



THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

1847

W. H. & C. 1847

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# THE SOCIETY, ITS COUNCIL, THE MEMBERSHIP AND PUBLICATIONS, 1820-50

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This chapter provides an account of the Society that focuses on the issues of social class and ideas of antiquarian scholarship that developed in the period from 1820 to 1850.<sup>1</sup> This was an important period for the study of antiquity, when Biblical ideas of the Creation began to be challenged by new knowledge from geology and monuments of pre-Roman date and by the study of early human remains.<sup>2</sup> Antiquarian research and publication often paid little attention to these new ideas. Although history was perceived as a 'Providential Plan', changes in thought about the 'primeval' past were beginning to emerge.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the early nineteenth century, the main emphasis of the work of the Society lay in the study of medieval history and architecture,<sup>4</sup> though a review of the balance of papers in *Archaeologia* indicates that interest in the study of the classical and Roman past increased to a degree in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>5</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the idea that high social standing provided an inherent justification for power and influence began to be challenged. New money, created by the involvement of some individuals in art, industry and engineering, enabled the existing principles of social distinction to be questioned.<sup>6</sup> The increasing institutionalization of historical research that occurred during the second half of the century would, in turn, further develop this trend.<sup>7</sup> The growing interest in antiquarian studies led to the establishment in 1843 of the British Archaeological Association (BAA), which held its first meeting in 1844.<sup>8</sup> Two authors - Albert Way and William Jerdan - writing in the first volume of the *Archaeological Journal*, in 1845, reflected upon archaeology as a developing subject that was attracting people from a wider social spectrum than was represented by the membership of the Society of Antiquaries. The Society did not react effectively to this changing situation.

The altering expectations of the Fellows caused problems for the Society's officials, and this chapter contains an extended study of the activities of the Council and its relationship with the members in this regard. For the majority of the period (1812-46), the Antiquaries were presided over by George Gordon, the Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860).<sup>9</sup> Joan Evans has described Aberdeen's term in office as 'a period when the Society was not very distinguished in its work or very creditable in its state'.<sup>10</sup> At this time, Aberdeen became a senior politician, and by the early 1830s he appears to have lost much of his former interest in antiquarian studies. The

Fig 54. 'The Antiquarian Society' by George Cruikshank (coloured engraving, 1812). The scene is the Meeting Room, Somerset House. Lord Aberdeen presides; Carlisle and Lysons sit to his left. Photograph: © Society of Antiquaries of London.

Society's problems of the 1820s, 1830s and early 1840s, which are reviewed in outline by Evans,<sup>11</sup> appear to have constituted an almost permanent state of affairs. Only fragments of the story can be reconstructed, however; as the surviving records (particularly the correspondence) are heavily edited, presumably by the Society's officers.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the surviving information provides glimpses of how the President, the elected officials and the paid officers were operating at this time.

#### CLASS AND GENDER IN THE ANTIQUARIES

Nicholas Harris Nicolas made some direct observations on class and the Society. He was an ex-Navy serviceman who had been called to the Bar and was elected to the Antiquaries in 1825.<sup>13</sup> He became a serious critic of the Society during the late 1820s and early 1830s (see below) and, while his comments display a particular personal grievance, they are also informative. In one of his public attacks, Nicolas reflected upon the system by which the Council was elected:

The respect of the public is lessened by the disgraceful system of exclusion which has long marked the conduct of its chief officers, in selecting their own personal friends for the council, and passing over men whose talents are fully appreciated by the world.<sup>14</sup>

We shall see that Nicolas was excluded from the Council in 1827 and the tone of his comments is to be seen in this context. Elsewhere, he stated:

At present the council is chosen by those gentlemen [the existing Council], and is normally approved by the president, the qualifications of the persons selected being rank, or a disposition to leave the order of things undisturbed. One peer, one bishop, and two or three baronets, or, if they can not be obtained, a knight or two, form the decorative part of the council, and as these persons rarely attend, the routine business is conducted by the officers and their friends. All the officers are members of the council, so that when the aristocratic part is added to the named officers, the number of members who are to be chosen for their *merits* is very small.<sup>15</sup>

An examination of the names of those who made up the Council, and of the individuals who attended Council meetings between 1815 and 1850, indicates that Nicolas's comments were well informed.

Social standing also influenced the election of Fellows. Philippa Levine has discussed the 'homogeneity' of those with an interest in history and antiquity at this time, arguing that intellectual consideration cannot be separated from a study of social position.<sup>16</sup> In a reflection on the Society's statutes, Nicolas observed that:

the veriest dolt on earth, if a nobleman, is to be received into a literary society with a mark of respect which is denied to a man of the highest literary talents.

My lord B- is admitted with sycophantic eagerness by a body formed for the purpose of advancing the knowledge of the history and antiquities of our country; whilst a Lingard, a Hallam, a Turner, a Southey, or a Scott, must undergo six weeks' probation.<sup>17</sup>

Nicolas's comments related to the part of the statutes of the Society that provided direct encouragement to those of 'high rank and dignity' to become Fellows. The charter, which was already seventy-six years old in 1827, determined that members of high rank and dignity were an advantage to any society.<sup>18</sup>

At this time antiquarianism was a pursuit of the wealthy classes, and men who needed to earn a living were not necessarily to be encouraged to join the Society.<sup>19</sup> The election of members was a rather incestuous affair; testimonials recommending membership repeatedly feature the same few names, the work of an active core of the membership who eased the passage of their friends into the Society.<sup>20</sup> It appears that deliberate exclusion was also practised. Charles Roach Smith, the leading authority of his time on Roman London, was proposed for Fellowship in 1836.<sup>21</sup> He recalls:

My certificate was well signed, duly presented, and read in proper form . . . friends, Fellows of the Society, congratulated me on what seemed to them an inevitable and speedy result. But while the good men were sowing wheat, the enemy was sowing tares. There was an enemy; and he had written a letter which Sir Henry Ellis the acting secretary deemed worthy of consideration. The writer had stated, not that I was not a fit and proper person to be elected, but that I was in business!<sup>22</sup>

Roach Smith was eventually elected after the intervention of his friends,<sup>23</sup> but others may well have been 'blackballed' on comparable grounds.<sup>24</sup>

The membership list for 1817 (table 3) indicates that around 17 per cent of Fellows were 'titled', with a broad range of nobility represented. The clergy, including thirteen bishops, made up around 15 per cent of the Fellowship, while 3 per cent were senior ex-Army and Navy men. The broad make-up of the membership lists from the period from 1816 to 1850 suggests a similar situation. Comparable information on the Royal Archaeological Institute (RAI) has been collected by Linda Ebbatson.<sup>25</sup> The institute grew out of the British Archaeological Association following a serious dispute and a division of the membership in 1845.<sup>26</sup> From its beginnings, the RAI had a much larger membership (1,500 in 1845) than the Antiquaries (592 in 1846). Ebbatson's figures suggest that titled people formed 6 per cent of the membership of the institute on its foundation,<sup>27</sup> far lower than the proportion of titled members in the Antiquaries. Titled members of the RAI rose gradually, to around 12.5 per cent in 1893, but the proportion was never as high as the figure in the Society of Antiquaries. By contrast, the number of clergy in the RAI appears to have been rather higher than in the Antiquaries. In 1845, 34.9 per cent of the membership of the institute was made up of clergy, compared with 15.5 per cent at the Antiquaries. By 1861, the proportion of clergy in the RAI had fallen dramatically, to 19.8 per cent.

Table 3. Analysis of the membership of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1817 by social categories (information derived from the lists of Fellows kept by the Society)

TABLE 3: MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES IN 1817

<i>Category</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of total membership</i>
Titled*	129	17
Duke	5	
Marquis	9	
Earl	31	
Viscount	7	
Lord	28	
Baron**	1	
Knight	48	
Clergy***	119	15.5
Bishop	13	1.5
Revd	106	13.5
Military and Navy	22	3
Admiral	1	
General	2	
Lieut-Gen	3	
Major-Gen	5	
Colonel	4	
Lieut-Col	6	
Major	1	

KEY:

- \* not including bishops who are styled 'Lord Bishop' or Honourables
- \*\* Baron of the Holy Roman Empire
- \*\*\* including Lord Bishops

Two papers written by Albert Way and William Jerdan in the first volume of the *Archaeological Journal* (published by the Central Committee of the BAA) reflect upon the Antiquaries' membership by association. In an introduction to the volume, Way wrote:

The British Archaeological Association has been devised, wholly independent of the [Society of Antiquaries] . . . yet wholly subsidiary to its efforts, and in extension thereof; the system of operation, of which the project is now submitted to the public, being such as has been deemed more generally available to all classes, as a ready means of obtaining any desired information on ancient arts and monuments, and of securing their preservation, through the medium of an extended correspondence with every part of the realm.<sup>28</sup>

Way wished to encourage a membership that was broad in both geographical and social terms. In a paper written and published as 'an introduction to the completion

of the first year of our journal', William Jerdan, FSA, MRSL, made a powerful personal statement of the purpose of the institute.<sup>29</sup> He proposed the foundation of an Archaeological Club within the institute, and stated that:

science and literature are the only true republics impervious to 'class', doubt or censure. The equality is a noble one, and such a Club as I have alluded to would need no canvassing for the admission of members, no ballot boxes to guard against the ingress of the unworthy. Being enrolled in the British Archaeological Association would be title enough; for the simple fact of being devoted to pursuits of this description ought to be admitted as proof of intellectual ability and respectability, which should make the candidate, lowest perhaps in the gifts of situation and fortune, an eligible associate, fully as far as such institutions require, for the most exalted in rank and the most powerful in wealth . . . In our Club, then, peers would have no dislike to meeting with the well-informed husbandman, nor the head of the Church with the unassuming lay-brother. A cairn or barrow would make them companions.<sup>30</sup>

Jerdan evidently felt that these views might be regarded as rather extreme by some, since he wrote, in an afterword, that 'My purpose is only to request my fellow-members not to be too startled by any of my propositions.'<sup>31</sup> Ebbatson has stressed that membership of the institute was socially exclusive and intellectually elitist,<sup>32</sup> but the figures for the Antiquaries demonstrate a far greater degree of social exclusion.

A number of new clubs and learned societies were established during the first half of the nineteenth century, including the Society of Noviomagus (1828), the Numismatic Society (1838), the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (1822), the Oxford Architectural Society (1839), the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1840) and the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (1849).<sup>33</sup> These foundations show a growing interest in antiquarian researches around the country. The *Gentleman's Magazine* also performed an important role at this time, since it often contained reports of antiquarian researches, including detailed accounts of meetings of the Society. These accounts of objects and sites will have reached a wider audience than that represented by the Fellows and will have helped to create a widening interest in antiquity. The comments of Way and Jerdan about the aims of the BAA are to be seen in the light of the encouragement by local societies of the inclusion of working men in their membership, reflecting what Philippa Levine has called the Victorian dedication to 'self-improvement'.<sup>34</sup>

The motivation of some of the early founders of the BAA and RAI provides an insight into the changes that were occurring in English society as a result of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>35</sup> They demonstrate the continued value of an interest in, and knowledge of, the past to any man who was attempting to improve his situation in life.<sup>36</sup> Also reflected in the growth of antiquarian pursuits is the increase in archaeological discoveries that resulted from the construction of canals, railways and the digging of quarries. These societies did not often include female members,<sup>37</sup> and women, with the exception of Queen Victoria, are rarely mentioned in the records of

the Antiquaries between 1820 and 1850. Just two papers were published by women at this time.<sup>38</sup> Another rare female appearance in the records of the Antiquaries is that of Mrs Elizabeth Anne Martin, who wrote to Sir Henry Ellis on 29 October 1849 to ask for financial help after the death of her husband, who had been employed by the Antiquaries;<sup>39</sup> her request was declined by the Council.<sup>40</sup> On its foundation, the BAA had only one woman member.<sup>41</sup> Female interest was, however, encouraged by this new association and 'many ladies' are mentioned at the meeting at Heppington in September 1844.<sup>42</sup> Women also joined the RAI, and the female membership of this society had risen to around 7 per cent by 1860.<sup>43</sup> The Antiquaries did not elect a female Fellow until after the period covered by this chapter.

The writings of Way and Jerdan suggest that the creation of the BAA and RAI represented a final reaction against the exclusiveness and lethargy of the Antiquaries;<sup>44</sup> but this is to over-simplify the situation. Attitudes to the past were changing as interests became broader,<sup>45</sup> a situation to which the Antiquaries could only react slowly. At least five of the founders of the BAA were also Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, while Way was the Director of the Antiquaries and one of the two Secretaries of the BAA.<sup>46</sup> About 10 per cent of the initial members of the BAA were Fellows of the Antiquaries.<sup>47</sup>

#### LORD ABERDEEN

The changing expectations of the Fellows, combined with the presidency of the Earl of Aberdeen,<sup>48</sup> created a series of crises for the Antiquaries from the 1820s through to the early 1840s. The young Aberdeen was a classical scholar of considerable promise. His investigations into the archaeology of the eastern Mediterranean have been described as 'remarkably scientific for that period'.<sup>49</sup> He played an active role in the Society of Dilettanti and was an important member of the Council of the Royal Society, and a Trustee of both the British Museum and the National Gallery.<sup>50</sup> He was elected to the Antiquaries in June 1805; his contentious appointment as President in 1812 has already been addressed and will not be considered again here.<sup>51</sup> His busy political career drew him away from his presidency and included a period in 1828 as Wellington's Foreign Secretary. In 1852-5, after the end of his term as President, he became Prime Minister.

Initially, Aberdeen began his term in office with the best of intentions (fig 54). On 30 December 1811, he told his friend Hudson Gurney that, were he elected, he would 'try to do something with that Society'.<sup>52</sup> At the time of his election, it would have appeared that Aberdeen was the perfect choice for the presidency, being both a prominent nobleman and a distinguished antiquary.<sup>53</sup> Despite this early promise, the earl proved to be a very inattentive President. In the same letter of 30 December 1811, Aberdeen expressed the wish that Gurney might help him to run the Society, once he had relaxed from his 'weighty and profitable pursuits'. Gurney eventually became Vice-President in 1819. On 31 November 1822, Aberdeen wrote to Gurney to say:

I am happy to learn that you placed yourself in my chair at the Antiquaries, why that should not be your place as well as mine, I cannot imagine, and I believe that if the regular attendees of the Society were examined on that subject, I should have some chance of being deposed from my present dignified position.

Aberdeen left the running of the Council mainly to the Vice-Presidents and to the other officers and officials.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, serious problems occurred with both the finances and the administration of the Society and these were often ignored, only to re-emerge later on. Although he regularly attended the Thursday meetings between 1818 and 1824,<sup>55</sup> Aberdeen often failed to attend meetings of the Council.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, surviving fragments of the original correspondence allow us to see that, at times, his absences caused considerable concern and annoyance to officials, Council members and Fellows alike.<sup>57</sup> On 12 April 1826, Aberdeen wrote a letter to the Secretary, Nicholas Carlisle, excusing himself from a meeting of the Council to be held on the following day:

Having received His Majesty's command to go to Windsor for the purpose of holding a meeting of the Commissioners for the improvement of Windsor Castle, it will not be in my power to attend at Somerset House tomorrow. I will thank you to explain the cause of my absence to the Council, and to lay before it the enclosed papers.<sup>58</sup>

Carlisle himself had written a note in pencil on this letter, stating 'Received at five o'clock on Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> April'!

His failings as President appear to have related to the demands of his very busy life, his gradual loss of interest in antiquarian pursuits and to the growing pressure placed on the officials of learned societies due to the increasing demands of the members.<sup>59</sup> During the 1830s, Aberdeen's interests began to shift away from antiquarian researches to botany and science in general. On 14 December 1833, he wrote to Gurney:

Your account of the 'worshipful' [ie, the Antiquarian Society] may be considered good and prosperous. I see no drawback, except that you appear to be more strongly impressed with the moderate folly of their pursuits. In this respect I cannot help you, for there is nothing to be said. But their folly is innocent and we may rather be permitted to laugh than to scold.

On 21 December 1835, he set out his feelings about the Antiquaries in greater detail in a letter to Gurney:

I am a little weary about the worshipful society. I feel that I neglect them unmercifully, and some of them must, no doubt, be disposed to resent it. If, in addition to this, they are neglected by my representatives, an open rebellion must speedily be the result . . . for some years, my interest in all matters of antiquity has considerably diminished. Ancient rubbish, whether Greek,



Roman, or English, has lost its charm, and I rather inverted the usual order of things, and have been a zealous antiquary only in my youth.

Aberdeen's reference to 'rubbish' in this context appears to be very damning to the whole idea of antiquarian research, but it was actually a term that he had been using in his correspondence with Gurney since the early days of their friendship, when he had been taunted for bringing home 'ancient rubbish' from expeditions abroad.<sup>60</sup> The tone of this letter suggests that Aberdeen was surprised that he still held the role of President. It is perhaps unfair to place the full blame on Aberdeen for his absences from the 1820s to the 1840s, since he had a growing number of diplomatic duties to attend to. Indeed, the membership of the Society as a whole seems to have been unsure whether it wanted to retain its extremely high-powered honorary figurehead or to elect a new President who could attend full time.<sup>61</sup>

#### NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS

Under Aberdeen's presidency, the Society was very slow to reform. Nicholas Harris Nicolas wrote in 1829 that Aberdeen 'never evinced the slightest interest in the institution, and . . . his deportment was cold and apathetic . . . he, like the council and even the treasurer and director, is little else than a puppet in the hands of the secretaries'.<sup>62</sup> This suggests that both the elected officials and the President took too little interest in the running of the Society and left most of the administration to a series of paid officials, who were either ineffectual, or merely did not work with efficiency due to a lack of supervision.

From 1827 to 1829, Nicolas was the Antiquaries' most serious critic. Evans describes him as 'a man of litigious character and reforming zeal'.<sup>63</sup> He was also a very active historian, publishing numerous historical documents during the 1820s to 1840s,<sup>64</sup> including various papers in *Archaeologia*. Initially, he made friends in the Antiquaries. Francis Palgrave recalls how Carlisle, a Secretary of the Society, proposed that Nicolas should be appointed to the Council when a vacancy arose due to the death of Taylor Coombe.<sup>65</sup> Nicolas attended a Council meeting late in 1826 and made himself a nuisance.<sup>66</sup> Palgrave describes 'a degree of violence of deportment and gesticulation which gave offence'. The Anniversary Meeting was imminent and when the House List was prepared for the new Council, Nicolas's name was not included.<sup>67</sup> At the subsequent General Meeting, Nicolas burst into a 'paroxysm of anger, and gave vent to language indicating his feelings, and which excited much notice and surprise'.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, Nicolas 'declared a war of extermination' against the Antiquaries in general, but more particularly against Henry Ellis and Carlisle (fig 55).<sup>69</sup>

Nicolas wrote in 1827 that he (and *The Retrospective Review*, which was under his editorship) intended to become the 'Historians of the Society of Antiquaries', and between 1827 and 1830 he published a number of trenchant critiques of the running of the Society and its Council.<sup>70</sup> These attacks indicate that he had a particularly



Fig 55. 'A Point of Antiquity' (lithograph, 1833, signed O P, and published by Thos Maclean of 26 Haymarket). Nicholas Carlisle holds the leg-piece of a suit of armour, and Frederic Madden the helmet. The third figure is Sir Henry Ellis. Photograph: Society of Antiquaries of London.

personal grievance,<sup>71</sup> but Evans suggests that he also had a measure of support from other Fellows. Nicolas's main complaints against the Council related to the nature of its publications and to the running of its finances. He proposed that these should be reformed, but was opposed by the Council during 1826 and 1827.

Nicolas's letters to the Council of 13 August and 12 November 1827 appear not to have been kept, but we do know that they requested whether 'a Fellow of the Society is entitled to inspect extracts from the Minute Book, and the accounts of the Receipts of Expenditure, from its incorporation to the present time?'.<sup>72</sup> His concerns with these topics are evident from his comments in 1827 that:

The entire management of the funds of the Society is intrusted to the council . . . Upon the president or vice-president taking the chair, the accounts in a bundle are placed before him, who, in holding them in his hand asks, 'Is it your pleasure, gentlemen, to confirm these accounts?' The balloting box is handed round, and they are instantly passed without a single individual having opened, much less examined them; an even without a single remark having been made.<sup>73</sup>

Nicolas's knowledge of the practices of the Antiquaries was informed by his experiences at the one Council meeting he attended. His apparently unacceptable behaviour on that occasion may well have been a reaction to the failings that he had observed in the Council's procedures. One immediate result of Nicolas's campaign was that the Council ordered the Clerk to call at the houses of all London members to

collect their subscription arrears.<sup>74</sup> Proposed reforms to the statutes of the Society drafted by the Council were not well received by Nicolas,<sup>75</sup> since they were intended to give more power to the elected officials.

Nicolas took his campaign to the Fellows at a meeting on 27 March 1828, at which the auditors made a report and Nicolas gave notice of his intention to move for a Committee (selected from members not in the present Council) to investigate the expenses of the recent publications of the Society.<sup>76</sup> The situation escalated, and, on 16 April 1828, the Council Book mentions a discussion of legal problems over the statutes of the Society.<sup>77</sup> On 17 April 1828, a very full meeting of the Society greatly overran the usual hour in discussing Nicolas's motion that three or five Fellows, who were not members of the current Council, should be appointed to study the accounts. This was a result of the Society having learned from the auditors that a sum exceeding £800 had been spent on publications.<sup>78</sup> Nicolas apparently introduced the subject 'in a pointed and animated speech', but the Treasurer Thomas Amyot's answers to his questions led him to conclude that the object of his motion had been 'fully attained'.<sup>79</sup> Despite the auditor and the Council's rebuttal of Nicolas's request, the accounts for 1831 were published for the first time in *Archaeologia* in 1834 (pages 362-3), indicating that the justice of his motion had finally been accepted.

An application was also received around this time to increase the salary of what Nicolas called the 'second secretary' (Carlisle):

who, it appeared to many, was already amply paid for doing little, except to help the senior secretary to do nothing, and the statutes having been violated by the usual notices not being given of the measure, it was opposed on the ballot, by a minority which shook the confidence of the council in the stability of their power.<sup>80</sup>

This proposal failed and Carlisle continued as Secretary until 4 May 1847, when he was given a pension of £150 a year and the continued use of the apartment supplied to him by the Antiquaries.<sup>81</sup> He was certainly not universally liked. The Revd C H Hartsthorpe wrote a letter to Albert Way on 30 April 1839 about a meeting that he had just attended,<sup>82</sup> in which he stated: 'Carlisle I conceive to be a perfect incubus, a dead weight on the whole machine.' Evans suggests that the Secretary was not fitted for the responsibilities that fell on his shoulders as a result of Aberdeen's absences and that he was 'the Society's most gifted exponent of inactivity'.<sup>83</sup> He had one aim in life - to make money. He received a salary and lodgings from the Antiquaries, but his activities were mainly centred at the British Museum, where he held the position of a senior assistant.

On 23 April 1828, at the Anniversary Meeting held to elect the new Council, a second list, including Nicolas's name, was produced in opposition to the House List.<sup>84</sup> The official List was accepted by a vote of 103 to 22,<sup>85</sup> but this outcome indicates that there was support for Nicolas's intended reforms. He subsequently tendered his resignation from the Society, which was noted by the Council on 17 June 1828. The justice of his cause is suggested by the fact that a number of his proposed reforms

were actually carried out during the following twenty years.<sup>86</sup> In his publications, Nicolas explains some of his concerns regarding the administration of the Antiquaries. Much of his writing focused on the poor quality of many of the papers presented at the meetings and those published in *Archaeologia* (see below), criticisms that reflected his personal bias towards historical literature, but which did not prevent him from continuing to publish papers in the journal after his resignation.

#### CONTINUING PROBLEMS

Nicolas's resignation had not led to an immediate cessation of hostilities within the Society. On 2 April 1829, Lord Balmanno sent a letter to Aberdeen, forwarding a communication, signed by twenty-six Fellows, asking for the establishment of a *Conversazione* after the meetings.<sup>87</sup> The Council Minute Book for 3 April 1829 indicates that this communication suggested that meetings were considered to be too short (one hour's duration, from 7 o'clock in the evening). It raised the concern that members are not able to 'discuss among themselves the merits and character of such curiosities - they are handed round in silence, while the Minutes, or papers relating to them are read, and removed without comment'.<sup>88</sup> The Council did make some concessions, but Balmanno felt it necessary to resign in 1829.<sup>89</sup> A letter of 7 July 1829, from Amyot to Carlisle, indicates that certain Fellows were intending to cause trouble at the meeting that evening.<sup>90</sup>

The records of the Society for the early and mid-1830s are rather incomplete, but we do know that problems emerged in 1837 and 1838, when Aberdeen was called upon to smooth over a serious quarrel between William Hamilton and Carlisle which threatened to cause the Antiquaries to split.<sup>91</sup> By the late 1830s and early 1840s, pressure was mounting to remove Aberdeen from the presidency, as his attendance diminished to 'almost vanishing point'.<sup>92</sup> In his letter to Albert Way referred to above, Hartsthorne discusses the election of Council members during 1839:

I went to the Antiquaries for admission on Tuesday week, and came away not vastly impressed with the talents of the body assembled . . . All of these men, no not all, but the powers that be are vastly behind the times . . . On Tuesday came the election of officers - it seems the Council have always been in the habit of nominating their successors, but this year an effort was made to elect more active members among that body, chosen from the body of the Society. Your name [Way] was down as one of the new list. And conceive the feeling that actuates the body, when I tell you that one of the council objected to it, because you were a young member . . . I, not knowing the politics of the Society, voted as I was directed which was against the new list . . . I sat between Stapleton and Willement at the dinner the later [*sic*] of whom let me into the secrets of the society: and I suspect that next year many of the members intend to make a great struggle to put the thing on a better footing.<sup>93</sup>

At the Anniversary Meeting of 1840, five Fellows scratched out Aberdeen's name on the voting paper and substituted that of Hamilton.<sup>94</sup> After this meeting, on 26 April, Aberdeen wrote to Gurney to record that the elections had exhibited 'less formidable symptoms of hostility than you expected',<sup>95</sup> and the President survived.

Dr Lee presented a proposal to a meeting of the Society on 27 February 1845 in which he included four points, the first and fourth of which were:

that the President be requested to attend the next Anniversary of the Society, and to deliver an Address on the state of the Society, and of the Science of Archaeology, as is now customary with the Presidents of the Royal, Geographical, Geological, Astronomical, and other Scientific Societies;

that a general opinion having been expressed that the office of President should not always be filled by the same individual, however accomplished and erudite he may be, no person be allowed to hold the office of President in future beyond the term of four years.<sup>96</sup>

Council requested more time to consider the first point (perhaps because the President was not in attendance), but refused the suggestion that no President should serve for more than four years on the basis that it went against the charter of the Society.<sup>97</sup> Despite the increasing sense of crisis, meetings of the Council occurred less and less frequently at this time.<sup>98</sup>

Further problems occurred during the early part of 1846. Spencer Joshua Alwyne, the Marquis of Northampton, wrote to an unnamed individual in the Antiquaries on 20 March 1846. The letter is partly illegible, but it appears to report an argument at the Antiquaries on the previous night about the proposed House List.<sup>99</sup> Northampton tells his correspondent:

But there will be a fight next week. Probably a Council first . . . Reflexion was made on Ld Aberdeen, and I did my best to defend him, by praising his good qualities and saying that I was sure that he regretted that official business kept him so much away.<sup>100</sup>

It appears that certain influential members of the Society were no longer willing to put up with Aberdeen's absences, or with his failure to provide leadership. It also appeared likely that the membership might vote down the House List and that Carlisle's position as Secretary was finally under threat.<sup>101</sup>

Just four days later, on 24 March 1846, Aberdeen wrote to the Council to say:

For a considerable time past my various associations [?] have prevented me from attending to the general business of the Society of Antiquaries and even from being present at the Weekly Meetings of the Society.

I should feel unwilling to resign a situation which I have filled for so many years, did I not perceive that the present state of the Society requires from its President a degree of personal attention much greater than it would be possible for me to afford - but under these circumstances, I must express a hope

that at the approaching Elections on St George's day, a choice will be made of some person as President, who may be more capable than myself of promoting the welfare of the Society, by devoting more of his time to its interests.<sup>102</sup>

At this stage, Aberdeen had not attended a meeting of the Council since 1 March 1836, and he appears to have missed sixty-six consecutive Council meetings.

In reply, the Council wrote to Aberdeen of their wish:

to transmit to Your Lordship the unanimous vote of the Society at their Meeting on the 26 March, expressing its deep regret at your desire not to be nominated again as their President. And they wish to accompany this vote by an expression of their own entirely concurrent with the feelings of the Society - sensible of the loss, which the whole Body will sustain, and gratefully remembering the advantages they have derived from your Lordships distinguished character, and the urbanity with which you have presided over its meetings.<sup>103</sup>

We need have no doubt of the benefits that Aberdeen brought to the Society through his social and political contacts. The Council Minute Book, for example, itemizes various loyal addresses made to monarchs by the Society and the replies made to the Council. Aberdeen ensured that the Society maintained a high social standing.<sup>104</sup> Despite his useful social connections, the membership fell by at least 15 per cent during Aberdeen's presidency (table 4). In addition, a number of Fellows fell into serious arrears with their annual payments, a problem that was left to his successor to pursue.<sup>105</sup>

In 1829, Nicolas had concluded his review of the finances and running of the Antiquaries by stating that:

The end must be, either that the Society will be dissolved on the death of the present fellows, a circumstance extremely likely, from the very few who, since

TABLE 4: MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, 1812-52

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Fellows</i>	<i>Percentage gain/(loss)</i>
1812	788	
1817	777	(1.5)
1822	778	0
1827	805	2
1832	764	(5)
1837	703	(8)
1842	688	(2)
1847	571	(17)
1852	473	(17)
1812-52 cumulative		(40)

Table 4. Membership of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1812-52 (information derived from the lists of Fellows kept by the Society)

the exposures which have been made relating to it, seek admission into the fraternity; or that it will drag out a disreputable existence, affording shelter and a pension to one or two dependants of great personages, but utterly profitless to literature or science.<sup>106</sup>

During the early 1840s it must have appeared to certain Fellows that Nicolas's prophecy was coming true, but at this time a new President was elected who made it his purpose to reform the finances and administration of the Antiquaries.

#### A NEW PRESIDENT

Following Aberdeen's resignation, the Council discussed who should fill the vacancy. Philip Henry Stanhope, Lord Mahon, could not attend the meeting on 7 April 1846. He wrote a letter to the Council in which he mentioned that several people felt that he was a suitable successor, but that he himself wished to nominate Henry Hallam. Hallam declined, so Mahon was proposed and seconded,<sup>107</sup> and the membership subsequently confirmed his presidency. Mahon, who had been Vice-President since 1842, already had considerable experience of the operations of the Council.<sup>108</sup>

The new President soon discovered the full extent of the Society's financial problems. In fact, the major fall in membership between 1842 and 1852 (34 per cent) was, at least in part, a result of the fact that the Council now took more direct control of the finances and expelled Fellows who were in serious arrears.<sup>109</sup> The Council Book entries for the following three years demonstrate that Mahon swiftly took control of both the finances and the administration.<sup>110</sup> In the process, the Council carried out many reforms, including a number that Nicolas had called for almost two decades earlier. On 7 May 1846, the Council determined that the auditors were to make their report at least one week before the relevant Council meeting.<sup>111</sup> On 19 May, Finance and Library Committees were set up to deal with the problems.<sup>112</sup> On 23 June, the Council discussed the 'long standing custom, which appears to be highly objectionable, of deferring the settlement of the tradesmen's accounts of each year, to the year following'. It was agreed, in due course, that these bills should be settled as swiftly as possible.<sup>113</sup> The Finance Committee reported to the same meeting that the Society had debts for the past year of around £330; it was agreed to sell £600 of stock.<sup>114</sup>

When the auditors reported back to the Council on 8 March 1847, it emerged that the debts were greater than had been previously reported.<sup>115</sup> The Auditors' Report referred to the new President's consideration of the conditions of the finances. It included a note to explain why the accounts showed receipt and expenditure far in excess of the usual levels and referred to the establishment of the Finance Committee. The report recorded sums of £812 and £1,200, which were liabilities that were not brought before the auditors in 1845 (including expenses of £812 related to the publication of Anglo-Saxon papers). It defined the future aims of the Council and auditors, to include all the bills and liabilities that had been received in future accounts and that outstanding demands should be confined 'strictly within the narrowest limits'. A

new system of accounting was also featured, while measures were suggested to reduce the expenditure of the Antiquaries.

The Council Minute Book indicates that attempts to raise income were made. Back copies of the Antiquaries' publications and copper plates were sold to Mr Lumley, a bookseller, on 5 December 1848 and 20 February 1849. On 6 June 1848, the Council determined that the funds of the Society could, 'with strict propriety', not be used to subsidize Fellows to attend the Annual Dinner. As a result, it was agreed that, in conformity with the practice of the Royal and other societies, each Fellow present at the event should pay his full share.<sup>116</sup> This last measure rectified an abuse that Nicolas had written about in 1829.<sup>117</sup>

The Council now also turned serious attention to those Fellows who had not kept their subscription payments up to date.<sup>118</sup> The Collector's Book for this period shows the lengths to which even the wealthiest Fellows went to avoid paying.

Monday April 19, 1847, Lord A Conyngham. Serv[an]t said Lord A was not at home. I saw LA leave the house directly after . . . Saturday July 10 Mr Thoms, 2<sup>nd</sup> call. not got his chekbook but going to pay but as he was going into the Country directly wd not said he should be short of money for it . . . Saturday Feb 12, 1848, Mr T Wright, 3 call. was thinking about it & not having it now would bring it.<sup>119</sup>

On 27 May 1847, the Council drafted a letter to the defaulters, stating that 'The Committee is satisfied that in many, if not in most cases, non-payment has arisen from neglect of the Clerk, which the present notice is intended to remedy.'<sup>120</sup> On 20 November 1849, the Council discussed new ways in which Fellows could pay their subscription that would avoid the expense of employing a collector.<sup>121</sup> These measures led to a reduction in the number of Fellows (see table 4), but also placed the Antiquaries on a more secure financial footing.<sup>122</sup>

## THE BALANCE OF ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES

The regular publication of *Archaeologia* between 1820 and 1850 was one of the major achievements of the Society of Antiquaries, and one that enables an assessment to be made of the nature of the interests of the Fellows and Council. The early nineteenth century was a time when substantial changes in the study of antiquity were beginning to occur. Classical antiquities had interested many gentlemen in the second half of the eighteenth century but a growing fascination with medieval topics is evident during the early years of the nineteenth century.<sup>123</sup> Despite the classical interests of Aberdeen, the Antiquaries were mainly concerned with medieval history and architecture.<sup>124</sup> By 1850, however, there were signs of major changes taking place in the study of archaeology that would gain momentum during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The balance of papers in *Archaeologia* between 1820 and 1850 reflects an enthusiasm for English national history at a time when the intellectual elite was



increasingly conscious of the greatness of national destiny.<sup>125</sup> The vast majority of papers published in *Archaeologia* covered topics drawn from British and Irish history (fig 56) of the early medieval, medieval and post-medieval periods (fig 57).<sup>126</sup> As Evans has argued, the old feelings of inferiority before the elegance of France and the cultural riches of Italy were being forgotten during the early nineteenth century with the growing emphasis upon the greatness of English national history, which focused on the early medieval and medieval origins of society.<sup>127</sup> In 1841, Thomas Arnold, in the publication of an inaugural lecture presented in Oxford, wrote:

Our history clearly begins with the coming of the Saxons; the Britons and Romans had lived in our country, but they were not our fathers . . . We, this great English nation, whose race and language are now overrunning the earth from one end to the other - we were born when the white horse of the Saxons had established his domain from the Tweed to the Tamar.<sup>128</sup>

Such an approach suggested that ancient and Roman remains were those of the ancestors of others.<sup>129</sup>

The writings of certain Fellows demonstrate a strong bias towards written history. Reviewing the twenty-second volume of *Archaeologia*, Nicolas provided an ironic description of the 'stuffing' of the volume with:

the promising description of 'suits of armour', 'pieces of bricks', 'stones presumed to be Druidical', 'monuments usually presumed to be Druidical', 'Mosaic pavements', 'Roman remains', 'Roman baths', marked with the impression of dog's toes, and therefore accurately engraved; 'Roman lime-kilns', 'bracelets', &c. &c. all and every one of which we commend to the perusal of those persons who may desire to form an accurate estimate of the talents or researches of the Society; or who having in vain swallowed as much opium as their physicians can with safety prescribe, may still wish for a powerful and irresistible soporific.<sup>130</sup>

Nicolas picked out 'Druidical' and 'Roman' artefacts and monuments for particular ridicule (fig 58). Although he mentioned suits of armour as items of scorn, he is not so critical of the numerous studies of medieval history and architecture that appeared in *Archaeologia*. Nicolas had a particular bias towards historical documents, which

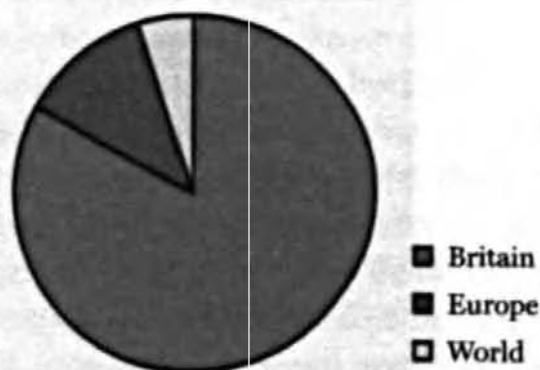
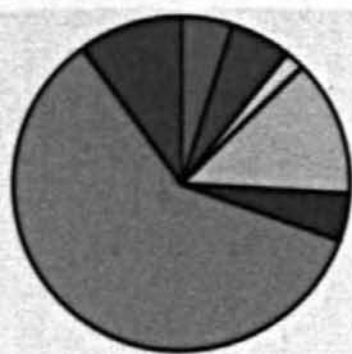


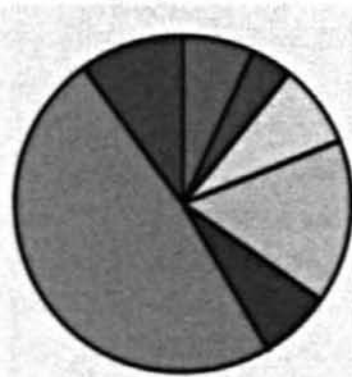
Fig 56. Papers published in *Archaeologia* from the 1820s to the 1840s that deal with various parts of the world (total = 699).  
Drawing: Christina Unwin.



1820s: proportions of sites reported upon (total = 178)



1830s: proportions of sites reported upon (total = 197)



1840s: proportions of sites reported upon (total = 309)

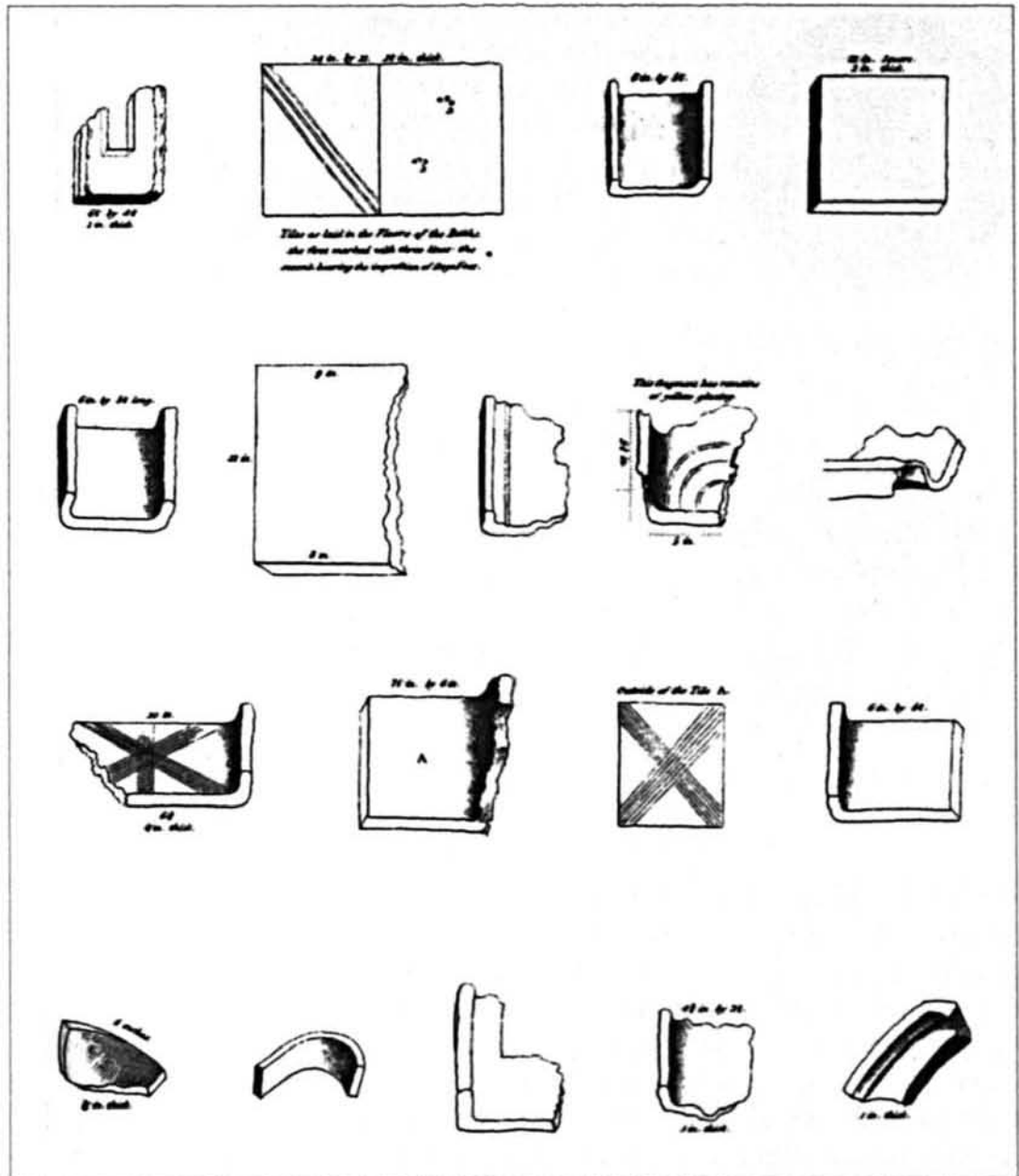
- Neolithic/Bronze Age
- Iron Age
- Classical
- Roman
- Anglo-Saxon
- Medieval
- Post-medieval

Fig 57. Varying proportions of reports on sites/finds/documents that date to different periods (as specified) in *Archaeologia* by decade. Drawing: Christina Unwin.

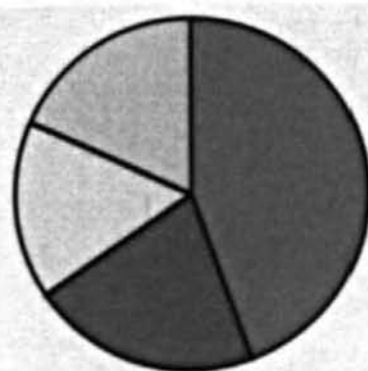
were, in his opinion, the only form of interest to be pursued, but he did not condemn serious medieval studies; by contrast, he saw little value in work on pre-Roman and Roman artefacts and sites.<sup>131</sup> Although he was more outspoken than most, Nicolas's bias towards the medieval was shared by many of his contemporaries.<sup>132</sup> Analysis of the papers published in *Archaeologia* demonstrates the fascination of the Fellows and Council with antiquarian studies at this time (figs 57 and 59), as do other volumes published by the Society in the early nineteenth century.<sup>133</sup>

In this context, *Archaeologia* contained a relatively limited number of contributions on classical and pre-Roman topics (see fig 57).<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless, some important papers did emerge. Despite Nicolas's critique, the twenty-second volume of *Archaeologia* contained a significant study of Cornish cliff castles and a short paper, by Alfred Kempe, on 'Celtic' megalithic monuments and hut circles on Dartmoor (fig 60). The major shift in attitudes on the ancient ('primeval') past that was to take place in the second half of the nineteenth century as the result of studies of geology and early human remains was, however, still to impact upon the Antiquaries. The idea of the antiquity of the human race gradually began to emerge during the first half of the nineteenth century in Belgium, France and England.<sup>135</sup> Developing knowledge of geology and the discovery of the skeletal material of early humans were slowly beginning to cast doubt upon Archbishop Ussher's Biblical chronology for the

Fig 58. 'Bricks and tiles found among the Roman remains at North Stoke' (from Turnor 1829, fig opposite p 32). The tile discussed by Nicolas in 1829 is in the top line, second from the left. Photograph: Society of Antiquaries of London.



world,<sup>136</sup> but the importance of these events was not widely appreciated by antiquaries.<sup>137</sup> *Archaeologia* contains no significant papers on early human origins,<sup>138</sup> although papers on Neolithic and Bronze Age subjects are better represented. The excavation of barrows was increasing knowledge and understanding of these periods. Throughout the early nineteenth century, notable antiquaries, including William Cunnington, Sir Richard Colt Hoare and Dean Merewether, excavated and published pre-Roman monuments. Glyn Daniel writes of their reports as 'filling the pages of *Archaeologia*,'<sup>139</sup> although by the 1820s such papers were heavily outnumbered by those on medieval subjects.



- Artefact
- Site/structure
- Historical
- Text

Fig 59. Proportions of different types of report published in *Archaeologia*, 1820s to 1840s.

Drawing: Christina Unwin.

Artefact = reports on artefacts, rubbings of monastic seals, etc

Site/structure = reports on excavations, architectural surveys and burial monuments

Historical = broadly historical surveys of items and events

Text = publication of historical text (usually accompanied by a discussion)

The reports of this work on pre-Roman archaeology in *Archaeologia*, and other books that were published on early Britain at this time, served to emphasize the significance of pre-Roman populations.<sup>140</sup> Bronze Age and Iron Age artefacts and sites were described periodically and important papers were published, including J Y Akerman's inspirational suggestion of a 'Celtic' date for the Uffington White Horse, based on the similarity of this hill figure to images of horses on Iron Age coins (fig 61).<sup>141</sup> Despite significant work on monuments, understanding of the chronology of the pre-Roman period was sketchy at best. John Rickman proposed that the megalithic monuments at Avebury and Stonehenge were 'Celtic' in inspiration and that they had been completed after the Roman invasion.<sup>142</sup> In 1845 Way wrote:

students of Antiquity [are] now no more compelled to have recourse to vague terms in describing objects, which present themselves, attributing to a Druidic, a Roman, or a Danish period, remains which formerly might have perplexed them by their antique aspect.<sup>143</sup>

Historical knowledge was evolving, but pre-Roman Britain still appeared, to Way at least, to represent a single and unproblematic phase of human development.<sup>144</sup> The pre-Roman monuments and artefacts addressed in *Archaeologia* are commonly called 'Celtic', and a clear knowledge of prehistoric sequence only emerged in the latter half of the century. The objects discovered at this time helped to raise questions in people's minds, but major advances in the understanding of pre-Roman metalwork did not come until the second half of the century.<sup>145</sup> The emergence of the idea of the Three Age System, an early nineteenth-century concept of Danish and Swedish prehistorians, proved to be a highly significant force for change (see chapter 10). Later in the century, this provided a framework within which the chronology of the developing subject of prehistory would be constructed,<sup>146</sup> but it had, at the most, only a limited impact on the publications of the Antiquaries during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Roman Empire provided contrasts and comparisons with the foreign territories and the governance of the growing British empire,<sup>147</sup> while the common discovery of Roman villas and artefacts during the construction of canals, railways and buildings brought finds of this date to the attention of antiquaries. Samuel Lysons, who had conducted a significant campaign of villa excavations, died in 1819, but his

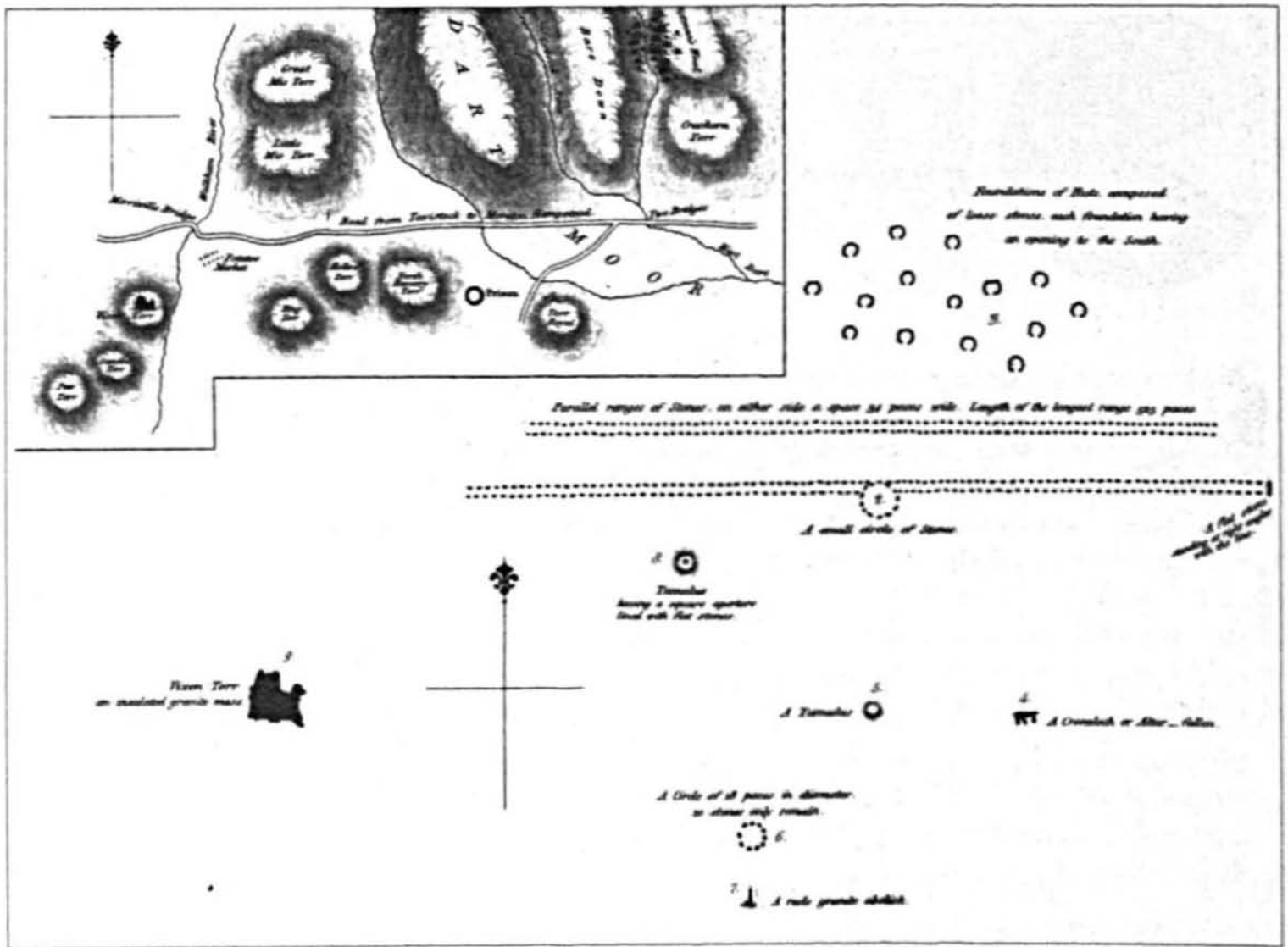


Fig 60. 'Vestiges supposedly Druidical, on Dartmoor near Tavistock, Devon' (from Kempe 1829b, fig opposite p 430). Photograph: Society of Antiquaries of London.

work was continued by such scholars as Roach Smith, who undertook research on Roman London, and by John Gage, who carried out important excavations on the Roman barrows at Bartlow Hills. References to topics derived from the classical cultures of the Mediterranean and Near East were rarely featured in *Archaeologia* during the 1820s and 1830s. State-funded expeditions to obtain objects and structures for the galleries of the British Museum commenced during the 1840s and are reflected in the increased number of papers on classical topics.<sup>148</sup>

Despite these occasional contributions to *Archaeologia*, papers drawn from medieval England dominated each volume. The emphasis upon the early medieval and medieval past privileged the history of Britain as a nation, but it also fitted with the dominant interpretation of the past as a 'Providential Plan'.<sup>149</sup> The balance of antiquarian interests was, however, gradually changing. Way's introduction to the first *Archaeological Journal* shows that the intention of the recently founded British Archaeological Association was to widen studies to include all aspects of antiquity and to involve people across the whole of Britain. The formation, within the new association, of distinct 'Sectional Committees' – 'Primeval', 'Medieval', 'Architectural'

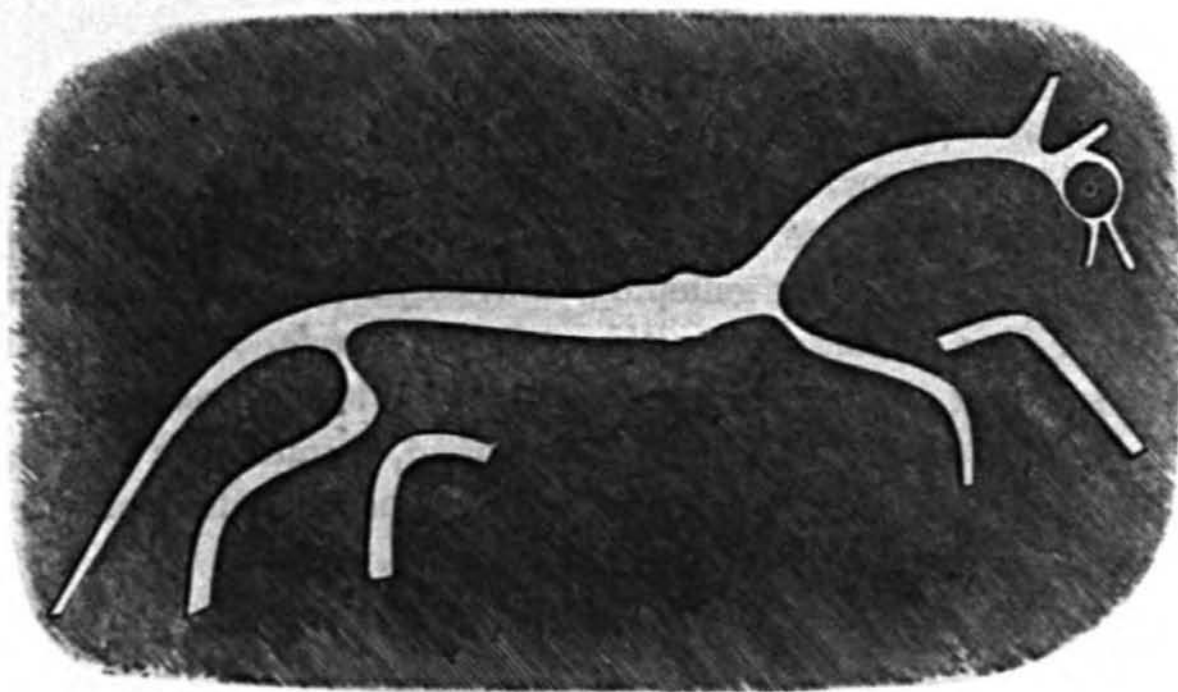


Fig 61. 'The White Horse at Uffington' (from Akerman 1846, fig opposite p 298). Photograph: Society of Antiquaries of London.

and 'Historical' – indicates the broadening of the agenda, as does the inauguration of regional meetings. A reaction against the particularist historical and architectural focus of the Antiquaries may have been one of the reasons for the dissatisfaction that led to the establishment of the British Archaeological Association.

The constitution of the Society of Antiquaries limited the speed at which it could react to changing circumstances. The papers published in *Archaeologia* during the 1830s and 1840s do, however, demonstrate an increasing interest in the pre-Roman and classical past and a broadening out of the focus of antiquarian interest. This formed part of a wider cultural trend within British society that became increasingly significant as the nineteenth century progressed, and through their meetings and publications the Antiquaries performed a significant role in the changing conceptions of the ancient and historic past of Britain during the early nineteenth century.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Susan Pearce for inviting me to write this chapter, to Bernard Nurse and all at the Society of Antiquaries for assisting with my research, and to the staff at the Norfolk Record Office. Pam Lowther and Martin Millett supplied a number of useful references, while Jennifer Price drew my attention to the issue of Roach Smith's election. Christina Unwin and Chris Evans provided advice and discussion. Finally, I am grateful to the anonymous referees for several very helpful comments and suggestions.

NOTES

1. See Levine 1986 for the broader context of Victorian antiquarian studies.
2. Bowler 1989; Levine 1986, 4; Morse 2005, 127-50.
3. Levine 1986, 56; but see Torrens 1998 for an alternative viewpoint.
4. Evans 1956, 232-7.
5. A review of the contribution of the *Gentleman's Magazine* to the development of antiquarian pursuits at this time would be a valuable addition to the published literature. Although such a review is not undertaken in this chapter, a number of specific papers in the journal are addressed below.
6. For the major changes that were occurring at this time, including the dramatic increase in the population and the results of industrialization upon society, see Brooks 1998, 3-4. Ebbatson (1994, 35-43) discusses the influence of those with 'new wealth' on the development of the Royal Archaeological Institute during the mid-part of the 19th century.
7. Levine (1986, 2, 87-100) discusses the institutionalization of archaeology and history from the 1850s on.
8. Brooks 1998, 16; Evans 1956, 227.
9. Evans 1956, 241-2.
10. Ibid, 251.
11. Ibid, 239-51.
12. Bernard Nurse, pers comm.
13. Lee 2004.
14. Nicolas 1827, 157.
15. Nicolas 1830, 23.
16. Levine 1986, 7. See Evans 1956, 238, for the nature of elections at this time.
17. Nicolas 1827, 160.
18. Ibid, 160.
19. Levine 1986, 22.
20. Ibid, 55. The anonymous reader of this chapter pointed out to me the significance of the Society of Noviomagus, a dining club made up of various Fellows many of whom worked for a living, including William Jerdan and Alfred Kempe. The society was established in 1828 and continued until at least 1851 (Evans 1956, 231), providing an alternative venue for certain Fellows to meet and talk.
21. For Roach Smith and the Antiquaries, see MacGregor 1998.
22. Smith 1883, 1, 115-16. Levine 1986, 21, refers to these events.
23. Evans 1956, 263; Smith 1883, 1, 116.
24. Levine 1986, 21-2.
25. Ebbatson 1994 and 1999.
26. Wetherall 1994.
27. Ebbatson 1994, fig 3, and 1999, 40, fig 3.
28. Way 1845, 3.
29. Jerdan 1845, 297.
30. Ibid, 298-9.
31. Ibid, 300.
32. Ebbatson 1994, 23.
33. Evans 1956, 227-8; Hudson 1981, 15; Levine 1986; Wetherall 1994, 9. For the Society of Noviomagus, see note 20 above.
34. Levine 1986, 57. Sweet (1997, Appendix 8) includes information about the occupations of English urban historians prior to 1825, which supports this observation.
35. Ebbatson 1994, 32.
36. For the value of the study of antiquity to English gentlemen in the 18th century, see Sweet 2004.
37. For the perceived place of women at this time, see Levine 1986, 9, 54.
38. A short note by Lady Mantell was published in the appendix to vol 25 of *Archaeologia* (p 604), and an interesting account by Frances Stackhouse Acton of the excavation of a Roman villa near Church Stretton, in Shropshire, was featured in vol 31 (pp 339-45).
39. Antiquaries Correspondence (MS collection in SAL library).
40. SAL, Council Minutes, vi, 54, 13 Nov 1849.
41. For the recruitment of female members to the BAA/RAI, see Ebbatson 1994, fig 2, and 1999, fig 5.
42. *Archaeological Journal* 1845, 275.
43. Ebbatson 1994, 34.
44. Evans 1956, 227.
45. Brooks 1998, 19.
46. Although SAL, Council Minutes, v, 377-9, shows that he resigned from this post on 17 Nov 1846.
47. Ebbatson 1994, table 3.
48. See Chamberlain 1984 for an account of Aberdeen's life and achievements.
49. Ibid, 5. For a detailed account of Aberdeen's scholarly activities, including works on Troy and classical Greek buildings, see ibid, 61-78.
50. Ibid, 75. Aberdeen was a member of the Council of the Royal Society in 1812-13, 1817-18 and 1821-2.
51. Nurse 2000. Chamberlain (1984, 73) also provides a brief account.
52. Letter from Aberdeen to Gurney (Norfolk Record Office, RQG 334). All references to letters from Aberdeen to Gurney quoted below are held in this collection in chronological order.
53. Chamberlain 1984, 73.
54. Evans 1956, 242.
55. Chamberlain 1984, 73, referring to the letters in the Norfolk Record Office (RQG 334).
56. Evans 1956, 241. Evans also refers (241, n 1) to a letter dating to 3 Nov 1813, which already drew attention to

- Aberdeen's tendency to desert his post.
57. *Ibid*, 241.
  58. Antiquaries Correspondence.
  59. Wetherall 1998, 27.
  60. Chamberlain 1984, 74.
  61. *Ibid*, 73.
  62. Nicolas 1829, 402.
  63. Evans 1956, 247.
  64. Lee 2004.
  65. Palgrave 1831, 6-7.
  66. Nicolas recalled (1830, 28) that he objected to some of the papers that the Council planned to publish and also raised an objection to another proposition, consideration of which was put off to the next meeting.
  67. Nicolas 1830, 29; Palgrave 1831, 7.
  68. Palgrave 1831, 7-8.
  69. *Ibid*, 8.
  70. For the suggestion of his desire to act as a historian see Nicolas 1827, 156. For attacks on the Antiquaries, see Nicolas 1827, 1829 and 1830.
  71. A letter from Thomas Pettigrew to Carlisle in the Correspondence of the Society regarding certain charges levelled against Carlisle by Nicolas suggests that the name of the latter 'is however to be *condemned* [?] for being too sensibly alive to his own reputation & the opinion of the world'. The letter is recorded in the Antiquaries' collection as dating to 24 Nov 1837 but presumably it actually dates from 1827, a time at which we know that Nicolas was writing letters to the Council.
  72. SAL, Council Minutes, iv, 456-7, 16 Jan 1828.
  73. Nicolas 1827, 161.
  74. SAL, Council Minutes, iv, 445, 13 June 1827. Evans (1956, 244) links this decision by the Council to criticism made by Nicolas in his 1827 article, but I can find no such observation.
  75. Nicolas 1830, 32.
  76. *Gent's Mag*, 1828, 98/1, 255.
  77. SAL, Council Minutes, iv, 468.
  78. *Gent's Mag*, 1828, 98/1, 350.
  79. *Ibid*, 350.
  80. Nicolas 1829, 402.
  81. SAL, Council Minutes, v (not paginated). It is noted on 16 Nov 1847 (*ibid*) that Carlisle had died.
  82. Antiquaries Correspondence, 30 Apr 1839. A typed copy of this letter was sent to Joan Evans by Claude Blair in 1966 and is in the correspondence filed under its original date. Way subsequently played a significant role in the Antiquaries and the foundation of the BAA: Levine 1986.
  83. Evans 1956, 245.
  84. The other list contained the names of N H Nicolas, the Revd James Dalloway, Isaac D'Israeli, Rich Duppa, Michael Jones and Edmund Lodge in place of certain of those included on the House List. They also contained a number of names in common.
  85. *Gent's Mag*, 1828, 98/1, 350-1; Nicolas 1830, 30.
  86. Nicolas 1829, 401-2. For a critical reply to some of Nicolas's observations on the Society, see the contribution by 'Antiquarius' to the *Gent's Mag*, 1829, 99/2, 417-26. 'Antiquarius' was a pseudonym adopted by Kempe (see Kempe 1829a).
  87. Antiquaries Correspondence.
  88. SAL, Council Minutes, iv, 493, 3 Apr 1829.
  89. Note in the card index for Antiquaries Correspondence, 2 Apr 1829.
  90. Antiquaries Correspondence.
  91. Chamberlain 1984, 74.
  92. *Ibid*, 75.
  93. See note 82.
  94. Evans 1956, 241, quoting information in the Ellis Papers in the British Museum.
  95. Correspondence in Norfolk Record Office (RQG 334).
  96. These are listed in SAL, Council Minutes, v, 300-1, 5 Mar 1845, and are also published in an account of a meeting of the Society held on 27 Feb 1845 in *Gent's Mag*, 1845, 115/1, 407.
  97. SAL, Council Minutes, v, 302, 5 Mar 1845.
  98. They met only five times during 1841-2, four times during 1842-3 and a total of five times during the two sessions of 1843-5: Evans 1956, 246.
  99. Evans 1956, 253, quotes letters from Ellis to Way that record the same dispute.
  100. Antiquaries Correspondence.
  101. Evans 1956, 253.
  102. Letter reproduced in SAL, Council Minutes, v, 340-1, 25 Mar 1846.
  103. Text of a letter signed by Mahon, Vice-President, on behalf of the Council in SAL, Council Minutes, v, 343-4, 31 Mar 1846.
  104. See Nicolas 1829, 413. Evans (1956, 238-9) discusses the tradition of royal patronage of the Society, which continued under Aberdeen.
  105. Some serious efforts had been made to retrieve arrears from defaulting Fellows, particularly in 1843: Evans 1956, 244.
  106. Nicolas 1829, 413.
  107. SAL, Council Minutes, v, 346-7, 7 Apr 1846.
  108. Evans 1956, 252.
  109. Evans (*ibid*, 263) also notes a number of resignations as a result of dissension over Carlisle in 1847.
  110. Evans (*ibid*, 258-62) discusses the finances in some detail.
  111. SAL, Council Minutes, v, 349.
  112. *Ibid*, 352 and 354 respectively.
  113. *Ibid*, 366-9.
  114. This continued the earlier policy of the Council to sell off stock to relieve deficits: Evans 1956, 243-4. The Council's serious attempts under Mahon to raise income and reduce expenditure demonstrate, however,



- that the sale of stock was not considered a viable future option by the new President.
115. A copy of the auditors' report is pasted into SAL, Council Minutes, v, between pp 402 and 403.
  116. SAL, Council Minutes, iv, 20.
  117. Nicolas 1829, 407-8. Evans (1956, 244) discusses the cost of the Annual Dinner to the Society at this time.
  118. Evans (1956, 243, 244) discusses the Council's often half-hearted attempts to deal with defaulters during Aberdeen's period of presidency.
  119. Levine 1986, 58-9, quoting Collector's Book for 1847-9.
  120. SAL, Council Minutes, v (not paginated).
  121. SAL, Council Minutes, vi, 56.
  122. Evans 1956, 261.
  123. Daniel 1975, 29; Evans 1956, 225; Gerrard 2003, 30. Daniel (1975, 29) considers some of the classical studies that occurred in the first quarter of the 19th century and associates the decline of interest to the passing away of 'the great age of dilettantism'.
  124. Evans 1956, 232; Way 1845, 1-2. In fact, perhaps, this is one reason for Aberdeen's growing disenchantment with antiquarian studies in general.
  125. Levine 1986, 74, 86.
  126. Figs 56, 57 and 59 derive from an analysis of the papers published in the main parts and the appendices of vols 19 (1821) to 32 (1847) of *Archaeologia*.
  127. Evans 1956, 225, and Mandler 1997, 82-7. For nationalism and historical/antiquarian studies, see Levine 1986, 4, and Mandler 1997.
  128. Arnold 1841, 32.
  129. Hingley 2000, 20-1.
  130. Nicolas 1829, 416. For comparable comments, see Nicolas 1830, 24.
  131. For this bias toward the publication of historic documents, see Nicolas 1830, 41-3.
  132. Evans 1956, 250. See, however, the comments of Kempe (1829a, 419) for a far more upbeat assessment of the significance of the publication of antiquarian reports about pre-Roman, Roman and Saxon remains. For one relevant example of such a publication in *Archaeologia*, see also Kempe 1829b.
  133. The Council vetted papers for publication. See Evans 1956, 233-7, for the medieval volumes published at this time. Gerrard 2003, 30-5, provides a summary of the development of medieval studies at this time.
  134. These papers were also more likely to be placed in the appendix to each volume than those that examined medieval topics.
  135. Daniel 1975, 33.
  136. Bowler 1989, 131.
  137. Daniel 1975, 54-5, although see Torrens 1998, who concludes that geology was beginning to have a significant impact upon archaeology during the middle years of the century.
  138. For John Frere's important paper of 1797, see Torrens 1998, 37.
  139. Daniel 1975, 30.
  140. Ibid, 30.
  141. Akerman 1846, 297.
  142. Rickman 1840.
  143. Way 1845, 2.
  144. For the context, see Levine 1986, 95-6.
  145. Morse 2005, 127-41.
  146. Daniel 1975, 28. For an early paper, see Rhind 1856.
  147. Levine 1986, 82-3, 98; Hingley 2000, 21-2.
  148. Cook 1998 discusses the collection of classical objects.
  149. Levine 1986, 56.

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