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

**Two Volumes: Volume Two**

**Janet Elizabeth Owen**

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**Ph.D.**

**University of Durham**

**Department of Archaeology**

**2000**



**19 SEP 2001**

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

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

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## ***Chapter 5: Lubbock's Collection as Statement of Late : Nineteenth Century Discourse***

This chapter uses the analysis of Lubbock's collection to explore how it was a statement of late nineteenth century discourse discussed in chapter 2.

### **Sociocultural Evolution Discourse**

Collections of prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material were an important element of the sociocultural evolution discourse. The collection analysis suggests this particular example was one such collection representing knowledge construction within this discourse. A detailed study of the relationship is possible using evidence derived from collecting activity, use and disposal.

### ***Collecting Activity***

#### Discourse Values/ Ideas

The collection formed a databank of empirical evidence upholding discourse values and contributing to debate. Its prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic focus is exactly what would be expected. The archaeological sites represented and the predominance of lithic archaeological material paralleled the main sites and concerns under discussion within sociocultural evolution discourse: St. Acheul, the French Palaeolithic caves and Danish prehistoric sites for example. The ethnographic communities reflected were those actively drawn upon in the debate, including esquimaux and Maori communities. This diverse range of material was assembled and made sense of within a Darwinist intellectual framework.

The collection was a materials-based source of evidence for the explanation of human origins, symbolic of a materialistic and naturalistic perspective on life and nature. It consisted of real things, fossils of previous and, as far as Darwinists were concerned, primitive lifestyles that provided concrete evidence for their particular worldview. The content of the collection and recording methods suggest the collector was less concerned with individual contextual information, but more with the contribution each item made to the development of a universal typological series of human artefacts. This is consistent with the generalist typological approach adopted by other collectors active within sociocultural evolution discourse and drew upon



attitudes towards collecting material culture dominant in the natural sciences (Bowden, 1991; Pearce, 1995; Schnapp, 1996; Van Riper, 1993).

Lubbock's collection was the outcome of a geological approach to archaeology in terms of its emphasis on prehistoric archaeology and the collecting technique used. It has already been noted that attention focused on typological classification at a universal level. Lubbock also regarded field excursions as acts of geological study, hence his reference to an 1862 Somme Valley trip in search of evidence for human antiquity as a 'geological exercise'<sup>1</sup>. Visits to Denmark in 1861 and 1863 combined geological, zoological and archaeological enquiry, and Lubbock's primary contact in Copenhagen was Japetus Steenstrup, a renowned zoologist researching the Danish shell middens. Although his collecting network included archaeologists such as Canon Greenwell, Evans, Pitt Rivers and Thomsen, it also contained several pre-eminent geologists and zoologists. Before developing an interest in archaeology, Lubbock was an active geologist elected to the Geological Society in 1855 aged 21 years old. Progression from studying natural history and river gravels to evidence for the early antiquity of humankind was fairly natural. It probably started for Lubbock with a trip to Abbeville during which he was invited by the host, Boucher de Perthes, to 'take as many [stone implements] as he liked'<sup>2</sup>. The collection's European focus is an outcome of Lubbock's training in geological science; most antiquarian archaeologists were concerned only with their local context rarely considering the broader geographic picture (Van Riper, 1993).

The systematic selection of items relating to a specific intellectual focus and the geological perspective adopted reinforced the impression that the study of human evolution, and natural sciences in general, was a professional science. This collecting approach contrasted with antiquarian fetishist activity which accumulated the curious, exotic or aesthetic and often resulted in collections lacking a clear subject emphasis and bearing little relation to intellectual endeavour (Davies, 1998; 1999; de Hamel, 1996; Herrmann, 1972; Pearce, 1992; 1995; Spier & Vassilika, 1995; Thomas, 1999).

The collection juxtaposed material culture originating from European prehistoric and non-European ethnographic cultures, assuming a relationship existed. The types of ethnographic material acquired (bows, arrows, clubs, axes, fishing equipment, harpoons, paddles and spears) related closely to the form and function of the archaeological material collected, suggesting Lubbock perceived a direct link between the two types of material. This perception was rooted in a belief that prehistoric European communities and nineteenth century ethnographic communities represented an equivalent stage of human social development, and the collection provided strong

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<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in Burkhardt et al., 1997: 161. "Letter from John Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated 17<sup>th</sup> April 1862".

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted in Burkhardt et al., 1993: 188-189. "Letter from Charles Darwin to Charles Lyell, dated 4<sup>th</sup> May [1860]".



material evidence for this conclusion. Lubbock explicitly referred to these parallels during a visit to the Dardanelles in October, 1872 whilst staying with the Governor at Beiramitch:

*'In the next room was a primitive weaving machine with a weaver's weight just like the old ones. The G. kindly gave it to me'*<sup>3</sup>

The rate of collection growth decreased dramatically after the mid-1870s. From 1873, there was a sharp decline in the number of collecting events recorded in the Avebury Catalogue. Of particular note is the lack of collecting by active methods, purchase and field collection, after this date which required a reasonable resource outlay in terms of money and time. Only 44 collecting events recorded in the Avebury Catalogue took place between 1881 and 1907 and all but 5 were gifts to Lubbock. Gifts are a passive form of collecting requiring little effort from the collector except an underlying interest and a degree of space to store/ display them (although we do have evidence that Lubbock asked friends and colleagues to send him particular objects for his collection<sup>4</sup>). The period of active collection development was short, 1863-1872. There was only rare acquisition of ethnographic material after 1876. The decreasing role of collecting from friends after 1871 suggests those people close to Lubbock were aware he no longer actively collected material. Alternatively, the relationship between these people and Lubbock changed, or his friends were no longer directly involved in activities bringing them into contact with sources of relevant material. Comments made by members of the Darwinist community in the 1890s regarding field collecting indicate it was by no means the regular pursuit of earlier days:

*'I shall be very glad to have a day's outing with you & drive to any spot you may like to visit. Do you remember our visit 20 years ago...'*<sup>5</sup>.

This watershed in collection development coincides chronologically with changes taking place within wider sociocultural evolution discourse during the 1870s (Caudill, 1994; Chapman, 1989; Daniel, 1975; Daniel & Renfrew, 1988; Evans, 1943; Morris, 1996; Shipman, 1994; Stocking, 1987; Van Riper, 1993). This is not accidental and a relationship exists between the two events. Perhaps there was less need to establish a research databank supporting basic arguments of human antiquity and evolution because these arguments were now accepted. Perhaps Lubbock's increasing involvement in politics, biology and zoology impacted upon his work and interest in the sociocultural evolution debate. The latter possibility will be discussed further in chapter 6.

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<sup>3</sup> British Library, MS Add 62681 27. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated October 1872".

<sup>4</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 49677 20-21. "Letter from James Hector to John Lubbock, dated 27 April 1870". Promised to send John Lubbock examples of the early forms of Stone Age implements in response to Lubbock's request directed at Mr. McKelvie in Auckland.

<sup>5</sup> British Library MS Add 49656 122-123. "Letter from Joseph Prestwich to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> May [1891]". Invited Lubbock out field walking in June or July.



## Social Practices and Networks

Lubbock's collecting activity was part of a wider collecting discourse that reflected and reinforced powerful intellectual networks under construction in late nineteenth century society.

The circle of immediate friends playing a key role in the collection's development (appendix 4.6) included people active in the human evolution and antiquity debate. Busk and Hooker were members of the X Club, and Evans, Franks and Pitt Rivers were part of the Lubbock-Evans Network. Charles Darwin though member of neither was obviously integral to both, and Henry Christy excavated the Palaeolithic cave sites of Southern France in the early 1860s with Edouard Lartet. Francis Galton was an active Darwinist and founder of the eugenics movement. All were part of the London intellectual scene during the 1860s. Lubbock shared this network and during the 1860s and early 1870s his collecting activity formed an integral part of their relationship. These people accounted for almost 17% of collecting events represented by his collection. Collecting activity did not initiate these networks but benefited from them, Lubbock was part of this elite London network before he collected archaeological and ethnographic material. His father's scientific position ensured he met many powerful intellectuals visiting High Elms during his formative years<sup>6</sup> (Hutchinson, 1914). Darwin's move to Down House in 1842 meant he and Lubbock were close friends by the time *Origin* was published. In 1855, Lyell proposed him as a member of the Geological Society making reference to his Green Street Green musk ox discovery. When Lubbock began collecting archaeological and ethnographic material he was able to utilise this pre-existing network to supply his needs.

Lubbock's wider collecting networks overlapped with those of his friends. He purchased material, especially ethnography, from a small group of commercial dealers based primarily in London (Crispe & Dracott, Cutter, Sotheby's, Wareham and Wright). Franks regularly used Wareham and Wright<sup>7</sup>, and Pitt Rivers also used Wright (Petch, 1998). Occasionally Lubbock would acquire material from dealers abroad, Sally Henriques in Copenhagen for example, but overall his dealer network was small and London-focused especially compared to the collecting activity of Evans, Pitt Rivers and Franks (Bowden, 1991; Evans, 1943; Petch 1998). He did not make the effort to create links with non-London based commercial dealers as these other collectors did although occasionally he would use contacts developed by them (Bowden, 1991; Cook, 1997; Evans, 1943; Petch, 1998). For ethnography, he was reliant on artefacts commercial dealers had in stock or commissioned from far-flung corners of the world (Cooper, 1999b; Stocking, 1987). This material was often collected from original contexts by people motivated primarily for commercial reasons and lacking training in intellectual research agendas.

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<sup>6</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 62679 50. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> October 1854". Charles Darwin dined at High Elms to meet Sir John Herschel who was coming to dinner.

<sup>7</sup> Personal communication: Interview with Jill Cook, Curator, British Museum, 1999.



A looser, national collecting network also existed - a great mix of people from across Britain who Lubbock came into contact with through a variety of means, many of which are unrecorded. Some of these connections were shared with other collectors<sup>8</sup>; others were unique to Lubbock<sup>9</sup>. Most were involved in the sociocultural evolution discourse at a provincial level and were not part of the London-based elite. This network was a key source of artefacts (accounting for just under 10% of collecting events) and information about discoveries without which the London elite would probably not have existed. In many cases the only relationship between Lubbock and the other individual was the collecting activity<sup>10</sup>.

The collection symbolised the international dimension of sociocultural evolution discourse. An international network of the established European and North American scientific community and an ad hoc series of collectors accounted for 12% of collecting events. The collection reflects a close personal relationship with Japetus Steenstrup and the Danish archaeological community during the early 1860s. A more ad hoc collecting event is demonstrated by the gift of archaeological material from M. Foucade in May 1872 (AC 993-993 and 996-998) when Lubbock visited his museum at Aineau during a French trip<sup>11</sup>. Through the sharing of information and artefacts across national boundaries it was possible to take an innovative broad perspective to human antiquity and evolution. Lubbock's active travel itinerary, particularly during the 1860s and early 1870s, enabled him to visit numerous archaeological sites in France, Switzerland, Denmark and Italy central to the sociocultural evolution debate (appendix 4.4). In contrast to the ethnographic data, he was actively interested in visiting the source of origin for archaeological material collected and was more critical about the authenticity and accuracy of this data.

The international colonial network consisted of those people Lubbock met when they visited London, mixing in the same social circles, and those whom he only knew through their collecting relationship. Lubbock acquired two groups of material for his collection from William Campbell for example, a member of the colonial administration in British Guiana. He sent one group of material in 1870 from Demerara, but delivered the second gift whilst he was in England in June 1873. Campbell was a contact of Joseph Hooker who supplied a great deal of economic botanical material to Kew Gardens. Hooker created the collecting relationship between Campbell and

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<sup>8</sup> For example, we know that Robert Day in Cork (AC 570) was a regular supplier of Irish prehistoric archaeological material to John Evans (Evans, 1943).

<sup>9</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 49650 60. "Letter from E. [Maxwell] Townshend to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> April 1887". The reverend E. [Maxwell] Townshend chose to sell Lubbock his collection of coins because of their shared political beliefs regarding Ireland.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 15<sup>th</sup> May 1872". British Library MS Add 62681 2-4. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 15<sup>th</sup> May 1872".



Lubbock, another example of the interrelationship between the various collectors active within sociocultural evolution discourse.

The institutional infrastructure played its part in developing these various collecting networks. Lubbock would probably have met potential collecting sources, discussed ideas and possibly developed collecting opportunities whilst socialising at the Athenaeum, or other gentleman's club, and attending meetings of various scientific institutions. He shared membership of the Athenaeum, the Royal Society, Royal Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the Ethnological Society, the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and the Society of Antiquaries with the friends who supplied his collection. Lubbock regularly attended British Association meetings as an active participant presenting papers in various subject areas, and he had many opportunities to network with people from outside his usual London circle acquiring items for his collection<sup>12</sup>. Field excursions forming part of meeting itineraries provided opportunities to network socially with both his immediate and wider network and collect archaeological material. In 1864 for example, Lubbock, Evans and Galton field-walked at Little Salisbury Hill, near Bath, during the BA meeting held in that city and collected a small selection of stone implements part of which ended up in Lubbock's collection (AC 268-273). Although it is only possible to identify a clear relationship between the BA and a few collecting events, it is likely that other people from whom Lubbock collected in the national network were inspired to offer items because of his BA performances. The International Prehistory and Ethnography Congress probably contributed to the development and maintenance of European collecting networks, and may have provided both national and international collecting opportunities for Lubbock. During the Congress held at Norwich in August 1868, for example, Mr. Fitch's collection of local flint implements was exhibited (Anonymous, 1869), and in October 1868 Fitch donated a shell chisel from Barbados to Lubbock (AC 683).

Lubbock held positions of public office that also brought him into regular contact with friends and collecting acquaintances. From 1865, he served as member of Senate at the University of London, serving with Busk and Evans amongst others. In 1878 he was elected a trustee of the British Museum and joined Evans at regular trustees meetings. These provided an opportunity to become better acquainted with museum staff including Franks, Grueber, Budge, Maude Thompson and Joseph W. Flower. Acquisitions of coinage and currency by Lubbock via Budge and Grueber during the 1890s were facilitated by this role as a letter from Theo Pincher to Lubbock, dated 19<sup>th</sup> April 1892, indicates. Lubbock had asked Pincher to examine clay tablets on his behalf before he purchased them. Pincher undertook this examination after museum hours as he was unsure whether Lubbock was interested officially or privately:

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<sup>12</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 49677 78-79. "Letter from William Gray to John Lubbock, dated 6<sup>th</sup> February 1872". William Gray, of Belfast, gave Lubbock a flint arrowhead found in County Antrim during the BA meeting at Liverpool in 1870.



*'Of course, as these tablets (or, at least, the two best) have been offered to the Museum and declined I suppose there is no objection to another person buying them, especially if he happens to be a Trustee.'*<sup>13</sup>

Similarly his role as trustee of the Christy Bequest, through which Franks acquired most of the prehistoric archaeological material collected for the British Museum, brought him into indirect contact with the network of collectors Franks used to develop this collection. For example, in March 1874 Franks gave Lubbock flint implements discovered at Bethlehem (AC 1074) from the Tyrwhitt Drake Collection Franks had just purchased<sup>14</sup>.

Lubbock travelled widely with friends and family and during the period 1863-1872 especially used these trips to visit archaeological sites and collect prehistoric artefacts (appendices 4.4 and 4.5). This informal social activity, part of the sociocultural evolution discourse, was an important aspect of his collecting activity accounting for over 21% of collecting events (appendix 4.5). Between 1861 and 1868 he travelled into Europe on a number of occasions with Busk, Prestwich, Evans, Tyndall, Huxley, and Hooker, bringing back items for his collection. In August 1862, for example, Lubbock went climbing in the Swiss mountains with Hooker, Tyndall and Huxley before leaving them to visit Morlot and the lake village sites<sup>15</sup>. In 1866, he travelled with Nelly and Evans to Austria and Italy, visiting the Iron Age cemetery site at Hallstatt and collecting a variety of artefacts en route (AC 340-386). Nelly and Alice Lubbock both participated in these trips and the positive impact made by Nelly on Worsaae and Tyndall<sup>16</sup> suggests the social aspect of these travels enhanced the networking process. A letter from Lubbock to Hooker dated 28<sup>th</sup> May 1863 provides further evidence these excursions had social as well as intellectual objectives:

*'I am thinking of going over to Abbeville next week nominally to have a look at the pit in which the jaw was found but really to get a holiday. I doubt not that the men who made the flint implements had lower jaws...'*<sup>17</sup>

Lubbock probably acquired a number of items in his collection during visits to friends' houses (appendix 4.4 and 4.5). On Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> November 1871, for example, he visited Evans, went field walking with him and possibly acquired items recorded as 933-940 in the Avebury Catalogue. A letter from Evans to Lubbock dated 27<sup>th</sup> February 1870 provides a useful insight

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<sup>13</sup> British Library MS Add 49658 113-114. "Letter from Theodore Pincher to John Lubbock, dated 19<sup>th</sup> April 1892'.

<sup>14</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 72-73. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 13<sup>th</sup> March 1874".

<sup>15</sup> Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, Letters to Hooker Volume 14 RBG 177. "Letter from John Lubbock to Joseph Hooker, dated 28<sup>th</sup> June 1862".

<sup>16</sup> Page 64.

<sup>17</sup> Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, Letters to Hooker Volume 14 RBG 180. "Letter from John Lubbock to Joseph Hooker, dated 28<sup>th</sup> May 1863".

into their complex social and intellectual relationship. Evans congratulated Lubbock on his successful entry into Parliament and then discussed a very personal matter, the recent death of his sister. He informed Lubbock that he had heard nothing from Stapf about Hallstatt and discussed his collecting activity, finishing the letter by commenting on how happy Joseph Prestwich looked at his wedding the previous day<sup>18</sup>.

Lubbock only actively collected within the informal sociocultural evolution discourse network during the 1860s, and as the 1870s progressed his involvement in this aspect of the network became less significant. By 1886 he was reminiscing about his past involvement when he participated in a field-walking exercise in Kent with Alice, Evans and Prestwich:

*'It was a dull grey day, but I was very pleased to have another day in the field with Evans and Prestwich and it carried me back to old days, on the Somme and elsewhere, 25 years ago! ...we found a few flakes but nothing much.'*<sup>19</sup>

## *Use of the Collection*

### Discourse Values/ Ideas

The collection formed a databank of relevant empirical evidence used to support materialistic explanations for human origins and physical and cultural evolution. This is particularly evident in *Prehistoric Times*, which made frequent reference to prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic artefacts as evidence especially items in Lubbock's collection. They were used to support arguments relating to the antiquity and typological evolution of stone implements, and the relationship of ethnographic peoples to Western society. Material culture (both artefacts and sites) played a very central role in the debate, and the collection underpinned a key contribution to the debate that argued passionately for the value of studying prehistoric archaeology using a geological approach.

During the 1860s-1870s, the apparent lack of interest in storage and display of the collection suggests it was not created primarily as a very private or overtly public statement. It was primarily a research tool and something to impress only a small circle of friends, family and dignitaries such as Napoleon III (Hutchinson, 1914). It was perceived as a museum and a collection by Lubbock, and others<sup>20</sup>, suggesting it was not just a random accumulation of material

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<sup>18</sup> British Library MS Add 49643 61-62. "Letter from John Evans to John Lubbock, dated 27<sup>th</sup> February 1870".

<sup>19</sup> British Library MS Add 62683 61. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 24<sup>th</sup> September 1886".

<sup>20</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 49655 80-8. "Letter from John Brazier to John Lubbock, dated 29<sup>th</sup> September 1890". John Brazier, in Australia, sent Lubbock '*a small parcel of curios*



but had form and structure designed to uphold the intellectual rationale it was being used to support. In addition to its use in *Prehistoric Times*, the collection was publicly exhibited to support debate in relevant subject areas.

The apparent shift in use of the collection during the 1880s and 1890s coincided with the changing focus of sociocultural evolution discourse by the mid-1870s. Display within the domestic and public spheres took on a new significance and the active use of the collection as a research tool looks to have become less important. Does this again reflect the fact that many of the broad research questions explored using Lubbock's collection now appeared resolved, or that Lubbock became less involved in seeking answers to these questions? Did the role of the collection change because its significance within sociocultural evolution discourse decreased<sup>21</sup>, whilst its role in other aspects of late nineteenth century social discourse became more important? It is interesting to note within this context that both the collection and books were redisplayed in the hall during September 1890 suggesting Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic artefacts were not just part of sociocultural evolution discourse but also of a broader collecting discourse within which he participated involving books, paintings and natural history specimens.

### Social Practices and Networks

The collection was clearly used as part of the social practices and networks existent within the sociocultural evolution discourse during the 1860s-1870s.

Its use as a systematic research tool was consistent with the approach to collections adopted by Franks, Evans and Pitt Rivers for example. Indeed these individuals created larger and more complex collections representing better research databanks than Lubbock's fairly small collection (Bowden, 1991; Cook, 1997; Evans, 1943; Petch, 1998; Sherratt, 1983)<sup>22</sup>. Though his collection was probably an individual, private research tool, it was also used within the context of the wider sociocultural evolution network. Evans drew upon it in his published work (1872). Lubbock drew upon the networks of people centred on the X Club and Lubbock-Evans Network to find out

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*from British New Guinea & Solomon Islands... There may be something in the collection that may be of some interest to you and an addition to your museum.'*

For example, British Library MS Add 49677 174. "Letter from J. Russell [Larkby] to John Lubbock, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> [December] 1904". J. Russell [Larkby] thanked Lubbock for showing him his collection.

<sup>21</sup> British Library MS Add 62683 99. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 25<sup>th</sup> January 1890". 'We have I think nearly settled to alter the hall by throwing the Museum into it.' The use of the word 'throw' may be nothing more than a colloquial comment but it is also quite a dismissive term perhaps suggesting a devaluing of the object in question.

<sup>22</sup> Lubbock was only a minor contributor to the Society of Antiquaries exhibitions of 1871 for example (Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries, 1873).

more about the artefacts he collected. He drew upon their collections for comparative material<sup>23</sup>. Artefacts from his collection were combined with artefacts from other private and public collections to facilitate sociocultural evolution discussion at public debating forums (Society of Antiquaries, 1873: 165-170, 224-229). Lubbock's collection was a sub-set of a much larger research databank in London consisting of both private collections belonging to individuals and public collections at institutions such as the British Museum. The existence of a meta-collection is also suggested by the way he, and others, referenced a range of collections in their published works. A comment made by Evans in a letter to Lubbock regarding Treasure Trove in 1908 indicates the boundaries between individual collections, private and public, were fluid during the late nineteenth century. He argues passionately for the role of private collections in saving antiquities for the nation<sup>24</sup>.

Many collectors within sociocultural evolution discourse displayed their collections privately within their domestic space, described them as a museum and provided opportunities for selected individuals to view them. For example, Canon Greenwell from Durham spent two days with Evans at Nash Mills studying his collection and two evenings with Franks to see the Christy Collection, as well as viewing Lubbock's material at High Elms<sup>25</sup>. In October 1863, Lubbock visited William Boyd Dawkins' collection of flint tools at his invitation to study its contents<sup>26</sup>. In August 1879, he visited the Bateman Collection whilst at Sheffield for the British Association meeting<sup>27</sup>. The idea of having a private museum for personal research and to show selected guests was a broader antiquarian tradition adopted by collecting practice within sociocultural evolution discourse, not an invention unique to the latter. Visiting antiquarian private collections was as much part of the research agenda as visiting those created solely as systematic collections. During a visit to Turkey and Greece for example, Lubbock viewed a mixed, unfocused collection at Mr. Calvert's farm:

*'After breakfast looked at Mr. Calvert's Museum. His things are principally Greek & Roman, but he has a few stone axes of ordinary form, found on the surface, flint flakes,*

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<sup>23</sup> For example, Orpington (Kent), Lyulph Lubbock Private Collection. "Notebook: Travels - 1868, 1869 and 1877". Lubbock records a visit to see Colonel Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers] and his collection in [1868] and comments on an African leaf-shaped sword 'very like bronze ones'.

<sup>24</sup> British Library MS Add 49676 13-14. "Letter from John Evans to John Lubbock, dated February 1908".

<sup>25</sup> British Library MS Add 49641 146-147. "Letter from Canon William Greenwell to John Lubbock, dated 11<sup>th</sup> August 1866".

<sup>26</sup> British Library MS Add 49640 93-94. "Letter from William Boyd Dawkins to John Lubbock, dated 16<sup>th</sup> October 1863".

<sup>27</sup> British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated August 1879".



*spindle whorls, bone awls & c. Corn crushers, bronze arrowheads, but no bronze celts...*<sup>28</sup>

Lubbock's use of his own collection to communicate sociocultural evolution ideas to a wider audience was reflected in both the published work of Pitt Rivers (1875) and Evans (1872). Pitt Rivers also provided access to his collection for local working and lower middle class people, and during the 1880s established a popular museum at Farnham in which his archaeological and ethnographic collection was displayed typologically (Bowden, 1991). It is probably no coincidence that Lubbock's activities in this area developed after his marriage to Alice, Pitt Rivers' daughter, in 1884.

## *Disposal of the Collection*

### Social Practices and Networks

Occasional disposal of items occurred as part of the collection's development suggesting the collection was a dynamic concept. These acts support the idea that the collection contributed towards a broader initiative rather than being solely for individual gain. Disposal took place in a focused way to a particular group of people and organisations all of whom were players, and mostly significant contributors, within sociocultural evolution discourse. Lubbock's collection was again perceived as part of a meta-collection available for research. Chapter 4 outlines evidence for a reciprocal collecting relationship between Lubbock, Evans, Franks and Pitt Rivers in particular. Lubbock's supply of material to the Christy Collection is unsurprising given his roles as Trustee of the Christy Collection and the British Museum and his knowledge that the Christy Collection was becoming the premier collection of prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material in Britain. The occasional disposal of artefacts to provincial museum collections recognised the growing role of local museum collections in bringing ideas to a wider audience. No item in the collection was disposed of for commercial gain. There is no evidence of Lubbock selling artefacts, and the vast majority of disposal acts are gifts to individuals or organisations. Occasionally, as with the pair of stilts received in an exchange with Neufchatel Museum in May 1869 (AC 767), the collection benefited in a material way as part of the act but Lubbock did not benefit financially. No formal instructions were left in Lubbock's will regarding the disposal of the collection and it was not identified as a separate asset (financial or otherwise). The final disposal of Lubbock's collection after his death to the British Museum, 29 provincial museums and eventually to Bromley Museum reflect the belief that the collection was ultimately a sub-set of a broader whole.

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<sup>28</sup> British Library MS Add 62681 20. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 10<sup>th</sup> October 1872".

The collecting, use and disposal of Lubbock's collection suggest it formed part of a larger research and education databank within sociocultural evolution discourse. It reflected the values and practices of that discourse and actively contributed to knowledge construction within. However, it was also a statement of other aspects of late nineteenth century social discourse and this relationship is now explored.

## Liberal Political Discourse

As an active statement within sociocultural evolution discourse the collection was used to support a radical liberal philosophy, and was the creation of an active agent who was an aspiring Liberal politician during the 1860s and a Liberal MP after 1870.

Through Lubbock's writings in *Prehistoric Times* and his reference to the collection within this book these artefacts mapped a typological process of technological and cultural evolution; from the earliest stone tools discovered at Abbeville to the developing use of metal implements at the Iron Age cemetery site at Hallstatt. Underlying this process was the optimistic belief that human society progressively evolved towards a utopian state of technological, cultural and moral perfection.

*'Even in our own time we may hope to see some improvement; but the unselfish mind will find its highest gratification in the belief that, whatever may be the case with ourselves, our descendants will understand many things which are hidden from us now, will better appreciate the beautiful world in which we live, avoid much of that suffering to which we are subject, enjoy many blessings of which we are not yet worthy, and escape many of those temptations which we deplore but cannot wholly resist.'* (Lubbock, 1913: 594).

A rhetorical and overtly political use of language is particularly present in the introductory and concluding sections of *Prehistoric Times* framing Lubbock's analysis of archaeological and ethnographic material culture and social practice. It provided an overarching context for the work and the specific use of the collection rooted in liberal ideals of progress and self-improvement.

In September 1884, the Lubbock family held possibly the first open day for local people to visit High Elms and look at the collection<sup>29</sup>. This event, and those that followed, had an educational as well as social purpose. Visitors were given an opportunity to look at various, selected specimens and use microscopes. Lubbock lectured for about 30 minutes and refreshments were provided, but the focus was on the collection and its intellectual content. The educational experience was political as well as informative, and the event reflected many similar liberal pedagogical initiatives including Pitt Rivers' Farnham Museum experiment. The collection was used to encourage local working and lower middle class people to accept the idea of progress and

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<sup>29</sup> British Library MS Add 62683 32. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 5<sup>th</sup> July 1884".



evolution rather than revolution. To better themselves through education and self-improvement but also to accept their place in life as ordained by nature and science. Lubbock was actively involved with the Working Men's Movement, and as a continuation of the public education idea encouraged the British Museum to open the doors to its members in February 1892:

*'The BM Trustees kindly allowed me to ask the Working Mens College & our Clubs to the Museum. We had the Egyptian, Assyrian & Greek Galleries & Mr. M. Thompson, Murray & Budge kindly came & took parties round. I suppose we had about 500 present & they all seemed to enjoy it.'*<sup>30</sup>

In *Prehistoric Times* Lubbock's collection was used to support liberal pedagogy targeted at the upper middle classes. Its later use sought to influence the daily lives and perceptions of working people local to North West Kent.

As a Liberal MP Lubbock belonged within a political network of people which formed part of his collecting network. William Gladstone, for example, shared his interest in archaeology and they discussed various questions at private occasions and in the Division lobbies (Hutchinson, 1914). His association with the local political scene in North West Kent perhaps developed the relationship resulting in the Town Clerk of Maidstone, Herbert Monkton, donating a flint spearhead in 1885 (AC entry 1123). The acquisition of artefacts from the Earl of Derby in 1890 (former member of several parliamentary cabinets and still an active politician) took place shortly after Lubbock had visited Derby's residence for dinner<sup>31</sup>. This was undoubtedly a networking relationship strengthened by Lubbock's distinguished political career. The Reverend E. [Maxwell] Townshend wished to sell his father's collection of Chinese coins to Lubbock because of his stance on Irish Home Rule<sup>32</sup>. Townshend's family was forced to sell the collection because it had lost money as an outcome of Gladstone's Irish Home Rule policy. The choice of purchaser and the reasoning behind it suggests this transaction was political as well as commercial in nature. The relationship between intellectual knowledge, collecting, and political status is illustrated by a letter from the Earl of Stanhope to Lubbock in 1862:

*'...read with great pleasure your very interesting Essay on the flint implements. I am well acquainted with one of the pioneers...of that discovery, namely Mr. John Evans, who has indeed very recently presented to me two of the specimens from St. Acheul'*<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> British Library MS Add 62683 116. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1892".

<sup>31</sup> British Library MS Add 62683 103. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 4<sup>th</sup> July 1890". British Library MS Add 49655 22-23. "Letter from Edward Henry Stanley, the 15<sup>th</sup> Earl of Derby to John Lubbock, dated 17<sup>th</sup> July 1890".

<sup>32</sup> British Library MS Add 49650 60. "Letter from E. [Maxwell] Townshend to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> April 1887".

<sup>33</sup> British Library MS Add 49639 105-106. "Letter from Stanhope to John Lubbock, dated 10<sup>th</sup> July [1862]".

Stanhope invited John and Nelly to visit Chevening as he would like to meet them and show them the garden and library.

## Developing Bourgeoisie Class Discourse

John Lubbock was part of the 0.3% upper middle class elite earning a considerable income of more than £1000 per annum and owning an estate at High Elms of 3000 acres (Hoppen, 1998). This wealth was derived from the Lubbock family's role as financier, owning a partnership in the City of London banking house, Lubbock & Robarts. Money was lent to people investing in technological and manufacturing initiatives at a time when people were buoyed by economic confidence and prepared to take considerable entrepreneurial risk (Cannadine, 1994). At a time when the aristocracy increasingly borrowed money to maintain their lifestyle and political influence (Cannadine, 1994). At a time when financial investment in the colonies was an expanding trade (Porter, 1987).

This wealth provided the financial support necessary for the collection to develop, particularly acquisitions involving purchase and travel. No evidence has been found that enables an accurate calculation of the money Lubbock spent on his collection. However, appendix 5.1 provides an insight into his financial arrangements. Lubbock was comparatively well off at an early age. In March 1854, just before his twentieth birthday, his father agreed to give him £150 per year and opened an account for him in his name containing £112<sup>34</sup>. On December 30<sup>th</sup> 1854, George Robarts left the bank and John William Lubbock made his sons John and Henry partners in the company<sup>35</sup>. When Lubbock married Nelly in 1856 his income, and his responsibilities, rose accordingly (from £600 in 1855 to £1300 in 1856). On 30<sup>th</sup> April 1864, Lubbock's father agreed to provide John with 25% of the profits received by the Lubbock family<sup>36</sup>. When his father died in 1865, Lubbock took over responsibility for the family estate and his income increased from £7400 in 1865 to £19600 in 1866. Even before his father's death Lubbock was easily able to purchase artefacts and pay his expenses for trips abroad. By 1863, he could comfortably afford the 20 guineas he spent on Vilhelm Boye's collection. In that year he received an income of £3300, spent £3000 and saved £300. In 1870, when he purchased the gold torque found at Colchester for £10 he received an income of £16600, spent £13300, saved £3300 and had personal property to the value of £85000 (appendix 5.1)<sup>37</sup>. In November 1871, Lubbock could

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<sup>34</sup> British Library MS Add 62679 36. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> March 1854".

<sup>35</sup> British Library MS Add 62679 55. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Saturday 30<sup>th</sup> December 1854".

<sup>36</sup> British Library MS Add 62680 1. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 30<sup>th</sup> April 1864".

<sup>37</sup> London, Royal Society Archives LUA 12. "John Lubbock's Account Books 1854-1903".



afford to purchase part of the stone circle monument at Avebury for £550 to prevent its destruction<sup>38</sup>. From 1871, he identified how much he spent on journeys each year and this annual figure is easily more than most middle class and working class people earned per annum (Hoppen, 1998).

The collection, particularly the financial and intellectual wealth embedded within, acted as a symbol of status within an upper middle class network. Napoleon III's visit and viewing of the collection<sup>39</sup>, for example, suggests it helped to place the Lubbock family in the recognised political aristocracy of the day. It was displayed in such a way to identify it as a 'museum', a concept associated with aristocratic heritage and power. From 1890 the collection was displayed in the library and hall at High Elms, and it may have been displayed in these spaces in earlier years as well. The Hardwick design of the house was little changed until the mid-1890s, and the hall was a large, panelled room with six reception rooms opening off and a sweeping mahogany staircase giving access to the two upper floors. One of these reception rooms was the library, a retreat for the gentleman of the house, and a place into which selected visitors (usually male) were invited (Franklin, 1981). However, the hall was much more accessible, a semi-public arena that all guests to the house would pass through and appreciate. It was a grand space abundant with indicators of status and wealth; after the drive up to the house it was the next experience to impress upon any visitor the importance, cultural tastes and personality of the owner. It is therefore significant that it was felt appropriate to exhibit the collection within what was a domestic and semi-public space. Within this space it took on the role of conversation piece, of cultural and status symbol, of aesthetic. Lubbock and his family hosted social gatherings at High Elms attended by the cultural and political elite, and many of their distinguished guests would have been given the opportunity to view and admire the collection and reflect on Lubbock's intellectual and social status.

High culture within the traditional aristocratic discourse focused on fine art, rare books, music and classical antiquities but within the bourgeoisie discourse science increasingly became high culture. The act of collecting and forming a museum was influenced by traditional aristocratic values, but the subject matter and rationale adopted were clearly bourgeoisie. Indeed Lubbock's collection represented a clear statement attacking traditional aristocratic values. Its very existence challenged aristocratic beliefs in the divine sanction of their ruling position within society - that they were identified by God as the group of people within society to lead and govern the wider British population (Cannadine, 1994; Colley, 1992; Hoppen, 1998). Any visitor to High Elms

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<sup>38</sup> British Library MS Add 49643 184-185. "Letter from Alfred Charles Smith to John Lubbock, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1871".

<sup>39</sup> London, Royal Society Archives L3. "Notebook *Book of Life*: Letter from Napoleon III to John Lubbock, dated 10<sup>th</sup> April 1872".

holding such values (if indeed they did visit) would undoubtedly be aware of this, and it would be interesting to know how they responded.

The collection was also part of the public propaganda machine advocating gradual progressive evolution within society. During the 1880s and 1890s, as working and middle class people were becoming disillusioned with liberalism (Bellamy, 1990; Evans, 1996; Hoppen, 1998; Newsome, 1997; Parry, 1993), Lubbock invited local people to view his archaeological and ethnographic collection. His 30-minute introduction probably placed it within the context of sociocultural evolution (especially as he used it within that context in *Prehistoric Times* even in the final edition written in 1913). The technological and cultural evolution reflected in the collection was probably used to support arguments for inevitable improvement, the need for self-help, and the power of education.

The collection sources included people who were not part of the bourgeoisie elite. For some<sup>40</sup> the acquisition by Lubbock of their items (whether by gift or purchase) gave a sense of empowerment, a feeling they had become part of a broader process of scientific discovery, personal self-improvement and the breaking down of traditional social boundaries. Schliemann, a German self-made wealthy businessman turned archaeologist, cultivated an intellectual relationship with Lubbock partly motivated by status aspirations. This is reflected in letters to Lubbock about his discoveries that address him as 'My Lord' and 'your excellency'<sup>41</sup>. Yet there is also evidence for a form of etiquette in the collecting of material from people who were not part of a regular network. For example, Steenstrup acted as intermediary in the acquisition of Boye's collection despite the fact that Boye could speak and write English. Was this because Steenstrup was a prominent member of the international scientific network, whereas Boye held lower status within that community?

If Lubbock as creator had not been a member of the bourgeoisie the collection would not have been as complex or at the least would have been developed using very different collecting mechanisms and for very different reasons.

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<sup>40</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 82. "Letter from Harry Cecil Cameron to John Lubbock, dated 27<sup>th</sup> November 1874". British Library MS Add 49677 93-94. "Letter from John Brazier to John Lubbock, dated 11<sup>th</sup> May 1877". British Library MS Add 49650 60. "Letter from E. [Maxwell] Townshend to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> April 1887". British Library MS Add 49677 37-38. "Letter from Chas Abbott to John Lubbock, dated 6<sup>th</sup> June 1871".

<sup>41</sup> British Library MS Add 49644 25 - 28. "Letter from Heinrich Schliemann to John Lubbock, dated 14<sup>th</sup> November". British Library MS Add 49644 34. "Letter from Heinrich Schliemann to John Lubbock, dated 28<sup>th</sup> December 1872".



## Liberal Christian Discourse

The collection was not only a symbol of defiance against the divine sanction of aristocracy but also against the influential role of the Established Church in state affairs. It represented Darwinist views regarding the role of religion in science, views that Lubbock publicly aired in *Prehistoric Times*. These views were controversial within the local community as well as nationally and delayed the start of his political career. In 1865 he contested the West Kent constituency on behalf of the Liberal party but failed in part because of the public backlash against *Prehistoric Times*. After he presented a paper at the 1867 British Association meeting in Dundee, Huxley suggested his parliamentary ambitions had been further damaged by the content which had inspired at least one media commentator to quote 'He [Lubbock] is already doomed and cursed to all Eternity'<sup>42</sup>. In 1868, he lost the West Kent election again and noted in his diary 'I lost the West Kent election by 55. The Clergy were very bitter.'<sup>43</sup>. Even in 1871, Reverend J.B. McCrea held a lecture in Tonbridge responding to a lecture Lubbock had recently given, and argued that science was the cause of degeneracy in human society (Hutchinson, 1914). Presumably J.B. McCrea would have regarded Lubbock's collection as an irrelevant and potentially dangerous phenomena?

However, Lubbock's views on religion and the role of his collection within this context were complex. He was a member of the Anglican Broad Church Movement lobbying for reform within the Anglican Church. Religion was important to Lubbock from an early age and his diary records how he prayed regularly throughout the day when he was 18 years old:

*'Generally speaking, I spend my day as follows: Get up at 1/2 past six, dress, say my prayers, read the Psalms and Chapters and go to Papa with my mathematics...9 to 1/2 past, prayers;...9 1/2 to 10, sermons (if I read them any later they invariably send me to sleep, and as it is I cannot always keep awake);... 11 1/2 to 12, prayers; 12, Bed.'*  
(Hutchinson, 1914: 30-31).

At the age of 20 he taught in the Sunday School at Down<sup>44</sup> and, despite the emotional conflict his scientific views must have engendered, Lubbock remained a regular churchgoer throughout his life<sup>45</sup>.

The theoretical framework he developed inspired by his collection of objects and information provided a means by which he reconciled his views on religion and science, and is best described in *Prehistoric Times* and *Origin of Civilisation*. The latter discussed the religion of various world

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<sup>42</sup> British Library MS Add 49642 63-64. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 18<sup>th</sup> October 1867".

<sup>43</sup> British Library MS Add 62680 3. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated December 1868".

<sup>44</sup> British Library MS Add 62679 37. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> April 1854".

<sup>45</sup> British Library MS Add 62679-62684. Numerous diary entries make reference to this activity.

cultures creating an evolutionary typology of religious belief systems and practice. A variety of evidence was used and the ritual discourse of modern ethnographic communities was equated with that of prehistoric Western societies. Lubbock argued for a progressive development, driven by mechanisms of biological and cultural evolution, in human understanding of religion and in people's ability to be moral, virtuous and humble. Far from being the antithesis of religion, science was its advocate:

*'Thus, then, the great principle of Natural Selection...not only throws an unexpected light on the past, but illuminates the future with hope; nor can I but feel surprised that a theory which thus teaches us humility for the past, faith in the present, and hope for the future, should have been regarded as opposed to the principles of true religion.'*  
(Lubbock, 1913: 584).

*Prehistoric Times* prepared the argument for using modern ethnographic communities as a source of evidence for the evolution of Western sociocultural practice, especially religion. The similarity of material culture used by prehistoric Western societies and nineteenth century ethnographic communities was the key. Lubbock's collection therefore underpinned the development of his evolutionary religious beliefs.

The collection provided concrete examples of ritual artefacts that could be utilised in the development of ideas about ethnic belief systems. For example, in September 1867 Lubbock purchased a Maori idol from William Wareham, and in February 1868 purchased from the same source a carved wooden idol from the Congo region of Africa (plate 4.17). In *On the Origin of Civilisation*, Lubbock devoted a whole section to discussion of idolatry. Though objects in the collection are not specifically referenced in this book these items were probably purchased with this interest in mind. They provided a tangible material resource reinforcing ideas that modern savages followed primitive ritual rather than religious practices. The collection also contained archaeological artefacts originating from prehistoric ritual contexts, such as the Neolithic and Bronze Age tumuli in Denmark and the Iron Age cemetery site at Hallstatt. The juxtaposition of this archaeological and ethnographic ritual evidence facilitated comparative study.

*On the Origin of Civilisation* focused on two aspects of society, marriage and religion. The emphasis on religion reflected Victorian society's preoccupation with life after death. A comment made in a letter by Lubbock to his mother dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1865 (Hutchinson, 1914: 77) tells how he and Nelly were nearly killed in a railway accident on the way to the BA meeting in Birmingham and provides a rare window into Lubbock's concern about death:

*'The bumping got worse and worse, we were thrown backwards and forwards in the carriage, and though it seemed rather a long while, the only distinct idea I remember was that in a few minutes we should probably solve many of those questions which interest us so much.'*



Nelly was pregnant at the time of the accident and gave birth to their son, Rolfe, two months later. She never fully recovered and it contributed to her death in 1879. Her death gave Lubbock further cause to reflect upon his religious beliefs, as undoubtedly did the death of his father in 1865 and his mother in 1872.

The collection was part of an intellectual strategy seeking an optimistic explanation of life and death through combining religious and scientific belief systems. Its creator never gave up his belief in God and the Church and was part of a movement arbitrating between the Darwinist and religious communities. He was appointed as the first president of the Metaphysical Society in 1869 (Grant Duff, 1924), for example. He was also influential in the decision to bury Darwin in Westminster Abbey in April 1882. Galton originated the idea arguing Darwin had been part of the 'scientific priesthood' and there would be no better way of promoting the religious importance of evolutionary theory (Desmond & Moore, 1991). Lubbock gathered support in the Houses of Parliament to persuade the Dean of Westminster to accede to the request. The collection was also a place of arbitration. Items were acquired from presumably liberal clergy based in England and in the colonies (figure 5.1).

Acland, C.L., Rev. (national network)
Bain, A.G., Rev. (colonial network)
Casolau, Monsr. (colonial network)
Fasson (?), F.W., Rev (unknown source)
Kessler, Rev. J[ulius] (colonial network)
Kirby, W.W., Rev. (colonial network)
Rodwell, M., Rev. (national network)
Townshend, E. [Maxwell], Rev. (national network)

*Figure 5.1: Clergy from whom Lubbock received ethnographic and archaeological material for his collection.*

Through providing a material base upon which Lubbock developed his particular views regarding religion and science, the collection played a role in supporting the middling position adopted.

## **Bourgeoisie Domestic Discourse**

In 1865 Lubbock became the head of a large upper middle class household based in North West Kent. He inherited the family estate (primarily at High Elms), an influential City banking house, and acceded to the baronetcy. The social standing and material wealth acquired enabled the pursuit of collecting interests without financial or social hindrance. It also gave him a central role in the family life of two generations. His brothers were considerably younger and on his father's death it was necessary for Lubbock to take on a paternal role in relation to them as well as his

own children (Hutchinson, 1914). This central role is reflected in the collection and its place within the family context.

John Lubbock was the eldest of 11 children born to John William and Harriet Lubbock during the period 1834-1849. It was a large family and all children survived into adulthood. Lubbock himself fathered two smaller families: 6 children in his first marriage to Nelly and 5 by his second wife, Alice. During the period 1879-1884 he brought up his children as a single parent, although they were primarily looked after by dedicated servants. He acquired a few artefacts from members of this family, all of which were gifts<sup>46</sup>. These primarily came from his siblings (figure 5.2) with only one gift being derived from his own children, a possible Christmas present from Gertrude Lubbock to her father in December 1887 when she was 24 years old. The family was not a major source of artefacts but these transactions demonstrate the collection played a role in developing and sustaining relations within the Lubbock family especially sibling relationships (Davidoff, 1995). It is particularly interesting that Lubbock's relations through marriage rather than blood, Robert Birkbeck and Constance Anne Herschel, were two of the active donors. The decoration of the collection on the day of Harriet Lubbock's funeral in 1873 also suggests a central role for the collection in the domestic context of High Elms.

Name	Relation	Date of Acquisition (AC number)
Birkbeck, Robert	Brother-in-law (married to Lubbock's eldest sister, Mary Harriet)	March 1869 (740) October 1870 (886) June 1877 (1139)
Lubbock, Frederic	Brother (born 1844)	1863? (247-250) July 1878 (1149-1150) 1883-1884 (1197)
Lubbock, Gertrude	Youngest daughter by first marriage to Nelly (born 1863)	December 1887 (1147)
Lubbock, Montagu H.	Brother (born 1842)	1903 (1180)
Lubbock, Nevile	Brother (born 1839)	May 1868 (635)
Lubbock, Mrs. Nevile	Sister-in-law (maiden name: Constance Anne Herschel)	September 1884 (1121)

*Figure 5.2: Family members from whom Lubbock acquired material for his collection.*

Appendix 4.4 outlines how the collection was part of the bourgeoisie domestic discourse in other ways. The ability to afford time and money for travel at home and abroad, and to go out into the field collecting flowers, ants and archaeology, for example. The way that many of these trips involved other members of Lubbock's family and their circle of friends. Collecting was a leisure

<sup>46</sup> With the possible exception of an acquisition of Danish stone implements from Frederic Lubbock (AC 247-250) probably in 1863 for which there is no recorded method of acquisition.



pursuit around which family and friends spent time together, and were seen to do so. A poignant example of this is provided by the following extract from Lubbock's diary relating to the acquisition of Avebury Catalogue number 1138. On his return through France after a trip collecting plants in May 1877, he heard his daughter's (Amy) husband had died suddenly in Paris:

*'Went to the Louvre and arranged to bring Amy and Harriet to Amiens...Took Harriet for a drive to St. Acheul and got some nice langues de Chat...'<sup>47</sup>*

Was the meaning of those flake tools from St. Acheul forever tied up with this sad moment in Lubbock's personal life?

The collection held echoes of private lives, but also demonstrates how this private sphere was interconnected with the public sphere (Davidoff, 1995). It has been discussed how the collection acted as a symbol of intellectual status and wealth to flaunt within the public gaze. It was part of a broader strategy of public-private interconnectedness influencing the wider domestic context at High Elms. The architectural design of the house provided a place to live in and a place to be seen in. The elaborate gardens created a place to play and relax in and a place in which to entertain and show off wealth, taste and knowledge. The collection provided an intellectual and serious pastime, a hobby to be enjoyed and in which the family participated, as well as a public curiosity clearly stating the family's position within wider social discourse.

The disposal of the collection also reveals something of its private-public nature. On Lubbock's death, the family kept the collection together until 1916. The second Lord Avebury responded positively to the British Museum suggestion that parts of the collection were significant and should be in the public domain. Yet the rest of it remained in the family's possession until 1947. Why the delay in getting rid of the collection? It certainly suggests Alice Lubbock or the second Lord Avebury were not in a hurry to dispose of the material. The second Lord Avebury had an interest in archaeology and took over his father's role as Trustee of the Christy Collection, possibly collected archaeological material and also donated artefacts to the British Museum which do not appear to have been part of Lubbock's collection<sup>48</sup>. Lubbock's collection, and the ideas and interests represented, therefore lived on within the private and public spheres of domestic discourse even after Lubbock himself was no longer around.

## Gender Discourse

The systematic nature of the collection and the associated paraphernalia of catalogue, use and display place the collection firmly within masculine concepts of collecting (Pearce, 1995). It

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<sup>47</sup> British Library MS Add 62680: 29. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 18<sup>th</sup> May 1877".

<sup>48</sup> Page 217.



perpetuated myths of masculine discourse. As a research tool in the sociocultural evolution debate it underpinned Lubbock's private and public views concerning women, sexuality and marriage. In *On the Origin of Civilisation*, he argued for a progressive and civilising evolution of relationships from complete absence of marriage through to the monogamous loving and divine relationship representing marriage in late nineteenth century Britain. To ensure this relationship was truly effective, women provided children and supported the husband, whilst men provided economically for the family and protected the wife and children from external hardship. This is the experience of marriage provided for Lubbock as a child within the context of his own home. His father had a martinet reputation remaining aloof from his children, whereas his mother was friendly and supportive (Hutchinson, 1914). Though Lubbock was probably closer to his children than his father, he still inherited traditional marriage values from his parents. The collection was used in *Prehistoric Times* to justify the concept of typological evolution as applied to material culture. Lubbock then applied the concept to social practice to demonstrate the progressive status of marriage in late nineteenth century society. The collection authenticated a typological evolutionary approach to the study of marriage.

Pearce (1995) has argued that systematic collecting was, in the late nineteenth century, a male occupation because it was part of a wider masculine scientific discourse. Women were excluded from actively participating within this discourse, a trend reflected in Lubbock's collection. He does not appear to have disposed of any items to women. The collecting sources are almost exclusively male with only 2 female family members and 2 female friends represented. This begs the question whether these few collecting events were situated within a feminist discourse, and Gertrude Lubbock travelling to California suggests some element of adventure and action. However, she journeyed in the company of her older sister and her husband. Mrs. Baird probably only knew Lubbock through his connection with her husband, and the use of the label 'Mrs. Nevile Lubbock' in the Avebury Catalogue rather than her name, Constance, places this particular acquisition within traditional Victorian masculine/ feminine discourse. Mrs' Baird's gift, a roman vase, did not fit the collection's subject focus perhaps suggesting Lubbock accepted it for non-systematic reasons - because it was polite to do so within the gender discourse? All acquisitions from women were gifts and there is no evidence of them being involved in the selling and buying of material. Indeed, when Reverend Townshend's mother needed to sell her late husband's collection of Chinese coins to pay off her debts, her son carried out the transaction with Lubbock on her behalf. This was a deliberate act to ensure the woman did not have to negotiate a price, handle money and face the immediate embarrassment of the situation.

Collecting within this subject area was a worldly concern and women and children in particular needed protection from more extreme issues under discussion and reflected in the collection itself: violence and sexuality. In his published writings, Lubbock disguised discussion of extreme sexual and violent practice in indigenous communities to shield the innocent reader (Lubbock, 1870). In documentation associated with the collection information pertaining to any sexual or



violent act that items were part of was not recorded. For example, perforated stones were acquired from Chas Fairbridge in South Africa (AC 1038), others of which may have been used to elongate the clitoris of South African !Kung women ('Hottentots'). The only reference to this possible use is in a letter from Fairbridge and is not entered into the Avebury Catalogue where a wider audience might see it<sup>49</sup>.

The audiences viewing the exhibited collection were male dominated: the Society of Antiquaries, the British Association and the Working Men's Clubs for example. Its display in the library during the 1890s, an increasingly masculine space within late Victorian upper middle class households, suggests some gender differentiation concerning domestic access. We do not know whether the local people who visited High Elms to view the collection in the 1880s and 1890s were men, women or children. However, the fact that Josephine Johnstone wished to borrow flint implements for her exhibition in 1891 suggests women did have some access to the collection at High Elms. Interestingly the public events were held in the billiard room, a traditionally male, private space within the Victorian bourgeoisie abode.

The women in Lubbock's life played a supportive role in his collecting activity. They accompanied him on many of his travels (appendix 4.4) particularly his wives, Nelly and Alice. Sometimes these trips were arduous and adventurous, and the supposed fragility of the female sex does not appear to have been a concern. In July 1863, Lubbock, Nelly and a travelling companion, Mary Arbuthnot, began a tour of Scandinavia that involved considerable travel by rail and carriage, visiting a number of archaeological sites<sup>50</sup>. During a visit to Greece in Autumn 1886, Alice and John Lubbock undertook a tour of inland sites which Alice found particularly tiring<sup>51</sup>. Alice was probably less motivated about his travelling adventures than Nelly (Hutchinson, 1914), and letters in her archive suggest she often stayed at home but hated Lubbock being away<sup>52</sup>. Alice played a key role in organising the local High Elms open events during the 1880s and 1890s. It is also interesting to note what Nelly and Alice did not do. Nelly carried out various illustrative and secretarial work for Lubbock during their marriage, relating to his scientific work (Anon, 1879; Hutchinson, 1914). However, the handwriting in the Avebury Catalogue is always Lubbock's (apart from Boye's input in the early years). A comprehensive handwriting analysis of the collection could explore whether Nelly or Alice's handwriting is on the objects themselves, but initial indications suggest this is not the case. It is also interesting that

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<sup>49</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 66-67. "Letter from Chas Fairbridge to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> July 1873".

<sup>50</sup> British Library MS Add 62679 65. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 7<sup>th</sup> July 1863".

<sup>51</sup> British Library MS Add 62691 25-28. "Alice Lubbock Diary entries dated 25<sup>th</sup> October - 1<sup>st</sup> November 1886".

<sup>52</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 62692A 60. "Letter from John Lubbock to Alice Lubbock, dated 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1887". British Library MS Add 62691 1. "Alice Lubbock Diary entry dated 13<sup>th</sup> January 1885".



the collection was physically associated with his mother on her funeral day. Decorated as a mark of reverence and remembrance, it was a statement of masculine discourse dressed in a feminine way with flowers to mark the passing of an important woman in his life.

Lubbock's views on women were ambiguous and this is reflected in the collection. He supported increased educational opportunities for women in education<sup>53</sup> yet he also supported traditional Victorian values of marriage. Women were involved in the creation and use of the collection, but it remained firmly embedded within the masculine discourse of late nineteenth century society.

## Liberal Nationalist Discourse

Prehistoric archaeology collections contributed towards a sense of national identity and pride because they ignored nineteenth century territorial boundaries and referred to an age when cultural territories were very different. They acted as material symbols of a former 'glorious' existence. The attitude of the Danish archaeological and political community towards archaeological discoveries made in the Schleswig-Holstein area during the mid-late nineteenth century provides a good example of this. In February 1864, a short war broke out between Germany and Denmark over the occupation of the Schleswig-Holstein territories. Within months, Germany won and a peace treaty was signed on 30<sup>th</sup> November. Denmark lost two fifths of its territory and suffered a significant scientific loss - two prehistoric bog find collections housed at Kiel and Flensburg (Carr, 1991; Wiell, 1996; 1999). The Danish scientific community was desperate to retain the Flensburg collection regarded of national importance to the Danish past and hid it. Even though the peace treaty explicitly required it to be handed over to Germany, it was not transferred until 1868 (Wiell, 1996; 1999).

Lubbock's collection with its international flavour at first appears to bear little relationship to late nineteenth century nationalist liberalism and Britain's policy of isolationism. The collection reflects the growing internationalism within the sociocultural evolution community particularly between Britain, France, Scandinavia, Italy and Germany. Yet its content enables further investigation of archaeology's role within nationalist politics on the international stage. Competition between nations for the development of a rich prehistoric archaeology resource to underpin nationalist and scientific theory can be explored, and also the complex nature of

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<sup>53</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 28<sup>th</sup> February 1877". Supported decision by University of London Senate to award medical degrees to women in 1877. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 4<sup>th</sup> July 1877". He supported the request for a Charter enabling the opening of all degrees to women. British Library MS Add 49659 63-66. "Letter from Montstuart Grant Duff to John Lubbock, dated 17<sup>th</sup> April 1893". Grant Duff asked Lubbock to help resolve the squabbles concerning women's entry to the Geographical Society.



international politics between European countries during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Danish example suggests nations competed to collect prehistoric material, each harnessing it for specific political ends. British Darwinists wished to create the premier scientific community within Europe in keeping with Britain's general perception of its own superiority. The collecting of archaeological material from other Western European countries was perhaps partly a symbolic appropriation reinforcing the place of British scientists at the centre of the European scientific stage. Lubbock developed a sizeable international network of collecting sources (40% of the known source types) and Lubbock was given items because he was regarded as an internationally influential figure within the scientific community.

The European countries from which material was acquired (figures 4.16 and 4.17) reflected relations between countries during the late nineteenth century. Many of the countries originating material, including Austria, France, Denmark, Germany and Italy, experienced major periods of upheaval especially during the 1860s and early 1870s. Within scientific discourse active relations between national networks were possible despite this upheaval. Lubbock particularly acquired material from Denmark and France, and his relations with the Danish scientific community are intriguing. During the Napoleonic Wars Britain had been at war with France and Denmark. Given that Prussia had been an ally of Britain during these Wars and British royalty had strong German connections Lubbock's collecting strategy is perhaps surprising. But it reflected how liberal nationalist policies had developed since 1815 and how in Britain a form of nationalist internationalism prevailed (Porter, 1987) whilst the German nationalist movement was regarded with growing suspicion (Carr, 1991).

Lubbock's acquisition of Boye's collection is worth considering in further detail. In June 1863, Steenstrup and Boye sold Lubbock a collection of Danish antiquities that Steenstrup would have bought to keep in the country if he could have afforded to do so<sup>54</sup>. Yet less than a year later the Danish scientific community went to extraordinary lengths to prevent their German counterparts acquiring prehistoric archaeological material from Schleswig-Holstein. The bog find discoveries were more significant than Boye's collection. However, a contributing factor in the decision to sell artefacts to Lubbock could have been the strong informal political relations existing between liberal networks in Denmark and Britain. This relationship was recognised in the exchange of correspondence between Lubbock and Steenstrup during the 1864 war<sup>55</sup>. Lubbock publicly rallied

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<sup>54</sup> British Library MS Add 49640 48. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated [1]0<sup>th</sup> March 1863".

<sup>55</sup> Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 19<sup>th</sup> February 1864". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1864". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters



liberal nationalist support for the Danish cause in the British press<sup>56</sup>. Steenstrup may have wanted to strengthen connections with Lubbock and his colleagues for political reasons in addition to contributing towards the development of knowledge consensus. Equally, the international profile Lubbock gave Danish archaeology through his published work strengthened its scientific and nationalist work.

Wars between European countries not only strengthened or weakened networks within sociocultural evolution discourse, but also impacted upon collecting activity in very practical ways. In 1864, for example, Lubbock was preparing his first edition of *Prehistoric Times* and required information and woodcuts for illustrations from Worsaae and Steenstrup in Denmark<sup>57</sup>. The publication of the book was delayed because the war hampered sending of these items. During 1864, Lubbock also repeatedly asked Steenstrup to send him artefacts they purchased together from Sally Henriques during his visit in the summer of 1863<sup>58</sup>. However, Lubbock did not acquire them until 1865, again partly due to the political situation in Denmark.

## Colonial Discourse

The ethnographic and non-European prehistoric archaeological objects originated from colonial activity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The countries of origin represented within Lubbock's collection reflected British colonial territory. The relative lack of material from the Indian sub-continent is interesting considering it was an important Victorian British colony.

At least 10% of collecting events were derived directly from colonial sources. Lady Frere, for example, sent Lubbock a 'bushman pot' from South Africa in 1877 via Captain Penfold on behalf of her husband, Sir Bartle Frere<sup>59</sup>. Lubbock acquired other material originally derived from the

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from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 15<sup>th</sup> April 1864". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 14<sup>th</sup> May 1864".

<sup>56</sup> Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1864".

<sup>57</sup> Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 12<sup>th</sup> September 1863".

<sup>58</sup> Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1863". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 11<sup>th</sup> January 1865". Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 14<sup>th</sup> July 1865".

<sup>59</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 95-100. "Letter from Lady C. Frere to John Lubbock, dated 20<sup>th</sup> November 1877".



colonies indirectly through vendors, friends and other contacts. For example, Lubbock purchased at auction items from the Shingleton Collection in 1866 collected originally on a scientific and trading exploration in search of the North West Passage and of the fate of John Franklin's 1845 expedition<sup>60</sup>. Lubbock's only excursions out of Western Europe were to the 'Orient' (Asia Minor, Algeria and Egypt) and he purchased a house in Algeria<sup>61</sup>. He collected archaeological material on these trips<sup>62</sup>, and to a very limited extent made ad hoc and value laden ethnographic observations<sup>63</sup>. However, he was almost entirely reliant on direct and indirect colonial sources for his non-western European collecting activity.

The colonial sources illustrate the high level of active contact between society in the colonies and the upper middle class, intellectual community in London. The communication networks developed were able to support this level of contact. Lubbock's contacts were drawn from the military (General Merewether and Captain Pauli, for example), government office (Mont Stuart Grant Duff and William Campbell), the missionary community (reverends Kessler and Bain), and explorers and travellers (including Francis Galton). Some sources were motivated to collect for financial reasons, selling artefacts collected to supplement their income. However, many supplied objects as gifts to collectors at home. Perhaps they wished to feel part of the intellectual establishment and had a natural desire to contribute towards the development of knowledge but also to contribute to using knowledge as a tool in the subjugation of colonised societies<sup>64</sup> (Said, 1995).

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<sup>60</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 9-10. "Catalogue for the auction of the late Mr Shingleton's Arctic Collection made during the voyages in search of Sir John Franklin".

<sup>61</sup> British Library MS Add 62680 32. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 20<sup>th</sup> October 1877".

<sup>62</sup> For example, he collected both archaeological and ethnographic artefacts from his trip to Asia Minor in 1872. Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2 entries 1030-1035". British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 12<sup>th</sup> September 1872".

On a trip to Egypt in 1873 Lubbock collected numerous stone flakes during field-walking which he does not appear to have acquired for his collection but gave to the British Museum. British Museum accession numbers Christy Catalogue 1874 Examples 18-36 inclusive. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated November 1873".

<sup>63</sup> For example, during his trip to Asia Minor in 1872 Lubbock comments *'The Dancing Dervishes we thought very stupid, though it was odd to see people with such a curious idea of religion'*. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry undated 1872".

During the same trip: *'We found a...marriage going on at one of the villages...the dresses were most picturesque; Red Indians would I think have been less so. One woman had on a jacket just like the one I bought for Nelly at Constantinople, it must have cost at least six pounds yet the houses were wretched mud huts'*. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> October 1872".

<sup>64</sup> The relationship between colonial discourse and science was perhaps reinforced by meetings such as the breakfast science party held by Lubbock when colonial premieres came and at which Kelvin, Evans, Frankland and George Darwin were also present. British Library MS Add 62684 24. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> June 1897".



Lubbock's collection provided a microcosm in which non-western material culture was appropriated and used to justify a colonial discourse built on the premise of Western cultural superiority and non-western inferiority. As far as Lubbock was concerned, he was objectively seeking answers to questions that made him and others curious, questions that arose out of colonial activity and an awareness of other cultures existing in the world. However, in the process 'them' and 'us' power dynamics (Said, 1995) existent within colonial discourse were drawn upon and perpetuated.

When information was recorded about ethnographic acquisitions in the Avebury Catalogue it usually included the area of the world from which each item was derived. However, most of the catalogue space was used to record information relating to an artefact's new Western context rather than its non-western origins: date of acquisition, from whom it was acquired, catalogue number assigned and the Western term used to identify it. There was rarely concern to record the original purpose of an item, and no attempt to record what each artefact meant to the person who made and used it. Yet the correspondence Lubbock received in association with some of this material does provide contextual information not included in the Catalogue. The cataloguing process devalued the original ethnographic context and highlighted Western values: the authentication of items in the collection as real and derived from reliable sources<sup>65</sup>; the need to know only in very general terms about an item's original context. The information about 'Us' was more important than the information about 'Them'. Objects were reduced to something that could be catalogued and studied. Items originally diverse in function and meaning were given unity of meaning within a new framework that ignored their original context (Clifford, 1994).

In *Prehistoric Times* and at public exhibition, Lubbock identified the new context of meaning as the sociocultural evolution debate. The collection was used in a public, rhetorical way to perpetuate myths of Western cultural superiority and social progress. The structure of *Prehistoric Times*, and the use of the collections within, reinforced the argument that ethnographic societies were relics of a bygone age in Western Europe that could be used as direct sources of comparison to interpret the evidence left behind by prehistoric societies. The authentication of the collection through the cataloguing process added weight to this argument. Lubbock's use of the term 'savage' to describe non-western people and their material culture in his published work and collection documentation clearly identifies the particular values he placed upon them. The Western intellectual context was superior to the original context of objects as suggested by a comment by Grant Duff in 1884. Lubbock had donated to the British Museum an ethnographic item originally given to him by Grant Duff:

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<sup>65</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 15-16. "Letter from Mr. B. Plant to John Lubbock, dated 13<sup>th</sup> March 1868". Lubbock questions the authenticity of ethnographic material sent by Plant, a wooden bowl and two nets from Australia (AC 595-597). Plant defends the integrity of the collector and friend from whom he acquired them.



*'If the Khurds could only know that you had given your war dress to the British Museum, they would I am sure be as grateful to me as they would be for anything except allowing them to go back to human sacrifice'<sup>66</sup>.*

Through displaying the collection in the library and hall of High Elms as a statement of bourgeoisie class and domestic discourse non-western material culture was also appropriated into a very Western framework of status, gender and aesthetics.

Colonial sources were the people in direct contact with indigenous communities - who else knew more about these things (except the communities themselves, of course!). Attitudes held by colonial collectors influenced the type of artefacts collected and the information provided by them to Lubbock. For example, he acquired stone implements from Accra in Africa via Messrs. Reade and Swanzy in 1870 (AC 841). They had purchased them from local people and were confident of their antiquity because these 'natives' had discovered them in deep rain gullies and because the 'natives are far too lazy to grind stones down in the way in which these have evidently been ground'<sup>67</sup>. Their belief in the authenticity of these stone implements was rooted in an ideological assumption about racial idleness and inferiority. In 1873, Lubbock received a letter from Chas Fairbridge regarding perforated stone implements that he will send on when he acquires them. Some of these had reputedly been used as weights to elongate the clitoris of Hottentot females, although Fairbridge doubts this interpretation<sup>68</sup>. White middle class male values concerning the sexuality of black people potentially influenced the collecting of this ethnographic material culture.

## Conclusion

In this chapter the relationship between the collection and late nineteenth century social discourse has been explored. The collection was primarily an outcome of the sociocultural evolution discourse but it was also an integral part of many other aspects of society. It is embedded with a complex range of meanings that cannot be completely unravelled. To begin making sense of the collection this complexity must be recognised and valued, the collection must be regarded and understood as a multiple statement of discourse.

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<sup>66</sup> British Library MS Add 49647 96-97. "Letter from Mont Stuart Grant Duff to John Lubbock, dated 18<sup>th</sup> October 1834".

<sup>67</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 27-28. "Letter from Mr. Swanzy to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> September [1870]".

<sup>68</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 66-67. "Letter from Chas Fairbridge to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> July 1873".

## ***Chapter 6: Lubbock's Collection as Evidence for Human Agency, Intertextuality and Contingency***

In chapter 5 the collection was discussed as statement of late nineteenth century social discourse. However, its analysis also enables investigation into the role of Lubbock and his collection as active agents within discourse. It is then possible to consider the impact of contingency on the development of the collection and the discourse of which it was part.

### **Lubbock as Agent**

John Lubbock chose to collect prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material. No one forced him, and he could have been involved in the sociocultural evolution discourse without having his own collection. Friends' collections and the British Museum, for example, could have provided access to an increasingly rich resource of relevant study material. However, he made a conscious decision to collect (though perhaps not at the outset) and was motivated to invest resources of time, money and space in the activity. This section argues that Lubbock was an active agent working within the rules and codes of late nineteenth century discourse negotiating his position in the world through selective use of various elements of that discourse, including collecting. He also made an impact upon discourse through various statements including his collection. However, analysis suggests his motivations to collect, use and dispose of the collection altered over time (and to some extent contextually). They are therefore discussed in discrete chronological phases within the collection's narrative (Bal, 1994): the first acquisitions; the 1860s-1870s period; post-1870s; the end of his collection.

### ***The First Acquisitions***

The first acquisition of archaeological and ethnographic material recorded in the Avebury Catalogue is the purchase of 249 Danish prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic artefacts from Vilhelm Boye in 1863. During his visit to Scandinavia in the summer of 1863 he acquired further artefacts by gift, purchase and field collection, and recorded these in his newly obtained catalogue<sup>1</sup>. However, these were not the first artefacts Lubbock acquired, and correspondence suggests he obtained archaeological material from St. Acheul and Robenhausen amongst other sites prior to 1863<sup>2</sup>. The lack of evidence for Lubbock recording the acquisition of this pre-1863

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<sup>1</sup> Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1".

<sup>2</sup> Page 198.



material suggests he did not perceive them as a collection. It is possible he only began to regard his activity as collecting and its product as a collection when Steenstrup gave him the catalogue written by Boye. By 1868, however, when he started the second volume of the Avebury Catalogue he labelled the assemblage of artefacts he had amassed as 'my Collection'<sup>3</sup>.

What were Lubbock's motivations in collecting this early material? They were certainly powerful as the methods of acquisition employed suggest he actively sought to acquire it. He purchased Boye's collection for 20 guineas, no small sum in 1863 given that Hoppen's definition of a middle class person identifies the wage earnings threshold at 100 pounds per annum (Hoppen, 1998). Though the material received from St. Acheul was a gift<sup>4</sup>, Lubbock made the effort to visit Boucher de Perthes and view the site.

Lubbock publicly expressed his views about collecting and the role of collections (Lubbock, 1855: 116):

*'to make collections the end, instead of the means, to collect merely for the sake of collecting, has a direct tendency to narrow the mind.'*

Though he was referring specifically to entomological collections, this attitude suggests he only collected if he had a reason for doing so. This approach generates a focused collection, rather than a random accumulation of unrelated items.

The way this early material was used also suggests his motives were primarily systematic, collecting in accordance with an intellectual rationale rooted in the sociocultural evolution discourse. His field excursions, acquisition of artefacts and gathering of information enabled him to contribute towards the construction of knowledge both during informal discussion at social gatherings and in the public debating arena. He wrote articles for the *Natural History Review* on discoveries at St. Acheul (Lubbock, 1862b), the Swiss lakes (Lubbock, 1862a) and Denmark (Lubbock, 1861). These do not specifically refer to artefacts in his possession but there is a clear relationship between his acquisitions and the sites and issues discussed.

At the Society of Antiquaries meeting in January 1864, Lubbock exhibited axes found by him at Meilgaard during his 1863 Danish visit, and used them to discuss the debate between Steenstrup and Worsaae concerning function (Society of Antiquaries, 1864). In February 1863, Lubbock spoke at the Royal Institute about the Swiss lake villages and used 'specimens' to illustrate his

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<sup>3</sup> Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in Burkhardt et al., 1993: 188. "Letter from Charles Darwin to Charles Lyell, dated 4<sup>th</sup> May [1860]".



lecture<sup>5</sup>. He therefore used his collections as an illustrative aid in the construction of knowledge and its public dissemination. There were no slide projector facilities to illustrate points made in lectures and public discussions<sup>6</sup>, and the real artefact was valued by participants observing first hand the evidence on which ideas were based.

Lubbock's impact upon the sociocultural evolution discourse during the early 1860s was minor. During the 1850s he provided useful comments for Darwin about his developing theory of evolution<sup>7</sup>, and in June 1860 he made a short speech in support of Darwin at the British Association debate between Huxley and Wilberforce (Jensen, 1991). His contribution to the debate about St. Acheul was marginal, but he played a more central role in raising awareness of the Swiss lake villages, Danish discoveries and their implications for human antiquity (Lubbock, 1861; 1862a; 1863). At the 1864 Danish *kjökkenmødding* debate at the Society of Antiquaries, for example, it is Lubbock who is asked first to speak followed by Robert Chambers, Henry Christy, Hugh Falconer, Evans and Franks. Robert Chambers and Hugh Falconer both gave deference to the more detailed knowledge of Lubbock (Society of Antiquaries, 1864).

However, his motives to acquire primary evidence from these sites may also have been about negotiating a position within sociocultural evolution discourse and being a recognised part of it. Lubbock wanted to be taken seriously and his artefact focus worked within the codes of discourse giving his ideas greater authority and validity. He was not a professional scientist but an amateur with a day job as partner in a City banking firm. He came from the new liberal bourgeoisie but he was third generation and becoming part of the establishment. He had attended Abingdon and Eton where many in his class were members of the aristocracy. His background and upbringing was very different to that of Huxley, Tyndall, Evans, Pitt Rivers and Hirst for example. The eldest son of a wealthy and established bourgeoisie family, Lubbock had hereditary advantages that the others did not enjoy or only to a lesser extent. This tension remained throughout his relationship with the sociocultural evolution discourse network, and is explored in more detail

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<sup>5</sup> Kew, Royal Botanical Gardens, Letters to Hooker Volume 14 RBG 178. "Letter from John Lubbock to Joseph Hooker, dated 16<sup>th</sup> February 1863".

<sup>6</sup> Although John Tyndall was able to offer a magnifying projection screen for Lubbock's lecture at the Athenaeum in 1862. British Library MS Add 49639 125-6. "Letter from John Tyndall to John Lubbock, dated 24<sup>th</sup> November 1862".

<sup>7</sup> Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1990: 428-429. "Letter from Charles Darwin to Joseph Hooker, dated 14<sup>th</sup> July [1857]". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1990: 430. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated 14<sup>th</sup> [July 1857]". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1990: 428-429. "Letter from Charles Darwin to Joseph Hooker, dated 14<sup>th</sup> July [1857]". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 105. "Letter from John Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated 10<sup>th</sup> June 1858". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 257. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated 8<sup>th</sup> March [1859]". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 266. "Letter from John Lubbock to Charles Darwin, dated 15<sup>th</sup> March 1859". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 266-267. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated 16<sup>th</sup> [March 1859]". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1991: 267. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated 21<sup>st</sup> [March 1859]".



later. Acquiring artefacts from key sites in the human antiquities debate during the 3 years after the publication of *Origin* was a concrete and material symbol of his direct and active involvement in this dramatic aspect of social discourse.

Involvement in the sociocultural evolution discourse was also perhaps part of a strategy to negotiate a place within broader social discourse. In the period 1859-1863 Lubbock was in his late twenties, a time when individuals begin to clarify what they want from life and define aspirations for the future. As the eldest son in a wealthy family he had several options, from developing the family business to giving up work and concentrating on other pursuits as a gentleman of leisure. He was clearly interested in the natural sciences and human evolution debate and wanted to be an active member of this upper middle class, masculine activity. It must have crossed his mind to devote his life and wealth to that occupation full-time<sup>8</sup>. He certainly spent a considerable amount of his leisure time on travelling with reference to these activities:

*'My holiday this year was devoted to the Swiss lakes & I hope to have an article of some interest on that subject in an early number of the Nat. His. Review'*<sup>9</sup>

His collecting activities also impacted upon his domestic life, which by the early 1860s was quite complicated. He married Nelly in 1856 and had 5 children by 1863. In 1861 they moved into their own house in Chislehurst<sup>10</sup>, perhaps giving Lubbock renewed freedom to acquire material. Previously they had lived in High Elms sharing the space with his parents' large family<sup>11</sup>. Now master of his own home he could collect material and use space as he wished. In 1863, Nelly and John went on an extended tour of Scandinavia, suggesting that from the beginning of his archaeological and ethnographic collecting activity both were motivated to be part of the sociocultural evolution discourse. As parents they were quite happy to leave their children behind for over a month's stay away.

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<sup>8</sup> Darwin certainly encouraged him on numerous occasions to give his life to natural science. Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1990: 180-182. "Letter from Charles Darwin to James Dwight Dana, dated 14<sup>th</sup> July [1856]". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1990: 250-252. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated 27<sup>th</sup> October [1856]". Reprinted in Burkhardt & Smith, 1990: 399-400. "Letter from Charles Darwin to James Dwight Dana, dated 25<sup>th</sup> May [1857]".

<sup>9</sup> Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460, to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 24<sup>th</sup> October 1862".

<sup>10</sup> British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated August 1861".

<sup>11</sup> British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 21<sup>st</sup> February 1857". Described how he and Nelly lived at High Elms in rooms allocated over the garden and one room opposite his mother's bedroom for use as their sitting room.

## *1860s-1870s*

The focused content of Lubbock's collection was present from the beginning. Boye's collection contained both prehistoric archaeological stone implements and ethnographic implements. It was the start of an immediate and clear desire to acquire similar material that did not abate throughout the 1860s and early 1870s. The strong thematic focus of the collection indicates a clear process of selection took place, with Lubbock as agent identifying what and what not to acquire on a daily basis. Lubbock collected over 92% of his archaeological and ethnographic collection during the period 1863-1880, also suggesting conscious decisions were made regarding whether to collect or not.

Acquisition methods and the sources used during this period of intensive collecting indicate Lubbock actively made decisions about the collection's development, and was not just a passive subject influenced by discourse and contingency. Purchases, field collection, commissioning, solicited gifts and exchange were all mechanisms of acquisition concentrated within these two decades, requiring an active commitment of time and money. Purchases, for example, required a financial outlay and private sales without an intermediary involved Lubbock negotiating the purchase with the vendor. Commissions meant correspondence between parties organising and maintaining arrangements<sup>12</sup>, although Evans undertook most of the administration relating to Hallstatt. The frequent use of intermediaries also reduced some of the workload involved in purchases. However, Lubbock sometimes acted as intermediary himself, when he offered to take charge of Petersen's 'little collection of Northern antiquities' and dispose of it for example<sup>13</sup>. Lubbock arranged with Flower to purchase half the collection each<sup>14</sup>, and clearly felt motivated to input the time and financial resources required completing this transaction. The majority of purchased material came from commercial dealers, and it is likely that Lubbock visited these places to view material before purchasing. This input of finance, time and other resources therefore required a degree of individual motivation.

The select group of friends and dealers representing important collecting sources suggest Lubbock was an active agent when it came to developing potential sources rather than relying entirely on ad hoc opportunities. So do his frequent travels to archaeological sites with similar subject matter to the prehistoric focus of his collection. Indeed he gained a reputation for being obsessed with this leisure activity:

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<sup>12</sup> Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. There are 24 pieces of correspondence between Joseph Stapf and John Evans regarding the Hallstatt arrangements dated between 1866 and 1869.

<sup>13</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 11-12. "Letter from Conrad Engelhardt to John Lubbock, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1867".

<sup>14</sup> Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1 entry 549".



*'I being of flesh and blood, with warm heart & warm sympathies seek my companions amid the living and the beautiful not among the dead.'*<sup>15</sup>

The collection analysis therefore suggests Lubbock was highly motivated to collect prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic material during the 1860s and 1870s.

Undoubtedly he was motivated by a desire to continue contributing ideas as part of the sociocultural evolution discourse. Throughout this period he was heavily involved in private and public debate concerning human evolution and antiquity. He held key posts within the discourse: President of the Ethnological Society in 1864-5; President of the International Association of Prehistoric Archaeology in 1868; the first President of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1871-3; Trustee of the British Museum from 1878. Between 1861 and 1873 he published at least 24 articles on archaeological and ethnographic topics in addition to the publication of *Prehistoric Times* (1865; 1869; 1872) and *On the Origin of Civilisation* (1870). *Prehistoric Times* received warm words of praise in reviews (Wallace, 1865, for example) and private correspondence from Darwin, Tyndall and Huxley<sup>16</sup>. He was a founder member of the X Club and a hub in the Lubbock-Evans network (Morris, 1996). Lubbock used his collection primarily as a research tool during this period, and for exhibition within the parameters of sociocultural evolution discourse. It was a systematic collection, focused on a specific intellectual rationale, used and occasionally disposed of within that context.

Lubbock was not a professional archaeologist nor did he contribute much original archaeological work but his impact was the way he synthesised the work of others undertaken on an international scale and popularised it to a middle class audience. This included the translation of foreign works into English<sup>17</sup>. He was also a key advocate of the new geological approach to archaeology (Lubbock, 1866, for example). The collection was fundamental to his synthesising work, bringing together physical evidence from the majority of prehistoric sites and ethnographic communities under discussion. It underpinned the impact he made, and reinforced the presence of geological archaeology. People responded to his published work by donating material to his

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<sup>15</sup> British Library MS Add 49640 108-109. "Letter from John Tyndall to John Lubbock, dated 1863".

<sup>16</sup> Reprinted in Hutchinson, 1914: 148. "Letter from Charles Darwin to John Lubbock, dated June 1865".

British Library MS Add 49641 40-41. "Letter from Augustus Franks to John Lubbock, dated 24<sup>th</sup> May 1865. 'A thousand thanks for your very welcome present. I congratulate you & the world at large on your book being out more especially as I have been telling every one to wait for your book. It fills a great [lacuna] in Early Archaeology & fills it well'.

<sup>17</sup> For example, Lubbock co-ordinated the translation of Sven Nilsson's 1862 work "Skandinaviska Nordens Ur-invanare" into English in 1867-8. British Library MS Add 49642 50-51. "Letter from Sven Nilsson to John Lubbock, dated 8<sup>th</sup> October 1867".



collection. This is perhaps indicative of the national and international influence Lubbock and his collection had within the sociocultural evolution discourse during these two decades.

The collection was a physical marker locating its creator within a professional network. Perhaps because Lubbock came from a different background to many in the Darwinist community he may have felt that systematically collecting archaeological and ethnographic material would enhance his status. To draw upon these artefacts in his work in addition to the collections of others, to be part of a collecting network, to give material to the British Museum, to have his own private research museum and exhibit it at elite sociocultural evolution events. All these aspects of collecting reinforced the validity of Lubbock's ideas and justified his position within the discourse. The exclusion of replicas from his collection suggests he was concerned it only contained the original and authentic - because it was needed to authenticate Lubbock's work itself? However, he did not collect on the scale of Franks, Evans and Pitt Rivers, nor did he record information about his collection in as much detail as Pitt Rivers for example (Thompson & Renfrew, 1999). Though he wanted to be part of that collecting community, he was only a minor player and not motivated to the same degree as others. The content of Evans' collection was intellectually far superior, for example, as suggested by a comment made by Canon Greenwell:

*'I ought to have seen Lubbock's collection before I had seen yours. You have infinitely more and finer...'* (Evans, 1943: 124).

Lubbock recorded the name of his source for each object entered into the Catalogue. There are many practical reasons why this was useful but the Catalogue was also in part, and the collection itself, a reflection of the broader professional network in which he positioned himself. The reciprocal nature of many disposal events, the giving of something in return for a favour given by others, was also partly to secure a place and status within this particular peer network. Donations to the British Museum held prestige and value for example<sup>18</sup>. A friendly collecting rivalry indicated the deeper impact of collecting on the X Club and Lubbock-Evans networks. Status was associated with expertise in collecting and the ability and collection of Evans was admired in particular:

*'Evans has with his [good] luck got some fine things, amongst them some gold from France, what a fellow he is, he always picks up what there is a chance of'*<sup>19</sup>.

The act of collecting reinforced existing bonds and relations between Lubbock and others within the discourse in a very concrete and material way.

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<sup>18</sup> British Library MS Add 49647 96-97. "Letter from M.E. Grant Duff to John Lubbock, dated October 1884". Talks of the honour ascribed to him and the ethnic community from which an object originated by Lubbock giving it as a donation to the British Museum.

<sup>19</sup> British Library MS Add 49643 127 - 128. "Letter from William Greenwell to John Lubbock, dated 14<sup>th</sup> December [1870]".



However, his position as bourgeoisie establishment member within a radical liberal scientific movement still created tension. He was highly respected within the Darwinist community<sup>20</sup>, though not always for his scientific work<sup>21</sup>. He developed a mediating role between the community and views of the establishment (secular and church). In 1863, when Huxley heard that Lubbock had been elected President of the Ethnological Society he became a member of the society which up to then he had criticised as being too traditional in its values and practice<sup>22</sup>. His membership of the X Club provided it with access to political and financial networks within London (Jensen, 1991). His religious mediation is demonstrated by his appointment as the first President of the Metaphysical Society in 1869. In 1871 he became the first President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, a controversial amalgamation of the Ethnological and Anthropological Societies. Lubbock was selected as someone able to strengthen ties between once violently opposing factions within anthropology<sup>23</sup>. His business acumen was also an invaluable asset. When Herbert Spencer was arranging the purchase of *The Reader* in 1864, he asked Lubbock to become a partner for several reasons:

*'I think it is very desirable that you should join in the proprietorship. As a means of strengthening the scientific interests this will be desirable; and also as further guarantee*

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<sup>20</sup> Huxley wanted Lubbock to join the proprietorship of the Natural History Review and may have withdrawn from the transaction if he had declined the invitation. British Library MS Add 49639 14-15. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 17<sup>th</sup> July 1860".

Members of the Darwinist community, including Darwin and Grey lamented the loss to science of Lubbock entering politics. Reprinted in Hutchinson, 1914: 73. "Letter from Charles Darwin, Down House, to John Lubbock dated 25<sup>th</sup> February 1865". British Library MS Add 49641 42. "Letter from W.R. Grey to John Lubbock, dated 25<sup>th</sup> May [1865].

Lyell, Huxley, Busk and others all recommended that Lubbock be offered the Presidency of the International Congress in 1868. British Library MS Add 49642 80-81. "Letter from R. Murchison to John Lubbock, dated 6<sup>th</sup> November 1867".

Edward Tylor asks Lubbock to propose him as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1867. British Library MS Add 49642 55-58. "Letter from E.B. Tylor to John Lubbock, dated 13<sup>th</sup> October 1867".

Lubbock was asked to give the Rede Lecture at the University of Cambridge in 1882 despite not having had a university education and was granted an honorary degree for his work in science. British Library MS Add 49645 117-118. "Letter from James Porter to John Lubbock, dated 13<sup>th</sup> March 1882". British Library MS Add 49645 137. "Letter from James Porter to John Lubbock, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1882".

<sup>21</sup> John Evans for example is said to have been irritated by Lubbock's success and kept his books in the nursery not the library (Sherratt, 1983).

<sup>22</sup> British Library MS Add 49640 53-54. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1863".

<sup>23</sup> British Library MS Add 49642 63-64. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 18<sup>th</sup> October 1867". British Library MS Add 49643 141-142. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1871". British Library MS Add 49643 143. "Letter from Thomas Huxley to John Lubbock, dated 26<sup>th</sup> January 1871".



*of an advanced position on theological and other general questions. Moreover, I think we should benefit much by having your help as a man of business...*<sup>24</sup>

During the 1860s and 1870s, he moved through his thirties and forties. His elevation to the head of the family in 1865 accelerated a general trend towards maturity both in public and private life. Lubbock made many life decisions: to continue working in the banking business, to pursue his scientific interests as a leisure activity and to enter parliament as a liberal politician. His collection was an important hobby, and part of his family life. He was motivated to collect and use his collection for personal family as well as intellectual and public status reasons. His family and friends regularly accompanied him on holidays to archaeological sites, and were involved in the collection of plants, insects and archaeological material (appendix 4.4). In the summer of 1873, Norman, Lubbock's son, was given a school holiday task of making a collection of wild flowers, and Lubbock noted in his diary that all the family were helping him<sup>25</sup>. The museum created at High Elms was regarded as part of the family space. When Lubbock decorated it with white and evergreens on the day of his mother's funeral in 1873 it was quite possible that the collection displayed held memories and meanings beyond the intellectual rationale, relating to his family life and his mother. Thus moving in to Pearce's (1992; 1995) souvenir mode of collecting, symbolising emotions within the personal sphere as well as intellectual argument. Lubbock was probably motivated to collect because he enjoyed the activity involved and because it provided a pleasurable social pursuit in which close friendships and family ties could be strengthened and commemorated.

Lubbock used the collection to locate himself within late nineteenth century masculine discourse, reflecting his attitudes regarding the role of women and men in society. He collected from men with only rare exception, and women, including his wives, played only a marginal and supportive role in his collecting activity. The collection also located him within liberal nationalist and colonial discourse. His Danish connections reinforced the relationship between himself and the liberal intellectual community in Denmark, a relationship tested in 1864 when Lubbock chose publicly to support Denmark despite the opposition of the British Liberal government<sup>26</sup>. Through his attitudes regarding ethnographic material he presented himself as an enlightened liberal philanthropist, who believed indigenous communities were culturally but not physically inferior to Western society. His work and the work of others in this area had an impact upon public opinion regarding race and colonial policy (Stocking, 1987).

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<sup>24</sup> British Library MS Add 49640 174-176. "Letter from Herbert Spencer to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> November 1864".

<sup>25</sup> British Library MS Add 62681 54. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated 13<sup>th</sup> August 1873".

<sup>26</sup> Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1864".



## *Post-1870s*

Lubbock acquired less than 8% of his collection after 1880. He did not stop collecting, continuing to obtain material into the 1900s. However, collecting events were less frequent and methods of acquisition less controlled than in the 1860s-70s. The friends, field activities and commercial dealers that played such an important role previously no longer contributed to the collection. Evans for example last donated an item to Lubbock in 1881 and Joseph Hooker in 1873. During the 1880s-90s acquisitions primarily originated from less controlled ad hoc colonial, international and national networks. Many were unsolicited gifts, a passive form of collecting requiring little effort except an underlying interest and a degree of space to store/ display them. By 1903 all the sources were local suggesting he was no longer part of a wider active collecting network. Decisions to select or decline offered artefacts were more random in nature when contrasted with his collecting activity of the 1860s and 1870s, and appendix 4.4 illustrates how he travelled less regularly to archaeological sites both at home and abroad, especially by the 1890s. A watershed appears to exist in how he used the collection after 1880, shifting from a scientific research focus towards an aesthetic and educational role. The collection became less important as a research tool, and though Lubbock used it in later editions of *Prehistoric Times* he does so in almost an identical way in 1913 as 1869.

The analysis therefore suggests Lubbock was less motivated to collect prehistoric archaeological and ethnographic artefacts by 1880 and these motivations also changed in nature as well as degree. He possibly continued to collect but failed to record his acquisitions comprehensively, but fewer references to collecting relevant material in his diaries and correspondence after the 1870s suggest this is not the case<sup>27</sup>. Even if it were, the fact that he no longer recorded comprehensively indicates some motivational change. Perhaps the act of collecting archaeological and ethnographic material was no longer as important to him, or significant in a different way.

This watershed is mirrored in changes within the wider sociocultural evolution discourse and in Lubbock's personal life. Stocking (1987) has suggested that he largely withdrew from the anthropological scene after the mid-1870s and the collection analysis combines with other evidence to support this argument. His stint as president of the Royal Anthropological Society during 1871-3 was his last presidential role within an archaeological and ethnographic organisation until he was elected president of the Society of Antiquaries in 1904. Between 1874 and 1913, Lubbock published only seven articles and one new book (Lubbock, 1911) on archaeological and ethnographic topics as first editions. None were central to ongoing debates in archaeology and ethnography of the time. He published several further editions of *Prehistoric Times* (1878; 1890; 1900; 1913) and *On the Origin of Civilisation* (1882; 1889; 1902; 1912). In

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<sup>27</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 62680, 62683 and 62684. "John Lubbock Diaries".



1889 he visited Professor Pigorini in Italy to obtain updates on new discoveries in preparation for the 5<sup>th</sup> edition published in 1890<sup>28</sup>. The fact that he published further editions suggests Lubbock never lost an active interest in sociocultural evolution and that the wider audience was still interested in his commentary. However, preparation was less intensive for later editions and publication was driven primarily by demand, coming to the end of a print run, rather than any desire to revise the publication<sup>29</sup>. Revisions updated Lubbock's thoughts in relation to new evidence rather than reflecting radical new ideas. He was still involved to a lesser extent in other ways too. In 1889 he was President of the Anthropological Committee for the Exposition Internationale<sup>30</sup>, and in 1891 he was invited to be Vice President of the Oriental Congress for example<sup>31</sup>. He gave numerous lectures particularly about 'savages' at local societies and educational establishments across the country<sup>32</sup>. In 1894, Tylor asked him to prepare a testimonial about anthropology for submission to the Board of Faculty of Natural Science at Oxford University, asking them to recommend the subject be made a regular Honours subject in the Natural Sciences School on the same footing as Geology:

*'A few lines from you to be laid before the Board of Faculty as to the claims of Anthropology to such recognition especially as to its educational and practical value, may contribute much to the success of this enterprise.'*<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, his collecting post-1870s represented this continued interest in new developments but in a less committed and original way. The acquisition of stone implements from Abydos in Egypt provides a good example. Egyptian prehistory caught the public imagination during the 1880s-90s especially Flinders Petrie's discoveries during the Egypt Exploration Fund project. Abydos was a rich, significant site severely damaged by the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette in the 1850s but systematically excavated by Petrie to shed light on prehistoric occupation of North Africa (Johnson, 1978). Lubbock's rare motivation to purchase material from this site, via the

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<sup>28</sup> British Library MS Add 62683 96-97. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Friday 29<sup>th</sup> November 1889".

<sup>29</sup> *'I presume that you will find some revisions necessary and probably have some additional information to supply, but as it seems to me very desirable to avoid increasing the number of pages - wh means of course increasing the costs - you may possibly be able to compensate for this by some condensation of existing matter...'*. British Library MS Add 49652 74-75. "Letter from Norgate to John Lubbock, dated 11<sup>th</sup> April 1889".

<sup>30</sup> British Library MS Add 49651 151-152. "Letter from Prof. Paul Topinard to John Lubbock, dated 25<sup>th</sup> October 1888".

<sup>31</sup> British Library MS Add 49656 26-27. "Letter from Robert [Daylen] to John Lubbock, dated 26<sup>th</sup> January [1891]".

<sup>32</sup> For example, on Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> January 1887 he gave a very well attended lecture on 'Savages' at Toynbee Hall, London. British Library MS Add 62683 66. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 8<sup>th</sup> January 1887".

<sup>33</sup> British Library MS Add 49660 134-135. "Letter from E.B. Tylor to John Lubbock, dated 14<sup>th</sup> November 1894".



British Museum to provide authenticity, is no surprise given this context. It would have been useful as a research reference but also as a representative sample to satisfy curiosity about the discoveries. Perhaps the acquisition was also part of Lubbock still needing to negotiate his position within the sociocultural evolution discourse. To be active within it, own a collection yet not have examples of Abydos stone implements might have been regarded as a serious omission. As he became less involved in research but still a commentator on human cultural evolution perhaps he felt some pressure to acquire items relevant to contemporary debate. Particularly as his ideas gradually became outdated and critiqued by the emerging cultural anthropological professional school led by Malinowski and Boas ((Hegeman, 1998).

Lubbock's creative energies regarding sociocultural evolution theory had dulled and he had moved on to other intellectual challenges. After 1880 his diaries filled with political, business and botanical/ zoological matters<sup>34</sup>. This shift in Lubbock's interests may have contributed to the loss of drive within sociocultural evolution discourse as a whole and a lack of direction within the X Club. Lubbock had been a liberal MP for 10 years serving the Maidstone constituency and in 1880 he became MP for the University of London. By 1880 he was heavily involved in political affairs (figure 6.1) and the development of the London County Council. He was a founder member in 1888 becoming its Chair from 1890 to 1892 (Elliott, 1994).

His major contribution to the sociocultural evolution discourse post-1880 was political rather than intellectual, the passing of the controversial Ancient Monuments Act in 1882 providing a degree of protection for pre-eminent prehistoric sites in England. He continued an active research interest in science and collecting as a leisure activity, but in the areas of botany, zoology and geology rather than human antiquity and evolution. Throughout his life he undertook evolutionary research on plants and insects, and from as early as 1853 published results in various articles and books, including *Ants, Bees and Wasps* in 1882. He held various offices within prestigious scientific societies during this period, and it is almost as if Lubbock took a sideways deviation into sociocultural evolution for 10-15 years before coming back to his real interests, plants and insects. A later interest in coinage combined his lifelong involvement with currency and his interest in typological evolution, and in 1902 he published a book on the development of coins and currency, *A Short History of Coins and Currency*. His collecting activity in this area, visible from the late 1880s, is a likely outcome of this interest and preparation for the publication of this book. At a simple level, Lubbock just did not have time to pursue archaeological and ethnographic enquiries after 1880, presumably because he did not regard it as a priority in comparison to his other activities<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> British Library MS Add 62683 and 62684. "John Lubbock Diaries".

<sup>35</sup> For example, Lubbock commented, on his election as Trustee of the British Museum: '*If I had been spoken to previously I should have declined, having already so much to do...*'. British Library MS Add 62689. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> March 1878".

Date	Name of Act Passed
1871	Bank Holidays Act
1873	Tithe Communications Act Amendment Act
1874	Apothecaries Act
1874	Falsification of Accounts Act
1875	College of Surgeons Act
1876	University of London Medical Act Amendment Act
1877	Absconding Debtors Act
1878	Dental Practitioners Act
1879	Bankers Books Evidence Act
1880	Wild Birds Protection Act
1882	Ancient Monuments Act
1882	Bills of Exchange Act
1883	Companies Colonial Registers Act
1884	Greek Marriages Act
1886	Shop Hours Regulation Act (limiting the hours of labour of young persons under 18)
1889	Factory Act Amendment Act
1890	Open Spaces Act
1890	Metropolis Management and Buildings Acts Amendment Act
1892	Public Libraries Act
1898	Companies Acts Amendment Act
1900	Seats for Shop Assistants Act
1901	Ancient Monument Act Amendment Act
1903	County Courts Jurisdiction Extension Act
1904	Shop Hours Act (Early Closing)
1905	Closing of Licensed Premises (Christmas Day) Act
1906	Limited Partnership Act
1907	Companies (Debentures) Act
1908	Municipal Franchise Companies Bill
1908	Sunday Closing (Shops) Bill
1908	Importation of Plumage Prohibition Bill

*Figure 6.1: List of Bills introduced by Sir John Lubbock, the first Lord Avebury, which passed into law (after Grant Duff, 1924).*

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*'These Commissions [Royal] are taking up all my time! I have really none for my books on seedlings & senses. I hope I shall never be on another Commission.'* British Library MS Add 62683 77. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup> November 1887".



In 1880, Lubbock was 46 years old. By 1890 he was 56, had been in politics for 20 years, held numerous positions of office within the scientific, political and financial world and was a member of the establishment (plates 6.1 and 6.2). In 1890 he became a member of the Privy Council and in 1900 was awarded a peerage. During this latter period Lubbock's collecting activity partly reinforced his developing position within a powerful political network. In 1886, he visited Greece to study archaeological sites, during which he collected AC entries 1236-1244, and Schliemann arranged an audience for him with the Greek king. In 1890, Lubbock received a donation of implements from Lord Derby (AC 1249-1259). Given that Lubbock did not collect any relevant material in 1889 and only three acquisitions in 1891 perhaps there was more to this acquisition than first appears. Was the donation accepted in part because of the peer network relationship between these two individuals as well as the academic interest in acquiring the collection?

Public exhibition of the collection for local people was partly a response to Pitt Rivers' pioneering educational work within wider sociocultural evolution discourse. However, it also reinforced relationships between the Lubbock family as estate owners and the local population. This relationship was philanthropic, an educational experience undertaken for the betterment of local people. However, open evenings also reinforced existing power relations within the local network, power in terms of money, influence and knowledge. They promoted status quo through change by gradual evolution and self-help rather than revolution. Lubbock, his family and employees actively enhanced the semi-public display of the collection within the domestic space. They went to the expense of having the hall and library redecorated and employing people from the British Museum to undertake the re-hanging. He and his family made the effort to open the doors of their house and let local people into their private domestic space to view the collections. Alice's relationship to the collection appears to have been very much within this domestic, local context, perhaps in contrast to Nelly. Alice was a less adventurous traveller than Nelly<sup>36</sup>. However, she was probably closely involved in the instigation of open evenings for local people, and the 1890 redisplay of the collection in the hall is likely to be an outcome of this general opening out of the collection into a semi-public context.

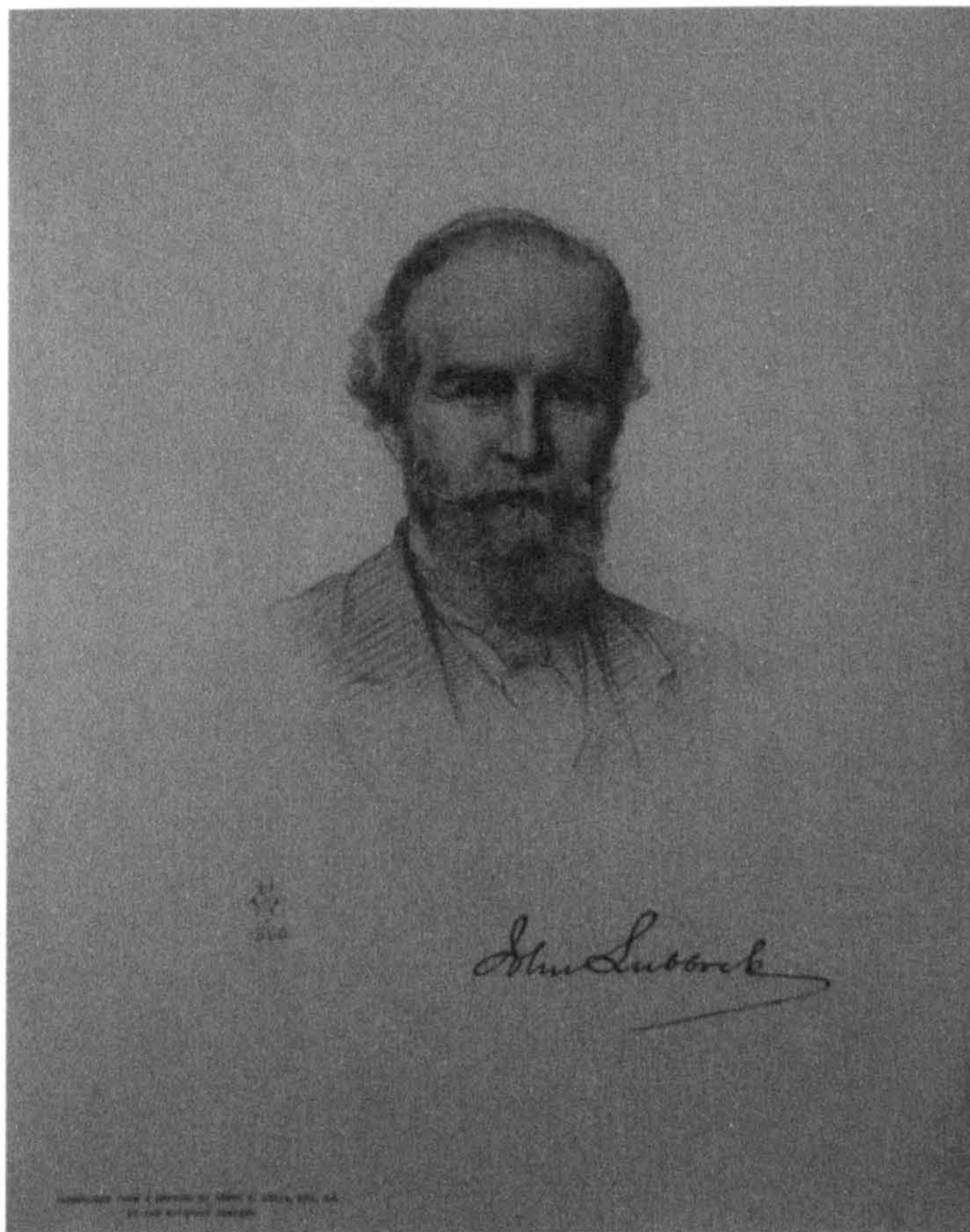
Lubbock's collecting activity also became a focus for reminiscence about his past role in sociocultural evolution discourse. When he received a handaxe from Leonard Lyell in 1885 brought back by Charles Lyell from St. Acheul in 1860 his motivations for collecting were as much remembrance of an admired colleague (Lyell died in 1875) as an interest in acquiring a handaxe from St. Acheul. Fond memories of past field collecting reinforce this idea that the collection acted as personal souvenir in Lubbock's later life, physical markers symbolising an exciting and influential aspect of his past. A poignant letter written to Lubbock by Evans in 1907 reminisced about the past:

*'We hope to enjoy our holiday in Paris and to see some French friends. I am afraid that*

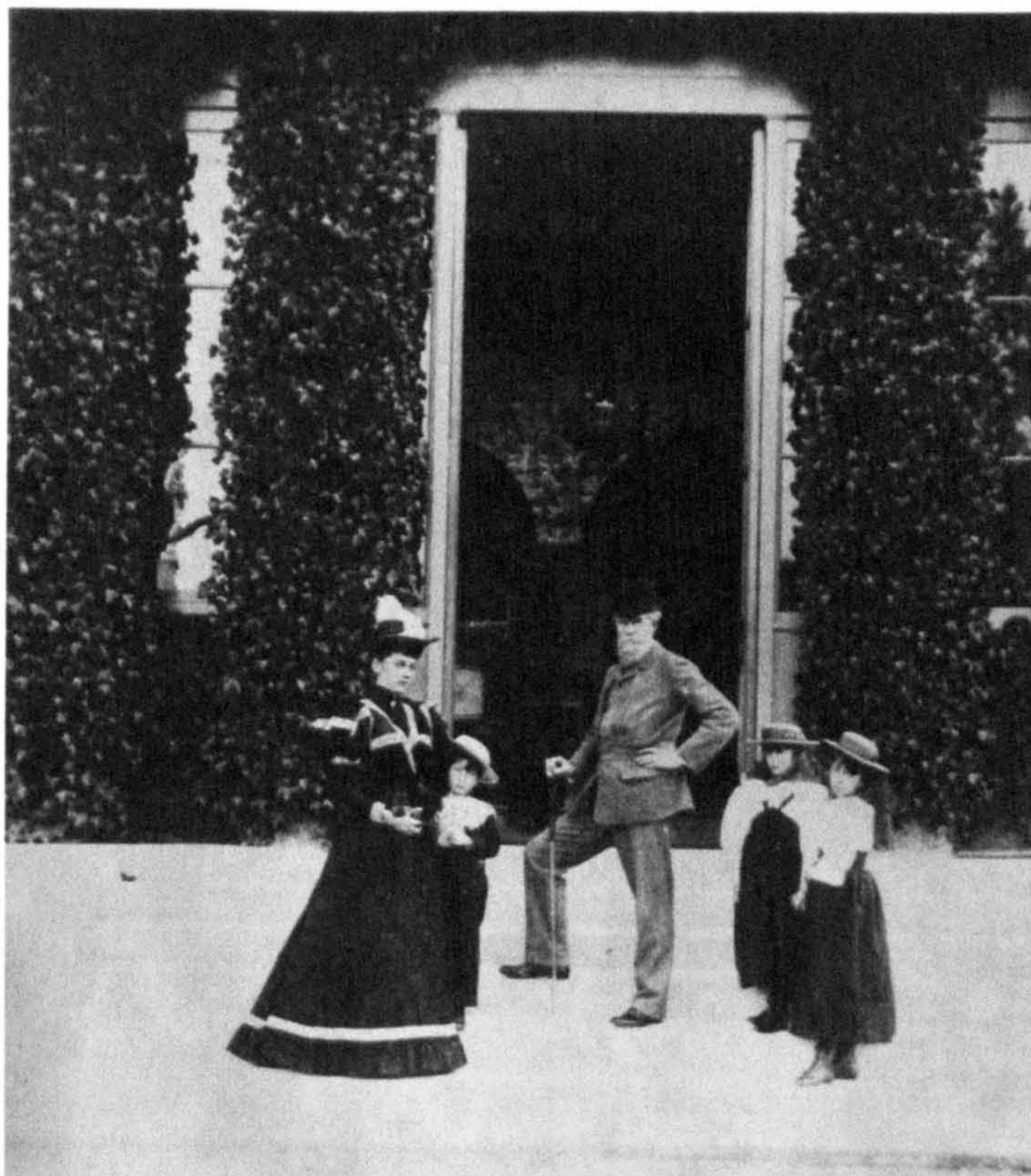
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<sup>36</sup> Page 241.





*Plate 6. 1: Sir John Lubbock in 1896.*



*Plate 6. 2: Sir John Lubbock, Alice, Harold, Irene and Ursula outside High Elms. c. 1892.*



*shall not be able to manage a visit to Amiens as of old. We certainly enjoyed our French travels in early times and it is pleasant to look back on the days when we travelled together whether to Bruniquel or to Hallstatt.*<sup>37</sup>

Similarly, Prestwich provided wistful commentary on past fieldwork in May [1891]:

*Prestwich is 'not up to much fieldwork at present, but it always gives me much pleasure to go out with my old friends so sometime in June or July I shall be very glad to have a day's outing with you and drive to any spot you may like to visit. Do you remember our visit 20 years ago to [Currie Farm] - How the subject has developed since...'*<sup>38</sup>

The power of collections to act as symbols of remembrance can be seen in the gift by Otto Reil of material collected by Reil's late father, Dr. Reil-Bey (AC 1184):

*'I therefore take the liberty to ask you...whether you would allow me to send you the collection in my possession in remembrance of my late father.'*<sup>39</sup>

### ***Dispersal of the Collection***

The final act of collecting archaeological and ethnographic material is recorded as taking place in 1907 (AC 1183-1184). After that date there is no information concerning how Lubbock used the collection nor how he wished it to be cared for after his death. In his will it was incorporated under the umbrella term 'personal property' given primarily to his eldest son, John Birkbeck, the Second Baron Avebury<sup>40</sup>. Lubbock does not appear concerned whether the collection provides a memorial to his scientific work by forming part of a permanent museum collection. Perhaps he no longer regarded it as an active part of sociocultural evolution discourse but something very private to him and his family? His eldest son and Hercules Read at the British Museum instigated the process of partial disposal. The material donated to the British Museum and other provincial museums retained its intellectual and systematic role contributing to a larger research databank, though today it is regarded as a souvenir of late nineteenth century collecting and discourse. The part of the collection left within the Lubbock household became souvenir, a memento of a father, husband, brother and grandfather who was no longer part of their daily lives.

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<sup>37</sup> British Library MS Add 49675 233. "Letter from John Evans to John Lubbock, dated 26<sup>th</sup> December 1907".

<sup>38</sup> British Library MS Add 49656 122-123. "Letter from Joseph Prestwich to John Lubbock, dated 12<sup>th</sup> May [1891]".

<sup>39</sup> British Library MS Add 49645 71. "Letter from Otto Reil to John Lubbock, dated 19<sup>th</sup> September 1880".

<sup>40</sup> P.R.F.D. Probate, Somerset House, London. "The last will and testament of the Right Honourable John Baron Avebury dated 17<sup>th</sup> July 1913".

Lubbock's motivations for creating the collection are complex. His active intellectual role in the sociocultural evolution discourse was the key motive during the 1860s and 1870s, although other personal concerns were also important. By the 1880s personal motivations became more significant and increasingly his collecting and use of archaeological and ethnographic material concerned status and reminiscence.

## **Intertextuality**

Lubbock's collection as a statement of discourse was woven from the ideas and content of pre-existing assemblages of material and actively contributed to statements such as collections and publications (Fairclough, 1995). Its analysis provides an opportunity to explore the intertextuality of this case study in further detail, focusing upon its role within sociocultural evolution discourse.

### ***Constituent Parts of Lubbock's Collection***

The collection consisted of individual elements recontextualised from previous existences. Its content and form were strongly influenced by these previous texts which defined what was available for selection.

The archaeological material originated from the previous lives of those people who made, used and disposed of artefacts to be re-discovered in the nineteenth century. The later discoverers created an artificial, arbitrary assemblage of this material through excavation or casual find. Arbitrary because it was shaped by what survived in the ground, what the discoverers noticed and what they felt to be significant. With field collection, it was Lubbock who created these artificial assemblages directly and these were almost immediately absorbed into the collection. In the process they were recontextualised from a narrative about a single site into one of sociocultural evolution.

The majority of archaeological material he collected however came via other collectors, undergoing a complex process of decontextualisation and renegotiation of meaning. For example, the gold torque Lubbock purchased for £10 from Emerson Norman in July 1870 (AC 843) was found as a casual find at Buttlesea, near Colchester. It was discovered near the surface whilst a mound was removed on which a windmill had stood for many years, and was sold to Mr. F. Spalding of Woodbridge from whom Norman purchased the item for £7<sup>41</sup>. The meaning of this

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<sup>41</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 22-23. "Letter from Emerson Norman to John Lubbock, dated 5<sup>th</sup> July 1870". British Library MS Add 49677 24. "Letter from Emerson Norman to John Lubbock, dated 9<sup>th</sup> July 1870". British Library MS Add 49677 25-26. "Letter from Emerson Norman to John Lubbock, dated 14<sup>th</sup> July 1870".



item changed several times. It retained its historical reference but moved from being part of a narrative relating to a mound in Essex to part of a research tool underpinning the sociocultural evolution debate. In the process it became part of economic discourse, acquired and sold on by Mr. Spalding and by Mr. Norman who ordinarily did not collect this type of material and presumably only purchased it to make £3 profit.

The ethnographic material originated from ethnic communities across the globe living in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Travellers, explorers, missionaries, the military and the colonial administration removed items from these communities. Lubbock never collected items first hand and relied on the action of others, especially dealers, friends and his colonial network. These items were decontextualised from their original codes of meaning, physically removed and reinterpreted within a western framework of science and imperial domination. In the process their meaning was re-negotiated within a capitalist framework. Ethnographic artefacts became financial assets bought and sold by a private concern to make profit. They became part of economic assemblages manifested in shop displays and sales catalogues. Lubbock collected from a number of dealers, especially from Bryce Wright and William Wareham in central London. He first acquired material from Bryce Wright in the same year, 1868, as Wright included within his shop catalogue a list of stone and bronze implements for sale (Cooper, 1999b) suggesting the artefacts bought in this transaction were included within this list.

The ethnographic material Lubbock acquired as gifts through friends and the colonial network were not part of the economic discourse relevant to material derived from dealers. However, they were still elements of a complex intertextual process. For example, William Campbell, based in British Guiana, employed people to obtain archaeological and ethnographic material from the interior, and also received artefacts from Dominica given to him by a Roman Catholic clergyman<sup>42</sup>. These assemblages had been removed from their original context, placed within a framework of colonial support for scientific endeavour and became part of Lubbock's collection and its sociocultural evolution philosophy in 1873 (AC 1065-1067).

The most complex examples of intertextuality are the 18 collecting events involving the acquisition of artefacts from pre-existing collections (figure 6.2). Perhaps the most significant of these (certainly in terms of quantity) was the acquisition of Vilhelm Boye's collection in 1863. Boye had collected Danish prehistoric archaeological artefacts since at least 1855, and recorded these finds in catalogues<sup>43</sup>. He had developed a network of local contacts across Denmark,

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<sup>42</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 64-65. "Letter from William H. Campbell to John Lubbock, dated 18<sup>th</sup> June 1873".

<sup>43</sup> Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet Archives IV 118 Boye. "Catalogues of Vilhelm Boye's 1857-9 Collection and 1860-1862 Collection".

through his work as field archaeologist and acquired material from them on a fairly regular basis (figure 6.3). He also collected material through his own excavation of Danish prehistoric sites.

<b>Pre-existing Collection:</b>	
Sir E. Belcher Collection	Baron Heath Collection
Shingleton Collection	Louis Phillippe's Collection
Petherick Collection	Davis Collection
Elie de Beaumont Collection	Lord Derby Collection
Professor Swallow Collection	Blackmore Museum
Petersen Collection	John Evans Collection
Vilhelm Boye Collection	Joseph Wickham Flower Collection
Tyrwhitt Drake Collection	Comte de Limur Collection
Benjamin Harrison Collection	Neufchatel Museum

*Figure 6.2: Known pre-existing collections from which Lubbock acquired material*

<b>Key Contacts (source of 4 entries or greater):</b>	
Christian Jurgen Thomsen (7 entries)	Dr. Black (6 entries)
Vilhelm Boye (12 + entries)	Lars Pedersen [Kane] (4 entries)
S. Schmidt (4 entries)	Hr. Sanny Paulsen (4 entries)

*Figure 6.3 Key collection contacts of Vilhelm Boye*

His collection included a small group of Greenland Inuit material from an unknown source but presumably associated with the Danish colonial activity in that country. This material was recorded in a separate document to the prehistoric archaeology collection.

Evidence suggests Boye's primary motivation in developing the collection was to prepare a research tool for the study of Danish prehistoric archaeology with particular reference to the relative dating of prehistoric sites and artefacts. He was a student and prodigy of Thomsen, the founder of the Three Age System. However, the collection also became an economic text when Boye was in financial difficulty during the early 1860s. He was an orphan with no sizeable family inheritance to support his work. The collection was sold to Lubbock, via Steenstrup, in order to support his continued involvement in archaeology<sup>44</sup>. Though initially Lubbock may have acquired the collection as a research tool for the study of Danish prehistoric archaeology its

<sup>44</sup> British Library MS Add 49640 48. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated [1]0<sup>th</sup> March 1863".



meaning was rapidly renegotiated to become part of a general statement within sociocultural evolution discourse.

In July 1866, Lubbock acquired Inuit antiquities that were once part of the Shingleton Arctic Collection from a dealer based in Croydon, Crispe & Dracott (AC 417-428 and 463-475). Shingleton was an explorer on several expeditions in search of John Franklin and the North West Passage. He acquired material from Inuit graves and from living Inuit people, and the resulting collection provided a record of Inuit culture for research purposes and to satisfy curiosity about a people regarded believed similar to Western prehistoric ancestors. On his death, Shingleton's collection was sold off and became part of the economic discourse presented in the Crispe and Dracott catalogue published in advance of the sale. When Lubbock acquired elements of this collection they were interpreted primarily within the context of the sociocultural evolution discourse.

Occasionally, the Avebury Catalogue and the objects themselves provide evidence for this intertextual history. For example, Lubbock occasionally noted that items formed part of previous collections:

*'Esquimaux scoop, made of musk ox horn. Shingleton Collection. Pres. by Mr. Flower.'*<sup>45</sup>

*'1/2 a collection made by Mr. Petersen. Bought with Flower through Englehardt.'*<sup>46</sup>

The multiple labelling of objects also provides a visual reminder of the complex origins of many items in Lubbock's collection (plates 4.11, 4.19 and 4.22).

### ***Influence of the Collection on Other Statements of Sociocultural Evolution Discourse***

The argument has already been made that a primary motive for Lubbock's collecting activity was his desire to use the collection as a research and illustrative tool in *Prehistoric Times*. In preparation for writing this book, he collected both objects and information. His *Prehistoric Times* notebooks<sup>47</sup> list the books and articles he read and contain notes about their content. *Prehistoric Times* was constructed from a series of pre-existing discourse statements: Lubbock's

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<sup>45</sup> Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1 catalogue entry 548".

<sup>46</sup> Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 1 catalogue entry 549".

<sup>47</sup> London, Royal Society Archives LUA 3. "Origin of Civilisation". London, Royal Society Archives LUA 5. "Notebook on Archaeology and Travels". London, Royal Society Archives LUA15. "Notebook on Savages".

collection, other artefact collections, published works, correspondence and conversations with other archaeologists, and his own field observations.

Artefact collections are a key source of information for the book, and his collection accounts for c. 35% of collection references in the second edition. The collection's meaning is renegotiated within this broader context, and the relationship between different statements used to reinforce particular views. In chapter 4 (Lubbock, 1865) on tumuli, for example, he argued that where a quantity of stone tools is found in a tumulus with no metal present there is sufficient reason to assign it to the Stone Age. Two case studies were used to support this argument, Møen and West Kennet. In the analysis of the Møen tumulus (1865: 104-107), he referred to items in his collection (acquired from Boye), a description of the site prepared by Boye in the Avebury Catalogue (volume 1), personal communication with Boye and Boye's article concerning the site in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1858:

*'I have in my collection a group of stone implements, consisting of fourteen beautifully made axes, wedges, chisels, spearheads etc., and more than sixty capital flakes, which were all found together, in one of the large Danish sepulchral chambers on the island of Møen, and have been described by M. Boye.'* (Lubbock, 1865: 104).

When discussing the dating evidence for the Danish Kjökkenmödding the collection was used in conjunction with other evidence to explore the relative merit of arguments put forward by Worsaae and Steenstrup (Lubbock, 1865: 191). Worsaae argued these sites should be assigned to a second phase of the 'Older Stone Age' whilst Steenstrup considered them contemporary to the 'Later Stone Age'. In *Prehistoric Times* (1865) Lubbock made reference to items in his own collection<sup>48</sup>, a personal visit by Lubbock to the midden at Meilgaard in 1861, and an ethnographic parallel for the stone axes discovered from the South Seas and now in the British Museum. This section of the book also owed its content to correspondence and verbal discussions with Worsaae and Steenstrup, as well as the published works of both individuals<sup>49</sup>.

The collection played a powerful role combined with other statements of discourse to justify arguments put forward by Lubbock within sociocultural evolution discourse, arguments that other participants spent time and page space supporting or refuting (Evans, 1897; Crawford, 1866; Wright, 1866 for example). Through this impact the collection actively influenced wider discourse. Readers of *Prehistoric Times* are left with the impression that Lubbock's collection underpinned many of the artefact-based ideas presented within. In giving presence to real

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<sup>48</sup> *'Some of the flakes found in the kjökkenmödding are equal to any from the Tumuli; several of those which we found at Meilgaard were more than 5, and one was more than 6 inches in length; while I have in my possession a giant flake from Fannerup (figs. 62-64) given to me by Professor Steenstrup, which has a length of 8 3/4 inches.'* (Lubbock, 1865: 193).

<sup>49</sup> For example, British Library MS Add 49645 3-5. "Letter from Japetus Steenstrup to John Lubbock, dated 28th February 1878".



artefacts the author reinforced a fundamental value: the role of artefacts as fossils and emphasis upon classification and typology in studies of human antiquity.

Chapter 4 outlines how Lubbock's collection was valued as a source of evidence by other commentators within the sociocultural evolution debate. Evans referred to it on four occasions in his seminal work, *Ancient Stone Implements* (1872; 1897). For example, he referred to two Inuit scrapers as case studies when describing stone scrapers. A 'very good specimen of an Eskimo scraper of flint, mounted in a handle of fossil ivory' (Evans, 1897: 298) from the Christy Collection is illustrated but Evans also noted a similar item in Lubbock's collection to expand upon their form (Evans, 1897: 299)<sup>50</sup>.

However, Lubbock's collection was a minor contributor to debate compared to other collection sources used by Evans and others. This is perhaps reflected in the way that Evans illustrated the Christy Collection scraper (although a woodcut of Lubbock's scraper would have been readily available if Evans wished to use it considering it was published as an illustration in *Prehistoric Times*). At the Society of Antiquaries Palaeolithic exhibition held in May 1871, the primary contributors were Charles Lyell (73 items), John Evans (72 items) and Pitt Rivers (64 items). Lubbock only contributed 12. For the exhibition of Neolithic implements held in November, the primary contributors were Evans (225), Pitt Rivers (181), Joseph Wickham Flower (65) and Franks (61). Lubbock contributed 24 items. Therefore Lubbock's collection did contribute to other statements within sociocultural discourse, but did not play as significant a role as it did within his own publications, primarily *Prehistoric Times*. Its intellectual value, and perhaps the status of Lubbock as a collector, was less prestigious compared to the collections of Evans, Franks and Pitt Rivers. Interestingly, he made no reference to the collections of Evans or Pitt Rivers in *Prehistoric Times* (first and second editions).

Through disposal the collection formed an intertextual relationship with other collections. All but two of the instances in which Lubbock disposed of material during his lifetime involved material which he collected but never formally entered into his archaeological and ethnographic collection. For example, he presented items from Naples to Evans during the 1860s and 1870s<sup>51</sup>. The three prehistoric copper alloy artefacts each have two labels on them. One is hand-written by Lubbock directly onto the item in black ink 'Naples april 1868', and the other is a gummed label with Evans' handwriting in black ink on it 'Bt. by JL Naples'. Evans' label indicates that Lubbock's gift was incorporated into his collection becoming an integral part of this important statement of sociocultural evolution discourse. The presence of Lubbock's mark suggests he acted as an intermediary between the vendor in Naples and Evans' collection. All three items are now

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<sup>50</sup> Page 204-205.

<sup>51</sup> Page 212.



accessioned into the Ashmolean Museum collections<sup>52</sup>, and their meaning has been renegotiated as a symbol of the Ashmolean's nineteenth and early twentieth century history: they are now identified as part of the Sir John Evans' Collection.

Catalogue entries shed light on the intertextual role played by collections disposal in two instances. At an unknown date, Lubbock donated Danish material originally acquired by him in 1863 from Sally Henriques in Copenhagen to Flinders Petrie. These items were acquired by an archaeologist who during the 1870s and 1880s made major discoveries concerning the ancient civilisations of Egypt. Lubbock also presented pottery from Patagonia originally acquired as a gift from Dr. Ramm Lista in November 1878 to the British Museum again at an unknown date<sup>53</sup>. It became part of one of the world's major artefact research databases, available to all (validated users) and in perpetuity.

After his death, a considerable percentage of Lubbock's collection also became part of this major British Museum database. Read selected only certain items for the museum collection and chose not to acquire others. Did the Lubbock family want to retain some of the collection thus making selection essential, or did Read only want selected items? The latter is more likely given that some material Read selected was not kept by the British Museum but passed on to provincial museums. There was no strong desire to keep the collection together, or to regard it as important in its own right. Its intellectual value was derived from individual elements within it, especially the Hallstatt group of material and the specimens illustrated in *Prehistoric Times*. The collection's intertextuality in this context did not involve the collection as an entity but individual elements within. This is in contrast to the almost wholesale transfer of the collections of Evans and Pitt Rivers to their various museums (Evans, 1943; Bowden, 1991).

The interest in items illustrated in *Prehistoric Times* deserves more than passing comment. Elements of a collection which once held meaning within the sociocultural evolution discourse derived new meaning within an archaeological classification system but also as symbolic representatives of another historical statement of discourse. The group of material acquired by the British Museum in 1916 was accessioned as one (1916.6-5) and linked with illustrations in *Prehistoric Times* (Seventh edition) in the accession register. However, it was then dispersed throughout the collections according to subject matter. It is not labelled the 'Lubbock or Avebury' collection and does not retain a cohesive identity. This is in contrast to the more recent history of the rest of Lubbock's collection not disposed of in 1916, as discussed in chapter 3.

We have only considered the intertextual nature of Lubbock's collection within statements of sociocultural evolution discourse, but his collection was a statement in other spheres of discourse

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<sup>52</sup> Ashmolean Museum accession numbers 1927.1396, 1927.1429 and 1927.1430.

<sup>53</sup> No record of this donation has been identified in the British Museum archives to date.



and its intertextuality within these can also be explored. For example, the collection and its component parts were recontextualised within the domestic space of High Elms and combined with other statements to reinforce bourgeoisie domestic, class and gender values. It was a symbol of the intellectual knowledge and status of its owner in a society where such knowledge was an asset associated with power and influence. It was also an asset associated with individuals wealthy enough to spend time and money acquiring it and part of a masculine discourse enabling access to the sources of information and social opportunities required. This symbolic meaning was reinforced through its intertextual association with other statements of discourse: the display of the collection in the male and semi-public spheres of the house; the Italianate villa-style architecture of High Elms; the exclusive showing of collections to guests; the philanthropic open evenings held at High Elms for local people. These statements combined to reinforce the perception of Lubbock as a wealthy, influential and masculine member of imperial bourgeoisie society in late nineteenth century London.

The collection forms a transient statement in a fluid and dynamic landscape of discourse. Artefacts were acquired from diverse sources and renegotiated in many different ways within the framework of the collection to create a range of discourse statements, and this process of negotiation and meaning construction continues today.

## Contingency

Contingency influenced the very existence of Lubbock's collection and its content (Bintliff, 1999). It provided initial sensitive conditions within which his collecting activities developed and determined in part the material available to collect.

The beginning of Lubbock's collection was a contingent event. His father was a renowned scientist, and through him Lubbock gained access to networks including Charles Lyell, Richard Owen, Joseph Prestwich and George Busk. Lubbock's fortuitous discovery of musk ox skeletons in gravel pits at Maidenhead and Green Street Green, Kent enhanced this access. Darwin's purchase of Down House in 1842 set the scene for Lubbock's involvement with the Darwinist community from the 1850s. On Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> June 1854, for example, he dined with the Darwins to meet Francis Galton, 'the South African traveller'<sup>54</sup>. On Friday 27<sup>th</sup> October 1854, he dined at Down House to meet Sir Charles and Lady Lyell and Dr. and Mrs. Hooker<sup>55</sup>. He made regular

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<sup>54</sup> British Library MS Add 62679 44. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Thursday 15<sup>th</sup> June 1854".

<sup>55</sup> British Library MS Add 62679 50. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Friday 27<sup>th</sup> October 1854".



excursions on his own to see Darwin<sup>56</sup>, and would also frequently take a walk with guests to visit Down House especially on Sundays when people stayed at High Elms for the weekend<sup>57</sup>. During the 1850s he worked on Darwin's collections<sup>58</sup>. These contingent factors influenced his developing interest in natural history, the study of museum collections and fieldwork.

Lubbock acquired Boye's collection in 1863 as a direct outcome of his involvement in the study of natural history: at an intellectual level in the development of his theoretical stance, and in a practical context by providing the network through which the acquisition was made. Lubbock acquired Boye's collection because he wanted a representative collection of archaeological type specimens from Denmark to use as a research tool. He believed the application of geological and palaeontological principles to the study of human antiquity was valid, and the artefacts people left behind in the past were akin to fossils to be studied using the same scientific techniques. He acquired this collection through networks developed during a visit to Denmark in 1861 with Busk during which he met the zoologist, Japetus Steenstrup. Steenstrup and Lubbock exchanged frequent correspondence during the early 1860s and met on a number of occasions. Steenstrup was the means by which he became aware of and acquired Boye's collection.

Other contingent factors also shaped the beginnings of his collecting activity. Boye acquired material discovered by various individuals across Denmark primarily as a result of agricultural activity. He collected this material through a network of local contacts developed over several years, partly through his work as an archaeological field researcher at the Nationalmuseet<sup>59</sup>. Boye did not come from a wealthy background but from a modest upbringing and in 1863 was forced to sell his archaeological collection to continue his archaeological work. However, he was able and prepared to copy his catalogue in English for Lubbock as part of the sale contract. If he had not done so Lubbock may not have begun to catalogue the archaeological and ethnographic material he amassed, an important element in its identity as a collection.

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<sup>56</sup> For example, in February 1853, he went to see *'Mr. Darwin for a little advice'*. British Library MS Add 62679 9. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1853".

In September 1873, Lubbock rode up to Down House to see Mr. Darwin. British Library MS Add 6268156. "John Lubbock Journal entry dated Monday 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1873".

<sup>57</sup> For example, in March 1877, Gladstone, Huxley and Lyon Playfair arrived at High Elms, and on Sunday walked up to see Darwin. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated 10<sup>th</sup> March 1877".

In June 1880, the Spottiswoodes, Hookers and Busks came to High Elms and the party called on Darwin during the day. British Library MS Add 62680. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> June 1880".

<sup>58</sup> For example, *'I have been sorting out the freshwater species of Mr. Darwin's South American Crustacea'*. British Library MS Add 62679 57. "John Lubbock Diary entry dated Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> November 1853".

<sup>59</sup> Personal communication: Interview with Jørgen Jensen, Curator, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, September 1998.



Once Lubbock began to perceive this group of artefacts as a collection to be developed and recorded in a formal way his collecting activity began to develop a momentum, a sustainable complexity, within which there was clear purpose and intent. This is particularly the case during the period 1863-1880 when over 92% of the collection was acquired in accordance with a strong thematic focus. Active forms of collecting and regular collecting networks were used. Contingency played a lesser role during this collecting phase when Lubbock appears to have been in control of what he did and did not collect. However, historical accident still had a role in shaping collection content and his collecting behaviour. Greenwell's quote concerning Evans' collecting aptitude suggests that in all collecting activity random opportunity and individual skill work together to create the collection:

*'Evans has with his [...] luck got some fine things, amongst them some gold from France, what a fellow he is, he always picks up what there is a chance of.'*<sup>60</sup>

The preponderance of lithic materials (67%) in the collection's archaeological component is primarily a reflection of the survival properties of material buried in the ground over long periods of time. Even if organic material did survive, techniques available to recover it during the late nineteenth century were underdeveloped and micro-evidence that now would be obtained as a matter of course was often overlooked.

The sites from which artefacts were acquired were influenced by contingent circumstances surrounding their discovery, involving accidents of nature and the impact of economic and industrial developments. The latter in particular exposed many archaeological deposits previously left undisturbed. Deeper ploughing and greater use of agricultural land, the building of railways, the spread of urban sprawl and quarrying for raw materials increased the rate of discovery of archaeological sites and artefacts. Lake villages in Switzerland were discovered in the 1850s as a consequence of exceptionally low water levels. Weather at Hallstatt had a significant influence on the success of excavations at the Iron Age cemetery site, especially during the very disappointing and rainy summer of 1866<sup>61</sup>. An earthquake on the South American coast near Arica in 1868 produced a tidal wave that opened an ancient burial mound of sand exposing interments. Among the corpses were artefacts that midshipman Mr. La Coste of HMS Malacca collected and later gave to Reverend C.L. Acland. Acland gave Lubbock this collection of Peruvian pottery and stone tools (AC 899) in November 1870<sup>62</sup>. River gravel sites containing Palaeolithic stone tools were uncovered during gravel extraction to supply gravel for railway

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<sup>60</sup> British Library MS Add 49643 127-128. "Letter from Canon William Greenwell to John Lubbock, dated 14<sup>th</sup> December [1870]".

<sup>61</sup> Ashmolean Museum, John Evans Archive. "Letter from Joseph Stapf to John Evans, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1866".

<sup>62</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 31-32. "Letter from C.L. Acland to John Lubbock, dated 1<sup>st</sup> November 1870".



construction. In 1898, for example, Lubbock acquired flint implements from James Ralls, who had received them from workmen quarrying a river gravels site belonging to South West railway between Chard Junction and Axminster<sup>63</sup>.

Within Western Europe and occasionally in North Africa, Lubbock chose to travel visiting sites and acquiring relevant material. He also drew upon other members of the broader collecting network, such as Evans or Pitt Rivers, who travelled widely in this area. These acquisitions were influenced by discourse, individual agency and by contingent factors. The latter included the relative ease of travel in certain countries, potential barriers being communications, travel networks, language, culture or safety. During civil unrest even countries usually considered safe might be avoided, Denmark for example during 1864. The posting of artefacts from the international network was also dependent upon quicker and reliable sea transport networks as well as the political stability of any country at a given moment. In 1864, for example, the publication of *Prehistoric Times* was delayed because woodcuts for illustrations coming from Denmark could not be sent due partly to the war over Schleswig-Holstein<sup>64</sup>.

Contingent factors perhaps played a greater role in the acquisition of items from outside Western Europe where Lubbock had less direct control over how and what items were collected and was totally dependent upon secondary sources. This lack of control is perhaps reflected in the fact that only 20% of his archaeological collection derived from outside Western Europe. A significant contingent influence on the acquisition of this material was the territorial map of the British Empire. He collected ethnographic material for example primarily from London dealers and a colonial network. The latter consisted of people based in the British colonies, and dealers also acquired their material from people travelling throughout the Empire. Therefore, the collection was fundamentally influenced by the initial sensitive condition that it was created within an imperial context. When Lubbock purchased ethnographic material from dealers and private individuals he might have asked for particular items and might have selected the most appropriate vendors, but ultimately he was restricted to the choice of material they and their sources made available. Selective processes took place further down the supply chain, influenced by market demand and contingent factors influencing the commodity available. This explains the predominance of Australasian material in the ethnographic collection, Australia and New Zealand being core elements of the British Empire. The quantity of Inuit artefacts reflects in part a desire throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to identify a North West passage in the Arctic region, a trading route that would improve trading and communication links with other parts of the Empire.

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<sup>63</sup> British Library MS Add 49677 156-157. "Letter from James Ralls to John Lubbock, dated 17<sup>th</sup> September 1898".

<sup>64</sup> Copenhagen Royal Library, 38 Letters from Lubbock to Steenstrup, 1861-1896, NKS 3460 to. "Letter from John Lubbock to Japetus Steenstrup, dated 19<sup>th</sup> February 1864".



Lubbock's collecting behaviour was also influenced by his contingent financial and economic status within society. His accounts (appendix 5.1) demonstrate he was a man of means, born into a position of wealth and opportunity that certainly supported his ability and desire to pursue his collecting activities. If he had not been born into a new bourgeoisie household based in London as the eldest son with a scientist father, he may or may not have become involved in the collecting activity pursued<sup>65</sup>.

After 1880 Lubbock's collecting gradually declined in relevance and importance, and to an extent this was a consequence of other contingent factors. His developing interest in politics, botany and zoology limited the degree to which he could expend resources on collecting archaeological and ethnographic material. Historical accident probably played a considerable role in collecting post-1880, with an increase in random collecting events involving ad hoc sources outside his close intellectual network. The chronological profile of his collection is only possible to post-dict, and was not the result of any conscious decision made by Lubbock.

The impact of sensitive initial conditions at the collecting stage also influenced how the collection was used. Its content promoted the particular lines of research pursued by Lubbock, and the selection of items to illustrate and discuss in *Prehistoric Times*. Emphasis on the Danish archaeological evidence in the first edition possibly reflected the fact that in 1865 Danish archaeological material constituted a very significant percentage of his collection. Of course the inverse relationship is also true - that it was Lubbock's interest in Danish archaeology that resulted in so much relevant material. Certainly the content of his collection influenced the examples he used, and the items illustrated.

Contingent factors also shaped the display presented for visitors to High Elms. The 1900 layout described in the Avebury Catalogue suggests aesthetics contributed significantly to the way items were displayed<sup>66</sup>. The size and shape of the walls in the library and the hallway would also have influenced the layout. The fact that Mr. Oldland was able and willing to visit High Elms, and that Franks was in a position to release him to do so, shaped the 1890s display outcome. As a result of marrying Pitt Rivers' daughter, Alice, in 1884 Lubbock visited Rushmore relatively frequently and it is no coincidence that Lubbock started opening up his house and collections to local people only after Alice became part of the family.

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<sup>65</sup> He certainly would not, for example, have visited the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace as often as he did in 1854 without the financial support and encouragement of his family circle. British Library MS Add 62679 33-55. John Lubbock Diary various entries.

<sup>66</sup> Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".

Lubbock's collecting behaviour was also influenced by his contingent financial and economic status within society. His accounts (appendix 5.1) demonstrate he was a man of means, born into a position of wealth and opportunity that certainly supported his ability and desire to pursue his collecting activities. If he had not been born into a new bourgeoisie household based in London as the eldest son with a scientist father, he may or may not have become involved in the collecting activity pursued<sup>65</sup>.

After 1880 Lubbock's collecting gradually declined in relevance and importance, and to an extent this was a consequence of other contingent factors. His developing interest in politics, botany and zoology limited the degree to which he could expend resources on collecting archaeological and ethnographic material. Historical accident probably played a considerable role in collecting post-1880, with an increase in random collecting events involving ad hoc sources outside his close intellectual network. The chronological profile of his collection is only possible to post-dict, and was not the result of any conscious decision made by Lubbock.

The impact of sensitive initial conditions at the collecting stage also influenced how the collection was used. Its content promoted the particular lines of research pursued by Lubbock, and the selection of items to illustrate and discuss in *Prehistoric Times*. Emphasis on the Danish archaeological evidence in the first edition possibly reflected the fact that in 1865 Danish archaeological material constituted a very significant percentage of his collection. Of course the inverse relationship is also true - that it was Lubbock's interest in Danish archaeology that resulted in so much relevant material. Certainly the content of his collection influenced the examples he used, and the items illustrated.

Contingent factors also shaped the display presented for visitors to High Elms. The 1900 layout described in the Avebury Catalogue suggests aesthetics contributed significantly to the way items were displayed<sup>66</sup>. The size and shape of the walls in the library and the hallway would also have influenced the layout. The fact that Mr. Oldland was able and willing to visit High Elms, and that Franks was in a position to release him to do so, shaped the 1890s display outcome. As a result of marrying Pitt Rivers' daughter, Alice, in 1884 Lubbock visited Rushmore relatively frequently and it is no coincidence that Lubbock started opening up his house and collections to local people only after Alice became part of the family.

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<sup>65</sup> He certainly would not, for example, have visited the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace as often as he did in 1854 without the financial support and encouragement of his family circle. British Library MS Add 62679 33-55. John Lubbock Diary various entries.

<sup>66</sup> Bromley Museum. "Avebury Catalogue Volume 2".



## **Conclusion**

Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection was shaped by human agency and contingency as well as the discourse in which it was located. It also made a unique contribution to wider discourse through its intertextual relationship with other statements involving the renegotiation of its meaning over time and space. Chapters 5 and 6 have explored each of these aspects in turn, and it is now essential to tie all these threads together and explore a holistic meaning for the collection.

## ***Conclusion: Tying the Threads of Meaning Together***

The collection is an accumulation of knowledge seeking to reveal details of human antiquity and evolution. However, it is also a statement in a fluid and dynamic landscape of discourse in which the collection, Lubbock and historical accident play an active role. We have analysed the collection as a state of affairs, as an entity that physically exists and about which we have certain information. We have then interpreted it as a statement of discourse, but also as an act of human agency which itself contributes to the development of discourse, and which is influenced by contingent factors acting upon it. The collection provides a good case study for exploring the inter-relationship between all of these elements.

In the beginning the collection was developed within the sociocultural evolution discourse of the 1860s. It was a typical statement in that context and was used by Lubbock as a private research databank supporting his ideas. He drew together artefacts from a diverse range of sources to create a single entity shaped by and upholding sociocultural evolution values. It was part of a meta-collection created especially in London for research and educational purposes developed by a small core group of individuals and institutions reliant on loose networks of national, international and colonial sources that the London scientific elite could not have developed without. It was a minor part of this meta-collection - important to Lubbock but of marginal interest to others within the elite. The collection was also part of a strategy adopted by him to develop his own self-identity and negotiate a position for himself within the scientific community. It helped to define the synthesising and mediating role Lubbock played as well as validating and authenticating the position of an amateur in an increasingly professional sphere. The collection underpinned the impact he made as an advocate of the geological approach to archaeology, the Three Age System, ethnographic analogy and his major synthesising work *Prehistoric Times*. These contributions were hotly supported or refuted by other participants within the discourse and influenced the values, knowledge construction and social practice that emerged.

However, the collection was a multiple statement of discourse shaped by values within broader social discourse. It was the product of a liberal upper middle class bourgeoisie discourse both in terms of content and form. It was a statement against the Established Church but also an attempt by Lubbock to reconcile his complex views regarding the relationship between religion and science in a physical, concrete way. It was part of his strategy to arbitrate between God, Church and science and underpinned his role as mediator within the intellectual community. The collection reflected his central role within domestic arrangements at High Elms and was clearly part of family life and the semi-public sphere of domesticity. Lubbock combined it with other social practice to create an ensemble that positioned himself and the Lubbock family within their desired class and political context. Women played a marginal role in Lubbock's collecting activity and the collection itself was used as a research tool to develop arguments supporting



traditional Victorian gender values. It was a 'typical' masculine activity reinforcing Lubbock's position within society in relation to gender discourse. However, women did have a role in creating and using the collection and it perhaps reflects the ambiguity present in Lubbock's views regarding women. The international nature of the collection possibly reflects the British liberal idea prevalent during the 1860s and 1870s that Britain was 'above and beyond' nationalism, keen to develop a form of superior 'internationalism' even to the extent of creating an archaeological research resource. The collection also represented the appropriation of non-western culture by Western society justifying key values of colonial discourse especially the subjugation and perceived inferiority of non-western societies in relation to Western culture and knowledge. Through pursuing an intellectual activity so closely tied into the dominant values and beliefs of the day, Lubbock was not just undertaking a hobby and contributing to knowledge construction in an area of interest to him. He was also locating himself in a position of power and influence within society, a position that reinforced his growing influence within the world's leading financial centre, the City of London, and in politics.

After the 1870s Lubbock's collecting of archaeological and ethnographic material entered into a new phase of development. It still formed part of the sociocultural evolution discourse but became more of a multiple statement, with Lubbock's motivations for collecting, using and keeping the collection changing in emphasis. He was still involved in the sociocultural evolution discourse but adopted a marginal role commentating from the sidelines through lectures and further editions of *Prehistoric Times* and *Origin of Civilisation*. His collecting during the 1880s and 1890s reflects this need to keep in touch with new events. It also clearly became part of a broader systematic collecting process involving the acquisition of primarily botanical and zoological specimens, reflecting Lubbock's increased activities in these areas. The collection was still part of a strategy to create and sustain self-identity within the scientific discourse but from the perspective of reminiscence as a souvenir reminder of Lubbock's participation in the dynamic debate of the 1860s and 1870s. This influenced both his collecting activity and use in later years but also significantly the fact that he did not get rid of the collection.

The collection as statement of power and status within class discourse took on a new form during the 1880s and 1890s, especially its use in open events to promote a particular liberal political creed amongst local people living near High Elms. During the 1880s and 1890s the optimism of earlier liberal policy suffered a severe blow as a result of various economic and colonial failings, and a mood of pessimism and working class unrest emerged questioning the concept of social progress. Again the role of the collection in this context was marginal and localised seeking to appease opinion within the immediate sphere, in contrast to Pitt Rivers initiatives of much wider public appeal. Lubbock's acquisition of artefacts from MPs and members of the aristocracy reflects his closer involvement in these circles but also perhaps form part of Lubbock's strategy as a member of the new bourgeoisie to strengthen his social position within the corridors of power. The collection became a place where the radicalism of the sociocultural discourse during the



1860s was tempered when the values, participants and practice within that discourse became part of the establishment after the mid-1870s.

However, the collection also clearly held personal meaning within the domestic context of High Elms and the Lubbock family. It was a souvenir of the family's involvement in the world-changing debate catalysed by Darwin's publication of *Origin*, and as such was a symbol of intellectual and power status. It was also a souvenir of past family experiences and relationships with individual family members and close friends that the family wanted to remember. The collection of artefacts expressed these memories in a physical, tangible way. For Lubbock himself he may have looked at specific objects and recalled collecting events and uses in which his first wife, his mother or his close friends participated. The collection may also have acted as a concrete reminder of the contributions he made to wider scientific and social discourse at what was a formative and undoubtedly exciting time of his life. A collection in which to be proud because of what it represented. When Lubbock himself died, it may well have acted as a source of pride and status for his close family, a concrete reminder of his once dominating presence within the domestic, and to an extent, public context. A focal point of memories, as it is today.

Threading through all of the above is the role of contingent factors in shaping the collection. These combined with the nature of late nineteenth century discourse and Lubbock's personality to determine what was collected, the collecting activities pursued and the way the collection was used and ultimately disposed of. It is this combination that creates the uniqueness which is Lubbock's collection - though it forms part of a pattern of archaeological and ethnographic collections created within this context it still holds a distinctiveness which is its own.

Through this unique collection we have explored the nature of late nineteenth century sociocultural evolution discourse in more detail, from the specifics of Lubbock's collection and role to the broader questions of the role of collections and individuals in general. We have considered how his social position and interests enabled him to participate in the discourse and undertake the collecting activity pursued. The collection sheds light on his key research interests, the network of contacts developed and how the collection underpinned his contributions to debate. Analysis suggests that discourse is a key influence on social practice but the role of the individual and the impact of historical accident are also important. In order to understand social structures it is necessary to take an integrated approach.

At a broader level this thesis demonstrates that collections are an essential piece of evidence for a greater understanding of the nature of sociocultural evolution discourse providing an extra texture of meaning that enables the exploration of relationships between individuals, discourse and contingency. Further research into individual collections developed within this context should be undertaken and combined with research into other sources of written evidence to produce a more holistic approach to writing histories of archaeology. Collections are accumulations of objects but



they are also so much more, and the wealth of evidence waiting to be discovered which can then be used to explore meaning is considerable. This thesis provides an example of how this can be achieved, and the wealth of potential held even by small collections. It is important to explore the meaning of minor as well as major collections because both contribute significantly to the construction of a picture concerning late nineteenth century discourse.

This thesis has explored the meaning of Sir John Lubbock's archaeological and ethnographic collection from a particular perspective: as a creation of an individual within a late nineteenth century social context. However, since that time the meaning of the collection as an entirety and individual objects within have been renegotiated in numerous contexts and can be perceived today from a number of different perspectives. As a twenty-first century artefact primarily situated in two museums, Bromley Museum and British Museum, it represents a resource primarily for the study of the history of intellectual study rather than an academic archaeological resource. As a society our desire to retain it within that context is interesting in itself. It is a desire rooted in a value system that places considerable weight on great individuals and the importance of late nineteenth century cultural values and practice in our own society. Though the collection can now be used to explore Victorian society from a more critical perspective influenced by postmodernism its very continued existence is a sign that modernist values are still very much a part of ourselves. Research into these more recent meanings of the collection would be valuable in its own right and would facilitate critical reflection on the nature of our own society, the role of intellectual study, museums and collections of material culture within. This study is beyond the remit of this thesis and would undoubtedly lend itself to a further research project of its own.

Every object tells a story, and the collection of archaeological and ethnographic objects under discussion in this thesis has many to tell. We have only touched the surface of meaning in the collection but have clearly demonstrated the relationship between the collection, John Lubbock and late nineteenth century social discourse.

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# ***Appendix 3.1: Avebury Catalogue Database Table***

## ***Data Structure***

### **Sources**

Information recorded in *Aveburycatalogue* has been derived from the following sources:

- Avebury Catalogue
- John Lubbock's correspondence at the British Library, Royal Society and with the Lubbock family
- John Lubbock's diaries and notebooks at the British Library, Royal Society and with the Lubbock family
- Correspondence of John Evans, Joseph D. Hooker, Charles Darwin and Japetus Steenstrup
- Labels on the objects
- Accession details and archives at Bromley Museum, the British Museum and Derby Museum

### **Options**

For a few of the Catalogue entries, more than one closely matching item has been found in a museum collection. In this case the Catalogue entry will reference both options and discuss the merits of each.

### **Field Terms and their Meanings**

#### ***Catalogue number (catalogueno)***

The unique record number assigned to the entry in the Avebury Catalogue.

#### ***Catalogue identification (catalogueid)***

The identification assigned to an object by Lubbock in his Catalogue.

***Simple name (objectname)***

Simple or common name for item in use today. Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).

***Archaeological period (archperiod)***

The archaeological period during which the item was made (for archaeological items only).  
Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).

***Subject classification (subjectclass)***

The class of object an item belongs to. Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).

***Indigenous community (indigcommunity)***

The name of the indigenous cultural community from which an item originated, using the terminology described in the Avebury Catalogue.

***"Prehistoric Times" indigenous community (PTcommunity)***

The name of the indigenous cultural community from which the item originated, using the terminology used in *Prehistoric Times*. Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).

***Site of origin (findlocation)***

The name of the site where the object was found. Controlled terminology used.

***Country of origin (findcountry)***

The country (where known) from which the item originated. Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).



### ***Acquisition method (acqmethod)***

The method by which Lubbock acquired the item. Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).

### ***Acquisition person (acqperson)***

The name of the person from whom Lubbock acquired the item. Recorded as follows:

[Surname], [first name/ initials] [honorary title]

### ***Acquisition Location (acqlocation)***

The location in which John Lubbock acquired the item. Controlled terminology used.

### ***Source type (sourcetype)***

The type of source from which Lubbock acquired the item. Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).

### ***Acquisition date (acqdate)***

The date on which John Lubbock acquired the item. Dates to be entered as follows:

[dd (if known)] [month written in full (if known)]

### ***Acquisition year (acqyear)***

The year in which John Lubbock acquired the item. Dates to be entered as follows:

[yyyy]

For those Catalogue entries without dates, a **year date** has been inferred, from the known **year dates** immediately preceding and succeeding the entry concerned. These 'inferred' dates are

marked with the symbol \* in the record. Note only the **year date** is inferred, and not the month or the day. It may be possible to confirm exact dates using other sources, at a later date.

A notes field, *acqyearnotes*, records any further information concerning how the date was identified for entries where assumptions have been made.

### ***Previous association (previousassoc)***

The name(s) of any person involved with the item prior to it being acquired by Lubbock, as described in the Catalogue. May involve duplication of the information in 'Acquisition Person' field if the person who Lubbock acquired it from also had another association with the piece identified in the Catalogue-e.g. 'found by and presented...' Recorded as follows:

[Surname], [first name/ initials] [honorary title]

### ***Material (material)***

The material the item is made of. Controlled terminology used (appendix 3.2).

### ***Dimensions (dimensions)***

The dimensions of the item(s) as recorded in the Avebury Catalogue.

### ***Object label (objectlabel)***

The type of label on the object(s). Controlled terminology used.

### ***Inscription (inscription)***

A record of any inscription on the object(s), observed whilst viewing the objects in museums.



### ***Notes (notes)***

Primarily a free text record where further information about the object and circumstances of discovery noted in the Catalogue is recorded.

### ***Disposal (disposal)***

The name of the organisation or individual to which Lubbock disposed of an item, and the reference number they have assigned to the item(s). \* means the information has been assumed from other known information (usually the BM accession register). Terminology control used (appendix 3.2).

### ***Current location (currentlocation)***

The current museum location for the items represented by the Catalogue entry, where known. Controlled terminology used.

### ***Query (Query)***

Any queries I may have about information in the record, particularly pointing out any uncertainty I have about assigning particular objects in museums to specific entries in the Avebury Catalogue.

### ***Cross-reference to related documentary information (correspref)***

The reference details of any correspondence or other form of primary documentation containing information relating to this particular Catalogue entry.

### ***Biographical reference (biographicref)***

The reference details of any publication containing information relating to this particular Catalogue entry. Incomplete.

### ***Vilhelm Boye catalogue number (Boyeno)***

The catalogue number used in Vilhelm Boye's original catalogue (Nationalmuseet privatarkiv IV 118 Boye). In many instances, old numbers have been crossed out and replaced with newer numbers. The old and newer numbers are both entered in this field.

### ***Further information in the Vilhelm Boye catalogue (Boyeno)***

This free text field contains translations of key points relevant to this thesis, especially concerning how Boye acquired the items. Much of this is my own translation.

### ***My Observation (myobservs)***

A summary of my identification, the current identification, of the item in question. Includes a suggestion of date, and any distinguishing features noticed by me on observation of the object.



## *Appendix 3.2: Avebury Catalogue Database Table*

### *Term Lists Used*

#### **Object Name (objectname)**

adze

adze (hafted)

adze (handle)

agitator

anklet

arrow sharpener

arrow/ arrowhead

awl

axe

axe (flat axe)

axe (hafted)

axe (palstave)

axe (winged axe)

axe hammer

ball

basket

bead

bell

blowpipe

bola

boomerang

bow

bow & arrow

bowdrill

bowl

box

box (scent)

box (snuff)

bracelet

brooch

brush

buckle

button

canoe

canoe (kayak)  
canoe (model)  
carving  
carving (figure)  
carving (idol)  
charm  
cheekstud  
chisel  
cloak  
cloth  
club  
club (flat)  
coin  
comb  
core  
cross bow  
cross bow & arrow  
cup  
cylinder  
dagger  
dart (bird)  
dress ornament  
earring  
firestick  
fishing equipment  
flake tool  
fork  
girdle  
gouge  
gourd  
grinding stone  
gum  
hammer  
hammerstone  
harpoon  
hoe  
hook (thread)  
horn  
human cranium  
javelin



knife  
labret  
ladle  
lamp  
lancehead  
lip ornament  
macehead (?)  
mallet  
mask  
maul  
missile  
mixed group  
money  
mortar (fluted)  
musical instrument  
necklace  
needle  
net  
netsinker  
ornament  
paddle  
pestle  
pile  
pillow  
pin  
pincer  
pipe  
point  
poison root  
polisher  
polishing stone  
pottery  
quiver & arrow  
rattle  
ribbon  
ring  
rubber  
saddle  
saw  
scoop

scraper  
shell  
shield  
shrine (Buddhist)  
sickle  
sinew  
sinkstone  
sledge (model)  
slingstone  
spear caster  
spear caster & spear/ spearhead  
spear/ spearhead  
spectacles  
spindle  
spindle whorl  
splinter  
spoon  
staff  
stilts  
stool  
string tightener  
sword  
thread  
tissue  
tomahawk  
torque  
touchstone  
tweezers  
unknown  
unknown (handle)  
walking stick  
waste flake  
weight  
weight (digging stick) ?  
whetstone

## **Archaeological period (archperiod)**

Anglo-Saxon



Bronze Age  
Bronze Age/ Iron Age  
Iron Age  
Iron Age/ Romano-British  
Lower Palaeolithic  
Mesolithic  
Neolithic  
Neolithic/ Bronze Age  
not relevant (ethnographic)  
Palaeolithic  
Prehistoric (of prehistoric date but no evidence of exact date)  
Romano-British  
Undated (archaeology - no direct evidence of date)  
Unknown (unknown subject classification)  
Upper Palaeolithic  
Upper Palaeolithic/ Mesolithic

## **Subject classification (subjectclass)**

archaeology  
ethnography  
unknown

## **"Prehistoric Times" indigenous community (PTcommunity)**

Australian Aborigines  
Esquimaux  
Fiji Islanders  
Fuegians  
Maories  
North American Indians  
not relevant (for archaeology and ethnographic items from sources not  
referenced as main sections in Prehistoric Times)  
Paraguay Indians  
Tasmanians  
unknown  
Veddahs

## Find country (findcountry)

Africa  
Algeria  
America  
Antarctica  
Arctic  
Argentina  
Argentina (Patagonia)  
Argentina (Tierra del Fuego)  
Australia  
Austria  
Belgium  
Borneo  
Bosnia  
Brazil  
Burma  
Central America  
Ceylon  
Channel Islands  
Chile  
China  
Crete  
Cyprus  
Denmark  
Egypt  
Egypt (Sinai)  
England  
Ethiopia  
France  
Gaboon  
Germany  
Germany (Schleswig-Holstein)  
Ghana  
Greece  
Greenland  
Guiana (British)  
Honduras  
Honduras (British)  
India



Indonesia  
Iran (Persia)  
Ireland  
Israel  
Italy  
Japan  
Lebanon  
Madagascar  
Malaya  
Malta  
Mexico  
Mongolia  
New Guinea  
New Zealand  
Nigeria  
North America  
Northern Ireland  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Russia  
Scotland  
South Africa  
South America  
South Pacific Islands  
Spain  
Sweden  
Switzerland  
Syria  
Turkey  
unknown  
Venezuela  
Wales  
West Indies

## **Acquisition method (acqmethod)**

exchange

experimental archaeology (combined with field collection in ch. 4)

field collection

gift  
purchase  
unknown

## **Source type (sourcetype)**

colonial  
dealer  
family  
friend  
international network  
local network  
national network  
self  
unknown

## **Material (material)**

amber  
angmak  
antler  
bone  
bronze  
ceramic  
composite  
copper alloy  
feather  
flint  
glass  
gold  
gourd  
grass  
gum  
haematite  
hair  
horn  
iron



jasper  
leather  
lithic            chert  
                      flint  
                      jade  
                      jasper  
                      limestone  
                      obsidian  
                      quartz  
                      quartzite  
                      rock crystal  
                      sandstone  
                      slate  
                      steatite  
  
resin  
shell  
silver  
sinew  
skin  
textile  
tooth  
unknown  
wood

## **Disposal (disposal)**

British Museum (individual accession number in brackets)  
Bromley Museum (individual accession number in brackets)  
Derby Museum (individual accession number in brackets)

## ***Appendix 4.1: Archaeological Entries in Avebury Catalogue: Find Locations***

This appendix lists all the find locations identified by Lubbock in the Avebury Catalogue, arranged into country order. The terms and political boundaries used to define countries are modern (late twentieth century), but where relevant the nineteenth century terminology and political boundaries used by Lubbock are cross-referenced. The number of Catalogue entries relating to each country and to each location is indicated. The countries and archaeological sites also mentioned in *Prehistoric Times* (7<sup>th</sup> edition) are marked with an asterix\*.

### **Algeria (3 entries)\*:**

Location unidentified (*2 entries*)

mar [Jouggon it or Ouargla], Bled el Djenid Kolea ('between the Jombeau de le Reine & the high road from Kolea') (*1 entry*)

### **Australia (1 entry)\*:**

Camden District, New South Wales (found in soil) (*1 entry*)

### **Austria (24 entries)\*:**

Hallstatt (*24 entries*)\*

### **Belgium (11 entries)\*:**

Maisieres (*1 entry*)

Mons (*1 entry*)

Spiennes (*9 entries*)\*



**Burma (1 entry)\*:**

*Irawaddy (1 entry)*

**Channel Islands (1 entry):**

*Guernsey (1 entry)*

**Chile (Chili) (1 entry)\*:**

*Coronel ('from shell mounds apparently of ancient date'), Conception (near) (1 entry)*

**Crete (2 entries):**

*Locations unknown (2 entries)*

**Cyprus (1 entry)\*:**

*Locations unknown (1 entry)*

**Denmark (298 entries)\*:**

***General (no region identifiable) (59 entries):***

*Locations unknown (57 entries, plus numerous items in Catalogue Entry 563)*

*Engelhalun, [Faer[in]g (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)*

*[K]allingba[ck] nad Ring[byaling] (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)*

*Nise[rbor..] (1 entry)*

*Ronde (1 entry)*

*Steensballeby und Harsens (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)*

***Fyen (13 entries, plus 1 item in 886 and 1 item in 563):***

*Locations unknown (8 entries, plus 1 item in Catalogue Entry 886)*

Hindsholm/ Dalby (village), Bjerge Herred, Odense Amt (2 entries)  
Nordskov/Hindsholm (1 entry)  
Vantinge, Vantinge Sogn, Sallinge Herred, Svendborg Amt (1 entry)  
Vimose (moore), Allese (near), Allese sogn, Lunde Herred, Odense Amt (1 entry)\*  
Vindinge, Vindinge sogn, Vindinge Herred, Svendborg Amt (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)

***Jylland (26 entries, plus 7 items in 563)\*:***

Locations unknown (5 entries, plus 1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
Facin[holm] tarkuus Jylland [ned] Gaardmand [h]elk (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
[F]astrup Lo [Herrne] (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
Frederikshavn, Frederikshavn sogn, Horns Herred, Hjørring Amt (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
Furgaarde, Dover Sogn, Hjlemslev Herred, Skanderborg Amt (1 entry)  
Gangsted, Gangsted sogn, Voer Herred, Skanderborg Amt (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
Kohoj ('a great mound...Cowhill'), Mariager sogn, Onsild Herred, Randers Amt (2 entries)  
Nimdrup, Tyrsting Herred, Skanderborg Amt (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
Oudrup sogn, Slet Herred, Ålborg Amt (7 entries)  
Randers, Randers sogn, Støvring Herred, Randers Amt (2 entries)  
Ryde sogn, Ginding Herred, Ringkøbing Amt (1 entry)  
Rye sogn, Tyrsting Herred, Skanderborg Amt (1 entry)  
Silkeborg, Silkeborg sogn, Gjern Herred, Skanderborg Amt (7 entries)  
[Stedtul]borg (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)

***Sjælland (199 entries):***

Locations unknown (11 entries)  
Aamosen, Holbæk & Rindstead (near), Magleo (14 entries)  
Arlehoi (mound), Kallerup (near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
Bilidt (Kjokkenmodding), Frederikssund (near), Frederikssund sogn, Lyng-Frederiksborg Herred, Frederiksborg Amt (12 entries)\*  
Brændemose, Kallundborg (near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
Bredkilde , Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
Ellede (near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
Eskilstrup, Kirke-Eskilstrup sogn, Merløse Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
Falster Nørre-Herred or Falster Sønder-Herred, Maribo Amt (1 entry)  
Frederikssund, Frederikssund sogn, Lyng-Frederiksborg Herred, Frederiksborg Amt (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)\*  
Havelse (Kjokkenmødding) (17 entries)\*  
Hyllested sogn, Vester-Flakkebjerg Herred, Sorø Amt (1 entry)  
Illerup (found in a mound near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
Kallerup, Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
Kallundborg (near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)



Kathrineborg (peatbog) (3 entries)  
 Kattingevaerk (kjøkkenmødding) (1 entry)  
 Keldby, Keldby sogn, Mønbo Herred, Præstø Amt (1 entry)  
 Klintholm (near), Mønbo Herred, Præstø Amt (6 entries)  
 København (near), København med Frederiksberg sogn, Sokkelund Herred, Københavns Amt (2 entries)\*  
 [Køge sogn, Ramsø Herred, Københavns Amt] (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)  
 Korsør, Korsør sogn, Slagelse Herred, Sorø Amt (10 entries)\*  
 Lae[rsby] [bad] (1 entry)  
 Ledøje, Ledøje Sogn, Smørum Herred, Kjøbenhavns Amt (2 entries)  
 Ledreborg, Roskilde (near), Roskilde sogn, Sømme Herred, Københavns Amt (1 entry)  
 Lerckenborg ('county') (1 entry)  
 Loholm (field), Smørum nedre, Smørum Sogn, Smørum Herred, Kjøbenhavns Amt (8 entries)  
 Maalov (near), Smørum sogn, Smørum Herred, Københavns Amt (1 entry)  
 Magleby Stevns sogn, Stevns Herred, Præstø Amt (2 entries)  
 Mønbo Herred, Præstø Amt (4 entries)  
 Nybølle (in a moor), Ledøje sogn, Smørum Herred, Kjøbenhavns Amt (2 entries)  
 Nyerup, Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (4 entries)  
 [Ofbjerggaard] (near), Præstø Amt (1 entry)  
 Oppesundby, Frederikssund sogn, Lyng-Frederiksborg Herred, Frederiksborg Amt (1 entry)  
 Præstebauke, Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (2 entries)  
 Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (6 entries)  
 Rongsted (near), Hørsholm sogn, Lyng-Kronborg Herred, Frederiksborg Amt (1 entry)  
 Roskilde (near), Roskilde sogn, Sømme Herred, Københavns Amt (2 entries, plus 1 item from Catalogue entry 563)  
 Salbæk, Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (2 entries)  
 Salbæk an Refsnaes & Kallundborg (near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
 Skaurbæk mill (in a mound near) & Raklev sogn & Ars Herred & Holbæk Amt (2 entries)  
 Skræphoi, Roskilde (near), Roskilde sogn, Sømme Herred, Københavns Amt (1 entry)  
 Smørum nedre, Smørum sogn, Smørum Herred, Københavns Amt (4 entries)  
 Somark, Mønbo Herred, Præstø Amt (52 entries)\*  
 Strandegaard, Roholte sogn, Fakse Herred, Præstø Amt (1 entry)  
 Trannemose, Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (2 entries)  
 Troielykke (near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (3 entries)  
 Udby, Udby sogn, Tuse Herred, Holbæk Amt (2 entries)  
 Udesundby, Fredrikssund sogn, Lyng-Frederiksborg Herred, Frederiksborg Amt (1 entry)  
 Vallensbæk Sogn, Smørum Herred, Københavns Amt (1 entry)  
 Vallerup & Kallundborg (mound near), Raklev sogn, Ars Herred, Holbæk Amt (1 entry)  
 Vester-Egesborg (near), Vester-Egesborg sogn, Hammer Herred, Præstø Amt (1 entry)  
 Vindinge sogn, Tune Herred, Københavns Amt (1 item in Catalogue Entry 563)

*Catalogue Entries 563 contain items from multiple locations. Therefore, add one entry to the above total to account for it. Making the total Danish entries 297+1 = 298.*

### **Egypt (6 entries)\*:**

Abydos (from graves behind) (1 entry) \*

Cairo ('petrified forest') (1 entry)

Helouan, Cairo (near) (1 entry)

Sinai (1 entry)\*

Thebes (2 entries)\*

### **England (83 entries)\*:**

Ambleside (1 entry)

Axe Valley, Chard (2 entries)

Aylesford (gravel at) (2 entries)

Barrow Green ('on the barrow'), Titsey (near) (1 entry)

Barton Cliff, Lymington, Hampshire (2 entries)

Bedford ('probably found near..') (1 entry)\*

Beehin Chamber, Portland (1 entry)

Bridge Farm, Hunston, Kent ('Weald of') (1 entry)

Brook Farm, Halstead, Kent (1 entry)

Brown Quarry, Hawkchurch, Axminster (2 entries)

Buttlesea ('in a mound'), Colchester (near) (1 entry)

Cissbury Camp (1 entry)

Crayford pit, Kent (3 entries) \*

Essex (1 entry)

Farndale ('34aabove O.D. '), Ightham (1 entry) \*

Flodden (near), Northumberland (1 entry)

Gittisham (a barrow near) (1 entry)

Hutton Bushells, Scarboro (near) (1 entry)

Icklingham (3 entries) \*

Ightham (20 entries) \*

Keston ('in a garden'), Kent (1 entry)

Lewes (neighbourhood of) (1 entry)

Little Salisbury Hill, Bath (near) (6 entries)

Lower Clapton (1 entry)



Marlboro Downs, Wiltshire (2 entries)  
Newington Common ('from the so called Palaeolithic Floor') (1 entry)\*  
Norfolk (4 entries)  
Norsted (1 entry)  
Nottingham (near) (3 entries)  
Oldbury, Ightham, Kent (1 entry)\*  
Otford (in a field), Kent (1 entry)  
Reach Fen (1 entry)  
Sherburn (on a tumulus near), Yorkshire (1 entry)\*  
Silbury Hill ('on the Roman Road close to..') (1 entry)\*  
St Mary Cray, Kent (1 entry)  
Stamford Hill (1 entry)  
Thames, London Bridge, London (2 entries)\*  
Thetford (1 entry)\*  
Torquay (cave near) (1 entry)  
Upper Clapton ('from the "Palaeolithic floor"') (2 entries)  
Warren Hill (1 entry)  
Yorkshire (2 entries)

## **France (54 entries)\*:**

Locations unidentified (2 entries)  
Amiens (2 entries)\*  
Auvernier (3 entries)\*  
Badegoule (1 entry)\*  
Bethune (1 entry)  
Bois du Rocher, La Gauterie, Brittany (2 entries)  
Bourdeilles (near), Perigord (2 entries)  
Brittany (various dolmens) (1 entry)\*  
Bruniquel (1 entry)\*  
Carcassonne, Aude (1 entry)  
Cromlech d'Orlaic, Brittany (2 entries)  
Cromlech En Roche, Brittany (1 entry)  
Cromlech [Kenaval], Brittany (1 entry)  
Dijon (1 entry)  
Dol (near), Dinan (near), Brittany ('found..on the tumulus surrounding a ruined Dolmen in Brittany between Dol & Dinan') (1 entry)  
Elba (2 entries)  
La Madelaine (1 entry)\*

Laugerie(2 entries)\*  
Laugerie Haute(1 entry)\*  
Les Eyzies (1 entry)\*  
Montiers (1 entry)  
Moulin Quignon (1 entry)\*  
[Moussage], Boulogne (near) (1 entry)  
Moustier (1 entry)\*  
Paris (2 entries)  
Pontlevoy(1 entry)\*  
[Poulterny] (1 entry)  
Pressigny (1 entry)\*  
Preuilly, Indre et Loire (1 entry)  
Questembert ('from the find at') (1 entry)  
St. Acheul (3 entries)\*  
St. Laurent ('tumulus near'), V. de la [Haute], H. Pyrenees (2 entries)  
[Sourdon], Montrejeau (3 entries)  
[Tilly] & Allier (4 entries)  
Vesontium ('picked up on the ancient site of') (1 entry)

### **Germany (20 entries)\*:**

Bavaria (?)(1 entry)  
Cameny, Saxony (5 entries)  
Flensburg (near) (1 entry) (in Denmark prior to 1864) \*  
Foldingbro, Schleswig (2 entries) (in Denmark prior to 1864)  
Mainz (10 entries) (recorded using French name, Mayence, in Catalogue)  
North Schleswig (1 entry) (in Denmark prior to 1864)

### **Ghana (1 entry):**

Accra (1 entry)

### **Greece (18 entries):**

Locations unidentified (2 entries)  
Athens (2 entries)



Corinth (*2 entries*)  
Euboea (*3 entries*)  
Macedonia (*4 entries*)  
Marathon (*2 entries*)\*  
Stamata, Attica (*1 entry*)  
Thessaly (*1 entry*)

### **Honduras (British) (1 entry):**

Regalia Estate (*1 entry*)

### **India (7 entries)\*:**

Amersambadoo, Trivellore, Madras (*1 entry*)\*  
Atrampahham Nullah (near the), Madras (*1 entry*)\*  
Rohri Hills, Scinde (*1 entry*)  
Sukkur & Sind (*1 entry*)  
Upper Assam (lat.27 long.32) (*1 entry*)  
[Vero] Plain, Sindh (*1 entry*)  
Woodecotta (near), Trivellore, Madras (*1 entry*)\*

### **Iran (Persia) (1 entry)\*:**

Khorasan ('province of') (*1 entry*)

### **Ireland (12 entries)\*:**

Locations unidentified (*10 entries*)  
Ermin, Clare (?) (*1 entry*)  
Killarney (near Harkness) (*1 entry*)

## **Italy (23 entries):**

Basilicati, Apulia (*1 entry*)

Castione (Mariniere) (*1 entry*)

Loreto (*1 entry*)

Mussoni (*1 entry*)

Naples (?) (*1 entry*)

Paestium (?) (*1 entry*)

Parma (*3 entries*)\*

Parma ('from a Mariniere near') (*2 entries*)\*

Perugia (?) (*1 entry*)

Rome (*9 entries*)

Tenamare, Parma (*2 entries*)\*

## **Japan (1 entry)\*:**

Location unidentified (*1 entry*)

## **Malta (1 entry)\*:**

Location unidentified (from a cave) (*1 entry*)

## **Mexico (10 entries)\*:**

Locations unidentified (*7 entries*)

Cholula (*2 entries*)

Guadalajara (*1 entry*)

## **Mongolia (3 entries):**

Altai Mountains (*3 entries*) \*



## **New Zealand (3 entries)\*:**

Wellington (*2 entries*)

Wairoa River (*1 entry*)

## **North America (35 entries):**

Locations unidentified (*4 entries*)

Arizona (*1 entry*)

Baffin's Bay (*1 entry*)\*

Delaware River, Trenton, New Jersey (*4 entries*)\*

[Gross] Island, Detroit (near), Michigan (*1 entry*)

Lake Ontario (north side) (*8 entries*)

Lexington (*4 entries*)

Massachusetts (*1 entry*)

Missouri (*1 entry*)\*

Ohio (*1 entry*)\*

St. Barbara (island off), California (*1 entry*)

Prince Edwards Island (*6 entries*)

## **Northern Ireland (11 entries)\*:**

Locations unidentified (*5 entries*)

Antrim (*1 entry*)

Loch Neagh (*4 entries*)\*

Port Sterwart, Belfast (*1 entry*)

## **Peru (1 entry):**

Arica (?) ('mounds at..') (*1 entry*)

## **Russia (2 entries)\*:**

Borissov, Minsk (*2 entries*)

## **Scotland (13 entries)\*:**

Locations unidentified (*1 entry*)

Annan, Dumfries (*1 entry*)

Bickle Hills (Picts House), Caithness (*1 entry*)\*

Burghhead (sea shore near) (*1 entry*)

Keiss (from a shell mound) (*2 entries*)\*

Keith Hall (parish), [Inverness] (*1 entry*)

Lathewn (a Picts House), Caithness (*1 entry*)\*

Old Stirkoke ('a Picts House'), Wick (near) (*1 entry*)

Skaill ('from an ancient dwelling'), Orkney Islands (*2 entries*)\*

Stirkoke (from a shell mound) (*2 entries*)

## **South Africa (17 entries):**

Buffalo River, Cape Colony, East London District (*4 entries*)

Cape Flats, Cape of Good Hope (*4 entries*)\*

Cape of Good Hope (*2 entries*)\*

East London, Kaff[ir]eria (*1 entry*)

('Junction of Riet & Modder Rivers. Near the Diamond Fields') (*1 entry*)

King Williams Town (near), Cape Province (*1 entry*)

Kleinewand (in loose sand near), Grahams Town (about 40 miles from) (*2 entries*)

Port Elizabeth ('slope of hill') (*1 entry*)

Secocoeni Land & Transvaal (*1 entry*)

## **Spain (9 entries)\*:**

Locations unidentified (*4 entries*)

Alhama, Granada (near) (*2 entries*)

Cueva de la Mugea, Alhama (*2 entries*)

Granada (*1 entry*)

## **Sweden (18 entries) \*:**

Scania (18 entries) \*



## **Switzerland (9 entries)\*:**

Lake dwelling locations unidentified (*2 entry*)

Neufchatel (lake) (*3 entries*)\*

Robenhausen (*3 entries*)\*

Zurich (lake village) (*1 entry*)\*

## **Syria (1 entry)\*:**

Wady Itham, Mount Sinai(*1 entry*)

## **Turkey (Asia Minor) (6 entries)\*:**

Bunarbashi ('Hector's Tumulus') (*1entry*)

Hissarlik (*4 entries*)

Troy district (*1 entry*)

## **Venezuela (1 entry)\*:**

Locations unidentified (*1 entry*)

## **Wales (2 entries)\*:**

Kidbellin, Anglesey (*1 entry*)

Paviland (*1 entry*)

## **Unknown (46 entries)**

## ***Appendix 4.2: Ethnographic Entries in Avebury Catalogue: Source Locations***

This appendix lists the source locations and/ or communities identified by Lubbock in the Avebury Catalogue, arranged into country order. The terms and political boundaries used to define countries are modern (late twentieth century), but where relevant the nineteenth century terminology and political boundaries used by Lubbock are cross-referenced. The number of Catalogue entries relating to each country and each indigenous community/ geographic area (where known) is indicated.

### **Africa, no country assigned (43 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ or area unidentified (13)

[Assouan] (1)

Congo (1)

Dahomey (3)

Khartoum (1)

Africa (Central) (12)

Africa (Central): Kaffir (6)

Africa (North) (1)

Africa (West) (3)

Africa (west): Banoko & Batta (1)

Africa (West coast of): Vernin Val. River (1)

### **Algeria (Algiers), Africa (1 entry)**

Indigenous community unidentified (1)

### **America, no country assigned (1 entry)**

Indigenous community unidentified (1)



## **Antarctica (1 entry)**

Victoria Land (1)

## **Arctic (1 entry)**

Area unidentified: Inuit (1)

## **Argentina (Tierra del Fuego) (1 entry)**

Area unidentified (Fuegian) (1)

## **Australia (37 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (19)

Australia (South) (3)

Australia (West) (9)

Australia (West): Perth (3)

Tasmania (3)

## **Borneo (2 entries)**

Dyak (1)

Saubur River (1)

## **Brazil, South America (4 entries)**

Botocudo (4)

## **Burma (2 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

Irawaddy River, above Maudalay (1)

## **Central America, no country assigned (2 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

Pueblo Indians (1)

## **Ceylon (4 entries)**

Veddahs (4)

## **China (1 entry)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

## **Egypt, Africa (2 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

Upper Egypt (1)

## **England (1 entry)**

Cornwall (1)

## **Ethiopia (Abyssinia), Africa (4 entries)**

Indigenous community unidentified (4)



## **Gaboon, Africa (1 entry)**

Indigenous community unidentified (1)

## **Greenland (26 entries)**

Inuit (Esquimaux) (26)

## **Guiana (British Guiana), South America (5 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (2)

Demerara (2)

Rupumuni River (1)

## **Honduras, South America (3 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (3)

## **India (3 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

Assam (1)

Madura, India (South) (1)

## **Indonesia (Java) (3 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (3)

## **Iran (Persia) (1 entry)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

## **Italy (1 entry)**

Apennine mountains (1)

## **Japan (2 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (2)

## **Madagascar (10 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (10)

## **Malaya (1 entry)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

## **Mexico (1 entry)**

Guadalajara

## **New Guinea (16 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (9)

Halls Island (1)

Miline Bay 4)

Port Moresby (2)



## **New Zealand (21 entries)**

Area unidentified: Maori (17)  
Middle Island: Maori (1)  
Rakaia: Maori (1)  
Taranaki & Waitara District: Maori (1)  
Wellington: Maori (1)

## **Nigeria (4 entries)**

Lagos (1)  
Niger (3)

## **North America (41 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (3)  
Aleutian Islands: Inuit (Esquimaux) (1)  
Hudson Bay Territory: Inuit (Esquimaux) (1)  
Icy Cape: Inuit (Esquimaux) (13)  
Mackenzie River: Inuit (Esquimaux) (1)  
Nootka Sound: Inuit (Esquimaux) (4)  
Prince Charlottes Island (Babeen Indians) (1)  
Queen Charlotte's Island (Hyda Indians) (1)  
Straights of Juan de Fuca: Inuit (Esquimaux) (1)  
Vancouver's Island (15)

## **Paraguay (1 entry)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (1)

## **South Africa (5 entries)**

Cape of Good Hope (!)  
Cold Bokkeveldt (Bushman) (1)

Natal (2)

Transvaal (Kaffir) (1)

## **South America, no country assigned (6 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (5)

Amazon ('Upper') (1)

## **South Pacific Islands (81 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (17)

Admiralty Islands (1)

Easter Island (1)

Fiji (20)

Foa & Fiji (Hapai Group) (1)

Harvey Islands (2)

Kingsmill Islands (4)

Mallicollo (1)

Mangaia (3)

[Marshall] Islands (1)

Melanesia (4)

Micronesia (1)

New Caledonia (7)

New Hebrides (1)

Samoa (1)

Samoa (Upolu ?) (1)

Sandwich Islands (2)

Savage Island (3)

Solomon Island (7)

Tanna Island (2)

Tonga (?) or Fiji (?) or Tahiti (?) (1)

## **Turkey (Asia Minor) (2 entries)**

Beiramitch (2)



## **Unknown (81 entries)**

Indigenous community &/ area unidentified (20)

Bau (?) (1)

Bheel (?) (1)

Coomassie ('taken in the villages...during the march on Coomassie') (1)

Inuit (Esquimaux) (47)

Fau (?) (1)

Lower Urayak River (Combo Indians) (2)

Magador (1)

Marquesas (?) (2)

Niam Niam (?) (1)

Shillooks (?) (3)

[Olaheis] (1)

## **West Indies (4 entries)**

Barbados (2)

Jamaica (1)

Martinique (1)

## ***Appendix 4.3: Ethnographic Component: Object Name field***

The object name field contains a simple name for the object selected from a standard terminology list (appendix 3.2).

adze (7)	firestick (2)
agitator (1)	fishing equipment (18)
anklet (1)	fork (1)
arrow sharpener (1)	girdle (1)
arrow/ arrowhead (39)	gourd (1)
axe (17; 4 hafted)	gum (1)
basket (1)	harpoon (10)
blowpipe (1)	hoe (1)
bola (1)	hook (thread) (1)
boomerang (4)	horn (3)
bow (10)	human cranium (5)
bow & arrow (20)	javelin (2)
bowdrill (1)	knife (8)
bowl (4)	labret (1)
box (9)	ladle (1)
bracelet (9)	lamp (2)
brush (1)	lancehead (1)
button (1)	lip ornament (3)
canoe (4)	mallet (1)
carving (14)	mask (2)
charm (2)	missile (1)
cheekstud (2)	mixed group (3)
chisel (1)	money (4)
cloak (1)	mortar (1)
cloth (1)	musical instrument (6)
club (38)	necklace (8)
comb (1)	net (3)
cross bow (1)	ornament (6)
cross bow & arrow (1)	paddle (15)
cup (1)	pillow (6)
dagger (2)	pin (2)
dart (bird) (2)	pipe (6)
dress ornament (1)	poison root (1)
earring (1)	pottery (4)
	quiver & arrow (5)



rattle (4)  
ribbon (1)  
saddle (1)  
scoop (1)  
shell (1)  
shield (5)  
shrine (1)  
sinew (1)  
sledge (model) (1)  
slingstone (1)  
spear caster (8)  
spear caster & spear/ spearhead (1)  
spear/ spearhead (17)  
spectacles (1)  
spindle (1)  
spoon (3)  
staff (3)  
stilt (s) (1)  
stool (1)  
string tightener (2)  
sword (1)  
thread (1)  
tissue (1)  
tomahawk (1)  
unknown (27)  
walking stick (2)  
weight (1)

## *Appendix 4.4: John Lubbock's Field Travels*

This appendix outlines the primary field travels, journeys and excursions participated in by Lubbock during his lifetime.

### **1853**

September: Went to British Association meeting at Hull. Travelled around in the North of England collecting natural history specimens and returned home on 30<sup>th</sup> November. (British Library MS Add 62679 30-55).

17<sup>th</sup> November: Visited Charles Kingsley in Cambridge who gave him specimens of *Valiscuria*. (British Library MS Add 62679 55).

### **1854**

25<sup>th</sup> May: Went to Paris and visited Louvre. Home Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62679 no page number).

27<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Green Street Green gravel pits with Charles Lyell and Dr. Joseph Hooker. (British Library MS Add 62679 no page number).

18<sup>th</sup> November: Went to Manchester. Returned home 23<sup>rd</sup> December. (British Library MS Add 62679 no page number).

### **1855**

27<sup>th</sup> June: Went to Croydon, Farnborough, Green Street Green and Well Hill on a geological field trip with Charles Lyell and Joseph Prestwich. (British Library MS Add 62679 58).

30<sup>th</sup> June: 'All day long geologising with Mr. Kingsley, examining the drifts. In the lower drift we got the skull of a musk ox the first ever found in England.' (British Library MS Add 62679 59).



## **1857**

17<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Weymouth with Nelly and found eight new species of entomostraca. (British Library MS Add 62679 62).

## **1860**

April: Went to Abbeville, France with Joseph Prestwich and John Evans and visited Jacques Boucher de Crévecoeur de Perthes to examine the flint implements he had collected from the gravel-beds of the Somme Valley. (Hutchinson, 1914: volume 1, p. 51).

## **1861**

Went to Denmark with George Busk. Examined collections from kjøkkenmøddings and visited sites including Havelse and Bilidt. (Lubbock, 1913, p.229).

September: Went to Ireland with John Evans, and visited the shore of Lough Neagh at the point nearest Belfast with Evans. The waters were high and they did not find any stone implements. (Evans, 1867).

## **1862**

17-28<sup>th</sup> April: Went on an excursion into France for a week with Joseph Prestwich and John Evans. Visited St. Acheul, Amiens and Abbeville to examine the Somme Valley sites 'at which flint implements considered to be of great antiquity had been discovered'. (British Library MS Add 62679 64; Burkhardt et al., 1997, p.161).

22<sup>nd</sup> June: Went to Stonehenge with George Busk, Henry Christy, Nelly and Edgar. (British Library MS Add 62679 64).

14<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland and spent ten days in the mountains with Tyndall and Huxley. The rest of the time was spent with Morlot studying the lake habitations and the collections of material discovered. At

Wauwyl, they found three hatchets, bone implements and pottery.  
(British Library MS Add 62679 64; Hutchinson, 1914, p. 55)

## 1863

Easter: Went to Scotland 'to study some kjøkkenmøddings near Elgin.' Wrote an account of them in the *Natural History Review*. (British Library MS Add 62679 64; Lubbock, 1861)

7<sup>th</sup> July: Started for a tour of Norway, Sweden and Denmark with Nelly and Mary Arbuthnot. Returned on 1<sup>st</sup> September. 'We went by Cologne and Hamburg through Copenhagen to Gothenburg, thence by Gotha Canal to Stockholm. We spent a few days there looking at the Museums, talking to Nilsson and making an excursion to Upsala. We then returned by rail to Gothenburg and so to Christiania. Here we got carriages and after staying there a day drove over the [Doure Field] to Drontheim making a little excursion down the Romsdal from Drontheim by steamer to Bergen; thence up the [Sognefjord] to [Ronnei] and up to the Ustedval Glacier (Nygaard). Then by [Lewal] over the [Fillefield] back to Christiania. Then to Copenhagen where we stopped a week making an excursion with Steenstrup to Lund. Steenstrup then took us via Aarhus to Meilgaard. We then went on alone to Flensburg, and so by rail back again home. Mary Arbuthnot was very jolly and a capital traveller. Altogether it was a very pleasant trip.' (British Library MS Add 62679 65).

**(AC entries 1-243 and Greenland a-z)**

19<sup>th</sup> December: Went to Wiltshire with George Busk and Tyndall. (British Library MS Add 62679 65).

**(AC entries 253-4)**

## 1864

Easter: Went 'into the South of France to see the bone caves... worked by Christy and Lartet'. (British Library MS Add 62680 1).



**(AC entries 255-262, 266)**

8<sup>th</sup> June: Went to Italy with Nelly re business with the Anglo-Italian bank.  
(British Library MS Add 62680 1).

September: Went to British Association meeting at Bath with Nelly. (British  
Library MS Add 62680 1).

**(AC entries 268-273)**

Christmas: Went with 'John Tyndall and Thomas Huxley for a short walk in  
Derbyshire...'. (British Library MS Add 62680 1).

## **1865**

2<sup>nd</sup> September: Went with Tyndall and Hirst to Switzerland and with Steenstrup to  
Pressigny and Pont le voy. (British Library MS Add 62680 2;  
Cambridge University Darwin Archive DAR 170 4603).

## **1866**

Went with Nelly to Austria and Italy. 'Nelly and I made tour by way of  
Vienna, to Venice, Milan, Florence, Rome and Naples...'. This is  
probably also the visit that Lubbock and Evans went to Hallstatt.  
(British Library MS Add 62680 2).

**(AC entries 340-352, 360-373 and 378-386)**

October: Went to the Yorkshire Wolds for a week to excavate prehistoric  
tumuli near Sherburn with Canon Greenwell. (London, Royal Society  
Archives L2. "Notebook *Notes of Life*". Orpington (Kent), Lyulph  
Lubbock Private Collection. " Notebook, Switzerland 1879; 1894".)

**(AC entries 440-442)**

1<sup>st</sup> September: Went to the British Association meeting at Nottingham. (British Library MS Add 62680 2).

## 1867

Spring: Went to Brittany and Auvergne. 'I have been this spring into Brittany for a few days with Hooker and Huxley, and into the Auvergne with Evans and Franks'. (British Library MS Add 62680 3).

**(AC entries 480-482)**

30<sup>th</sup> September: Went to British Association meeting in Dundee, and afterwards to the Orkneys and Shetlands with Archibald Hamilton. Returned via the Parallel Roads of Glenroy. (British Library MS Add 62680 3).

**(AC entries 554-555)**

## 1868

9<sup>th</sup> April: Went to Italy with Tyndall, Richard Birkbeck and Archibald Hamilton. Viewed the eruption of Vesuvius and saw museum collections in Switzerland and Germany (Mayence, Dresden, Berlin, Schwerin and Hanover). Returned home on 9<sup>th</sup> May. (British Library MS Add 62680 3).

**(AC entries 617-635, 638, 641-642, 646-651)**

6<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland with Dr. Hornby and Dr. Ridding, both members of the Public School Commission. Went to Interlaken, Murren, Grindelwald, Trachsellauenan, Ried, Kandersteg, and home by Thun and Bern. Returned home on 16<sup>th</sup> August. (British Library MS Add 62680 3).

**(AC entries 666-671, 673-676)**



## 1869

May: Went with Nelly to Switzerland for 3 weeks. The purpose of the trip was to collect Thysaura and to study the Lake Dwellings. Met the Grant Duffs at Grindelwald. (British Library MS Add 62680 4).

(AC entries 749-762, 765-768)

14<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Park Cwm tumulus on Gower Peninsula with Mr. Vivian and the Cambrian Archaeological Society. (Lubbock, 1871).

(AC entries 785)

## 1870

[April]: 'Went for the Easter holidays with Mr. & Mrs. Grant Duff to the S. of France. Called on Lartet and Renan in Paris. Went to Blois and drove over to Pont Le Voy. From Blois to Bordeaux, stopped a day at Carcassone, another at Arles...and a week at [Hyerès] in the H. des Isles d'Or...' (British Library MS Add 62680 4).

(AC entries 829, 830)

15<sup>th</sup> Aug.: Three week trip in Switzerland with Johnny. Grant Duff joined them at Paris; Grey at Geneva; Mrs Grant Duff and her two boys & Miss Erskine at St. Maurice. Returned home on Friday 9<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62680 4).

September; British Association Meeting, Liverpool (British Library MS Add 62680 4).

(AC entry 882)

## 1871

29<sup>th</sup> June: Took Harriet, Amy and Conny to see some of the antiquities of Wiltshire and Berkshire. (British Library MS Add 62680 5).

21<sup>st</sup> August: Went on holiday to Switzerland with Grant Duffs, Miss Wilson, Grey, and H. & S. Smith. Studied the valley terraces in the Rhone Valley, and walked up to the Rhone glacier. (British Library MS Add 62680 6-7).

9<sup>th</sup> November: Visited John Evans: 'Went down to John Evans; and on the 10<sup>th</sup> we went by rail to Hitchin, walked to Luton and then drove back. It was a beautiful day and we had a charming walk along the chalk escarpment through Picton to Richmond Camp, onto Hexton where we lunched, and then by Dray's Ditches and [Wanluds] Bank to Luton. We found however very little.' (British Library MS Add 62680 8).

**(AC entries 933-940 were acquired by Lubbock from Evans in November 1871 - during this visit?)**

## **1872**

26<sup>th</sup> March: Went on holiday to Marlborough, with Grant Duffs. Visited archaeological sites in area including Abury, and Stonehenge. Visited Blackmore Museum. Met up with Archibald Hamilton, Grey, Miss Wilson whilst there. Talks of playing chess and whist in evenings. Returned home early April. (British Library MS Add 62680 10-12).

May: Went to the Pyrenees with Grant Duffs, Miss Bruce and Cartwright. Called on Louis Lartet in Paris on way out. Visited Aineau (15<sup>th</sup> May) and M. Foucade's museum, Luchon (16<sup>th</sup> May), Clermont (25<sup>th</sup> May). Purchased minerals during his stay at Clermont. Returned home by 29<sup>th</sup> May. (British Library MS Add 62680 13; British Library MS Add 62681 Journal 2-4).

**(AC entries 991-4; 996-8? 993-4)**

14<sup>th</sup> August: To Brighton for the British Association meeting. (British Library MS Add 62680 14; British Library MS Add 62681 Journal 10).

12<sup>th</sup> September: Went with Greys and Grant Duffs to Constantinople and Asia Minor. Detail about route taken down Danube. Stayed at Calvert's farm for a few days. Lubbock opened the tumulus of Hector at Burnabashi. Visited Hissarlik, but Schliemann was not there. Returned home via



Mediterranean and France. Arrived home Monday 4<sup>th</sup> November.  
(British Library MS Add 62680 14-16; British Library MS Add 62681  
Journal 11-32).

(AC entries 1030-1035)

## 1873

April: Went to Isle of Wight with children. Looked at Alum Bay cliffs.  
Home by 15<sup>th</sup> April. (British Library MS Add 62680 17).

27<sup>th</sup> May: Went to the '[Eifel]' area in France with Grant Duffs and Hookers.  
Looked at the volcanic craters. On to Belgium, Luxembourg and  
Germany. Visited tumulus in Germany, but also looked for plants  
(British Library MS Add 62680 17; British Library MS Add 62681  
Journal 45).

11<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Egypt with Grant Duff. Visited numerous archaeological  
sites, including Thebes and Abydos, and collected stone implements  
during fieldwalking (62680 18; British Library MS Add 62681 Journal  
57-).

**(no apparently related AC entries except 1077, but several related  
entries recorded in unknown database referring to items in  
Christy Collection at British Museum from Thebes and Abydos  
collected November 1873 and presented by Lubbock in 1874)**

## 1874

8<sup>th</sup> April: Went with Harriet and children to Alum Bay for a few days. Nelly did  
not come. Met Tyndall, Lady Claud Hamilton and two Miss  
Hamiltons there. Returned home 13<sup>th</sup> April. (British Library MS Add  
62680 20).

August: Went to British Association meeting at Belfast. Gave a paper on  
flowers and visited Giant's Causeway. (British Library MS Add 62680  
21).

**(AC entries 1079)**

- September: Went to Cornwall with Grant Duff pursuing botanical studies. Returned home by 8<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62680 22).
- Went to Boulogne with Nelly and the children. Took Amy to see the gravel beds at Amiens. Returned home by 25<sup>th</sup> September (British Library MS Add 62680 22).
- 9<sup>th</sup> December: Went to Manchester and lectured on Savages. (British Library MS Add 62680 23).

**1875**

- 8<sup>th</sup> May: Went with Nelly and Amy to Oxford and stayed with Jowells. (British Library MS Add 62680 24).
- May: Went to Scotland to visit some monuments. (British Library MS Add 62680 24).

**(AC entry 1089)**

- June: Went to Oxford for an honorary degree and then on to Avebury in Wiltshire. (British Library MS Add 62680 24).
- October: Went to Leeds with Amy for inauguration of Yorkshire College of Science. Stayed with Forster. (British Library MS Add 62680 25).

**1876**

- 17<sup>th</sup> March: Went to [Spezzia] with Amy and Grant Duff, where they met up with Mrs. Grant Duff. Went via Paris where they visited Renan and the De Peyron[quets], and Jules Simon. Visited Egyptian Museum. Lubbock got some ants. On return, they called on Edward Lear at San Remo and St. Hilaire in Paris. (British Library MS Add 62680 25-6).



**(AC entries 1109)**

- 23<sup>rd</sup> August: Went to Salisbury for Wiltshire Archaeological Society meeting and excursion to Old Sarum, Vespasian's Camp and Stonehenge. Spoke at a large meeting at Stonehenge re date of monument. Home Saturday 26<sup>th</sup>. (British Library MS Add 62680 27).
- 15<sup>th</sup> September: Went on a 'little tour' of Brittany with Amy and the Grant Duffs. The Greys and [Mrs] Banington joined them later on. Visited a number of tumuli. Included a visit to the Comte de Limur, 'who overwhelmed me with civilities and gave me several things including a crystal of stau[r]jolute, and a piece of an [aliolite] which fell at [Cleynerree] at 10.5 am on the 22 May 1869.' Returned home on 13<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62680 27).

**(AC entries 1120-1131)**

- 25<sup>th</sup> October: In Derby to attend the laying of the first stone at the new free library and museum at Derby. (British Library MS Add 62680 27).
- 28<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Wurzburg in Germany with Johnny, where latter will be studying German science for a few months. Lubbock returned home on 3<sup>rd</sup> November. Whilst out there met up with people he knew: Forel, Siebold, Sachs. 'Sachs brought me a *Cephalotus follicularis* and one for Darwin.' (British Library MS Add 62680 28).
- 4<sup>th</sup> December: Went to Cambridge to stay with Hughes. On the Tuesday, they opened a tumulus at [Hare] Park close to Six Mile Bottom... 'we did not I think find the central interment, but we got two very nice vases, one of them ornamented. A number of flakes and fragments and a borer' (British Library MS Add 62680 28).

**1877**

- 23<sup>rd</sup> March: Went to France on Easter holidays with Grant Duffs, Sir James and Lady Stephen and Miss Ritchie. Saw Bartheley St Hilaire and Gambetta in Paris, and then travelled widely in France. Returned home on 11<sup>th</sup> April. Collected plants and insects during this holiday. (British Library MS Add 62680 29).

18<sup>th</sup> May: Went to France on holidays with Grant Duffs. Met Jules Simon and discussed French politics. Travelled widely in France collecting plants and returning to Paris on 3<sup>rd</sup> June. Heard that Amy's husband, Andrew Mulholland, had died suddenly. 'Went to the Louvre and arranged to bring Amy and Harriet to Amiens...Took Harriet for a drive to St. Acheul and got some nice langues de Chat...' Home on 5<sup>th</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62680 29).

(AC entries 1138)

21<sup>st</sup> August: Went to Warminster for Wiltshire Archaeology Society meeting with Nelly and Conny. Home on 25<sup>th</sup>. (British Library MS Add 62680 29).

2<sup>nd</sup> October: Went to Bradford and Leeds with Nelly for prize-givings, lectures and school visits. Trip to Kirkstall Abbey. Returned home on 5<sup>th</sup>. (British Library MS Add 62680 29).

11<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Ballywalther, Ireland to see Amy with Nelly. Returned 19<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62680 32).

20<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Paris with Grant Duffs, Conny and Rolfe. Visited [Cherbuliez], Jules Simon, Gambetta, St. Hilaire, Cartilar, [Hollinguers] - latter four discussed politics. Renan came to dinner. Called on a number of other people on way down to Spain via Geneva. Describes journey in detail and sights/ places visited in Spain. Collected plants and antiquities. They continue their journey over to Algiers. Lubbock made anthropological observations, looked for plants and visited archaeological sites. Grant Duff and Lubbock bought a house in Algiers, and returned home on Monday 24<sup>th</sup> December. (British Library MS Add 62680 32).

(AC entries 1143-1147)

## 1878

23<sup>rd</sup> January: Went to Glasgow. Gave a lecture. (British Library MS Add 62680, no page number).



- 14<sup>th</sup> [April]: Went to Paris, Les Baux, Orange and Cluny. Spoke politics with Gigot the Prefect of Police. (British Library MS Add 62680, no page number).
- 13<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Dublin with Nelly for British Association meeting. (British Library MS Add 62680, no page number).
- 12<sup>th</sup> September: Went to Southport flower collecting with Nelly. (British Library MS Add 62680, no page number).
- 28<sup>th</sup> September: Went to France and then on to Algiers with Conny and Grant Duffs to take possession of the Compagne they had bought. Saw Jules Simon and Castalan in Paris. Home on 18<sup>th</sup> November. (British Library MS Add 62680 35).

## 1879

- April: Went over to Algiers via Paris, and bought some more land. Saw St Hilaire, Gigot, Quatrefages, [Cherbuliez], Lafitte and M. [Finanz]. Home on 21<sup>st</sup> April. (British Library MS Add 62680 37).
- 30<sup>th</sup> May: Went on a tour through France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg with Grant Duff. (British Library MS Add 62680 37-8).
- 12<sup>th</sup> August: Trip to Marlborough for Wiltshire Archaeological Society meeting with Nelly, Conny and Gerty. Home on 16<sup>th</sup> August. (British Library MS Add 62680 38).
- 20<sup>th</sup> August: Went to British Association meeting in Sheffield with Nelly, and also visited Bateman's collection and Arbor Low. Returned home on Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> August. (British Library MS Add 62680 38).
- 6<sup>th</sup> September: Started with Norman for [Mony] 'where he is going to study under Broilliard. Met M. Bouillerot, a very devoted old antiquary'. (British Library MS Add 62680 39).
- 16<sup>th</sup> November: Lubbock picked up a Palaeolithic stone implement between the Tombeau de le Reine (Kolea) and the high road from Kolea in Algiers.

Therefore he must have been in Algeria at this time. (Avebury Catalogue Volume 2 entry 1168).

(AC entries 1168)

## 1880

17<sup>th</sup> July: Visited the place where Spurrell found Palaeolithic flakes in Crayford. (British Library MS Add 62680 41).

(AC entries 1173-4, 1185)

13<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland via Brussels with the children and stayed at 'Bel Alp' with Tyndall. Returned home 11<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62680 41).

25<sup>th</sup> September: Went to Chipping Norton to see [Dundach] Stones and to Stratford-on-Avon. (British Library MS Add 62680 41).

## 1881

Went to Algiers. (London, Royal Society Archives L4).

Autumn: Went to British Association meeting in York, where Lubbock was the President for the Jubilee meeting. (Hutchinson, 1913, p. 175).

## 1882

27<sup>th</sup> May: Went to Switzerland with Gertrude and Norman Lubbock. Visited Bale, Thun, Lauterbrunnen, Wengen Alp, Grindelwald, Scheidach, Rosenlauri, Meiringen, Br[unegg], Sahlsehn and Lucerne. (London, Royal Society Archives L4).

29<sup>th</sup> [July]: Went to Basset Down to meet Ruskin and on Monday went with him to Avebury. (London, Royal Society Archives L4).



Autumn: Went to the British Association meeting at Southampton. (London, Royal Society Archives L4).

## 1883

11<sup>th</sup> May: Went to Italian Lakes with Amy and Gerty. Looked for plants. Back by Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> May. (British Library MS Add 62683 6).

7<sup>th</sup> July: Went down to Wiltshire. Spotted flowers and 'found a nice flint flake'. Back after weekend. (British Library MS Add 62683 11).

21<sup>st</sup> July: Went to Hindhead with Tyndalls and met up with Hookers and Simmonds. Went flower-spotting. Back after weekend. (British Library MS Add 62683 11).

23<sup>rd</sup> August: Went to Sunningdale to stay with Hookers. Went flower-spotting. (British Library MS Add 62683 13).

31<sup>st</sup> August: Went to Hadrians Wall and Scotland with Gerty. Visited sites and went flower-spotting. Visited Mr. Clayton's Museum. Returned home on 2<sup>nd</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62683 13-15).

10<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Knowsley and then to Liverpool Museum. (British Library MS Add 62683 16).

5-6<sup>th</sup> November: Went to Bristol. (British Library MS Add 62683 16).

17<sup>th</sup> November: Went to visit Pitt Rivers at Rushmore and then on to give lectures at Leeds (on ants), Huddersfield (on savages), York (on savages) and Burnley. Home by 6<sup>th</sup> December. (British Library MS Add 62683 16-17).

## 1884

2<sup>nd</sup> February: Went to Oxford. (British Library MS Add 62683 22).

- 8<sup>th</sup> April: Went to visit Pitt Rivers and his family at Rushmore. (British Library MS Add 62683 25).
- 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> April: Went to Edinburgh to be awarded honorary degree. (British Library MS Add 62683 28).
- 17<sup>th</sup> May: Married Alice Fox Pitt, and went on honeymoon to Paris and Switzerland. Went flower-spotting. (British Library MS Add 62683 29).
- 16<sup>th</sup> August: Went with Alice to stay at Rushmore. (British Library MS Add 62683 34).
- 25<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Bouveries at Market Levington. Reverend A.C. Smith there. Visited Avebury and Silbury, and went flower-spotting. (British Library MS Add 62683 34).
- 29<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Cromer for a few days flower-spotting and going on a geological excursion. (British Library MS Add 62683 34).
- 10<sup>th</sup> October: Went to stay with Lord Derby and his family at Knowsley, and also visited the Stanleys at Alderley (London, Royal Society Archives L4).

## 1885

- 8<sup>th</sup> April: Went to Shrewsbury and opened a new museum and library. (British Library MS Add 62683 43).
- 16<sup>th</sup> May: Went to Switzerland for a holiday. Met up with M. Aepli and looked at the lake dwellings on visit, as well as collecting flowers. (British Library MS Add 62683 43).
- 25<sup>th</sup> August: Went with Alice to Scotland for holiday, flower-spotting, visiting archaeological sites and attending the British Association meeting in September. Stayed with Lyells from Monday 31<sup>st</sup> August until 14<sup>th</sup> September. Visited archaeological sites. Returned home on Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62683 47-9).

(AC entries 1126)



## 1886

- 8<sup>th</sup> June: Went with Alice to Cambridge. (British Library MS Add 62683 57).
- 24<sup>th</sup> July: Went to Eastbourne with Alice, flower-hunting. Returned home on 30<sup>th</sup> July. (British Library MS Add 62683 59).
- 21<sup>st</sup> August: Went to Higham Saltings with Spurrell, Sir H. Maxwell and others. Collected flowers. (British Library MS Add 62683 60).
- 24<sup>th</sup> September: Went with Alice, Evans and Prestwich to fieldwalk in Kent. 'Alice and I joined the Evans' and Prestwich at Dunton Green and went on by Westerham to Limpsfield to Mr. Bells to walk on the ground with him where he has been finding flint implements. It was a dull grey day, but I was very pleased to have another day in the field with Evans and Prestwich and it carried me back to old days, on the Somme and elsewhere, 25 years ago!...we found a few flakes but nothing much.' (British Library MS Add 62683 61).
- 9<sup>th</sup> October: Went with Alice to Greece, stopping in Paris en route. In Athens, they 'saw a good deal of the Schliemanns' (London, Royal Society Archive L4). Also called on Roussopoulos, Rumbold, Heldreich. Collected plants and visited a number of archaeological sites. Undertook a tour of Marathon, Argos, Mycenae, Corinth, Delphi, Thebes and other sites before returning to Athens. Returned home via the Gulf of Corinth, Trieste, Venice and St. Gotthard. Returned home on Friday 26<sup>th</sup> November. (British Library MS Add 62683 62-4; London, Royal Society Archive L4).

(AC entries 1136, 1140-1141)

## 1887

- 18<sup>th</sup> January: Went to Wolverhampton and lectured at the Wolverhampton Literary Society (on ants). On 19<sup>th</sup> he lectured in Walsall (on zoology) and on 24<sup>th</sup> in Leicester (on savages). (British Library MS Add 62683 67).

- 14<sup>th</sup> April:** Went to Oxford to give a lecture (on savages). Stayed with Prestwich, had lunch with Tylor and then visited Pitt Rivers Museum. (British Library MS Add 62683 69).
- 20<sup>th</sup> May:** Went to Switzerland with Alice, Ursula and Irene. Went flower-hunting and made geological observations. Returned home on Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62683 69).
- 2<sup>nd</sup> July:** Went to Cambridge to visit Francis Darwin. (British Library MS Add 62683 72).
- 3<sup>rd</sup> September:** Went to Alnwick and Durham with Alice. Visited various sites. Returned home on Thursday 6<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62683 73-5).
- 15<sup>th</sup> November:** Went to Newbury to give a lecture (on ants). (British Library MS Add 62683 77).

## **1888**

- 5<sup>th</sup> September:** Went to Bath for British Association meeting. Went flower spotting during visit. Returned home on 27<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62683 83-4).

**(AC entries 1148)**

## **1889**

- 5<sup>th</sup> June:** Went to Switzerland and France. Travelled with Huxleys as far as Basle. Went plant-spotting and collecting. Returned home on Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62683 91).
- 5<sup>th</sup> July:** Went to Cherry Hinton, Mildenhall and Brandon on a 'little botanic expedition' with Grant Duff and Hanbury. Returned home on 6<sup>th</sup> July. (British Library MS Add 62683 92).



- 9<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland with Gerty. Collected plants. Returned home on Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> August. (British Library MS Add 62683 93).
- 11<sup>th</sup> September: Went to Newcastle for British Association meeting with Alice. Visited Hadrians Wall. Returned home by 17<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62683 95).
- 14<sup>th</sup> November: Went to Edinburgh and on 15<sup>th</sup> spent an hour with Joseph Anderson in 'the Museum' and around the Botanic Gardens. (British Library MS Add 62683 95).
- 21<sup>st</sup> November: Went to Switzerland and Italy. Visited the museum of Antiquities in Florence. Met up with Pigorini in Rome to visit the Archaeology museum, and also with Fiorelli, Corsi and Dufferins. Pigorini and Goodwin took Lubbock to see bronze artefacts discovered in recent excavations. Bought some roman coins. Returned home on Monday 9<sup>th</sup> December. (British Library MS Add 62683 95-8).

## 1890

- 2<sup>nd</sup> January: Went to Rushmore. (British Library MS Add 62683 99).
- 23<sup>rd</sup> May: Went to Bournemouth collecting plants. Returned home Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62683 102).
- 28<sup>th</sup> June: Went to Surrey with Grant Duff and others on botanical expedition. Returned home Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62683 103).
- 25<sup>th</sup> July: Went to Wroxham area on a botanical expedition. Returned home Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> July. (British Library MS Add 62683 103).
- 8<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland with Alice and little Ursula. Went plant collecting and met up with the Tyndalls. Returned home Friday 12<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62683 103-5).
- 25<sup>th</sup> September: Went to Sandwich on botanical expedition with Hooker and Hanbury. Returned Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62683 105).

## **1891**

- 1<sup>st</sup> May:** Went to Saffron Walden to see the oxlips and visit the museum. (British Library MS Add 62683 109).
- 12<sup>th</sup> June:** Went to Wroxham to collect plants. (British Library MS Add 62683 110).
- 6<sup>th</sup> August:** Went to Switzerland and Hamburg. Made geological observations and collected plants. Visited archaeological sites in Hamburg and the museum at Mayence. Returned home Tuesday 22<sup>nd</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62683 110-114).

## **1892**

- 14<sup>th</sup> April:** Went plant collecting on Wye Downs with Hanbury and Mr. Jeffry, 'a small watchmaker but excellent naturalist'. (British Library MS Add 62683 117).
- 13<sup>th</sup> July:** Went to Switzerland with Alice and their children. Met with Heim and Fuch to discuss botanical and geological matters. Went fossil collecting. Returned home on Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> August. (British Library MS Add 62683 120).

## **1893**

- 28<sup>th</sup> April:** Went on a botanical expedition to Harefield with Grant Duff and Hanbury. (British Library MS Add 62683 124).
- 2<sup>nd</sup> June:** Went to Cheddar with Grant Duff and Hanbury. (British Library MS Add 62683 124).
- 17<sup>th</sup> August:** Went to Switzerland. Met Forel and others to discuss geology. Collected rock and plant specimens. Returned home Thursday 14<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62683 126-7).



22<sup>nd</sup> September: Went to Falmouth on a geological expedition. Collected geological specimens. Returned Friday 13<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62683 127).

## 1894

2<sup>nd</sup> February: Went to Paris with Alice. Visited Jules Simon and B. De. St. Hilaire. Returned home Friday 9<sup>th</sup> February. (British Library MS Add 62683 128).

8<sup>th</sup> [August]: Went to Oxford for the British Association meeting. (British Library MS Add 62683 131).

17<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland with Alice and the children. Made geological observations, collected geological specimen and attended the Geological Congress in Zurich. Returned home on Friday 5<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62684 4-7).

## 1895

21<sup>st</sup> June: Went to High Force Inn, Teesdale with Grant Duffs, Hanburys, Alice and the children. Went plant collecting. Returned home on Monday 24<sup>th</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62684 11).

20<sup>th</sup> July: Went to Cornwall. (British Library MS Add 62684 12).

26<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland with Alice and four of their children. Making geological observations and attending meeting of Swiss Natural History Society. Returned home on Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62684 12-13).

## 1896

28<sup>th</sup> March: Went to Riviera with Alice and Ursula: Monte Carlo and Northern Italy. Sightseeing and making geological observations. Returned home on 14<sup>th</sup> April. (British Library MS Add 62684 16).

20<sup>th</sup> August: Went to St Andrews in Scotland to make geological observations. (British Library MS Add 62684 18).

## 1897

15<sup>th</sup> May: Went on a botanical expedition to Thetford with Grant Duffs. (British Library MS Add 62684 23).

7<sup>th</sup> August: Went to Switzerland for holidays. Collected plants and made geological observations. Returned home 18<sup>th</sup> September (British Library MS Add 62684 25).

## 1898

26<sup>th</sup> March: Went to Biarritz. Returned home Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> April. (British Library MS Add 62684 30).

7<sup>th</sup> September: Went to Bristol for British Association meeting. Went on excursions to Glastonbury Wells and Bath, and also went to Torquay to visit Kents Cavern. Returned home Sunday 4<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62684 33).

(AC entries 1171-2)

27<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Ireland. Visited various dolmen including New Grange. Returned home on Wednesday [8<sup>th</sup>] November.

## 1899

17<sup>th</sup> March: Went to Wales, climbed Snowdon and made geological observations. (British Library MS Add 62684 35-6).

6<sup>th</sup> April: Went with Alice, Ursula, Irene and others to see the gravel beds at Well Hill. (British Library MS Add 62684 36).



**5<sup>th</sup> June:** Went with Ursula to Ightham. 'Mr. Harrison met us where he met me 27 years ago! We went to the rock shelter, and to the knoll of hard rock at Oldbury. Then to see his collection. Then up to the summit of the plateau where there is a pit showing at least 25 feet of lower Tertiary gravels, like the Holwood but with more clay and especially chalk. Caught the 5.40 back.' (British Library MS Add 62684 37).

**(AC entries 1173-75?)**

**4<sup>th</sup> August:** Went to Brathay Hall in Lake District for two months. Making and photographing geological observations. Also visits various archaeological sites. Returned home on Friday 6<sup>th</sup> October. (British Library MS Add 62684 38-9).

## **1900**

**19<sup>th</sup> May:** Went on Geological Society excursion to Hertingfordbury with Ursula and Irene. (British Library MS Add 62684 44).

**3<sup>rd</sup> May:** Went to Andover to study geology and to open the library. (British Library MS Add 62684 45).

**2<sup>nd</sup> June:** Went to Tenby to look at geology. Returned home on Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup> June. (British Library MS Add 62684 45).

**19<sup>th</sup> July:** Went to Tenby for six weeks to have a holiday and study the geology. (British Library MS Add 62684 45).

**4<sup>th</sup> September:** Went to Paris for the Exhibition and returned home on Monday 10<sup>th</sup> September. (British Library MS Add 62684 46).

**23<sup>rd</sup> November:** Went to Buxton to study the geology. Returned home on Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> December. (British Library MS Add 62684 48).

## **1901**

- 30<sup>th</sup> March:** Went to Settle to study the geology. (British Library MS Add 62684 51).
- 22<sup>nd</sup> July:** Went to Broadstairs to study the geology. On 18<sup>th</sup> August found an ammonite at Margate 33 inches long. (British Library MS Add 62684 53).
- Autumn:** Went to North Berwick. (British Library MS Add 62684 55).

## **1902**

- 12<sup>th</sup> July:** Went to Llangollen to study the geology, and also visited Offa's Dyke and other archaeological sites. Returned home on 19<sup>th</sup> July. (British Library MS Add 62684 59).
- 10<sup>th</sup> August:** Went to Savernak, Avebury and Devizes. (British Library MS Add 62684 60).
- 20<sup>th</sup> October:** Went to Birmingham to lecture on the Scenery of England at the Birmingham and Midland Institute (British Library MS Add 62684 61).
- 31<sup>st</sup> October:** Went to Portsmouth and lectured on ants. (British Library MS Add 62684 61).

## **1903**

- 27<sup>th</sup> January:** Went to Biarritz. Returned home on Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup> February. (British Library MS Add 62684 63).
- 25<sup>th</sup> April:** Went on Geological Association field trip to Thanet Sands. (British Library MS Add 62684 65).
- 24<sup>th</sup> November:** Went to Paris with Ursula, Irene and Douglas. Returned Sunday 29<sup>th</sup> November. (British Library MS Add 62684 68).



## **1904**

Went to Cannes to study and collect flowers and insects (British Library MS Add 62684 69).

August: Went to Cambridge for British Association meeting. Returned home 24<sup>th</sup> August. (British Library MS Add 62684 71).

10<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Margate to give lecture (on ants). (British Library MS Add 62684 72).

15<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Alnwick and participated in a geological fieldtrip. (British Library MS Add 62684 72).

5<sup>th</sup> November: Went to Wolverhampton to see erratics and Mr. Mauder's collection. Then on to Stafford to visit 'Bronwen's Grave' and dolmens. Returned home on 8<sup>th</sup> November. (British Library MS Add 62684 73).

## **1905**

29<sup>th</sup> September: Went to stay with Pelhams at Oxford. (British Library MS Add 62684 79).

20<sup>th</sup> October: Went to Salisbury to open the Public Library and visit the museum. (British Library MS Add 62684 79).

## **1906**

6<sup>th</sup> April: Went to Varnase. Returned home on 30<sup>th</sup> April. (British Library MS Add 62684 82).

## **1907**

30<sup>th</sup> August: Took Eric and Maurice to Ightham. First we looked at his collection. Then to Terry's Hill, to the Reservoir Field, to Ash, up the dry Stansted valley, to the Chalk escarpment from which we had a splendid view,

then to Wrotham gault pit and finally to the great Lower Greensand pit. Found several coliths. The patches of ochreous gravels are very curious and suggest old river beds.' (British Library MS Add 62684 89).

19<sup>th</sup> October: 'Went to see some antiquities from ancient burials near Broadstairs. Mr. Hurd took us to the spot.' (British Library MS Add 62684 89).

## **1908**

22<sup>nd</sup> May: Went with Read and J.E. Roberts to Avebury where they are digging a section across the ditch. (British Library MS Add 62684 94).

29<sup>th</sup> May: Went with Phil Norman and Irene to Avebury to watch progress with the excavations. (British Library MS Add 62684 94).

## **1909**

4<sup>th</sup> May: Went with Alice, Ursula, Johnny, Norman, Eric and Maurice to Avebury to see progress with excavations. (British Library MS Add 62684 99).

## **1912**

9<sup>th</sup> November: Went with Read to visit Moir's flints from the base of the Cray river. (British Library MS Add 62684 115).

*John Lubbock died in May 1913.*



## ***Appendix 4.5: Collecting Events Forming John Lubbock's Collection of Archaeological and Ethnographic Material***

A 'collecting event' has been identified wherever there is evidence to suggest a single act of collecting occurred - for example, a field collecting trip or a purchase from a shop/ catalogue. It may therefore contain a single Catalogue entry or more than one. There is obviously a certain degree of assumption on my part as to whether an entry belongs to a particular collecting event or not, and unless directly proven there will always remain a question mark over the true nature of some collecting events. This data relates to the collection as catalogued in the Avebury Catalogue and includes all entries except the 17 for which there is no information at all recorded.

**1863**

### ***Probable number of collecting events: 16***

1. purchase of collection from Danish student, Vilhelm Boye, via Steenstrup & Pugaard. (AC nos. 1-187, and Greenland, a-z)
2. gift of material from Sven Nilsson during Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 (AC no. 188-204)
3. gift of material from Christopher Rudolph Pugaard during Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 (AC no. 205-214)
4. gift of material from Japetus Steenstrup during Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 (AC no. 215-216)
5. field collection of material by Lubbock during his visit to Havelse, Denmark in July 1863 (AC no. 218)
6. gift or purchase of material for Lubbock by Japetus Steenstrup during Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 (AC no. 217; 219-228)
7. gift of material from Japetus Steenstrup during Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 (AC no. 231)

8. purchase of material from Sally Henriques during Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 (AC no. 230, 232-242)
9. There is no information in the Catalogue about 243, other than it is from Havelse in Denmark, but it is probably associated with Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 given this provenance information and its position in the Catalogue.
10. There is no information in the Catalogue about 229, but it is probably associated with Lubbock's visit to Denmark and Sweden in July 1863 given its position in the Catalogue

**(1-10 are events associated with a single visit to Scandinavia by John Lubbock in July 1863)**

11. gift of material from Ireland to Lubbock by John Evans (AC no. 244)
12. purchase of material in Dublin (AC no. 245-246)
13. gift of material from North America to Lubbock by Frederic Lubbock. (AC no. 247-250)
14. acquisition of a Bronze Age item from a Danish tumulus. No further information supplied in Catalogue (AC no. 251)
15. gift of material from Ireland to Lubbock by John Evans (AC no. 252)
16. field collection of material by Lubbock during his visit to Marlborough Downs in December 1863 {AC no. 253-254}

## **1864**

***Probable number of collecting events: 18***

**(including 5 events that could have taken place in 1864 or 1865).**

1. field collection of material by Lubbock during his visit to the caves in the Dordogne region of France at Easter 1864. (AC no. 255-261)
2. gift of material from Bruniquel to Lubbock by La Vicomte de Lastic during his visit to the caves in the Dordogne region of France at Easter 1864 (AC no. 262)





**1865*****Probable number of collecting events: 11***

**(including 1 event that could have taken place in 1865 or 1866).**

1. acquisition of material by Lubbock from Denmark probably brought over to England and given to Lubbock by Japetus Steenstrup during his visit to the BA meeting in September 1865 (AC no. 301-318):
  - a) the purchase of material by Lubbock from Henriques, probably the material bought by Lubbock when he was last with Steenstrup in Denmark during 1863 (Royal Library, Copenhagen, NKS 3460 to) (AC no. 301)
  - b) gifts of material from Christian Jurgensen Thomsen and Japetus Steenstrup (AC no. 309-317)
  - c) acquisition of material by Lubbock from Denmark (AC no. 302-308; 318)
2. gift of material from North America to Lubbock by I. Crawford and Mr. Pope (AC no. 319-325)
3. gift of material from North America to Lubbock by Mr. Flower (AC no. 326)
4. gift of material from Ireland to Lubbock by John Evans (AC no. 327-331)
5. acquisition of material from Jubbulpore by Lubbock. There are no further details in the Catalogue (AC no. 332)
6. purchase of material from William Wareham by Lubbock (AC no. 333-334)
7. gift of material from South Africa to Lubbock by Rev. A.G. Bain (AC no. 335-336)
8. gift of material from Lewes to Lubbock by William Boyd Dawkins, from Lewes. (AC no. 337-338)



9. gift of material from North America to Lubbock by Mr Pope (AC no. 339) 1865/  
1866?

## 1866

### *Probable number of collecting events: 25*

1. acquisition of material by Lubbock from Perugia, Italy, during his visit to Austria and Italy (including Hallstatt) in 1866. No other details provided in Catalogue (AC no. 340)
2. acquisition of material by Lubbock from Naples, Italy, during his visit to Austria and Italy (including Hallstatt) in 1866. No other details provided in Catalogue (AC no. 341)
3. acquisition of material by Lubbock from Bavaria, during his visit to Austria and Italy (including Hallstatt) in 1866. No other details provided in Catalogue (AC no. 342)
4. acquisition of material by Lubbock from Rome, Italy, during his visit to Austria and Italy (including Hallstatt) in 1866. No other details provided in Catalogue (AC no. 343-344)
5. acquisition of spearhead cornet by Lubbock. No other details provided in Catalogue, but its position in the Catalogue suggests it relates to Lubbock's visit to Austria and Italy (including Hallstatt) in 1866 (AC no. 345)
6. purchase of archaeological material by Lubbock in Vienna, Austria, during his visit to Austria and Italy (including Hallstatt) in 1866 (AC no. 346-352)
7. gift of material from Australia to Lubbock by W. Wood (AC no. 353)
8. gift of material from Scotland to Lubbock from John Evans (AC no. 354) and purchase of material by John Evans on Lubbock's behalf (AC no. 355-359). The latter was purchased by Evans in Saxony on his return through Germany to England after visiting Hallstatt with Lubbock in 1866 (Evans archive).
9. gift of material from Hallstatt to Lubbock by Ramsauer (AC no. 360)
10. field collection of material by Lubbock and Evans during their visit to Hallstatt in 1866 (AC no. 361-362, 366-367)

11. gift of material from Hallstatt to Lubbock by H. Stapf, H. during his visit to Hallstatt in 1866 (AC no. 363)
  12. purchase of material by Lubbock from Hallstatt (AC no. 364-365, 368-373, 378-386)
- (1-6 and 8-12 relate to a single field trip into Austria and Italy undertaken by Lubbock with his wife, Nelly and John Evans in 1866)**
13. gift of material from Aylesford to Lubbock by G.W. Dasent (AC no. 387)
  14. purchase of archaeological material from Ireland and ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 388-406)
  15. gift of material from Australia to Lubbock by Mr. Habgood (AC no. 407-415)
  16. gift of material from Shingleton Arctic Collection to Lubbock by Joseph W. Flower (AC no. 416)
  17. purchase of material from Shingleton Arctic Collection by Lubbock from Crispe & Dracott auctioneers (AC no. 417-428, 463-475)
  18. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans (AC no. 429-439)
  19. gift of material from Yorkshire to Lubbock by Mr. Porter, during Lubbock's visit to Sherbourn, Yorkshire to excavate tumuli with Canon Greenwell in October 1866 (AC no. 440)
  20. gift of material from Yorkshire to Lubbock by Mr. Monkman, during Lubbock's visit to Sherbourn, Yorkshire to excavate tumuli with Canon Greenwell in October 1866 (AC no. 441)
  21. field collection of material by Lubbock, during Lubbock's visit to Sherbourn, Yorkshire to excavate tumuli with Canon Greenwell in October 1866 (AC no. 442)
- (collecting events 19-21 relate to a trip by Lubbock to Yorkshire to assist Canon Greenwell in the excavation of tumuli near Sherbourn in October 1866)**
22. gift of material from North America to Lubbock by Paul Blackmore (AC no. 443-450)
  23. gift of ethnographic material to Lubbock by H.I. Fu[r]t (AC no. 451-453)



24. purchase of material from North America by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 454)
25. gift of material from Savage Islands to Lubbock by Augustus Wollaston Franks (AC no. 455)

## **1867**

### ***Probable number of collecting events: 35***

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Rev. W.W. Kirby (AC no. 456-457)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker (AC no. 458-459)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Sir E. Belcher (AC no. 460-462)
4. acquisition of material from Africa by Lubbock from Mon. Casolai (AC no. 476-477)
5. acquisition of material from South America by Lubbock from Captain Burton (AC no. 478)
6. purchase of material from Africa by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 479)
7. gift of material from France to Lubbock by G.D. Mortillet, during Lubbock's visit to France in April/ May 1867 (AC no. 480)
8. gift of material from France to Lubbock by Dr Cussi, during Lubbock's visit to France in April/ May 1867 (AC no. 481)
9. field collection of material made by Lubbock during his visit to the tumuli in Brittany, France in April/ May 1867 (AC no. 482)
10. gift of ethnographic material to Lubbock by Mr Dean (AC no. 483)
11. gift of ethnographic material to Lubbock by Henry Christy (AC no. 484)
12. purchase of material by Lubbock in Lyon, during his visit to France in April/ May 1867 (AC no. 485-486)
13. purchase of material by Lubbock in Paris, during his visit to France in April/ May 1867 (AC no. 487)

14. gift of material to Lubbock by M. Lacroix, during his visit to France in April/ May 1867 (AC no. 488)
  15. purchase of material by Lubbock from Le Puy, during his visit to France in April/ May 1867 (AC no. 489, 491)
  16. field collection of material made by Lubbock during a visit to Sergovia whilst in France during April/ May 1867 (AC no. 490)
- (collecting events 7-9 and 12-16 relate to a single field trip by Lubbock to France with Hooker, Huxley, Evans and Franks in April/ May 1867)**
17. acquisition of material from South Africa by Lubbock. No further details are provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 492)
  18. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 493-503a)
  19. gift of material from Brazil to Lubbock by Mr. Plant (AC no. 503b-505)
  20. gift of material from South Africa to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker (AC no. 506)
  21. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Mackeny (AC no. 507-509)
  22. gift of material to Lubbock by Blackmore Museum (AC no. 510-516, 518-521)
  23. purchase of material from Denmark by Lubbock from Sally Henriques (AC no. 522-536, 538-539)
  24. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 540-547)
  25. gift of material from the Shingleton Arctic Collection to Lubbock by Mr. Flower (AC no. 548)
  26. purchase of material from Denmark by Lubbock from Johan Christian Ludvig Petersen, via Helvig Conrad Christian Englehardt and Mr. Flower (AC no. 549)
  27. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 550-553)
  28. field collection of material made by Lubbock during a visit to the Orkneys in September 1867, after the BA meeting in Dundee (AC no. 554)



29. material generated by Lubbock through experimental archaeology during a visit to the Orkneys in September 1867, after the BA meeting in Dundee (AC no 555)

**(collecting events 28-29 relate to a field trip to the Orkneys by Lubbock in September 1867 with Archibald Hamilton)**

30. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in September 1867 (AC no. 556-561)

31. purchase of material from Silbury Hill by Lubbock from William Wareham in October 1867 (AC no. 562)

32. purchase of material from Denmark by Lubbock from Sally Henriques (AC no. 563)

33. gift of material from Hudson Bay Territory, North America to Lubbock by E. Colville (AC no. 564)

34. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 565-569)

35. gift of material from Ireland to Lubbock by Mr Robert Day (AC no. 570)

## **1868**

***Probable number of collecting events: 50***

1. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 571-574)

2. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker (AC no. 575-576)

3. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 577)

4. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce Murdoch Wright (AC no. 578-579)

5. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker (AC no. 580)

6. gift of material to Lubbock by General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (AC no. 581)

7. gift of material to Lubbock by Sir. E. Head (AC no. 582)

8. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham in February (AC no. 583-585, 587, 591-593)
9. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright in January (AC no. 586, 588-590)
10. gift of material from South America to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker, who acquired them for Lubbock from William H. Campbell (AC no. 594)
11. gift of material from Australia to Lubbock by B. Plant (AC no. 595-597)
12. purchase of archaeological and ethnographic material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright (AC no. 598-612)
13. gift of ethnographic material to Lubbock by Dr. Pye Smith (AC no. 613)
14. gift of material to Lubbock by General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (AC no. 614)
15. gift of material from Denmark to Lubbock by M. Pugaard (AC no. 615)
16. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright (AC no. 616)
17. gift of material from Italy to Lubbock by S. Pigorini, during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 617)
18. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from Berlin, during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 618)
19. gift of material to Lubbock by Cocchi, during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 619)
20. purchase of material by Lubbock from M. Jerin in Mayence, during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 620-634a)
21. gift of ethnographic material to Lubbock by Nevile Lubbock (AC no. 635a)
22. acquisition of material from Parma by Lubbock during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868. No further details provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 634b, 635b)



23. purchase of material by Lubbock from Berlin during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868. {AC no. 635c, 638} \*\*
  24. gift of material to Lubbock by E. Colville (AC no. 636)
  25. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 637, 639)
  26. acquisition of material from Abyssinia by Lubbock brought back by R.L. Melville. No further information provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 640)
  27. purchase of material from Montiers, France by Lubbock during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 641)
  28. purchase of material from St. Acheul, France by Lubbock during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 642)
  29. gift of material from Australia to Lubbock by George Augustus Robinson (AC no. 643)
  30. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright (AC no. 644-645)
  31. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. Keller during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 646)
  32. purchase of material by Lubbock from the antiquities dealer Barone in Naples, Italy, during a visit by Lubbock to Italy with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton in April 1868 (AC no. 647-651)
- (collecting events 17-20, 22-23, 27-28, 31-32 relate to a single field trip by Lubbock with John Tyndall and Archibald Hamilton to Italy in April 1868 to witness Vesuvius erupting)
33. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright (AC no. 652)
  34. field collection of material made by Lubbock during a visit to Barrow Green near Titsey in July 1868 (AC no. 653)
  35. purchase of material by Lubbock from Simmonds (AC no. 654, 659- 663)
  36. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Foote (AC no. 655-657)
  37. purchase of material in London by Lubbock (AC no. 658)

38. gift of material to Lubbock by D. Child, during a visit by Lubbock to France and Switzerland in August 1868 (AC no. 664-665)
  39. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Offor, during a visit by Lubbock to France and Switzerland in August 1868 (AC no. 666-669)
  40. gift of material to Lubbock by Gabrielle de Mortillet, during a visit by Lubbock to France and Switzerland in August 1868 (AC no. 670-671)
  41. acquisition of material from Moulin Quignon, France, which Lubbock acquired from Keeping during a visit by Lubbock to Switzerland in August 1868 (AC no. 672)
  42. purchase of material by Lubbock from Simmonds at the Paris Exhibition during a visit by Lubbock to Switzerland in August 1868 (AC no. 673-676)
- (collecting events 38-42 relate to a single trip by Lubbock to Switzerland with other members of the Schools Commission)
43. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham (AC no. 677-681)
  44. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Dale (AC no. 682)
  45. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Fitch (AC no. 683)
  46. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright (AC no. 684-685)
  47. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker (AC no. 686-687)
  48. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Lawrence (AC no. 688)
  49. gift of material to Lubbock by M. Foresi (AC no. 764)
  50. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Freeman (AC no. 773)

## **1869**

### ***Probable number of collecting events: 45***

1. gift of material from Scotland to Lubbock by C. Magnian (AC no. 698)



2. gift of material from the Cape, South Africa to Lubbock by L. Dale (AC no. 699)
3. gift of material from the Cape, South Africa to Lubbock by George Busk, (AC no. 700)
4. gift of material from Barbados, to Lubbock from Augustus Wollaston Franks in February 1869 (AC no. 701)
5. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham in March 1869 (AC no. 702-716, 718-720, 722-730, 732-736, 738-739)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by Augustus Wollaston Franks in March 1869 (AC no. 717)
7. gift of material from New Zealand to Lubbock by Captain Wells in March 1869 (AC no. 721)
8. gift of material to Lubbock by General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers in March 1869 (AC no. 731)
9. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker in March 1869 (AC no. 737)
10. gift of material from Australia to Lubbock by R. Birkbeck in March 1869 (AC no. 740)
11. purchase of ethnographic material by Lubbock from William Wareham in April 1869 (AC no. 741-747)
12. acquisition of material from Norfolk by Lubbock on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1869 (AC no. 748, 763)
13. gift of material from Neuchatel and Auvernier to Lubbock by M. Desor during a visit by Lubbock to Switzerland in May 1869 (AC no. 749, 753, 755, 756?)
14. purchase of material from Robenhausen and Auvernier by Lubbock from Johann Messikorner during a visit by Lubbock to Switzerland in May 1869 (AC no. 750 - 751, 754, 756?, 820)
15. gift of material from Neufchatel to Lubbock by M. Coulon, during a visit by Lubbock to Switzerland in May 1869 (AC no. 752)
16. gift of material to Lubbock by Archibald Hamilton in May 1869 (AC no. 757)

17. purchase of material by Lubbock from Lemans in Paris, France, during a visit by Lubbock to Switzerland in May 1869 (AC no. 758-759, 765-766, 768)
  18. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Gibbs in May 1869 (AC no. 760-762)
  19. exchange of material by Lubbock with Neufchatel Museum during a visit by Lubbock to Switzerland in May 1869 (AC no. 767)
- (collecting events 13-15, 17 and 19 relate to a single trip by Lubbock to Switzerland in May 1869 for three weeks with Nelly and the Grant Duffs)**
20. purchase of material by Lubbock from Sothebys in May 1869 (AC no. 769-771)
  21. purchase of material from Hallstatt by Lubbock from H. Stapf, with John Evans (AC no. 772)
  22. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. McKelvin in June 1869 (AC no. 774)
  23. gift of material to Lubbock by Archibald Hamilton in June 1869 (AC no. 775-777)
  24. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Ofor in 1869 (AC no. 778)
  25. gift of material to Lubbock by Phillip Norman in July 1869 (AC no. 779)
  26. gift of material from India to Lubbock by [Walter Eliots] in July 1869 (AC no. 780)
  27. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in July 1869 (AC no. 781)
  28. gift of material to Lubbock by J.W. Flower in July 1869 (AC no. 782, 784)
  29. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Habgood in July 1869 (AC no. 783)
  30. acquisition of material from Paviland, Wales, by Lubbock in August 1869, probably collected during a trip to the Gower Peninsula to visit the Park Cwm tumulus with the Cambrian Archaeological Society (AC no. 785)
  31. purchase of material from Marlborough House, Exeter by Lubbock in August 1869 (AC no. 786, 796?)
  32. acquisition of material from Gittisham by Lubbock in August 1869 (AC no. 787)



33. gift of material to Lubbock by S. Pigorini in September 1869 (AC no. 788-792)
34. gift of material to Lubbock by S. Strobel in September 1869 (AC no. 793)
35. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. Milligan (AC no. 794)
36. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. P.H. Pye Smith in October 1869 (AC no. 797)
37. gift of material to Lubbock by General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers in October 1869 (AC no. 798, 801-802)
38. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans in October 1869 (AC no. 799)
39. acquisition of material from the Solomon Islands by Lubbock. No further information provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 800)
40. gift of material to Lubbock by Archibald Hamilton in October 1869 (AC no. 803)
41. purchase of material by Lubbock from Cutter in October 1869 (AC no. 804-813)
42. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright in October 1869 (AC no. 814-819)
43. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in November 1869 (AC no. 821)
44. acquisition of material from West Africa by Lubbock in November 1869. Brought home by Mr. Lovibond. No further information provided in the Catalogue AC no. 822)
45. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Dale in December 1869 (AC no. 823)

## **1870**

### ***Probable number of collecting events: 32***

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Archibald Hamilton in January 1870 (AC no. 824)
2. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in February 1870 (AC no. 825-828)

33. gift of material to Lubbock by S. Pigorini in September 1869 (AC no. 788-792)
34. gift of material to Lubbock by S. Strobel in September 1869 (AC no. 793)
35. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. Milligan (AC no. 794)
36. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. P.H. Pye Smith in October 1869 (AC no. 797)
37. gift of material to Lubbock by General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers in October 1869 (AC no. 798, 801-802)
38. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans in October 1869 (AC no. 799)
39. acquisition of material from the Solomon Islands by Lubbock. No further information provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 800)
40. gift of material to Lubbock by Archibald Hamilton in October 1869 (AC no. 803)
41. purchase of material by Lubbock from Cutter in October 1869 (AC no. 804-813)
42. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright in October 1869 (AC no. 814-819)
43. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in November 1869 (AC no. 821)
44. acquisition of material from West Africa by Lubbock in November 1869. Brought home by Mr. Lovibond. No further information provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 822)
45. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Dale in December 1869 (AC no. 823)

## **1870**

### ***Probable number of collecting events: 32***

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Archibald Hamilton in January 1870 (AC no. 824)
2. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in February 1870 (AC no. 825-828)



3. acquisition of material from Pont Le Voy and Carcassone in France, during a visit to France in April 1870 (AC no. 829-830)
- (collecting event 3 relates to a trip to France in April 1870 by Lubbock with Mr. and Mrs. Grant Duff)
4. gift of material from New Zealand to Lubbock by Mr. Millington in May 1870 (AC no. 831)
5. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in May 1870 (AC no. 833-838)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by Augustus Wollaston Franks in June 1870 (AC no. 839)
7. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. John Rae in June 1870 (AC no. 840)
8. gift of material to Lubbock by J. Swanzy in June 1870 (AC no. 841)
9. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in June 1870 (AC no. 842)
10. purchase of material by Lubbock from Emerson Norman in July 1870 (AC no. 843)
11. gift of material to Lubbock by M. Foresi in 1870 (AC no 844)
12. gift of material to Lubbock by J. De Grey in July 1870 (AC no. 845-846)
13. purchase of material by Lubbock from Paris in July 1870 (AC no. 847-850)
14. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in July 1870 (AC no. 851)
15. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in August 1870 (AC no. 852-858)
16. gift of material to Lubbock by Miss Haigh in August 1870 (AC no. 859)
17. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright in August 1870 (AC no. 860-877)
18. acquisition of material from Easter Island by Lubbock in August 1870. No further details are provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 878)
19. acquisition of material from an unknown source by Lubbock in August 1870 (AC no. 879)

20. gift of material to Lubbock by George Busk in August 1870 (AC no. 880)
21. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. James Hector in September 1870 (AC no. 881)
22. gift of material to Lubbock by William Gray in September 1870 (AC no. 882)
23. gift of material to Lubbock by Miss Haigh in September 1870 (AC no. 883)
24. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in March 1870 (AC no. 884-885)
25. gift of material to Lubbock by R. Birkbeck in October 1870 (AC no. 886)
26. gift of material to Lubbock by J.W. Flower in 1870 (AC no. 887)
27. gift of material to Lubbock by Rev. J. Kessler in October 1870 (AC no. 888-897)
28. gift of material to Lubbock by Augustus Wollaston Franks in October 1870 (AC no. 898)
29. gift of material to Lubbock by Rev. C.L. Acland in November 1870 (AC no. 899)
30. gift of material to Lubbock by Rev. F.W. Fasson in November 1870 (AC no. 900)
31. gift of material to Lubbock by Sir C. Wheatstone in November 1870 (AC no. 901-902)
32. gift of material to Lubbock by George Busk in December 1870 (AC no. 903)

## **1871**

### ***Probable number of collecting events: 24***

1. gift of material to Lubbock by J. Brenchley in March 1871 (AC no. 904)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. Milligan in March 1871 (AC no. 905)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by J.W. Flower in April 1871 (AC no. 906-907)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Baker in April 1871 (AC no. 908)



5. acquisition of material by Lubbock in April 1871 collected by Mr. Armstrong. No further details provided in Catalogue (AC no. 909-918)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by Augustus Wollaston Franks in April 1871 (AC no. 919)
7. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Stow in May 1871 (AC no. 920)
8. gift of material to Lubbock by Charles Darwin in June 1871 (AC no. 921)
9. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in June 1871 (AC no. 922-933)
10. gift of material to Lubbock by Chas C. Abbott in July 1871 (AC no. 924)
11. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Allen in July 1871 (AC no. 925)
12. purchase of material by Lubbock from Cutter in August 1871 (AC no. 926)
13. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Richard in August 1871 (AC no. 927-931)
14. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in October 1871 (AC no. 932)
15. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans in November 1871. Possibly given during the visit by Lubbock to Evans' home in November 1871 (AC no. 933-940)
16. purchase of material from Denmark by Lubbock in November 1871 (AC no. 941-943)
17. gift of material to Lubbock by J. L. Widger in November 1871 (AC no. 944)
18. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Finlay in November 1871 (AC no. 945-946)
19. gift of material to Lubbock by Monstuart E. Grant Duff in November 1871 (AC no. 947-973)
20. gift of material to Lubbock by George Busk in December 1871 (AC no. 974)
21. purchase of material by Lubbock from Cutter in December 1871 (AC no. 975)
22. gift of material to Lubbock by J. W. Flower in December 1871 (AC no. 976)
23. gift of material to Lubbock by J.T. Mackelvie in December 1871 (AC no. 977-979)

24. purchase of material by Lubbock from Cutter in December 1871 (AC no. 980)

## 1872

### *Probable number of collecting events: 27*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker in January 1872 (AC no. 981)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by Rev. Rodwell in January 1872 (AC no. 982)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Mackelvie in April 1872 (AC no. 983)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Kiefft in April 1872 (AC no. 984-986)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by Bonham Carter in April 1872 (AC no. 987)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Finlay in April 1872 (AC no. 988-989)
7. gift of material to Lubbock by Chas C. Abbot in May 1872 (AC no. 990, 995)
8. purchase of material by Lubbock from Lemman in Paris, during a visit to the Pyrenees in May 1872 (AC no. 991)
9. purchase of material from Clermont, France by Lubbock, during a visit to the Pyrenees in May 1872 (AC no. 992)
10. gift of material to Lubbock by M. Foucade, during a visit to the Pyrenees in May 1872 (AC no. 993-994, 996-998)

**(collecting events 8-10 relate to a single trip to the Pyrenees by Lubbock with the Grant Duffs, Miss Bruce and Mr. Cartwright in May 1872)**

11. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright in July 1872 (AC no. 999-1000)
12. gift of material to Lubbock by Augustus Wollaston Franks in July 1872 (AC no. 1001)
13. gift of material to Lubbock by Archibald Hamilton in July 1872 (AC no. 1002)



14. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in July 1872 (AC no. 1003)
  15. acquisition of material that once formed part of the Sir E Belcher Collection in July 1872. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1004-1015)
  16. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in August 1872 (AC no. 1016-1017)
  17. gift of material to Lubbock by [Alfred Tozer] in August 1872 (AC no. 1018)
  18. gift of material to Lubbock by E[dwin] Brown in August 1872 (AC no. 1019-1020)
  19. gift of material to Lubbock by Phillip Norman in August 1872 (AC no. 1021-1023)
  20. acquisition by Lubbock of material from Botocudo indians in Brazil brought back by Chas Browne. Acquired in August 1872 (AC no. 1025-1028)
  21. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker in September 1872 (AC no. 1029)
  22. gift of material to Lubbock by 'the Governor' in Asia Minor, during a field trip to Asia Minor in October 1872 (AC no. 1030-1031)
  23. field collection of material made by Lubbock, during a field trip to Hissarlik, Asia Minor in October 1872 (AC no. 1032)
  24. gift of material from Hissarlik to Lubbock by Frank Calvert, during a field trip to Asia Minor in October 1872 (AC no. 1033)
  25. acquisition of material from Hissarlik by Lubbock, during a field trip to Asia Minor in October 1872. No further details provided in the Catalogue (AC no. 1034-1035)
- (collecting events 22-25 relate to a single trip to Asia Minor by Lubbock with the Greys and Grant Duffs during September-early November 1872)**
26. gift of material to Lubbock by W.R. Winch in December 1872 (AC no. 1036)
  27. gift of material to Lubbock by Chas C. Abbott in December 1872 (AC no. 1037)

## 1873

### *Probable number of collecting events: 10*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by C.A. Fairbridge in January 1873 (AC no. 1038)
2. purchase of material by Lubbock from William Wareham in January 1873 (AC no. 1039a & b-1044)
3. acquisition of material from Norfolk by Lubbock in 1873. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1045)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by Joseph Dalton Hooker in March 1873 (AC no. 1046)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by Captain Pauli in May 1873 (AC no. 1047)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in June 1873 (AC no. 1048 - 1057)
7. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Stow in June 1873 (AC no. 1058-1064)
8. gift of material to Lubbock by William H. Campbell in June 1873 (AC no. 1065 - 1067)
9. gift of material to Lubbock by Mrs. Baird in August 1873 (AC no. 1068)
10. acquisition of material from Algeria by Lubbock in November 1873. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1077)

**(collecting event 10 relates to a field trip to Egypt by Lubbock and Grant Duff in October 1873)**

## 1874

### *Probable number of collecting events: 11*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by C.A. Fairbridge in January 1874 (AC no. 1069)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans in March 1874 (AC no. 1070)



3. gift of material to Lubbock by Phillip Norman in March 1874 (AC no. 1071)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by E[dwin] Brown in March 1874 (AC no. 1072-1073)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by Augustus Wollaston Franks in March 1874 (AC no. 1074)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by Winwood Reade in April 1874 (AC no. 1075)
7. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright in August 1874 (AC no. 1076)
8. gift of material to Lubbock by General Sir William Merewether in September 1874 (AC no. 1078)
9. gift of material to Lubbock by William Jas. Knowles in September 1874 (AC no. 1079b)
10. gift of material to Lubbock by William Grey in October 1874 (AC no. 1079a)

**(collecting events 9-10 relate to Lubbock's attendance at the British Association meeting in Belfast, September 1874)**

11. gift of material to Lubbock by Harry Cecil Cameron in November 1874 (AC no. 1080)

## **1875**

***Probable number of collecting events: 12***

1. gift of material to Lubbock by C.R. [Wallruth] in April 1875 (AC no. 1081 - 1084)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by G. Taylor in May 1875 (AC no. 1089)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Professor Paterson in June 1875 (AC no. 1085-1088)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by George H. White in August 1875 (AC no. 1090)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by General Sir William Merewether in September 1875 (AC no. 1091-1092)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by Ceselli in December 1875 (AC no. 1093-1094, 1101)

7. acquisition of material from Loreto, Italy by Lubbock in December 1875. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1095)
8. acquisition of material from Esquiline, Italy by Lubbock in December 1875. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1096)
9. acquisition of material from Mussoni, Italy by Lubbock in December 1875. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1097)
10. acquisition of material from Rome, Italy by Lubbock in December 1875. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1098-1100)
11. purchase of material from Rome by Lubbock in December 1875. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1108)
12. purchase of material by Lubbock from Dr. J. Ortiz in December 1875 (AC no. 1102-1107)

## **1876**

### ***Probable number of collecting events: 11***

1. purchase of material from Dijon by Lubbock in April 1876, during a visit to France in March/ April 1876 (AC no. 1109)

**(collecting event 1 relates to a trip by Lubbock to France during March/ April 1876 with Amy and Mrs. Grant Duff)**

2. acquisition of Pueblo Indian material from by Lubbock in April 1876. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1110)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by George Busk in May 1876 (AC no. 1111)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by E.A. Barber in May 1876 (AC no. 1112)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans in June 1876 (1113)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans in August 1876 (AC no. 1114 - 1116)
7. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in August 1876 (AC no. 1117)



8. gift of material to Lubbock by W. Blackmore in September 1876 (AC no. 1118-1119)
9. gift of material to Lubbock by the Comte de Limur in October 1876, during a visit to Brittany in September/ October 1876 (AC no. 1120-1121)
10. gift of material to Lubbock by the Comte de Limur in November 1876, sent on Lubbock's return from Brittany in October 1876 (AC no. 1122-1131)

**(collecting events 9-10 relate to a single trip by Lubbock to Brittany in September/ October 1876 with Amy and the Grant Duffs)**

11. purchase of material by Lubbock from Cutter in December 1876 (AC no. 1132-1133)

## **1877**

***Probable number of collecting events: 8***

1. purchase of material by Lubbock from Bryce McMurdo Wright in March 1877 (AC no. 1134-1137)
2. acquisition of material from St Acheul, France by Lubbock during a trip to France in May/ June 1877. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1138)

**(collecting event 2 relates to a trip by Lubbock to France in May/ June 1877 with the Grant Duffs, including a trip to St. Acheul)**

3. gift of material to Lubbock by R. Birkbeck in June 1877 (AC no. 1139)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by John Brazier in July 1877 (AC no. 1140-1142)
5. purchase of material from Seville, Spain by Lubbock during a trip to Algeria in October/ November 1877 (AC no. 1143-1144)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Gongora during a trip to Algeria in October/ November 1877 (AC no. 1145-1146)
7. acquisition of material from Algeria by Lubbock during a trip to Algeria in October/ November 1877 (AC no. 1147a)

(collecting events 5-7 relate to Lubbock's trip to Algeria via Spain in October/ November 1877, with the Grant Duffs, Conny and Rolfe. He purchased a house in Algeria during this trip)

8. gift of material to Lubbock by Sir Bartle Frere in December 1877 (AC no. 1148)

## 1878

*Probable number of collecting events: 4*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Frederic Lubbock in July 1878 (AC no. 1149-1150)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. Ramm Lista in November 1878 (AC no. 1151-1153)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison Senior in November 1878 (AC no. 1154)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Dale via George Busk in December 1878 (AC no. 1155)

## 1879

*Probable number of collecting events: 3*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Alan Lambert in May 1879 (AC no. 1156-1166)
2. acquisition of material from Greece, the ex-Baron Heath collection, by Lubbock in July 1879 (AC no. 1167)
3. field collection made by Lubbock during a trip to Algeria in November 1879 (AC no. 1168)

(collecting event 3 relates to trip by Lubbock to his new home in Algeria with the Grant Duffs and Conny in autumn 1879)



## 1880

### *Probable number of collecting events: 8*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by John Brazier in April 1880 (AC no. 1169-1171)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by J. Rice in April 1880 (AC no. 1172)
3. acquisition of material from Crayford Pit by Lubbock in July 1880. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1173-1174)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by A. Pell, ex Professor Swallow collection, in July 1880 (AC no. 1175)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, ex Professor Swallow collection, in July 1880 (AC no. 1176)
6. gift of material to Lubbock by [N.E.] Shepherd in July 1880 (AC no. 1177-1183)
7. gift of material to Lubbock by Dr. Reil in November 1880 (AC no. 1184)
8. gift of material to Lubbock by F.C.J. Spurrell in November 1880 (AC no. 1185)

## 1881

### *Probable number of collecting events: 3*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. McGuire in January 1881 (AC no. 1186)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by John Evans in April 1881 (AC no. 1187-1188)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by W.P. Shadbolt in August 1881 (AC no. 1189)

## 1882

### *Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Prof. W. Kovalefski in August 1882 (AC no. 1190-1194)

## 1883

### *Probable number of collecting events: 3*

(including 2 collecting events that could have taken place in 1883 or 1884).

1. gift of material to Lubbock by John Brazier in January 1883 (AC no. 1195)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by Lord Walsingham (AC no. 1196) 1883/  
1884?
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Frederic Lubbock in (AC no. 1197) 1883/  
1884?

## 1884

### *Probable number of collecting events: 5*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Worthington G. Smith in March 1884 (AC no. 1198)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by J.E. Baker in April 1884 (AC no. 1199)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Max J. Sanders in May 1884 (AC no. 1120)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by Mrs. Nevile Lubbock in September 1884 (AC no. 1121)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by W. Prosser in October 1884 (AC no. 1122)



## 1885

### *Probable number of collecting events: 4*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Herbert Monkton in February 1885 (AC no. 1123)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by Chas Elton, M.P. in May 1885 (AC no. 1124)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Damon in August 1885 (AC no. 1125)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by Leonard Lyell in September 1885, during Lubbock's visit to Scotland when he stayed with the Lyells for a period of time (AC no. 1126)

(collecting event 4 relates to a trip by Lubbock into Scotland for a holiday, flower spotting and to attend the BA meeting with Alice. They stayed with the Lyells during the period 31<sup>st</sup> August until 14<sup>th</sup> September 1885)

## 1886

### *Probable number of collecting events: 5*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by John Brazier in June 1886 (AC no. 1127-1134)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by H. Gomputz in September 1886 (AC no. 1135)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Prof. Roussopoulos, during visit to Greece in November 1886 (AC no. 1136, 1141)
4. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Hillier, during visit to Greece in November 1886 (AC no. 1137-1139, 1142-4)
5. gift of material to Lubbock by Heinrich Schliemann, during visit to Greece in November 1886 (AC no. 1140)

(collecting events 3-5 relate to Lubbock's trip to Greece in October/ November 1886 with Alice)

## 1887

### *Probable number of collecting events: 4*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by F.W. Gibbs in July 1887 (AC no. 1145)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in October 1887 (AC no. 1146)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Gertrude Lubbock at Christmas 1887 (AC no. 1147a)
4. purchase of coins by Lubbock from Rev. E [Maxwell] Townshend in April 1887 (AC no. 1147b)

## 1888

### *Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Peck in September 1888 (AC no. 1148)

## 1889

### *Probable number of collecting events: 0*

## 1890

### *Probable number of collecting events: 2*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Lord Derby in August 1890 (AC no. 1149-1159)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by John Brazier in November 1890 (AC no. 1160)



## 1891

### *Probable number of collecting events: 3*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Emerson Norman in October 1891 (AC no. 1161)
2. gift of material to Lubbock by M. Lean in December 1891 (AC no. 1162)
3. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Alexander in December 1891 (AC no. 1163)

## 1892

### *Probable number of collecting events: 0*

## 1893

### *Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by H.E. Dresser in 1893 (AC no. 1164)

## 1894

### *Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. Gift of material to Lubbock by J. Hamilton Fox in December 1894 (AC no. 1165)

## 1895

### *Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Mr. Roberts in March or May 1895 (AC no. 1166)

**1896**

*Probable number of collecting events: 0*

**1897**

*Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. Acquisition of material from St. Marys Cray by Lubbock in 1897. No further information provided in Catalogue (AC no. 1170)

**1898**

*Probable number of collecting events: 3*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison in March or May 1898 (AC no. 1167, 1169)
2. purchase of material by Lubbock from Mr. Butrus with the assistance of the British Museum in March 1898 (AC no. 1168)
3. gift of material by James Ralls during a visit to Bristol to attend the BA meeting in September 1898 (AC no. 1171-1172)

**1899**

*Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. gift of material by Benjamin Harrison, possibly acquired during Lubbock's visit to Harrison on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1899 (AC no. 1173-1175)



**1900**

*Probable number of collecting events: 0*

**1901**

*Probable number of collecting events: 0*

**1902**

*Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Worthington G. Smith in 1902 (AC no. 1176-1179)

**1903**

*Probable number of collecting events: 3*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Lt. Montagu Lubbock in 1903 (AC no. 1180)
2. purchase of coin by Lubbock from [Geo.] Pearce in July 1903 (AC no. 1181)
3. purchase of coins by Lubbock from Sotheby's in 1903 with the assistance of the British Museum (AC no. 1182)

**1904**

*Probable number of collecting events: 0*

**1905**

*Probable number of collecting events: 0*

**1906**

*Probable number of collecting events: 0*

**1907**

*Probable number of collecting events: 1*

1. gift of material to Lubbock by Benjamin Harrison during a visit to Ightham in 1907(AC no. 1183-1184)



## ***Appendix 4.6: Names of Sources from which John Lubbock acquired material, by Source Type***

### **Definition of Source Types**

#### ***Colonial Sources***

People based overseas on colonial duty in the British Empire, including government officials, military personnel and missionaries.

#### ***Commercial Dealers***

People who sold archaeological and ethnographic material as a commercial business.

#### ***Family Sources***

People related to John Lubbock either by blood or through marriage.

#### ***Friend Sources***

People for which there is evidence that John Lubbock was more than just an acquaintance or a contact, but a social friend. These people also formed part of his local/ national network of contacts but had a more complex relationship with him than other members of these networks.

#### ***International Network***

People living or based abroad (other than those involved in colonial duty) who are acquaintances or contacts of John Lubbock.

## ***Local Network***

People living in Northwest Kent who were acquaintances or contacts of John Lubbock primarily through local political and social discourse.

## ***National Network***

People living in London and elsewhere in the UK who were acquaintances or contacts of John Lubbock primarily through broader social and scientific discourse.

The archival evidence identified in chapter 3 has been used to assign each source to one of the above categories. Where it has not been possible to do so, the source has been classified as an *unknown* source type.

## **Names of Sources by Source Type**

### ***Colonial (80 AC entries; 41 collecting events; 31 sources)***

- Bain, A.G., Rev. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Baker, J.E. [1 entry; 1 collecting event] Consul  
Barber, E.A. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Belcher, Sir. Edward [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Brazier, John [16 entries; 5 collecting events]  
Browne, Chas [4 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Burton, Captain [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Cameron, Harry Cecil [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Campbell, William H. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Casolau, Monsr. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Colville, E. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Crawford, I. & Pope, Mr. (Member of Council) [7 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Dale, Dr. [4 entries; 4 collecting events]  
[Elliot, Walter] [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Fairbridge, C.A. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]. Queen's Proctor.  
Fidour, Mr. [1 entry, collected via Sir W. Merewether. See Merewether for relevant collecting event]  
Frere, Bartle Sir [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Hector, James Dr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]



Kessler, Rev. J[ulius] [10 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Kirby, W.W., Rev. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Mackeny, Geo. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Melville, R.L. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Merewether, William, Gen. Sir [2 entries, 1 via Bartle Frere; 2 collecting events]  
Millington, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Pauli, [M.B.], Captain [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Pope, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Prosser, W. Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Rae, John, Dr. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Reade, Winwood [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Robinson, George Augustus [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Wells, Captain [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

***Dealer (312 AC entries; 58 collecting events; 9 sources)***

Barone [5 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Crispe & Dracott, Messrs. [25 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Cutter [15 entries; 5 collecting events]  
Henriques, Sally [31 entries; 4 collecting events]  
Leman, Paris [6 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Simmonds [10 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Sotheby's [4 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Wareham, William [158 entries; 29 collecting events]  
Wright, Bryce McMurdo [58 entries; 12 collecting events]

***Family (14 AC entries; 10 collecting events; 6 sources)***

Birkbeck, R. [3 entries; 3 collecting events]  
Lubbock, Frederic [7 entries; 3 collecting events]  
Lubbock, Gertrude [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Lubbock, Montagu H., Lt. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Lubbock, Nevile [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Lubbock, Nevile Mrs. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

***Friend (136 AC entries; 65 collecting events; 16 sources)***

Baird, [Mary] [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Busk, George [5 entries; 5 collecting events]  
Christy, Henry [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Darwin, Charles [3 entries; 3 collecting events]  
Evans, John [41 entries; 11 collecting events]  
Flower, J.W. [7 entries; 5 collecting events]  
Flower, Mr. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Franks, Augustus Wollaston [8 entries; 8 collecting events]  
Galton, Francis [5 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Grant Duff, Monstuart E. [27 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Haigh, Miss [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Hamilton, Archibald [7 entries; 5 collecting events]  
Hooker, Joseph Dalton [13 entries; 10 collecting events]  
Lyell, Leonard [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Norman, Phillip [5 entries; 3 collecting events]  
Pitt Rivers, Augustus Lane Fox, General [7 entries; 5 collecting events]

***International network (392 AC entries; 48 collecting events; 37 sources)***

Abbot, Chas C. [4 entries; 3 collecting events]  
Baker, Mr., (Auburn New York ?) [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Boye, Vilhelm [249 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Calvert, Frank [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Ceselli, L. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Cocchi [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Coulon, M. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Cussi, Dr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Desor, M. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Finlay, G. [4 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Foresi, M. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Foucade, M. [5 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Gongora, Mr. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Keller, F. Dr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Kovalefski, W. Prof. [5 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Lacroix, M. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Le Vicomte de Lastic [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Limur, Comte de [12 entries; 2 collecting events]



Messikorner, Johann [4 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Messikorner, Johann or Desor, M. [1 entry. Not require a separate collecting event as part of Messikorner, Johann or Desor event]  
Mortillet, G. de [3 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Neufchatel Museum (?) [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Nilsson, Sven, Prof. [17 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Offor, G. [5 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Ortiz, J. Dr. [6 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Petersen, Johan Christian Ludvig (bought by Lubbock with Flower via Englehardt) [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Pigorini, S., Dr. [6 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Pugaard, Christopher Rudolph [12 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Ramsauer [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Reil, Dr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Roussopoulos, Prof. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Schliemann, Heinrich [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Shepherd, [N.E.], Mr. [7 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Stapf, H. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Steenstrup, Japetus [22 entries; 4 collecting events]  
Thomsen, Christian Jurgensen [1 entry. Not require a separate collecting event as part of a Steenstrup event]  
unknown ('the Governor') [2 entries; 1 collecting event]

***Local network (30 AC entries; 16 collecting events; 7 sources)***

Allen, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Brenchley, J., Esq (Maidstone) [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Dasent, G.W. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Harrison, Benjamin [15 entries; 10 collecting events]  
Harrison, Benjamin Jr. [10 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Monkton, Mr. Herbert [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Pearce, [Geo] [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

***National network (80 AC entries; 38 collecting events; 34 sources)***

Acland, C.L., Rev. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Anderson, Joseph [6 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Blackmore Museum [11 entries; 1 collecting event]

Blackmore, Paul [8 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Blackmore, W. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Boyd Dawkins, William [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Brown, E[dwin] [4 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Butrus, Mr. [1 entry via the British Museum; 1 collecting event]  
Day, Robert (Cork) [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Derby, Lord [12 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Dresser, H.E. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Entwisle, R. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Fitch, Mr. ('of Norwich') [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Gibbs, F.W. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Gordon, Dr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Gray, William [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Grey, William [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Knowles, William [Jas] [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Monkman, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Norman, Emerson [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Peck, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Plant, B. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Porter, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Ralls, James [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Roberts, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Rodwell, M., Rev. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Sanders, [Max] J. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Smith, Worthington G. [5 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Spurrell, F.C.J. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Swanzy, J. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Taylor, G. Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Townshend, E. [Maxwell], Rev. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
[Tozer, Alfred] [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Widger, J.L., Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

***Self (25 AC entries; 13 collecting events; 1 source)***

Lubbock, John [25 entries; 13 collecting events]



***Unknown (262 entries; 105 collecting events; 44 sources plus unknowns)***

Alexander, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Bonham Carter, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Child, D., Mr. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Damon, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
De Grey, J. [2 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Dean, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Elton, Chas (M.P.) [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Fasson (?), F.W., Rev [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Foote, Mr. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Freeman, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Fu[r]t, H.I. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Gibbs, G. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Gomputz, H. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Habgood, Mr. [10 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Hamilton Fox, J. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Head, E., Sir [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Hillier, Mr. [6 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Jerin, M. [15 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Kiefft, G. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Lambert, Alan [11 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Lawrence, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Lean, M. Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Lista, Ramm Dr. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Lukis, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
MacKelvie, J.T. [4 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Magnian, C. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
McGuire, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
McKelvin, Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Milligan, Dr. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Paterson, Prof. [4 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Pell, A., (M.P.) [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Plant, Mr. [3 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Pye Smith, P.H., Dr. [2 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Rice, J. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Richard, Mr. [5 entries; 1 collecting event]  
Shadbolt, W.P. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]  
Stow, Mr. [8 entries; 2 collecting events]  
Strobel, S. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

[Wallruth], C., Mr. [4 entries; 1 collecting event]

Walsingham, Lord [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

Wheatstone, C., Sir [2 entries; 1 collecting event]

White, George H. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

Winch, W.R. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

Wood, W., Mr. [1 entry; 1 collecting event]

Unknown acquisition people and unknown source type [143 entries; 56 collecting events]

## *Appendix 4.7: References To Lubbock's Collecting Activity In Prehistoric Times*

Ref. No.	Item referenced	In 1 <sup>st</sup> edition	In 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition	In 7 <sup>th</sup> edition	Form	Context	Date rec'd	Who from	Current location
1	Modern Esquimaux arrow	No	Yes (ch.1, fig. 2)	Yes (ch.1, fig.2)	Illus. Text	Ethno. Compare.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
2	Bronze axe from Naples	No	Yes (ch.2, fig. 17)	No	Illus.	Typology.	1866*	Unidentified	Unidentified
3	Bronze axe from Le Puy	No	Yes (ch.2, fig. 18)	No	Illus.	Typology.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
4	Stone axe from Denmark	No	Yes (ch.2, fig. 19)	No	Illus.	Typology. Arch. Compare.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
5	Modern iron axe from Africa	No	Yes (ch.2, fig. 20)	Yes (ch.2, fig. 19)	Illus. Text	Techno. (hafting)	June 1868*	Melville, R.L.*	Unidentified AC 640
6	Bronze axe from Aylesford, Kent	No	Yes (ch. 2, fig. 61)	Yes (ch.2, fig. 61)	Illus. Text	Techno. (casting - mould flashlines). Personal involvement	1866	Dasent, G.W.	Unidentified AC 387
7	Flint nucleus from Pressigny, France	No	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 85)	Photo Text	Typology. Techno. (core) Notable. Personal involvement	1864-1865*	Christy, Henry*	Bromley Museum 68.52.2 AC 296*
8	Flint core from Jutland	Yes (ch.3, fig. 61)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 81)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 86)	Illus. Text	Typology. Techno.	1863*	Unidentified	British Museum 1916.6-5.142
9	Large flint flake from Fannerup, Denmark	Yes (ch.3, figs.62-64 & p. 193)	Yes (ch.4 & 7, figs. 82-84 & p.220)	Yes (ch.4 & 7, fig. 87-89 & p.245)	Illus. Text	Typology. Techno. Arch. Context. Notable. Personal involvement	1863	Steenstrup, Japetus	British Museum 1916.6-5.29 No AC entry identified (possibly 227 or 228)
10	Flint flakes	Yes (ch.3,	Yes (ch.4 &	Yes (ch.4,	Illus.	Typology.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified



	from a shell mound in Denmark	figs. 66-68)	7, figs. 86-88 & p.229)	figs. 91-93)	Text	Techno. Arch. Context.			
11	Minute flint flake from Denmark	Yes (ch. 3, fig. 69)	Yes (ch.4 & 7, fig. 89 & p.229)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 94)	Illus. Text	Typology. Techno. Arch. Context.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
12	Stone flake tool from Austrá.ia	No	Yes (ch. 4, fig. 93)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 98)	Illus. Text	Object use.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
13	Stone flake tool from the Cape of Good Hope	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 94)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 97)	Illus. Text	Object use.	October 1868*	Dale, Mr.*	Unidentified location AC 682*
14	Flint flake from Lough Neagh, Ireland	No	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 99)	Photo Text	Typology. Techno. Object use. Ethno. Compare. Personal involvement	1866*	Wareham, William*	Bromley Museum (68.16.5)*
15	New Caledonian Javelin	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 95-96)	Yes (ch.4, figs. 101-102)	Illus. Text	Object use. Ethno. Compare.	1866*	Wareham, William*	Unidentified location AC 395*
16	Flint block from Pressigny, France	No	Yes (ch.4, p.86)	Yes (ch.4, p. 81)	Text	Techno. (quality flint) Notable. Personal involvement	1864-1865*	Christy, Henry*	Bromley Museum 68.52.2* AC 296*
17	Flint axe	Yes (ch.3)	Yes (ch.4, p.87)	Yes (ch.4, p. 88)	Text	Typology. Notable. Personal involvement Ethno compare.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
18	Flint axe from Denmark	No	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 103)	Photo Text	Typology. Arch. Context.	August 1867	Petersen, J.C.	Bromley Museum 68.63.6 AC 549
19	Flint axe from Denmark	No	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 104)	Photo Text	Typology. Notable.	1865*	Unidentified*	Bromley Museum 68.63.9* AC 303*

20	Stone axe from Denmark	No	Yes (ch.4, figs. 101-102)	Yes (ch.4, figs. 110-111)	Illus. Text	Techno. (resharpening)	August 1867	Petersen, J.C.	Bromley Museum (68.61.16) AC 549
21	Flint scraper from Bourdeilles, France	Yes (ch.3, figs. 74-75)	Yes (ch. 4, figs. 103-104)	Yes (ch.4, figs. 112-113)	Illus. Text	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Personal involvement	2 April 1864	Lubbock, John	British Museum 1916.6-5.143 AC 256
22	Flint adze from the shellmound at Meilgaard, Jutland	Yes (ch.3, figs. 79-81)	Yes (chs.4 & 7, figs. 108-110 & p.219)	Yes (ch.4, figs. 117-119)	Illus. Text	Typology. Object use. Ethno. Compare. Personal involvement	1863*	Lubbock, John*	Bromley Museum (various options)*
23	Flint hollow chisel from Denmark	Yes (ch.3, fig. 85)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 114)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 123)	Illus. Text	Typology.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
24	Flint spearhead from Moen, Denmark	Yes (ch.3, p. 75)	Yes (ch.4, p.96)	Yes (ch.4, p. 98)	Text.	Arch. Context. Notable. Personal involvement	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
25	Flint dagger from Denmark	Yes (ch.3, fig. 86)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 115)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 127)	Illus. Photo (7 <sup>th</sup> ed.)	Typology.	July 1863	Boye, Vilhelm	Bromley Museum 84.36.7 AC 111
26	Flint dagger from Denmark	Yes (ch.3, fig. 87)	Yes (ch. 4, fig. 116)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 128)	Illus. Photo (7 <sup>th</sup> ed.)	Typology. Arch. Context.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
27	Flint dagger from Denmark	Yes (ch.3, fig. 88)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 117)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 128)	Illus. Photo (7 <sup>th</sup> ed.) Text	Typology.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
28	Stone arrowhead from France	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 123)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 135)	Illus. Text	Typology. Arch. Compare. Ethno. Compare.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
29	Stone arrowhead from North America	No	Yes (ch.4, fig. 124)	Yes (ch.4, fig. 136)	Illus. Text	Typology. Arch. Compare. Ethno. Compare.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified



30	Bone chisel from Wangen, Lake Constance, Switzerland	Yes (chs. 3 & 5, fig. 122)	Yes (chs. 4 & 6, fig. 128 & p. 184)	Yes (ch. 4, fig. 140)	Illus. Text	Typology. Ethno. Compare.	Unidentified	Unidentified	British Museum 1916.6-5.153
31	Stone implements from Frøclund and Aarhus, Denmark	Yes (ch. 3, p. 81)	Yes (ch. 4, p. 102)	Yes (ch. 4, p. 105)	Text	Arch. Context. Personal involvement	July 1863	Lubbock, John	Aarhus: British Museum 1916.6-5.80-93* Frøclund: Bromley Museum 68.69.6.1-2 and 68.71.1*
32	Stone implements from Egypt	No	No	Yes (ch. 4, p. 106)	Text	Arch. Compare. Personal involvement	1872*	Lubbock, John	British Museum Christy Catalogue Egs. 18-36*
33	Stone implements from a tumulus on Møen, Denmark	Yes (ch. 4, p. 104)	Yes (ch. 5, p. 149-152)	Yes (ch. 5, p. 162-164)	Text	Arch. Context. Dating. Personal involvement	July 1863	Boye, Vilhelm	Partly at Bromley Museum (68.129.1-2, 68.129.4, 68.129.3.1) AC 74-110
34	Various implements from lake village at Wauwyl, Switzerland	Yes (ch. 5, p. 131)	Yes (ch. 6, p. 181)	Yes (ch. 6, p. 193)	Text	Arch. Context. Personal involvement	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
35	Stone axe from Wangen on Lake Constance, Switzerland	Yes (ch. 5, fig. 120)	Yes (ch. 6, fig. 164)	Yes (ch. 6, fig. 185)	Illus.	Typology.	Unidentified	Unidentified	British Museum 1916.6-5.145
36	Earthenware spindlewhorl from Wangen on Lake Constance, Switzerland	Yes (ch. 5, fig. 121)	Yes (ch. 6, fig. 165)	Yes (ch. 6, fig. 186)	Illus. Text	Typology. Object use.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
37	Piece of tissue	Yes (ch. 5,	Yes (ch. 6,	Yes (ch. 6, fig.	Illus.	Arch. Survival.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified



	from Robenhausen, Switzerland	fig. 123)	fig. 166)	190 or 191)	Photo (in 7 <sup>th</sup> edition) Text				
38	Flint flakes and pottery from St. Valery, France	Yes (ch.6, p. 178)	Yes (ch.7, p. 222)	Yes (ch.6, p. 232)	Text	Arch. Compare. Ethno. Compare. Personal involvement	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
39	Stone tools from Meilgaard, Havelse and Fannerup, Denmark	Yes (ch.6)	Yes (ch.7, p.218-220, 237, 239)	Yes (ch.7, pp. 229-230, 240, 247)	Text	Arch. Context. Ethno. Compare. Personal involvement	July 1863	Lubbock, John	Meilgaard: Bromley Museum 68.69.2.1-13, 73.10.2-5, 73.10.10-11, 73.10.13-14, 73.10.19 Fannerup: Bromley Museum 68.69.4.1-2, 68.69.7 Havelse: Bromley Museum 68.69.1.1, 68.69.1.2, 68.69.1.3, 73.10.6, 73.10.12 AC 218 and 243 (Havelse)*
40	Musk ox remains from Maidenhead and Green Street Green, England	No	Yes (ch. 9, p.289)	Yes (ch.9, p. 290)	Text	Geol. Evidence. Personal involvement	1856 (Maidenhead) 1850s (Green Street Green)	Lubbock, John & Kingsley, Charles	Unidentified
41	Stone tools from cave sites in Dordogne, France	Yes (ch.8, p. 250)	Yes (ch.10, p. 319)	Yes (ch.10, p. 322)	Text	Arch. Context. Notable. Personal involvement	1864	Lubbock, John	British Museum and Bromley Museum (various) AC 255-262 and 266
42	Stone implement from Moustier, France	Yes (ch.8, figs. 131-133)	Yes (ch.10, figs. 182-184)	Yes (ch.10, figs. 218-220)	Illus. Text.	Dating. Arch. Compare. Typology.	March 1864	Lubbock, John	British Museum 1916.6-5.1 AC 258
43	Stone implement from Moulin	Yes (ch.9, p. 274)	Yes (ch.11, p. 337)	No	Text	Arch. Compare. Personal involvement	Unidentified	Marcotte, M. Abbeville.	Unidentified

	Quignon, France	Yes (ch.9, p. 275)	Yes (ch.11, p. 338)	No	Text	Personal involvement	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
44	Stone implements (2) from Somme valley, France	Yes (ch.9, p. 275)	Yes (ch.11, p. 338)	No	Text	Personal involvement	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified
45	Stone implements from near Thebes, Egypt	No	No	Yes (ch.11, p. 347)	Text	Arch. Compare. Personal involvement	1872	Lubbock, J.	British Museum Christy Collection Egs. 18-28
46	Stone implement from Madras, India	No	Yes (ch.11, fig. 199)	Yes (ch.11, fig. 238)	Illus. Text	Ethno. Compare. Personal involvement	July 1868	Foote, B.	Unidentified location AC 655-657
47	Stone implement from Madras, India	No	Yes (ch.11, fig. 200)	Yes (ch.11, fig. 243)	Illus. Text	Arch. Compare. Personal involvement	July 1868	Foote, B.	Unidentified location AC 655-657
48	Reconstructed flint from Crayford, England	No	No	Yes (ch.11, fig. 241)	Illus. Text	Arch. Context. Techno. Personal involvement	November 1880*	Spurrell, F.C.J.	Bromley Museum 68.31.1-7* AC 1185*
49	Flint implement from St. Acheul, France	No	No	Yes (ch.11, fig. 244)	Photo Text	Typology.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Bromley Museum 68.54.25
50	Flint implement from St. Acheul, France	No	No	Yes (ch.11, fig. 245)	Photo Text	Typology.	12 September 1885	Lyell, Leonard	Bromley Museum 68.1 AC 1126
51	Flint implement from St. Acheul,	No	No	Yes (ch.11, fig. 246)	Photo Text	Typology.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified







	South Seas				(7 <sup>th</sup> edition)							
61	Inuit knife	No	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 214)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 269)	Illus. Text	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Ethno. Lifestyle. Personal involvement	1866*	Flower, J.W.	Bromley Museum 68.110 AC 416			
62	Inuit knife	No	Yes (ch. 14, figs. 215-216)	Yes (ch. 14, figs. 270a-b)	Illus. Text	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Ethno. Lifestyle.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified			
63	Inuit arrowhead	Yes (ch. 12, fig. 153)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 217)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 271)	Illus.	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Ethno. Lifestyle.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified			
64	Inuit arrowhead/spearhead	Yes (ch. 12, fig. 154)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 218)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 272)	Illus.	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Ethno. Lifestyle.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified			
65	Inuit bone harpoon	Yes (ch. 12, fig. 155)	Yes, ch. 14, fig. 2129)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 273)	Illus.	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Ethno. Lifestyle.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified			
66	Inuit stone cheekstud	No	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 220)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 275)	Illus.	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Ethno. Lifestyle.	Unidentified	Unidentified	Unidentified			
67	Harpoon from Tierra del Fuego	Yes (ch. 12, fig. 156)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 226)	Yes (ch. 14, fig. 281)	Illus. Text.	Typology. Ethno. Compare. Ethno. Lifestyle.	1864*	Darwin, Charles*	Unidentified location AC 277*			

- information marked with asterix is based on inferences drawn from the documentary and collection sources that are probably correct but are not definitive, and may be proved incorrect if future research reveals further information

Key to terms used in 'Context' column:

*Arch. Compare:* item referred to is used as an example to illustrate a point of comparison between objects of different archaeological periods.

- Arch. Context:** information about the archaeological context of the item(s) referred to is provided.
- Arch. Survival:** item referred to is used as an example to illustrate a point about differential survivability and bias in the archaeological record.
- Dating:** item referred to is used as an example to support ideas about relative archaeological dating.
- Ethno. Compare:** item referred to is used as an example providing an ethnographic comparison with archaeology.
- Ethno. Lifestyle:** item referred to is used as an example to illustrate an aspect of ethnographic lifestyle.
- Geol. Evidence:** item referred to is an example of geological evidence used by Lubbock to support his theories regarding human antiquity.
- Notable:** item referred to is perceived as notable by Lubbock because of certain inherent characteristics - exceptional beauty, rarity, size etc.
- Object use:** item referred to as an example when discussing the possible use of objects.
- Personal**
- Involvement:** item is referred to in such a way that it highlights Lubbock's personal involvement in the pursuit of knowledge.
- Techno:** item referred to as an example illustrating a particular aspect of technology.
- Typology:** item referred to as an example of object type.

***Appendix 4.8: Chapter Structure Of The 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> And 7<sup>th</sup>  
Editions of Prehistoric Times***

**First Edition (published 1865)**

- Chapter 1: On the Use of Bronze in Ancient Times
- Chapter 2: The Bronze Age
- Chapter 3: The Use of Stone in Ancient Times
- Chapter 4: Tumuli
- Chapter 5: The Lake-Habitations of Switzerland
- Chapter 6: The Danish Kjökkenmödding or Shell-mounds
- Chapter 7: North American Archaeology
- Chapter 8: Cave-Men
- Chapter 9: The Antiquity of Man
- Chapter 10: On the Antiquity of Man - continued
- Chapter 11: Modern Savages
- Chapter 12: Modern Savages - continued
- Chapter 13: Modern Savages - conclusion
- Chapter 14: Concluding Remarks



## **Second Edition (published 1869) & Seventh Edition (published 1913)**

- Chapter 1: Introduction (chapter 1 of first edition)**
- Chapter 2: On the Use of Bronze in Ancient Times (chapter 1 of first edition)**
- Chapter 3: The Bronze Age (chapter 2 of first edition)**
- Chapter 4: The Use of Stone in Ancient Times (chapter 3 of first edition)**
- Chapter 5: Megalithic Monuments and Tumuli (chapter 4 of first edition)**
- Chapter 6: The Ancient Lake-habitations of Switzerland (chapter 5 of first edition)**
- Chapter 7: The Danish Kjökkenmöddings or Shell-mounds (chapter 6 of first edition)**
- Chapter 8: North American Archaeology (chapter 7 of first edition)**
- Chapter 9: Quaternary Mammalia (chapter 8 of first edition)**
- Chapter 10: Cave-Men (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) or Primeval Man (7<sup>th</sup> edition) (chapter 8 of first edition)**
- Chapter 11: River-drift Gravel-beds (chapter 9 of first edition)**
- Chapter 12: On the Antiquity of Man (chapter 10 of first edition)**
- Chapter 13: Modern Savages (chapter 11 of first edition)**
- Chapter 14: Modern Savages - continued (chapter 12 of first edition)**
- Chapter 15: Modern Savages - conclusion (chapter 13 of first edition)**
- Chapter 16: Concluding Remarks**

*Appendix 4.9: 1900 Display Arrangement in the Hall and Library at High Elms (as described in the Avebury Catalogue)*

*'Library*

*Arranged by Mr Oldand July 1900*

*Over door. West African musical Inst.*

- A     *Drum: S. Africa (Basuto?)*  
       *Blowpipe Borneo*  
       *Bows & Arrows Hindustan*  
       *Musical Inst. Burmese*
- B.     *Boomerang Khond*  
       *Bows India & China*  
       *Musical Inst. W. Africa (string of dry grass)*
- C.     *Esquimaux Harpoons & c.*  
       *Impts N.W. of America*  
       *Rattles           "*  
       *Ceremonial [?]*
- D.     *Paddles N.W. America*  
       *Figure*  
       *Bows Esquimaux*
- West Coast of Africa*
- E.     *Australian Shields*  
       *4 New Zealand [Miu Muri] (1 ivory 3 Basalt)*  
       *Feegee Pillow*  
       *4 Paddles Solomon Islands*  
       *2 Bamboo New Caledonia*  
       *Carved Walking Stick New Zealand*  
       *Musketlike Club Solomon Islands*  
       *Stick with tortoiseshell head ?New Guinea*

*Over fireplace           Easter Island Figure*  
                              *6 Paddleclubs Solomon Island*  
                              *Chiefs staff New Zealand*  
                              *Stilt rests for feet Marquesas*

- F.     *4 Sharks teeth weapons. Kingsmill*  
       *2 Ceremonial axes Mangaia, Harvey Group*  
       *2 Pillows Feegee*  
       *2 Paddles with birds heads Solomon*

Middle Paddle Solomon  
2 Samoa large paddle  
1 Paddle Mangaia

End. Congo Arrows (W. Africa)

" 2 Money East Central Africa  
2 Bells Gaboon  
2 Dresses Central Africa  
Powder flask West "  
Bows Gaboon  
Sword W.C. of Africa  
Knob[kern]. Rhinoceros Horn. Zulu  
Shield. Hippopotamus hide. N. Africa

G. Arrows. Solomon Islands

Over Window 6 Arrows Santa Cruz (Melanesia) (in threes)  
Bows & c. Pacific  
At top Dancing Club. New Britain

H Arrows. Solomon Islands

On Cross Beam Club. Sta. Cruz. Melanesia  
2 Chiefs staffs New Zealand  
1 spear barbed with human bone. Sta. Cruz  
(Melanesia)  
Spears 1 Australia & rest Pacific  
  
Dress Arrows E. Coast. Africa  
Bows S. America  
Pillows & Dresses covered with [?] skin W. Africa

Over window Feather collar } Guiana  
Quivers for poisoned arrows  
  
Arrows S. America

I. 2 Clubs Guiana  
Arrows S. America  
Pillow S. Africa  
" E. C. Africa  
Pottery Algeria  
Paddle British Guiana  
Bows S. America



## Hall

Australian throwing stick  
Paddles & clubs Harvey Group  
Model of New Zealand War Canoe  
Barbed Tonga

Clubs Pacific Islands  
2 " Birds head New Caledonia  
1 "Pineapple" club Feejee (made to grow in suitable  
form)  
Wooden Bushel Australia  
2 Musquet club Feejee

Cannibal dish Feejee  
2 Bottom paddles Marquesas  
2 Pointed Savage Islands  
2 Large barbed Feejee  
2 Decorated Harvey Islands  
1 New Ireland Club Paddle (Black tip)  
1 New Britain " "  
2 Feejee " "  
1 " Club  
4 Small Clubs Feejee

Over door. Arrows West Africa

Left of Window [Sundress] Africa

Right Shields W. Australia

Over arch Boomerangs W. Australia  
Throwing sticks "  
Spears "  
Shields "  
Carved prow of Canoe New Zealand

Over door Throwing sticks Australia  
Yellow (bone) battle axe New Zealand  
Native name [Tecohateioha]

## *Appendix 5.1: The Accounts of Sir John Lubbock 1854-1903: Items Selected for Possible Interest*

These extracts of accounts are transcribed from an Accounts book now housed at the Royal Society of London Library, LUA.12.

### General Accounts

Year	Heading	Outgoing (£)	Income (£)
1854	Books & c.	27.2.3	
1855	Books & c. Geological Society Journies	38.12.1 37.16.0 33.19.1	
1856	John Lubbock Nelly " (9 months) Journies & c.	90.18.5 70.0.0 153.4.0	
1857	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Wages, Journies & c.	192.18.8 150.0.0 352.7.3	
1858	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Wages, Journies & c.	176.2.11 150.0.0 352.1.5	
1859	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Wages, Journies & c.	131.7.10 250.0.0 621.16.11	207.11.8 (Pelican office)
1860	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Children, Wages, Journies & c.	141.15.10 150.0.0 909.4.4	205.15.6 (Pelican office) 450.0.0 (Stephens L. Stephens) 205.10.0 (Universal Office)
1861	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Sundries	104.14.5 150.0.0 901.5.2	203.10 (Pelican office) 356.1.6 (Universal Office)
1862	John I.ubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Children Books	58.10.6 150.0.0 100.0.0 33.11.7	194.1.8 (Pelican office) 312.16.4 (Universal Office)

	Sundries (insurance & rent included)	1250.07	
<b>1863</b>	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Children Books Sundries (insurance & rent included)	108.14.10 150.0.0 100.0.0 33.11.7 1342.5.8	214.8.4 (Pelican office) 329.0.9 (Universal Office) 42.16.0 (Sundries)
<b>1864</b>	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Children Books Sundries (insurance & rent included)	68.8.9 150.0.0 100.0.0 72.0.5 1760.13.1	218.8.2 (Pelican office) 263.16.9 (Universal Office)
<b>1865</b>	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Children Books Sundries (insurance & rent included)	85.14.0 150.0.0 137.10.0 44.9.1 1114.5.1	195.11.8 (Pelican office) 245.2.6 (Universal Office) 80.13.0 (Sundries)
<b>1866</b>	John Lubbock Ellen F. Lubbock Children Books Lady Lubbock D.	221.18.9 395.3.3 102.8.0 84.11.5 800.0.0	237.18.4 (Pelican office) 242.14.7 (Universal Office) 441.10.0 (Sundries)
<b>1867</b>	John Lubbock Lady Lubbock Dowager Do. A & E. Lubbock Books Children Other items	232.2.6 598.17.4 1005.5.0 386.6.6 120.3.11 108.16.3 1737.11.0	148.19.11 (Sundries)
<b>1868</b>	John Lubbock Lady Lubbock Dowager Do. A & E Lubbock Books Children Sundries	369.19.3 528.15.10 985.5.0 585.0.0 190.14.10 219.13.1 1356.4.8	504.19.5 (Sundries)
<b>1869</b>	John Lubbock	369.0.3	94.16.4 (Sundries)



	Lady Lubbock	596.2.10	
	Dowager Do.	1360.0.0	
	A & E. Lubbock	400.0.0	
	Books	222.9.1	
<b>1870</b>	John Lubbock	294.5.1	151.12.0 (Sundries)
	Lady Lubbock	738.17.9	
	Dowager Do.	1620.0.0	
	Books	362.1.1	
	Children	228.6.8	
<b>1871</b>	John Lubbock	289.17.4	131.9.6 (Sundries)
	Lady Lubbock	522.19.5	186.17.1 (Trustee account)
	Dowager Do.	1700.0.0	
	Books	168.19.6	
	Children	245.13.10	
	High Elms garden	490.16.2	
	High Elms farm	150.0.0	
	High Elms plantation	197.4.8	
	Journeys	415.4.0	
	Sundries High Elms	610.6.4	
	Estate Account (Abury)	55.0.0	
	Sundries	610.6.4	
<b>1872</b>	John Lubbock	226.16.6	21.15.2 (books income)
	Lady Lubbock	383.13.3	
	Books & stationery	241.2.4	
	Children	235.9.8	
	Journeys	811.10.1	
	Estate Account (Abury)	508.16.9	
	Sundries High Elms	441.8.2	
	Sundries	771.0.9	
	Rent of house in London	682.10.0	
<b>1873</b>	John Lubbock	154.0.8	256.7.3 (Sundries)
	Lady Lubbock	655.13.2	
	Books & stationery	253.19.9	
	Children	276.13.0	
	Journeys	859.19.10	
	Sundries High Elms	471.5.1	
	Sundries	898.10.1	
<b>1874</b>	John Lubbock	146.16.1	64.3.1 (Sundries)
	Lady Lubbock	460.6.0	
	Children	379.8.10	

	Journeys	818.8.5	
	Sundries High Elms	340.0.9	
	Sundries	644.1.8	
<b>1875</b>	John Lubbock	92.3.0	24.12.0 (Sundries)
	Lady Lubbock	481.13.6	
	Books & stationery	328.19.7	
	Children	353.11.4	
	Journeys	723.12.6	
	Sundries High Elms	331.1.10	
	Sundries	643.6.1	
<b>1876</b>	John Lubbock	133.17.10	102.13.1 (Sundries)
	Lady Lubbock	435.5.0	
	Books & stationery	331.12.1	
	Children	422.14.11	
	Journeys	594.9.9	
	Sundries High Elms	270.1.4	
	Sundries	542.0.6	
<b>1877</b>	John Lubbock	160.15.10	83.6.4 (Sundries-Books)
	Lady Lubbock	518.2.10	
	Books & stationery	305.17.10	
	Children	255.17.6	
	Journeys	801.11.8	
	Sundries High Elms	284.9.8	
	Sundries	728.1.6	
<b>1878</b>	John Lubbock	85.7.1	91.18.0 (Books)
	Books	207.4.8	
	Children	317.9.1	
	Journeys	485.11.3	
	Sundries High Elms	257.18.2	
	Sundries	631.5.2	
<b>1879</b>	John Lubbock	118.2.9	39.15.7 (Sundries)
	Books & stationery	161.10.10	
	Children	238.6.3	
	Journeys	633.18.5	
	Sundries High Elms	156.12.4	
	Sundries	671.19.3	
	Campagne des Fleurs (estate in Algeria)	678.6.0	
<b>1880</b>	John Lubbock	96.0.10	54.1.1 (Books)
	Books & stationery	232.12.5	

	Children	125.6.3	
	Estate (Luxted)	500.0	
	High Elms garden	402.9.1	
	High Elms plantation	270.16.5	
	Journeys	363.15.10	
	Sundries	602.2.7	
<b>1881</b>	John Lubbock	38.17.11	108.8.6 (Books)
	Books & stationery	158.11	
	Children	147.5.6	
	Journeys	588.6.10	
	Sundries	1083.18.6	
<b>1882</b>	John Lubbock	61.15.0	77.13.10 (Books)
	Books & stationery	121.9.11	
	Journeys	350.00	
	Sundries	923.5.9	
<b>1883</b>	John Lubbock	47.7.2	347.15.2 (Books)
	Books & stationery	165.11.6	
	Journeys	235.11.5	
	Sundries	1147.18.2	
<b>1884</b>	John Lubbock	103.0.0	184.0.0 (Books)
	Books & stationery	188.0.0	
	Journeys	332.0.0	
	Sundries	1275.0.0	
<b>1885</b>	John Lubbock	78.10.7	192.12.1 (Books)
	Books & stationery	206.0.0	
	Journeys	366.0.0	
	Sundries	1223.0.0	
<b>1886</b>	John Lubbock	81.0.0	102.0.0 (Books)
	Books & stationery	233.0.0	
	High Elms Garden	491.0.0	
	High Elms Plantation	413.0.0	
	Journeys	459.0.0	
	Sundries	1247.0.0	
<b>1887</b>	John Lubbock	103.0.0	98.0.0 (Books)
	Books & stationery	56.0.0	
	Journeys	439.0.0	
	Sundries	1330.0.0	
<b>1888</b>	John Lubbock	100.0.0	123.0.0 (Books)
	Books	120.0.0	

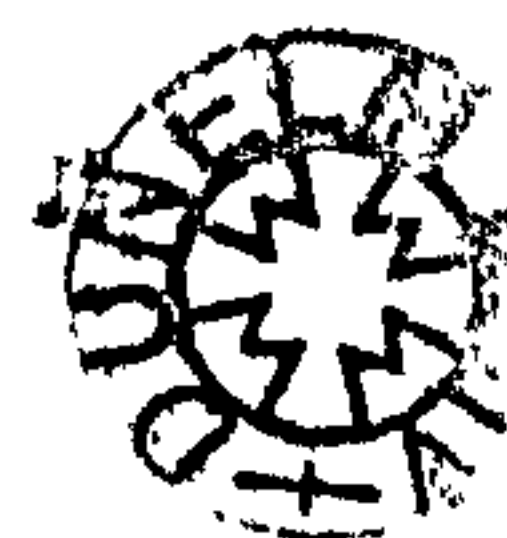


	Journeys	230.0.0	
	Sundries	1098.0.0	
<b>1889</b>	John Lubbock	137.0.0	685.0.0 (Books)
	Books	111.0.0	
	Journeys	617.0.0	
	Sundries	1023.0.0	
<b>1890</b>	John Lubbock	345.0.0	650.0.0 (Books)
	Books & stationery	163.0.0	
	Journeys	321.0.0	
	Sundries	860.0.0	
<b>1891</b>	John Lubbock	96.11.7	754.14 (Books)
	Books & stationery	259.17.9	
	Children	51.10.11	
	Journeys	551.12.11	
	Sundries	1026.3.0	
<b>1892</b>	John Lubbock	253.0.0	394.0.0 (Books)
	Books & stationery	243.0.0	
	Children	61.0.0	
	Journeys	460.0.0	
	Sundries	1180.0.0	
<b>1893</b>	Not identified		414.5.5 (Books)
<b>1894</b>	Not identified		916.7.7 (Books)
<b>1895</b>	Not identified		432.0.0 (Books)
<b>1896</b>	Not identified		856.0.0 (Books)
<b>1897</b>	Not identified		572.0.0 (Books)
<b>1898</b>	Not identified		432.0.0 (Books)
<b>1899</b>	Not identified		413.0.0 (Books)
<b>1900</b>	Not identified		511.0.0 (Books)
<b>1901</b>	Not identified		345.0.0 (Books)
<b>1902</b>	Not identified		437.0.0 (Books)
<b>1903</b>	Not identified		431.0.0 (Books)
<b>1904</b>	Not identified		440.0.0 (Books)

## Summary of Annual Accounts (1855-1894)

Year	Income £	Spent £	Saved £	Land bought £	Value of personal property £
1855	600		225		
1856	1300	900	450		
1857	1600	950	630		
1858	1600	950	650		
1859	1800	1200	570		
1860	3000	1400	1600		
1861	3000	2000	1970		
1862	3300	3400	Furnished Lamas		
1863	3300	3000	350		
1864	4900	3500	1400		
1865	7400	5100	2300		
1866	19600	14200	5400	1500	39000
1867	15400	13300	2100	1500	42000
1868	15600	13300	2300	1500	53000
1869	15800	33500	2200	1500	70000
1870	16600	13300	3300	2400	85000
1871	16800	13000	3800	2400	98000
1872	13800	11800	2000	2900	99000
1873	15500	11100	4400	4500	100000
1874	16000	12000	4000	4500	104000
1875	17300	9300	8000	6300	109000
1876	16700	10000	6700	16800	109000
1877	15900	10200	5700	18100	114000
1878	20300	10700	9600	18700	120000
1879	15400	9000	6400	19400	124000
1880	15100	10400	4700	22700	129000
1881	16400	9000	7400	22200	139000
1882	18800	9250	9550		154000
1883	19470	8880	10580		166000
1884	18894	8885	10009	35800	166000
1885	15500	10100	5400	600	172000
1886	16800	10400	6400	100	182000
1887	21000	10900	10010	764	185000
1888	18100	10000	8100		192000

1889	23800	12250	11550	430	204000
1890	26850	13163 (alterations at High Elms)	13700	100	217700 (including Alice's settlements)
1891	29000	13700 (alterations at High Elms)	15300		230000
1892	24000	13500	10500		240000
1893	24800	14000	10800		240000
1894	24700	13800	10900		249000





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