine (AC 261). Catalogue entries 1053, 1146, 1174 and 1175 record the acquisition of lithic tool and waste items on several occasions from the Palaeolithic site at Ightham in Kent, not far from High Elms.

'A collection of rude flint implements found at Laugerie 27 & 28 Mar 1864. Including cores, scrapers, flakes, two lanceheads? &c. &c.'[3]

Western European Shell Midden Sites (plate 4.7)

The primary Mesolithic sites represented are the Danish kjøkkenmødding at Bilidt and Havelse (27 of the 38 Mesolithic entries in the Catalogue). Catalogue entries 20a-j and 21a-b record the collection of stone tools, shells and animal bone excavated at Bilidt during the 1850s, and entries 22a-f, 23, 24a-c, 25a-e derive from Havelse also as a result of excavations in the 1850s. To complement this material there are also items found in prehistoric shell mounds in Scotland (AC 265 and 285-7) which are also possibly Mesolithic in date.

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[2] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".

[3] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

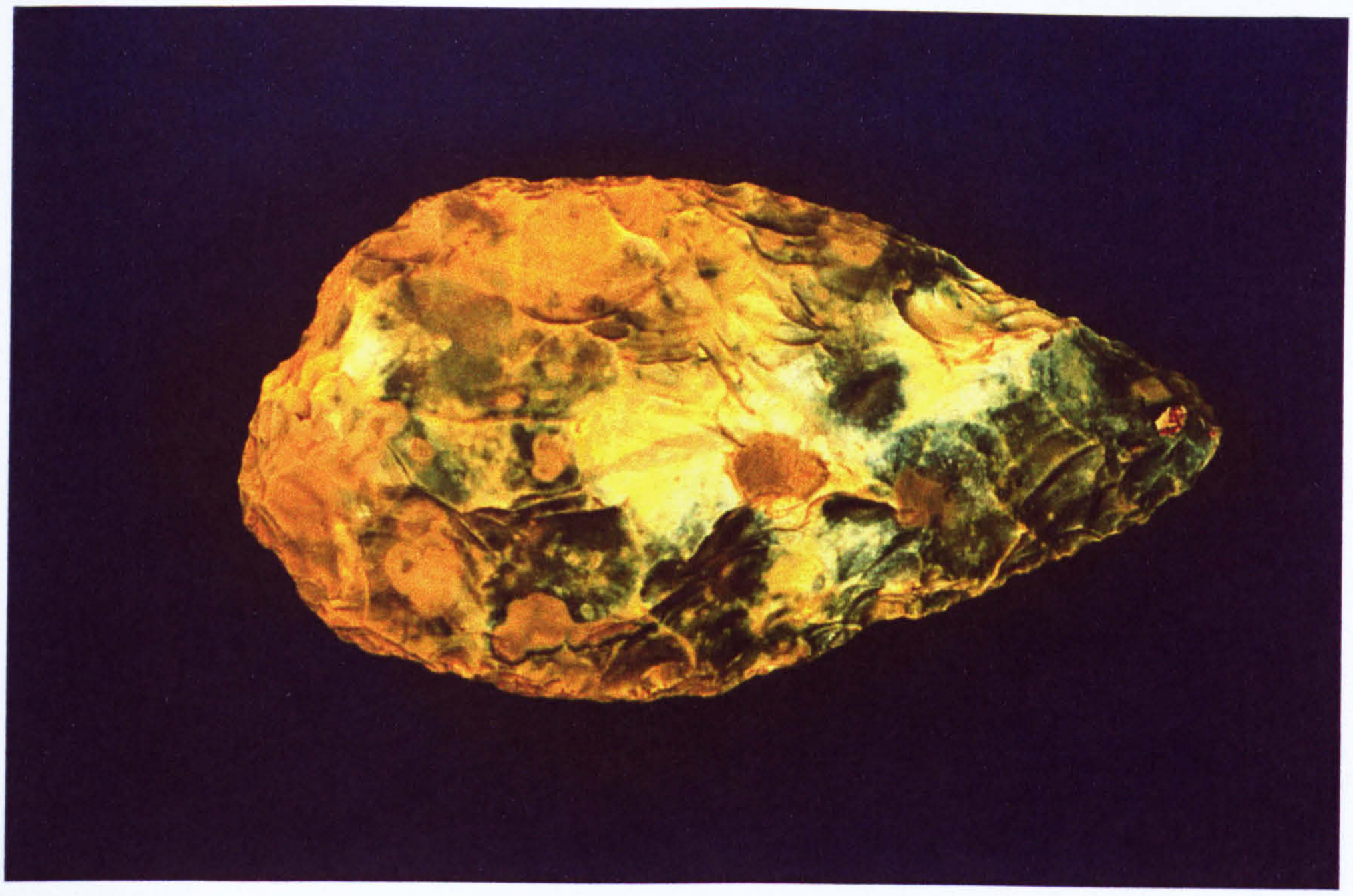


Plate 4. 1: Handaxe from St. Acheul, France (Bromley 68.54.25)



Plate 4. 2: Handaxe from Axminster, England (Bromley 68.26.21). Given to John Lubbock by James Ralls in September 1898 (AC 1172)



Plate 4. 3: Handaxe from St. Acheul, France (Bromley 68.1). Given to John Lubbock by Leonard Lyell in September 1885; brought back from France by Sir Charles Lyell (AC 1126)



Plate 4. 4: Scraper from Bourdeilles, France (British Museum 1916.6-5.143). Found by John Lubbock in April 1864 during visit to Perigord region (AC 256).

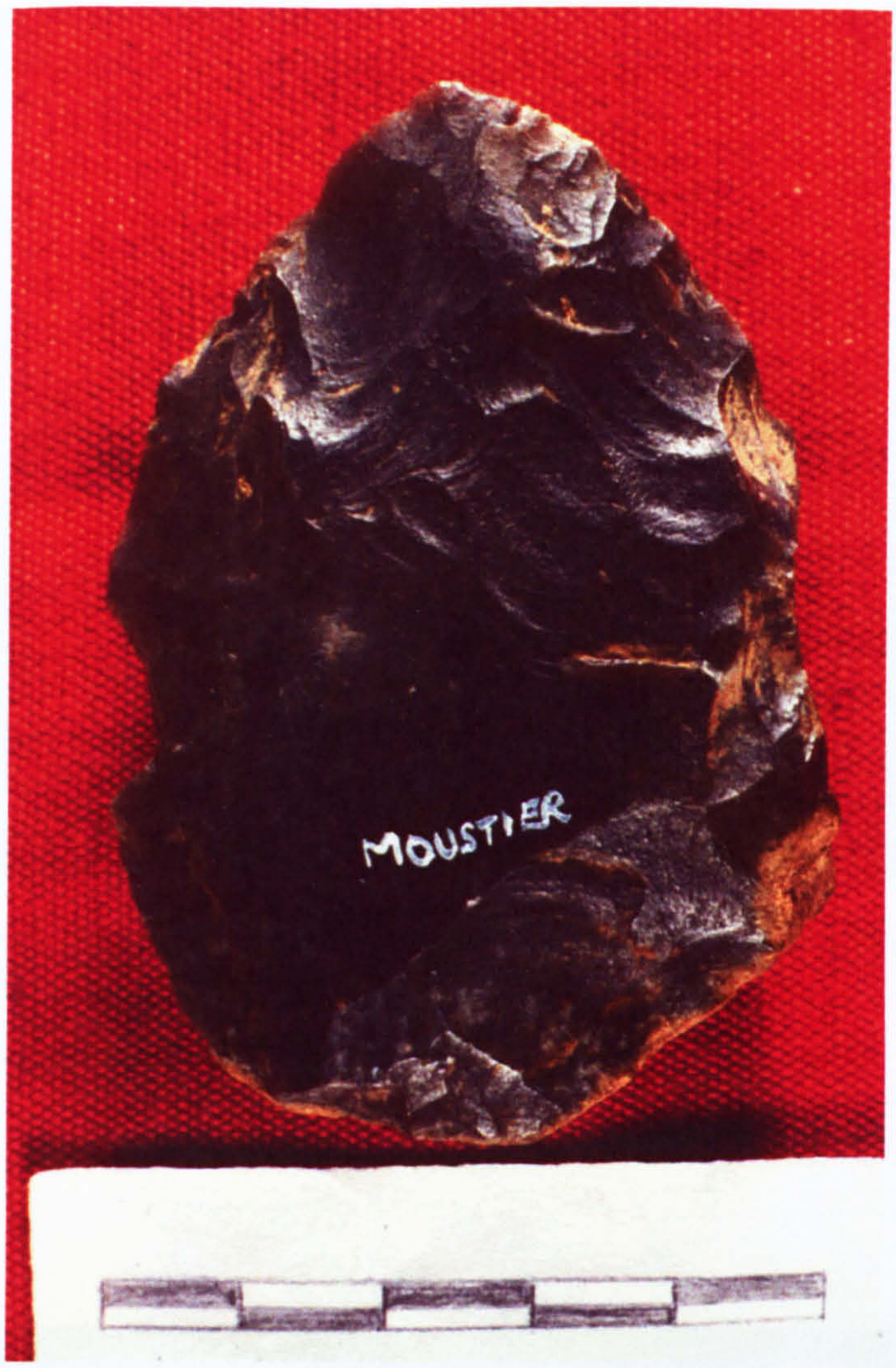


Plate 4. 5: Handaxe from Moustier, France (British Museum 1916.6-5.4). Found by John Lubbock in March 1864 (AC 258).

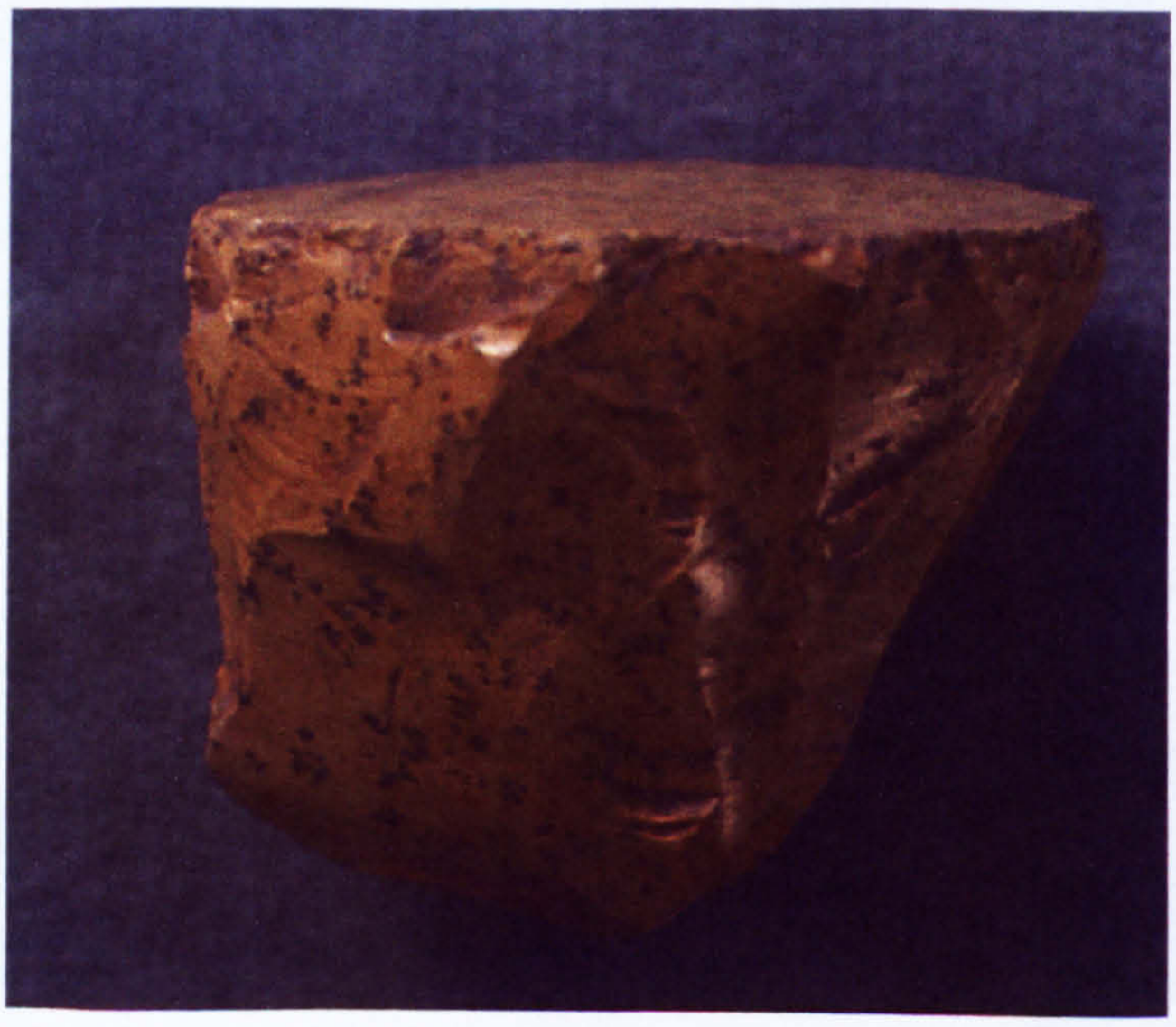


Plate 4. 6: Core from Laugerie Haute, France (Bromley Museum 68.46.2). Found by John Lubbock in March 1864 (AC 257).



Plate 4. 7: Axe from shell midden at Havelse, Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.69.9). Purchased by John Lubbock from Vilhelm Boye in 1863 (AC 23).



Plate 4. 8: Neolithic/ Bronze Age polished axe from Magleby Stevns sogn, Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.63.9). Acquired by John Lubbock in 1865.

'Nr. 20.a-k 10 flint flakes (the longest being 4" long, the smallest 1 1/2" long)...'[4]

Western European Neolithic/ Bronze Age Tumuli (plates 4.8-4.9)

The various tumuli scattered across the landscapes of Scandinavia, Britain and Northern France yielded numerous items ultimately forming part of Lubbock's collection. Excavations at Somark, in Denmark, account for 37 of the 246 items ascribed to the Neolithic or Bronze Age. Stone tools, amber beads, pottery, human remains, animal bone and bronze artefacts from these excavations were acquired by Lubbock in 1863 (AC 74-124). Catalogue entries 1126-1131 describe the collection of flint and ceramic items from a number of tumuli in Brittany including Cromlech d'Orlauic and Cromlech en Roche. Flint flakes from a tumulus near Sherburn in Yorkshire, England were acquired in October 1866 and a record was made in the Catalogue under entry 442.

'442 Flint flakes &c. found by me on a tumulus near Sherburn October 66'[5]

Neolithic Factory Site at Pressigny (plate 4.10)

Lubbock acquired a flint core from the flint blade factory site at Pressigny, Northern France, in 1864-5 (AC 296).

'296 Flint block fr. Pressigny - Pres. By H. Christy'[6]

Neolithic Swiss Lake Village Sites (plates 4.11-4.12)

Catalogue entries 750, 754 and 820 record the acquisition of various items including stone tools, organic material and fragments of piles from Robenhausen, an important lake village site discovered during the 1850s and under international scrutiny throughout the 1860s. Lubbock also collected material from lake village sites found near Neufchatel and Zurich (AC 646, 749, 752, 756 and 1158).

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[4] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

[5] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

[6] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

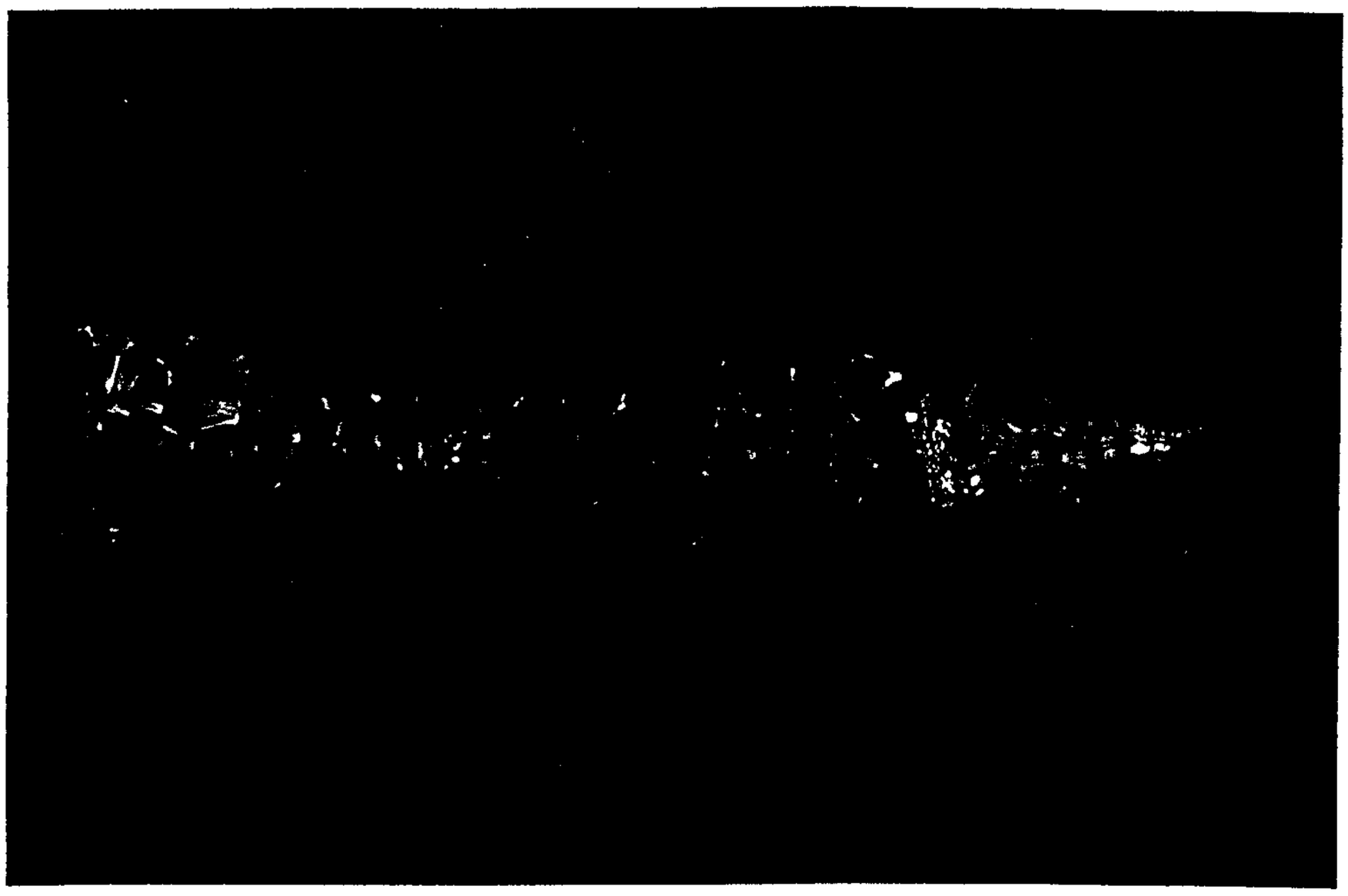


Plate 4. 9: Neolithic/ Bronze Age dagger from Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.65.2).

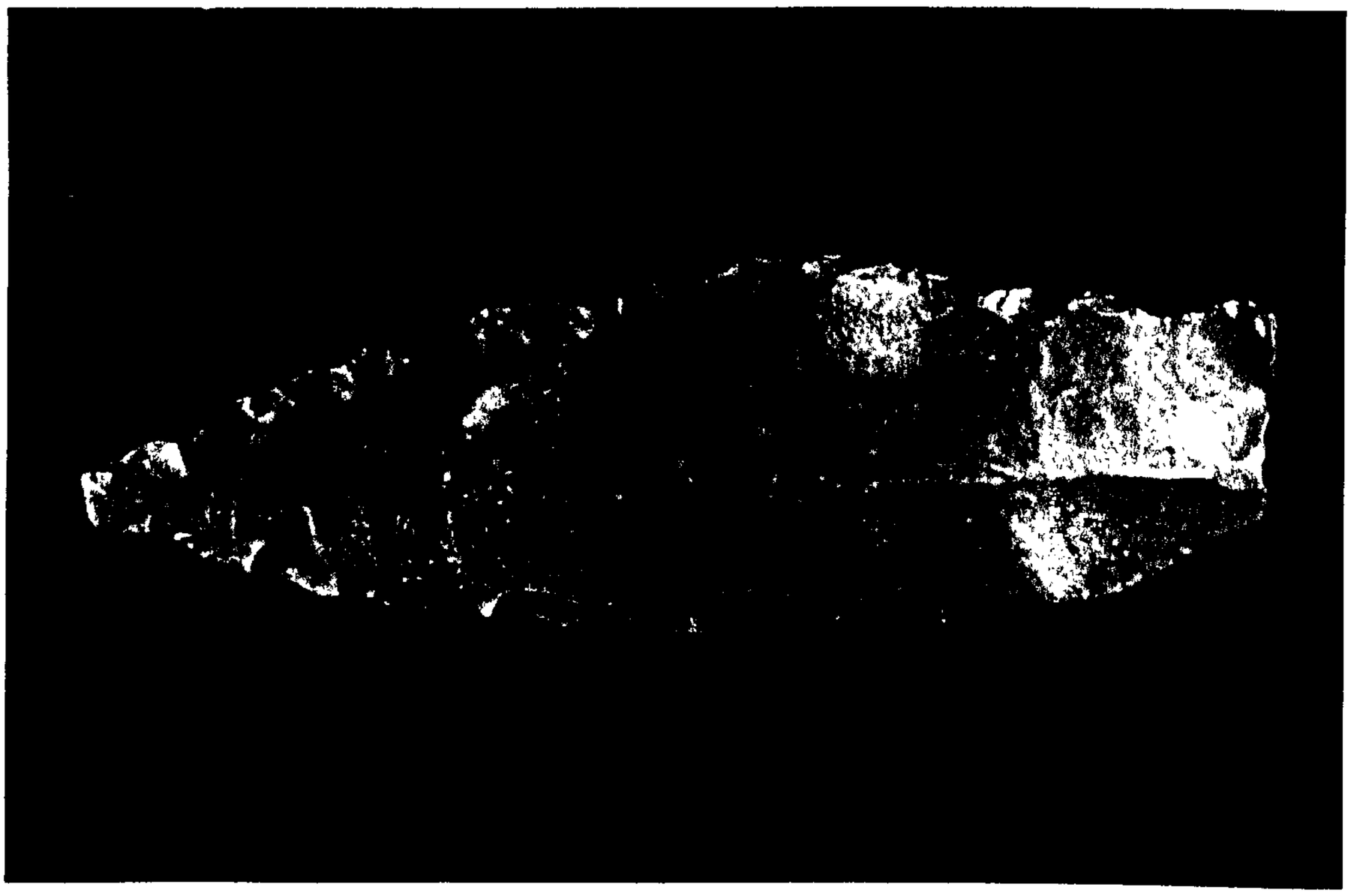


Plate 4. 10: Blade core from Pressigny, France (Bromley Museum 68.52.2). Possibly given to John Lubbock in 1864/5 by Henry Christy (AC 296).



Plate 4. 9: Neolithic/ Bronze Age dagger from Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.65.2).



Plate 4. 10: Blade core from Pressigny, France (Bromley Museum 68.52.2). Possibly given to John Lubbock in 1864/5 by Henry Christy (AC 296).



Plate 4.11: Axe in antler haft from Switzerland (Bromley Museum 68.75). Given to John Lubbock by Lord Derby in August 1890 (AC 1159).



Plate 4. 12: Water chestnut from Robenhausen, Switzerland (British Museum 1916.6-5.154). Probably purchased by John Lubbock from Johann Messikorner in May 1869.

'750 A collection of things fr. RobenhausenBt. of Messikomer May 1869[7]

Iron Age Cemetery Site at Hallstatt

24 of the 26 items ascribed to the Iron Age originate from the Iron Age cemetery site at Hallstatt in Austria (AC 360-373, 378-386, 772). Lubbock acquired a variety of material from this internationally significant site: iron tools; copper alloy bracelets, brooches, pins and other personal items; glass and amber beads; fragments of copper alloy buckets; fragments of gold; ceramic sherds.

'772 A collection of things from Hallstatt May 1869[8]

Non-European Prehistoric Material

20% of the archaeological component originate from countries outside of Europe. The distribution of these countries reflect late nineteenth century British colonial activity, most being either British territory or under British political control by the 1890s. The archaeology of North America and South Africa had the strongest presence. For example, Catalogue entry 924 records the acquisition of approximately 650 arrowheads and other stone items from land near Philadelphia, given to Lubbock by Charles Abbott in July 1871. Catalogue entries 335-336 note the donation by Reverend A.G. Bain of stone flakes found in the loose sands at Kleinewand, near Grahams Town in 1865.

Other Finds

This final group of material represents all those items in the collection from Western Europe for which no evidence exists about the type of site in which they were discovered. Some may have been casual finds such as Catalogue entry 7, a wedge found on Fyen in Denmark, or Catalogue entry 1113, a Lower Palaeolithic biface found on the Barton Cliffs in Hampshire. Others may well have been discovered in-situ on an archaeological site but this contextual information has become detached and lost from the objects themselves.

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[7] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".

[8] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".

Ethnographic Component

The ethnographic element of the collection accounts for 32% of identified material (426 Catalogue entries) (figure 4.1). Analysis supports the following primary conclusions:

1. Figures 4.5a-b and 4.6 suggest Lubbock collected ethnographic material from a wide range of geographic sources across the globe. 36% of these items originate from indigenous communities living in Australasia - Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea and the South Pacific Islands. The American and African continents are also well represented, but much less material was collected from Asia and Europe. Perhaps the latter is not surprising and certainly Lubbock did not collect many traditional 'folk' items from various 'non-western' communities living in Europe at this time.

2. A study of collection content in relation to the indigenous communities discussed by Lubbock in *Prehistoric Times* (figure 4.7) supports further observation about the nature of Lubbock's collection. Of the 201 entries sourced confidently to these communities, 95 originate from 'Esquimaux' communities of Greenland and North America. The Australasian communities are also well represented. It is not possible to ascertain whether any item in Lubbock's collection originated from the communities Lubbock labelled 'Hottentot' but figures 4.5a-b and 4.6 indicate a considerable percentage of material was derived from Africa and presumably this originated from various indigenous hunter-gatherer communities across the continent. Appendix 4.2 provides the known detail concerning sources of origin for the ethnographic material in the collection.

3. Figure 4.8 identifies the various materials used to make the ethnographic items in the collection. For 64% of these items it has not been possible to trace materials of manufacture and only tenuous conclusions can be drawn from this data. However, of the remaining 36% it is worth noting that in contrast to the archaeological component of the collection (figure 4.3) primary materials represented are organic substances such as wood and bone rather than inorganic materials such as lithics and ceramics. 4.5% of the ethnographic component is a composite of a number of materials, especially wood and stone or iron (figure 4.9) compared to less than 1.5% of the archaeological items in the collection.

Figure 4.5a: Country of origin (ethnographic artefacts)

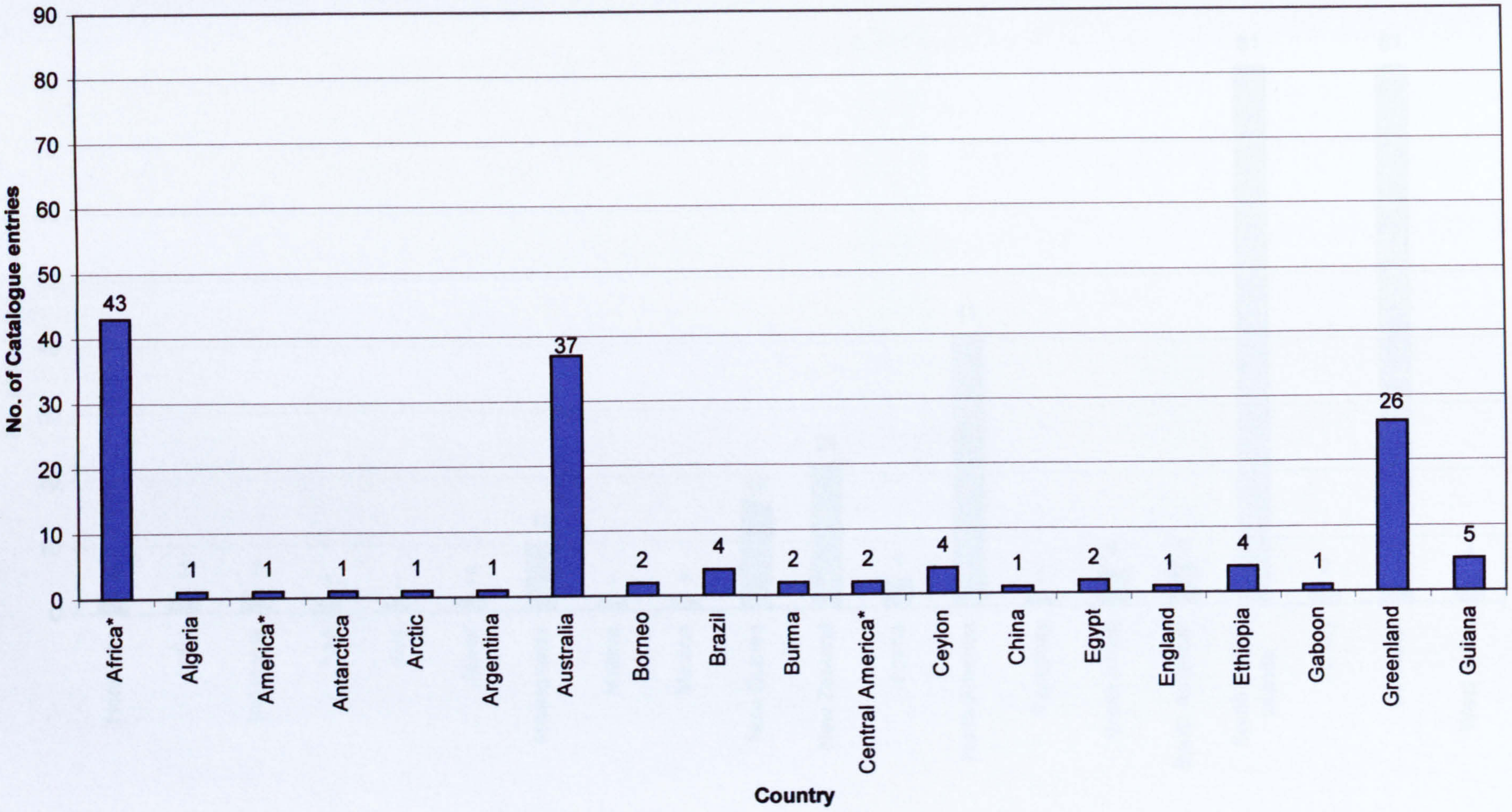


Figure 4.5b: Country of origin (ethnographic artefacts)

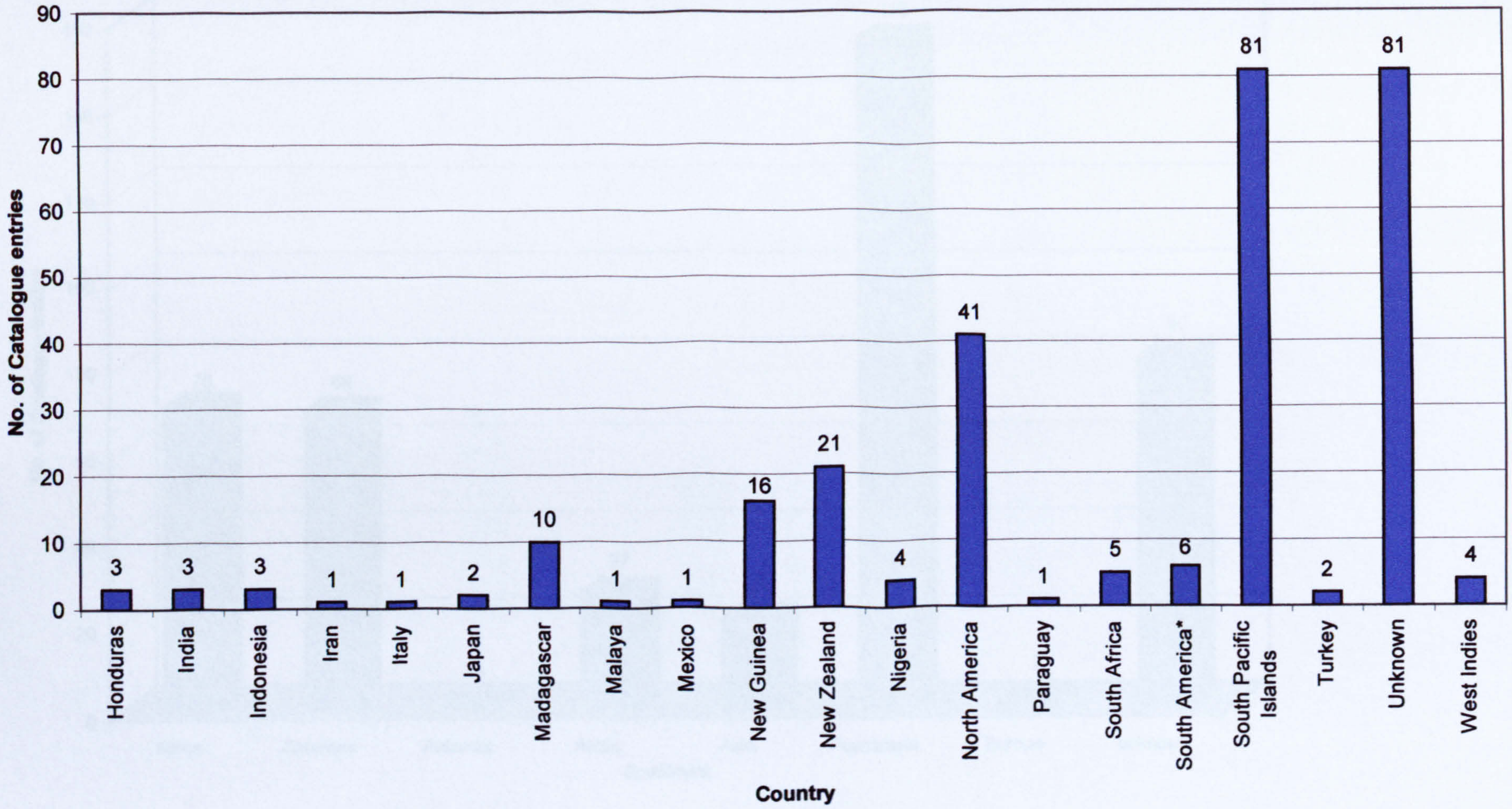


Figure 4.6: Continent of origin (ethnographic artefacts)

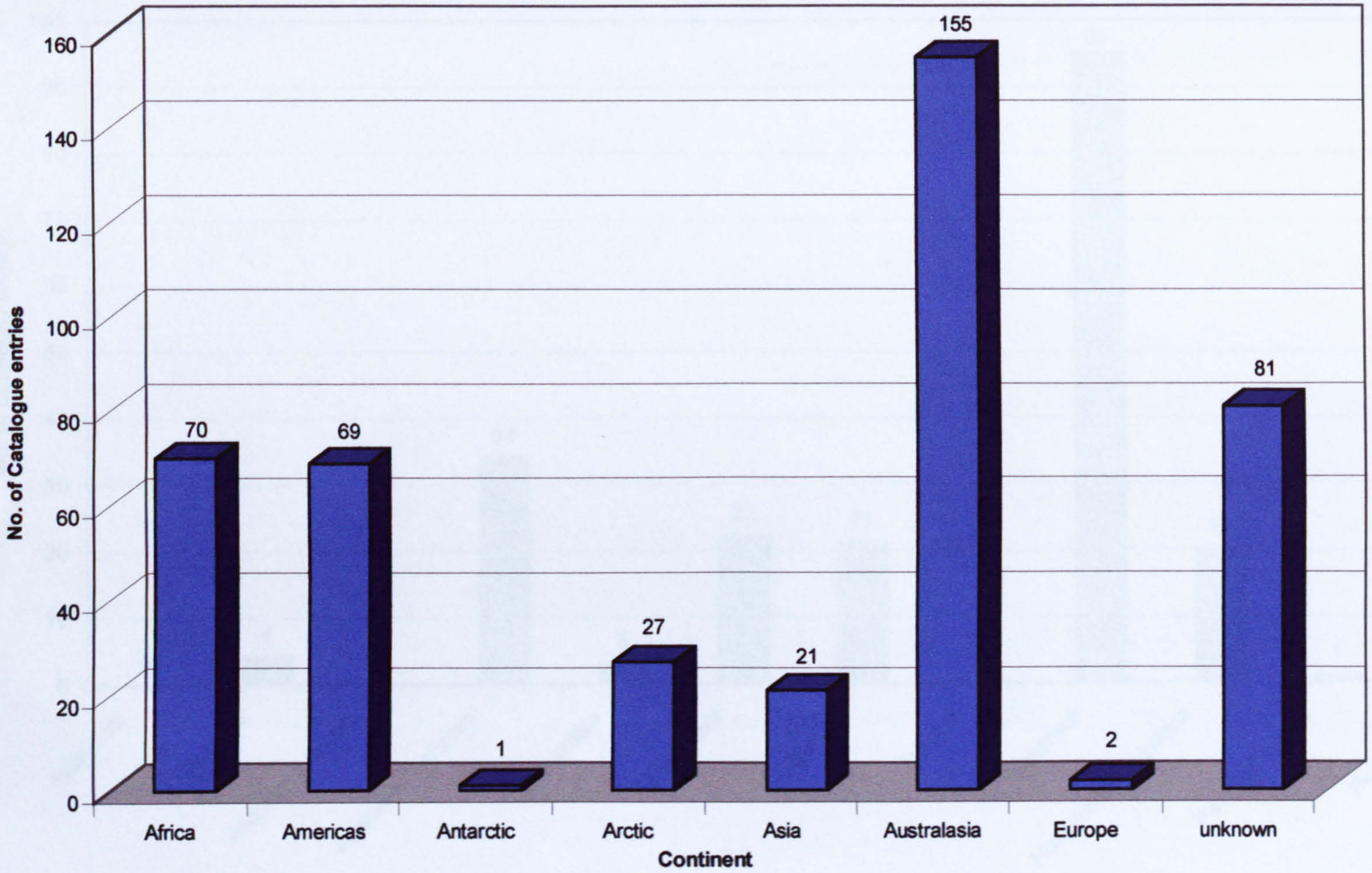


Figure 4.7: Ethnographic communities of origin (as discussed by Lubbock in "Prehistoric Times")

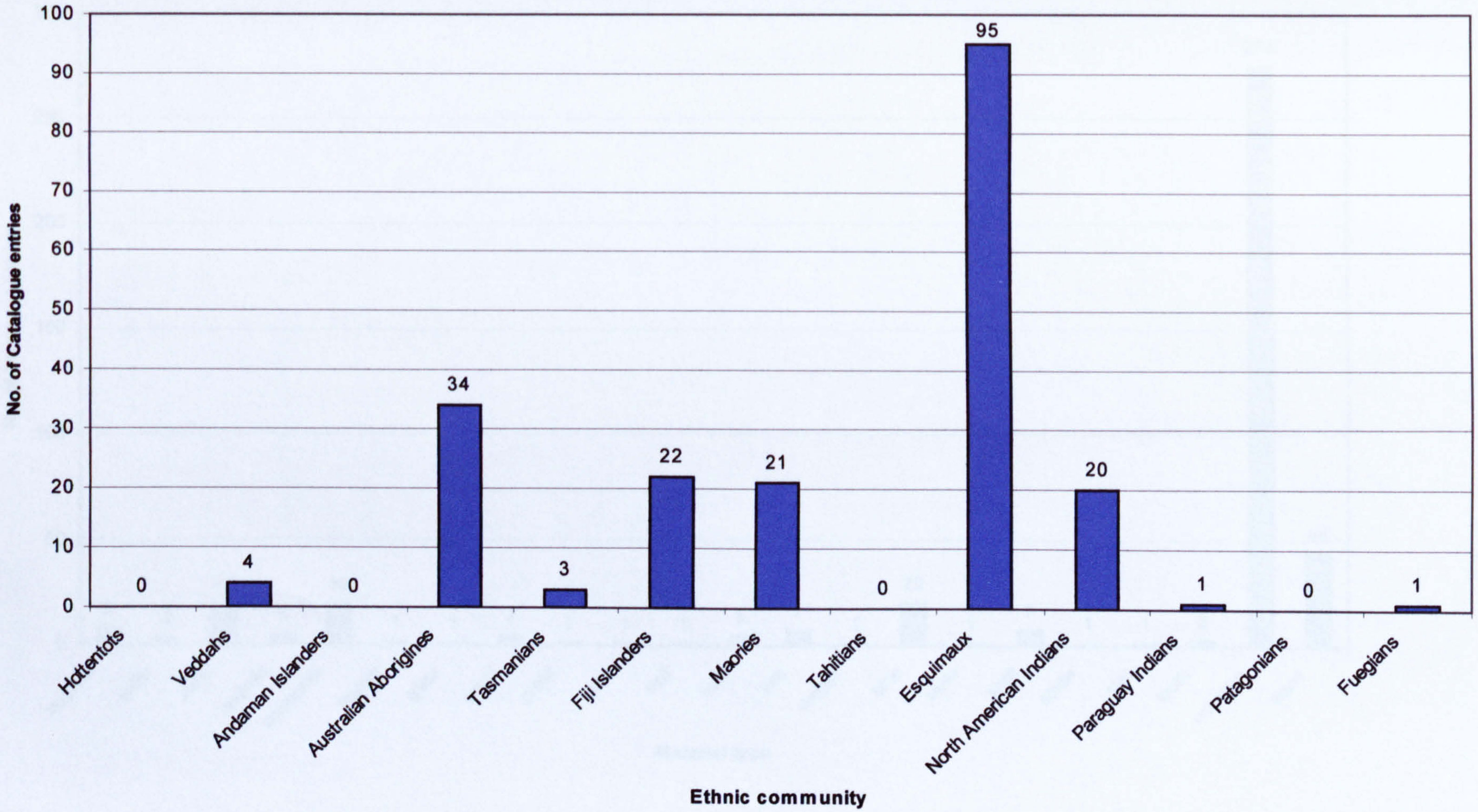
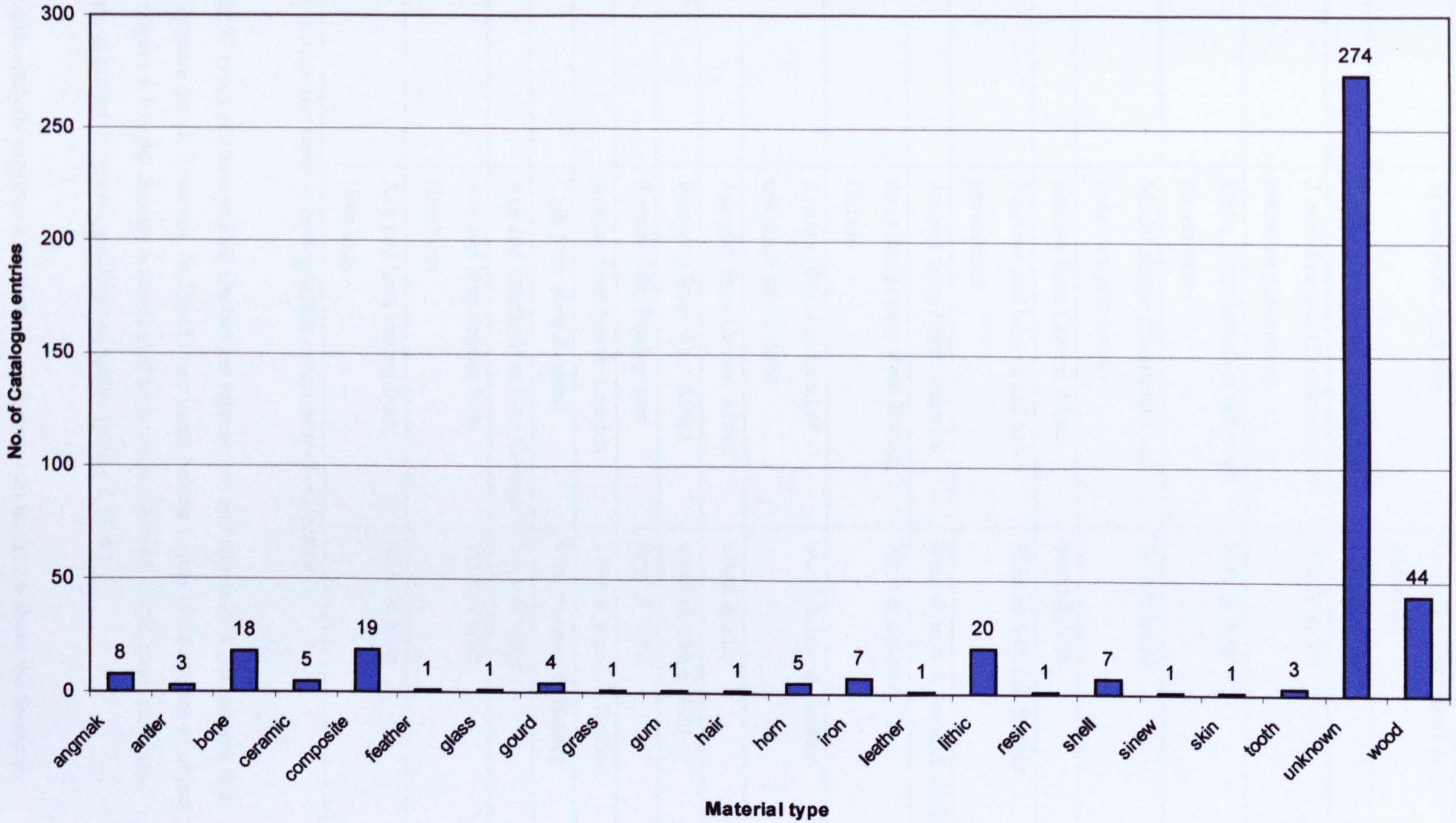


Figure 4.8: Material type (ethnographic artefacts)



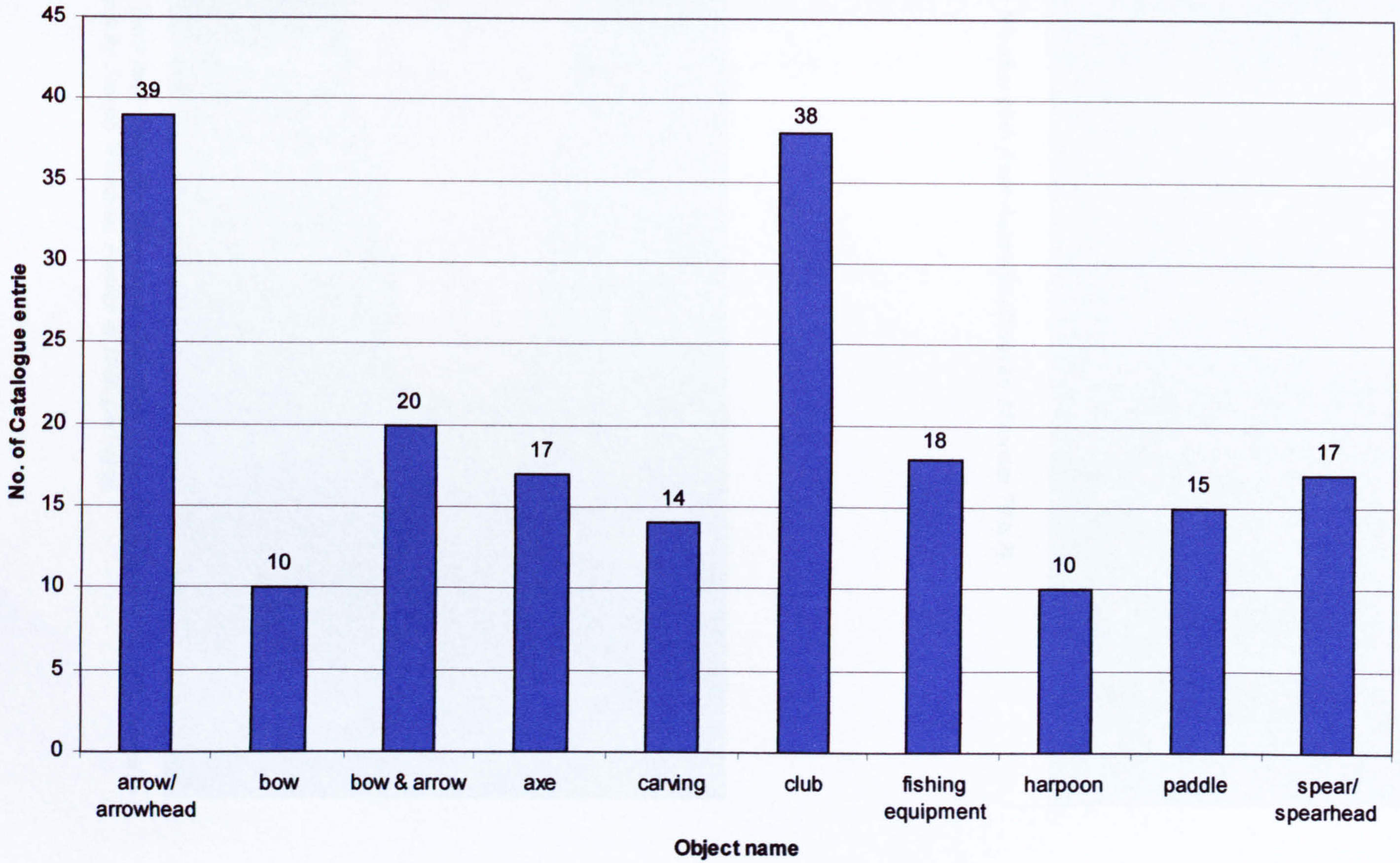
Avebury Catalogue (AC) number	Nature of item(s)	Material type
410	Implements from Australia	lithic & wood
412	Spears from Australia	wood & lithic (flint) & adhesive)
416	Knife of unknown provenance	lithic & wood
418	2 model canoes (Esquimaux) of unknown provenance	skin & wood
423	Ladle (Esquimaux) of unknown provenance	horn & bone
424	Model sledge (Esquimaux) of unknown provenance	skin & wood
550	Arrows from Central Africa	wood & iron
552	2 arrows and bow of unknown provenance	lithic & wood & feather
564	Arrows from North America	lithic & iron & wood & feather
594	Axes and pottery from British Guiana	lithic & ceramic
677	Arrows (Bheel Indians) of unknown provenance	wood & iron & feather
796	Assagay from Central Africa	wood & iron
822	Weapons from West Africa	wood & iron & skin
888	Spoons from Madagascar	horn & bone
1006	Arrows from North America	lithic & wood & feather
1043	Club from New Zealand	bone (whale) & feather
1133	Axe and handle from New Guinea	lithic & wood
1154	Axe and horn setting from Honduras	lithic & horn
1155	Axe and horn setting from Honduras	lithic & horn

Figure 4.9: Composite items in ethnographic component of collection

4. At least 97 types of ethnographic artefact are represented and appendix 4.3 illustrates this range in more detail. However, 46.5% of these items belong to just 10 categories of object name (figure 4.10): the content is dominated by bows and arrows, clubs, axes, carvings, fishing equipment, harpoons, paddles and spears (plates 4.13-4.18).

The above data analysis suggests a number of conclusions can be drawn about the thematic content of the collection. Lubbock focused on collecting ethnographic and prehistoric

Figure 4.10: Primary artefact types (ethnographic artefacts)



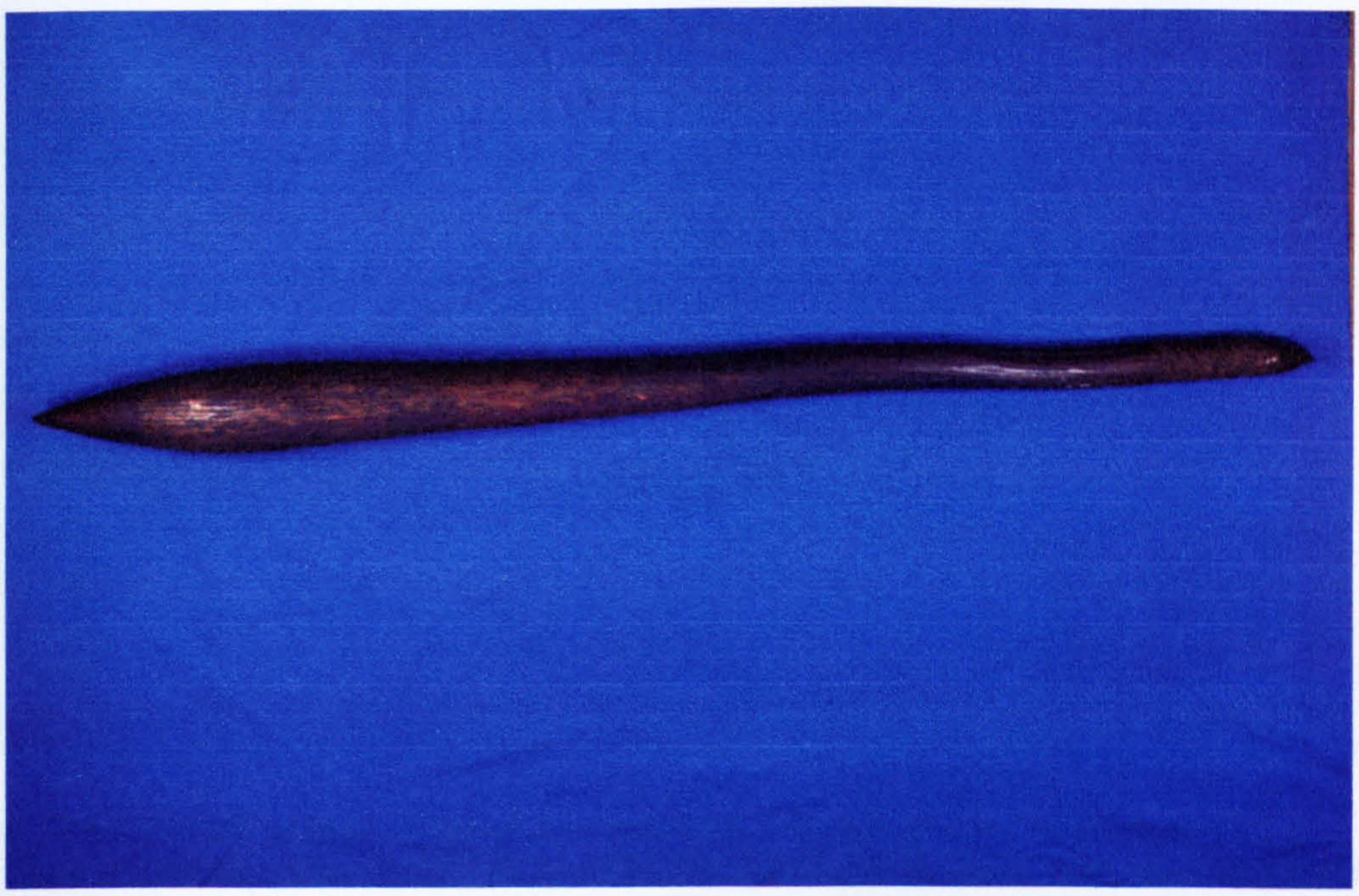


Plate 4. 13: Wooden club from Australia (Bromley Museum 70.6.9).

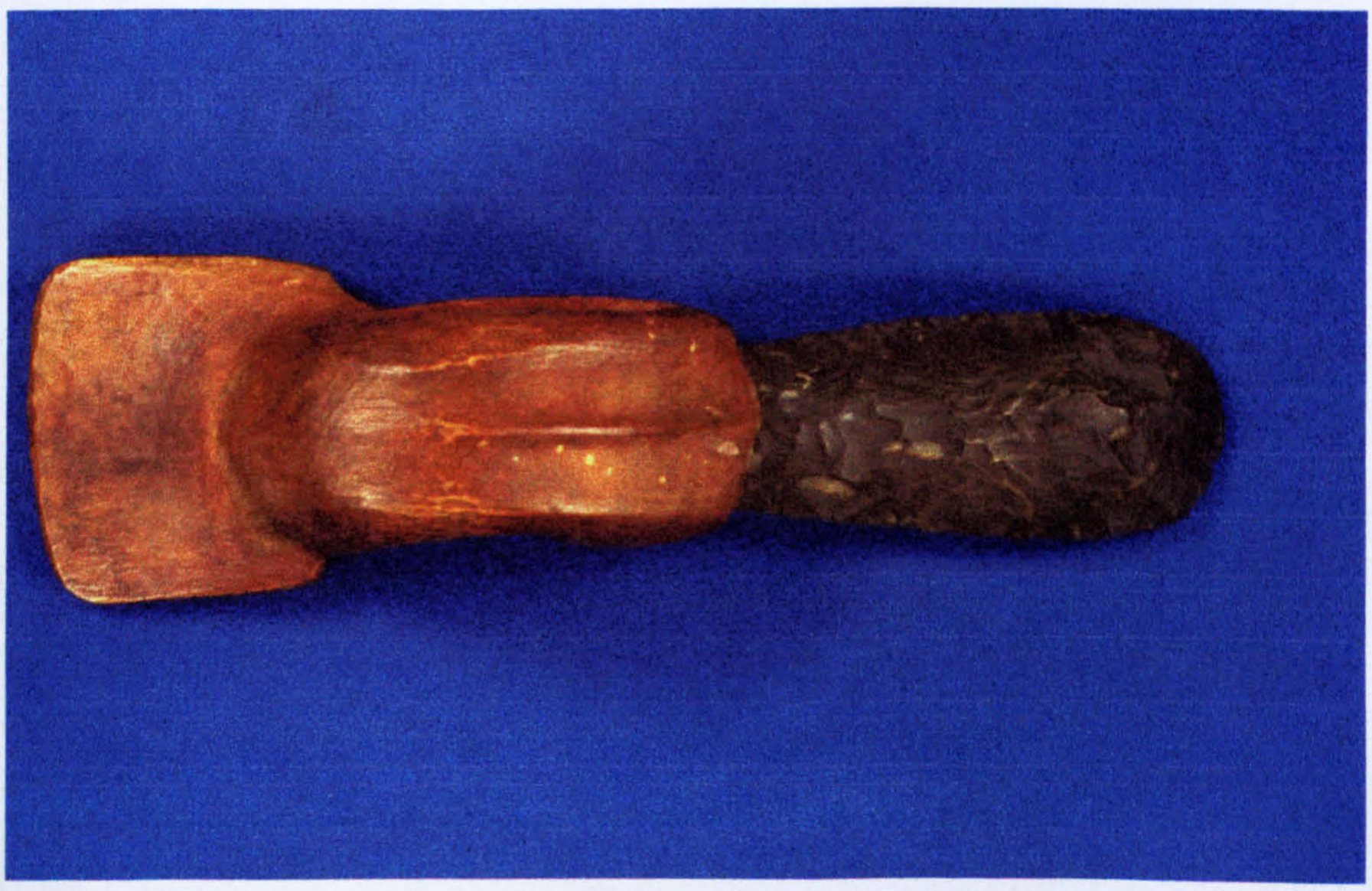


Plate 4. 14: Inuit knife from the Shingleton Collection (Bromley Museum 68.110). Given to John Lubbock by Joseph Wickham Flower in 1866 (AC 416).

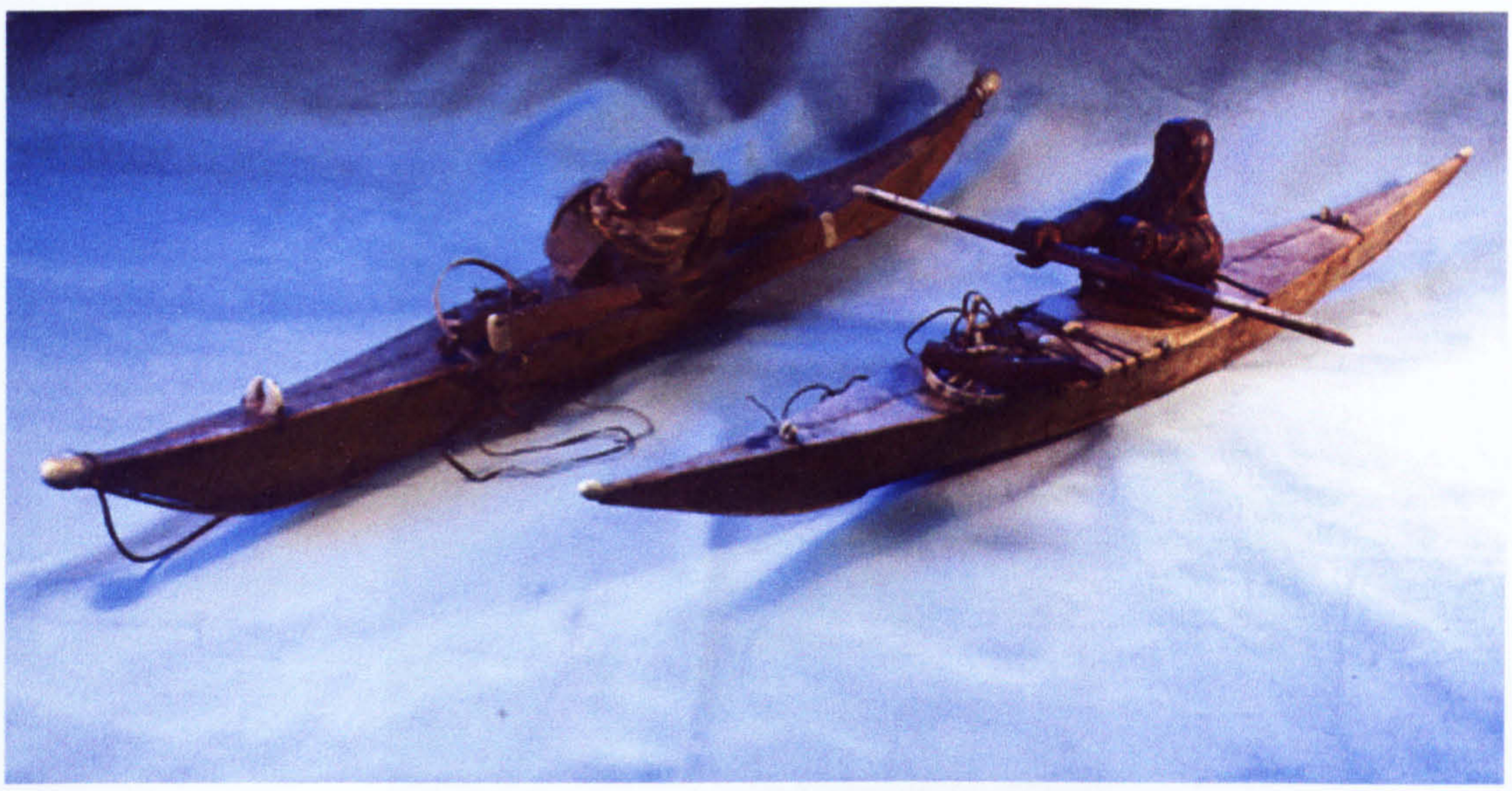


Plate 4. 15: Models of Inuit kayaks from Greenland, originally part of the Shingleton Collection (Bromley Museum 68.119.2 and 83.51). Purchased by John Lubbock in July 1866 (AC 418).

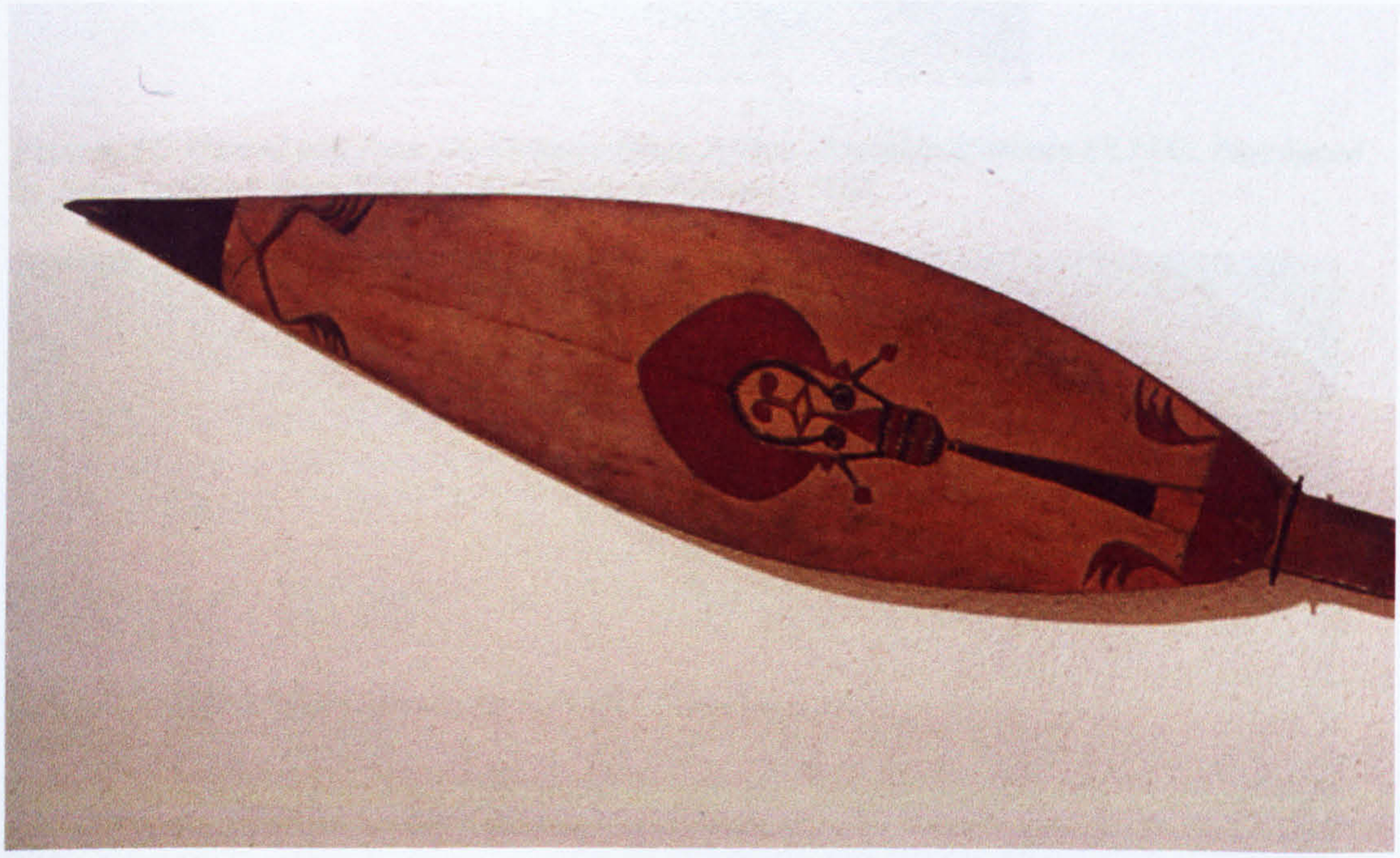


Plate 4. 16: Paddle from South Pacific Islands. Currently on display at Bromley Museum in the Avebury Room.



Plate 4. 17: Carved idol from the Congo region, Africa (Bromley Museum 68.114). Purchased by John Lubbock from William Wareham in February 1868.

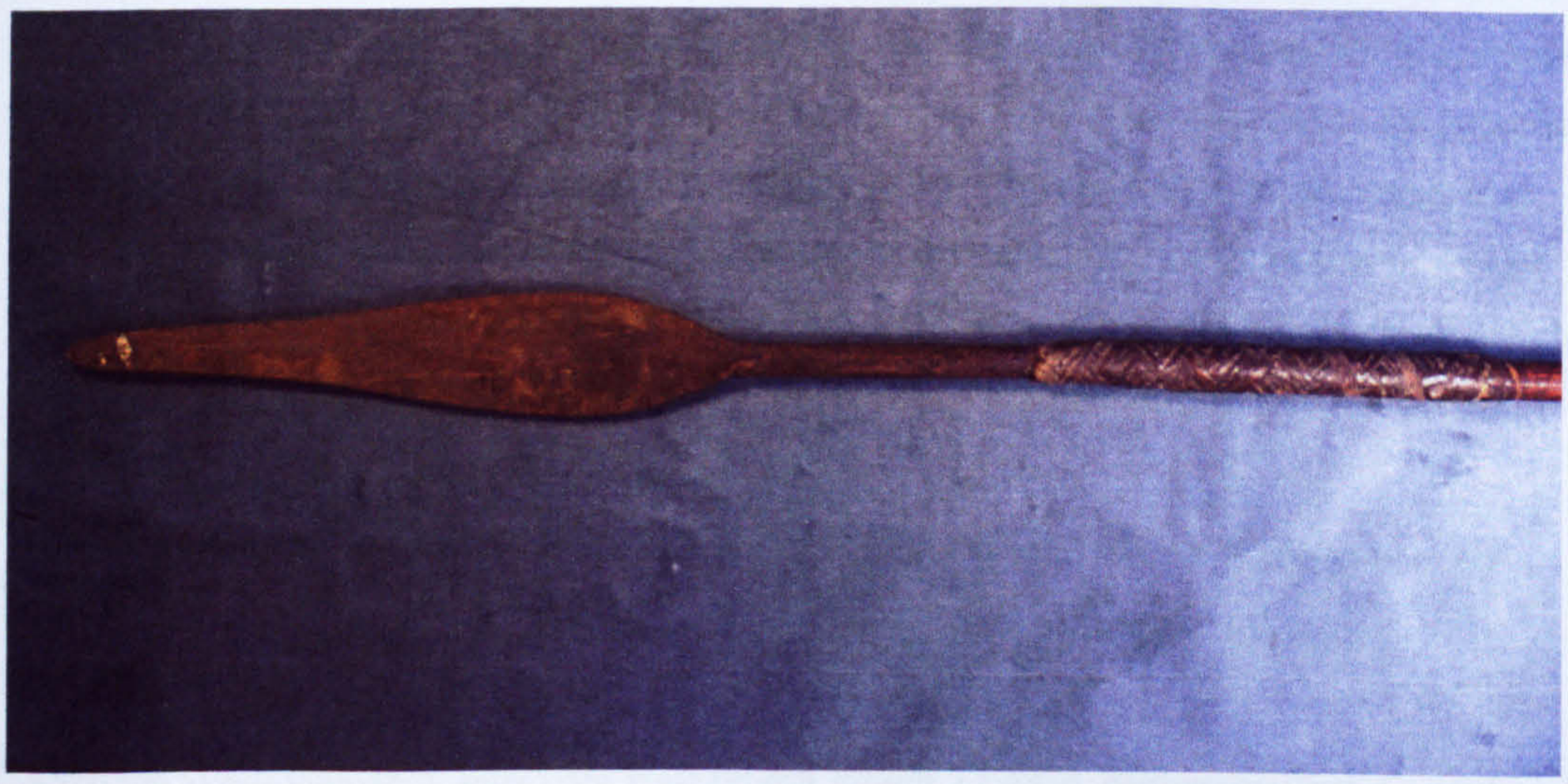


Plate 4. 18: Head of spear ('assagay') from Central Africa (Bromley Museum 83.69). Purchased by John Lubbock in 1869 (AC 796).

archaeological artefacts. The ethnographic material originated from varied peoples across the world, especially the Esquimaux and Australasian communities. The archaeological artefacts were derived primarily from sites across Western Europe, especially Denmark, and were chiefly made of stone. The ethnographic material in contrast was mostly organic and concentrated on a few types of object. The impression given is that Lubbock's collection had a clear, identifiable focus in terms of thematic content, and the data stored within the *Unknowns* database reinforces the above conclusions. They are also upheld by a number of other points that can be observed about the collection from documentary sources.

Supporting Evidence

The concept of 'my Collection'[9] was first formalised in 1863 when Lubbock purchased a collection of Danish prehistoric archaeological material and Greenland ethnographic items from Vilhelm Boye[10]. Boye was a young prodigy of Christian Thomsen, based at the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen but travelling widely undertaking archaeological fieldwork across Denmark[11]. The Avebury Catalogue began as an outcome of this acquisition of material from Boye. The thematic focus of his later collecting primarily remained within the boundaries constructed during this early acquisition: prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material.

Lubbock was offered a number of items that did not fit the collection focus identified above and these were not acquired. For example, in June 1873 [Mary] Baird sent Lubbock items which belonged to her late husband - an antique vase from a Roman camp near Flodden Field in Northumberland; a walking stick used by Dr Baird made out of the 'top most beam ("the Ridge Piece") of the old British Museum'; small implements whose handles were part of wooden piles from the old London Bridge[12]. There is no entry in the Avebury Catalogue for these items with the exception of the roman vase (AC 1068), and the other items did not become part of Lubbock's formal collection. Even the acquisition of a roman ceramic vessel is incongruous to the apparent collecting focus, and this will be discussed further in a later section. However, the vessel is at least archaeological, unlike the 'curio' pieces offered at the same time. Lubbock was in contact with Heinrich Schliemann, an archaeologist excavating the sites of Troy and Mycenae during the

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[9] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2". Title label on Cover *'Catalogue of my Collection'*.

[10] pages 13-14.

[11] Personal communication: Interview with Jørgen Jensen, Curator, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, September 1998.

[12] British Library MS Add 49677 62-63. "Letter from [Mary] Baird to John Lubbock, dated 12th June 1873".

1870s[13], and stayed with him during a trip to Greece in October 1886[14]. An entry in Lubbock's diary indicates that Lubbock acquired classical ceramics on this trip:

'Bought some ancient pottery under Schliemann's advice'[15]

Similarly, when Lubbock departed Schliemann gave him a parting gift, a Depas Amphikypillon and two spindle whorls from Troy.[16] However, there is no entry for the pottery in the Avebury Catalogue, nor any other classical archaeological material, with the exception of one of the spindle whorls found at Troy and given to Lubbock by Schliemann (AC 1140). Perhaps Lubbock considered the spindle whorl relevant to the prehistoric theme of his collection, a source of evidence that might shed light on the earliest human occupation in Europe, whereas classical Greek artefacts were not seen as relevant? During the same visit, Lubbock purchased Greek coins from Professor Roussopoulos[17]. These coins were not recorded in the Avebury Catalogue, but Roussopoulos' gift of an obsidian core and stone axe also in November 1886 are recorded (AC 1136 and 1141 respectively).

Throughout his life Lubbock collected material in areas other than archaeology, particularly in pursuit of his other loves, botany and entomology. During 1855, when he was 21 years old, he received letters from Charles Lyell[18], Joseph Prestwich[19] and Richard Owen[20] all demonstrating Lubbock's early interest and activity in the fields of entomology and geology. In particular, these refer to the discovery of a musk ox in gravels at Maidenhead by Lubbock and Charles Kingsley[21]. Lubbock wrote to Charles Darwin in June 1858 thanking him for the Queen Bee larva and pupa

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[13] For example, British Library MS Add 49644 25-28. "Letter from Heinrich Schliemann to John Lubbock, dated 14th November 1872".

[14] British Library MS Add 62683 62-64. "John Lubbock Diary entries dated October - November 1886".

[15] British Library MS Add 62683 62. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 24th October 1886".

[16] British Library MS Add 62683 64. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 11th November 1886".

[17] British Library MS Add 62683 63. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 4th November 1886".

[18] British Library MS Add 49638 16-17. "Letter from Charles Lyell to John Lubbock, dated 16th June 1855".

[19] British Library MS Add 49638 18-19. "Letter from Joseph Prestwich to John Lubbock, dated 10th July 1855". British Library MS Add 49638 85-86. "Letter from Joseph Prestwich to John Lubbock, undated".

[20] British Library MS Add 49638 22. "Letter from Richard Owen to John Lubbock, dated 15th August 1855".

[21] British Library MS Add 62679 59. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Saturday 30th June 1855".

Darwin had supplied[22]. In 1861, Darwin's family collected insects to send Lubbock during their stay in Torquay[23]. A letter from Lubbock to Thistleton Dyer written in 1884 thanked Dyer for sending various botanical specimens[24].

Lubbock's diaries and notebooks describe numerous field excursions to collect plants or insects (appendix 4.4) during the period 1853-1913 in addition to gifts of plants and insects. They also record how Lubbock kept colonies of ants at High Elms for several years to observe their behavioural patterns. He collected these ants during excursions and from his own grounds (Donisthorpe, 1924). None of this material is referred to in the Avebury Catalogue, but there is evidence of Lubbock recording some of this collecting activity in separate formal notebooks. At Down House the archives contain a Register of Ants Nests[25] systematically recording the activities of ants in 40 different nests during the period 13th December 1874 to 1883. Lubbock also possibly prepared a catalogue or index for an entomological collection[26]. These separate notebooks and catalogues reflect the fact that though Lubbock collected material in a number of subject areas, he regarded each area of his collecting as distinct and separate certainly in terms of thematic content.

Lubbock was a frequent traveller, journeying extensively across Western Europe and into Northern Africa and Western Asia (appendix 4.4). The role these trips played in Lubbock's collecting activity will be discussed later, however during the 1860s and early 1870s in particular he primarily travelled to archaeological sites in keeping with the prehistoric thematic focus of his collection.

A close relationship exists between the archaeological and ethnographic items Lubbock collected and his publication *Prehistoric Times*. Readers learnt from the book that the author had a collection of related material and some were inspired to send unsolicited contributions. In March 1868, for example, Mr. B. Plant from Wellington Street, Leicester, after reading *Prehistoric Times* 'with interest and pleasure', offered Lubbock a wooden bowl and two nets from a friend in

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[22] Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 105. "Letter from John Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated 10th June 1858".

[23] Reprinted in Burkhardt et al., 1994: 235. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated 14th August [1861]".

[24] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, Letters to Hooker Volume 14 RBG 355. "Letter from John Lubbock to Thistleton Dyer, dated 14th September 1884".

[25] Down House Archive 88203171. "Register of Ants Nests".

[26] Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. An untitled notebook containing a list of insect species names in association with a numbering system that could relate to drawer and cabinet locations.

the Australian 'interior'[27] (AC 595-597). Lubbock received a selection of stone implements (AC 1186) collected from various places in Maryland, North America in November 1880 sent by Mr. McGuire of Harvard County as a token of his appreciation for all that Lubbock had done for archaeology:

> *'The pleasure of reading your "Prehistoric Times" induced me a year or more since to write you...I have long desired to forward to you from my Maryland home a few of our typical implements.'*[28]

In May 1877, John Brazier wrote a letter of introduction to Lubbock and sent 3 adzes from the Pacific islands which he hoped Lubbock would accept for his collection:

> *'I have read through the three editions of your Pre-Historic Times and therefore I think you are the right person to have the specimens I send.'*[29]

Bartle Frere wrote to Lubbock in August 1874 providing further information about the box of flints found at Sukkur in the Indian Sind sent to Lubbock by Sir William Merewether on Frere's behalf (AC 1078). He first observed these flints over 25 years ago but thought they were natural until he saw *Prehistoric Times* and realised they were of human manufacture[30]. In May 1884, Lubbock received a gift of a bronze celt and buckle from [Max] J. Sanders (AC 1120):

> *'Having read with much pleasure your very admirable work on Prehistoric Man, and learning there that you have a collection...I shall be proud if you will include these with them...'*[31]

In August 1878, J. Rice wrote a letter accompanying an obsidian spearhead he sent for the collection:

> *As I do not remember that you mention in your "Pre-Historic Times" having any such in your collection, you will please accept this (what I consider) beautiful specimen. The Esquimaux spearhead in "Pre-Historic" Times fig 218 is almost identical in size and shape.'*[32]

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[27] British Library MS Add 49677 13-14. "Letter from Mr. B. Plant to John Lubbock dated 5th March 1868".

[28] British Library MS Add 49677 106. "Letter from [J.A.] McGuire to John Lubbock, dated 31st October 1880".

[29] British Library MS Add 49677 93-94. "Letter from John Brazier to John Lubbock, dated 11th May 1877".

[30] British Library MS Add 49677 74-77. "Letter from Bartle M. Frere to John Lubbock, dated 21st August 1874".

[31] British Library MS Add 49677 196-197. "Letter from [Max] J. Sanders to John Lubbock, undated". (Probably written May 1884 as suggested by the relevant Avebury Catalogue entry).

[32] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2: Letter from John Rice to John Lubbock, dated 27th August 1878".

Lubbock's family and friends were familiar with his collecting interests suggesting his thematic focus was well known. On a number of occasions they collected material for Lubbock without his prior approval sensing it was relevant to his collecting ethos. In May 1873 he acquired a selection of stone arrowheads from Chile (AC 1047). These were sent by Captain Pauli at the British Consulate in Caldera, Chile, who had collected them from a coal mine manager at Coronel, Chile, with Lubbock in mind[33].

Lubbock does not appear to have included replica material in his formal collection. We know he acquired this type of material but there are no entries in the Avebury Catalogue to reflect these acquisitions. A letter from A. Morlot referred to replica swords being prepared for Lubbock in Switzerland, for example[34]. However, there is no corresponding entry in the Avebury Catalogue reflecting any such acquisition. The integrity of the artefact does not seem to have been important. In October 1862, Morlot sent Lubbock half a fragment of textile from Robenhausen, Switzerland. Morlot kept the other half[35].

Evidence for Discontinuity

Lubbock's collection demonstrates a strong cohesiveness in terms of thematic content. However, there are a number of inconsistencies providing evidence for some discontinuity in the collecting focus.

The following items recorded in the Avebury Catalogue fall outside the thematic focus defined above:

- Catalogue entry 1068: a vase found at a Roman camp which once contained coins, given to Lubbock by Mrs. Mary Baird in August 1873[36]. This vase was probably Roman in date.

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[33] British Library MS Add 49677 59. "Letter from [M.B.] Pauli to John Lubbock, dated 22nd March 1873".

[34] British Library MS Add 49640 95-96. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 25th October 1863".

[35] British Library MS Add 49639 115-116. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 31st October 1862".

[36] British Library MS Add 49677 62-63. "Letter from Mrs. [Mary] Baird to John Lubbock, dated 12th June 1873".

- Catalogue entry 1147b: Chinese coins purchased from Reverend Townshend in April 1887. These coins are not actually assigned an individual entry number, but the entry is 'squeezed' in between entries for 1147 and 1148.

- Catalogue entry 1181: An undated gold coin found at Otford in Kent, and purchased from a Mr. Pearce in July 1903.

- Catalogue entry 1182: Saxon shillings probably purchased by Lubbock at auction via Mr. Grueber at the British Museum in March 1903[37].

Letters from Mr. Grueber[38], E.A. Wallis Budge[39] and Theodore Pincher[40], all curators at the British Museum, suggest Lubbock collected coins and related currency during the period 1892-1905. However, the majority of these items were not recorded in the Avebury Catalogue. For example, in July 1894 Lubbock purchased a collection of Chinese coins via Mr. Grueber from Mr. [Kingham][41], but there is no entry for these items in the Avebury Catalogue. In July 1896, Grueber, Pincher and Wallis Budge assisted Lubbock in the purchase of Babylonian clay tablets that had a subject matter relating to Lubbock's interest in gold and silver coinage[42]. Again, there is no record of this acquisition in the Avebury Catalogue. It would appear that a new collecting focus developed during the late 1880s, concerned in particular with gold and silver coinage, which did not fit the prehistoric archaeology and ethnography theme identified above. A letter from Augustus Franks dated 24th February 1864 suggests Lubbock had a long-term interest in early currency[43] but there is no evidence of him having collected such material until over twenty

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[37] British Library MS Add 49677 167. "Letter from [Th.] Grueber to John Lubbock, dated 5th March 1903".

[38] British Library MS Add 49652 114-115, 139-140. British Library MS Add 49677 123-126, 134-135, 137-140, 191-192, 159, 160-161, 164-165, 173-174. British Library MS Add 49670 46. Various letters from Mr. Grueber to John Lubbock.

[39] British Library MS Add 49661 137. British Library MS Add 49664 76. British Library MS Add 49677 132-133, 136, 148, 155. Various letters from E.A. Wallis Budge to John Lubbock.

[40] British Library MS Add 49658 113-114. "Letter from Theodore Pincher to John Lubbock, dated 19th April 1892"

[41] British Library MS Add 49677 137-138. "Letter from Th. Grueber to John Lubbock, dated 11th July 1894". British Library MS Add 49677 139. "Letter from Th. Grueber to John Lubbock, dated 17th July 1894". British Library MS Add 49677 140. "Letter from Th. Grueber to John Lubbock, dated 31st July 1894".

[42] British Library MS Add 49677 132-133. "Letter from E.A. Wallis Budge to John Lubbock, dated 11th April 1893". British Library MS Add 49677 134-135. "Letter from Th. Grueber to John Lubbock, dated 13th April 1893". British Library MS Add 49677 136. "Letter from E.A. Wallis Budge to John Lubbock, dated 12th April 1893". British Library MS Add 49658 113-114. "Letter from Theodore Pincher to John Lubbock, dated 19th April 1892".

[43] British Library MS Add 49640 134. "Letter from Augustus W. Franks to John Lubbock, dated 29th February 1864".

years later. When he acquired the coins from Reverend Townshend in 1887, he did not regard coins as a primary area of collecting activity at that time:

> *'As regards the Chinese coins, I am not a regular collector, but had a fancy for two or three if they do not cost too much.'*[44]

From the 1890s Lubbock was occasionally offered prehistoric archaeological material relevant to his primary collecting focus for which there is no record in the Avebury Catalogue. He did still collect both prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material during this period and record relevant information in the Avebury Catalogue. Of the 27 entries made during the 1890s and 1900s, 25 refer to prehistoric archaeological or ethnographic acquisitions. However, letters in the archive from [John Hay], Rodway Swinhoe and Stephen Cahill raise questions about Lubbock's collecting activity during this period. In July 1898, [Hay] sent him a small pack of stone implements from near Washington, North America[45]. In May 1903, Rodway Swinhoe sent Lubbock flints he had collected from Upper Burma[46]. Cahill sent him prehistoric archaeological items from Michigan, North America, in May 1905[47]. It is not clear what happened to any of these three groups of material but there are no relevant entries in the Avebury Catalogue or any other indication of what Lubbock did with them.

Lubbock's collecting of natural history specimens can also be regarded as a discontinuity as well as a natural compliment to his archaeological and ethnographic collection. His collecting interests were clearly broader than the narrow sphere of human cultural activity suggested by the Avebury Catalogue.

Thematic Content: Conclusion

The formal collection represented by the Avebury Catalogue has a clear thematic focus of prehistoric archaeology and ethnography, and a systematic approach to collecting can be identified that worked according to a specific set of criteria. However, there is also evidence for

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[44] London, Royal Society Archives MM.21.86. "Letter to Reverend E. Townshend from John Lubbock, dated 13th April 1887".

[45] British Library MS Add 49664 85-86. "Letter from [John Hay] to John Lubbock, dated July 1898".

[46] British Library MS Add 49670 113-114. "Letter from Rodway [C.J.] Swinhoe to John Lubbock, dated 19th May 1903". British Library MS Add 49670 117-120. "Letter from Rodway [C.J.] Swinhoe to John Lubbock, dated 22nd May 1903".

[47] British Library MS Add 49677 175-178. "Letter from Stephen Cahill to John Lubbock, dated 12th September 1905".

discontinuity and a less systematic form of collecting, particularly after the late 1880s. It is also clear that Lubbock pursued this collecting activity within a wider collecting context.

When the Collection was Acquired

Lubbock acquired over 92% of the collection during the period 1863-1880 (figure 4.11). However, perhaps a more accurate measure of the changing intensity of his collecting activity over time is to consider the number of discrete *collecting events* the Catalogue entries represent. These events have been identified wherever there is evidence to suggest a single act of collecting occurred: a field trip, for example, a purchase from a shop or catalogue. A *collecting event* may account for only a single Catalogue entry or several, and evidence for a single act of collecting can take many forms: identical label types, juxtaposition of entries in the Catalogue, information contained within relevant correspondence and diaries. Appendix 4.5 identifies the collecting events proposed for the collection. There is a certain degree of assumption as to whether some entries belong to a particular collecting event or not, and unless directly proven by later research a question mark will remain over their true nature.

An interesting pattern emerges when *collecting events* are analysed: 394 have been identified during the period 1863 to 1913, suggesting Lubbock's collecting activities were not as intensive as the Catalogue with its 1331 entries initially suggests. For example, the first 249 entries (AC 1-183z) of the Catalogue refer to the single collecting event already described, the purchase by Lubbock of a collection of archaeological and ethnographic material from the Danish archaeologist, Vilhelm Boye. Figure 4.12 represents graphically the number of assumed *collecting events* per annum, reinforcing the findings of figure 4.11 by suggesting the primary collecting period was during the late 1860s to early 1870s, and that Lubbock was collecting and cataloguing very little archaeological and ethnographic material after the late 1880s.

Figures 4.13 and 4.14 analyse the variation in collecting over time for the archaeological and ethnographic components. The ethnographic material was collected very much within the optimum date range, and after 1876 any acquisition was very rare. There is a similar concentration of activity for archaeological material but collecting continued to take place to a lesser extent after the mid-1870s.

The defined time-scale for collecting activity suggests cohesiveness in the collection's development. Archival evidence hints at a number of reasons why this might be so.

Figure 4.11: Number of Avebury Catalogue entries by year of entry

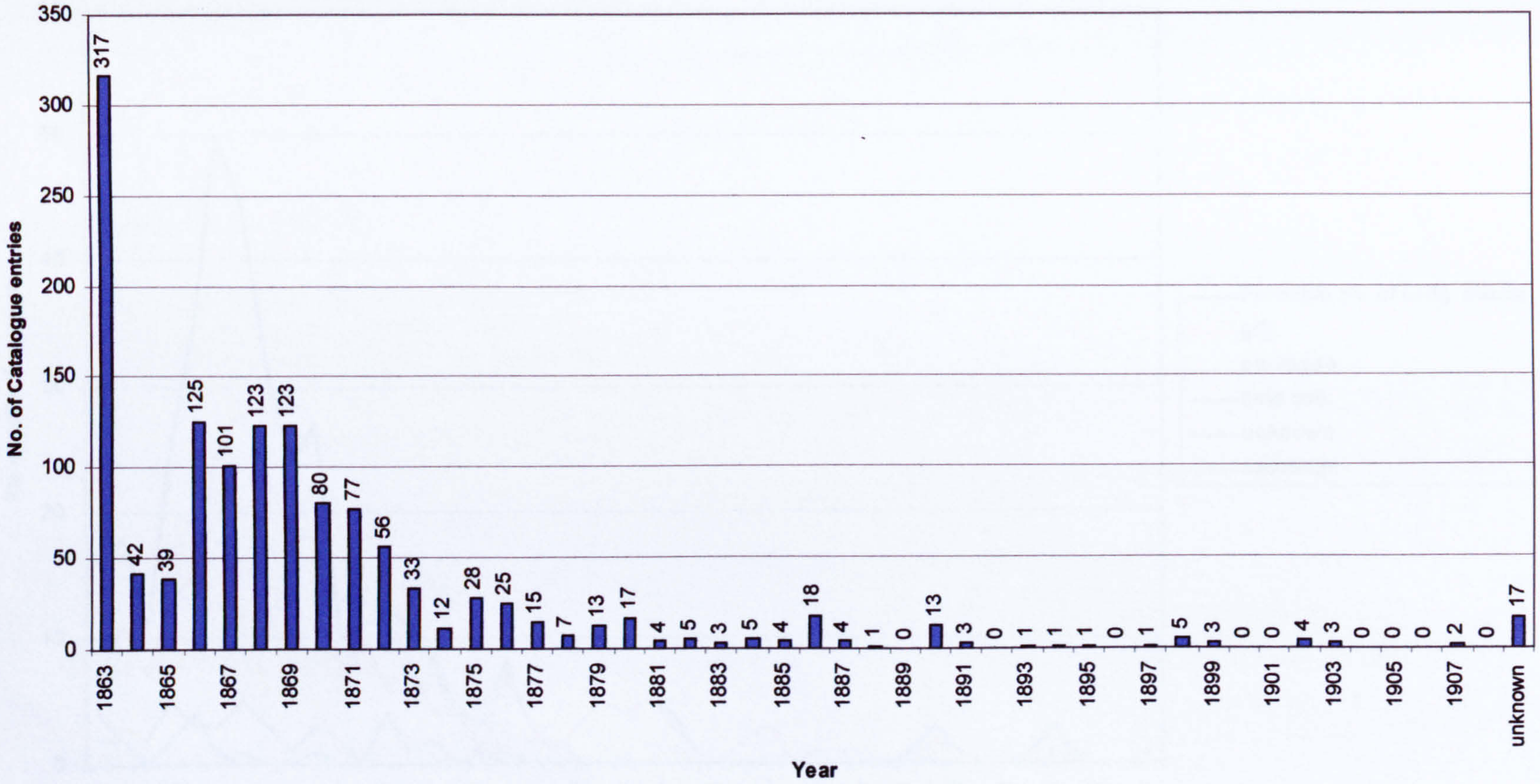


Figure 4.12: Number of assumed collecting events by year and acquisition method

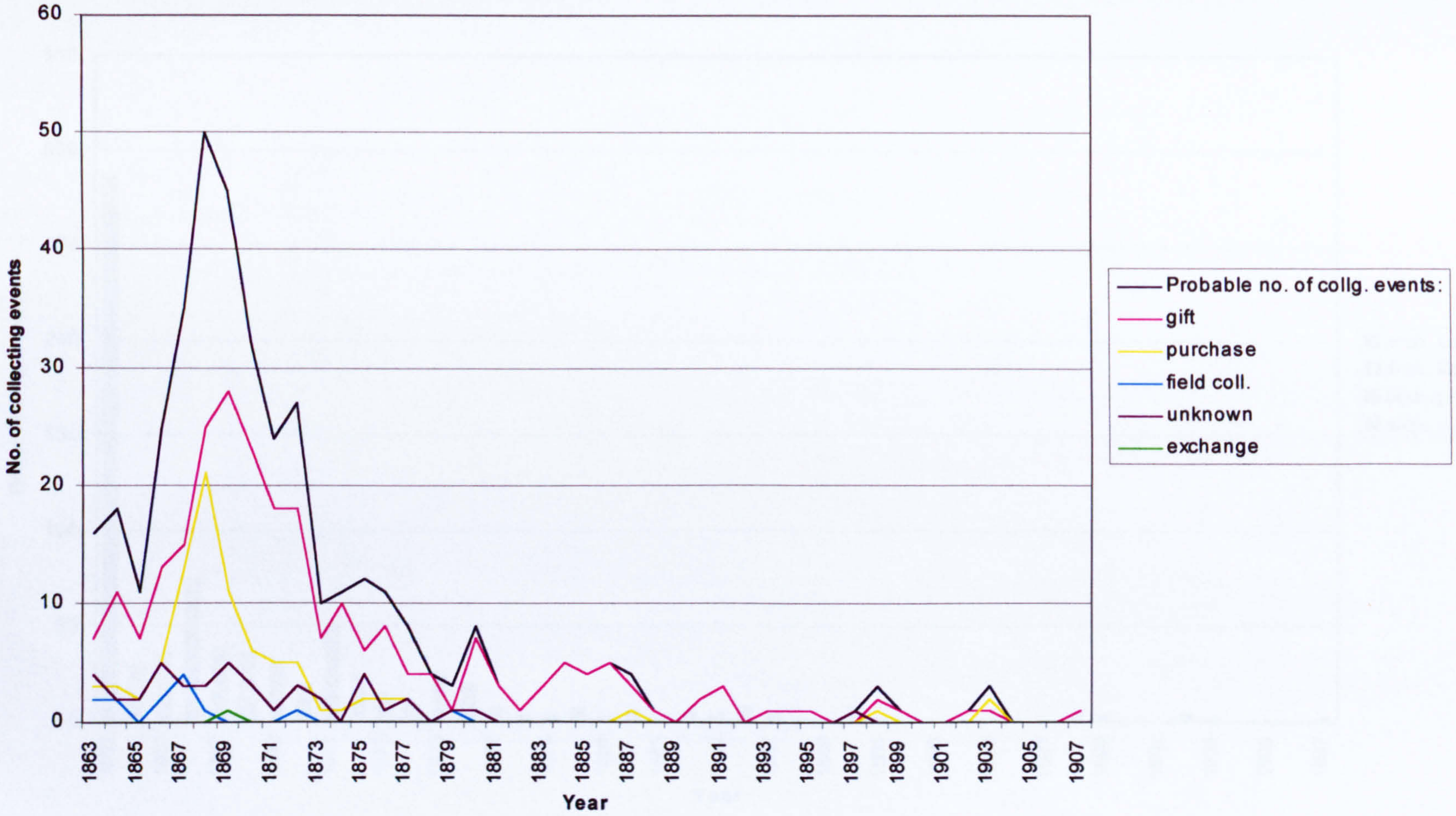


Figure 4.13: Number of archaeology Avebury Catalogue entries by year of entry and acquisition method

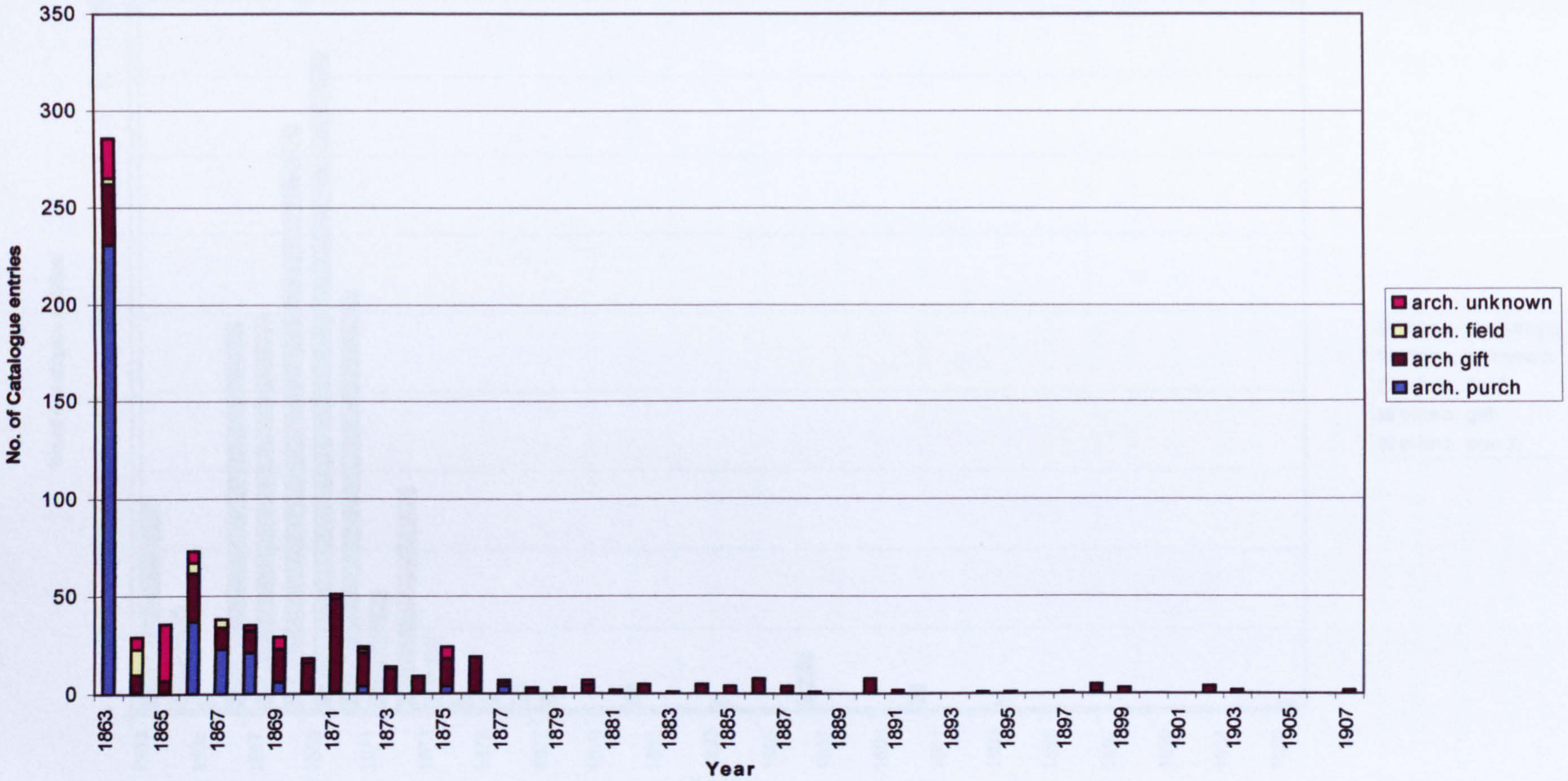
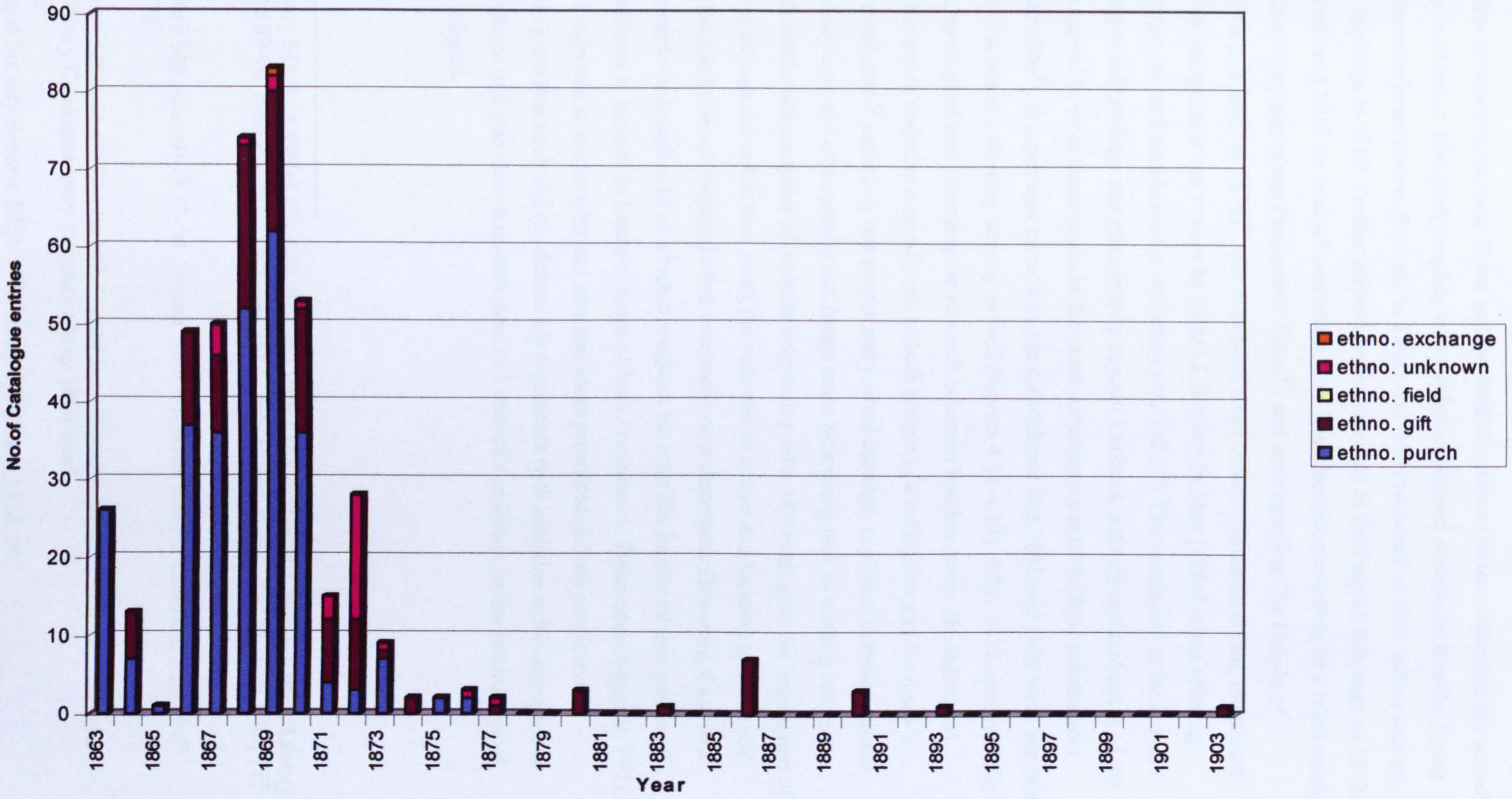


Figure 4.14: Number of ethnography Avebury Catalogue entries by year of entry and acquisition method



Supporting Evidence

The relationship between *Prehistoric Times* and the thematic content of the collection has already been discussed and it may also partly explain why Lubbock acquired material primarily during the two decades mentioned above. *Prehistoric Times* was first published in 1865 with a second edition made available in 1869. Further editions were published in the English language in 1872, 1878, 1890, 1900 and 1913. In total, eleven letters have been identified referring to a relationship between Lubbock's collection and *Prehistoric Times*[48], and one regarding *The Origin of Civilisation* (first published in 1870)[49]. All but one of these letters originated during the period 1862-1880. The exception is one written by [Max] J. Sanders in May [1884] when offering Lubbock a bronze celt and buckle for his collection (AC 1120)[50]. The notebooks at the Royal Society relating to archaeology and ethnography suggest Lubbock actively collated much of the information required to write these books in the years immediately prior to their publication: 1864, 1868 and 1869[51]. It is perhaps more than just coincidence that 1868 and 1869 were the two primary years of artefact collecting activity as well (figures 4.11-4.12). After 1871, evidence for Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic research becomes less intensive. He did record information relevant to updating new editions of both *Origin of Civilisation* and *Prehistoric Times* in two notebooks[52] including newspaper and journal cuttings, copies of correspondence relating to archaeology and ethnography and rough notes prompting him to various references. However, both notebooks comprise of material originating after 1880 and give the impression of ad hoc collation of material rather than being the outcome of active and focused research. Of course it may be that Lubbock prepared other notebooks now destroyed. However, these two notebooks appear to be scrapbooks in which throughout his later life he placed any pieces of information relevant to include in future editions of both *Pre-historic Times* and *Origin*. In 1911 he published a response to critics who had attacked ideas presented in both publications (Lubbock, 1911), but this book did not defend his arguments with recourse to bibliographic or artefactual evidence and was more a re-statement of Lubbock's opinions on the institutions of marriage and religion.

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[48] British Library MS Add 49639 121-124. British Library MS Add 49641 84-85. British Library MS Add 49642 89-90. British Library MS Add 49677 3-8, 13-14, 37-42, 74-77, 93-94, 106, 117-118.

[49] British Library MS Add 49677 33-34. "Letter from J. Kessler to John Lubbock, dated 24th November 1870".

[50] British Library MS Add 49677 196-197. "Letter from [Max] J. Sanders to John Lubbock, undated". (Avebury Catalogue entry suggests a May 1884 date).

[51] London, Royal Society Archive LUA 3, LUA5, LUA 15 and LUA 16.

[52] London, Royal Society Archive LUA 3 and LUA 16.

Evidence for Discontinuity

Before 1863, Lubbock collected archaeological material relevant to the subject matter of his collection but their acquisition does not appear to have been recorded in any form of catalogue either at the time or retrospectively. For example, in April 1860 Lubbock visited Abbeville with Joseph Prestwich to view discoveries made by Boucher de Perthes and was told by the latter that he might take as many flint tools from the peat as he liked as they were found in vast numbers[53]. In 1862, Lubbock acquired stone implements from St. Acheul during a visit to the site with Joseph Prestwich and John Evans[54].

After 1880, Lubbock collected considerably less archaeological and ethnographic material clearly representing a watershed in the collection and its meaning. A further 3 editions of *Prehistoric Times* and 4 editions of *Origin* were published, but there appears to be no parallel increase in collecting activity as might have been expected near the dates of publication, certainly not on the scale of the 1860s.

This pattern of collecting appears to be in contrast to Lubbock's acquisition of natural history material. Lubbock began to collect plants, geological and zoological specimens during the 1850s and continued to do so after the 1880s on a regular basis (appendix 4.4).

When the Collection was Acquired: Conclusion

The primary collecting period recorded in the Avebury Catalogue falls within the period 1863-1880. There is evidence of Lubbock collecting archaeological and ethnographic material both before and after this date but collecting is less frequent and information about at least some of these acquisitions is not recorded in the Avebury Catalogue.

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[53] Reprinted in Burkhardt et al., 1993: 188-189. "Letter from Charles Darwin to Charles Lyell, dated 4th May [1860]".

[54] A variety of evidence exists regarding this acquisition:

British Library MS Add 62679 64. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 17th-28th April 1862.

Reprinted in Burkhardt et al., 1997: 161. "Letter from John Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated 17th April 1862".

Method of Acquisition

The Avebury Catalogue identifies four methods of acquisition practised by Lubbock: purchase, gift, exchange, and field collection (the latter incorporating experimental archaeology). It has been possible to determine the acquisition method for 89% of Lubbock's collection. Figure 4.15 compares the number of Catalogue entries across the various methods of acquisition and suggests the majority of the collection was purchased by Lubbock (645 entries) although gifts were also an important source of acquisitions (511 entries). Field collection and exchange were minor methods used to expand his collection. However, figure 4.15 also explores the comparison in terms of collecting events, and from this perspective donations are identified as by far the most influential form of acquisition, accounting for 251 collecting events compared to only 86 events attributable to purchase. The results of both of these analyses taken together suggests Lubbock was involved in more gift transactions than purchases but that the former produced less quantity of material compared to the occasions when he bought items. Analysis of collecting events also suggests field collection was a more important form of acquisition than an analysis solely of Catalogue entries implies, although it is still a very minor acquisition method.

Gift and purchase account for just under half each of the 764 archaeology Catalogue entries (40.4% and 44.2% respectively), with field collecting activities representing 3.8%. All three methods of acquisition played an important part in developing the archaeological component of the collection in the 1860s, but from the early 1870s Lubbock mainly collected through donations from others (figure 4.13). Purchase played a more significant role than gift when acquiring ethnographic material (64.6% purchase; 28.2% gift). Lubbock does not appear to have collected ethnographic material in the field, but always acquired it second hand through dealers, friends and his colonial network in particular.

However, Lubbock travelled widely within Europe, North Africa and Western Asia, and this activity played an important role in the acquisition of archaeological material. Figure 4.16 summarises the places from where he acquired material. The majority, unsurprisingly, was obtained in London where he either purchased it from dealers or received material by post or courier. It has not been possible to identify the place of acquisition for 32.8% of his material, however figure 4.16 does illustrate that 31% of the items we do know about were acquired by Lubbock in places other than London. Figure 4.17 removes the statistics for 'London' and 'unknowns' enabling a clearer analysis of these 'foreign' acquisitions. A study of the place of acquisition by number of Catalogue entries suggests Lubbock's travels around England and to Scandinavia, France and Austria provided primary opportunities to collect material. However, a slightly different pattern emerges when analysis is undertaken by collecting event: France was the main destination contributing to his collection. Other English localities and Scandinavia played a

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Possibly Bromley Museum accession numbers 68.42.1, 68.53.14, 68.53.34, 68.53.35, 68.53.66, 68.53.72, 68.53.83, 68.54.1, 68.57.2.

Figure 4.15: Number of Avebury Catalogue entries by acquisition method, and number of assumed collecting events by acquisition method

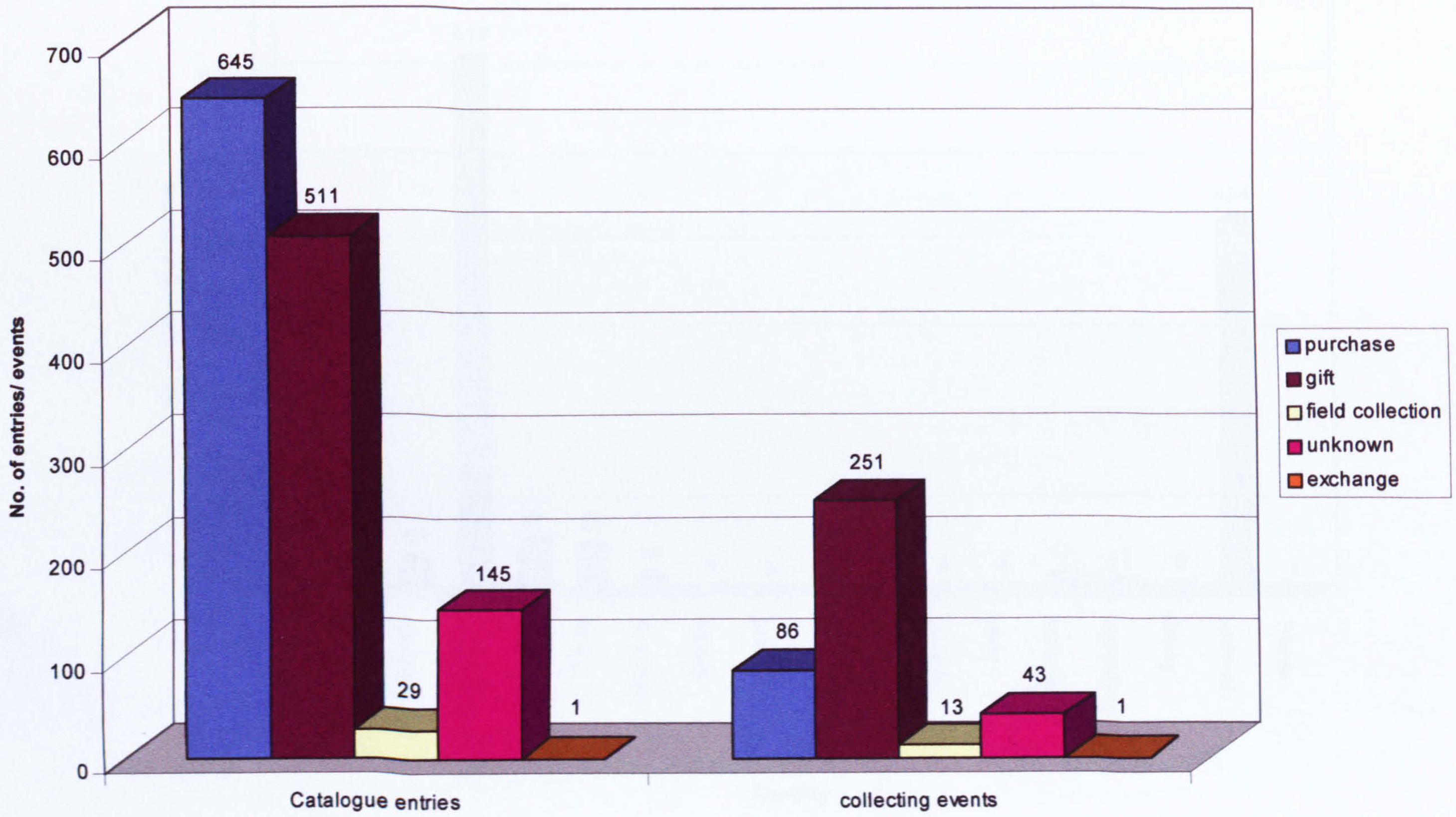


Figure 4.16: Places from which Lubbock acquired artefacts for his collection

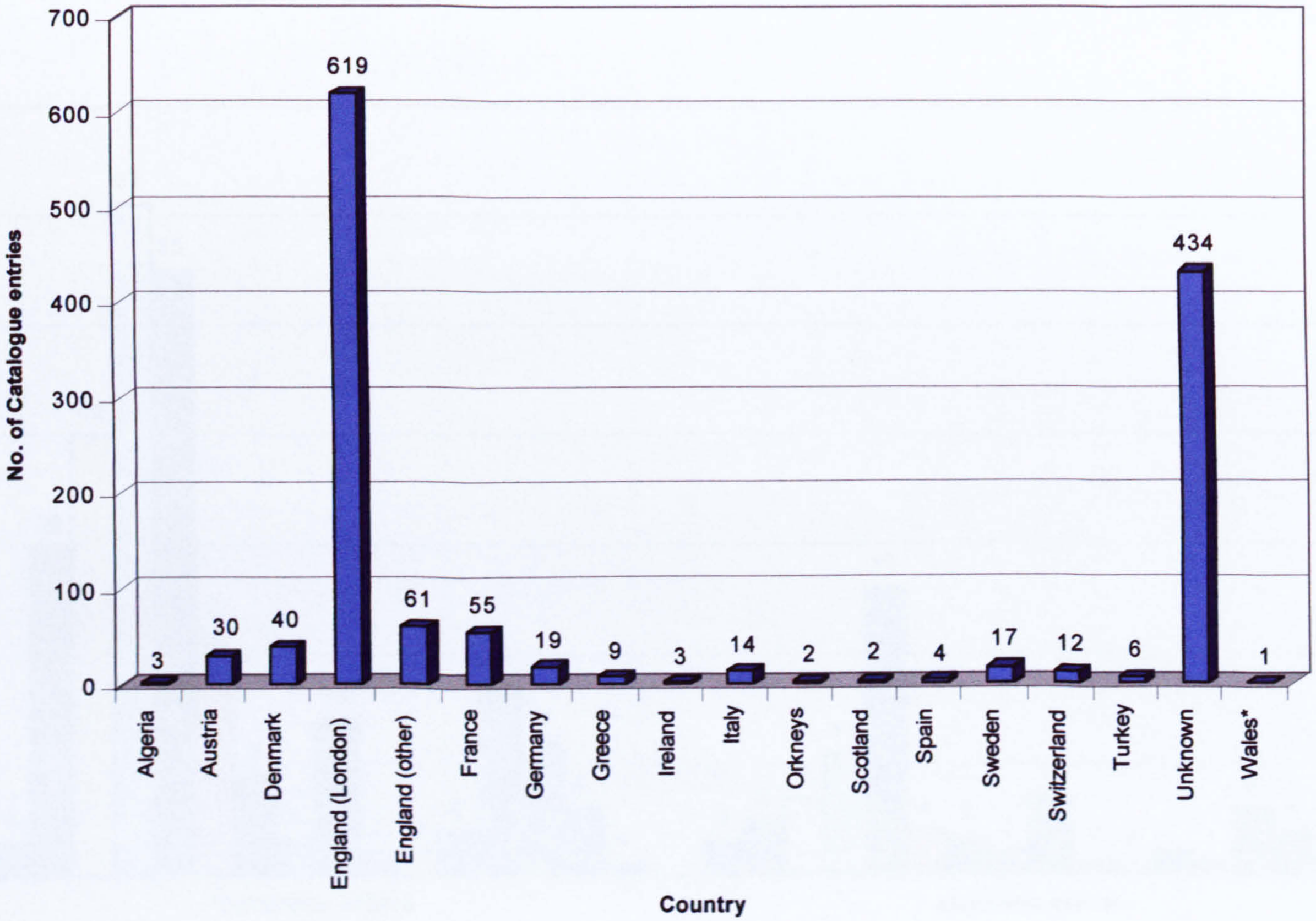
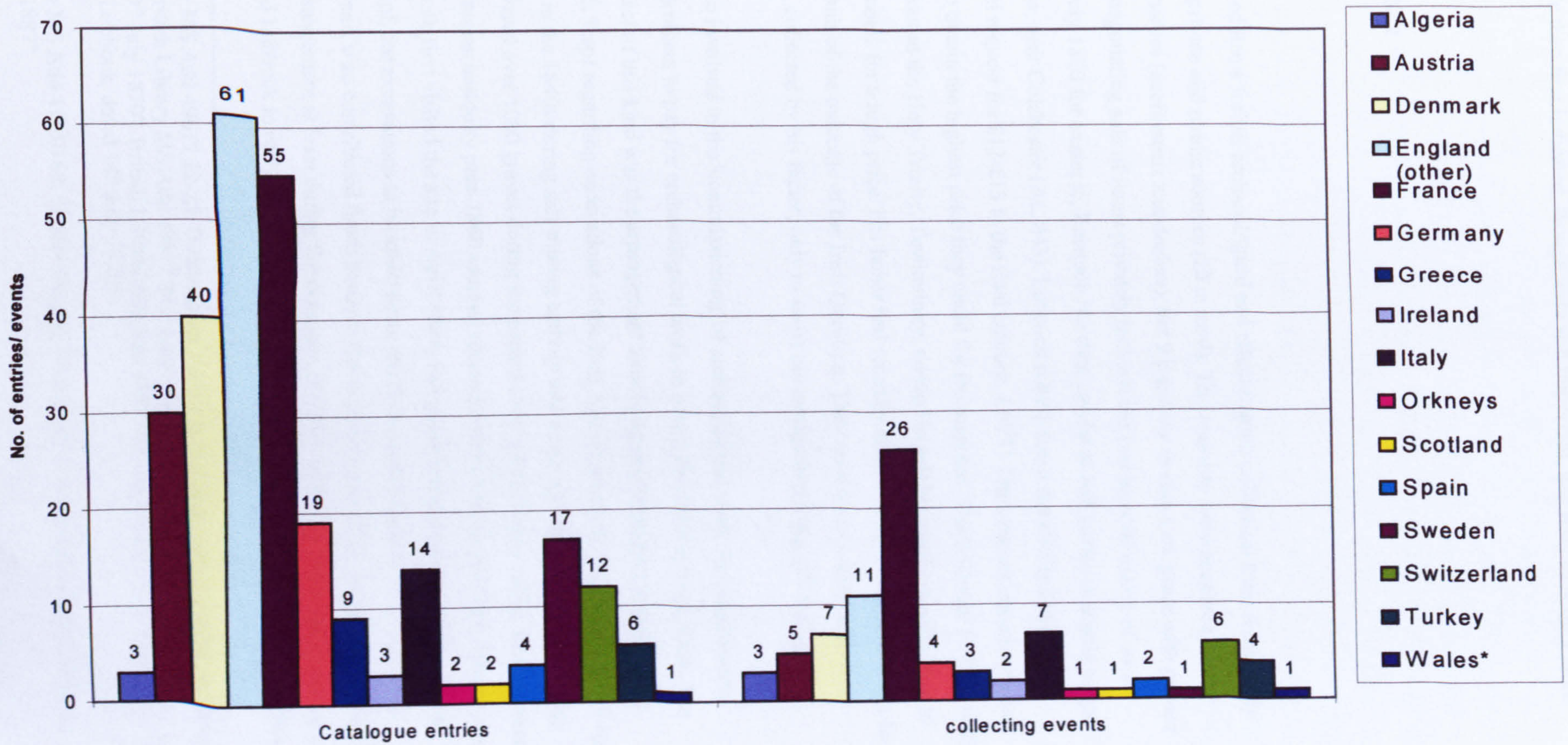


Figure 4.17: Places from which Lubbock acquired artefacts for his collection, by catalogue entry and assumed collecting event (excluding "London" and "unknown")



less important role than first indicated, though were still important, and Italy took on a more significant role.

Supporting Evidence

Purchases

Lubbock purchased items for his archaeological and ethnographic collection from a relatively small number of private and public sources (20 in total). The majority were acquired from 9 commercial companies (auctioneers and dealers), but 9 purchase events took place with private vendors. Letters negotiating sale of items privately indicate the commercial nature of such transactions. In July 1870 for example, Emerson Norman agreed to sell Lubbock a gold torque found at Buttlesea, near Colchester (AC 843). Lubbock talked down the asking price from Norman's original request for £12-£15 to the final amount, £10[55]. The vendors sometimes had their own need to obtain the highest price they could for the material. The reverend E. [Maxwell] Townshend, curator at the Holy Trinity, Tewkesbury, needed to sell his mother's collection of ancient Chinese coins for a high price. His father had recently died, and the family had lost a lot of money as a result of the outcome of the Irish Question. They were now in debt and were selling the coins, collected by his father, only to assist his mother in paying off that debt[56].

Lubbock was also involved in the 'commissioning' of archaeological work. He occasionally collaborated with others to pay for archaeological work in return for a share of the finds. The most significant act of this kind was the arrangement loosely agreed between Lubbock, John Evans and Joseph Stapf regarding excavations of the Iron Age cemetery at Hallstatt. The site had been discovered in the 1840s during salt-mining activity and a mining engineer, Johann Georg Ramsauer, excavated over 1000 graves during the period 1846-1863 (Bahn, 1996). Developments in the theory of human antiquity post-1860 sparked renewed interest in the Hallstatt discoveries. Evans and Lubbock first visited the site in April 1866, and made arrangements with the Konig Bergmeister, Stapf, for excavations to be undertaken the finds from which were to be sent to Lubbock and Evans, who contributed funds towards the costs of excavation. Work was carried out under this arrangement at least during the summers of 1866, 1867 and 1868 and items were sent to Evans and Lubbock in early 1867, 1868 and 1869[57]. It was not an easy relationship; Evans

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[55] British Library MS Add 49677 22-23. "Letter from Emerson Norman to John Lubbock, dated 5th July 1870". British Library MS Add 49677 24. "Letter from Emerson Norman to John Lubbock, dated 9th July 1870". British Library MS Add 49677 25-26. "Letter from Emerson Norman to John Lubbock, dated 14th July 1870".

[56] British Library MS Add 49650 60. "Letter from E. [Maxwell] Townshend to John Lubbock, dated 12th April 1887".

[57] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Letters between John Evans and Joseph Stapf 1866-1876". Transcribed by Dr. Andrew Sherratt.

and Lubbock experienced a number of problems in working with Stapf not least his haggling about the money required to pay for the work and items found[58]. The Austrian Crown Prince Rudolph visited Salzburg in October 1866, and Stapf showed him the excavated finds. As a result he had to present him with many of the best pieces, much to the disappointment of Evans and Lubbock[59]. However, despite this they received a considerable amount of material from Stapf's excavations, the first consignment being sent on 9th January 1867: 82 listed iron, bronze and amber artefacts, several pieces of bone and several blue glass beads[60]. Lubbock and Evans shared out the collection and received a further two consignments from Stapf in February 1868 and January 1869. In total they paid 750fl. Austrian banknotes to Stapf for the material which Stapf sent via the book publishers Gerold & Son in Vienna and Williams & Norgate in London to avoid unnecessary damage being caused to the artefacts by customs[61].

4 of the 9 purchases Lubbock made from private sources and recorded in the Avebury Catalogue were managed through an intermediary. Members of his local, national and international network heard of collections for sale by others and informed Lubbock of those he might be interested in. For example, Japetus Steenstrup acted as intermediary for the acquisition of Boye's collection in 1863, and arranged for Lubbock to acquire the collection for 20 guineas. Rudolph Pugaard, as director of a family international shipping business based in Copenhagen and associate of Lubbock, acted as the financier and courier. He paid Boye the purchase price, invoiced Lubbock for the amount and arranged for the package of material to be delivered to him in England[62]. Conrad Engelhardt, Curator at the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, acted as intermediary for the sale of Johan Petersen's collection of Danish antiquities to Lubbock and Mr. Flower in 1867 (AC 549)[63]. Petersen could not speak English and presumably this is one of the reasons why Engelhardt acted on his behalf. Petersen annotated each item with a suggested price, and

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[58] ibid.

[59] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Letter between John Evans and Joseph Stapf, dated 8th December 1866". Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Letter between John Evans and Joseph Stapf, dated December 1866".

[60] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Letter from Joseph Stapf to John Evans, dated 9th January 1867".

[61] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Letter from John Evans to Joseph Stapf, dated December 1866".

[62] British Library MS Add 49640 48. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated [1]0th March 1863". British Library MS Add 49640 71-72. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated 21st June 1863". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 1st May 1863". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 24th June 1863".

[63] British Library MS Add 49677 11-12. "Letter from Conrad Engelhardt to John Lubbock, dated 22nd May 1867".

Lubbock shared the purchase of the collection with Flower. Staff at the British Museum acted as intermediary for a number of Lubbock's purchases, two of which are recorded in the Avebury Catalogue. For example, in July 1898, he bought a collection of prehistoric stone implements from the site of Abydos in Egypt for £30 (AC 1168). This transaction was handled by E.A. Wallis Budge in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the Museum, who passed on Lubbock's cheque to the vendors, Butrus and Mu[n]ch in Egypt. The British Museum also acquired some Abydos material from these vendors at the same time[64].

Lubbock also purchased material directly from public sources such as commercial dealers and more infrequently auction houses, accounting for 75 of the collecting events involving purchase identified. In July 1866 Lubbock bought a number of Esquimaux items from the Arctic Collection of Mr. Shingleton at auction[65]. In August 1863, he accompanied Steenstrup to a small antiquities shop in Copenhagen (probably belonging to Sally Henriques) and purchased a small collection of stone implements that Steenstrup sent on to him in 1865 (AC 301)[66]. On 20th April 1868, during a trip to Italy Lubbock perused the antiquities shops in Naples and listed in his notebook some of their contents and the items he eventually purchased from one shop belonging to Barone (AC 648-651)[67].

Gifts

Lubbock actively solicited material for his collection, requesting people to send him specified items from across the world. On 27th April 1870, James Hector at the Colonial Museum in Wellington, New Zealand, wrote to Lubbock promising to send him examples of early forms of

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[64] British Library MS Add 49677 148. "Letter from E.A. Wallis Budge to John Lubbock, dated 13th July 1898". British Library MS Add 49677 155. "Letter from E.A. Wallis Budge to John Lubbock, dated 30th August 1898".

[65] British Library MS Add 49677 9-10. "Auction catalogue for a sale by Messrs. Crispe & Dracott, 145 High Street, Croydon of the late Mr Shingleton's Arctic Collection made during the voyages in search of Sir John Franklin". The lots included preserved animals, esquimaux dresses, bows, arrows and fishing nets and the auction was to be held on Wednesday July 18th at 3pm in Croydon. Crispe & Dracott had offices at Bishopgate Street in the City as well as Croydon. Inside the catalogue, individual lots were listed, and lots 16-21 had been bracketed together with curly brackets in pencil. Items from these lots were acquired by Lubbock and are entered in the Avebury Catalogue as entries 417-428 and 463-475. Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue, Volume 1".

[66] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. Letters from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 23rd December 1863, 11th January 1865, 8th June 1865 and 14th July 1865.

[67] Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. "Notebook of Travels 1868, 1869 & 1877".

Stone Age implements in response to Lubbock's request directed at Mr. McKelvie in Auckland[68] (AC 881). J.E. Baker sent Lubbock a variety of flint and stone arrowhead specimens from the Khorasan region of Persia in April 1884, in response to a longstanding request (AC 1199)[69].

However, Lubbock also acquired material from unsolicited sources, sent without any input on his part regarding whether he wished to have them. In 1869, [Walter Elliots] passed through London and left a boomerang with a porter at the Traveller's Club for him (AC 780)[70]. Harry Cecil Cameron wrote to Lubbock in November 1874 enclosing a Maori implement from New Zealand for his collection 'hoping you [Lubbock] will accept'[71] (AC 1080). John Brazier, an employee at the Australian Museum in Sydney, first introduced himself to Lubbock in May 1877, when he wrote a letter of introduction accompanied by 3 adzes found on the Pacific Islands that he offered to his collection (AC 1140-1142)[72]. Brazier had sent these items to Mr. G.B. Somerby at 45 Great Russell Street who was to pass them on. In September 1898 James Ralls sent 2 fine stone implements found at Broom Quarry, near Hawkchurch, whilst Lubbock was staying at Rushmore, in the hope he would accept them and visit the site from which they came (AC 1171)[73].

Lubbock was also actively involved in the reciprocal exchange of material. In February 1872, George Finlay sent him various stone implements from locations in Greece (AC 988-989) in return for being sent Palaeolithic implements[74]. Mr. N.E. Shepherd gave Lubbock a selection of stone implements from Iowa and Ohio in 1880 (AC 1177-1183) in return for a shipment of flint implements. In his letter of 6th July Shepherd also requested a small series of Neolithic arrows and 'some of the long narrow flakes that were used for knives'. He offered Lubbock a 'perfect slate ornament' in exchange[75]. There is no evidence that Lubbock ever received a 'perfect slate ornament' from Shepherd and it is likely that only the initial exchange took place.

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[68] British Library MS Add 49677 20-21. "Letter from James Hector to John Lubbock, dated 27th April 1870".

[69] British Library MS Add 49677 111-112. "Letter from J.E.Baker to John Lubbock, dated 4th April 1884".

[70] British Library MS Add 49677 17. "Note from [Walter Elliots] to John Lubbock, dated 29th June 1869".

[71] British Library MS Add 49677 82. "Letter from Harry Cecil Cameron to John Lubbock, dated 27th November 1874".

[72] British Library MS Add 49677 93-94. "Letter from John Brazier to John Lubbock, dated 11th May 1877".

[73] British Library MS Add 49677 156-157. "Letter from James Ralls to John Lubbock, dated 17th September 1898".

[74] British Library MS Add 49677 49-51. "Letter from George Finlay to John Lubbock, dated 20th February 1872".

[75] British Library MS Add 49677 103-105. "Letter from [N.E.] Shepherd to John Lubbock, dated 6th July 1880".

We have already discussed the role *Prehistoric Times* had in people giving Lubbock items, and this is tied into a broader trend - that people gave him objects for his collection because they respected his contribution to this developing area of science and valued his expert opinion. In November 1870, C.L. Acland sent a collection of Peruvian antiquities for Lubbock to give his valued opinion on. Acland invited him to select items for his collection from the list of duplicates provided (AC 899) but requested the return of the rest of the material[76]. Chas Abbott gave Lubbock a collection of stone implements found near Trenton, New Jersey, in July 1871 (AC 924):

> *'to the further increase of your museum; and the world's knowledge of what was once the population of the coastal states of my country.'*[77]

General Sir William Merewether donated a selection of stone implements from Sukkur in the Indian Sind, in 1875 (AC 1091-1092) and asked Lubbock in return to send a copy of his identifications to assist them in the cataloguing of their collection in India[78]. James Ralls, when he gave Lubbock material from Broom Quarry in 1898, requested he come to the site and raise people's awareness of it further afield[79]. In July 1890, Lord Derby offered a small collection of arms and implements begun years ago and never continued. The British Museum had already accepted a number of items, but Derby wanted the rest 'to be in the hands of someone who understands and appreciates such objects'[80] (AC 1149-1159).

Field Collection

Lubbock participated in various geological and natural history field trips from an early age and after 1860 these often combined the collecting of archaeological and natural historical specimens (appendix 4.4). In 1861 and 1863, he toured Scandinavia to study the geological, zoological and

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[76] British Library MS Add 49677 31-32. "Letter from C.L. Acland to John Lubbock, dated 1st November 1870".

[77] British Library MS Add 49677 37-38. "Letter from Chas Abbott to John Lubbock, dated 6th June 1871".

[78] British Library MS Add 49677 83-85. "Letter from General Sir William Merewether to John Lubbock, dated 15th March 1875".

[79] British Library MS Add 49677 156-157. "Letter from James Ralls to John Lubbock, dated 17th September 1898".

[80] British Library MS Add 49655 22-23. "Letter from Lord Derby to John Lubbock, dated 17th July 1890".

archaeological evidence discovered in Denmark, Sweden and Norway[81]. During his 1863 trip, he visited the shell-midden site, Havelse, in Denmark, and collected six stone axes himself from the site (AC 218). In April 1862 he accompanied Prestwich and Evans on their visit to the Somme Valley river gravel sites[82]. Lubbock visited cave sites in Southern France during March 1864 and picked up stone implements from several for his collection (AC 255-262, 266)[83]. He visited the Iron Age cemetery site at Hallstatt in April 1866 with Evans and spent a few hours excavating one of the graves on 20th April. Lubbock found a bronze bracelet and a spiral brooch (AC 361-362)[84]:

> *'Lubbock and I breakfasted soon after 6 and about half past 7 were up at the cemetery near the Rudolfs Thurm and found that the men had already discovered a bronze bracelet and a broken fibula. I subsequently found in one of our trenches and dug out with my own hands one of the iron socket celts with a part of the handle remaining in it...Lubbock found a perfect bronze bracelet and part of another and a very good double spiral brooch...I hope to be able to arrange in Vienna for our friend the Bergmeister Stapf to carry on some further excavations for us.'*[85]

British Association meetings provided opportunities to go out with fellow delegates and collect material in the field. In September 1864, for example, John Evans discusses an excursion out to the corner of a cricket ground at Salisbury, known as Milford Hill, where Dr. Blackmore had found implements[86]. He was attending the BA meeting at nearby Bath, as were John and Nelly Lubbock[87]. On 18th September, Lubbock, Evans and Francis Galton visited Little Salisbury Hill to explore the site and collect material (Evans, 1866; AC 268-273). The 1867 meeting was held at Dundee and afterwards Lubbock travelled with Archibald Hamilton to the Orkneys where they went field collecting and undertook experimental archaeology (AC 554-555)[88]. It is also quite

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[81] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 9th July 1861". British Library MS Add 62679 65. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 7th September 1863".

[82] Reprinted in Burkhardt et al., 1997: 161. "Letter from John Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated 17th April 1862". ibid.: 196-197. "Letter from John Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated 15th May 1862".

[83] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Easter 1864".

[84] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Notebook: 1866, Austria, England, France: 1867, France, Switzerland, Germany, England: 1868, England, France".

[85] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Letter from John Evans to Fanny Evans, dated 19th April 1866".

[86] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Notebook: 1863, France, England etc.: 1864, with Prestwich, France, England: 1865, France, England, Denmark, Germany: 1866, France".

[87] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Autumn 1864".

[88] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 30th September 1867". British Library MS Add 49642 48. "Letter from Augusta Haigh to John Lubbock, dated September 1867".

possible that Lubbock went on from attending the BA meeting at Nottingham in September 1866 to open up a barrow at Sherburn in Yorkshire with Canon Greenwell (AC 442)[89]. We know that Greenwell had invited him to visit earlier that year[90].

Possibly his most ambitious piece of fieldwork was the excavation of Hector's tumulus at Bunarbashi in Asia Minor during his visit to the area in October 1872[91] (AC 1035). He also picked up a hammerstone from the site at Hissarlik during this trip (AC 1032). The last definite act of field work resulting with an acquisition into Lubbock's collection took place in November 1879, when he picked up a Palaeolithic stone implement near Kolea in Algeria (Lubbock, 1881; AC 1168).

Field Travels

Lubbock's enthusiasm for travel both in Britain and further afield was very influential in his acquisition of artefacts by gift, purchase, field collection and exchange. Appendix 4.4 provides an outline of all the recorded trips made by Lubbock during his lifetime. However, one example is explored in further detail here to give a better idea of the relationship between these trips and his collecting activities.

On 7th July 1863, John and Nelly set off on a tour of Norway, Sweden and Denmark with a travelling companion, Mary Arbuthnot. They travelled via Cologne and Hamburg to Copenhagen and then to Gothenburg and along the Gotha Canal to Stockholm. They arrived in time to attend part of the Association of Naturalists and Antiquarians meeting at which Steenstrup, Worsaae and Nilsson were present[92]. They spent a few days looking at museums in Stockholm, made an excursion to Upsala and then travelled by train back to Gothenburg to start a trip by carriage and steamer into Norway[93]. On their return they stayed a week in Copenhagen and made day

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[89] London, Royal Society Archives L2. "Notebook *Notes of Life*". Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. " Notebook, Switzerland 1879; 1894".

[90] British Library MS Add 49641 146-147. "Letter from William Greenwell to John Lubbock, dated 11th August 1866".

[91] British Library MS Add 62681 22-27. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 11th October 1872".

[92] British Library MS Add 49640 71-72. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated 21st June 1863". Reprinted in *Worsaae, J.J.A.: Af en oldgrandskers breve*. Copenhagen, 1937. "Letter from J.J.A. Worsaae to his wife, dated 18th July 1863. Translated for me by Anne Katrine Gjerløff. Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 24th June 1863".

[93] British Library MS Add 62679 65. "John Lubbock Diary entry, dated 7th September 1863".

excursions to various sites in Lund and Denmark sometimes accompanied by Japetus Steenstrup[94]. These visits involved the collection of artefacts:

> *'...you said that scrapers were common at Aarhus & I myself found 37 in two hours & a half, of which only 3 or 4 were at all doubtful. In addition we got a lot of short & bad flakes & a great many "knots". Altogether 211 pieces found by me, besides those got by the ladies.'*[95]

The small party made their way home from Copenhagen by rail stopping off at Flensburg en route to meet the curator, Conrad Engelhardt, and visit the site of the Iron Age boat discovery at Nydam in Schleswig-Holstein[96]. They arrived home on 1st September 1863[97].

Lubbock had met Steenstrup and Christian Jürgen Thomsen on a previous trip to Copenhagen in 1861 with George Busk when they had explored the shell-middens at Havelse and Bilidt (Lubbock, 1861). Prior to the 1863 visit Steenstrup and Lubbock already had a friendship, exchanged information and papers and Steenstrup had supplied Lubbock with artefacts[98]. Just before Lubbock visited in 1863, Steenstrup had shipped Boye's collection to England where Lubbock found it waiting for him on his return in September[99]. In August 1867, Lubbock purchased a collection of Danish antiquities from Johan Christian Petersen via Conrad Engelhardt. This was an important resource being one of the main collections referenced in Madsen's *Afbildninger af Danske Oldsager og Mindes-mærker, Stenalderen* (1868), a book that drew together and illustrated the evidence for Stone Age occupation in Danish antiquity. It is interesting to note Lubbock had previously met Engelhardt in 1863.

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[94] ibid.

[95] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 12th September 1863". British Museum accession numbers 19 6.6-5.80-93.

[96] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 12th September 1863". British Library MS Add 62679 65. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 7th September 1863".

[97] ibid.

[98] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 7th November 1861". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 24th March 1862".

[99] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 12th September 1863".

Evidence for Discontinuity

The graph depicting the number of *collecting events* per annum by method of acquisition (figure 4.12) provides interesting results. Although for 43 *collecting events* the method of acquisition is currently unknown, there is enough data upon which preliminary suggestions can be based. The number of 'gift' *collecting events* per annum follow a similar profile to the number of *collecting events* overall. However, purchase and field collection events are more restricted in time-scale, concentrated around the 1866-1872 period. After 1880, there are only 4 purchase events and three of these relates to the acquisition of coins by Lubbock (AC 1147b, 1181 and 1182). After 1876, Lubbock does not appear to have purchased any further ethnographic material for his collection (figure 4.14). There are no entries in the Avebury Catalogue sourced to field collecting after 1879. Only 44 *collecting events* take place between 1881 and 1907 and all but 5 are gifts to Lubbock. This is a major area of discontinuity in terms of acquisition method. Similarly, there appears to be a change in the nature of gifts after 1880 with a reduction in the number of solicited and exchanged items.

Appendix 4.4 suggests that during the 1860s and 1870s archaeology was the primary focus of Lubbock's excursions. He collected material for his formal archaeology and ethnography collection as a regular occurrence on these trips till the late 1870s. After the mid-1870s, he still visited archaeological sites regularly and maintained an interest in archaeology but other interests become more important, especially botany and geology. His field collecting activities continued but plants, insects, rocks and minerals became the focus of attention. During the 1890s he rarely visited archaeological sites.

Lubbock purchased coins after the late 1880s[100]and there is also rare evidence for him collecting prehistoric archaeology in the field post-1880 but this material is not recorded in the Avebury Catalogue, nor does it appear to have been kept by Lubbock. For example, in September 1886 he went fieldwalking with Alice, Evans and Prestwich in Kent[101]. They found a few flakes but there is no record of any acquisition in the Avebury Catalogue. A Palaeolithic waste flake from Kemsing recorded in the *Unknown* database and housed at Bromley Museum could represent a piece from this excursion but is unlikely[102].

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[100] page 153.

[101] British Library MS Add 62683 61. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 24th September 1886".

[102] Bromley Museum accession number 68.34.2.

Method of Acquisition: Conclusion

Purchase, gift and field collecting were important methods of acquisition used by Lubbock during the period 1863-1880. Purchases and gifts were both solicited and unsolicited. However, after 1880 purchases and field collecting no longer had a role in Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collecting activity, and only donations continued to shape the collection. This trend appears to be in contrast to Lubbock's collecting of natural history specimens for which field collecting became increasingly important (appendix 4.4).

Sources from which the Collection was Acquired

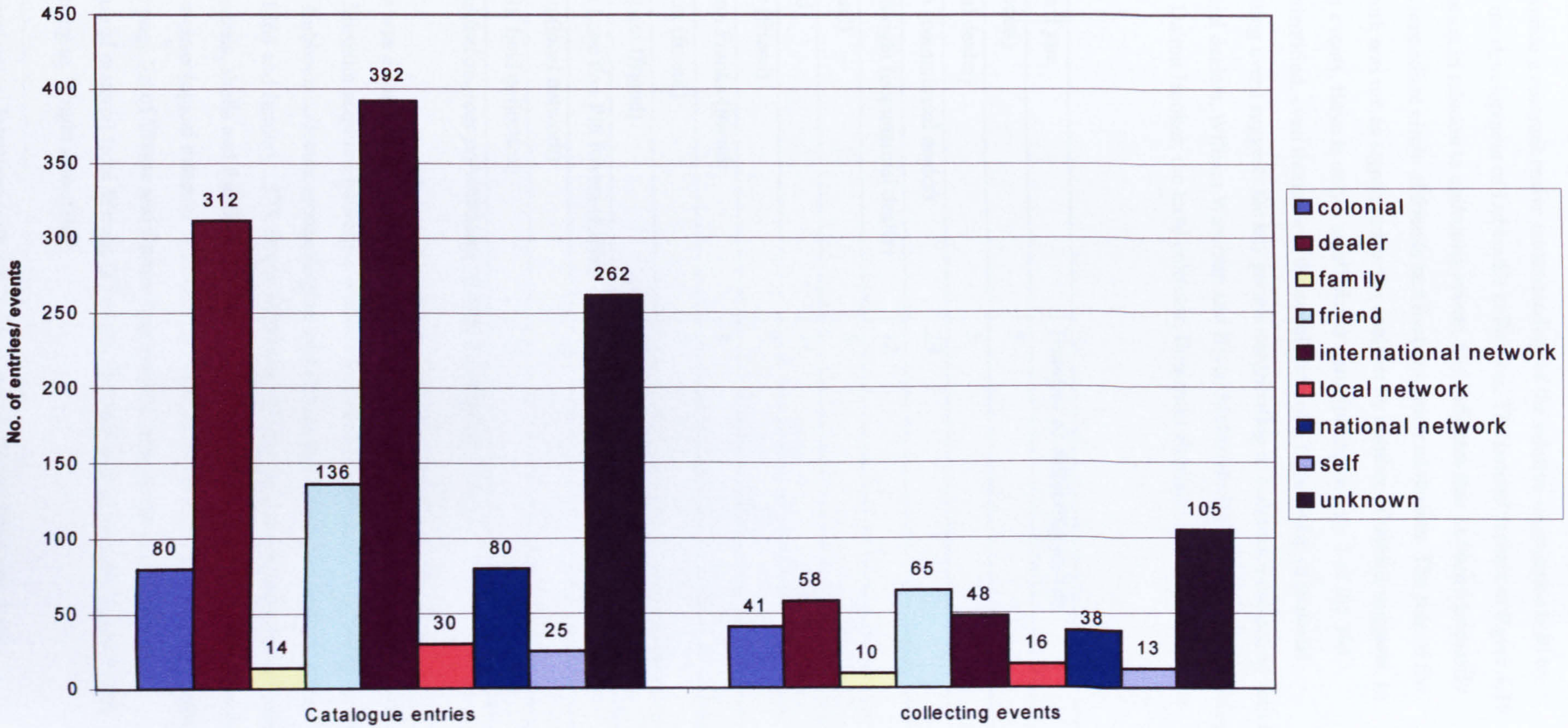
It has been possible to identify the collection source for 89.5% of the collection (1188 Catalogue entries), a total of 185 sources (appendix 4.6). These have been divided into 9 categories of source type (figure 4.18), and the first section of figure 4.19, 'Catalogue entries', suggests the primary source types were an international network of contacts, commercial dealers and Lubbock's social and intellectual circle of friends.

Category of source type	Definition
Colonial	Direct acquisition as a result of British colonial activity.
Dealer	Direct acquisition from a commercial dealer (often related indirectly to colonial activity).
Family	Direct acquisition from family member.
Friend	Direct acquisition from person belonging to social and intellectual circle of friends within which Lubbock moved.
International network	Direct acquisition from person living and working abroad other than in British colonial context.
Local network	Direct acquisition from person in the northwest Kent political and social scene who Lubbock regarded only as an acquaintance, or whom he did not know except through his collecting activity.
National network	Direct acquisition from person in the rest of the UK who Lubbock regarded only as an acquaintance, or whom he did not know except through his collecting activity.
Self	Direct acquisition by himself through field collection.
Unknown	The source of acquisition is unknown, and therefore the type of source cannot be identified.

Figure 4.18: Categories of Source Type

This analysis also suggests the key individual sources were Vilhelm Boye (249 entries), William Wareham (158 entries), Bryce McMurdo Wright (58 entries) and John Evans (41 entries).

Figure 4.19: Source types from which Lubbock acquired items for his archaeological and ethnographic collection, by catalogue entry and assumed collecting event



However, an assessment based solely on the number of Catalogue entries attributable to any one source does not provide a comprehensive understanding of the relative importance held by various sources in the development of Lubbock's collection. The second section of figure 4.19 considers this question in relation to *collecting events*, and indicates that Lubbock primarily collected from his immediate circle of friends and from commercial dealers. The role of the international network was not as significant as the analysis by number of entries suggests. In terms of collecting events, Boye is only a small player participating in only 1 of the 394 collecting events identified, even though it is the acquisition of a large group of material. Analysis by collecting event suggests the key people contributing to Lubbock's collecting activity were the commercial dealers, William Wareham and Bryce McMurdo Wright, his friends, John Evans and Joseph Dalton Hooker, the local collector, Benjamin Harrison, and himself (figure 4.20).

Name and Source Type	**Number of collecting events**
John Brazier (colonial)	5
Cutter (commercial dealer)	5
William Wareham (commercial dealer)	29
Bryce McMurdo Wright (commercial dealer)	12
George Busk (friend)	5
John Evans (friend)	11
Joseph W. Flower (friend)	5
Augustus Wollaston Franks (friend)	8
Archibald Hamilton (friend)	5
Joseph Dalton Hooker (friend)	10
General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (friend)	5
Benjamin Harrison (local network)	10
John Lubbock (self, field collection)	13

Figure 4.20: Individual sources participating in over 5 collecting events

William Wareham was a commercial dealer in Castle Street, Leicester Square in London from whom the British Museum acquired numerous prehistoric and medieval antiquities between 1860 and circa 1880[103]. Lubbock collected archaeological and ethnographic material from Wareham between October 1864 and January 1873. Bryce McMurdo Wright Senior was a dealer primarily specialising in minerals, shells and fossils, who was also one of the first professional dealers in ethnographic and archaeological material in London (Cooper, 1999b). His 1868 shop catalogue contained a single page list of "Stone and Bronze Implements" and it was in this year that Lubbock first acquired material from Wright (27 of the 58 Catalogue entries attributed to this source). In the catalogue, Wright also states:

[103] Personal communication: Interview with Jill Cook, Curator, British Museum, 1999.

> *'B.M.W. has just given orders to his correspondents (who are in all parts of the world) comprising Russia, France, Italy, Germany, China, India, North and South Americas, New Zealand etc., to purchase all Stone and Bronze Implements of whatever description, so as to meet the increasing demand made upon him for this new department of his business'* (Cooper, 1999b:13)

Lubbock quickly exploited this new source of relevant material, acquiring items from Wright throughout the period 1869-1877 in addition to the material he purchased on 7 separate occasions during 1868. The majority of this material was purchased from Wright Senior, but after his death in October 1874 Lubbock acquired a few items from his son, Bryce Wright Junior, (4 Catalogue entries) on one occasion in 1877. Analysis of labels indicates Lubbock also acquired items originally sold via Bryce Wright Junior as part of other later acquisitions from other sources. For example, in August 1890 he acquired various items from the collection of Lord Derby including a polished axe head in an antler sleeve with a very distinctive Bryce Wright Junior label attached (plate 4.19). The label is of a type only in use by Wright during the period 1888-1891 (Cooper, 1999b), and the axe was probably sold to Lord Derby by Wright during the period 1888-1890 (AC 1159).

Joseph Dalton Hooker became Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew in 1865 (Desmond, 1999), taking over from his father for whom he had worked until that date. Hooker travelled widely in his younger days exploring the colonial territories and collecting botanical specimens for the Kew collections. At Kew he had access to a wide network of scientists, military and government officers around the world who regularly collected botanical material. He also made use of these channels to acquire archaeological and ethnographic material for Lubbock's collection particularly during the late 1860s. John Evans' reputation as a collector has already been discussed[104]. He first contributed to Lubbock's collection in 1863, and Lubbock continued to receive material from him on a very occasional basis until 1881.

Benjamin Harrison was a doctor at Ightham in Kent who took a keen interest in the early antiquity of the local area after his discovery of a Palaeolithic settlement at Oldbury Camp. He amassed a considerable collection of lithic material during his lifetime that he eventually donated to Maidstone Museum. However, he also gave various interested parties examples of his discoveries, including Lubbock who received material from Harrison on a sporadic basis during the period after 1870.

Analysis by method of acquisition suggests the collection of artefacts by Lubbock himself during fieldwork played a very minor role in the creation of his collection. In terms of number of Catalogue entries and collecting events this is certainly the case. However, analysis of individual collection sources reveals his own collecting in the field was important particularly for

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[104] Pages 66-67.



Plate 4. 19: Bryce McMurdo Wright label adhered to a stone axe from Switzerland (Bromley Museum 68.75). Given to John Lubbock by Lord Derby in August 1890 (AC 1159).

archaeological material during the period 1863-1868, being only one of a very few sources to contribute to the collection on more than 10 occasions (figure 4.20).

All of the key sources described are men and only 4 of the 186 sources identified are women. Over 97% of the collection was acquired from men. Female sources account directly for 5 Catalogue entries and collecting events and these sources were either members of Lubbock's family (Gertrude, his daughter, and Mrs. Nevile Lubbock, his sister-in-law) or part of a broader friends network (Miss Haigh, a family friend, and [Mary] Baird the wife of one of Lubbock's friends). Gertrude gave him an arrowhead she had acquired whilst in California in December 1887, possibly as a Christmas present (AC 1147). Mrs. Nevile Lubbock gave him stone arrowheads found in Southern Algeria in 1884 (AC 1121). Miss Haigh donated an ethnographic item, a tom tom from Egypt, to Lubbock in 1870, and an arrowhead of unknown origin in the same year (AC 859 and 883). In 1873, [Mary] Baird donated a vase found near Flodden in Northumberland (AC 1068). All of the items acquired from female sources were gifts and were acquired during the 1870s and 1880s. There is evidence for further indirect female involvement in the collecting process however, but this is exceptional. Lady Celia Frere sent Lubbock a bushman pot from the Cape Colonies on behalf of her husband, Sir Bartle Frere, for example, who was engaged in military action and otherwise detained[105]. Nelly Lubbock and Mary Arbuthnot probably collected flint implements during a field trip to Aarhus, Denmark, with Lubbock in July 1863[106].

Analysis of the data both in terms of number of entries and collecting events reinforces another major conclusion concerning Lubbock's collecting activities. We can identify primary collecting sources Lubbock used on more frequent occasions. However, the majority of his collection was accumulated as a result of ad hoc gifts and purchases taking the form of one off transactions with people on the local, national and international stage.

<u>Supporting Evidence</u>

Colonial Sources

These included people who were still overseas or who had been based overseas at some point and had since returned to Britain. Robinson, for example, now lived in Bath but had for many years lived in Tasmania with aboriginal natives where he acquired the fire sticks he gave Lubbock in

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[105] British Library MS Add 49677 95-100. "Letter from Lady C. Frere to John Lubbock, dated 20th November 1877".

[106] page 174.

1866[107]. James Hector was in Wellington, New Zealand, when he sent Lubbock offerings for his collection in 1870[108]. William Campbell, the Secretary of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society in British Guiana, sent his first gift of stone implements and pottery to Lubbock in 1868 from Demerara via Hooker (AC 580 and 594), but gave him a second group of material from the Upper Essquibo River and Dominica on a trip home to England in June 1873 (AC 1065-1067)[109]. Colonial sources obtained the material in a variety of ways. Hector, as an employee of the Colonial Museum in Wellington, sent duplicate items from the museum collections. Robinson gave Lubbock a long kept souvenir of his travels. William Campbell employed people to collect material of interest from the interior of British Guiana[110].

> *'You have asked me to get you some stone implements if I should ever come across them. Curiously enough, I lately showed an Indian from the Rupumani River what sort of things I wanted, and he said that in about six months he would return and bring me what he could find - a week or two ago he came back with about a hundred fragments of stone axes & c...'*[111]

John Brazier worked for the Australian Museum in Sydney and acquired some of the ethnographic material he sent Lubbock himself during expeditions[112]. Captain Pauli collected the Chilean material he gave to Lubbock himself during a stop in Chile during a naval expedition[113].

These colonial acquisitions relied on a vastly improved courier service provided by the developing passenger and goods steamer shipping services. In 1873 for example, Chas Fairbridge arranged for Captain Caines to courier items from Capetown, South Africa to Lubbock on the

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[107] British Library MS Add 49677 3-8. "Letter from George Robinson to John Lubbock, dated 29th January 1866".

[108] British Library MS Add 49677 20-21. "Letter from James Hector to John Lubbock, dated 27th April 1870".

[109] British Library MS Add 49677 64-65. "Letter from William H. Campbell to John Lubbock, dated 18th June 1873". Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, RBG Volume 204 Central America British Guiana Letters 1865-1900 247. "Letter from William H. Campbell to Joseph Hooker, dated 19th June 1873".

[110] British Library MS Add 49677 64-65. "Letter from William H. Campbell to John Lubbock, dated 18th June 1873". Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, RBG Volume 204 Central America British Guiana Letters 1865-1900 225-229. "Letter from William H. Campbell to Joseph Hooker, dated 9th December 1867".

[111] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, RBG Volume 204 Central America British Guiana Letters 1865-1900 227. "Letter from William H. Campbell to Joseph Hooker, dated 9th December 1867".

[112] British Library MS Add 49677 101-102. "Letter from John Brazier to John Lubbock, dated 20th January 1880".

[113] British Library MS Add 49677 59. "Letter from [M.B.] Pauli to John Lubbock, dated 22nd March 1873".

RMS *Briton*[114]. In 1890, Brazier was able to send a parcel of curios from British New Guinea and the Solomon Islands by parcel post from Sydney, Australia[115].

Commercial dealers

Very little supporting documentation exists concerning the acquisition of material from commercial dealers. This is perhaps not surprising considering Lubbock made many of these transactions face-to-face, but unfortunately no receipts or other forms of sales contract survive. In December 1876, Cutter wrote to Lubbock providing further information about two axes the latter had acquired from him (AC 1132-1133). He described how they had been brought home by Dr. Goodenough from the [Manesby] expedition to the SE corner of New Guinea, and how they were used for making canoes 60-70 feet long[116]. Global expeditions were important sources of material for commercial dealers, and this is reflected in the fact that Lubbock acquired several items from eighteenth and nineteenth century expeditions through these sources. One such acquisition was the purchase of Esquimaux artefacts from the Arctic Collection of the late Mr. Shingleton at public auction held by the auctioneers, Crispe & Dracott, of Croydon, in July 1866 (AC 417-428; 463-475; 416? and 548?). This Collection was made during Shingleton's voyages on the *Investigator*, *Enterprise* and *Fox* in search of John Franklin.

Several dealers supplying Lubbock also supplied the British Museum with archaeological and ethnographic material: Leman, Cutter and Wareham are all mentioned as sources for material listed in the Trustees Minutes Indexes[117]. On 16th January 1882, Franks wrote to Lubbock requesting his permission as Trustee of the Christy Bequest to purchase a collection of pipes and items relating to tobacco from across the world for £500 from Wareham for the Christy Collection[118].

Lubbock occasionally made reference to commercial dealers in his notebooks and diaries. In September 1872, for example, during a trip to Constantinople he stopped off at Augsburg to visit

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[114] British Library MS Add 49677 68-69. "Letter from Chas Fairbridge to John Lubbock, dated 15th September 1873".

[115] British Library MS Add 49655 80-81. "Letter from John Brazier to John Lubbock, dated September 1890".

[116] British Library MS Add 49677 92. "Letter from W. Cutter to John Lubbock, dated 15th December 1876".

[117] British Museum Archive. "British Museum Trustees Minutes Index 2 1858-1872".

[118] British Library MS Add 49645 108-109. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 16th January 1882".

the museum and also 'some antiquity shops but got nothing'[119]. In 1868 he visited Naples in Italy and looked for archaeological artefacts in five antique shops in the city using his notebook to record their contents[120].

Family Sources

There is little reference to acquisitions made from family in the archives either, again not surprisingly given they were likely to see each other face-to-face rather than communicating via correspondence. However, Gertrude Lubbock wrote a letter from Santa Barbara, California, when she was living there in December 1887 informing her father she was sending an artefact found on an island off Santa Barbara which she had bought from a German gentleman for him[121]. Montagu H. Lubbock also wrote to his brother from his London address in July 1903 providing further details about the provenance of a Burmese Buddhist shrine he had given him (AC 1180)[122]. Robert Birkbeck, who gave Lubbock an Australian aboriginal shield (AC 740), Danish flint implements (AC 886) and a weapon from Algeria (AC 1139), was his brother-in-law who had married his older sister, Mary Harriet on 8th December 1857.

Lubbock's two wives both accompanied him on some field trips but not always. Nelly, for example, was invited by William Greenwell to go with Lubbock up to Yorkshire and excavate prehistoric tumuli. However, she does not appear to have taken up his offer:

'John goes to Yorkshire either tomorrow or Wednesday to open some barrows.'[123]

Friends Sources

Lubbock's friends, particularly within the scientific sphere, had a whole collecting network of contacts from which he benefited. Charles Darwin passed on a gift to him of a fire stick from the Rajah Brooke immediately after he received it in 1871, and provided him with the letter Brooke

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[119] British Library MS Add 62681 11. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 14th September 1872".

[120] Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. "Notebook: Travels - 1868, 1869 & 1877".

[121] British Library MS Add 49677 128. "Letter from Gertrude Lubbock to John Lubbock, dated 5th December 1887".

[122] British Library MS Add 49677 168-169. "Letter from Montagu H. Lubbock to John Lubbock, dated 19th July 1903".

[123] University of Cambridge Darwin Archive DAR 170 4728. "Letter from Ellen Francis Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated [1865]".

had written to accompany the gift[124]. Franks kept Lubbock informed of collecting opportunities and directed appropriate material in his direction. In August 1872, he sent Lubbock a piece of African ring money (AC 1001); in 1874, he offered him stone implements from Bethlehem originating from the Tyrwhitt Drake Collection Franks had just purchased[125].

Joseph Hooker was responsible for the development of the Museum of Economic Botany collections formed as part of the Royal Gardens. The official government remit for developing this collection was considerable:

> *'Museum Department.*
> *The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works having been pleased to form a Museum of Economic Botany within the Royal Gardens, the director solicits the co-operation of Her Majesty's Ministers and Consuls in foreign countries, of the Governors of Her Majesty's Colonies, of Officers in the Army and Navy, Merchants and Travellers generally, to aid in contributing specimens towards so desirable an object...'*[126]

This made Hooker a very useful ally in the collecting of ethnographic and archaeological material from far-flung quarters of the world. Lubbock received archaeological artefacts from William H. Campbell in British Guiana during February 1868 through his connections with Joseph Hooker[127]. Henry Christy had introduced Lubbock to Campbell prior to 1868, but Campbell had known Hooker's father and was a long-term friend of Hooker. He supplied Hooker with botanical specimens and corresponded regularly with him[128]. Campbell sent Hooker archaeological items discovered to pass on to Lubbock:

> *'I shall now send them to you [Hooker], and if they are of any value I have no doubt you will share them with Sir John Lubbock if he desires to have any...'*[129]

It has already been noted that John Evans was an avid collector of prehistoric archaeological material and there is evidence of a collecting partnership between Evans and Lubbock. This had certainly developed by the early 1860s when both were interested in acquiring Danish material via their contact Steer strup:

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[124] British Library MS Add 49677 35-36. "Letter from Rajah Brooke to Charles Darwin, dated 3rd April 1871".

[125] British Library MS Add 49677 72-73. "Letter from Augustus Wollaston Franks to John Lubbock, dated 13th March 1874".

[126] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, Extract from the *Instructions for collecting plants and seeds for the Garden and the Herbarium, and the useful products of vegetables.*

[127] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2, entry 580".

[128] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, Volume of Letters: *British Guiana Miscellaneous 1861-1909.* Letters from William H. Campbell to Joseph Hooker, various dates.

[129] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, RBG Volume 204 Central America British Guiana Letters 1865-1900 227. "Letter from William H. Campbell to Joseph Hooker, dated 9th December 1867".

> *'I am anxious to get over here a consignment of Danish stone antiquities with Mr. John Evans, that we may supply some of our English Museums.'*[130]

In June 1865, Evans invited John and Nelly Lubbock to Nash Mills to talk about a planned trip to Denmark:

> *'and to show you some more Lough Neagh things I found with the help of two boys 19 celts last Sunday at [Toone], many of them however mere fragments'.*[131]

Lubbock probably returned from this visit with examples of this Lough Neagh material (AC 327-331). On his way back from Hallstatt in 1866, Evans paid 18/ to purchase 5 bronze implements found at Carmeny in Saxony for Lubbock that he saw during his travels through Germany (AC 355-359)[132]. Lubbock visited Evans at Nash Mills in November 1871 and went for a walk with him from Hitchin to Luton[133]. The Catalogue entries 933-940 record the gift of a variety of archaeological and ethnographic artefacts from Evans in November 1871. Were these acquired on this visit? In April 1876, Evans went to France and on 14th April visited the Bois du Rocher at La Gauterie:

> *'Visited the Bois du Rocher at La Gauterie about 5 miles from Dinàn near St. Helen. The implements are found on the slope of a hill facing the southwest and with a considerable [haul] of lovelying country in front. They occur in the surface soil in considerable abundance as I found myself, and probably are not confined to one spot...Most of the implements are of quartzite but some are of flint.'*[134]

Evans gave one of the items he collected to Lubbock in June 1876 (AC 1115). However, Lubbock also contributed to Evans' collection, and the overlap in their collecting activities was very complex. We have already heard about their joint trip to Austria in 1866 and their exploits concerning Hallstatt, but they accompanied each other on a number of other trips into continental Europe and at home (appendix 4.4). Evans acquired a box of 27 stone implements from Little Salisbury Hill near Bath in September 1864 collected by Francis Galton and John Evans[135].

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[130] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 7th November 1861".

[131] British Library MS Add 49641 47-48. "Letter from John Evans to John Lubbock, dated 16th June 1865".

[132] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Notebook: 1866, Austria, England, France: 1867, France Switzerland, Germany, England: 1868, England, France".

[133] British Library MS Add 62680 8. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 9th November 1871".

[134] Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Notebook: 1872, France, Gratz, Agram: 1873, coins: 1874, France, Denmark: 1875, France: 1876, France, Italy, Austria: 1877, France, England".

[135] Ashmolean Museum accession numbers 1927.6031-6032.

Similarly, Lubbock acquired stone implements from the same location as a result of field collecting undertaken by himself, Galton and Evans in September 1864 (AC 268-273). These two acquisitions into collections owned by two different people relate to one collecting event. In 1868, Lubbock gave Evans 3 bronze implements he had purchased in Naples, Italy during a trip in April of that year[136]. He also gave Evans three cores found in the Rohri Hills in the Sind region of India in 1876[137]. Lubbock had received this material from General Sir William Merewether in September 1875 (AC 1091). The gift of a bronze axe to Lubbock (AC 570) from Robert Day of Cork on 21st November 1867 suggests he had a degree of contact with Evans' network of suppliers, Day being one of Evans' main suppliers of Irish prehistoric material (Evans, 1943).

International Network

Lubbock's international collecting contacts developed in a number of ways, and provided Lubbock with artefacts for his collection and information for his research. Some contacts, such as Chas Abbott living in Trenton, New Jersey, introduced themselves in response to *Prehistoric Times*; others, including E.A. Barber, respected Lubbock's general reputation and wrote to him offering information and assistance in keeping up to date with developments in their countries. Contacts were also developed as an outcome of Lubbock making enquiries of archaeologists abroad. Heinrich Schliemann began writing to Lubbock to inform him about his exciting discoveries at Troy and Mycenae after Lubbock had written to him in October 1872[138]. Lubbock visited Schliemann and stayed with him in November 1886, with Alice Lubbock, and during this visit Schliemann gave him a spindle whorl from Hissarlik, Greece (AC 1140)[139].

A. Morlot in Lausanne became a frequent correspondent with Lubbock during the early 1860s, although it is unclear how their relationship started. They shared information and publications about recent discoveries in their countries and Morlot commented on Lubbock's ideas concerning the Swiss Lake Villages[140]. Though most of their association appears to have been through correspondence, they did meet on at least one occasion in Switzerland when Morlot acted as

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[136] Ashmolean Museum accession numbers 1927.1396; 1927.1429-1430.

[137] Ashmolean Museum accession numbers 1927.6148a-c.

[138] British Library MS Add 49644 25 - 28. "Letter from Heinrich Schliemann to John Lubbock, dated 14th November". British Library MS Add 49644 34. "Letter from Heinrich Schliemann to John Lubbock, dated 28th December 1872".

[139] British Library MS Add 62683 64. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 11th November 1872".

[140] For example: British Library MS Add 49640 97-98. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 9th November 1863".

Lubbock's guide around various archaeological sites[141]. Morlot never sourced any of Lubbock's catalogued archaeological and ethnographic collection but he was a regular supplier of replica material, and they were in the process of planning a trip to Lake Prasias to study life in a contemporary lake village before Morlot died unexpectedly.

Lubbock developed a number of his international contacts during visits abroad, and a glance through the details of his travels (appendix 4.4) demonstrates how he used these trips as an opportunity to meet people. Lubbock's trip to Denmark in 1863 is a good example of this networking[142]. In 1865, Steenstrup paid a reciprocal visit to England to attend the British Association meeting in 1865[143]. He met up with Lubbock during this visit[144], delivered artefacts for his collection (AC 301-318) and accompanied him on a trip to Pressigny-le-Grand, France (Steenstrup & Lubbock, 1867)[145]. In May 1872, during a visit to the Pyrenees with friends, Lubbock visited M. Foucade's Museum at Aineau on 15th May[146] when he acquired gifts from Foucade for his collection (AC 993-994)[147].

Local Network

Benjamin Harrison Senior was the key contributor to Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection within the local social sphere. Harrison had numerous connections with the national intellectual network, including Evans, Prestwich and Lubbock, and he was respected for his studies of evidence for early human antiquity in Kent. Prestwich persuaded Harrison to donate his collection intact to Maidstone Museum, and Harrison also donated material to Evan's collection[148]. Herbert Monkton worked in the Maidstone Town Clerk's Office and in 1885 sent a

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[141] British Library MS Add 49639 100. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 18th June 1862".

[142] Page 173-174.

[143] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated [8th June 1865]".

[144] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 28th September 1865". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 30th September [1865]".

[145] University of Cambridge Darwin Archive DAR 170 4603. "Letter from Ellen Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated [September 1865]".

[146] British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 15th May 1872". British Library MS Add 62681 2-4. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 15th May 1872".

[147] British Library MS Add 62681 3. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 15th May 1872".

[148] British Library MS Add 49677 189-190. "Letter from Benjamin Harrison Senior to John Lubbock, undated".

flint implement found locally and given to his father by a yeoman client to Lubbock in return for a paper on prehistoric archaeology Lubbock forwarded to him[149] (AC 1123). Lubbock probably came into contact with local people interested in archaeology through various lectures he gave and opportunities he provided to visit High Elms and view his collection[150]. Perhaps this is the way he came into contact with [Geo] Pearce who lived in Woolwich and was desperate to sell his gold coin because he needed the money[151], or perhaps he knew Lubbock or an associate in another context.

National Network

The network comprised a great variety of people from amateur archaeologists based in provincial areas to professional scientists and political dignitaries. C.L. Acland was an Anglican minister serving at Folkestone when he first donated material to Lubbock's collection[152]. Messrs. Porter and Monkman were amateurs working with Canon Greenwell in Yorkshire to excavate prehistoric tumuli[153], and during Lubbock's visit in 1866 they gave him various flint items (AC 440-441). [Alfred Tozer] (AC 1018) was a businessman in the City, working around the corner from Lubbock at The Universal Mariners Insurance Company Ltd., and probably part of his local business network[154]. William Boyd Dawkins was a professional scientist employed by the HM Geological Survey based at Lindfield in Sussex. He gave Lubbock stone implements from Lewes in Sussex during 1865 (AC 337-338). Lord Derby was an influential MP who donated part of his collection of 'arms and implements' to Lubbock in August 1890 (AC 1149-1159).

Lubbock certainly met some of his national network through British Association meetings held across the country. For example, William Gray, of Belfast, gave him a flint arrowhead found in

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[149] British Library MS Add 49677 117-118. "Letter from Herbert Monkton to John Lubbock, dated 24th February 1885".

[150] British Library MS Add 49677 144-145. "Letter from Mr. Mansfield to John Lubbock, dated 21st January 1898". British Library MS Add 49677 146-147. "Letter from Mr. Mansfield to John Lubbock, dated 24th January 1898". British Library MS Add 49677 174. "Letter from J. Russell [Larkby] to John Lubbock, dated 23rd [December] 1904".

[151] British Library MS Add 49677 170-171. "Letter from [Geo] Pearce to John Lubbock, dated 20th July 1903".

[152] British Library MS Add 49677 31-32. "Letter from C.L. Acland to John Lubbock, dated 1st November 1870".

[153] Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. " Notebook, Switzerland 1879; 1894".

[154] British Library MS Add 49677 56-57. "Letter from [Alfred Tozer] to John Lubbock, dated 19th July 1872".

County Antrim during the meeting at Liverpool (AC 882)[155]. He updated Lubbock on recent local discoveries in Belfast and offered to send him samples of material if required[156]. In August 1874, Lubbock attended the BA meeting at Belfast where William Knowles gave an account of the discovery of prehistoric artefacts at Portstewart, Londonderry (Knowles, 1877; 1880). In September 1874 Knowles sent him a collection of scrapers and chipped flakes from the area (AC 1079) probably as a result of discussions they had in Belfast[157]. Mr. Fitch exhibited his collection of flint implements at the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology at Norwich in 1868 (Anon, 1869). His gift of a shell chisel (AC 683) in October 1868 to Lubbock who was President of the Congress is unlikely to be coincidental. Lubbock met other contacts through a shared interest in natural history. For example, Edwin Brown of Burton-on-Trent donated items in 1872 and 1874 (AC 1019-1020, 1072-1073). However, in 1863 they had shared ideas and information concerning their respective insect studies as fellow Darwinist supporters[158]. Lubbock may also have met some of his collecting contacts at the various clubs and societies he belonged to in London. In July 1887, F.W. Gibbs sent Lubbock a stone arrowhead from Marathon, in Greece, accompanied by a note written on Athenaeum headed notepaper (AC 1145)[159]. Did Gibbs and Lubbock have a chat at the Club about Lubbock's trip to Greece in the previous year inspiring Gibbs to send him the item?

Other contacts were created as a consequence of Lubbock's published work. For example, Canon William Greenwell wrote to Lubbock on 12th August 1865 to introduce himself and make a few observations regarding *Prehistoric Times*[160]. A year later, he wrote again to invite Lubbock to excavate tumuli with him in Yorkshire during September 1866[161]. Lubbock accepted the invitation and during the trip met Messrs. Monkman and Porter from whom he acquired material for his collection (AC 440-442).

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[155] British Library MS Add 49677 47-48. "Letter from William Gray to John Lubbock, dated 6th February 1872".

[156] ibid.

[157] British Library MS Add 49677 78-79. "Letter from William [Jas] Knowles to John Lubbock, dated 10th September 1874".

[158] British Library MS Add 49640 102-103. "Letter from E[dwin] Brown to John Lubbock, dated 11th December 1863". British Library MS Add 49640 104-105. "Letter from E[dwin] Brown to John Lubbock, dated 19th December 1863".

[159] British Library MS Add 49677 127. "Letter from F.W. Gibbs to John Lubbock, dated 5th July 1887".

[160] British Library MS Add 49641 84-85. "Letter from Canon William Greenwell to John Lubbock, dated 12th August 1865".

[161] British Library MS Add 49641 146-147. "Letter from Canon William Greenwell to John Lubbock, dated 11th August 1866".

Evidence for Discontinuity

Figure 4.21a-b suggests Lubbock's use of collecting sources altered over time as might be expected given our analysis of acquisition methods identified earlier. Collecting from colonial sources and the various networks follow a relatively consistent, ad hoc background pattern. However, there are some noticeable changes in emphasis with regard to collecting from dealers, friends and via field collecting. There is a noticeable decline in the proportional role played by acquisition from dealers after 1870, and similarly the act of collecting from friends is focused during the period 1866-1871. During the 1880s and 1890s his primary collecting sources were the colonial, international and national network sources, and towards the end local networks became more important. In the period 1903-7 Lubbock acquired only 5 items or groups of items and these are from a London dealer, a member of the local network and a member of his family.

One of the few items acquired from friends post-1880, was the gift of a handaxe from Leonard Lyell in 1885 (AC 1226). This item had been found by Leonard's father, Charles, at St. Acheul in 1859 and was given to Lubbock during a social visit John and Alice made to the Lyell family home in Scotland in 1885[162] (plate 4.3).

How the Collection was Recorded

The Avebury Catalogue was the primary place within which Lubbock recorded information about items in his archaeological and ethnographic collection. Entries are made in chronological order (although there is a degree of confusion in 1868), and he therefore kept up-to-date with recording information about items as they were received. Individual items or groups of related items were assigned a unique Catalogue number using a sequential numbering system. There was no pattern of consistency in the allocation of a single number to an individual item or a group of material. For example, the Petersen Collection (containing at least 82 items) is given just one Catalogue entry (AC 549) whereas items from the Lord Derby Collection are each given an individual entry number (AC 1249-1259). The entries in the *Catalogue* are in two parts: the early entries written by Vilhelm Boye and later entries (AC 188 onwards) scribed by Lubbock *himself.*

The entries prepared by Boye assign most objects an individual number and provide a simple name for the item, its dimensions, where it was found, and occasionally a sketch and identification of the material from which it was made. The find location information varies in detail between entries, from a vague entry to more detailed summaries of site layout and the

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[162] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2 catalogue entry 1226". British Library MS Add 62683 47-49. "John Lubbock Diary entries dated Tuesday 25th August - 14th September 1885".

Figure 4.21a: Source types from which Lubbock acquired items by year

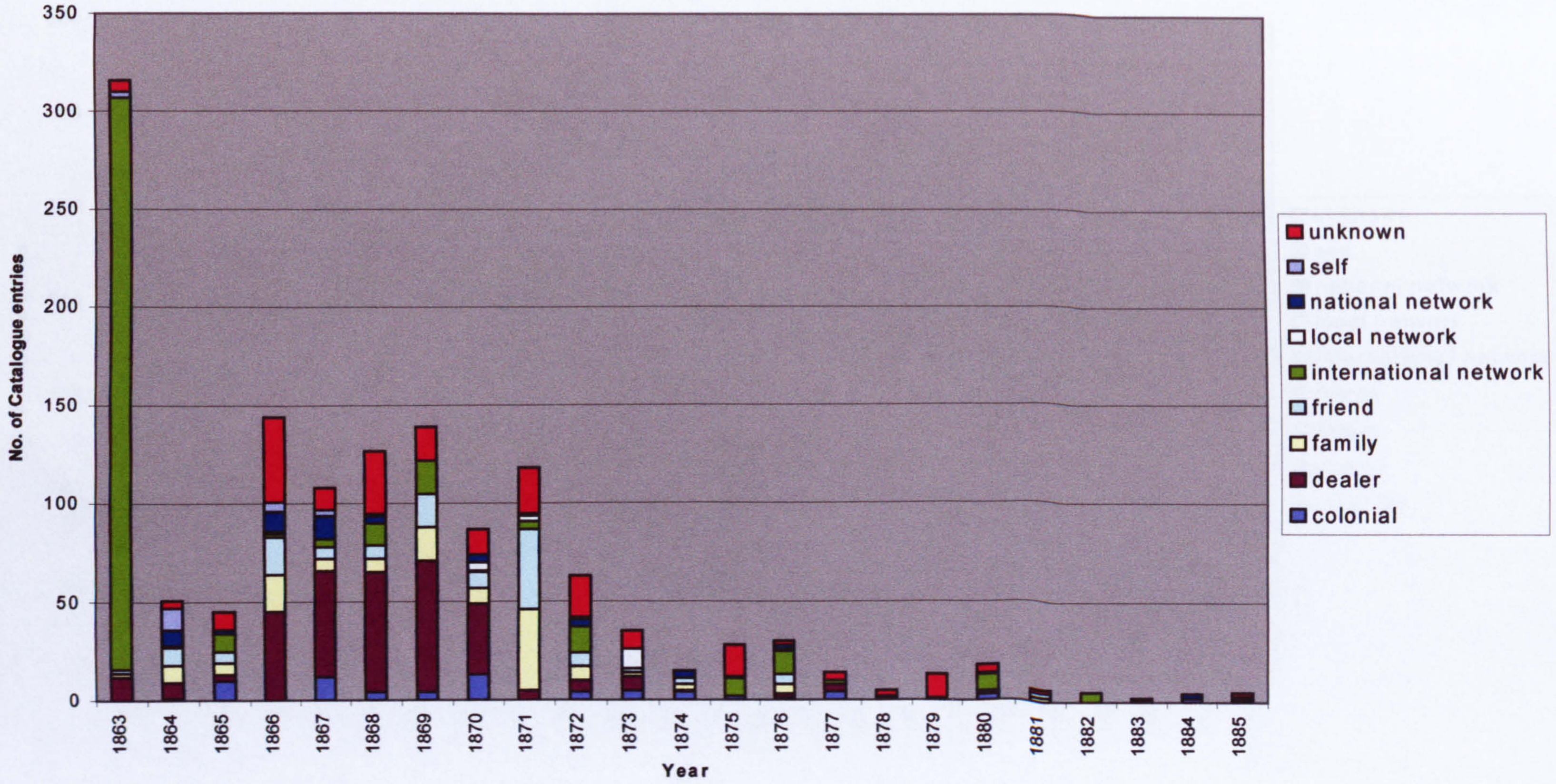
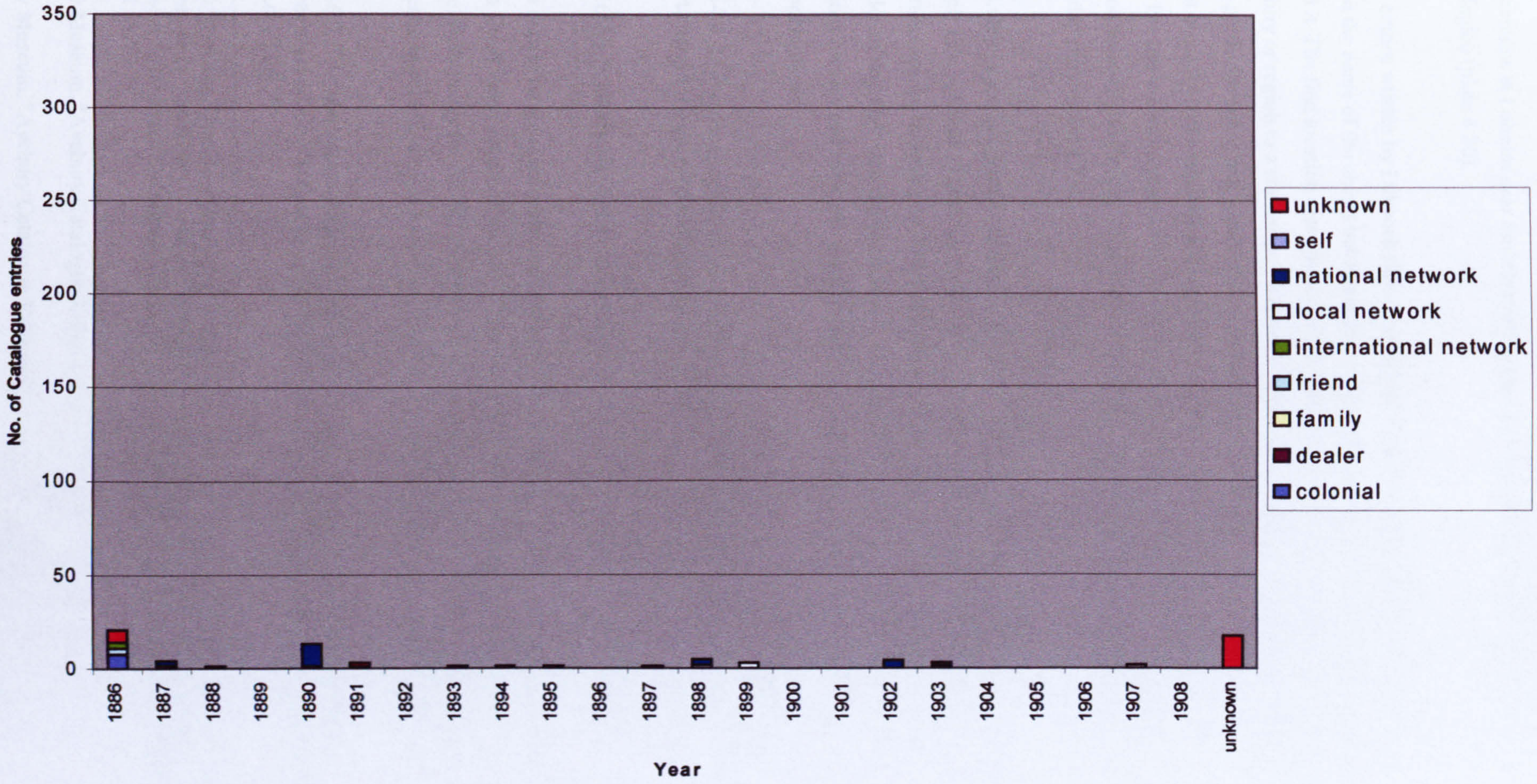


Figure 4.21b: Source types from which Lubbock acquired items by year



discoveries made. The sites for which the latter treatment is given are those excavated by Boye himself: a tumulus at Loholm near Smörûm nedre; tumuli at Somark on Möen and a site on the island of Magleo (plate 4.20).

In the later entries written by Lubbock there is a change in the information recorded immediately. He recorded the name of the object but also began to record the name of the person from whom he acquired it. The find location was usually noted, though again the detail varied considerably from a country or region to a site name. Frequently he gave an indication of the method used to acquire the particular entry, and sometimes indicated what entries were collected together as a single event by using curly brackets to group them. From November 1863 (AC 252) the date of acquisition became a normal piece of information recorded, usually to the level of year and month but occasionally to the day. Occasionally Lubbock noted the age of an item(s) represented by a particular entry (plate 4.21).

However, Lubbock did not provide detailed descriptions of any find location, and the entries are usually single line in length. There are no sketches of items in the entries completed by him. The only exceptions are the inclusion of three letters in the Catalogue received from people giving him items describing their find circumstances[163]. Occasionally Lubbock recorded information about previous owners and very infrequently noted the original indigenous community that made an ethnographic piece:

'549 1/2 a collection made by M. Petersen. Bought with Flower through Englehardt August 1867'[164]

'1025 Botocudo Bow. Bt. over by Mr. Ch. Browne July 1872'[165]

In 16 of the entries he recorded additional information suggesting an interest in further contextual information about items acquired. He sometimes recorded the original use of ethnographic items for example. In the entry for AC 453 he referred to similar collections elsewhere. In others he made reference to pub ications or letters he received containing further information about items:

'469 Esquimaux string tighteners. Sir E. Belcher thinks they were used for tightening the strings of canoes. Shingleton Coll. July /66'[166]

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[163] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2: Letter from Chas Abbott to John Lubbock, dated 8th June 1871". "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2: Letter from unknown to John Lubbock, dated Thursday". "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2: Letter from Mr. Rice to John Lubbock, dated 27th August 1878".

[164] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

[165] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".

[166] Bromley Museum, 'Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

Nr. 109 A knife of bronze. 4" long.
Nr. 110. The point of a cylindrical bronze. 2 riveted fragments of a pin of bronze.

Nr. 74–110 are found in a great cylindrical chamber (Jettestue) in a mound on a field near the village Sömarke on the little island Mäen. The chamber was 8½ (Danish) alls long, 20½ alls in circumference, 2½ alls high and at the entrance 4 alls broad. It was build of 12 mighty, unhewn lateral stones and around with 5 large stones. The entrance, who fronted the East, was a passage, built of 11 lateral stones, 5 alls long and 1 all broad. At a were two narrow stones and a similar on the bottom, between these a door or shuttle possibly had been inserted; but now it had moldered away entirely. – The chamber was filled up with mould; near the bottom (at b) lay an unburnt human skeleton (the head towards North); at the southern side (at c and d) lay the bones of two unburnt human skeletons and above them the skulls; they have also been buried in a sitting posture; at e several human bones in the same position and by these lay the 3 flints; the wedge and the drill Nr. 84, 87, 89 and 96 and fragments

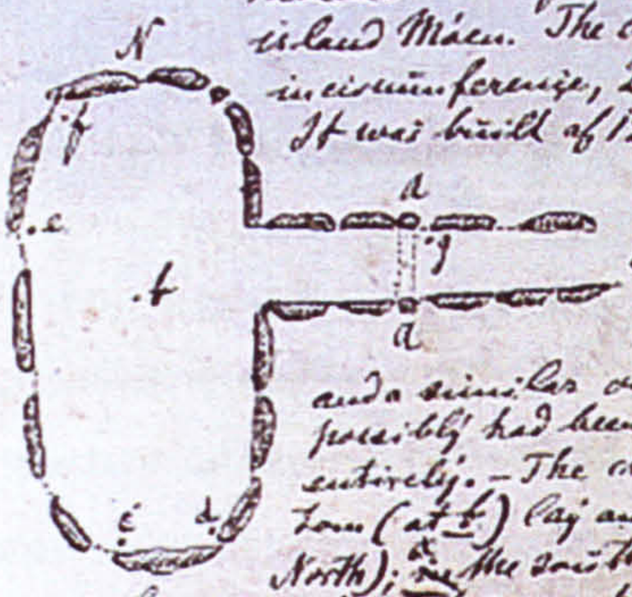


Plate 4. 20: Extract from Avebury Catalogue Volume 1. Notes concerning excavations at Somark written by Vilhelm Boye.

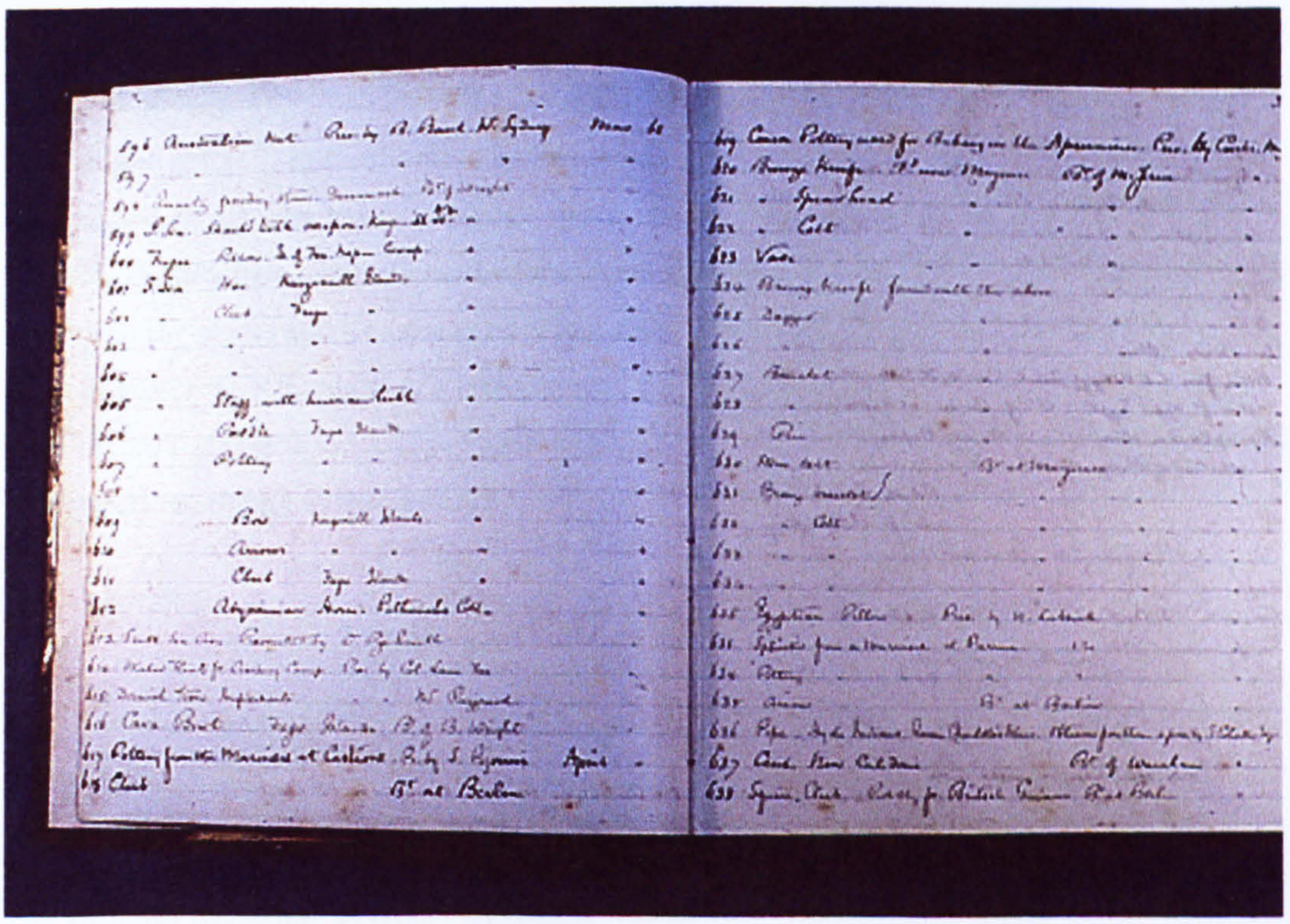


Plate 4. 21: Extract from the Avebury Catalogue Volume 2 written by John Lubbock.

'453 Savage implements Probably S. Sea. Pres. by H.I. Fu[r]t. Brought home by F. Norman Dec. /66. Some very similar said to be from "New Caledonia" are in the Salisbury Museum.. '[167]

'798 Stone axe. Irawaddy. Pres. by Col. Lane Fox Oct. 1869 (Bt. by Mr. Theobald. Desc. In R. As. Soc. Journal)'[168]

It is interesting to note that there is an error in the numbering system dating to October 1876, when Lubbock returned to the number 1120 after the number 1199 instead of moving on to 1200. It is unclear how this happened and indeed it may not have been accidental, but a note in Sir C.H. Read's hand attached to the Catalogue pages suggests it is.

Many of the objects from the collection observed have information either written directly onto the object or onto a label glued to the surface. The handwriting and label types vary considerably and much of this annotation is likely to originate from collecting activity prior to Lubbock's involvement in the process (plate 4.22). However, Lubbock also labelled many objects in his collection ensuring as far as possible the object remained associated with key contextual data provided in the Catalogue (plates 4.23-4.25).

In many instances the correspondence accompanying collected items provided only very basic provenance information. Even where more detailed information on provenance, function and method of acquisition was provided Lubbock did not transfer it into the relevant Avebury Catalogue entry[169]. In most cases this information was not marked on the items either, unless associated labels were made to contain more detailed information but are now lost. It would appear the link between the letter and the item concerned was the only way of keeping the link between the object and its associated information. However, there is only one entry in the Catalogue cross-referenced to a letter he kept (AC 1147 (b)) and only three letters included within the Catalogue itself. How much was Lubbock concerned with the more detailed contextual information relating to the objects?

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[167] Bromley Museum, "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

[168] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".

[169] For example, Robinson provides Lubbock with details regarding the function of the fire sticks he donated (AC 643) but this is not referred to in the Avebury Catalogue. British Library MS Add 49677 3-8. "Letter from George Robinson to John Lubbock, dated 29th January 1866".



Plate 4. 22: Example of label type attached to items from Scandinavia as part of the Petersen Collection (Bromley Museum 68.60.13). Purchased by John Lubbock from Johan Christian Ludvig Petersen in August 1867 (AC 549).



Plate 4. 23: Label written in John Lubbock's hand on a scraper found by him at Bourdeilles, France in April 1864 (British Museum 1916.6-5.143) (AC 256).



Plate 4. 24: Label adhered to an axe from the Pueblo of Taos, Mexico, with the Avebury Catalogue number (1119) marked on it presumably by Lubbock (Bromley Museum 84.36.19). Given to John Lubbock by William Blackmore in September 1876.



Plate 4. 25: 'Lubbock' written in pencil on an implement from Eskilstrup, Denmark (Bromley Museum 68.60.1). Purchased by John Lubbock from Sally Henriques (Copenhagen) in November 1867 (AC 563).

Evidence for Discontinuity

The *Unknowns* database probably contains items that were recorded in the Avebury Catalogue but for which no evidence survives to identify the relevant entry. However, it also probably contains items Lubbock collected but did not catalogue. Documentary evidence suggests this happened particularly prior to 1863 and after the 1870s. During a field excursion to St. Acheul in April 1860, for example, Lubbock probably collected several flint tools[170], and we know that he collected flint scrapers from Aarhus during his trip to Denmark in 1863[171]. There is no mention of either acquisition in the Avebury Catalogue yet he certainly retained possession of the Aarhus scrapers until they were donated to the British Museum as part of his collection in 1916. In October 1862, Morlot sent Lubbock a fragment of textile found at Robenhausen, but there is no retrospective entry made in the Avebury Catalogue for this item[172]. The *Unknowns* database also contains 3 Palaeolithic waste flakes from Bakers Hole with the dates 1909 and 1910 marked on them[173]. Other marks on these items suggest they were purchased at auction but there is no reference to material from Bakers Hole in the Avebury Catalogue.

There is also a small amount of evidence for field collecting by Lubbock during the period 1863-1880 relevant to the collecting focus but not entered into the Avebury Catalogue. Perhaps the most significant of these examples is the collection of flint artefacts made at Pressigny-le-Grand in 1865. Lubbock and Steenstrup carried out small-scale excavations in 1865 (Steenstrup & Lubbock, 1867) and a letter from Ellen Lubbock to Charles Darwin dated [September 1865] clearly suggests Lubbock accumulated a considerable amount of material:

> *'...[John] is with Prof Steenstrup in the country about Pressigny & Pont le Voye. He seems quite overwhelmed with the number of flints he has found - he says they filled two carriages in one day. I cannot imagine what it will cost to bring home his luggage, nor where we shall put the contents when they arrive.'*[174]

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[170] Reprinted in Burkhardt et al. 1993: 188-189. "Letter from Charles Darwin to Charles Lyell, dated 4th May [1860]".

[171] Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 12th September 1863".

[172] British Library MS Add 49639 115-116. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated October 1862".

[173] Bromley Museum accession numbers 68.29.22, 68.26.50.1 and 68.26.50.2.

[174] University of Cambridge Darwin Archive DAR 170 4603. "Letter from Ellen Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated [September 1865]".

The collections at Bromley Museum contain a quantity of flint material from Pressigny[175] but the Avebury Catalogue contains only one entry for Pressigny (AC 296) which is described as a block of flint given by Henry Christy in 1864/5.

Lubbock did not use the Catalogue consistently to record information about coin acquisitions: some items were included and others omitted. When Lubbock collected the Chinese coin collection from Reverend Townshend in 1887, he was also given a catalogue prepared by Townshend's father who had collected the coins from China[176]. Perhaps Lubbock used this catalogue to continue the recording of any coin acquisitions, as he did with Boye's catalogue for prehistoric and ethnographic material? Perhaps he did not record the acquisitions in a catalogue at all because he did not regard them as part of a formal collection? Perhaps he became less rigorous about recording information because he had less time or motivation to do so?

In contrast to the blurred boundaries between coins and archaeology/ ethnography, Lubbock kept his recording of archaeological and ethnographic material completely separate from his cataloguing of natural history specimens. He possibly kept a catalogue of his insect collecting[177] and certainly recorded his ant collecting and experiment work in a separate notebook[178].

Use of the Collection

There is not a great deal of information about how Lubbock and others used the collection, but there is sufficient evidence to draw at least some useful conclusions.

A Research Tool

Lubbock regarded collections as a means to an end and not a worthwhile pursuit in their own right (Lubbock, 1855). In November 1864, Morlot discussed the purpose of a collection with Lubbock in a letter of correspondence:

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[175] Bromley Museum accession numbers 68.52.1, 68.52.3, 68.52.4, 68.52.5, 68.52.6, 68.52.7, 68.52.8, 68.52.9, 68.52.11, 68.52.12, 68.52.13, 88.310, 88.311, 88.312, 88.313, 88.314, 88.315, 88.316, 88.317, 88.318 and 88.319.

[176] British Library MS Add 49650 60. "Letter from E. [Maxwell] Townshend to John Lubbock, dated April 1887".

[177] Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. An untitled notebook containing a list of insect species names in association with a numbering system that could relate to drawer and cabinet locations.

[178] Down House Archive 88203171. "Register of Ants Nests".

'a well-set collection ought to be the best of handbooks & not a mere sight.'[179]

Although we do not know whether Lubbock agreed with him or not, there is evidence to suggest that he regarded his collection of archaeological and ethnographic material as a research tool to aid his studies in human antiquity.

In April 1868, William Campbell wrote to Joseph Hooker and mentioned he was endeavouring to find out for Lubbock how the notches were made in the axes he sent him (AC 580)[180]. It is likely that this was in response to an enquiry from Lubbock and suggests the latter used his collection for comparative purposes, to compare the characteristics of items across cultures past and present, and for the purposes of identifying the technology used to make the items concerned. We have evidence for Lubbock using other collections in this way. For example, in October 1863 Lubbock was invited by William Boyd Dawkins to visit and look at his collection, and he had selected items Lubbock may be particularly interested in. Boyd Dawkins also identified stone implements of interest in other private collections that Lubbock might wish to look at[181]. In a notebook of travels during 1868, 1869 and 1877, Lubbock makes reference to several public and private collections in England, Italy, Switzerland, France and Germany. In Germany he visited the Historical Museum of Dr. [Bullner] during May 1868 and observed the ethnographic material:

'Lip ornaments S. America of bone, very like my African one'.[182]

In 1870, when Lubbock wished to exhibit material from Africa given by J. Swanzy in June 1870 (AC 841) he asked for further information about the finds which Swanzy and his associate Winwood Reade provided[183]. Reade supplied details regarding the circumstances and place of discovery and the myths that had developed about their origins in the indigenous communities now living there. Lubbock reproduced this information in an article for the Anthropological Institute (Lubbock, 1872b). This also suggests he was using the collection for research purposes.

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[179] British Library MS Add 49640 171-172. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 8th November 1864".

[180] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, RBG Volume 204 Central America British Guiana Letters 1865-1900 231-233. "Letter from William H. Campbell to Joseph Hooker, dated 2[3]rd April 1868".

[181] British Library MS Add 49640 93-94. "Letter from William Boyd Dawkins to John Lubbock, dated 16th October 1863". British Library MS Add 49640 147-148. "Letter from William Boyd Dawkins to John Lubbock dated 18th April 1864".

[182] Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. "Notebook: Travels - 1868, 1869, 1877".

[183] British Library MS Add 49677 27-28. "Letter from J. Swanzy to John Lubbock, dated 12th September [1870]". British Library MS Add 49677 29-30. "Letter from Winwood Reade to John Lubbock, dated 17th September 1870".

Certainly others saw Lubbock's collection as a research tool, and that by giving items to it they were contributing to the development of wider knowledge consensus[184].

On 28th January, 1864, Lubbock participated in a debate on the stone implements discovered in the Danish kjökkenmödding at the Society of Antiquaries in London (Society of Antiquaries, 1864). This debate provides a good example of how he used his collection to explore specific research questions under discussion:

> *'...I will just say with reference to the few things which I have been permitted to exhibit this evening, that they were most of them found by myself ...at Meilgaard...I should be glad to hear the opinion of some members of this Society about the triangular axes...there is a great difference of opinion between Professor Worsäae and Professor Steenstrup with reference to the purposes of these axes. Professor Worsäae considers them to be really intended for cutting; Professor Steenstrup, on the other hand, maintains that they could not have been used for cutting, but that they were evidently used in fishing, either as oyster dredges or oyster openers, or perhaps sink stones for fishing lines...Looking at them, I cannot help thinking that they must have been intended for cutting, because the edge, although not sharp, is very strong. If you were to take one of those flints and give it a sharper edge...you would find it extremely brittle, and if you attempted to cut anything it would be more likely to break the axe than cut the thing you wished to cut. But these edges are certainly tolerably strong...'* (Society of Antiquaries, 1864: 333-334).

This extract from Lubbock's contribution illustrates how he referred directly to objects in the collection to explore research questions of a more general nature. However, perhaps the main evidence we have for how he used his collection as a research tool is provided in his various archaeological and ethnographic publications, particularly *Prehistoric Times*.

Reference to collection in published books/ articles

Appendix 4.7 summarises the 67 references Lubbock made to his collection in the first, second and seventh editions of *Prehistoric Times* (32 in first; 55 in second; 62 in seventh). These references are text-based and illustrative. The majority of items, or groups of items, referenced are archaeological with Lubbock only making use of a few items from the ethnographic part of his collection (figure 4.22). There is a clear contrast in quantity of references between the first and second editions published only four years apart and less of a contrast between the second and seventh editions published 44 years apart (although some of these references are not the same). In preparation for the second edition Lubbock responded to the growth of his collection and used new elements from the expanded database to support his work.

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[184] For example, British Library MS Add 49677 37-38. "Letter from Chas Abbott to John Lubbock, dated 6th June 1871".

Edition of publication	Class of object	No. of references
First (1865)	Archaeology	25
First (1865)	Ethnography	7
Second (1869)	Archaeology	40
Second (1869)	Ethnography	14
Second (1869)	Geology	1
Seventh (1913)	Archaeology	47
Seventh (1913)	Ethnography	14
Seventh (1913)	Geology	1

Figure 4.22: Number of references made in Prehistoric Times to archaeological and ethnographic material in Lubbock's collection

Appendices 4.7 and 4.8 identify the contexts within which the collection was used in *Prehistoric Times* and figure 4.23 suggests the three main uses were to provide statements about typology, ethnographic comparison and Lubbock's personal involvement within the sociocultural evolution discourse.

One of the book's primary objectives was to apply a typology-based chronological framework to the prehistoric archaeological evidence discovered. Objects in the collection were used by Lubbock to assist in describing the type of object under discussion. For example:

> *'Figs. 91-94 represent small Danish flakes; forms exactly similar may be found in any country where the ancient inhabitants could obtain flint or obsidian.'* (Lubbock, 1913: 84)

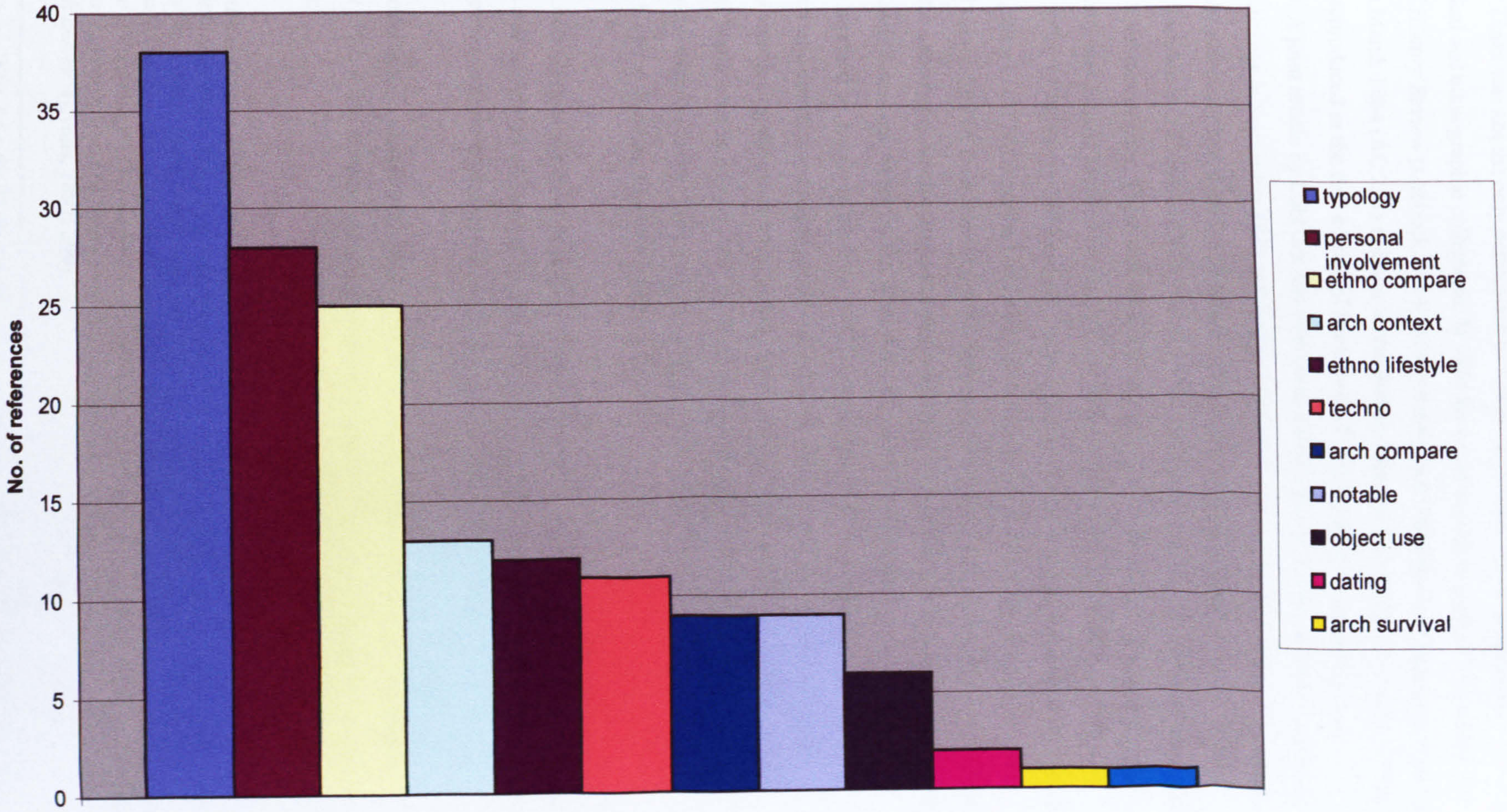
A second key objective was to demonstrate how non-western communities in other parts of the world could be used as comparative evidence to explore how people lived in Western Europe during prehistory. Items in the collection provided Lubbock with concrete examples of this approach. For example:

> *'Figs. 101 and 102 represent a New Caledonian javelin, with an obsidian flake (fig. 101) for a head. I give for comparison with the New Caledonian javelin a figure (fig. 99) of an Irish flake which I found some years ago on the shore of Loch Neagh, in Ireland.'* (Lubbock, 1913: 86)

Lubbock's use of his collection and associated collecting activity to emphasise his own involvement in visiting and studying the sites under discussion suggests he also regarded his collection as a tool for proving and authenticating the research carried out in preparation for the book. For example:

> *'Mr Spurrell actually found near Crayford in Kent the spot where some of these ancient men had been making their implements... Fig. 241, from the Journal of the Geological Society, shows one of these reconstructed flints. One of the pieces has J.L. on it. Mr*

Figure 4.23: Use of Objects in "Prehistoric Times"



> *Spurrell has found all the rest, and the day I was with him I found this flake, which completes the specimen.'* (Lubbock, 1913: 345-346)

Prehistoric Times was not the only publication by Lubbock in which he drew upon his archaeological and ethnographic collections. In 1864 he wrote an article entitled 'Cave-Men' for the *Natural History Review* (Lubbock, 1864) incorporating two illustrations of an axe he found at Moustier in March 1864 (AC 258) and now at the British Museum (1916.6-5.1) (plate 4.5). This article was reproduced in the first edition of *Prehistoric Times* (chapter 8) including these illustrations. A joint article by Lubbock and Steenstrup (Steenstrup & Lubbock, 1867) described their field activities in September 1865 at Pressigny-le-Grand, France, which sought to ascertain the date of the stone artefacts found in abundance. Similarly, an article detailing a visit to the Scottish shell-middens at Easter 1863 (Lubbock, 1863) described how the author found numerous artefacts on a number of sites. Three articles Lubbock presented to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland focused specifically on items acquired by him for his collection (Lubbock, 1872b; 1875; 1881). For example, his publication about stone implements from Africa and Syria (Lubbock, 1872b) described in detail items recorded in the Avebury Catalogue (682, 699 and 823) given by Mr. Dale, Her Majesty's Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape Colony. In the same paper he also discussed stone artefacts acquired from Messrs. J. Swanzy and Winwood Reade from near Accra on the West African coast (AC 841) and outlined the information supplied by Reade in his letter of 17th September 1870[185] regarding their circumstances of discovery and the superstitious meaning given to the implements by people living in that area during the nineteenth century. Lubbock also drew attention to a flint artefact discovered at Wady Ithm in Syria by Mr. Freeman and given to him in 1868 (AC 773). All of these specimens were discussed from a typological perspective and were compared with stone implements found in Western Europe (Lubbock, 1872b).

Curiously, Lubbock does not draw upon his collection in *On the Origin of Civilisation* (Lubbock, 1870; 1902) and associated articles (Lubbock, 1868; 1872a; 1885) despite the fact he does make occasional reference to the social role of artefacts represented in his collection.

Lubbock's collection is occasionally used by others to support theories about human antiquity. John Evans (1872) refers to items in his collection and Lubbock's collecting activities four times. For example:

> *'In the collection of Sir John Lubbock is another specimen much like Fig. 203, with a flint blade almost like a lance-head in character, but with the more pointed end inserted into the handle; there is also another short straight-sided blade of jade bound in a wooden haft, which is notched along one side to receive the fingers, and recessed on the face for the thumb. This latter seems well adapted for use as a knife or chisel; in fact, Sir John Lubbock, who has figured the instruments in his "Prehistoric Times", terms them both knives.'* (Evans, 1897: 299).

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[185] British Library MS Add 49677 29-30. "Letter from Winwood Reade to John Lubbock, dated 17th September 1870".

This typological description refers to AC 416. In an article about the discovery of stone implements at Lough Neagh, Ireland, Evans described a visit to the site made by himself and Lubbock in 1861:

> *'I again visited the shores of Lough Neagh in company with the present Sir John Lubbock in September, 1861, this time at the point nearest Belfast, but we found the waters so high that any search upon the shores was useless.'* (Evans, 1867: 398)

Lubbock's ideas and publications are frequently referred to in Edward T. Stevens' publication *Flint Chips: A guide to prehistoric archaeology as illustrated by the collection in the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury* (1870). His collection and collecting activities are referred to on only three occasions. He is listed as a donor to the Blackmore Museum, along with other distinguished collectors including Evans, Franks, Flower, Charles Lyell, Busk and the Trustees of the Christy Museum. Reference is also made to the Danish Mesolithic axe from a shell midden referenced in *Prehistoric Times* (1869: figures 108-110), and to a large flint axe in Lubbock's collection:

> 'So*me Scandinavian flint hatchets are of large size. Sir John Lubbock mentions one in his possession which is thirteen inches long, one inch and a half thick, and three inches and a half in breadth ...Mr. John Evans, however, has a specimen of the same breadth, but sixteen inches and a quarter long...*' (Stevens, 1870: 207).

Stevens' also made numerous references to items in the collections of John Evans, Lane Fox (Pitt Rivers) and the Christy Collection.

Daniel Wilson (1876), however, made no direct reference to John Lubbock's work or collections in his third edition of *Prehistoric Man*, yet included numerous references to John Evans and occasionally to the Christy Collection.

Domestic Display

Very little is known about how Lubbock stored and displayed his collection at either Lammas or High Elms in the 1860s - 1880s. We first find mention of display arrangements in September 1890 when Lubbock noted in his diary that the hall at High Elms was being re-decorated and the collection and books were arranged in it[186]:

> *'Fri. 12...We have been altering the Hall & hoped to have found it finished, but as usual the workmen are still in...*
>
> *Wed. 17...Also arranged books in the Hall which began to look very well...*

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[186] British Library MS Add 62683 105. "John Lubbock Diary entries dated 12th -27th September 1890".

Fri 19...Have been busy arranging the books & flint implements in the Hall...

Mon 22 Sept...We are arranging the savage things in the Hall...

Sat. 27...Mr. Oldland has arranged the Weapons & c. very nicely in the Hall.'

Mr. Oldland was employed at the British Museum and worked for Franks who arranged with Lubbock for Oldland to hang the collection at High Elms[187]. Franks suggested fixing Lubbock's material with hooks and wire loops, so the specimens could be taken down if necessary for closer examination[188]. No photographs or illustrations exist of how items were laid out, but the close connection with the British Museum suggests Lubbock may have adopted some of their display philosophies. In April 1886, Frank's new gallery at the British Museum had opened and Lubbock had attended the opening ceremony[189].

In 1900, Lubbock had the collection re-hung in the library and hall of High Elms. Again, Mr. Oldland assisted, and Lubbock noted in his diary entry of 7th July 1900 that:

'Mr. Crook & Mr. Oldland have been finishing up the library & the savage Implements in the Hall.'[190]

This time there is more evidence regarding the layout of the display, although still no illustration on record. In the back of the Avebury Catalogue Volume 2, p. 36-43 there is a list of items displayed in the Library and the Hall, and their locations within, as arranged by Mr. Oldland in July 1900 (appendix 4.9). In the Library the wall space was divided into 8 alphabetical zones (A-H), 2 numbered zones (1-2) and 6 descriptive zones ('Over door'; 'Over fireplace'; 'End.'; 'Over window'; 'On cross beam'; 'Over window'). For each zone, a list of items presumably displayed was given. There does not appear to be any cultural or scientific criteria for grouping material together into zones. Perhaps size, shape and ability to fit into available space were key in determining which items were grouped together. Perhaps aesthetics was a determining factor in layout. The Catalogue also lists the items that were hung in the Hall in 1900- items from Australia, the Pacific Islands and Africa. Again Lubbock identified the objects hung over the doors, to the left and right of the windows and over the arch. There does appear to be more cohesiveness in the items displayed in the Hall with a focus on throwing sticks, paddles, clubs, and shields.

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[187] British Library MS Add 49655 64-65. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 13th September 1890". British Library MS Add 49655 71-72. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 18th September 1890".

[188] British Library MS Add 49655 64-65. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 13th September 1890".

[189] British Library MS Add 62683 55. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 10th April 1886".

[190] British Library MS Add 62684 45. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 7th July 1900".

Though there is no information regarding how Lubbock stored or displayed his collection prior to 1890, it is known he showed his collection to selected visitors at High Elms. There must, therefore, have been a degree of classification and presentation involved in its layout. In April 1872, Napoleon III who was staying in Chislehurst at the time visited Lubbock and viewed his collection of antiquities, remarking that he wished to imitate his example by creating at St. Germain a museum similar to his[191]. John and Nelly Lubbock later visited the emperor and empress at Chislehurst when Napoleon asked him further questions about the collection. Both correspondents referred to 'a collection' and 'a museum', and this suggests the archaeological and ethnographic material was presented in such a way to conjure up these perceptions. Chas Abbott, when writing to Lubbock in 1871 from Trenton, New Jersey, also had the impression he was donating artefacts to a structured collection of material, commenting at one point that if he ever visited England he would like to see Lubbock's 'museum'[192]. When Lubbock's mother died in 1873, Lubbock commented in his Journal that on the day of the funeral, Tuesday 18th February:

> *'we had the **museum** hung with white & evergreens'*[193]

Public Exhibition

Prior to the 1880s, the evidence available for publicly exhibition of material falls into two categories: use of selected items to illustrate lectures and the inclusion of selected materials in themed displays at public venues.

> *'...I am very glad you approved of my lecture. To say the truth about the middle of it I was afraid that it was all going wrong however they did seem very much interested in the specimens...'*[194]

This comment in a letter from Lubbock to Hooker dated February 1863 relates to Lubbock's lecture given at the Royal Institute on 27th Feburary 1863 about the Swiss lake villages (Hutchinson, 1914), and suggests he used 'specimens' to illustrate arguments proposed. At a meeting of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland held on 8th June 1880, Lubbock exhibited a stone implement he had discovered in Algeria (AC 1168) as the first

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[191] London, Royal Society Archives L3. "Notebook *Book of Life*: Letter from Napoleon III to John Lubbock, dated 10th April 1872".

[192] British Library MS Add 49677 37-38. "Letter from Chas Abbott to John Lubbock, dated 6th June 1871".

[193] British Library MS Add 62681 37. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 18th February 1873". My emphasis.

[194] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, Letters to Hooker Volume 14 RBG 178. "Letter from John Lubbock to Joseph Hooker, dated 16th February 1863".

definitive example found to demonstrate human occupation in North Africa during the Palaeolithic. He presented a paper providing his arguments in support of this claim (Lubbock, 1881). Similarly, in 1871 Lubbock exhibited South African stone implements at the Anthropological Institute to accompany papers describing them in more detail (Lubbock, 1872b).

In April 1868, the Trustees of the British Museum agreed to lend him items from the Christy Collection:

> *'...which he required for the illustration of a course of ethnological lectures about to be delivered by him at the Royal Institution...*[195]'

He also lent material from his collections to others for similar purposes. In January 1864, William Carpenter asked Lubbock to lend him any stone artefacts that illustrated the continuation of stone tool use into the later metal periods for lectures he was giving in Bristol and Southampton on the subject[196]. He was happy to lend some material:

> *'I have looked out the following objects which I hope will be what you want...*
> *2 kjokkenmodding axes from Meilgaard*
> *3 flint flakes from Meilgaard*
> *3 netweights or slingstones from Meilgaard*
> *2 scrapers from Aarhus*
>
> *(I found most of these myself last summer)*
> *1 "core"*
> *1 knife*
> *2 large polished axes'*[197]

In terms of public exhibition, as well as the exhibition of Danish material at the Society of Antiquaries in 1864, Lubbock also contributed a number of items from his collection to another of their exhibitions consisting of:

> *'stone implements and other objects obtained from the beds of drift or tertiary gravel in various countries, and from the caves and rock shelters of the South of France...'*
> (Society of Antiquaries, 1871: 165).

Other exhibitors included John Evans, Colonel A.H. Lane Fox, J. Wickham Flower and Sir Charles Lyell. Lubbock lent items from Shrub Hill, Thetford, St. Acheul, Montiers, Abbeville and Madras (Society of Antiquaries, 1873). In November 1871, an exhibition of stone

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[195] British Museum Archive, microfilm reference C56.60. "British Museum Trustees Minutes Volume 32 February 1867-June 1869, page 11,456 dated 25th April 1868".

[196] British Library MS Add 49640 114. "Letter from William Carpenter to John Lubbock, dated 13th January 1864".

[197] British Library MS Add 49640 115. "Letter from John Lubbock to William Carpenter, dated 15th January 1864".

implements of the Neolithic period was opened at the Society, and Lubbock this time lent items from France, Denmark and Greece (Society of Antiquaries, 1873).

Lubbock also exhibited artefacts from his collection at the *Liverpool British* Association meeting in 1870. In September of that year he wrote to Mr. Swanzy who had given Lubbock the items concerned (AC 841), stone implements from Accra in Africa, to ask his permission to exhibit the material. Swanzy responded that he was very happy for Lubbock to do so[198]. It is interesting that Lubbock felt he needed to ask permission from the original owners to exhibit them despite the fact they had been given to him.

In 1884 the beginnings of a trend is observed that developed in the 1890s: the showing of Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection to people and groups local to High Elms (plate 4.26). On Saturday 5th July:

> *'In the afternoon 60 members of the Sidcup & Crays Nat. His. Soc. Came. We gave them tea & showed them the Museum, Ants & Van'.*[199]

In 1891Lubbock noted that 5 local groups came to visit High Elms and look at the 'museum'[200]. On January 12th and October 19th local people from Down and Farnborough visited. On 16th November, the Bromley Literary Institute, Bromley Natural History Society, and the Working Men of Down & Farnborough came. Similarly, on 24th October 1892 about 200 people from Down and Farnborough came for an evening soiree to view the collections[201]. These visits were arranged specifically to view the collections, and time and effort went in to preparing the experience and laying out the specimens:

> *'Had some of the Down & Farnboro people to see the Museum. They had tea in the dining room & we put out microscopes, photographs, savage implements & c. all round the billiard room which made quite a bright & interesting show. They all seemed very pleased. I spoke for about 1/2 an hour.*[202]

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[198] *British Library* MS Add 49677 27-28. "Letter from Mr. J. Swanzy to John Lubbock, dated 12th September [1870]".

[199] British Library MS Add 62683 32. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 5th July 1884". *The* phrase 'Ants and Van' refers to the experiments Lubbock was undertaking with his ant colonies and pet dog, Van, concerning the ability of animals to detect ultrasonic sounds and ultraviolet light.

[200] British Library MS Add 62683 107. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 12th January 1891". British Library MS Acd 62683 114. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 19th October 1891". British Library MS Add 62683 115. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 16th November 1891".

[201] British Library MS Add 62683 121. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 24th October 1892".

[202] British Library MS Add 62683 114. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 19th October 1892".

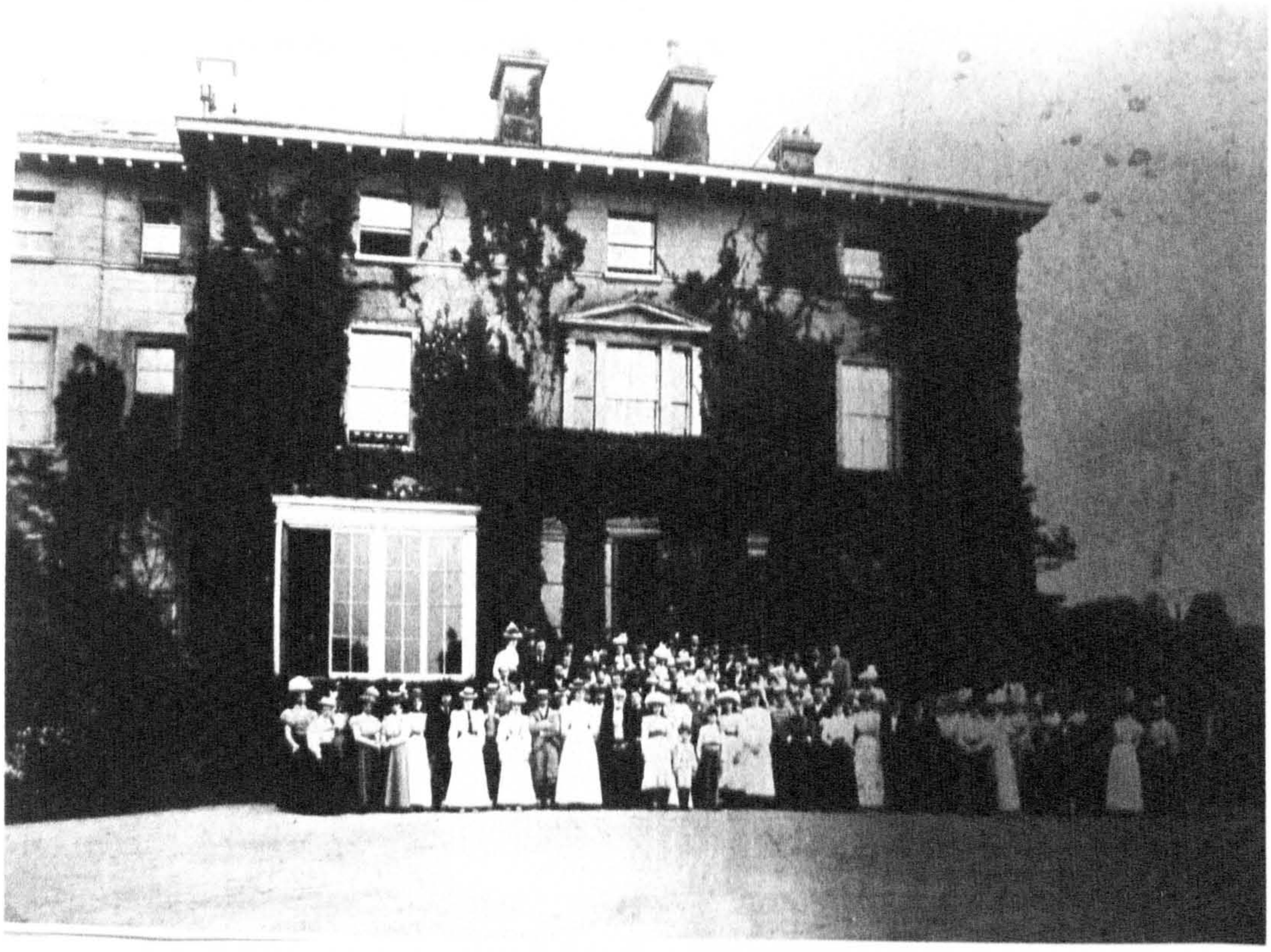


Plate 4. 26: A visit to High Elms Estate by Bromley & District Teachers' Association on 3rd September 1898.

Even in 1912, Lubbock recorded an outing of the Selbourne Society to High Elms in his diary, though the impact of the visit suggests such events were not a common occurrence by then:

> *'The Selbourne Society came for an outing, about 100. We gave them tea, I took them round the ponds & put out some things on the billiard table. We rather dreaded it, but having put them off twice, did not like to do so again. They seemed interested. Poor Alice was tired...*[203]

Lubbock perhaps contributed to the development of a new fashion in leisure activities. In [1891] he was asked by Mrs. Josephine Johnstone:

> *'to lend me one or two ancient flint instruments to show at our exhibition of which I enclose a paper.*[204]

Evidence for Discontinuity

It is difficult to identify clear patterns and trends regarding how Lubbock used his collection because the evidence is relatively sparse. However, what does exist indicates the collection had a key role as a research tool during the 1860s and 1870s especially during the preparation of publications by Lubbock on human antiquity. Selected items were occasionally displayed in public venues, and there was a form of domestic display to which guests to High Elms had a degree of access. From the mid-1880s the collection was used to a lesser extent as a research tool but was more overtly displayed at High Elms for family, visitors and occasionally local people.

There is also evidence that Lubbock exhibited geological material, indicating he had some form of geological collection for at least part of his life. On Wednesday 7th November 1894, Lubbock exhibited nummulites he had found at Murren, Switzerland at the Geological Society[205]. In the diary entries referring to visits by local people in 1891 and 1892[206] Lubbock refers to 'specimens': it may be that these are just archaeological and ethnographic material, but the use of the term possible means they laid out geological or natural historical specimens as well?

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[203] British Library MS Add 62684 114. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Saturday 28th September 1912".

[204] British Library MS Add 49656 77-78. "Letter from Josephine Johnstone to John Lubbock, dated 30th March [1891]".

[205] British Library MS Add 62684 7. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 7th November 1894".

[206] British Library MS Add 62683 32, 107, 114, 115 and 121. Various entries in John Lubbock Diary dated 5th July 1884, 12th January 1891, 19th October 1891, 16th November 1891 and 24th October 1892 respectively.

Disposal of the Collection

It is apparent that material was disposed of from Lubbock's collection, and it has been possible to elucidate some information concerning how this disposal was undertaken.

Disposal to Whom

Lubbock disposed of archaeological and ethnographic material to friends who shared this collecting interest, John Evans and Augustus Pitt Rivers. Lubbock gave Evans 3 prehistoric copper alloy artefacts he purchased in Naples, Italy in 1868[207], and 3 stone cores from the Rohri Hills in Sind, India, in 1876[208]. Pitt Rivers received a variety of material from Lubbock prior to 1884: prehistoric tools from Switzerland[209], spears from Australia[210], stone implements from British Guiana[211], St. Acheul[212], Patagonia[213] and the Orkneys[214], and a shield from Ghana[215]. Lubbock also shared the Petersen Collection he acquired from Denmark in 1867 with Joseph Wickham Flower[216]. He also occasionally sent items to people further afield who formed part of his international and colonial network: William H. Campbell in British Guiana[217] and N.E. Shepherd in North America[218]. It is also possible that Lubbock was the person who sent Morlot 6 diluvial hatchets from Amiens/ Abbeville via Professor Husson of Liverpool[219]. Lubbock also

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[207] Ashmolean Museum accession numbers 1927.1396, 1927.1429 and 1927.1430.

[208] Ashmolean Museum accession numbers 1927.6148a-c.

[209] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum accession numbers 1884.11.62, 1884.118.129, 1884.123.886, 1884.125.361 and 1884.125.393.

[210] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum accession numbers 1884.19.11 and 1884.19.14.

[211] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum accession numbers 1884.126.221 and 1884.126.222.

[212] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum accession number 1884.132.2.

[213] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum accession numbers 1884.132.124, 1884.132.125, 1884.132.126, 1884.132.127, 1884.132.128 and 1884.132.129.

[214] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum accession number 1884.132.26.

[215] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum accession number 1884.1.

[216] Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1 entry 549".

[217] Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, RBG Volume 204 Central America British Guiana Letters 1865-1900 231-233. "Letter from William H. Campbell to Joseph Hooker, 2[3]rd April 1868".

[218] British Library MS Add 49677 103-105. "Letter from [N.E.] Shepherd to John Lubbock, dated 6th July 1880".

[219] British Library MS Add 49640 91-92. "Letter from A. Morlot to John Lubbock, dated 3rd October 1863".

gave Benjamin Harrison Senior a flint implement from Thetford in 1880 for his collection[220]. Only two entries in the Avebury Catalogue are actually annotated as being disposed of in Lubbock's handwriting: Danish material given to Flinders Petrie (AC 232?) and pottery presented by Lubbock to the British Museum (AC 1153).

The British Museum appears to have been the primary place to which Lubbock disposed of items, particularly the Christy Collection. In September 1873, Chas Fairbridge sent Lubbock a selection of stone implements, pottery and bone from the Cape Colony[221]. Lubbock recorded some of this material in the Avebury Catalogue (AC 1069) but passed on some rubbing stones from this donation to Franks at the British Museum to be added to the Christy Collection in 1874[222]. In 1873, Lubbock visited Egypt (Lubbock, 1875) and went field-walking on a number of occasions:

> *Thurs 13 [November] 'I went on to the hills on the left of the river, going by the quarries & visiting the unfinished obelisk. I walked for a couple of hours on the heights but only found one flake. It was most desolate & I saw no trace of any prehistoric settlement.'*[223]
>
> *Thurs 20 [November] 'I found any number of flakes, a few nuclei, & one or two well marked scrapers, one flat form like the Assyrian rough axe, but no trace of Neolithic axes. A great many of the flakes seemed to have been used, which looks as if it was a village as well as a manufactory.'*[224]

There is no reference to these items in the Avebury Catalogue but Lubbock did donate stone implements from Thebes and Abydos in Egypt to the British Museum in 1874[225]. Did Lubbock donate all the items he collected to the British Museum and not acquire any for his own collection? In November 1883, the British Museum acquired from Lubbock four flint cores and a flake from the Sind region of India[226].

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[220] British Library MS Add 49677 189-190. "Letter from Benjamin Harrison Senior to John Lubbock, undated". (The date of the relevant Avebury Catalogue entry (1169) suggests March 1898).

[221] British Library MS Add 49677 68-69. "Letter from Chas Fairbridge to John Lubbock, dated 15th September 1873".

[222] British Library MS Add 49677 72-73. "Letter from Augustus W. Franks to John Lubbock, dated 13th March 1874".

[223] British Library MS Add 62681 69. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 13th November 1873".

[224] British Library MS Add 62681 69. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 20th November 1873".

[225] British Museum accession numbers Christy Catalogue 1874 Examples 18-36 inclusive.

[226] British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1883, entry dated 9th November 1883".

In April 1867, September 1868 and October 1869, Lubbock and John Evans together disposed of material from Hallstatt they had received from Stapf to the British Museum[227] (plates 4.27-4.28). In 1867, Lubbock, Flower, Evans and Prestwich gave the Christy Collection a collection of flint implements from the drift at Thetford and Shrub Hill, Norfolk[228].

There is also evidence that Lubbock disposed of archaeological and ethnographic items to other museums. He talked of receiving a pair of stilts in an exchange with Neufchatel Museum in May 1869 (AC 767), although it is not clear what he exchanged them for. He sent items from Pressigny to Leeds Museum in 1865[229], presumably collected during his trip to the French site with Steenstrup in the autumn of 1865[230].

After his death in 1913, Lubbock's collection was disposed of primarily by giving it to the British Museum[231] and the Orpington Historical Society[232].

Method of Disposal

The instances of disposal described above appear to be a gift to the recipients by Lubbock, many involving an element of exchange. Lubbock does not appear to have sold any of his material to others, despite the fact that some must have involved a financial outlay on his part to acquire in the first instance. The material from Hallstatt, Shrub Hill and Thetford, for example, were excavated at the expense of Lubbock, Evans and the others mentioned above[233].

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[227] British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1866-1868, entry dated 10th April 1867". British Museum Archive. "*Book of Presents 1866-1868*, entry dated 25th September 1868". British Museum Archive. "*Book of Presents 1869-1870*, entry dated 6th October 1869".

[228] British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1866-1868, entry dated 22nd July 1868: List of objects presented during the year 1867 to the Trustees of the Christy Collection & by them transferred to the Trustees of the British Museum as additions to the Collection".

[229] Bromley Museum. "Letter from A. Peckham, Research Assistant, Leeds City Museums, to Dr. Alan Tyler, Curator Bromley Museum, dated 25th April 1991".

[230] University of Cambridge Darwin Archive DAR 170 4603. "Letter from Ellen Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated [September 1865]".

[231] British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1916, entry dated 27th May 1916".

[232] Orpington Historical Society Minute 1947.

[233] British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1866-1868, entry dated 10th April 1867". British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1866-1868, entry dated 25th September 1868". British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1869-1870, entry dated 6th October 1869". British Museum Archive. "Book of Presents 1866-1868, entry dated 22nd July 1868: List of objects presented during the year 1867 to the Trustees of the Christy Collection & by them transferred to the Trustees of the British Museum as additions to the Collection".

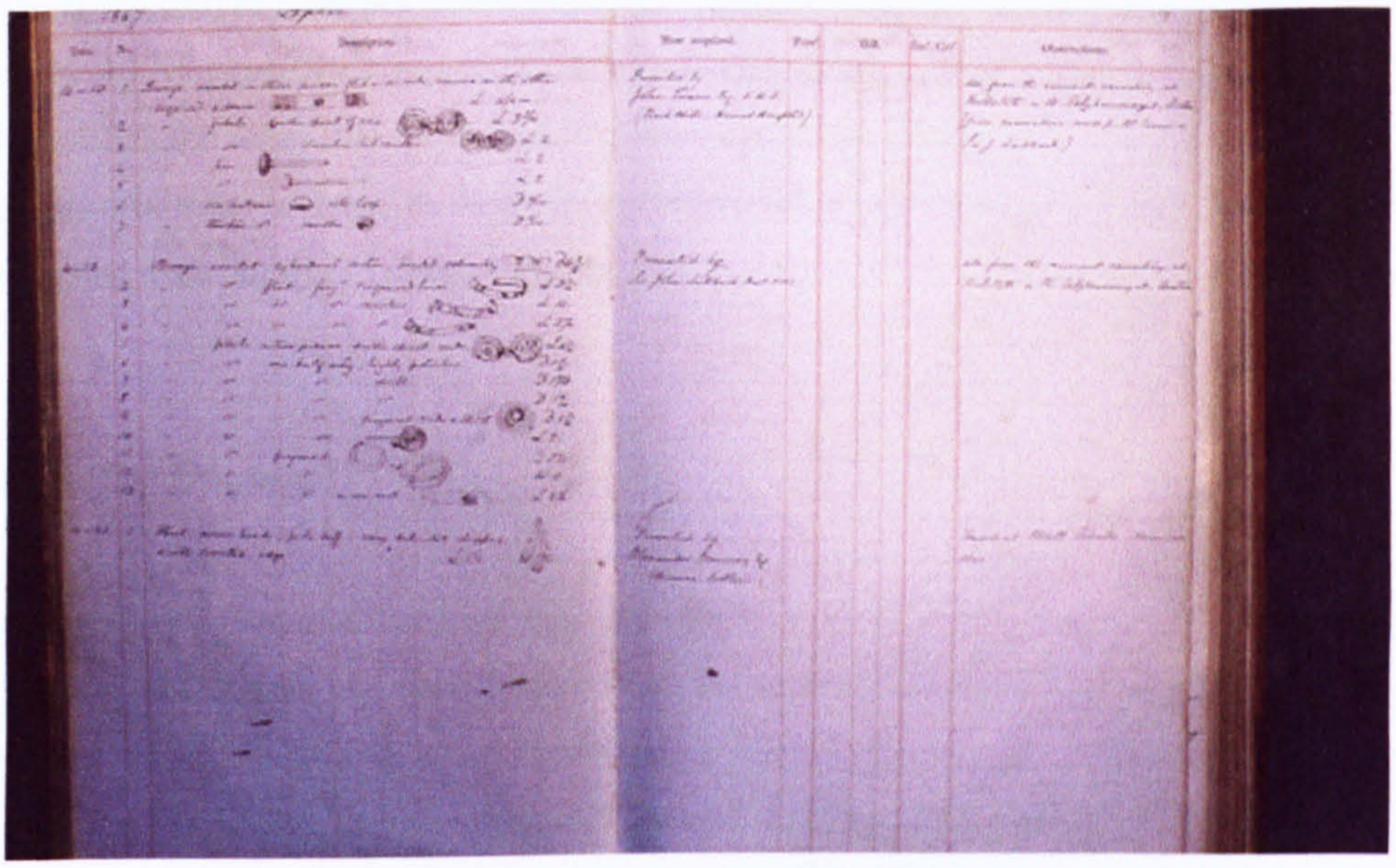


Plate 4. 27: Extract from British Museum accession register. Depicts the entries for a gift of material from Hallstatt, Austria, by John Lubbock and John Evans to the British Museum in 1867.

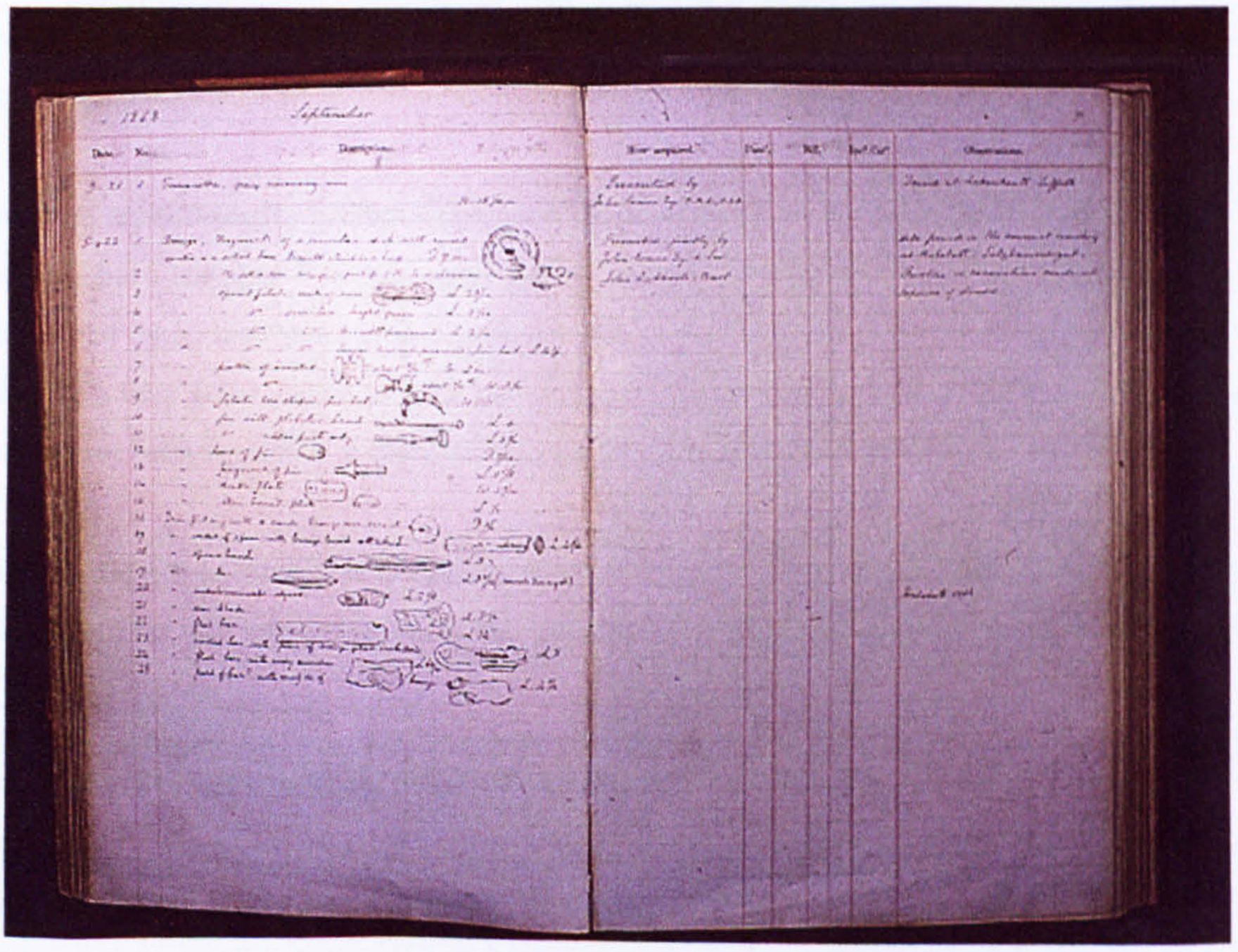


Plate 4. 28: Extract from British Museum accession register. Depicts the entries for a gift of material from Hallstatt, Austria, by John Lubbock and John Evans to the British Museum in 1867.

The final disposal of Lubbock's collection to the British Museum was also a gift, by his son the second Lord Avebury. Sir Hercules Read, Franks successor, visited High Elms on 29th April 1916 and identified the items that the British Museum wished to accession[234]. Read also managed the distribution of other material to 29 museums across the country which had expressed an interest in receiving material from Lubbock's collection[235].

Reason for Disposal

It is interesting to note that Lubbock disposed of archaeological and ethnographic items during his lifetime, either from his catalogued collection or not. It suggests he did not regard his collecting activity as static in nature, but dynamic and responsive to particular research needs of the time. George Finlay, in his correspondence with Lubbock dated 20th February 1872 hints at this attitude when he sends him stone implements from Greece stating:

> *'They may perhaps enter your collection until replaced by better'*[236]

It suggests that collecting was not just about meeting particular research needs of your own but being aware of the interests of others and sharing resources to support them in their work. The idea of exchange and reciprocity has already been discussed and examples of this happening in practice identified. This ties into the idea of a non-permanent collection, and a dynamic approach to collecting.

However, proportionally Lubbock did not dispose of much of the material he collected, and once it entered his Catalogue it is even rarer that he actually disposed of it. Though there is some evidence of dynamism there is also considerable evidence that once an item was acquired there had to be a very good reason to let it go. Perhaps Lubbock even had a 'collection' of duplicates that had not been recorded in the Catalogue ready for swapping with others?

Lubbock did not bequeath his collection to the British Museum on his death. Indeed there is no reference in his will and testament to the collection and its future fate[237]. The British Museum

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[234] British Museum Archive (Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities). "Letter from Lord Avebury to Sir Hercules Read, dated 19th April 1916".

[235] British Museum Archive (Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities). "Letter from Sir Hercules Read to Lord Avebury, dated 31st August 1916".

[236] British Library MS Add 49677 49-51. "Letter from George Finlay to John Lubbock, dated 20th February 1872".

[237] Somerset House. "The last will and testament of the Right Honourable John Baron Avebury of Avebury in the county of Wiltshire of Lombard Street in the City of London and of High Elms in the County of Kent. Dated 22nd January 1913".

persuaded the second Lord Avebury to part with some of the collection because of its perceived national and international importance:

> *'Sir Hercules Read has been familiar with the majority of these articles [Lubbock's collection] for many years past, and he took an opportunity recently to point out to the present Lord Avebury the importance of some of the series in the gift for the Museum collections. Eventually Lord Avebury offered as a gift a large series from his late father's collection. Among these by far the most important is a find from Hallstatt, in Upper Austria, excavated about 1863-69. It consists of a fine bronze bucket and a number of other articles in bronze and iron, illustrating the transition from bronze to iron in that part of the world...Such another series does not exist in England, and it will add greatly to the interest of the early section of the Early Iron Age Gallery. In addition to the foregoing Lord Avebury has also sent a large number of stone implements from various parts of the world, Egypt, France, America and the South Seas.*
>
> *The gift as a whole is of such importance that it deserves, in Sir Hercules' opinion, the special thanks of the Board.'*[238]

As well as the Hallstatt material, Read was particularly keen to acquire items from Lubbock's collection illustrated in *Prehistoric Times*[239].

The second Lord Avebury also probably collected prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material. The *Unknowns* database contains information about artefacts that can only have been collected after John Lubbock's death[240]. The second Lord Avebury also donated four items to the British Museum in 1921[241], none of which meet any description of items in the Avebury Catalogue.

Date of Disposal

Lubbock disposed of material sporadically during his lifetime but the majority of his collection was disposed of by family after his death. However, it was not given away immediately and three years passed before the second Lord Avebury was persuaded to give items to the British Museum. Even more years passed before the rest of the collection was given to the Orpington Historical Society in 1947.

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[238] British Museum Archive. "*Book of Presents 1916*, entry dated 27th May 1916".

[239] British Museum Archive (Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities). "Letter from Sir Hercules Read to Lord Avebury, dated 31st August 1916".

[240] Bromley Museum accession number 68.29.14 for example: a Palaeolithic flake tool probably acquired in June 1915.

[241] British Museum accession number 1921.6-21.1-4.

The Collection Analysis: Primary Conclusions

In terms of collecting activity there appears to be a clear watershed between Lubbock's collecting prior to the late 1870s and the situation after 1880. The collection created by Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913) and recorded in the Avebury Catalogue comprises 1331 items, or groups of items, and represents 394 collecting events. Over 92% of the collection was acquired during the period 1863-1880, and the main focus of collecting activity took place during the late 1860s-early 1870s. Before 1880 it had a clear thematic content focusing on prehistoric archaeology and ethnography. Gift, purchase and field collection were the primary means by which material was acquired. The most important collecting sources were provided by his immediate circle of friends (particularly John Evans and Joseph Dalton Hooker), the London-based commercial dealers, William Wareham and Bryce McMurdo Wright Senior, and his own field collecting activities.

However, after 1880 there is evidence of less clarity and focus, particularly post-1890. With the exception of 4 purchases, gifts become the only method of acquisition identifiable during the period 1881-1907. After 1876, he no longer purchased any ethnographic material for his collection. Other sources became relatively more important, especially one-off transactions with members of his local, national and international networks. Towards the end of his life collecting activity focused on localised networks.

This watershed to some extent can also be discerned in the evidence for how Lubbock's collection was used. Certainly during the 1860s and 1870s it was an active research tool in the human antiquity and sociocultural evolution debate. Lubbock referred to items in the collection to support his arguments in the public sphere, and showed the collection to a select few of the visitors to High Elms. However, in the mid-1880s the public display and educational aspect of the collection seemed to grow in importance, whilst the research role decreased. Though Lubbock still used the collection in *Prehistoric Times* his work was no longer original but the re-hash of old examples and old illustrations in the context of new discoveries (apart from when photos are used in the seventh edition).

Though Lubbock did dispose of a few items during his lifetime it was primarily dispersed after his death. Indeed, he made no provision in his will (or otherwise it would seem) for the future of his collection, and the decision seems to have rested with his son.