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**Conditions of Emergence and Existence of
Archaeology in the 19th Century:
The Royal Archaeological Institute 1843 – 1914**

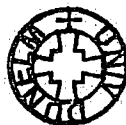
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Ph.D. Thesis

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1999



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Conditions of Emergence and Existence of Archaeology in the 19th Century:

The Royal Archaeological Institute 1843-1914

Ph. D.

1999

Traditional histories of archaeology have left lacunae in understanding of both the discipline and elements within it. Using the Royal Archaeological Institute and its product, the *Archaeological Journal*, as a pattern site for research the archaeological paradigm is applied to history rather than vice-versa.

After a short explanation of method the published membership of the Institute between 1845 and 1942 is analysed in terms of geographical distribution, social composition and occupational interest. In the process the dynamics of a will to discourse are revealed in conjunction with the areas of discourse which were problematic.

The text of the *Journal* (1843-1914) is then analysed on the basis of format, citations, terminology, tropes and objects of discussion in order to identify any 'statements', in the Foucauldian sense, which constitute the objects of discourse. Three major phases emerge. These are characterised at one level by similarities and differences in social and cognitive topography.

At another level the conditions of existence and emergence revealed in the study suggest that archaeology itself is a characteristic of the Modern episteme, intimately linked in its successive modes of exploration and interpretation of the past with the Enlightenment project and the nation state.

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PREFACE

This monograph was prompted by the writings of three men. Tilley (most particularly 1990, 281-347, but see also 1989, 41-62) and Trigger (1989) had remarked upon the need for a fresh approach to the history of archaeology and a very obvious lacuna in research dealing with national and local societies. Foucault had already exposed the teleological grid of traditional epistemology (Foucault 1981, 1988, 1990, 1991). While there were obvious linkages between Foucault's earlier and later works I was more interested in his use of a paradigm with which I was more familiar, namely that of archaeological method (Foucault 1977, 1994). It seemed to me that here was a possible basis for open-ended inquiry founded as it was upon a paradigm which had at its core the trivial and the mundane. Such a methodology, if it could be applied to a modern discipline such as archaeology, could not merely unearth the exclusivity of the discipline we see mirrored in the histories of, for example, Glyn Daniel or Joan Evans, but must be inclusive; it must unearth a range of statements existing appositionally, oppositely or discretely whose significance would change over time. Such an approach offered the possibility of a critical understanding of archaeology and its position within a system of knowledge which was not necessarily contingent upon present day perceptions or agendas.

In one sense I wanted to attempt an archaeology of archaeology. As a result the research was rather unorthodox and, although the method is explained where necessary in the body of the text, certain aspects might be better clarified at the very beginning. *The Archaeological Journal* (Vol.s 1-71) and, by association, the Royal Archaeological Institute are explored, to use Petrie's description of Tel Defenneh, as a pattern site for research (Petrie, 1887, 31). References to *The Archaeological Journal* are given in abbreviated form, e.g. AJ44, 1887, 31, and are not listed in the bibliography because they are the finds, features, structures and contexts of the site. They are not citations in the usual sense: where this is the case an orthodox reference is given both in the text and in the bibliography. Likewise with regard to specific authors and their works, e.g. W.Boyd Dawkins' Cave Hunting (1874), where a comment in the *Journal* is the significant statement it is located by reference to the text of *The Archaeological Journal*, e.g. AJ32, 1875, 114-126. This monograph is not and cannot be a total history of archaeology in the nineteenth century. Ideally it requires comparison

with other similar sites to assess similarities and differences in the patterns of dispersion. It is hoped that this mode of referencing will facilitate such comparison.

While the Introduction depicts, with all its weaknesses and doubts, the point from which I started out Parts I and II constitute the main body of the text. They follow more or less the model of an archaeological report; what Hodder (1989, 271) refers to as 'the modern order'. Part I is essentially concerned with site location and description. Part II records the emergence of layers and assemblages. On the one hand this is an accurate reflection and result of the research method, on the other, as author, I collude in presenting the data in this way so that others, who may not agree with my interpretation, can use them nevertheless. Part III is a reflection on the (for me) significant moments in the journey and to some extent on the mode of transport (Foucault and the archaeological paradigm).

I was both surprised and shocked by what emerged as a result of this research. Surprised at the constant tug of the personalities involved in the Archaeological Institute and their interplay. They became like fellow passengers on a long bus journey in a strange land. Some I wanted to know better, I felt regret when they left. Others, equally intriguing but not ideal companions, I hoped would alight sooner rather than later. I was shocked at the endemic racism and wondered at times where the liberal or humanitarian statement was to be found. Nationalist sentiment too had an unexpected profile which resonates with current debate (Diaz-Andreu & Champion 1996; Fowler 1987; Patterson 1986). Of women I write because I am a woman and a teacher and I grow weary of perpetuating ill-informed assumptions about women, notwithstanding the 'explosion of literature' (Conkey & Gero 1997, 413) of recent years (Claassen 1994; du Cros & Smith 1993; Gero & Conkey 1991; Gero 1996; Walde & Willows 1991; Wright 1996; see also Goldhill, 1995; and MacNay 1992).

Any errors or failures contained herein are entirely my own but I would like to thank my family, Brian, Eleanor and Matthew, and my supervisor Professor Martin Millett for the patience and invaluable support which each provided in his or her own way. I would also like to thank the British Archaeological Association for the Ochs Scholarship (the bequest of a woman) which has allowed me to complete the work in relative peace.

List of Abbreviations

AJ – Archaeological Journal

BAAS – British Association for the Advancement of Science

EEF – Egypt Exploration Fund

OS – Ordnance Survey

RCS – Royal College of Surgeons

REF – Rome Exploration Fund

RIBA – Royal Institute of British Architects

SPAB – Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps knowledge succeeds in engendering knowledge, ideas in transforming themselves and actively modifying one another (but how? – historians have not enlightened us on this point); one thing, in any case, is certain, archaeology, addressing itself to the general space of knowledge, to its configurations and to the mode of being of the things that appear in it, defines systems of simultaneity, as well as the series of mutations necessary and sufficient to circumscribe the threshold of a new positivity (Foucault 1977, xxii).

Traditional Histories of Archaeology

In 1935 Stuart Piggott wrote of William Stukeley “he was instrumental in propagating theories the very imbecility of which seems to have endeared them forever to the public mind” (Piggott 1935, 32). At first glance we might be tempted to smile and agree with him, Druidic rites and pre-Christian Christians have no place in the positivity of modern archaeology, but if we look again we see that Piggott, although he modified his views a little fifty years later (Piggott 1986), in common with many historians of archaeology by dismissing the totality of Stukeley ignores also the basic tenets of archaeological method and, in true antiquarian fashion, dips into the past to retrieve only what is relevant to his own idea of the modern discipline. He ignores or marginalises those beliefs or philosophical positions which make him or his audience uncomfortable. In doing so the traditional historian, not just Piggott, is in danger of arriving at a history which vests the thought of the author and his or her contemporaries with an inexorable authority which is at best historically defined or at worst of Mosaic proportions. In either case the history fails to examine the dynamics which drove or drive the discourse; it presents instead an array of unearthed facts superficially linked by an imposed narrative. Such an approach fails to ask, let alone answer, the simplest questions. Why, for instance, Stukeley should have propagated theories later regarded as imbecile? To ascribe them to an insufficiency of data fortuitously remedied in the nineteenth century by assiduous application of the inductive method and the rigours of hypothesis testing in the twentieth century, or even to describe them as belonging to Kuhn’s pre-paradigm period (Sterud 1973) is inadequate and does not explain why his imbecility took the form it did. Neither Stukeley nor his theories were considered particularly outlandish by his

contemporaries and there is no evidence to support the view that men and women were any less well-endowed with the faculty of reason then than now.

In fact what we are witnessing is a familiar short circuiting of history caused by the contact of the two poles which both define and erode history in the modern episteme, i.e. its object is also its defining subject. History, as we generally know it, takes as its object the life, labours and loves of humanity at a conscious (narrative) or unconscious (theory/law) level while the author is himself subject to the very object he seeks to describe. The author describes and in describing is described. At one pole the subject matter of history is positive, treating the human past as object but in doing so it inevitably describes how human action was shaping the past as it happened. Thus at the other pole it is normatively exploring the way in which the past acts upon the present at an unconscious level. Its positivity is endlessly compromised; hence not only the endless debates about the valorization of history but also the shortcomings of traditional histories with their teleological perspective, exemplified in this instance by Piggott's wry assessment of Stukeley.

In traditional histories and more recent epistemologies the problem areas are seen to arise out of a 'natural' accumulation of data and analysis which almost inevitably and seemingly objectively determines the areas of research. Kuhn (Sterud 1973, 5) used a dialectical model to describe just such a process very effectively. Normal science, that is one not in a state of crisis, "consists of the articulation of problem areas which the paradigm earmarks as being important and worthy of investigation. It is the existing paradigm which supplies the theoretical fabric". Paradigm here is defined as 'an internally consistent body of theory, including mutually acceptable tools and standards of measurement, held by a scientific community' (Sterud 1973, 4). But such description, while useful in identifying phases of activity or change remains essentially teleological, effective in a narrow and existing field but ineffective in exploring the multiplicity of available choices. It does not explain *how* the discourse came to be because, as a model, it does not look beyond the discursive.

The traditional approaches can never answer Foucault's parenthetical 'how'. Perhaps it will never be answered but to say simply that Worsaae refined the Three Age System, that Lubbock claimed archaeology for science in 1866, that (dubiously) Schliemann discovered the site of Troy by reading Homer, or

that Petrie 'invented' sequence dating actually explains very little except aspects of archaeological technique and method considered relevant to modern practice. At present the history of archaeology is a mixture of narrative pegs and that old favourite function of history, validation. It does not explain why individuals or events are important except from the perspective of the present and, more significantly, it diminishes the epistemological context of these events. In doing so it introduces an element of either determinism or serendipity which is at odds with the empirical nature of the discipline it purports to elucidate. If Providence has a minor role in archaeological interpretation why give it centre stage in a history of archaeology? Why dismiss the archaeological method itself in writing archaeology's history?

Archaeological Method – The Paradigm

When Foucault speaks of archaeology he is not, of course, referring to the discipline practised by the archaeologist who is recognisable 'by the shortness of his fingernails and the toughness of his skin' (Petrie 1904, 6) but rather to the underlying paradigm, to the conceptual framework which defines and characterises the legitimate objects of discourse of archaeology and all that entails. At its most abstract archaeology is primarily concerned with space and the use of space. The concepts which determine practice are essentially 3-dimensional. An excavation, for example, is a space in the real world: it, and the data it yields, are also 3-dimensional in the mind. To attach meaning to the data requires an act of interpretation which depends upon rules, codes and a certain dispersion of statements operating within a synchronic spatial paradigm. It works because there are discontinuities and anomalies on the one hand and similarities and regularities on the other. Consider, for example, the difficulty of assigning to period artefacts from cultures of longevity such as Ireland where there are so few period benchmarks. How often is a landscape anomaly the primary indicator of archaeological sub-strata? How many interpretations and heated debates still rest upon assessments of similarity and dissimilarity of form or assemblage? It is on the resolution of such problems that so much archaeological debate still hinges. But it is the spatial, 3-dimensional construct of archaeology which Foucault seizes upon. It is this essential characteristic which Foucault transposes and applies to the history of ideas in order to identify what forms or constrains discourse, to ascertain, in his terms, the conditions of emergence and existence of

particular epistemes within whose space all contemporary discourse is obliged to exist and operate. Foucault discards (Cousins and Hussain 1984, 78ff) all existing categories of explanation; tradition is seen as 'facile synthesis'; contemporaneity or *zeitgeist* is merely circular argument; the *oeuvre* is exclusive/selective (Nietzsche's infamous laundry list); the author is legend-making akin to doxology; and the book is product rather than process. All these categories are seen as unifying 'the history of knowledge in terms of the human subject, consciousness and the march of reason' Cousins and Hussain 1984, 84). In total they constitute a history which privileges continuity, a history where discontinuity is seen merely as a failure to place phenomena in relation to other phenomena. Instead it is the pathological, the discontinuities, which should be looked to in the first instance as explanatory indicators, as the means of illuminating the dark shadows of the past, made even darker by the bright light of the teleological main beam.

"Foucault's major thesis has been that it was the analysis of the population at the periphery which has served as the vantage point for reflection on the normal adult population" (Cousins and Hussain 1984, 209). It is in this periphery, in archaeology as elsewhere, that we are likely to find the anomalies and discontinuities which elucidate the regularity of statement dispersion. But where do we begin? Total history is neither desirable nor practicable; finitude is not just a metaphysical concept for writer or reader. One possible answer lies in the relatively neglected area of the national and provincial societies which appeared to spring up and multiply throughout nineteenth century Europe. They were a physical and intellectual milieu inhabited by archaeologists of all descriptions and all levels of skill and expertise, though not all social classes. They were part of a web of knowledge which was reflected with varying degrees of verisimilitude in their most obvious product, the journal. As soon as one begins to apply the metaphysical archaeological paradigm to even one of these, in this instance the Royal Archaeological Institute, we begin to understand in a fresh way the conditions of emergence and existence of archaeology itself.

At one level we can see why philology was considered more important than geology: we can ask, with some hope of an answer, why craniology was so wholeheartedly embraced in the mid-nineteenth century: we can see how chronology and its concomitant ordering of time became a dominant and, for a

while, dominating issue: we can see where Pitt-Rivers met Poincaré on the axis of thought: it becomes clear that topography is not merely a quaint, unsophisticated documentary source for today's archaeologist but represents the tentative mapping of the unknown and potentially hostile intellectual terrain of the past. At a deeper level it becomes possible to identify the problematic areas which were symptomatic of broader constraints upon the discourse. Perceptions of race, nation and cultural identity, for example, appear to have been defining and defined by archaeological research and it is but a short step from there to ideology and the exercise of power.

The Limitations

Tilley suggests we should understand archaeological discourse 'as a set of dispersed statements, codes and rules which actively forms the objects of which it speaks' and furthermore the regularities governing dispersion can possibly be explained by analysing the social and political implications of producing one version of material culture rather than another. In other words to analyse the linkage, if any, between the text and its 'social context of production'. "We need" he says "to re-write archaeology's history. The manner in which this might be attempted must include consideration of archaeology as a set of discursive practices linked to power and the non-discursive" (Tilley 1990, 335). What is patently lacking is agency. Why take the humanity out of the humanities? In this research I was constantly pulled back to curiosity about the people involved. Curiosity is a human trait and Pandora is as curious as she ever was. To call it doxology is a little harsh, it is more than a liturgical formula. What becomes transparent as one researches in the microcosm of a particular discourse, as with the broader work of Foucault, is that the paradigm developed in The Archaeology of Knowledge (1972) and The Order of Things (1977) is not entirely satisfactory. In establishing the internal consistency in the ways of seeing which characterise various epistemes (Renaissance, Classical and Modern) Foucault implicitly demonstrates that it is the human mind which is continually defining the mental constructs which make sense of the world of which it is part. After a discussion on the Classical concepts of price and value Foucault states that:

Though membership of a social group can always explain why such and such a person chose one system of thought rather than another, the condition enabling that system to be thought never resides in the existence of the group. We must be careful to distinguish between two forms and

two levels of investigation. The first would be a study of opinions in order to discover who in the eighteenth century was a Physiocrat and who an anti-Physiocrat; what interests were at stake; what were the points and arguments of the polemic; how the struggle for power developed. The other which takes no account of the persons involved, or their history, consists in defining the conditions on the basis of which it was possible to conceive of both 'physiocratic' and 'utilitarian' knowledge in interlocking and simultaneous forms. The first analysis would be the province of doxology. Archaeology can recognise and practise only the second." (Foucault 1977, 200)

Nevertheless it is only through the products of humanity that we can arrive at the second level and Foucault is repeatedly forced back upon an individual human agent to describe, if not explain, epistemological shifts; Adam Smith in the field of economics (Foucault 1977, 224-5) and 'the genius of Lamarck' in biology. Nor are these isolated examples, the same or similar accolades are accorded to Cuvier (*ibid.*, 274-5) and Nietzsche (Foucault 1977, 263). The limitations of the archaeological paradigm in epistemology are tacitly acknowledged when, with reference to the Modern episteme, Foucault says:

Language is 'rooted' not in the things perceived but in the *active subject* [my emphasis]. We speak because we act, and not because recognition is part of cognition.....

and

if language expresses, it does so not insofar as it is an imitation and duplication of things, but insofar as it manifests and translates the fundamental will of those who speak it.....language is no longer linked to civilizations by the level of learning to which they have attained but by the mind of the peoples who have given rise to it, animate it, and are recognizable in it. (Foucault 1977, 290)

In other words it is not yet possible to override the human agent. So too in the microcosm of the Archaeological Institute it is impossible to ignore the people for whom and through whom it operates. Whether we like it or not the human agent is acting upon and being acted upon by the epistemological formation of which it is part. If knowledge is conceived of as a 3-dimensional construct where the episteme is the sum total of the variously shaped and interlocking blocks within it and the archaeology of knowledge allows us to examine the dead episteme then if we extend the archaeological analogy a little further Foucault's two levels of investigation must be contiguous in some way. It is where they touch that one can examine the problems of agency at various points in time; not as doxology in the confines of a teleological grid but to ascertain their position as agents within the epistemological space. These positions need not be static or fixed or even necessarily homogeneous within a single individual, different facets

of life such as education and experience might differently position the plurality of thought both within and between individuals in the space of the episteme. Perhaps we should think of the two levels as unstable tectonic plates moving through the epistemological space then, without giving primacy to the individual human agent, it becomes possible to see how the interstices of the grid can be explored, unlocked, changed. By asserting the importance of human agency it appears that we are thrust back upon the superficial level one but this is not to say that the perspective remains unchanged, the view of the field of action, the context of discourse, is in fact radically altered.

A Possible Approach –A Specific Field of Inquiry

One possible means of approach which tackles these difficulties is, as Tilley suggests:

to perform genealogical studies of the kind Foucault has undertaken, identifying an issue of strategic social and political significance today, such as gender representation and undertaking highly specific studies that cross cut standard archaeological conceptions and periodizations of materials (Tilley 1990, 341).

I would argue however that in the microcosm of organizations such as the Archaeological Institute and the *Archaeological Journal* it is possible to examine both membership and text. It is possible not only to examine issues of strategic significance today such as the aforementioned gender representation, but also issues of the same order operating in the past. This has at least two virtues. On the one hand such issues, sometimes unexpectedly, often articulated the archaeological discourse in the network of other discourses at the nodes of both theory and practice; the range is wide and includes various academic disciplines in the process of formalization such as art, architecture, linguistics, geography, history, *et al.* as well as strategies of institutionalized power at the international, national and local level. On the other hand the quasi-formal character of the organization and its text combined with its contemporaneity and immediacy means that at various times, and this in itself can be significant, it inevitably embraces or at least flirts with the non-discursive and compels the reader to consider alternative ways of seeing and the choices that are being made. So-called 'turning points', for instance, are seen for what they were. Darwin, for example, rates barely a mention, the glory for the 'discovery' of the longevity of the planet and the antiquity of man goes to the geologists and John Lubbock;

Schliemann's discoveries in the Troad are a brief paragraph sandwiched between remarks on a sepulchral brass recovered from a fire in the Chapel at the Savoy and a new edition of Dr. Birch's book on ancient pottery. Together these virtues diminish the possibility of the teleological viewpoint re-establishing itself in a judgmental way and at the same time allow for the plurality of possible discourses which are always immanent.

By taking the membership of the Royal Archaeological Institute as a base sample of agency, by occupational and geographically located groups, as well as individuals, we find that the issues of strategic social and political significance for *them* occur tangentially through the personnel. When this is combined with textual analysis some surprising patterns come to light. These patterns in turn raise questions about the position of archaeology in the Modern episteme and its present role in prevailing systems of knowledge and associated systems of power and ideology.

PART I

ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE MEMBERSHIP 1845-1942

It is a very great error to suppose that the truths of philosophy are alone important to be learnt by its students: that provided these truths are taught it signifies little when or by whom, or by what steps, they were discovered.....(Lord Brougham in Rhind 1856).

Introduction

In 1845 the membership of the Archaeological Institute stood at almost 1500 (Fig.1). Members were united by the possession of wealth or status or educational background. As a body they encapsulated diverse intellectual interests which during the ensuing century became more and more homogeneous. In short, at its foundation, the Institute was socially exclusive and intellectually eclectic. Until very recently the Institute was selective in its membership policy insofar as individual members had to be nominated by existing members acting to some extent as referees. For most of the nineteenth century, however, this selectivity was reinforced by a more general exclusivity. The abiding and largely unwritten precondition was wealth. Although effectively excluded from active participation in the formative discourse, the influence of the mass of the populace was nevertheless felt in various ways. Against a background of accelerated social change and periodically explicit demands for reform of the franchise it is not surprising that the debate on popularity and populism should occasionally appear in the *Archaeological Journal*. Thus the President, Talbot de Malahide, expounded in 1853

The great object with antiquaries ought to be, as far as possible, to popularise, to use a barbarous word, objects of Archaeology

and

it is necessary.....to popularise the study of ancient Art, to extend the field of observation, and increase the numbers of persons who take an interest in the science. By so doing, we shall preserve from destruction many valuable and beautiful specimens of the arts of our ancestors, and, above all, introduce correct and chaste views on the application of Higher Art to modern requirements (AJ9, 1852, 382).

The perceived audience however was clearly that which, using the Registrar General's 1951 classification of socio-economic groups retrospectively,

would be included in Class I, i.e. large employers (which for much of the nineteenth century included most members of the aristocracy), merchants, bankers, higher officials in shipping and insurance, property owners, and the liberal professions of civil service, church, law, medicine, army, navy, science, fine arts, and architects (Jones 1971, 350). If we exclude the higher officials in shipping and insurance and read 'landed gentry' for 'property owners' this is precisely the profile presented by the Archaeological Institute for most of the first one hundred years of its existence (Table 1).

Even the organisation of meetings was a significant status indicator. In the first instance, perhaps influenced by the heady atmosphere of the early to mid-1840s, they were held fortnightly throughout the year but by 1850 they were being held monthly in London, ending in June and recommencing in November. All of which indicates a lifestyle favoured nowadays perhaps by academics but then only by the aristocracy and the urban and rural gentry. The Institute has occasionally courted popularity but clearly eschewed populism.

One way of encouraging popularity and raising the profile of antiquarian and archaeological studies was through the peripatetic annual meeting. Models for these were not hard to find. The British Association for the Advancement of Science had its inaugural meeting in York in 1831. The people there had adopted a deliberately non-governmental, anti-metropolitan stance and the peripatetic annual meeting was specifically aimed at raising the profile of Baconian science in the country at large. The idea appears to have originated in the *Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte* in 1822 where the loose confederation of German states at that point in time militated against a metropolitan centre. In England the preference for provincial cities was part of a deliberate attempt to educate the public and the government through the exchange of ideas among people working in specific areas of science. The meetings had plenary sessions, and specialist sections with presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries and organising committees which rapidly came under the *de facto* control of a central council (Rudwick 1985, 29-31). The Archaeological Institute adopted a very similar plan for its annual meetings held each year in the summer.

These Summer Meetings are further indicators of the audience to whom the Institute addressed itself. The people involved had to have, of necessity, the means and the freedom to travel away from home for a week in the summer. It

was not unusual for private trains to be hired for day excursions although by the beginning of the twentieth century the motor car was taking precedence. Cathedral cities were particularly favoured venues and it was a distinct advantage if they were situated on a railway line. Exeter was avoided for many years because there was no rail link. Churches, castles and country houses, particularly if they possessed art treasures, were visited in that order of popularity. Occasionally examples of vernacular architecture were scrutinised and, even more rarely, an excavation, although these were not scarce. It was not beyond the ingenuity of the organiser to hold an impromptu excavation such as the hole in Maiden Castle in Dorset in 1865 but these were mercifully rare. In 1904 preliminary fieldwork prior to the annual meeting was put on a more regular footing when the Council decided to give financial support to works of excavation and research 'to be undertaken previous to or arising out of the Annual Meeting'. The results were to be communicated to the Institute or published in the *Journal*.

Apart from the daytime excursions there were evening meetings where 'memoirs' or papers were read and the social highlight of the week was the *conversazione* where the Mrs. Proudis of the world could safely gather. In fact the world of the Archaeological Institute in the first fifty years was decidedly more that of Trollope than of Dickens or Thackeray. Changes in the sumptuary rules in the early 1880s suggest however that some members at least felt that they were in danger of becoming Vanity Fair. Henceforth there was to be no private entertaining but the rule, it must be said, was honoured more in the breach than in the observance. As a rule the members 'derived from a class where education was an unquestioned privilege and leisure an ample commodity' (Levine 1986, 54).

The format of the Summer Meetings was calculated to impress and involve people of power and influence in the locality. Until the beginning of this century dignitaries of the Established Church, such as bishops and deans, were invariably involved in the proceedings in a formal way. As recently as 1922 the Bishop of Ripon delivered a special sermon on the uses of archaeology on the Sunday of the Summer Meeting. The social élite of the county was specifically invited and at various times in the history of the Institute it was customary for either a major landowner or the Lord Lieutenant to act as president for the duration of the meeting. Expertise or anything more than a passing interest in the

subject, as several confessed, was not a prerequisite. The mayor and corporation of the host city were always invited and they assumed a higher profile as time passed. For Lord Talbot they were to be the 'Great Bulwarks' for the protection of ancient monuments. By 1903 the Lord Mayor of York could speak feelingly of being at the receiving end of this philosophy:

It falls to this Corporation to endeavour to grapple with the difficulties which may be said to some extent to be a legacy from former generations..... (AJ60, 1903, 374-75).

Unfortunately those who were wooed by the Institute as natural allies were precisely those, with the exception of local government, whose political power and influence was waning. The Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1900 remained permissive, only coming into effect at the request of the owner, although county councils were empowered to buy and contribute to the maintenance of monuments and public access was ensured (Evans 1956, 366). The irony of the situation lay in the fact that the main obstacles to comprehensive protection of ancient buildings, monuments above and below ground, and artefacts and documents of national interest had stemmed from a respect for private property rights. The unconscious strategy of the Archaeological Institute appears to have been to recruit and convert the owners of those very property rights and hence, through rational argument, to persuade the individual to put the benefit of country and community above personal profit and convenience.

In the beginning the aim of the Summer Meetings was to promote interest in archaeological pursuits as then defined throughout the country. Local secretaries were to build up a network of interested people of like minds who would aid in the preservation of ancient monuments and the recording of chance finds. This aspect fell into abeyance with the growth of independent local societies. Fifty-six such societies were founded in England alone between 1836 and 1886. In most instances the Institute was very supportive of these initiatives. There was inevitably some overlap in membership and through the *Journal* it gave national coverage to their activities. To some extent the growth of the local societies can be seen as a measure of the success of organisations like the Archaeological Institute in stimulating a more widespread interest in history and the material remains of the past. The autonomous nature of the local groupings is wholly in keeping with a mid-Victorian *zeitgeist* for self-help and local government but in retrospect it could be argued that the long term effects of this

failure to create a national network reduced the effectiveness of the lobby for the protection of ancient monuments and the promotion of research in these areas by prolonging the amateur status of these activities in a non-discursive setting when more financial and political control than ever before was being vested in central government.

Geographical Distribution

Despite the original intention to have a nationwide network of members, with a local corresponding secretary in each county, the membership figures between 1845 and 1942 show a clear bias towards the capital and the south-eastern part of the country (Table 2). Approximately 50% of the membership were resident in these areas at any one time in the first hundred years. This situation was exacerbated by the London venue of the monthly meetings and apparently was not ameliorated by the Summer Meetings nor, in 1910, by the introduction of Spring and Autumn Meetings for the specific purpose of inspecting ancient buildings in and around the capital. On the contrary, the figures show an increasing south-eastern bias: 45% in 1845 and 55% in 1942. Between 1843 and 1903 35% of the Summer Meetings took place in this area; 60% took place south of the Humber-Trent line. Only London and Middlesex and the south-east ever achieve more than 17% of the membership as a single regional grouping. This seeming imbalance can be attributed to factors such as population density, development, cultural preferences or site density, which are beyond the scope of this analysis, but what is remarkable is the treatment and relative position of the sister nations of Wales, Scotland and Ireland in an organisation which purported to promote the study of antiquities in Great Britain as a whole.

Wales appears to have been particularly badly served with only one Summer Meeting between 1843 and 1910 and a share of the total membership which never rose above 3%. Yet this does not accurately reflect the amount of interest shown in Welsh culture in the published text. In the early years Welsh culture was openly regarded as having a direct and positive historic link with the indigenous 'British' culture to the extent that Cymraic is used as a synonym for British and Celtic. In 1865 Beresford-Hope, in typically verbose style, proposed a

toast 'to the health of a most distinguished archaeologist and Hostess of the day' Lady Charlotte Schreiber. He asserted that

all honour and glory should be given to a lady who had come forward to rescue from oblivion the literature of a people, whose peculiar circumstances have preserved to them their independent nationality, whilst they enjoy the advantage of being incorporated with a powerful but thoroughly antagonistic nation (AJ22, 1865, 369).

In part this homage can be explained by the then fashionable interest in philology (Schreiber had translated and published old Welsh manuscripts – Mabinogion 1838-49) which was regarded as a legitimate archaeological pursuit. The Welsh language was treated with respect and as a valuable relict of the past of the British Isles. In general Wales was treated as a separate national entity; interest in material remains was largely restricted to the more spectacular Roman sites, such as Caerleon, and the English castles, the most notable exception to the rule being W. Owen Stanley's excavations on Anglesey mid century. During the nineteenth century Wales was increasingly outside the mainstream of the Anglican Church much as it had been during the main church-building period of the Middle Ages. The latter was to prove the staple diet of the Institute and Anglican vicars were the backbone of the membership. In 1910 Sir John Rhys, professor of Celtic at Oxford and then chairman of the Commission of Ancient Monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire appealed to the Institute for help. The Welsh monuments, he said, had been the means of making him realise the unsatisfactory state of the law of this country as regarded the preservation of ancient monuments. All the evidence he had heard went to show that it was inadequate and inefficient, practically a dead letter. He suggested that the Institute should discuss the question and appoint a committee to prepare a statement which would serve as the basis of a new law (AJ67, 1910, 322). Given the fact that C.R. Peers, the current Inspector of Ancient Monuments, was present and a prominent and active member of the Institute, this was a reasonable request. Despite this interest and concern by 1933 there were only six members living in Wales and the RCAM (Wales) was safely ensconced in Great Smith Street, London.

In terms of membership Scotland and Ireland follow a similar pattern (Table 2) but they had their own national organisations, the Society of Antiquaries (Scotland) and the Royal Irish Academy, which maintained and promoted a strong interest in their native antiquities and, in the case of Scotland

at least, a feeling of national identity. Indeed Scotland, largely through the activities of the Society of Antiquaries, was a trail-blazer on more than one occasion. The issue of Treasure Trove, a thorn in the flesh of the Institute for many years, was first raised in 1850 when

in consequence of the liberal permission of Mrs. Durham of Largo House, that the precious relics discovered many years since near her residence in Fifeshire, should be brought to London....for exhibition.....at the Institute, a claim had been made by the Court of Exchequer.....requiring that the treasure should be ceded to the Crown...Several members present signified their conviction that objects of the greatest value, in prosecuting the research into national Antiquities, must constantly be condemned to the crucible by the finders, or never brought forward for the purposes of science, if this feudal right were enforced (AJ7, 1850, 194).

As a result of this particular incident and other similar experiences in Scotland as well as the ineffectiveness of efforts to change the law throughout the United Kingdom, A. Henry Rhind, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (Scotland) and a member of the Institute, decided to act on his own initiative. He circulated a memoir on treasure trove to the Society of Antiquaries (Scotland) and a committee was then set up to promote the issue. The committee contacted the four convenors of the Scottish counties who responded favourably and the memoir, with their full endorsement, was submitted to the Government. The Treasury agreed to pay the full intrinsic value of any finds surrendered to the appropriate authority in Scotland. The situation remained confused however throughout the rest of the British Isles although in the following year Lord Talbot was able to report to the Central Council that the Government was willing to implement the same approach in Ireland if the Royal Irish Academy thought it desirable.

Rhind's concern for the preservation of ancient monuments was not confined to his homeland. Obligated to travel for the sake of his health (he died a relatively young man at the age of 30), he spent some of the last years of his life in Egypt and Nubia. Rhind was incensed at the treatment of ancient monuments there, not just by the native Egyptians in their 'miserable dwellings' but also by 'scientific expeditions'. 'The grand enemy of the sculptures has been the very reputation which demonstrates their value.....visitors attracted by their fame....have left traces not unworthy of Attila or of Genseric' he wrote to the editor of the *Archaeological Journal*. He went on to bemoan the deliberate despoliation from 'ignorant acquisitive desire' and 'vulgar humour akin to

idiotcy' [sic] (AJ13, 1856, 158-9). Fifteen years earlier Monckton-Milnes, a member in 1845, had included in his 'list of luxuries' to be taken on a trip up the Nile 'chisels for the removal of hieroglyphs from the temple walls' (Pope-Hennessy 1949, 174). Mahomet Ali's reply to British Government urgings to save the antiquities, a response to Rhind's cry of despair, was simply 'How can I do so, and why should you ask me, since Europeans themselves are their chief enemies?' (AJ13, 1856, 158-9). Thirty years later the concern remained but we are presented with an interesting contrast in responses to the problem. For Flinders Petrie (AJ40, 1883, 435) graffiti were just another set of archaeological data to be recorded, analysed and used. For Edward Freshfield it was a social and political problem.

Unfortunately England seems to me to be behind other nations in the protection of objects of antiquity. We never have succeeded in protecting them in our own country, and from what I hear it seems doubtful if we have been or shall be able to protect them in India, and it is hardly probable we shall be more successful in Egypt....it may be hoped that at all events we shall leave the antiquities of Egypt, if and when we do vacate that country, in no worse condition than we found them. This is, I think, saying a good deal, for wherever the English go, and there is safety for travellers, there must follow a certain class of English-speaking persons who do not like not to leave some remembrance of them behind. Either they will cut their names, and this is the most harmless, or they will carry off souvenirs, which is worse...(AJ47, 1890, 285).

The debate provoked by Rhind ended in a call for *in situ* conservation of ancient monuments on that occasion but the Archaeological Institute was nothing if not pragmatic. In an equally heated debate four years earlier on the subject of the Elgin Marbles the historian E.A. Freeman stressed the importance of leaving ancient remains in their integral condition, *in situ*, and abstaining from those mutilations, and the dispersion of their most precious accessories, by which museums were enriched, and specimens accumulated, whilst the deep interest associated with such monuments was wholly, and in some instances, wantonly, sacrificed (AJ8, 1851, 236).

Lord Talbot however considered the removal of the Elgin Marbles and the antiquities brought to light by Dr. Layard was perfectly justifiable.

Rhind was also instrumental, in 1855, in persuading the Ordnance Survey, then working in Scotland, to direct special attention 'to all ancient remains, camps, roads, tumuli, etc. and carefully indicate their position' (AJ12, 1855, 212). By the 1870s however Scottish participation in the Institute was less marked and we must assume that the Institute had ceased to be a relevant forum for the debate of Scottish antiquities.

Ireland, although similar to Wales and Scotland in some respects, was more of an enigma. Of the three countries Ireland was the one which raised most pertinently the role of the past in the ideology of developing nations. Membership figures were consistently below 1% of the total (Table 2) after 1850, falling to zero in 1913 and 1922; this was the smallest regional grouping. Although several Summer Meetings were proposed for Dublin, only one, in 1900, ever took place. In 1887 Greville Chester suggested Dublin as the next venue for the annual meeting but the Rev. Joseph Hirst, a Catholic priest, felt that, once again, the time was inopportune and they would be 'coldly received' (AJ44, 1887, 423). Two years earlier in fact the situation in Ireland had deprived the annual meeting in Derby of its president, Lord Carnarvon (H.H.M. Herbert), president of the Society of Antiquaries 1878-85 and father of the Egyptologist of that name. Gladstone had been defeated and Caernarvon was sent to Ireland as Conservative viceroy and could not attend the Summer Meeting as promised because he was, as Earl Percy put it, 'controlling the unruly spirits of Ireland' (AJ42, 1885, 486). One puzzling aspect of the Irish membership figures lies in the fact that they are belied by the number of objects of Irish provenance brought to the attention of the Institute. For most of the nineteenth century the main business of the monthly meetings was examination, appreciation and discussion of a motley collection of artefacts, documents, drawings, photographs, works of art and excavation reports. A league table of the places of origin of this subject matter between 1846 and 1861 shows Ireland well behind London and the south-east (around 388 citations, excluding seals and seal matrices) but on a par with the north and the midlands (around 130 citations, excluding seals and seal matrices) and ahead of Scotland and Wales. To some extent this is a more accurate reflection of the degree of interest shown in Ireland by the Institute in its formative years.

One possible contributory factor was the stimulus given by the Irish Geological Survey. Several members of the Institute were employed in its execution; Pitt Rivers is perhaps the best known of this little band. George Petrie was also attached to the Survey 1833-46; he was trained as a landscape artist, worked as a journalist and is famous for his essay on the round towers of Ireland, in which he asserted that they were Christian ecclesiastical buildings. In 1858 George du Noyer published Ancient Habitations in Kerry largely as a result of his time spent on the Geological Survey of the Dingle peninsula two years earlier.

Another contributory factor may have been the enthusiasm of Lord Talbot de Malahide, a resident of Dublin and president of the Institute for 27 years (see Appendix 1).

While statistical anomalies are relatively easy to explain, the analysis of the Irish artefacts raises much wider issues. Establishing a chronological framework is and was one of the abiding characteristics of archaeological study. In the early years members of the Institute, like all contemporary archaeologists, had great difficulty in assigning artefacts to period, with the exception of those which were stylistically Roman, Classical or late Medieval or later. The Irish artefacts were particularly problematic. They were almost invariably unassigned and not covered by the then current umbrella term 'primeval'. This is scarcely surprising given the historical circumstances of that country, principally the lack of an easily identifiable Roman period benchmark and the seemingly unpunctuated Celtic cultural continuity. However, when one goes a little deeper we are forced to ask why, in a country with a physical geography so similar to Denmark and with similar dating problems, notable developments in archaeological method took place in one country and not in another? Why, after the publication of Worsaae's work on the Three Age System and a personal visit to Dublin to address the Irish Academy on Danish and Irish antiquities, was this alternative approach not widely endorsed?

Immediately following Worsaae's visit the catalogue for the Dublin Exhibition in 1853 was deliberately structured by material and function with no attempt at a chronological framework; even at the time the classification was considered rather odd albeit ground-breaking. The model was derived from the system of classification then current in the natural sciences, i.e. class, order, species, variety. The principal classes were stone, vegetable, animal (bone, horn, etc.) and metallic; species were weapons, tools, food, implements, household economy, dress and personal decorations, amusements, music, money and a few others. The publication of the catalogue in 1857 was seen optimistically as being of great advantage in supplying materials and evidence towards establishing in scientific system that Chronological Classification....which we trust may be hereafter achieved. That classification is alone wanting in order to give to Archaeological Investigation its true and highest aim as an auxiliary to Historical and Ethnological inquiries (AJ14, 1857, 394).

but there was an element of doubt as to its efficacy.

The stimulus for the innovative work of the Scandinavian archaeologists in general and the Danes in particular can be seen as a drive for a national identity in a small post-Enlightenment secular state. Worsaae's paper in 1866 expressed his sorrow and anguish in the face of the German annexation of South Jutland and would certainly support this proposition (AJ22, 1866, 21-22). If this was the case one is tempted to suggest that in Ireland we see the converse. That there was concern for, and interest in, Irish history and prehistory among English and Anglo-Irish antiquaries in the early days cannot be doubted. The Government-financed publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland in 1852 was greeted with pleasure in the Institute and was considered

the more important since it was probable, had publication been much longer deferred, it would have been impossible to find anyone capable of comprehending the language in which they are written (AJ9, 1852, 364).

The reasoning behind the interest is expressed by Lord Talbot in his appeal for objects for the Dublin Exhibition of Antiquities; they should be 'particularly such as tend to illustrate the natural connection between the aboriginal inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland'(AJ9, 1852, 397).

In Ireland, unlike Denmark, the property-owning classes in whose hands lay the powers of investigation and conservation had little to gain by establishing a long-standing indigenous cultural history. In Ireland, again unlike Denmark, the situation was further complicated by the presence of an Established Church whose tenets were not shared by the majority of the population and, to put it mildly, an ambivalent attitude on the part of the British Government towards Catholics and Catholicism. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the decline in interest in Ireland in the texts of the Institute is contemporaneous with, on the one hand the growth of Teutonic history, Saxon forebears, the twinned concepts of race and nation and the dream of empire, and on the other hand an increasingly politicised and antagonistic Irish nationalism.

At least part of the problem however lay in a quasi-religious adherence to the more basic tenets of the inductive method, which obscures underlying cultural assumptions. Between 1845 and 1866 there were constant references and panegyrics to the virtues of this approach to scientific analysis:

It is gratifying to observe the industry and eagerness with which the classification of national antiquities and of all vestiges of middle age art and design are preserved in our country, has in

later times been prosecuted...The advances which have been made towards a more intelligent pursuit of Archaeology, are strikingly shown in the care with which minor details have been examined and classified. It is only by paying attention to a number of these minutiae, that correct conclusions as to date and design can be found (AJ6, 1849, 313-314).

The large exhibitions in Dublin in 1853 and the Antiquities Section of the Great Exhibition in 1851 were the fruit of many years of private collecting. They were the public manifestation of private activities such as those promoted by the BAAS and the Archaeological Institute from which, if the published texts are to be believed, they sprang. A seemingly minor but in effect important ingredient of the Summer Meetings was the temporary museum. The collecting and assembling of objects was considered an essential prerequisite of the inductive method, which was believed at the inception of the Institute to give archaeology, as opposed to antiquarianism, scientific validity. This is the explicit reasoning behind the pressure which was continually exerted both locally and nationally for depositories of antiquities. The effect of promoting public interest or education was acknowledged but definitely regarded as subordinate to the need to collect the archaeological equivalents of the raw materials of natural history.

Writing in 1855 John Kemble represented the attitude of many of his contemporaries:

It is not many years since archaeological pursuits were looked on as a sort of innocent trifling, very fit to be indulged in by gentlemen with more money than wit, or clergymen not overburthened with rural duty. If they did no good, they did at least no harm, and they amused him that followed them, and those that laughed at him. Collections of curiosities, as they were called, were considered as a sort of inferior collection of articles of *virtu* which only proved their owners did not possess the refined taste of *cognoscenti* in Greek or Etruscan remains. Slowly however and by degrees, the truth became acknowledged, that these curiosities were historical records, dating from periods too, of which no other record was to be found; and with the recognition of this truth, archaeology began to assume the proportions of a science.....And so it was thought we might turn our own archaeological treasures to account. But from that moment it was also necessary to collect in a very different manner from what had prevailed, and to look for answers to questions which heretofore no one had thought of putting.....Comparison and combination – these were the two layers by which the inert mass of facts was to be moved. Induction was here also to claim its rights, and observations to take the place of crude *a priori* conclusions. And so we have at last a sound footing, and can look back upon and count our gains. What is perhaps more valuable still, we know by what process we can continue to advance. If we know that much remains to be done, we have at least learnt how to do it. We must compare and combine facts;

note resemblances and differences, and apply to archaeology something of the principle which guides us in comparative anatomy (AJ12, 1853, 297).

If, for a moment, we leave aside the comments of Sir George Armytage at the 1903 Summer Meeting who felt that

the study of archaeology in its many branches, is one of the greatest interests that a busy man can take up. Everyone, to my mind, should have some hobby, and that hobby should be, as far as possible, apart from the routine of his daily life (AJ60, 1903, 378)

it is fair to say that in Kemble's analysis we begin to see the striving after a kind of professionalism through a method which, with all its limitations, required rigour and integrity. The limitations however were becoming increasingly obvious. The need for testable hypotheses was tentatively raised by J.E. Lee, a geologist and honorary secretary of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Archaeological Association, in a letter to the Institute regarding cromlechs in 1863. He finishes

I fear that you will call this letter a theoretical one, and that you will say, facts and facts only ought to be admitted in the study of antiquities. Still, if there is no attempt to dogmatise, and if a supposition is merely suggested for consideration, I do not see that much harm can be done, even if the theory is pronounced valueless (AJ20, 1863, 177).

This was greeted by a deafening silence but in fact it was to prove the first faint tone of the death knell of the inductive method as it was then understood within the Archaeological Institute.

Within the Institute the inductive method had in fact lent a certain spurious legitimacy to the acquisition of artefacts by the majority of members. In the early Victorian period the problems of constructing a long-term chronological framework loomed only fitfully on the horizon of the collective consciousness of the Institute. For most of the time it was secondary to what was perceived as one of the main aims of archaeology, i.e. 'the improvement of our own Arts and Manufactures' and, in even more utilitarian spirit, in the 'Mechanical Arts where success is the result of experiment, earlier methods may be disused from negligence rather than from knowledge, others will prove suggestive in their very imperfections' (AJ9, 1852, 1ff).

By definition the Industrial Revolution had witnessed an upsurge of interest in new manufacturing techniques and processes. By the 1840s it had also awakened a more discerning interest in those of the past. This was wholeheartedly endorsed by the Institute in small as in greater things, although

the greater things had the greater attraction. In 1861 Signor Castellani, an Italian jeweller, gave a talk on his craft at a monthly meeting. He described how his family had sought to reproduce Etruscan style pieces by examining the originals and then proceeded by trial and error until they discovered a goldsmith in a small Tuscan village who still worked in the ancient way. In 1850 an Exhibition of Ancient Art was mounted at the Adelphi 'during the Season' which acted as forerunner of the Ancient Arts and Manufactures Exhibition which was to run simultaneously with the Great Exhibition of Industry of All Nations the following year. This section was to be under the exclusive direction of the Central Committee of the Institute and comprised

an assemblage of the more attractive productions of Medieval taste, combined with a series of National Antiquities, chronologically classified, in like manner as was adopted in five successive museums formed at annual meetings (AJ7, 1850, 201).

The emphasis of these exhibitions was mainly on high-status artefacts made of precious metals. High-status post-medieval articles, excluding actual paintings or drawings, comprise the second largest group of 'chance finds' and, significantly, 'Antiquities or Works of Art' presented for the edification of members at monthly meetings for almost every year between 1843 and 1864. In 1861 the Institute mounted an exhibition of Glyptic Art which created quite a stir. It lasted for one week in June and attracted over 5000 visitors. It included over 300 gems from the Royal Collection as well as the Bessborough and Arundel collections and those of the Dukes of Devonshire, Schaafhausen and Hamilton, Edmund Waterton and Felix Slade. Visitors included Prince Louis of Hesse and Prince Albert, who had recently become patron of the Institute.

For a brief period in the early 1860s particular themes were adopted to give 'a more systematic impulse and instructive tendency' to the meetings. These themes were overwhelmingly of an artistic, utilitarian nature, by a ratio of 3:1. Typical topics included 'ancient jewelry and metalwork of an artistic nature', ancient plate and miniature portraits. This departure from past practice facilitated the presentation of papers or memoirs relating to the chosen theme by experts in the field. This was standard practice at the meetings of other scientific bodies, such as the Geological Society, and an essential part of the inductive method whereby interpretation was contingent upon the facts. It was another twenty years however before this became the usual format for meetings and another fifty years

or so before the 'curio' element disappeared altogether. To some extent this was a result of not only the unscientific and uncongenetic nature of the topics originally chosen for discussion but also their popularity with the membership which sustained the arts and craft bias in the Institute.

Artists, Architects and Engineers

The Institute was founded in the heat of the Gothic Revival and there was a two-way process in operation whereby the interest in medieval arts and manufacture fed the fire of antiquarian research and antiquarian research provided the wherewithal for the medieval revival. There was a process of active appropriation of the past which was most visible in the work of those members of the Archaeological Institute who were also artists or architects. In 1845 almost 3% of the membership (Table 1) were identifiable as artists of one sort or another. They included landscape and historical painters such as Marshall Claxton, William Delamotte and George Robert Lewis, sculptors such as Sir Richard Westmacott, engravers such as J. Basire and the Wyon family, illustrators and caricaturists like George Cruikshank, and craftsmen such as Charles Winston, a painter on glass. There was also a small but none the less influential group of art collectors and connoisseurs. By 1893 this broad spectrum of talents had dwindled to a single fine artist, Sir Frederick Leighton.

Within the Institute the artists reinforced the prevailing utilitarian rationale. Sir Richard Westmacott, the foremost sculptor of eminent people, had adopted a neo-classical style in the early part of his career. By 1840 he was turning his hand to funerary sculpture with a distinct medieval air. It cannot be pure chance that medieval effigies were discussed with monotonous regularity at the monthly meetings between 1843 and 1860. Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy and Director of the National Gallery, is remembered as 'The most influential artist-administrator of the early Victorian period' (Fuller 1992, 165). In the 1840s he was secretary to the select committee for 'the promotion of the Fine Arts of this country in connection with the rebuilding of the House of Commons', of which Prince Albert was President. For the last 20 years of Eastlake's life he was involved in the internal decoration of the Palace of Westminster which included commissioning frescoes depicting scenes from British history. Again the problems of rescue and renovation of the painted

murals coming to light in the then fashionable rash of church restorations were a recurring theme in the annals of the Institute at that time.

Charles Winston was typical of the artist-craftsmen who were active in the Institute in the first twenty years. He revived the art of painting on glass and was involved in repair work on many churches; in one instance at least, this was financed by Albert Way, a founder member and leading light of the Institute until his death in 1874. The Gothic Revival inevitably provided scope for his talents in new churches and his restoration work, while providing models and insight into technique, was not marred by an overweening pride in his own abilities. He was careful to follow the code of restoration which did not pretend to be anything other than what it was, leaving unpainted those glass quarries for which no information was available. On his death in 1864 the Institute, by popular demand, mounted an exhibition of his drawings of examples of glass in ancient England prior to their being deposited in the British Museum. Gambier Parry gave a commemorative address on 'Art and the Art of Glass Painting' which finished with the hope that 'others would take up this great art where he [Winston] has been so grievously lost to it' (AJ22, 1865, 93). None did although William Burges continued the artist-craftsman tradition for a while. He was chiefly remarkable, from the Institute's point of view, for his designs for church plate (AJ35, 1878, 52-3) and in 1874 he designed the gold chain of office (in thirteenth century style) which was presented by the Institute to the mayor of Exeter as a token of appreciation for their warm welcome to that city the previous year (AJ31, 1874, 414).

Succeeding generations included other arbiters of public taste. Connoisseurs like Felix Slade, founder of the Slade School of Art, benefactor of Oxford and Cambridge universities, Leigh Sotheby of the auctioneering family, and John Henderson, who left £100 to the Institute, were all members in the mid Victorian period. By the late 1870s however the art collectors were passing away after long and fruitful lives. Sir George Scharf represented the new generation of artist-administrator at a time when, according to Rosenthal, despite all the drawbacks inherent in the utilitarian attitudes to art 'never before, or since, had the material rewards been so great or the social prestige so high' (Rosenthal 1992, 182). He became Director of the National Gallery and actively supported the interest in portraiture in the affairs of the Institute. When Frederick Leighton,

leader of the Victorian 'High Renaissance' artists, joined in the 1880s he was already a pillar of the establishment. The artist-administrators, of whom Leighton was one, were succeeded by the professional art critics and art historians, by Tancred Borenius and Rose Graham in the 1920s and 1930s. Many of the early artists were men of eclectic tastes. Joseph Bonomi, for example, was also known as an Egyptologist and had assisted at the dissection of a mummy for the entertainment of Institute Members at the 1850 Summer Meeting. By the 1940s the practitioner had become a theorist, the dilettante a specialist, the amateur a professional, but the aesthetic still exercised considerable influence on the discourse.

For John Ruskin, a member very briefly in 1845, architecture was the material expression of a nation's spiritual values. If this were indeed the case then the Archaeological Institute must have been one of the formative influences on the public face of Britain as we know it. It was a forum where the arbiters of the Victorian aesthetic met; architects and churchmen, nobility and financiers, speculators and builders, politicians, civil servants, engineers and historians (see Fig.2). It is tempting to say of the architects at least, 'ask not what you can do for archaeology but what archaeology can do for you' although there was obviously a great deal of reciprocity. As a group the architects illustrate not only the most blatant social networking but also the subtle intermingling of historical and contemporary ideals.

The interest in medieval ecclesiastical buildings as represented by the number of citations in the *Archaeological Journal* peaks in 1848-50 and only by the 1860s was the Gothic Revival questioned in any meaningful way. By then Richard Westmacott Jnr. could make a passionate and perspicacious attack both on the uses to which architectural style was being put and the assumptions behind it:

There can be no doubt that in the twelfth and three following centuries ecclesiastical edifices were erected of a character that succeeding ages have not approached in picturesque beauty and in richness of decoration, but it would be exceedingly unsound to found upon this circumstance an argument to prove that the age of beautiful architecture was, *ipso facto*, an age of morality and piety;...[History shows Medieval times to be] times of violence, and of scant and unequal justice. The strong oppressed the weak, might gave right, and the lower classes were in a state of almost brutal ignorance and subjection...We must seek elsewhere than in the assumed universality of piety and religious devotion for the causes of the extensive spread of ecclesiastical edifices and

monuments....Rather the clergy had a monopoly of education and hence influence over all classes and in this way accumulated great wealth...Without underrating or ignoring the existence of the religious element, but recognising the more powerful effect of obedience to the moral pressure exercised by superior intelligence, we see a source of immense wealth to the Church, and which led to the erection of those beautiful edifices with which during those times of the influence of the hierarchy, the whole land was covered.....the display of wealth gave added power to specific chapters...The twelfth to fifteenth century phase was a result of status, influence and ample pecuniary means. Supply always follows demand, and [architectural] development is consequent upon practice (AJ17, 1860, 297-303).

Westmacott's analysis was singular however and his views do not appear to have inhibited many of his fellow members. The architects were a long-standing and influential group within the organisation; they were at their peak in percentage, if not numerical, terms in the 1850s and 1860s. A listing of their names reads like a roll of honour at the Royal Institute of British Architects; they include Charles Barry, Edward Blore, Decimus Burton, C. R. Cockerell, T.L. Donaldson, Professor of Architecture at University College London and founder of the RIBA, George Godwin, Philip Hardwick, Anthony Salvin, Henry Darracott Scott, Ambrose Poynter, Sir George Gilbert Scott, the two Wyatts, Matthew Digby and Thomas Henry, E. W. Godwin, Sidney Smirke, Sir William Tite, John Oldrid Scott, John Belcher, and later, G.E. Fox, better known perhaps in archaeological circles for his work at Chedworth and Silchester, and W.R. Lethaby. A closer look at only a few of these is sufficient to illustrate the network of ideas and practice which was operating within this small organisation. Charles Barry ran one of the largest and most influential offices in England; his personal preference was for an Italianate neo-classical style such as the Travellers' Club and the Reform Club in Pall Mall, the Board of Trade and Halifax Town Hall. Nevertheless the competition for the Houses of Parliament in 1835 stipulated a Gothic or Elizabethan design. Barry won and proceeded to build the Palace of Westminster between 1840 and 1860 as well as other Gothic structures including several churches around Manchester and St. Peter's, Brighton. Some architect members remained faithful to the neo-classical style; C.R. Cockerell, Barry's main rival, was one such who derived much of his inspiration from early work as an archaeologist in Greece. His work included branch offices for the Bank of England, the Ashmolean Museum and the Taylorian Institute, Oxford. Decimus Burton was another, he designed the Athenaeum Club, the conservatory at

Chatsworth and the palm house at Kew. Sidney Smirke completed the west wing and built the Reading Room at the British Museum where Sir Richard Westmacott had executed the frieze. Much later, another generation represented by John Belcher, kept the Classical idea alive. He is best known for London Bridge, the Chartered Accountants Hall in the City and Colchester Town Hall.

The major contributors to the Archaeological Institute however were the medievalists, the architects of the Gothic Revival in more senses than one. Men like Edward Blore who designed Abbotsford for Sir Walter Scott (non-member) and worked at Crewe Hall with Ambrose Poynter for the eccentric Lord Crewe (non-member) and his heir, the wife of Richard Monckton Milnes. Ambrose Poynter was also an Inspector at the Government School of Design, which was founded in 1837 with the help of another member to promote 'the direct practical application of the Arts to Manufacture'. Anthony Salvin specialised in the 'Tudor Revival'; among other things he re-fashioned parts of Windsor Castle and Scotney and Rockingham Castles, both homes of fellow members of the Archaeological Institute. He was elected to the Central Committee in 1851. In the 1860s he became official architect at the Tower having previously been employed by the Government on conservation projects such as Lindisfarne Priory. William Burges trained with Blore and worked with Digby Wyatt, he was an admirer of Pugin (non-member) and his most representative works are considered to be Castell Coch and Cardiff Castle, both of which were owned by the Marquis of Bute who entertained the Institute so lavishly at the annual meeting in Cardiff in 1871. E.W. Godwin moved in less exalted company and is renowned more for his domestic town architecture than his public buildings. Born and trained in Bristol, he joined the Institute in the early years of his career when he preferred the Early Gothic style but he was more artistic and adventurous than his fellows. A central figure in the 'Aesthetic Movement' Godwin left the Institute when his tastes changed. The jewel in the crown however was George Gilbert Scott.

Scott was the leading practical architect in the Gothic Revival; like it or loathe it his was the most ubiquitous face of the Victorian aesthetic. He created in stone, brick and cement the sanitised version of medieval order, stability and power which was considered suitable for the new organs of a revitalised church and a burgeoning state. As well as workhouses and the like he built more than 140 churches, the Martyrs' Memorial, Oxford, the new India Office, the Home

and Colonial Offices, the Albert Memorial, St. Pancras Railway Station and Hotel, Glasgow University, the Episcopal Cathedral in Edinburgh and much more. He helped restore Westminster Abbey, 16 cathedrals and over 300 churches. In his spare time he wrote articles on medieval architecture. Scott's work, like that of many of his colleagues in the Archaeological Institute, was paid for in the main from the public and clerical purses. The individuals responsible for disbursement were not infrequently fellow members of the Institute either politicians or clergy.

By Ruskin's lights Scott was an out and out vandal. Within the Institute he occupied a position of influence in the mid-Victorian period, despite occasional remonstrances, taking over from Professor Willis, the most favoured expert on medieval architecture, when the need arose. His renovation and restoration work, which included scraping off wall plaster and removing fittings which he considered inappropriate, eventually prompted William Morris (non-member) to found the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, known alternatively as 'anti-scrape'. In a letter to *The Athenaeum* in 1877 Morris wrote:

My eye now caught the word 'restoration' in the morning paper, and, on looking closer, I saw this time it is nothing less than the Minster of Tewkesbury that is to be destroyed by Sir Gilbert Scott....Would it not be of some use....to set on foot an association for the purpose of watching over and protecting these relics ?...though I admit that the architects are, with very few exceptions, hopeless because interest, habit and ignorance bind them, and that the clergy are hopeless, because their order, habit and an ignorance yet grosser, bind them, still there must be many people whose ignorance is accidental rather than inveterate.....What I wish for, therefore, is that an association should be set on foot to keep a watch on old monuments, to protect against all 'restoration' that means more than keeping out the wind and weather...(Briggs 1968, 81-82).

This call effectively signalled the failure of the Archaeological Institute to take the conservationist role it had foreseen for itself in 1843.

And yet there is nothing quite so fascinating in historical studies as watching the wheel turn. By 1899 the 'restorers' had become the arch villains. In a frankly extreme and (inadvertently?) hilarious paper entitled 'Restoration Considered as a Destructive Art' (AJ56, 1899, 332), Sir W. Brampton Gurdon KCMG is so apoplectic that he cannot trust himself to speak of G.G. Scott:

Thousands, I might say millions, of pounds have been spent in absolute crime...Even the liquor traffic pales by the side of this terrible evil; for I believe that it does actually give some people pleasure to get drunk.....

In fact the wheel had turned not long after Morris' call to arms. John Thomas Micklethwaite was notable in the Institute for trying to tread a middle road. Micklethwaite was articled to Scott after studying engineering and applied science at King's College, London. While working at St.Alban's in the 1870s he had been deputed by Scott to take a find to the Institute and had subsequently joined in 1875. He never joined SPAB but was frequently consulted by them and recommended as an architect. Morris even asked him to join the committee at one point but for whatever reason Micklethwaite, while sympathetic, pursued his own way. In an article in 1881 entitled 'On the Treatment of Architectural Remains' (AJ38, 1881, 353-60) he, somewhat wearily, put forward his case:

It may seem that some apology is needed for bringing forward once more the well worn subject of 'restoration'. All that I can say about it has been said before, by other people as well as myself. But, on the other hand, the mischief against which we protest still goes on, and finds defenders even amongst antiquaries..(*ibid.* 353).

Micklethwaite argued that, from the antiquarian point of view, old churches were like historical documents, better read in the original and genuine state with all their imperfections. It was wrong to argue that a building belonged to one period and that anything not dating from that period should be removed.

When you have done your best at 'restoring' a thing you have only produced a conjectural model of what it was, and you must almost certainly have destroyed some evidence upon which your 'restoration' was based. It may be well sometimes to have models of ancient objects made, but the originals themselves should not be destroyed to produce them (AJ38, 1881, 357).

He then outlined a method for the repair of old churches which included the injunction to always make clear that which is new:

Until recently this was done naturally by every man doing his work, as a matter of course, in the style of his own time; but now we have unfortunately no common style, and each man has to make or select one for himself .

What does this say about architectural style and moral values in the late nineteenth century?

1883 was a particularly bad year; it was proposed that a railway run through Stonehenge; there was a bill before the House of Commons for a second reading which would, it was felt, result in the wholesale destruction of City churches; and at Westminster the Public Schools Act had 'enabled the authorities to destroy nearly all the early architectural remains which that ill-advised project placed in their hands' (AJ40, 1883, 448). The Institute continued to make

suggestions to remedy the situation including reform of the main employers, the Anglican Church, (AJ42, 1885, 9-11) but to little effect.

A measure of that failure can be found in a paper given by the Rev. J. Charles Cox, a supporter of the SPAB, in 1897. It was a retrospective on 'The Treatment of Our Cathedral Churches in the Victorian Age' (AJ54, 1897, 239-274). 'The avowed object of this address', he said, 'is the exposure of the grievous faults of a pernicious and irresponsible system'. He did not apportion all blame to the architects but rather felt that the main factors for 'spoiling' the cathedrals were what he called 'playing the parish church' and turning them into 'great preaching houses' and 'an undue giving way to the rage for gigantic organ effects, an idea involving music-hall arrangements, where everything has to give way to the pervading influence of sound' (*ibid.* 240). Nevertheless he moved swiftly on to the architects as he examined each cathedral in turn. With regard to the Chapter house at Canterbury he said it was 'a smart, meretricious overlay, in which historic interest and workmen's sympathy are wholly wanting' – and it was 'so appropriately opened by a play-actor'. Of Scott's work at Worcester he said 'the result is as painful and forbidding as a venerable old lady overlaid with paint and cosmetics and bedizened in youthful attire' (AJ54, 1897, 254). Chichester, again restored by Scott, he found 'well accomplished, provided the slavishly imitative principle is admitted to be the best' (*ibid.* 257). Cox finishes, unsurprisingly perhaps, with St. Alban's and the dastardly deeds of Lord Grimthorpe (non member) 'a wealthy, overbearing, architectural charlatan' (AJ54, 1897, 270). As the members of the Institute became more passionate however they also became more impotent.

Another coterie of the mid-Victorian period centred upon the Great Exhibition and Henry Cole, designer, writer, civil servant and friend of the Prince Consort. A man of many talents, he was Assistant Keeper at the Public Record Office in 1838, introduced the penny postage system and invented the adhesive stamp. He and Prince Albert were instrumental in the revival of the Society of Antiquaries and he founded the Felix Summerley firm of 'Art Manufactures' which, among other things, published children's books and the first Christmas cards. Sir Richard Westmacott was one of the firm's designers. Cole was also closely involved with the School of Design where Ambrose Poynter worked. He planned and organised the Great Exhibition of 1851. As a member of the Royal

Commission for the Exhibition he supported Paxton's suggestion for a 'crystal palace' over those of his fellow commissioner and member of the Archaeological Institute, T.L. Donaldson. The Crystal Palace was built under the supervision of yet another member, Digby Wyatt, secretary to the Royal Commission and, incidentally, writer on geometric mosaics of the Middle Ages.

Henry Cole provided one of several links between Institute members and Government patronage. Digby Wyatt and another member, Philip Hardwick, extended those links to engineers and private developers such as the railway companies. They were responsible for Paddington and Euston stations respectively. The Institutes of Civil Engineers and Architects received their royal charters in 1818 and 1834 respectively. In practice there was no clear dividing line between the two professions. Both were necessary to the building and development projects which had their heyday in the early to mid-Victorian period, and each had a special relationship to the study of archaeology. For the architect it provided inspiration and models for the modern age, while the engineer and developer, often synonymous, were often in the forefront of discovery of relics of the past. That the latter turned to and were members of organisations such as the Archaeological Institute is attributable to several factors, not least their social mobility and the social cachet of the Institute.

Civil engineers...had a hard enough job getting into high society; really rich ones like Cubitt, Peto and Brassey could buy their way into 'London Society' like any other socially ambitious millionaires, but the unctuous moralising and ill-concealed glee which greeted Peto's downfall in 1866 showed clearly enough which way the social wind blew (Best 1990, 271).

Prior to 1849 the Archaeological Institute held their meetings in the Institute of Civil Engineers in Great George Street. Although the number of civil and mining engineers was always small, it represents a continuous presence throughout the first one hundred years. G.T. Clark for instance, one of the founders of the Archaeological Institute, was employed under Brunel on the Great Western Railway and worked in India on civil engineering projects as well as being first president of the British Iron Trade Association (1876).

It is not uncommon to find Archaeological Institute members from the different professions working together. I. K. Brunel and Digby Wyatt worked together on Paddington Station, adopting ideas from the Crystal Palace. Another engineer member, Henry D. Scott, designed and built the Albert Hall. The Cubitts

were involved in the Great Exhibition. Other members such as James Burns, a pioneer of steam navigation, William Froude, engineer and naval architect, Charles Manby and Sir James Ramsden appear to have joined for intellectual or social reasons. Their participation was minimal. The Ramsdens, both father and son, were members for many years. The father founded the iron company town of Barrow-in-Furness. They built, in contrast to the Gothic public face of Victorian England, tightly packed blocks of town houses 'conveniently' close to the works which were considered by some to be an achievement of town planning. Unfortunately for the inhabitants, the intemperance rates, overcrowding and disease statistics do not entirely support this view (Best, 1990, 64). Sir Samuel Morton Peto, on the other hand, was a regular attendee at meetings. He made his fortune as a railway contractor in England, Russia, Norway, Algiers and Australia. At the height of his success, before the crash in the 1860s which seems to have been a time of adverse financial activity for several other members including the Quaker banking family the Gurneys, Peto ran a construction firm larger than the Brasseys', employing 14000 people. In contrast to the Ramsdens, Peto translated what appears to have been a genuine fascination with the past into the reality of the model 'olde worlde' village of Somerleyton in East Anglia.

The Gurneys had run into trouble over their accounting procedures, likewise George Hudson, the 'Railway King'. The former linen draper had acquired a vast fortune as a result of the railway boom of the 1830s and 1840s, only to lose it all when the bubble burst in 1847-8. He built two lavish houses in Albert Gate, Hyde Park (the designer of the layout there was Decimus Burton), bought large country estates, was thrice Lord Mayor of York and MP for Sunderland long after his financial downfall. A fellow Institute member, Monckton Milnes, was on the Parliamentary Committee investigating the growth of the railways, which threatened to engulf the country in 'a confused net of iron' (Pope-Hennessy 1949, 198-199). At the same time the Milnes family, along with numerous other land owners, were negotiating and haggling over land prices and rail routes, usually to their own advantage if the Milnes are any guide. One effect of the railway boom was to forge a link between old and new money. In the Institute they met on neutral ground. Hudson remained a member of the Institute, like Peto, after his financial disgrace and continued to charm this fringe of 'London Society' at least for many years. He was particularly remembered on his

death in 1871 for his liberality, by which 'a very large portion of the heavy expenses of the Annual Meeting at York [1846] was contributed' (AJ29, 1871, 381).

At a different level we can see in the activities of the Institute the very real effects of the railways and other developments on the material remains of the past. Chance finds resulting from developments were numerous in the first twenty years and initially welcomed in some quarters. Charles Tucker wrote:

At no period in our history has the progress of modern civilisation contributed so extensively to more certain knowledge of the habits and manners of the earlier occupants of the British Islands as during the last twenty five years of the present century. Within that space of time, the liberal, nay prodigal, patronage bestowed by the speculations of wealthy capitalists on any scheme which appeared to promise a realisation of profits, has been the means of bringing to its present state of perfection that system of internal communication which now pervades almost every corner of Great Britain. It is by many of the gigantic works requisite for the schemes thus fostered, that the science of Archaeology has been much promoted; the excavations and diggings necessary.....have brought to light the sites and remains of ancient buildings, neglected and forgotten for centuries; railway cuttings have produced a most fruitful harvest of antiquities; canals and waterworks have also done much; and lastly the formation of sewers and other operations carried on under the direction of the 'health of Towns Commission' have made further disclosures (AJ6, 1849, 321).

As early as 1840 William Tite was one architect involved in public works in London, notably the Walbrook area, who took care to record and publish such material, including soil matrices, as came to light in the course of his professional 'excavations and diggings' (AJ60, 1903, 215). Later there were informal attempts to rescue monuments which lay in the path of the developers; the Bartlow Hills were a case in point. The Great Eastern Railway planned to lay a track through the Roman cemetery there in 1863. The Central Committee contacted the directors of the company, of which Brassey was chairman, with the aim of diverting the route. In reply they received a letter from Sinclair, the chief engineer, saying

I hasten to assure you that no injury to those interesting monuments has ever been contemplated...Although not a member of your Society, I have far too great a sympathy with its object to disturb willingly any remnants of olden time (AJ21, 1864, 87).

Wisely, as it turned out, the Committee was not satisfied with this; the matter was raised in the daily newspapers, site drawings were sent to the Institute and a site visit was arranged. Thomas Brassey sent a personal letter stating that Sinclair was

in charge of the direction of the railway lines but he 'would be most happy to carry out the wishes of the Institute so far as this was practicable' (AJ21, 1864, 162).

In the event by the time Joseph Burt, the Institute representative, arrived on site the damage had been done. There was considerable acrimony as a result and the local society was made to shoulder much of the blame for not notifying the Institute sooner. 'It is of little avail,' said Burt, 'to call in the best medical skill when the sufferer is *in extremis*.' In truth the Institute had failed in its declared purpose 'to watch over the progress of public works, and profit by information which may be brought to light' (AJ21, 1864, 95) as well as failing to exert the influence which could have averted the situation in the first place. By the end of the century the railway barons were still being invited to Institute events. Sir George Armytage, for example, head of the Lancashire and Yorkshire railway, was President at the Summer Meeting in York in 1903; they were very useful in helping with the transport arrangements at the Summer Meetings if nothing else. Notices from individual engineers working in the field, which were fairly commonplace in the early days, became increasingly rare as different networks emerged.

Sir John Fowler was one of the last of the famous nineteenth century engineers to join the Institute but he did so very late in life. He was particularly active in the London area, notably the London Metropolitan Railway and Underground, Victoria Station and dock construction and improvement. This last provided plenty of food for thought for the would-be archaeologists of the time. In one notorious incident in the mid-1860s finds from the Thames mud created a public furore and legal history. 'Shore-rakers' had found, and sold, approximately 2000 objects during the building of Shadwell Docks. *The Athenaeum* and the British Archaeological Association publicly declared the objects to be forgeries and the dealer sued them for libel. The defendants were found to have made their pronouncements 'in good faith' and were therefore not wittingly libellous. This did not prove particularly beneficial to archaeology but it significantly altered the law of libel. Meanwhile Charles Reed, of the Archaeological Institute, decided to conduct his own investigations into the matter and on seeking out the purveyors of the articles he found them in the process of manufacturing them. He observed

that illiterate 'mud-rakers' should have acquired such power of design and manipulation, as these productions evince may lead us to wish that....such talent had found a worthier sphere for its development (AJ21, 1864, 168).

The utilitarian approach had its virtues - at least Reed could recognise skill even in the most unlikely circumstances. How many of the other numerous finds described as coming from the Thames mud were genuine is open to conjecture, but forgery, even of flints and stone implements, was a real and recurring problem. The market in church plate was also a cause for concern in the 1880s following the publication of several books on English silver. It had become a marketable commodity with a buoyant market (AJ41, 1884, 222; AJ43, 1886, 459). Many a vicar apparently was in danger of succumbing to the temptations of 'new lamps for old'. Knowledge brought rewards of many sorts. The Institute however appears blind to the irony of a situation whereby it was increasing the market by raising awareness of the material remains of the past and increasing the number of potential customers at a time when the best possibility for conservation or protection was considered to be private ownership and there was no public protection of sites, monuments or indeed artefacts.

To return to the architects, in real numbers people identifying themselves as such in the membership lists drops steadily from a peak of 53 in 1845; in percentage terms they were at their highest, at least 4%, in the mid Victorian period, with an all-time low at the turn of the century (Table 1). There is a variance in quality as well as quantity. Those of the mid-Victorian period have already been discussed. The only architect of note in the membership by the turn of the century and later was W. R. Lethaby. His active participation, he became vice-president in 1913, is indicative of a change of emphasis in the organisation. Born the son of a carpenter and gilder, he came to work in London in 1879; he was a founder member of the Art Workers Guild and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. As well as working as an architect and furniture designer he was one of the first inspectors on the London County Council Technical Education Board and a director and joint principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts. In short he was a radical who espoused in his youth the ideas of Ruskin and William Morris. In later years he was a firm advocate of scientific training for architects. He considered his own time spent contemplating cathedrals 'from Quimper to Constantinople' as a waste of time. He was always

conscious of the need to inform and educate the public about good design, something he had in common with his illustrious predecessors at the Institute but he had little patience with those earlier bastions of good taste, the Government Schools of Design, RIBA, or the Royal Academy. In 1923 Lethaby published Londinium: Architecture and Crafts. He shared an interest in town planning, both ancient and modern, with Frances Haverfield (Ancient Town Planning 1913) when the Town Planning Movement (AJ72, 1915, 298-302) was acquiring momentum prior to the 1914-18 war. Lethaby was a timely reminder that archaeology was about space and form as well as time. Like Micklethwaite he felt that monuments were a text to be read. Restoration, he said in a lecture given in 1906, was full of “maddening contradictions of learned ignorance, of careful violence, of loving destruction” (Lethaby 1957, 189). He had a penchant for what he termed ‘public heraldry’, namely town signs and such, as purveyors of local history (*ibid.*, 22-3) although he considered triumphal arches, mausoleums and public memorials ‘part of the apparatus of hypnotism by pomp’ (Lethaby 1957, 48). He was concerned about the ‘weal rather than wealth’, about the production of houses which could be worked “without slavery and without the greasy waste and hidden squalor of rich houses –

How best to live with the least consumption is an aim which might safely be put before all people when a time comes for considering possible ideals in civilization (*ibid.*, 51).

Architecture was a language laden with signs and symbols which ordinary people should be able to read in their everyday lives. The urban landscape, he believed, had a profound effect for good or ill upon the people within it. In 1919 he said “The people asked for houses and we have given them [grave] stones” (Lethaby, 1957, 53). While established architects were fewer in number in these years the next generation was being encouraged by their teachers. H.M. Gimson, a nephew of a colleague of Lethaby’s, was a sixteen year old schoolboy in 1906 when A. Moray Williams excavated a Roman villa near Bedales School in Hampshire (AJ64, 1907, 1-14). It is to Gimson that we owe some fine and painstaking drawings of the mosaics there. Later in life he worked with Lutyens (non member) as well as setting up his own office and served on the committee of the Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings (Archer 1998, pers. comm.).

Patrons, Presidents and Politicians

In the preceding section the rise of new money and its relationship with the old was mentioned briefly and it was suggested that the Archaeological Institute was an organisation which facilitated informal contact between the two. Both in their own ways were patrons of the arts and sciences. Traditionally it was the landed aristocracy who fostered the appurtenances of civilisation. The titled membership of the Institute (Fig.3) grew steadily between 1845 (6%) and the turn of the century (12.41% in 1893), after which the percentage dropped.

There were two types of patron: those who directly sponsored building, artistic projects and, occasionally, archaeological research and those who gave, in terms of influence and respectability, social acceptance to the aims of organisations such as the Archaeological Institute. The two were by no means exclusive but examples of the first type include the Marquis of Bute, patron also of William Burges; the Earl of Caernavon, patron of Charles Barry; the Earl of Shrewsbury, friend and patron of Pugin (non member), who financed the building of many Catholic churches including Birmingham Cathedral; Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, an enthusiastic supporter of the Pre-Raphaelites; the Duke of Westminster who opened Grosvenor House to the Institute in 1893 to view his collection of paintings; and last, but not least, the Duke of Northumberland.

The Duke of Northumberland took a particular interest in the Institute and he made a very real contribution to archaeology in a variety of ways. He is best known perhaps for his encouragement of research on and around the Roman Wall in the mid-nineteenth century, especially the beautifully executed surveys of Henry Maclauchlan, which he initiated and sponsored. He was also a principal in the formation of the British Room at the British Museum.

The collection and discussion of objects of antiquity was a feature of the Institute throughout the nineteenth century with a particularly high profile in the first twenty years or so. It was an essential part of the inductive method. A corollary was classification and display, not primarily for the broad educational purposes envisaged by Pitt Rivers in his museum where 'he who runs may read' (Thompson 1977, 79) but rather as banks of learning for scientific reference or to use the terminology of the 1840s, for minute philosophical inquiries. From the outset the aims of the Institute had included the setting up of local and national museums. With the growth of the local societies much of the responsibility for

the former devolved upon them, or wealthy individuals in the locality or the local authorities. The Institute however was in the forefront of the struggle for official recognition of the importance of a 'National Depository', preferably at the British Museum.

Despite the fact that the membership included several eminent members of the museum staff, including Sir Henry Ellis, John Winter Jones, Sir Frederick Madden, Edward Hawkins, Edmund Oldfield, Samuel Birch and Charles Newton, the relationship between the two institutions was both stormy and devious. One of the main causes for complaint was the lack of Government funding via the museum for a national collection of specifically British antiquities. This was a cause close to the heart of the Duke of Northumberland who had already set up his own private 'British Museum' at Alnwick Castle. In 1850 he asked the Institute to donate the Stanwick finds to the British Museum on his behalf, on the understanding that they form the basis of a British Room collection and thus a 'national series'. Over the next two years this was expanded by the addition of a considerable collection of weapons, amassed chiefly during the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, and relics of the Roman occupation of Britain. The Duke is described as 'aiding the present Government' (Lord Derby's administration) in this process. By 1852 the Central Committee of the Institute was able to announce the appointment of a special curator

to the British Antiquities Depository and also to request the permission of the Society [sic] to exercise discretionary power.....authorising them to transfer to the National Museum, with the consent of the donors, such ancient relics as may have been, or from time to time, may be presented to the Institute, and which may appear by their rarity or their importance more properly suited to occupy a position in the series at the British Museum (AJ9, 1852, 373).

The following year, on completion of the British Room, the Duke, again using the Institute as an intermediary, donated 'one of the most important Egyptian tablets as promised' (AJ10, 1853, 1). In effect the Duke of Northumberland had killed two birds with one, rather generous, stone. He had achieved the creation of a national public depository for British material and demonstrated the machinery whereby donations could be made without incurring public expense, and perhaps also circumventing the Trustees.

Matters should have improved after that but instead they got worse. Public money was repeatedly spent on foreign artefacts but little on native finds.

The failure of the trustees to purchase the Faussett Collection raised the temperature of the debate to unique levels. The trustees were variously described as a 'disgrace', 'perverse' and possessing the 'arbitrary narrow-minded spirit of the *infesta noverca*' (the wicked stepmother). (In this instance London's loss was Liverpool's gain; the Faussett Collection was rescued from dispersion abroad by Joseph Mayer, but the words 'Faussett Collection' became almost a battle cry in the numerous disputes with the British Museum down the years; it rankled.) The situation only improved when the Duke of Northumberland was made a trustee in 1861 and A.W. Franks, a prominent member of the Archaeological Institute lobby, was appointed curator of the Section of British and Medieval Antiquities.

Such was the strength of influence exercised by the old aristocracy and the deviousness of politics. Small wonder then that it was considered important to seek the second type of patron as a figurehead in those early days. Reading the pages of the *Archaeological Journal* there is little to indicate the background of political turmoil which was England and Europe in the late 1840s. There is no hint that some members, the eminent Dean of Westminster for instance, were arming themselves against Chartists in the streets of London. There is only the occasional whiff of cholera in the air when a bishop fails to attend a summer meeting, or of famine in Ireland when the president is diverted. In retrospect the world of the antiquary appears to have been a safe haven from reality. Some members may have had their doubts about the permanency, and value, of the existing order but most agreed with Monckton-Milnes, later Lord Houghton and friend of the Marquis of Northampton, when he said

In this lord-loving country one ought not to decline anything that helps to make other people listen to one (Pope-Hennessy 1951, 89).

The Marquis of Northampton and Lord Talbot de Malahide were notable examples of this second type of patron. Spencer J. A. Compton, Marquis of Northampton (1790-1851) was president of the Institute from 1845-47. Described as 'a literary peer with a generous heart' (Pope-Hennessy 1949, 92) he was the centre of a glittering circle. Even the anti-social Darwin (non member) was half-tempted by Lord Northampton's soirées, where the literati danced and élite geologists plumed themselves...At these fashionable galas, rich patrons could meet their young protégées (Desmond and Moore 1991, 347).

His social network embraced the Queen and the publisher John Murray and many in between. He helped give the fledgling Archaeological Institute the required social passport and a kind of intellectual gravitas. The round church of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, was 'conserved' by Gilbert Scott as a memorial to the Marquis.

Northampton's successor, Lord Talbot (1805-83), worked long and hard to raise the public profile of the Institute and thereby the new image of archaeology. President for 27 years, from 1851 to 1863 and from 1867 to 1882, he presided over that period which saw the transformation of antiquarianism to archaeology. Born into the Irish peerage James Talbot was one of a notable generation which attended Trinity College, Cambridge, in the late 1820s. His peer group included Tennyson (non member), Arthur Hallam (non member) (son of Henry Hallam, historian), Richard Chevenix-Trench (non member), Albert Way, Charles Babington, Monckton-Milnes and John Kemble. Robert Willis was a contemporary, William Whewell was his tutor, Adam Sedgwick and John Stephens Henslow among his teachers. Palmerston was the university MP and fought a vigorous campaign there in 1830. Compared to many of his contemporaries Lord Talbot's achievements were modest. He operated on the fringes of power. After his translation to the English peerage in 1856, courtesy of Lord Palmerston, he spoke in the Lords mainly on matters of social reform such as the Adulteration of Food Act 1859. From 1863 to 1866 he was a lord-in-waiting. He was a member of the political and social circle which held patronage within its sphere of influence but not quite within its grasp and he never achieved high office or great power.

For Talbot the Institute was the public face of archaeology and through it he actively sought to influence Government policy with a view to preserving in museums 'objects illustrative of the art and history of every country and particularly that in which we live'; to publishing ancient documents (he sat on the second Historic Manuscripts Commission in 1882); and to preserving ancient monuments. He suggested in 1852 that

the Government might do well to appoint a commission to carry out that object, giving them a *locus standi* in every case, and compelling the owner of any building it was thought important to preserve, instead of pulling it down, to sell it to the commissioners (AJ13, 1856, 95);

A first step in this direction was reform of the law of treasure trove.

On all four counts Talbot, in company with like-minded people, achieved a modest degree of success which should not be underrated given the prevailing strength of feeling regarding property rights and Government interference. During his time as president the British Section at the British Museum was established as well as numerous provincial museums; the Government set up a Commission on Ancient Documents which led to many being transcribed and brought into the public domain; recognition of the need for protection of ancient monuments was at least officially acknowledged with the passing of Lubbock's Ancient Monuments and Buildings Act in 1882 although it was another 30 years before compulsory powers such as Talbot envisaged were introduced.

On the issue of treasure trove Talbot tried strenuously and repeatedly to achieve a less destructive implementation of this common law right. In 1852 he suggested that the Institute follow the example of the BAA whereby they would adopt some practical course to advance the science of archaeology such as the removal of impediments occasioned by the existing law of treasure trove. The first step was a petition of Parliament:

The humble petition of the undersigned members of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and others, humbly sheweth; That your petitioners, in common with a large class of Her Majesty's subjects, feel deeply interested in the preservation of all ancient monuments, particularly those which are remarkable for their artistic beauty, or the associations connected with them. That of late years numerous structures, both religious and civil, of great public interest, have been wantonly destroyed or defaced, owing to the want of some recognised power of interference in extreme cases. At the present moment the interesting remains of the Roman theatre and ancient town of Verulamium are threatened with destruction by a building company. That owing to the state of the law of Treasure Trove, a large number of precious objects of gold and silver, deserving preservation, not only for the beauty and skill displayed in their workmanship, but on account of their essential interest as illustrations of the arts and habits of former races, are condemned to the melting pot as soon as discovered. That in such cases it is highly desirable that some change in the law should be made, so as to avert this destruction of valuable archaeological evidence, without infringing on the sacred rights of property. That your petitioners humbly pray that these matters may be submitted to a committee especially appointed for that purpose; or that they should be granted such relief as to your honourable Houses may seem meet (AJ9, 1852, 379).

The petition was followed by a meeting of the president and other committee members with the Prime Minister, Lord Derby, in order to ascertain the views of the Government. Lord Derby said the Government did not intend to

originate any measure in reference to this subject but he would not object if a member of the House of Commons should move a committee of enquiry. In the following year a hoard of Saxon coins found in Somerset provided a precedent for future Government action. They were claimed by the Treasury and the British Museum selected those required for the national collection. The finders were then reimbursed on the basis of the average market value of those coins and the remainder were returned.

Unfortunately the matter was still very much at the discretion of the Treasury and inadequate publicity of this change of practice did not prevent more instances of finds throughout the country being melted down to avoid treasure trove. A further memo was sent to Palmerston, then Home Secretary, dealing specifically with the destruction of churches and memorials in London; this received a mere acknowledgement. A deputation to the Bishop of London was equally unsuccessful. Talbot continued his efforts to put the matter on the statute books and to publicise the situation by parliamentary means but in 1854 the proposed bill was rejected by Parliament. Nevertheless the Treasury was now regularly reimbursing finders when finds were brought to their attention.

In 1857 Talbot raised the matter again in the Institute, convinced that the only long-term solution was a political one. The debate within the organisation, as outside, hinged upon the perceived conflict between the 'sacred' rights of property and the need to preserve the historical record for the good of the larger community. Having so far received a lukewarm reception in the Commons Talbot, now a member of the Lords, suggested that a self-appointed committee of archaeologists consider and press the matter in the Upper House. As a result Talbot presented a bill in the House of Lords in 1858. It proposed that the finder of property falling under the description of treasure trove should present it to a Justice of the Peace without delay on pain of forfeiture and being found guilty of a misdemeanour. Secondly, that the JP should enquire into the circumstances of the find, send it to the commissioners of HM Treasury who would value it by submitting it to the British Museum, the president of the Society of Antiquaries and other competent persons. Regard should be paid to the antiquarian as well as material value. Such value should be remitted to the finder. Thirdly, that the commissioners would deposit the find in the British Museum or other suitable place. It also included clauses relating to the settlement of disputes and the power

to search for and seize secreted treasure. With regard to the last proviso the following comment was appended:

It might be desirable...to obviate the discouragement of archaeological investigations, [that] suitable provision should be made by which persons, either the owner of the soil or those authorised by the owner to undertake antiquarian excavations, may be entitled to the possession of any Treasure Trove which might thus be brought to light (AJ15, 1858, 296).

The bill only got as far as a first reading but the primary intention had been achieved, namely to publicise the issues rather than to change statute law. As Talbot himself confessed 'that would have been hopeless. I had caused the bill to be drawn without consulting HM Government' (*ibid.*, 367). Nevertheless as a result of this kind of pressure Talbot could report in 1860 that the Government was implementing a similar approach to that operating in Scotland and Ireland. In England the situation was fraught with problems exacerbated by the rather tenuous definition of the law of treasure trove, its often draconian execution (sentences for infringement included hard labour and deportation), and the underlying agenda which endorsed a nationally funded collection of British antiquities as the property and responsibility of the state which was largely at odds with the prevailing spirit of free enterprise and individual license.

Edward Charlton, town clerk of Morpeth put the matter succinctly:

Our Danish neighbours have the art of accomplishing quietly a vast amount of antiquarian labour, while other nations are only discussing the ways and means to do so. The great museum of Danish Antiquities has grown up by the simple common sense arrangement of the law of Treasure Trove while in England we have not even settled the meaning of the term, and every unfortunate finder of an article of value is pounced upon by half-a-dozen claimants (AJ20, 1863, 297).

Thomas Godfrey Faussett, writing in the *Journal* in 1865, made the very real point which the Danes had recognised earlier, that most finds of treasure trove were made by uneducated people whose attitude to authority was not necessarily that of the loving respectful peasant to a munificent and benevolent lord of the manor. The use of the police as intermediaries was not seen as helpful. Faussett suggested the Post Office was a more friendly and ubiquitous alternative. This sounds fanciful now but the implementation of the law had to be attractive to the finder for it to work. Talbot and the Institute at least managed to persuade the Government to offer the carrot as well as the stick.

The issue was officially resolved after a fashion in 1886 when T.H. Baylis brought his legal expertise to bear (AJ43, 1886, 341-9) in a paper read at the

annual meeting in Derby. Subsequently a Treasury note was issued to chairmen of the Quarter Sessions and was published in the *Journal*:

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to acquaint you that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, being desirous to render as effective as possible the assistance which is given to the efforts of Antiquarian Societies for the preservation of objects of general interest, coming under the description of Treasure Trove, have reconsidered that practice, as intimated to you in the Circular of 15th July, 1871, of paying to the finder of articles of Treasure Trove, on behalf of the Crown, the full bullion value of such articles.

Their Lordships with a view to encourage the finders of coin and ornaments to notify the fact of their discovery to the Government, are ready to modify their existing regulations; and to return to the finders, who fully and promptly report their discoveries and hand over the same to the Authorities, the coins and objects which are not actually required for national institutions, and the sums received from such institutions as the *antiquarian* value of such of the coins or objects as are retained and sold to them, subject to the deduction of a percentage at the rate, either

- 1) Of 20 per cent from the antiquarian value of the coins or objects retained; or,
- 2) A sum of 10 per cent from the value of all the objects discovered, as may hereafter be determined.

This arrangement is tentative in character; and the complete right of the Crown, as established by Law, to all articles of Treasure Trove is preserved.

I am to request that you will have the goodness to make this alteration in practice generally known, more especially to Pawnbrokers and other similar dealers within your jurisdiction (AJ43, 1886, 348).

What this did not resolve, of course, was the central problem of the relative rights of finders and owners of the soil, which was obscured by the insistence of the Crown on an essentially feudal right. As Prof. E.C. Clark (AJ43, 1886, 350-57) argued at the same meeting the sovereign right as embodied in English law was now irrelevant to the public perception of treasure trove – most people did not distinguish between the national collection and the national melting pot; the owner of the land should be treated as the claimant on a find. This conformed with the Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1878 which was brought to the attention of the Institute by Justice Pinhey, a former judge of the High Court of Bombay (*ibid.* 349). But where did this leave the national collection and at what point had the rights of the sovereign as the supreme landlord become those of the state and the sovereign a figurehead?

During Talbot's presidency the Institute also attracted royal patronage. In doing so it raised the profile of the organisation and, presumably, made it more attractive to actual and potential members in a society where

that deference to rank which gives us claustrophobia when reading Victorian recollections was so inherent in the air they breathed that few of our ancestors ever questioned it (Pope-Hennessy 1951, 89).

The Prince Consort's interest in arts and science is well known if not universally acknowledged: 'he did very little for Art or Science, or Literature (notwithstanding all the puff)' wrote Monckton-Milnes to George Bunsen after Albert's death (Pope-Hennessy 1949, 122). From the point of view of the monarchy involvement in learned societies can only have enhanced its social and constitutional value insofar as it was seen to be actively promoting the general intellectual and material wealth of the nation. Prince Albert first acted as patron at the Summer Meeting in Cambridge in 1854 and again two years later in Edinburgh. On both occasions he paid fleeting visits to the temporary museum but played no other part in the proceedings. In March 1857 Talbot announced that Prince Albert had formally agreed to be a more general patron. Since that time the Institute has enjoyed royal patronage; Queen Victoria agreed to act as patron on the death of her husband and subsequently the Prince of Wales joined her in that role.

A side effect of royal patronage was to relieve the president of the role of figurehead. Henceforward although the presidency was always filled by a titled person later presidents were to follow in the footsteps of Talbot as active members of the Institute and tended to be people who, one way or another, had earned their honours. This trend applied to titled members generally. By the end of the century there remained only two or three of the old nobility such as the Duke of Westminster and the Duke of Northumberland. As a sub-group it peaked as a percentage of the membership at this time but was made up of men whose honours were the result of political conferment.

The slow progress of protective legislation is all the more surprising, not just because of the illustrious support which the Institute could muster, but more so when one considers the relative strength of the political lobby within its ranks in the early years (Table 1). It included sitting and future prime ministers Aberdeen, Palmerston and Gladstone; Chancellors of the Exchequer; several

prominent members of the Young England party such as George Smythe, the model for Disraeli's Coningsby, although not Disraeli himself, as well as a clutch of financier Members of Parliament such as Baring (and several other members of this powerful family), Peto and Hudson. Party allegiances at that time were fairly fluid and no one political party dominated the Institute. There were Tory, Conservative, Whig and Liberal politicians in the membership lists although Radicals were rather thin on the ground.

A small network seems to have persisted for many years around the Christian Socialist Frederick Denison Maurice, including Thomas Hughes, author and radical MP, Thomas Dyke Acland and the Marquis of Ripon (Lord Goderich). Their impact upon the Institute however was barely perceptible. Certainly by the 1860s it was the Conservatives such as Louis Hayes Petit, Alexander Beresford Hope and Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, palaeontologist, shire Tory MP, patron of Richard Owen (non member) and spokesman for respectable Anglican science who were more typical of the politicians within the Institute.

Beresford Hope is an interesting example. He was typical of Members of Parliament within the ranks insofar as he was not considered by his contemporaries in Parliament as a serious or reliable party member but his adherence to the Church of England was a leading feature of his life. In 1844 he had purchased what he termed a 'drinking saloon' in Canterbury and turned it into a college for missionary clergymen (most of whom he sent out to New Zealand) (AJ32, 1875, 493). Later he built All Saints Church, Margaret St., London and the parish church of Sheen, Staffordshire at his own expense. He was a keen supporter of Gothic principles in art and saw an unequivocal relationship between the external character of a building and the moral principles it represented. He, along with fellow Institute member Henry Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, was an uncompromising opponent of the 1867 Reform Bill, referring to Disraeli as 'the Asian mystery' (Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 9, p.1204, (1960)). During the American Civil War he openly campaigned for the Confederacy and against the abolitionists of slavery. He was a life-long and bitter opponent of Thomas Hughes. The two men conducted a lengthy political debate in their respective publications, *The Saturday Review* (Beresford Hope) and *Macmillan's Magazine* (Hughes).

Beresford Hope's overt contributions to archaeological discourse were mercifully few and largely confined to architecture; he was often president of that section at the annual meetings. In the *Archaeological Journal* they consist mainly of sycophantic (even by the standards of the time) eulogies to visiting dignitaries at Summer Meetings. Nevertheless he is mentioned here because Beresford Hope, elected vice-president in 1866, was a part of the public face of the Institute and his view of the world is illustrative of a strand in the archaeological discourse which had its intellectual roots in the inductive method's search for order out of chaos and was fed not only by the American experience of visitors to the Institute like E.G. Squier but also by dubious sciences such as craniology which favoured concepts like race to explain cultural differences. It was a very short step from distinguishing races on the basis of physical attributes to assigning innate cultural superiority and inferiority. The ethnocentricity typified by Beresford Hope is apparent in the unselfconscious vindication of the diffusion of the 'superior' British way of life revealed in the *Journal* in the high summer of Victorian England.

At one level items plundered from the battle fronts of the Empire, from the siege of Lucknow and the plains of the Crimea, were brought before the monthly meetings as the legitimate spoils of war; objects from the Far East were specifically included 'by way of comparison rather than because of their intrinsic worth'. At another level the Rev. Collingwood Bruce commented:

When I look at some of our heathen altars of the fourth century, I feel encouraged to hope, that now the tide of heathenism in some of our colonies – India for example – has been somewhat checked, it may, even in our day, be entirely stemmed back, and those sunny lands be flooded with Divine light (AJ17, 1860, 354).

This endemic racism was part of the social and intellectual matrix of archaeology. It is interesting that it was first and foremost the greatest friends of the Established Church who used most readily examples from the past to create a rationale for present action.

As the century progressed the number of politicians involved in the Institute diminished. Whether this can be attributed to changes in the broader political scene, in archaeology generally, or in the Institute itself is discussed elsewhere. Suffice it to say here that there are only two outstanding figures who remain to be mentioned. The work of Sir John Lubbock is, perhaps, a useful

counterpoint to Beresford Hope. It is too well known to need repeating here in detail, combining as it did scholarship, social reform and statutory protection for ancient monuments and, in any case, although a member his involvement in Institute affairs was small. Sir Martin Conway, who joined the Institute in 1910, is less well known but he proposed a significant amendment to the 1918 Reform Act which had a profound effect upon the practice of archaeology. The Act extended the franchise to women for the first time and Conway's amendment proposed that learned societies in receipt of public funds should be legally obliged to admit women on the same basis as men. The amendment was not passed but, in a way which was in danger of becoming customary where archaeological matters were concerned (see British Museum and treasure trove above), the Government took official note and it paved the way for the admission of women such as Rose Graham as Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.

The main contribution of the politicians in their heyday in the Institute was to raise public and Government awareness of threats to the material remains of the past and to highlight, or indeed suggest, ways of remedying perilous situations. The political argument in favour of conservation and protection, in contrast to the utilitarian one, was inextricably and necessarily entwined with concepts of nationhood. It was necessary to explain the past in order to understand a rapidly changing world; parallels are drawn, examples are upheld for emulation or dissuasion. History, with the help of archaeology, was written anew.

Historians and Handmaidens

Sir Charles Oman was the first professional historian to be elected president of the Archaeological Institute (1927-1939). Born in 1860 he joined the Institute fairly late in his career (1926) when his reputation was already established. He wrote principally on the art of war in the Middle Ages and produced a seven-volume history of the Peninsula War over a period of 28 years. Leaving aside the desperate straits, the shortage of experienced people after the 1914-18 war, his election to office can be understood as the result of a two-fold process – the development of history as part of the epistemological space with its attendant social acknowledgements and an accommodating shift in the Archaeological Institute in its composition and its role. At one level the 1920s

and 1930s can be seen as the high water mark of the historical school in the Institute when narrative history was perceived as the ultimate goal.

This had not always been the case. The inductive method stood outside of, and self-consciously apart from, the literary school of history which was fashionable in the 1840s and 1850s. The Institute had its fair share of romantic and fictional purveyors of the past: G.P.R. James, for instance, whose work was parodied by Thackeray (non member) and later in the century Henry J. Harland, author of The Cardinal's Snuffbox. There was also an almost obsessive interest in genealogies, memorials and heraldry. Several members held positions at the College of Arms and the Rev. Charles Boutell remains an acknowledged expert on heraldry. There is, of course, an artistic element both here and in the medieval seals, another fashionable obsession, but in general the pursuit of these interests indicates a view of the past embraced by many members which was class specific and egocentric. Their utilitarian value, however, in a largely illiterate society is easily underestimated today. That they had their uses in the socially turbulent early Victorian period is exemplified by one particular incident in 1854 when the Metropolitan Railway Company proposed purchasing several churches and churchyards. There was great concern not only over the possible destruction of the churches and their memorials and inscriptions but also about the fabrication of fictitious memorials which were being used to justify legal claims (AJ10, 1854, 176). Traditionally genealogy and heraldry were part of the local and county histories so fashionable in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This antiquarian approach remained strong in the Institute well into the mid-Victorian period but it was increasingly only one part of a much more complex and differentiated historical discourse.

There were also the philologists like the Rev. Joseph Bosworth, Oxford Professor of Anglo-Saxon (1858-1876), Edwin Guest and John Mitchell Kemble. Philology, particularly under the influence of Kemble, was considered very much a part of archaeology and very much a science. After fleeing revolutionary Spain in the 1830s (in concert with John Sterling, Chevenix Trench, Alfred Tennyson and Arthur Hallam, he had been involved in an abortive plot to help the exiled leader of the Spanish Liberals to overthrow the despotic Ferdinand VII (Ransome 1978, 46)) Kemble studied with Jakob Grimm (non member) in Hanover and brought the inductive method to bear on the study of language as a cultural

product. Language was the medium with a grammatical and etymological framework whereby, in conjunction with more material remains, historical developments would ultimately be understood. Kemble combined his philological work with analysis of finds from burials, some of which he excavated himself, both in England and in Germany. His methods were novel and considered brilliant by some of his contemporaries and eccentric by others. An acknowledged innovator he was not universally liked in the Institute. He had been an active republican in his youth and was one of the few members at that time without independent means; he was a member of a famous theatrical family and a friend and contemporary of Tennyson (non member) who wrote a sonnet to his youthful brilliance. Kemble may have been a Romantic but he was never literary in his approach to history. Instead he brought order and analytic power to his chosen subject. Perversely he rejected Worsaae's Three Age System, and thereby stratification, as a potential tool in the search for a chronological framework on the grounds that it was too rigid and did not allow for cultural diversity and synchronicity. Nevertheless it was Kemble who gave the clearest exposition of Worsaae's paradigm in the *Archaeological Journal*. For him chronology was secondary to the need to understand the cultural identity of his chosen people, the Anglo-Saxons. He died before he could adequately develop his own methodological approach and is perhaps best known for the *Codex Diplomaticus aevi Saxonici* (1839-48) and his contribution to *Horae Ferales* (1863).

In the *Journal* Kemble's work sits uneasily by the side of the collectors, archivists and translators of ancient manuscripts. There were, of course, possessive and acquisitive collectors like Sir Thomas Phillipps, but they also included some of the first professionals in this primary area of historical research. Indeed the tale of the historians in general is one of transition from amateur to professional, from fiction to fact. The archivists were appointed and paid by the Government to collect those facts, the raw data of a kind of history and they formed a powerful lobby within the Institute. In the early days the *Journal* was one way of preserving documents threatened by destruction or obscurity before the Historical Manuscripts Commission was set up. For some members the rescue of the raw materials was a hobby in itself set in nightmarish scenarios. There is more than a hint of *Schadenfreude* in the Proceedings for November 1853 which

relate the Government's embarrassment at having to re-purchase 'at large prices' a collection of Fairfax's supply documents from 1645 which had been sold to a fishmonger at £8 per ton some twenty years previously. Thirty years later perhaps the joke was on the historians when Stubbs called for the preservation of the then rapidly disappearing manor rolls which were being recycled, after a fashion; "Just think," he said, "that in a glass of jelly or a basin of soup you may be swallowing a proof of your descent from one of the barons of the Charter, or from one who drew his bow at Hastings" (AJ43, 1886, 436). The Institute provided a much-needed open forum, away from the specialised printing clubs, for professional and amateur archivists like Sir Frederick Madden, Edward Bond, Thomas Corser, William Cureton, Thomas Duffus Hardy, Sir Francis Palgrave and W.B.D.D. Turnbull as well as an unofficial network for employers and employees. Joseph Burtt for instance was not only Honorary Secretary to the Institute but also Deputy Keeper at the Public Records Office and archivist for Dean Stanley of Westminster in the 1860s. At the same time William Stubbs, future professor of Modern History at Oxford (1866-1884) and Bishop of Oxford (1888-1901) was librarian at Lambeth Palace. The official recognition of the need for a national archive with paid employees was no doubt one of the contributory factors in the introduction of palaeography (or orthography as it was also known) into the academic curriculum. In 1890 Professor Montagu Burrows referred with great pleasure to palaeography as a new special subject in the Modern History examinations at Oxford. He laid special emphasis upon the fact that the classes were open to both men and women:

When the men find out that the ladies can decypher (sic) a mutilated inscription on a brass, or emerge triumphantly out of the difficulties presented by the crabbed hand of an Elizabethan parson in a parish register, depend upon it the men will follow. When an army of experts of both sexes is engaged in opening out the treasures which are still to be found all over England: when our own people discover half the zeal in these pursuits which distinguishes our American kinsmen - the history of England will become a very different thing from what it is now.....I need hardly tell the members of this Institute that the progress of archaeology, in the largest sense of that word, is placing us under the serious obligation of re-writing the History of England, and its medieval portion in particular (AJ47, 1890, 355).

Even the forerunners of that history were still to be written in the 1840s and 1850s however and the forum set up in the Archaeological Institute had other uses. It provided a national network in a time of great constitutional change and,

in effect, a pool of reference material for contemporary legislators. It was common then, as now perhaps, for politicians such as those mentioned earlier to lace their speeches with more or less accurate historical precedents, with the verbal equivalents of Gothic architecture, preferably from documentary sources. At a more serious level precedent played a large part in framing any legislation in the absence of a written constitution. It is scarcely surprising therefore to find high-ranking members of the judiciary in the membership lists.

The figures given for people working or trained in law probably underestimates the number of working solicitors and barristers in the Institute at any one time (Table 1). They hover around 2% throughout the first one hundred years apart from a sharp drop c. 1903. What is more significant perhaps is the fact that those in the higher echelons such as John Duke Coleridge, a member in his youth who eventually became Lord Chief Justice (1880-1894), Mr. Justice Erle who became Chief Justice of Common Pleas (1859-66) and his occasional opponent, Lord Neaves, disappeared from the record as the constitutional changes of the nineteenth century were absorbed into the system. By the end of the century the Chief Justices had been replaced by County Court judges and QCs. Perhaps a more typical member of the legal profession in the Institute was the lawyer Thomas Henry Baylis who joined in his youth in 1845 and remained an active participant until his death in 1908. Baylis was born in 1817 and worked on the Northern Circuit after he was called to the Bar in 1856. In his obituary (AJ65, 1908, 339) the president, Henry Howorth said:

His versatility and alertness were remarkable, and he was interested in many fields. Thus he took part in the suppression of the Chartist Riots in 1848, and when the Volunteer Movement was started he joined it and presently became the colonel of the Paddington regiment. With his father he was one of the founders of the Fire Brigade.....His acquaintance with John Pascoe, the signal officer of the Victory at Trafalgar, led him to write a small polemical book on Nelson's famous signal, a subject on which he was always prepared to have a discussion. He also wrote a well-known handbook on the law of domestic servants.....he had a great many friends who well remember his fine handsome face, and who will miss his evergreen temperament and his gentle personality and none more so than his old pupil and friend the President.

Baylis had travelled to the Middle East, the Red Sea and Jordan River, and he was a convinced Anglican who wrote on the Temple Church and regularly attended the meetings of the Institute which he 'illuminated by odd and unexpected information' (AJ65, 1908, 339). It is worth noting here, as it was at

the time, the apparently rejuvenating effect of archaeological studies. Baylis was over ninety when he died and still attending meetings. He was by no means unusual in this respect.

The contributions of law and lawyers were part of a two-fold process which operated at several levels. James Bridge Davidson for example, who practised as a conveyancer and Equity draughtsman as well as writing the law reports for *The Times*, was elected to the Council in 1881 and gratuitously drafted the memorandum of incorporation under the Companies Acts (1862 & 1883) on the Institute's behalf at that time. Cases at law established rights of access to the raw materials of history such as parish registers (AJ30, 1873, 422). Lawyers like C.S. Greaves QC brought a different way of arguing. In a paper on 'Cannibalism in England' (AJ36, 1879, 38-54) (an issue of peculiar and persistent interest among archaeologists at the time which was to have contemporary resonance four or five years later when a cabin boy was eaten by some shipwrecked sailors (*The Queen v. Dudley and Stephens* – Queen's Bench Division 1884)) he effectively cross-examined classical authors in his self-appointed role as defence lawyer for the Druids. He had no hesitation in using a little character assassination to discredit Roman letters and treated Strabo and others as hostile witnesses thus ensuring that the Druids, by contrast, sounded like angels of light slandered by an implacable foe. In response to the charge of Diodorus Siculus that malefactors could be imprisoned by the Britons for five years before sacrifice Greaves pointed out that this was much the same as Mosaic and, indeed, English law and, in amelioration, the victims were usually guilty of something and until 1790 female traitors in England were always burnt.

We shall view these penal sacrifices of the Druids...in that of a very different light from the hostile Romans, and we shall not fail to admire the patient forbearance of the Druids, who allowed five years to pass before the criminal was punished, and who seem to have practised to an extent unknown elsewhere the merciful maxim that no delay was too long in determining whether a man is to be put to death or not (AJ36, 1879, 52).

He drew the obvious comparison with Rome itself which was not exactly a model of respect for human life.

And let me add that in considering any question touching the state or conduct of the ancient inhabitants of this country, we ought to bear in mind that the only historians we have were their mortal enemies and therefore we may fairly accept as true statements in their favour, whilst we treat statements to their discredit with extreme caution and distrust. Anyone who has read the

statements and allusions of Roman writers as to the Jews, and has compared them with the authentic accounts from other sources, will know how little reliance is to be placed on Roman writers (AJ36, 1879, 52)

Which just goes to show that a good lawyer can make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. More significantly Greaves introduced a novel form of argument which was adversarial, an alternative history, that of the oppressed, and, incidentally a different scale of values for civilization, namely, education, justice and morality in place of plumbing, military prowess and a dominant aesthetic. By 1898, when coincidentally a new Criminal Evidence Act was passed, we find Henry Howorth pressing for historians to learn from their legal colleagues (AJ55, 1898, 122-144):

It seems to me that no better rules could be drawn up for the historian in this behalf than those which control the actions of the courts and are known as the Laws of Evidence [Rules of Evidence] AJ55, 1898, 126).

In effect this meant the use of primary sources wherever possible; accurate citation which could be checked; circumstantial evidence, e.g. archaeology, philology and anthropology; cross-examination of witnesses; weighing of testimony; hearing both sides of the story:

It is well to confront each man with a brief for his own side and his own opinion, making the best fight he can for that view and opinion, dissecting, analysing and answering his rival, and then permitting the judge, or perhaps the jury of Public Opinion, to decide between the two...(ibid. 137).

Howorth's lengthy injunctions or recommendations on the writing of history and its first principles marked the change which had taken place in historiography since the establishment of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1869 and the re-organization of the Public Record Office. It also marked the assimilation of the legal paradigm into discourse and the withdrawal of the lawyers to their primary habitat. (In the light of Howorth's insistence on integrity and the establishment of truth in the Socratic method it is only fair to inform the reader of the circumstantial evidence here, in my copy of this text the pages were uncut.)

In 1844 Albert Way had seen the role of the Archaeological Institute as primarily conservationist:

to preserve from demolition or decay works of ancient times which still exist, is an object that should merit the attention of the Government, not merely on account of their interest as specimens of art, but because respect for the great Institutions of the country, sacred and secular, and a lively interest in their maintenance, must, as it is apprehended, be increased in proportion to the advance

of an intelligent appreciation of monuments, which are the tangible evidences of the gradual establishment of these Institutions.....(AJ2, 1846, 2).

The immediate way forward was the recording of threatened buildings and documents and, to use the term anachronistically, to hold watching briefs on developments.

By the 1850s the parameters of debate were shifting; the Institute was actively promoting archaeology as an intellectual discipline, the great end and purpose of which:

consisted in minute investigation and inquiry.....as the agriculturist recognized his obligation to chemistry, the physician to minute anatomy, the miner to the detailed inquiries of the geologist, thus also the historian must admit his obligation to that careful discrimination of the facts, which properly fall within the province of the archaeologist (AJ7, 1850, 307).

The Rev. Vaughan Thomas' observations were seconded by Henry Hallam:

The historian.....must heartily admit the importance and value of archaeological investigation without which his productions were little superior to those of the writer of romance (*ibid.*).

Edmund Oldfield of the British Museum put forward an even more history-oriented approach; for him archaeology furnished primary or collateral evidence, its value depending in part on the absence of other testimony and thus 'the most profitable fields would be the darkest' (AJ9, 1852, 1).

At the Summer Meeting, the conventional place for these discussions, in 1854, J.H. Marsden, the recently appointed first Disney Professor of Archaeology, defined his subject as:

the study of History from Monuments, not from written evidence but from material and tangible reliques of the past, works of art, the productions of ancient coinage, sculpture and architecture (AJ11, 1854, 391).

It was generally 'accepted and understood as an extended and empowered form of the study of history' (AJ12, 1855, 1ff). By the time of the Edinburgh meeting in 1856 the term 'hand-maid of history' had caught the mood of the time; it was used repeatedly, by the Lord Provost in his welcoming speech, by Lord Talbot in his Presidential Address and by Cosmo Innes from Edinburgh University.

Kemble alone appears to have taken a more disinterested view. At the Summer Meeting in Shrewsbury he saw the two disciplines more as equal partners than mistress and servant. He

spoke of the general historical trend in archaeology, and regretted that, although in this the historian and the archaeologist might be mutually benefited by a more intimate union of their methods of study, they had not always given each other the help they might have done; the mere

scholar looking far too often upon archaeology as an inferior and uncertain pursuit, while the practical man, excellent at researches in the field, did not always possess the knowledge and habits necessary to turn the stores of the philologist and the historian to account...(AJ12, 1855, 385).

The Archaeological Institute afforded the opportunity for comparison of products of different localities, different periods and different nations. Within the Institute, however, Kemble's views were given only token recognition. The late 1850s and 1860s saw a further shift in the debate as the study of history itself acquired new dimensions; in the Institute the utilitarian function of history was openly seen as ideological and nationalist.

There had always been an element of nationalism or patriotism in seeking to preserve ancient monuments:

A loyal and patriotic feeling was inseparable from the growing interest in the conservation of all National Monuments, in the keen search after Historic truth, or in tracing the establishment of all National Institutions (AJ12, 1855, 399).

In 1858 Bishop Carr gave three reasons for studying archaeology: it illustrated and confirmed history and gave historical facts reality; by holding meetings in different localities the Archaeological Institute threw light upon 'absurd ideas' such as folklore; and it made people appreciate the present (AJ15, 1858, 366).

Robert Ferguson, Mayor of Carlisle, also thought the work of the Institute would: make Englishmen more sensible of the blessings they enjoy in the present day as compared with the days of their forefathers.....to fill their minds with gratitude to those sterling men who...laid deep and sure the foundations of that noble edifice of Civil and Religious liberty under which we now repose; which...has made our country what she is, the envy and admiration of neighbouring nations, and which it is our duty.....to strengthen and adorn and hand down to our children...(AJ16, 1859, 364).

Lord Lytton, sometime president, friend and associate of Beresford-Hope saw the Institute as 'a society instituted for a worthy and patriotic purpose' (AJ19, 1862, 370).

The open acknowledgement of the didactic potential of history was contemporary with the emergence of what has been termed the 'New History' of the mid-Victorian period. Levine argues there was little contact between the antiquarians and these new social historians; 'they tended to regard their own work as superior, and few sought to establish such connections, whether institutionally or socially' (Levine, 1986, 29). In fact all the main exponents, Edward Freeman, Montagu Burrows, Frederick York Powell, even William

Stubbs and J.R. Green, were active in the Institute in various ways at various times. It was precisely those extra dimensions, both intellectual and material, which derived from the cross-discipline approaches facilitated by organizations like the Institute that separated their work from that of their predecessors.

There is an element of truth in Levine's statement insofar as both Stubbs and Green avoided the social whirl which was so much in evidence in the Institute at that time but where Green contributed papers Stubbs was also president of sections at the Summer Meetings on at least two occasions (1874 and 1886). Freeman on the other hand was a constant attender at Summer Meetings and a very active and somewhat abrasive personality within the Institute. At first he acted as guide at the Summer Meetings and was later president of sections in 1876, 1882, 1883 and 1886; he continued to send contributions, thumb-nail sketches of towns, when he was obliged to travel for his health in the 1880s; and his English Towns and Their Districts (1883) was reputedly based on the papers he gave at the Summer Meetings (AJ48, 1891, 263). Freeman was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, worked as a full time writer and, although he was considered a radical by many of his contemporaries, he eventually succeeded Stubbs as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1884. He was best known to his contemporaries for his History of the Norman Conquest (1867-79) although he also wrote on the English Constitution and served on the Royal Commission to Inquire into Constitution and Working of Ecclesiastical Courts (1881-83). His daughter married Arthur Evans. Within the Archaeological Institute he spoke forcibly on monument conservation, ecclesiastical buildings and historical personages. The influence of the early archaeologists is well illustrated in Freeman's work in particular by the characteristically broader definition of the social compass of historical studies and an awareness of the influence of the physical context of communities and historical action.

Archaeologist/philologists like Kemble had prepared the ground for a culturally specific history of the English nation. Under their influence Freeman saw:

the origins of the English nation.....identified with the small localised communities in North Germany, underlining the strong contrast between these idealised small local units as opposed to the centralised administration deemed to have been introduced under the ruthless Norman rule (Levine, 1986, 79).

Embedded in his work there was an empowerment of ordinary individuals coupled with a sense of a Teutonic past inexorably linked to the growth of Christianity. Freeman was so enamoured of the idea of a Teutonic origin for all that was good in England that he attempted to expunge all words of Latin root from his writings. This idiosyncratic attempt to mould the English language produced some strange and arcane terminology when both history and archaeology least needed them. The earliest use of the term 'Teutonic' in the published text of the Institute occurred in the 1850s (see Part II, Terminology). A German manuscript entitled 'The Chronicles of all the most memorable histories and acts of the City of Strasburg from the Flood to the year 1330' was discussed in 1855. It was dated to 1612 and was described as 'adding a new historical fact', namely, that Noah's son, Tuisco, travelled out of Armenia to Germany and there divided up the land and thus created the Teutonic nation and peoples. One of Tuisco's sons, Albion, settled in Britain. By 1859 Teutonic was being used, albeit rarely, for pre-Norman remains although there were grounds for confusion as Daniel Wilson had used the term in a far more general sense in his Prehistoric Annals of Scotland (1851).

Freeman also had an abiding interest in the physical context of historical events. He regularly inspected the sites and localities of his research topics. In the Institute he came into contact with the work of John Phillips, the geologist, and Richard Neville, both of whom helped to emphasise the relevance of the physical landscape to any understanding of past societies. Neville gave a talk in 1854 on Ancient Cambridgeshire, illustrated by Ordnance Survey maps showing the remains of various periods (Early British, Roman, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon) distinguished in different colours. On a more theoretical level Phillips wrote an article, in 1853, on the relationship between archaeology and the physical geography of the north of England in which he stated that:

among the most powerful aids to a sober and correct idea of the early state of the British people, we must count a large and considerate view of the great physical features of the country in which they lived (AJ11, 1853, 179).

In 1881 a reviewer summed up the situation thus:

No branch of English history has been re-modelled so entirely upon a new basis as this early period [early medieval], before the existence of English records. Comparative Philology, Comparative Politics, and Comparative Jurisprudence have united in producing a philosophy of history, which enables us to understand the political life and institutions of this early period,

almost as satisfactorily as if our knowledge had been derived from written records. Kemble, and Stubbs, and Freeman have taken a wider and more comprehensive view of the subject than any of their predecessors by appealing to the comparative method, and by calling in the evidence of early foreign history as evidence of early English history back to a foreign home for its origin (AJ38, 1881, 246).

Nevertheless Freeman's fame and influence did not long survive his death in 1892. He had always argued aggressively therefore it is hardly surprising that he created as many enemies as friends. One of those who disagreed with his method was clearly Sir Henry Howorth who was also not renowned for his reticence. Howorth's views on the Rules of Evidence have already been discussed. In the same address he praised the contemporary German school of history for its professionalism and rigour. Historians should, he said, beware the picturesque lily-gilder and 'Mr. Freeman was a great offender in this respect'. 'It ought to be impossible in these days' Howorth argued

to turn to an historical work of any character or repute which does not contain a careful *apparatus criticus* in which witnesses are cross-examined as to character, ability, and truthfulness just as witnesses are similarly arraigned in a court of law. Where is anything of the kind to be found, except of the most perfunctory and childish character in such well-known works as Freeman's *Norman Conquest* and Green's *History of England*?....And this is done by a whole school or rather *clique* of writers, who will tolerate any fantastic reasoning from one of their own number if he will only accept the common shibboleths of the sect....

I am pleading for a truly scientific training in modern methods of writing history....[as in Germany and lately in France]. Where have we here the young men who have gathered around Mommsen and Sybel and Curtius... and have learnt their profession by working in the workshops of the real masters...(AJ55, 1898, 130)

Not only did Howorth attack Freeman's method but also the content – it was too picturesque and too narrow:

Who would now attempt to write a history of Wales or of Ireland or of Anglo-Saxon England compiled from diplomata, however genuine, or from the statements of prosaic chroniclers, ignoring the literature of the period, its poetry, its science, its fables, its Saints' lives – ignoring, in fact, the fresh food upon which the minds of its people were fed?....The very things which the Chronicler never mentions, because they are so familiar to him, are the things we want to know most about. We who live so far off their times and their modes of thought long for the casual testimony of a casual vagabond, such an one as he who has visited a new country for the first time and stayed only a fortnight there, and has noted all the things that were new to him but which are stale and stupid and unprofitable to the man who has lived there for six months. What would not some of us have given for a history of the Norman Conquest such as Freeman's picturesque men could have written if he had spared us the hundreds of pages of polemic about the supposed

heroic prowess of a decaying, and to speak plainly, of a swinish race and its pinchbeck heroes: about the calculating, cruel, selfish Danish family of Earl Godwin if he had given us a truer picture of the people and their mode of living: if he had told us more about things which neither William of Poitiers nor the *Peterborough Chronicle* would deign to notice, and thus given us an insight into the mental life of the people and the literature they read and the things they used, searched through the songs, the travellers tales, the bestiaries, the crude scientific manuals, and let us peep into kitchen and hall and parlour, into cottage and castle; and not merely escorted us from one battlefield to another?

Again, we hold that, as far as maybe, both sides should be heard, and sometimes more than two sides. How can we understand the inner history of England at certain periods without an intimate knowledge of that of Scotland and Ireland and Wales as well; and not merely the history of these other lands as it appeared to Englishmen, but as it appeared to their own folk? Freeman, while at every turn he glorified the Saxons and Anglians, utterly mistook the perspective of history in speaking of and treating them as English. We English are a mixed breed of Teutons and Frenchmen. May we not thank heaven for that? But we are more: we also have a large Celtic strain in our blood. Freeman had no patience with the Celts, who had taught the rude Anglian very nearly all the civilization he had, who had taught Western Europe the art of making romances, who kept alive poetry and art and most of those ideals which were not merely animal in medieval life. He consequently converges nearly all history upon battles and pageants, and ignores the yeast and leaven which was working its way into the sturdy bones of Anglian and Dane and Roman at the time he writes about. What kind of history is that? It is merely history as presented by a man with a brief for one side, and that side the soldier's side only. We must confront independent witnesses with independent stories to tell, with each other if we are to get at the truth, and especially put in the foreground the witnesses who have told unpalatable truths. It is in the mocking and sarcastic ballads of the peasants' rhymers and the friars that we get the best antidote to the optimistic sycophancy of the Courtly annalist of the Plantagenets or the distorted narratives of the monks, whose looking-glass did not reflect what would discredit his cloth or his Church or his party. In searching for historic truth it is the writings of heretics, of political outcasts, of pariahs, which are most profitable to consult.....(AJ55, 1898, 134-6).

Which is, of course, precisely what makes Freeman so interesting now. Then, Howorth's speech was the culmination of a process towards a less overtly nationalistic, less partial, more critical alternative history begun in the early 1880s. Not content with attacking Freeman in this fashion he also turned on Guest whom he accused of being 'all surface' in contrast to, for instance, Pitt Rivers - the true inductive method lay with men like him who 'discovered and carried [it] out at great cost and with infinite patience' (*ibid.* 139). This speech marked not only the passage of history as a discourse into a more rigorous

practice but it also subtly marked its distancing from political debate. Howorth argued from practical experience:

Those among us who are in the thick of living politics, who know how entirely different the very same circumstances (of which we have been witnesses ourselves) appear to, and are reported by, any two men who happen to differ in temper, acuteness, or opinion know full well how great is the human factor and personal equation of the reporter in every narrative... (AJ55, 1989, 132).

Sir Henry Howorth (1842-1923) studied law in his youth and 'practised somewhat nominally as a barrister in Manchester' (Baylis was his pupil master); he was not obliged to earn a living and he wrote on, among other things, geology (the extinction of the mammoth) and Mongolia. He had an active political life in Manchester where he was 'a staunch but independently minded Conservative who at no time was a blind follower of a party programme'; he was first elected MP for Salford in 1886. In 1887 he published The Mammoth and the Flood which

vigourously criticized accepted theories of the uniformity of the glacial epoch, and maintained the submergence of a great part of the world by a flood, which drowned the mammoths and buried them beneath a stratum of loam gravels, while their relations in Siberia were frozen alive by a sudden change of climate. He steadily adhered to this view of the catastrophe which ended the palaeolithic age, and pursued it further in The Glacial Nightmare (1893) and Ice or Water (1903). It naturally met with opposition from the orthodox side and found few converts; but as a working theory put forward by a man of originality and independence of thought, it was treated with respect (AJ80, 1923, 305-310).

He was knighted in 1892 and became a trustee of the British Museum as well as serving on the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (1908); he was a governor of Owen College, Manchester (forerunner of Manchester University). At various times he was president of the Royal Numismatic Society and the Viking Society and, from 1897 until his death in 1923, he was president of the Archaeological Institute. Late in life he became interested in the Anglo-Saxon church. 'We have lost in him a mind of unusual power', wrote A. Hamilton Thompson in 1923, 'and of a universal character rare in days when most men are compelled to confine themselves to some special corner of knowledge' (*ibid.* 310). Howorth presided over that period of transition whereby archaeology itself became a special corner.

While the historians had pursued Tennyson's 'storied past' and haggled over truth and justice the archaeologists had been confronted with the world-shattering evidence of a human past which made recorded history appear as the

blink of an eye. Although the Institute as a body was slow to accept the ramifications of Charles Lyell and John Evans' confirmation of the discovery of implements of human manufacture in geologically defined strata, the 1860s marked a definite parting of the ways. Where nineteenth century history was characterised by an almost self-righteous optimism and a belief in progress, from the 1860s onwards the archaeologist's view of the past was necessarily shaped, more and more, by a methodology which relied upon change in stratigraphy, assemblages and typologies as cultural and chronological indicators.

While it is true that methodological change had the greatest impact in those fields that were darkest, as Oldfield put it, prehistory did not exist in isolation nor did the archaeologist borrow wholesale from the geologists. For most intents and purposes the darkest areas were not those furthest removed in time but those either on the fringes of known time or in areas of knowledge which, as Howorth hinted, were previously ignored as unimportant. Prior to the 1860s archaeological method was being developed and supported by the Institute at home and abroad. In Turkey Frank Calvert, brother of the Consul General in the Dardanelles, was busy looking for the site of Troy. He used maps prepared by the Royal Engineers to locate and mark sites and he illustrated at least one excavation with stratigraphy down to the subsoil (AJ16, 1859, 1ff). He subsequently sold his share in Hissarlik to Heinrich Schliemann. Charles Newton meanwhile, former honorary secretary of the Institute and future Yates Professor of Archaeology at London University, was dismantling the Levant. The work of both men as published in the *Archaeological Journal* was heavily text-aided but with Calvert, at least, it was discriminating and critically aligned theory, as perceived in the text, and practice.

In England, Romano-British sites were reported with much interest. Presumably either interest or Haverfield were at a low ebb in 1903 when he complained:

Do what they would, Roman remains never came home like medieval...we could not make a national hero of Caractacus...consideration of Romano-British life seems a far-off study. That state of things.....would not last long, because the growth of Imperial sentiment in England would soon awaken an interest in other Empires (AJ60, 1903, 382).

In fact much of the early success of the Institute can be attributed not to the 'barrow diggers' like Bateman and Greenwell but to the contributions of men like

Richard Neville of Audley End, Cambridgeshire. One of Kemble's 'practical men', he nevertheless coined or at least brought into common usage, c. 1850, the term Romano-British (see Part II, Terminology). Unlike Collingwood-Bruce and the Duke of Northumberland in the north of England, where Roman remains were seen very much as the outposts of empire, Neville's work was more concerned with the civilian population as illustrated by burials, villas and workplaces. Before his death in 1861 Romano-British remains accounted for almost two-thirds of below ground investigations recorded in the *Journal* (see Part II, Objects of Discussion). Interest in this period was further enhanced by the long-running excavations at Cirencester and Wroxeter, otherwise known as 'the British Pompeii'.

Professor Buckman, a geologist, supplied most of the reports from Cirencester. In 1851 the report included, unusually for the time, the size of the trench, depth of deposit ('shifted matter') and finds of pottery, animal bone and shell identified to species, metal, glass, slag and coin. Buckman was also responsible for analysis of British and Romano-British glass beads by chemical composition. His findings differed from those of Sir Humphrey Davy who had done a similar analysis of glass from classical sites in Greece and Rome. Buckman concluded:

There is a real difference in chemical composition in glass fictilia from different sources and..these variations cannot at all times be appreciated by a mere external examination; hence then it is probable that an extensive chemical investigation of these may materially tend to throw light upon the origins of different kinds of glass...so as to show whether such objects were of native fabrication, or imported. Chemistry may also tend, in the matter of glass, as also in other remains of antiquity, to make us more intimately acquainted with the progress of Art and Invention in times past (AJ8, 1851, 354).

Conservation was also part of his brief; he recorded his experiences in lifting Roman mosaics, chemical changes therein, and fungi growth as well as the advisability of restoring broken designs. He decided against the latter on the grounds that it interfered with the authenticity and archaic interest of the pavement.

The investigation of Romano-British remains was significant to the development of archaeology in other ways. Romano-British sites were far more accessible to the general public than high status art or tumuli. Towns and villas provided the material and cultural resonances with which individuals, the

property-conscious, city-dwelling Victorian middle class, outside the relatively narrow confines of the antiquarian community, could more easily identify. Buckman, in 1851, enthusiastically described the success of the museum at Cirencester where over 1500 objects were on display, accompanied by a catalogue and illustrated guide with instructions for visitors and a comparanda for antiquarians. There were over 1000 names recorded in the visitors book over a period of nine months and this did not include those who would or could not write. Likewise at Wroxeter, Lord Talbot felt obliged to approach the landowner, the Earl of Cleveland, with a view to having the remains 'kept open for public instruction and gratification' (AJ16, 1859, 265). The Earl granted access to four acres. Only Roman sites aroused this amount of interest and were treated in this way. A cynic might say that as excavations had to be paid for by public subscription a broad appeal was indispensable but whatever the cause, the effect was to create a more widespread interest in the material remains of the past than hitherto and to promote the educational aspect of museums over research.

After the 1860s there was a parallel and separate development of the science of material culture as understood by the prehistorians and the culture-historical school. The famous archaeologists of the late nineteenth century whom we now remember, such as Pitt Rivers and Flinders Petrie, who worked at the interface of historic and prehistoric societies, are remarkable because they achieved an innovative synthesis of the two (see Part II, Tropes). These now famous men made their presence felt in the Institute in different ways. Petrie and his friend Flaxman Spurrell were prolific and regular contributors of field work reports between 1877 and 1898. They attended meetings for this purpose and Petrie used the rooms of the Institute to publicise the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund by means of annual exhibitions. Petrie was elected to the Council in 1885 and vice-president in 1892. He provided temporary accommodation for the library in the 1890s when the Institute was in financial difficulties but disappeared from the record after that time. Pitt Rivers also used the Institute to publicise his work in the 1860s but his later contributions, as president at Summer Meetings, like those of Evans and Lubbock, were authoritative and almost imperial, being made from a great height to the acolytes beneath. Arthur Evans drifted in and out of these annual meetings making occasional contributions, usually on art, but the members visited his home at

Youlbury when they met in Oxford in 1910. W.H. St. John Hope, the working archaeologist who exercised the most influence over the Institute although not necessarily archaeology towards the end of the century, was not directly involved in the administration for much of that time but nevertheless had a profound effect upon it.

After the death of Talbot de Malahide in 1883 the Institute went through a period of uncertainty with falling rolls and declining finances. At the annual meeting at Lewes in 1883 W.H. St. John Hope joined the Institute after their visit to his excavations at Lewes Priory. Later that year Albert Hartshorne resigned as secretary to be replaced by Hellier Gosselin, Lord Percy took over as president and St. John Hope became editor of the *Journal*. In 1885 Derby, the home town of Hope, hosted the Summer Meeting. In 1886 Hope became Assistant Secretary at the Society of Antiquaries, a post he occupied until 1910, and Hartshorne resumed as editor and standards of both publication and illustration fell markedly. In 1888 membership was falling and there was no money for illustrations; 'with regard to the position of the Institute, the noble Chairman [Percy] said that the Society was suffering like other bodies from 'bad times'. He alluded to 'the desirableness of combined action on the part of all Archaeological societies' (AJ45, 1888, 462). This was echoed by a reviewer of Cranborne Chase in the same volume:

the question rises to our lips 'who is there who dare venture to try and imitate General Pitt Rivers? Who is there who can?' A great society might; - the Society of Antiquaries, if it would rise to the level of its position; an individual can hardly be found (AJ45, 1888, 314).

Meanwhile A.H. Dillon, as secretary of the Society of Antiquaries (London), had summoned a congress of delegates from leading local societies the first meeting of which was held on November 15th (Congress of Archaeological Societies Reports, 1888-1920). The stated aims of the congress were to propose better organization of antiquarian research and to promote preservation of ancient monuments and records 'by the most effective means'. Those means were to

- A) establish a group of local societies which would report to the Society of Antiquaries (London);
- B) request those societies to report to the Society of Antiquaries on important discoveries in their area (a local secretary responsible to the Society of Antiquaries would assist);

C) encourage the formation of lists of ancient objects of different kinds in each local society's district and to assist in devising the best system by which such lists can be drawn up;

D) consider in what manner a general archaeological survey of England and Wales by counties, on the plan approved by the Society of Antiquaries and begun in Kent, may be completed;

E) define the limits within which each local society should work;

F) promote the foundation of new local societies where none exist, and improve and consolidate existing local societies.

The constitution or agreed procedure by which these would be implemented consisted of a register of antiquarian and archaeological societies, admission to which resided in the Society of Antiquaries; copies of publications and programmes were to be sent to the Society of Antiquaries; any discovery 'of exceptional interest' was to be communicated in the first instance to the Society of Antiquaries **before** the local society made it a matter of discussion; registered societies were to have use of the library of the Society of Antiquaries; there were to be occasional congresses in London at which the president or vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries would preside, the Archaeological Institute and the British Archaeological Association could send six representatives each, and each society in the union could send two delegates, the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries would act as secretary to the congress. In effect the Society of Antiquaries once more became the official conduit for affairs archaeological although, in fact, there was a considerable overlap of personnel between the existing bodies and the new one. Almost all the people at the early meetings were also members of the Archaeological Institute and there was a similar overlap in the local secretaries, e.g. Mill Stephenson (Surrey) and Arthur Cox (Derbyshire). The congress proceeded to set up committees to look at specific issues, e.g. county museums in the 1890s and earthworks in the 1900s. It was the forerunner of the Council for British Archaeology and expired in the 1940s.

Meanwhile the 'bad times' continued in the Archaeological Institute. When Dillon became president in 1892 both the secretary and the editor resigned their posts. Control of the *Journal* was deputed to a group of members and both the secretaryship (Mill Stephenson) and the new position of director, taken by Emanuel Green, were gratuitous. Problems arose in filling these positions for the next ten years or so. Editorial control was finally taken out of the hands of the

unofficial committee in 1904-5 when Hardinge-Tylor and O.H. Howorth took over. In 1904 Hale-Hilton became honorary secretary by which time Green had retired as director and his duties devolved upon an executive committee once more. The post of director, who in conjunction with the secretary saw to the daily running of the organization, was revived in 1911 when St. John Hope returned from his sojourn with the Society of Antiquaries. There had been a movement in the opposite direction in 1897 when A.H. Dillon (Viscount Dillon) became president of the Society of Antiquaries and felt obliged to stand down as president of the Institute. Meanwhile Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries had unprecedented access to publication in the *Archaeological Journal* and they made up one third of the Institute's membership between 1903 and 1913.

There were two attempts at amalgamation with the British Archaeological Association, in 1892 and again in 1896. Both failed. In 1892 the accounts of the Institute were investigated and it was decided to change rooms, sell the library, back issues of the *Journal* and the furniture as well as reducing the salaried staff. The situation was not helped by the clerk who had allegedly embezzled £60. In 1894 they moved to Hanover Square and in 1900, although the immediate financial crisis had been resolved due largely to donations from individual members, the library was eventually combined with that of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House and the superfluous stock raised £537-12s. In 1905 however the *Journal* was in arrears and only 84 people attended the Summer Meeting at Tonbridge Wells. Reports from the Congress of Archaeological Societies nevertheless suggest that it was establishing the required links with Government; in 1909 for instance the Earthworks Committee was still active and a Royal Commission was set up (of which Howorth was a member) to consider the best means of preserving these monuments. The following year saw the publication of the First Interim report on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England (County of Hereford) and C.R. Peers, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries was appointed Inspector of Monuments – a post which had not been officially filled since the death of Pitt Rivers in 1900. The Institute met for the first time in Burlington House with the president of the Society of Antiquaries, C. H. Read, in the chair; 75 new members were recorded that year. In 1911 they moved offices to Bloomsbury Square and St. John Hope returned as director.

The 1920s witnessed a transformation. There was recruitment of a staggering array of archaeological talent, most of whom already had established careers in the field, including F. Gerald Simpson (1926), Mortimer Wheeler (1928), Christopher Hawkes (1928), Cyril Fox, Eric Birley and Stuart Piggott (1929), J.G.D. Clark and V.Gordon Childe (1931), as well as J.N.L. Myres and R.G. Collingwood in 1928 and 1930 respectively. In effect an academic, university based network of professional archaeologists was poised to reclaim the *Archaeological Journal* for archaeology. The tone of the *Journal* changed from an eclectic assortment of historical, architectural and philological opinions to a more structured publication. Archaeology, as defined by the published text of the Archaeological Institute ceased to be the handmaid of history and became an equal partner bringing as dowry the related disciplines of anthropology, palaeontology, ethnography, geology, geography, botany and chemistry.

The Clergy

That there was a complex pattern of intellectual change in the archaeological discourse between 1840 and 1930 is evident. Within the Institute the currents of change were largely contained by the preference of the membership for the shelter, as Petrie put it (Levine 1986,171-2), of Fine Art and History in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The rejuvenation of the Society of Antiquaries and the Congress of Archaeological Societies may have given them a nudge in this direction but it is also true that this preference was inextricably linked with the role of religion and the Established Church. The historians and utilitarians were wedded to a Christian view of the world, the heart of which was England. Walter Farquhar Hook, Dean of Chichester and close friend of Stubbs and Freeman, expressed the feelings of a whole generation and several more to come when, in 1863, in accordance with the prevailing fashion for using the lives of great men as the metaphors of history, he took for a hero Bishop Wulfstan:

a man to whose influence and example we may attribute the temper, if not the policy, which gradually induced his countrymen to tolerate their conquerors, until the Normans, like the Britons and the Danes, were absorbed into the Anglo-Saxon race; and out of the four commingled peoples has come forth the great English nation, with our noble language and glorious constitution; with

our spirit of liberty united with our love of order; with our zeal to promote the well-being of man and the glory of God (AJ20, 1863, 28).

The role of religion in the formation of modern discourses was never underplayed yet it is constantly understated. In July 1866 Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster used a text from Mark's gospel for a sermon on archaeology in Westminster Abbey on the occasion of the twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Institute. At the same meeting Sir John Lubbock, president of the newly inaugurated and short-lived Section of Primeval Antiquities delivered 'a few words on the present condition of this very interesting branch of science' (AJ23, 1866, 191) in which he outlined the terminology and phases of prehistory virtually as we now know them. His stated object was to vindicate the claims of archaeology over written sources and 'to prove that the methods of archaeological investigation are as trustworthy as those of any natural science'.

He was

fully persuaded that the progress recently made has been mainly due to the use of those methods which have been pursued with so much success in geology, zoology, and other kindred branches of science, and while ready to maintain that these methods must eventually lead us to the truth, I readily admit that there are many points on which further evidence is required. Nor need the antiquary be ashamed to own that it is so. Biologists differ about Darwinian theory; until very lately the emission theory of light was maintained by some of the best authorities; Tyndall and Magnus are at issue as to whether aqueous vapour does or does not absorb heat; astronomers have recently been obliged to admit an error of more than 4,000,000 miles in their estimate of the distance between the earth and the sun; nor is there any single proposition in theology to which an universal assent would be given (AJ23, 1866, 191).

It is no accident that Lubbock included theology in a speech on science or that Stanley felt competent to speak of archaeology in a religious context. For the speakers and their audience the two were inextricably linked; the Bible was, and had been for at least the preceding four centuries, the supreme text of the western world, the ultimate point of reference in a theocentric universe. It is only the secular nature of our society which makes the juxtaposition striking. Lubbock's speech marked the parting of the ways; in its totality it looked back to a time when most scientists were clergymen or at least professed a Creationist worldview. "I have a perfect recollection," commented one writer on what he called 'the momentous question of the antiquity of man',

of reading a long letter in The Times newspaper during the summer of 1846, in which a writer, adopting a timidly apologetic tone, pleaded for toleration of his errors – if they were errors – and

piteously argued that it really was possible, or at any rate, it was conceivable, that a man might remain a Christian and yet believe that the world was more than 6,000 years old.... In those days the geologists were a mere handful, and many of them seemed afraid of their own discoveries, at any rate [they] were afraid of proclaiming them too loudly (AJ46, 1889, 271).

In its parts Lubbock's speech courageously sign-posted the paths to future knowledge where the Bible and God would be absent. He stated explicitly that the age of the world, and ultimately the antiquity of man, must be arrived at not solely on the basis of geological formations and their time-spans but also on the length of time required for the extinction of a species (AJ23, 1866, 192). It should have been the *coup de grace* for the Creationists but ideas have a Hydra-like persistence. In 1879 Lyell and Lubbock disagreed over the length of the Palaeolithic. Lyell maintained it was approximately 800,000 years and Lubbock that it was less than 200,000. The reviewer of the fourth edition of Lubbock's Prehistoric Times (1879) would not be drawn:

It must, however, be admitted as conclusively proved that man existed upon the earth at the remote date of the deposits referred to, a period of antiquity not heretofore conceived of; but whether the result of slow and gradual natural causes...or of some cataclism (sic); or on the occasion 'when the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven opened,' who can tell? (AJ36, 1879, 203).

The issue was particularly pertinent to the work of Pitt Rivers who did not share the geologists' timidity. His speech to the annual meeting in 1887 resulted in two sermons on the following Sunday in Salisbury Cathedral, one by Bishop Wordsworth and the other by Canon Creighton, later Bishop of London (AJ57, 1900, 178). In 1897 he still found it necessary to counter the 'so-called Chronology of the Bible' and reinforce the importance of dating by sedimentary deposits (AJ54, 1897, 317-318). In that same year we find a review of Patriarchal Palestine by Rev. A.H. Sayce

The constant flow of discovery in Egypt seems to have been one reason for the issue of this volume. There is, however, much yet to be done before the subject will be treated in a masterful manner.... The author although he writes as an archaeologist and as not belonging to any theological school, hardly hides his bias against criticism...The book ends with the remark that true science declares herself a handmaid of the Catholic Church...There is a fair index (AJ54, 1897, 426).

In a religious census in 1851 over 50% of the population of England attended church or chapel. Within the Archaeological Institute the Anglican clergy alone formed the largest single identifiable group between 1843 and 1942

(Table 1; Fig. 4). At all times the majority were parish clergymen but as with other sub-groups there was a perceptible diminution in the number of members coming from the upper echelons over time. In the early days there was a strong contingent of acting and future bishops and deans, such as Charles Baring, Lord Frederick Alwyne Compton (vice-president in 1903) and Charles John Ellicott. By the end of the century archdeacons and canons were more common and the sinecured sons of the squirearchy had been replaced by working priests increasingly educated to their role in purpose-built theological colleges, many of which were founded by the deans and bishops active in the Institute 40 years before.

The nineteenth century was a period of profound organisational change for the established church as well as society at large. As McCord points out the Tithe Commutation Act, civil registration of births, marriages and deaths, the assigning of permanent status to the Ecclesiastical Commission, which gave a body of laymen control over Church property, are all manifestations of the shift in the relationship between Church and State. Some historians see the Oxford Movement and the concomitant growth of high Anglicanism not just as a response to the evangelical revival of the early nineteenth century, but also arising out of 'resentment at the increasing willingness of the secular state to involve itself in the affairs of the Established Church' (McCord 1991, 239). While many clergymen welcomed some reform, the Oxford Movement saw the Church as a divinely ordained institution with an apostolic succession from the days of primitive Christianity. Arthur Stanley was 'pre-eminently representative of the broadest theology of the Church of England' (Magnusson 1990, 1387); when he spoke at the 1866 meeting he was a guest and not a member of the Archaeological Institute. It is difficult to ascertain the precise views of many members of the Institute on the internal debates of the Anglican Church, but Stanley's light dismissal of the relevance of outward show to modern religion is not mirrored by the Institute's preoccupation with Gothic buildings, effigies and church furniture. Nor is it reflected in the membership list where it is easier to find Oxford-educated churchmen like Manning, Philpotts and Walter Kerr Hamilton, the first Tractarian to become a diocesan bishop, than moderates or non-conformists.

There was a perceptible, if not necessarily straightforward, relationship between the interest of architects in the Gothic, antiquarians in the art and manufactures of the Middle Ages and the Oxford Movement's stress upon the absolute authority of tradition and morality (This is discussed further in Part III, Conditions of Emergence and Existence). Furthermore there was a small coterie of Catholic clerics active in the Institute in the mid-nineteenth century, most notably Monsignor Charles Eyre, Cardinal Wiseman and the Rev. W.B. Ullathorne, which suggests either a very open-minded attitude by the lights of the day, or a preference for high-church Anglicanism among the membership generally. These men were active in the Institute at a time when there was considerable anti-Catholic feeling both in the country, where religious riots were not unknown, and in Parliament. The re-introduction of a diocesan system for the Roman Catholic Church in 1851 provoked Parliament to introduce sanctions against any church other than the established one, which adopted territorial tithes in Britain. The Act was passed by 438 to 95 votes although it proved ineffectual and was quietly dropped ten years later. The Church of England was under attack on many fronts; the Roman Catholic Church was openly re-establishing a presence and recruiting from within its ranks; the 1851 religious census mentioned earlier revealed that in most of the large industrial centres Anglicans were in a minority, although they had a 2:1 majority in the south-east, the heartland of the Archaeological Institute membership. Nonetheless the census returns, as McCord points out,

leave no doubt that religion was still among the most pervasive influences within ... society, and that the building of churches and chapels was one of the most important activities of the day (McCord 1991, 242)

One particularly enthusiastic supporter of those activities was the aforementioned Walter Farquhar Hook, who combined abstract spirituality with concrete expression. Before becoming a Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen and Dean of Chichester he was vicar of Leeds. He was responsible for the building of 21 churches, 23 parsonages and 27 schools. His contributions to the *Journal*, mainly ecclesiastical biographies, show him to be a kindly and tolerant man with a firm belief in the value of education as a means of moral and material improvement. It comes as no surprise therefore to find that he built more schools than churches.

The Anglican Church exerted institutionalised power within education in general and universities in particular. This was in part a matter of historical tradition (only after 1871 were all religious tests for university appointments and degrees abolished) and in part a continuing act of will, Stubbs was not alone in believing that 'it is Christianity that gives to the modern world its unity' (Levine 1986, 162). Despite the strong clerical connections in the Institute however it does not appear to have made a great effort to recruit from the universities until the 1920s (Table I). Prior to the 1870s the Institute was eclectic, to say the least, in its professorial intake; it included the Rev. James Garbett, Professor of Poetry, and George Henry Liddell, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford; the Reverend Henslow, Sedgwick, Whewell and Willis were all professors in the natural sciences at Cambridge; as well as the Rev. Charles John Ellicot, Professor of Divinity, and Frederick Denison Maurice, Professor of English and Modern History, then Professor of Theology at King's College, London (both men later became professors at Cambridge). Henslow had used his political influence as a friend and supporter of Palmerston to gain a charter for London University in 1836, and King's College was founded to counteract the influence of the new non-denominational University College which was to be the home of several professional archaeologists, including Flinders Petrie and Charles Newton, later in the century. He had also excavated some minor Roman sites in Suffolk in the 1840s (AJ57, 1900, 97, 117, 157). Although Maurice, Tennyson's 'sun in winter', is a possible exception, the Church effectively controlled 'respectable' debate in the established seats of learning. Through its presence in organisations such as the Archaeological Institute, the B.A.A.S., the Royal Society and the Geological Society, it achieved much the same end in a broader arena.

Before 1870 one of the most remarkable features of the clergy as a whole in the Institute was its diversity of talent and interest. Apart from the theologians, historians and socialites there were architectural experts like Robert Willis, pioneers in heraldry like Charles Boutell, and some of the most respected scientists of the day. There were geologists like William Buckland, Dean of Westminster, and Adam Sedgwick; John Stephens Henslow, botanist and entomologist, friend and mentor of Darwin (non member); George Peacock, Dean of Ely, mathematician and astronomer; Sir William Venables Vernon Harcourt, co-founder of the B.A.A.S.; the ubiquitous Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop

of Oxford; and the polymath William Whewell, translator of Goethe and sometime president of the Geological Society. They were united by a commitment to the Creationist view of world history and a profound belief in the efficacy of the inductive method. Even Henslow, who was so instrumental in promoting Darwin's researches, remained cynical about evolutionary theories. For him The Origin of Species was 'a marvellous assemblage of facts and observations But it pushes hypothesis (for it is not really theory) too far' (Desmond and Moore 1991, 487). Sedgwick, a former tutor, accused Darwin of having 'deserted the true method of induction' (*ibid.*). Henslow, Whewell, Peacock, Sedgwick, Kemble, Talbot, Albert Way and Charles Babington were all active at Cambridge in the 1820s and 1830s; together they provided an entrée to, and a network within, the scientific élite to which archaeologists could refer time and again for specialised skills, and whereby the work of men such as De La Beche, Murchison and Lyell could be introduced to members in a personal way.

The Geologists

The first discoveries in Geology and the pursuit of Geological studies was, at first, met by fear and jealousy, arising from apprehension, that in it there existed a tendency to undermine the truths of revelation; but that apprehension has now, it is thought, passed away, and a belief has arisen that an agreement between religion and science must of necessity exist, and that the further science is cautiously, conscientiously, and reverently studied the more clearly will that agreement be made manifest (Review of the fourth edition of Sir John Lubbock's Prehistoric Times, AJ36, 1879, 199).

Lubbock's speech in 1866 pointed the way to a future without a supreme being, unless it was to be man himself, in the natural and human sciences. In the Institute however the religious element was pertinacious and there was an ongoing ambivalence towards the increasingly irrefutable conclusions arising out of the implementation of the inductive method despite strong and overt links with geologists throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed Lord Talbot considered geology one of the earliest branches of archaeology and that the evidence on which they rested was of the same kind (AJ12, 1855, 383). John Phillips (1880-1874), who has already been mentioned as an influence upon the historians, was one of several members who were also president of the Geological Society at some time. He was a man of humble origins, to use a quaint term, who, at the start of his career, was largely responsible for the organizational success of the

inaugural meeting of the BAAS in 1831 and, by the end, a professor of geology at Oxford, he was 'a shining example of the new professionalism [in geology]' (Rudwick 1985, 85-6, 457). In the *Archaeological Journal* his contributions are remarkable for their non-metropolitan bias, their candour and common sense. Gideon Mantell, a medical doctor by profession and a palaeontologist and geologist by choice, was quick to see the relationship between the two areas of research and contributed an article to the *Journal* on that subject in 1850. The close relationship was further illustrated by the number of specimens presented at the monthly meetings by courtesy of the Museum of Geology; objects as diverse as Roman fibulae and medieval enamels whose presence in a geological museum would now seem odd. In 1866 the Section of Primeval Antiquities met in the Museum of Geology during the Summer Meeting. Yet despite this camaraderie there was a reluctance on the part of some members at least to wholeheartedly embrace the findings of the geologists, this strange child of the inductive method, the longevity of the human species. Perhaps in part because, as with the structural geologists before them, what was perceived as important was the need to establish the sequence or succession, the scale itself, rather than its exact chronological dimensions. It was a perceived gap or break in the scale model which gave rise to the hiatus problem later in the century, the only viable solution to which was a demonstrable chronological relationship between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic.

Before 1860 there were occasional references to the Hoxne flint finds and anomalous associations of stone implements and bones of extinct animals from caves. At a meeting attended by Sir Charles Lyell (non member)

the attention of the society was again called to the remarkable discoveries of objects of flint undoubtedly produced by the hand of man in the drift deposits of the tertiary strata both in this country and in Picardy (AJ17, 1860, 174).

R. Godwin-Austen had accompanied Prestwich (non member) on a second visit to Amiens and described his findings there as 'perhaps the most important which the geologist has ever made in connection with the antiquity of the human race' (AJ17, 1860, 174). In further comments he combined archaeological and geological evidence:

Without entering into speculations as to the geological age of this accumulation, there is a curious fact in regard to it which serves to mark its great relative historical antiquity. The place, St.

Acheul, is near the capital of the great Belgic tribe of the Ambiani. Roman coins occur in the upper surface soil, and numerous stone cists, containing bones of man, have been buried in the upper brick-earth; these are frequently exposed in the process of quarrying; they have never been sunk lower than the brick-earth series. As, since the Gallo-Roman period, the upper or 'brick-earth' series has not been materially increased, it is referable to an earlier time, and thus supplies an ante-date, from which to throw back the period at which the races who manufactured the flint implements (all of which were found in river gravels below the 'brick-earth' series) had occupation of the district (AJ17, 1860, 174).

Lyell continued the discussion; the great question was the age of the deposits regarding which great care was required, he contented himself with the comment 'it is certain that a very long period of time must have elapsed since the extraordinary deposits under consideration took place...' James Yates then 'offered a few observations relating to the natural cleavage of rocks, as indicating the principle upon which stone weapons and implements may have been formed' (AJ17, 1860, 174) Lyell's comments at this May meeting were in contrast to his less circumspect remarks at the annual meeting of the BAAS in July of the same year; the flint instruments, unequivocally of human workmanship, were 'as ancient as the great mass of gravel which fills the lower mass of the valley' (AJ17, 1860, 187). Rudwick (1985, 42-44) attributes this tentativeness not to timidity or fear of the religious establishment but rather to a desire to avoid any charge of speculation.

Meanwhile at the Summer Meeting of the Institute in Gloucester, the Central Committee could report that the 'past year was not remarkable for many memorable discoveries'. Godwin Austen and Lyell were passed over in one sentence. By 1864 the work of Lartet (non member) and Christy (non member) in the Dordogne was being discussed but again it is interesting that more time, space and merit was accorded to the recovery of material from the Bruniquel Cave by Richard Owen (non member). To quote Joseph Burt, the honorary secretary, reading the report of the Central Committee with Beresford-Hope in the chair, Lartet and Christy may have opened up

fresh ground of curious speculation. However valuable these relics may be, those lately secured for the British Museum through the agency of Professor Owen, from the Bruniquel Cave in the South of France are of even greater importance, particularly as with the extensive series of weapons and implements of bone, spears, harpoons, and the like, a number of human crania have been obtained, which may supply, through the skill of a comparative anatomist, a clue to the race and the period to which these remarkable remains should be assigned (AJ21, 1864, 386).

Nearly sixty years later the Institute chose its only geologist president, Sir William Boyd-Dawkins, first professor of geology at Owens College, Manchester (1874-1908). The only other geologist of note was Thomas M'Kenny Hughes, a contemporary of Boyd Dawkins at the Geological Survey in the 1860s, who, during his time as Woodwardian Professor at Cambridge at the turn of the century contributed some useful papers which, interestingly, avoided the prehistoric period where Boyd Dawkins made his reputation. By this time the dividing line between archaeology and geology had been drawn:

The Geologist, who like us looks into the past, is studying for the most part a past during which the world was manless,...the attention of the Historian and the Archaeologist is concentrated on the past of the human race, and is directed to those among the vanished generations of mankind who can speak with some articulate voice to our own. For I think the mere discovery of a fossil man, to whatever geological period he might belong, would hardly be felt to be a fact coming within the proper domain of Archaeology (AJ48, 1891, 264-5).

Comparative Anatomy and the Medical Profession

Aspects of natural science were also incorporated into archaeological investigation at an early date. Most of the earliest excavators reporting to the Institute recognised the importance of recording associated finds of vegetative matter, fossils, animal bone and shell, even if they did not always understand their significance. Albert Way and Charles 'beetles' Babington, both fellow entomologists with Darwin and Henslow at Cambridge, and even Ambrose Poynter, the architect, were not above contributing snail shell analysis. Some accounts have a certain humour about them; the otherwise admirable A.H. Rhind concluded that finds of animal bone and human skulls in close proximity in 'a Pictish round house' were evidence of cannibalism, and of 'sluttish behaviour', presumably a reference to a lack of refinement in table manners. If the description of a bone comb is any indicator, their table manners were rivalled only by their personal hygiene

so large and clumsy are the teeth, that one might scarcely imagine this relic had been intended to bring under subjection even the hirsute locks of a savage (AJ10, 1853, 218).

Images of Heathcliff spring to mind but underlying this, of course, were a set of assumptions which placed the occupants of the round house in a 'state of barbarism', 'set low in the scale of civilization'. The term *allophylian*, which is not commonly found in modern dictionaries, was used to describe the stone age

people. The dictionary definition in the 1930s was 'of another race or stock, foreign. Specifically applied to non-Aryan peoples and languages of Europe and Asia' (Wyld 1936, 27). The allophylian nature of the inhabitants depended upon the evidence of the skulls.

Comparative anatomy was considered crucial both as an exemplar for method and as a source of information. There were close links through individual members with the Royal College of Surgeons. Sir Richard Owen was curator of the museum there until he moved to the natural history section at the British Museum; occasionally he examined material from excavations. In 1853 it was proposed that the museum at the RCS establish a collection 'illustrative of the primeval races, the animals used for food, etc.' (AJ10, 1853, 223). Dr., later Professor, Quekett was the more usual point of reference there, although it was Huxley (non member), in the company of Carter-Blake, Busk and others, who examined the human remains from Heathery Burn in Weardale in 1862. Their comments are interesting:

They belong to a race of rather small slightly made men, with prominent superciliary ridges and projecting nasal bones, and of considerable antiquity, that existed before the earliest epoch of British recorded history. The age to which these relics may be assigned is the latter part of the bronze period, or about two centuries before the Christian era (AJ19, 1862, 359).

This is one of the earliest examples of an absolute date being given to any pre-Roman age in Britain.

The earliest recorded example of cross-discipline co-operation occurred in 1848 at the instigation of Albert Way. In 'Some Notes on the tradition of flaying inflicted in punishment of Sacrilege; the skin of the offender being affixed to Church Doors', a suitably Gothic horror story, Way described how, in an attempt to prove or disprove local folklore, he acquired cuticle samples from doors in Worcester Cathedral and two churches in Essex. The samples were sent for analysis to John Quekett, then assistant curator at the RCS museum. On finding the samples to be human skin Quekett requested permission 'to mention the subject at our Microscopical Society, to show how valuable the microscope is in determining doubtful points of nature' (AJ5, 1848, 189).

The value of natural science as a friendly ally to archaeology in supplying conclusive evidence on a question which must, without such aid, have been left to vague conjecture, has been strikingly shown in the present instance (*ibid.*).

Whether we needed to know that our ancestors were skinning people, tanning their hides and nailing them to church doors is a matter of further conjecture but at least Way and his contemporaries were suitably shocked at their discovery.

Whereas much of natural science was ancillary to contemporary debate the alliance between natural science and archaeology produced some very bizarre and troubling progeny at its very core. The fascination for the archaeologist lay in the ability of the comparative anatomist to reconstruct the whole creature from a single (characteristic) bone. Given the fragmentary character of archaeological evidence it was an attractive paradigm which when coupled with a Creationist world view helped foster the idea that the human species could be sub-divided into immutable races whose characteristics could be identified by the size and shape of the skull. Hence Rhind's conclusions on allophylians. Anatomists were most frequently specialists brought into archaeological investigations for a specific purpose, they were not members of the Institute but the organization was not lacking in craniologists, notably J. Barnard Davis and John Thurnam. They considered archaeology and ethnology to be twin sisters, aided and abetted by comparative philology, particularly that of the German school which equated linguistic variations with race. The whole approach was underpinned by the belief that there were 'physiological laws to which his [man's] organization and whole being were subjected' and from which his mental and moral properties derived (AJ13, 1856, 316). The inspiration appears to have been Johann Blumenbach (1752-1840) whose comparative craniology established a quantitative basis for racial classification. Thomas Bateman considered Barnard Davis and Thurman's Crania Britannica (1856) to be 'a work of national importance' (AJ13, 1856, 420). In fact, Barnard Davis and Thurman turned anachronism into an art form. Logically, they argued, as mental and moral properties were immutably linked to physiology, once one had identified the physical characteristics of a particular 'race' one could then retrospectively ascribe moral and mental properties. These invariably, and unsurprisingly perhaps, favoured the 'race' to which the craniologist assigned himself. These views were not unconditionally endorsed by all Institute members as the reviewer of Greenwell's British Barrows (1878) illustrates. He disagreed strongly with Greenwell and Rolleston's proposition that the wolds were inhabited by two

'stocks' on the basis of the skulls found, for him they were just one people with different shaped heads and furthermore:

We place no reliance whatever upon any calculation of time that is founded upon any physical peculiarities of an anatomical kind. We are thorough sceptics as to all that Mr. Darwin has written respecting the descent of the human race. We most thoroughly agree with the author of the article on Gypsies, in the *Edinburgh Review*, for July 1878, that "anthropological science is still in the empirical stage of its growth. The experiments of craniologists, for instance, although far from being either fruitless in the present or unpromising for the future, have not, hitherto, afforded any certain mode of identifying or classifying races. No rule of measurement has yet been devised subtle enough to enable them to distinguish between an abnormal specimen taken from one extreme section of the human family and an average example from another. Nay, the types, themselves, are slowly modified from generation to generation with the mixture of blood and change of conditions; while any interpretation, by which it has been attempted to translate skull-conformation into mental and moral attributes, remains little more than arbitrary and unsatisfactory guesswork (AJ36, 1879, 301).

Nevertheless comparative anatomy and craniology, a kind of antiquarian psychology, had a profound and lasting impact upon the archaeological discourse (see Part II, Conditions of Emergence and Existence). The experiments continued and specialists were brought in at need. Dr. J.G. Garson identified the race of a mummy from Petrie's excavation at Medum; the people there came out of Africa and the east (AJ51, 1894, 125). Later the same doctor appears in connection with the Archaeological Survey of Kent. Interest there focussed not only on the supposedly Jutish character of the inhabitants but also on the site of possibly the earliest Palaeolithic skeletal remains discovered at Swanscombe in 1888. Dr. Garson was described as 'a medical man appointed by the Government to instruct the officers of the Prisons Department in the system of anthropometric measurement known as Bertillonage, and in that identification of fingerprints advocated by Dr. Francis Galton' (AJ53, 1896, 231). It is difficult not to ask how far removed from the criminalization of poverty such studies were.

Barnard Davis and Thurnam were also representatives of the medical profession. Indeed Thurnam used his patients, the inmates of the Wiltshire County Asylum, to acquire many of his excavated specimens while members of the Institute regularly supplied him with other finds. The percentage of members involved in the practice of medicine was fairly steady throughout the first one hundred years (Table 1) but their profile in the Institute, with the exception of the craniologists in the mid-Victorian period, was never very high. In the early to

mid-Victorian period many occupied prestigious positions in society. Sir James Young Simpson was known for his innovative work in anaesthetics, gynaecology and hospital reform; he became physician to the Queen in 1847. At the Summer Meeting in Edinburgh in 1856 he delivered a talk on 'The vestiges of Roman surgery and medicine in Scotland and England'. Thomas Bell worked as a dental surgeon at Guy's Hospital where F.D. Maurice was chaplain (the Established Church also controlled hospital appointments), but is perhaps better remembered as a naturalist; he was professor of zoology at King's College, London in the 1830s, secretary to the Royal Society and president of both the Linnaean Society and the Ray Society. His work on British crustacea remains the standard text. He also catalogued Darwin's reptile species from the Beagle expedition which crucially confirmed that the giant tortoises were native to the Galapagos Islands. Sir William Lawrence, surgeon and anatomist, was briefly a member of the Institute c. 1845. A republican with avowedly materialist explanations of man and mind, he was forced to resign his post at the College of Surgeons after a vicious attack on him in the *Quarterly Review*. His Lectures on Man (1822) were ruled blasphemous by the court in Chancery because of their evolutionist tendencies although they were pirated and kept in print continuously for decades after. Lawrence's views, like those of Robert Chambers (non member), the author of the notorious but popular Vestiges of Creation (1844) who attended the 1856 Edinburgh meeting and was obviously well known to the assembled company, were effectively excluded from 'respectable' debate. Lawrence's experience illustrates the strength of established science in partnership with religion, and the lengths to which supporters of the alliance were prepared to go to protect their position. Small wonder and little credit that the Archaeological Institute followed rather than led when conventional wisdom was challenged.

Scotland, which lay outside the direct sphere of influence of the Anglican Communion, managed to maintain a tradition of free-thinking. Medical training there was a contemporary model of excellence and it seems fitting therefore that the most prestigious position in the Institute held by a member of the medical profession should be a Scot. Robert Munro was elected vice-president in 1913 having long since abandoned medicine for European prehistory.

The Ordnance Survey

Other members of the scientific community in the early days ranged from the Astronomer Royal, Sir George Airey, to the aeronaut Charles Green. Sad to say there is no record of the latter's ballooning skills being enlisted by archaeologists. A more significant sub-group was that composed of members of the Royal Ordnance Corps and the Royal Engineers. Membership figures for the armed services are listed in Table 1 but they do not adequately reflect the impact of the Ordnance Survey upon archaeology in general or the Archaeological Institute in particular in the nineteenth century. The impact of the various government –funded geological surveys undertaken in the early to mid-Victorian period has already been touched upon briefly. Many budding archaeologists, including Sir John Maclean, Henry Maclauchlan, Pitt Rivers, Boyd Dawkins and M'Kenny Hughes, received valuable training and experience there. The OS provided mapping and recording skills, the raw data for the classification of armaments which was to prove so useful in other areas, a familiarity with the landscape essential to distinguishing natural from artificial features and personal links with other natural scientists. Beaufort, the coastal map-maker and friend of the Cambridge scientists Henslow and Peacock was a member in 1845, as was the Royal Navy officer Lieutenant Waghorn who originated the overland route to India via Suez. On a more practical level Sir Henry Lefroy, the Director General of the Ordnance Survey who became Governor of Bermuda and subsequently of Tasmania, was responsible for keeping the monthly meetings supplied with photographs and accounts of the habits and antiquities of peoples from the four corners of the earth. Another director, Col. Sir Henry James, is credited with the novel application of photozincography to the reproduction of old manuscripts in 1860; a process regarded by Joseph Burt as cheaper, quicker, more accurate and longer-lasting than straightforward photography. It had the added advantage of making the documents more accessible and less liable to damage from excessive handling. Increasingly in the mid-Victorian period it was the officials at, for instance, the Tower and the Royal Artillery Museum at Woolwich, who brought antique armaments to the monthly meetings where they provided raw data and expert opinion for the more aristocratic amateur collectors such as Baron de Cosson and Viscount Dillon, president of the Institute 1892-1898.

The Explorers

By the time of Dillon's presidency the high-ranking military officers had disappeared from the membership lists as had the professional topographers and their friends the explorers, such as Robert Curzon and Frederick Boyle. Historiography is either about paying one's debts or calling others to account and present-day archaeologists must decide for themselves on which side of the ledger they place this small and seemingly peripheral sub-group but it was the explorers who made one of the more lasting impressions on archaeology in the public imagination. They created the stereotypical archaeologist. Misguided as it might have been there is a certain fascination in Frederick Boyle's advertisement in the *Journal* for 'some enterprising ethnologists' willing to undertake 'the difficulties and perils' of an adventure in the Rio Frio district of Central America: The objects in view are the sepulchres, antiquities, geology and botany of the Rio Frio district, at present absolutely unknown, and also the opening up of Costa Rica by a road to the Atlantic shore. The Rio Frio, it may be observed, flows into Lake Nicaragua about 200 yards from the spot where the San Juan river flows out of it; the country around the head-waters of the Frio has never been explored (AJ23, 1866, 78).

Spreading the Word – publishers, printers and writers

The romance of travel fired the Victorian and Edwardian imagination in an unprecedented way. Many people actively indulged in tourism, even more vicariously explored a rose-tinted world in print. Then, as now, the past was an integral part of leisure, both in the form of material remains and as a mental construct, which became accessible to greater numbers of people as a result of changes in communications, education, working and living conditions, in other words the trappings of the modern industrialised state.

Technical improvements in both paper manufacture and printing as well as Gladstone's abolition of duty on paper in 1860 all contributed to the spread of cheap magazines and books. The volume of printed matter increased steadily as the century progressed although this was contrary to trends in the membership of the Archaeological Institute. Writers, authors and journalists constituted at least 6% of the membership in 1845 yet this sub-group virtually disappeared from the record by the turn of the century. Publishers, although present in much smaller numbers, followed a similar pattern (Table 1). Quite how the latter related to

archaeology is a matter for speculation but two facts are clear; they included the foremost publishers of the day, all of whom were from old established firms. Only Macmillan, radical Christian socialist and *inter alia* publisher of J.R. Green and Tennyson, was missing. As individuals they provided common points of contact for the intelligentsia regardless of background.

In the early days there was a predictable number of producers and purveyors of the then fashionable county histories with their mixture of architecture and topography, folklore and genealogy. Henry George Bohn, John Bowyer Nichols and John Gough Nichols, who were scholars in their own right, were the most notable but they belonged to an age that was passing away. Two men in particular can be taken as representative of the publishing community in the Institute at its most influential. John Henry Parker, the Oxford printer and publisher, was an active member for most of his adult life and was typical of the old-style antiquarian publisher-bookseller. John Murray on the other hand was more entrepreneurial a man with an eye to the main chance.

Parker's particular interest in England was vernacular medieval architecture, a subject on which he made frequent contributions to both the *Journal* and meetings. In this way he helped to raise awareness of a rather neglected area which was constantly overshadowed by the prevailing interest in ecclesiastical buildings. Parker's stand on preservation, however, was not one of unalloyed support for Lord Talbot. Parker was one of the few leading antiquaries to refuse to sign the memorandum requesting the setting up of an Ancient Manuscripts Commission in 1859 on the grounds that such governmental interference would infringe personal rights of property. For him the free market, where he was a broker, and the enlightened actions of interested wealthy individuals were sufficient. Nevertheless it is to Parker that we owe the publication of W.J. Thoms' translation of The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark by J.J.A. Worsaae (1849).

Some publishers had strong journalistic connections either as owners like Thomas Longman, proprietor of the *Edinburgh Review*, or as owner/managers like the Nichols who ran *The Gentleman's Magazine*, an early model for much antiquarian writing. It cannot be coincidental or simply the result of a sudden lack of gentlemen that this magazine ran into difficulties at precisely the time when publications such as the *Archaeological Journal* were increasing their circulation.

Other questions are raised by the fact that *The Antiquary*, which was considered a substitute for the by then defunct *Gentleman's Magazine* was started in 1879 and not many years after the collected essays from the *Gentleman's Magazine* were being published in book form. It is touching and ironic that the Nichols, who had been such good friends to antiquarian studies and literature, should have to appeal for support in the pages of what must have been one of their principal competitors. Their position must have been made even more uncomfortable by the increasing number of alternative publications being brought out by other members of the Institute; Beresford-Hope's *Saturday Review* whose leader writers were considered retrogressive and to which E.A. Freeman was a regular contributor; Thomas Hughes' *Macmillan's Magazine*, a useful platform for Liberal writers; and John Murray's *Quarterly Review*.

John Murray stands out among the publishers as a man of catholic tastes and entrepreneurial spirit. He came like others from an established family firm and his career mirrored the demise of subscription publishing and the rise of modern academic publication as a marketable commodity. His father started the Tory *Quarterly Review* which had hounded the surgeon Lawrence during the son's period of management. The firm included in its list of authors Disraeli (non member), Smiles (non member), Livingstone (non member), Crabb-Robinson and Monckton-Milnes. Following a tradition of publishing travel books Murray published Darwin's *Journals* and later, sight unseen thanks to Charles Lyell, *The Origin of Species*, even helping to decide the title. He also published Lyell (non member), Hooker (non member), Layard (non member) and Grote (non member). Controversy is the life-blood of publishing, particularly of the more ephemeral kind, so it is interesting to find that it was the *Quarterly Review* which carried Mivart's (non member) anti-evolutionist replies to Darwin and fed the fires of popular debate. Murray was also the publisher in book form of the papers given at the Summer Meeting of 1866 under the title of *Old London*. There was enough interaction in this small corner of London life in the nineteenth century to present a very telling perspective on the relationship between intellectual ideas and, to use Piggott's term, the public mind but suffice it to say here that organizations like the Institute obviously provided a happy hunting ground for fresh talent and a useful measure of the pulse of debate. Of course the interest of men like Murray can also be interpreted as a measure of the interest shown by the book-buying

public in the topics covered by the Institute. Taken in this light, however, the general absence of populist or even popular educational publishers is remarkable. In the 1840s Charles Knight, the publisher of the *Penny Cyclopaedia* was a member and Bohn produced 600 volumes of his popular standard reference library but these were exceptions rather than the rule. By and large the publishers appear to have been conservative and concerned with quality publishing. McCord suggests that the reluctance of the House of Lords to pass Gladstone's bill for the abolition of duty on paper had more to do with 'an absence of enthusiasm for cheap publications' than the stated antipathy to any reduction in Government revenue (McCord 1991,254). It would appear that the sympathies of the Institute may have lain more with their lordships than their increasingly radical colleague the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the turn of the century the output of popular books on archaeological and historical topics by the publisher Elliot Stock was phenomenal but he (or she) was not a member of the Institute despite being the mainstay of the reviewers.

The writers were nothing if not diverse. As a sub-group they overlapped with almost every other social and occupational grouping in the institute. Theologians and hymn-writers predominated but there was a fair sprinkling of medical, legal, biographical and travel writers with a strong contingent of minor poets. By the turn of the century the diversity of interests as shown by the writers had gone; the writers had been subsumed as professional historians, art critics or architects. On the literary side there were several writers of historical fiction which was so popular and integral a part of the Gothic Revival. The only author whom we would remember now perhaps with any fondness would be Thomas Hughes who joined in his fifties. Hughes was not noticeably active in the Institute but was one of a small, close-knit group of individuals who subscribed to the organization over many years and which included F.D. Maurice, the Marquis of Ripon and latterly, Thomas Taylor, editor of *Punch* in 1876. 'Tom' Taylor had a varied career, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge but ten years younger than Lord Talbot *et al.*, he became professor of English at University College, London and subsequently took up several government appointments relating to social reform. He was also a prolific writer for the stage and art critic for *The Times* newspaper. Other journalists had similar links; J.M. Kemble succeeded his father as Examiner of Plays and was at various times editor of the *British and Foreign*

Review and the somewhat unlikely editor of Murray's *Quarterly Review*. He was described by his sister in 1830 as 'a radical, a utilitarian...an advocate of vote by ballot, an opponent of hereditary aristocracy, the church establishment, the army and the navy which he deems sources of unnecessary expense' (Ransome, 1978, 46).

Kemble's career was rather more illustrious than that of fellow journalist John Payne Collier. Collier edited Shakespeare for a living and wrote several histories of English drama but he sought to gild the lily and was exposed for forgery and falsification of old manuscripts, notably the Perkins Shakespeare Folio, in 1859. Charles Wentworth Dilke also edited *English Plays* before becoming proprietor and editor of *The Athenaeum* (the latter during the bickering foundation years of the Institute and the British Archaeological Association) and subsequently, in 1846, editor of the *Daily News*.

Dilke's contemporary Henry Crabb Robinson 'a man of good sense but little personality' (Pope-Hennessy 1951, 114) was also around in the first flush of excitement; he was a renowned and respected journalist who began his career as *The Times* foreign correspondent during the Peninsula War. Afterwards he worked as a barrister and became familiar with many leading literary figures of the day. In the late 1820s he was instrumental in founding London University and the Athenaeum Club, which was subsequently built under the direction of Decimus Burton. The Athenaeum was founded 'for Literary and Scientific men, and followers of fine arts'. It was to be composed of 'persons who were members of the Royal Society, or the Antiquarian Society, the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the Royal Academy, or who have published any work or shall have exhibited a certain number of pictures', trustees (but not officials) of the British Museum, patrons of art, bishops and judges (Wedgwood 1992, 256). There is an uncanny parallel with the early membership structure of the Archaeological Institute. Presumably these were deemed to represent the intellectual establishment and when the Institute was founded in 1843 it was an acceptable basic model from which to pursue the avowed aims of conservation and 'the encouragement and prosecution of researches into the arts and monuments of the Early and Middle Ages'. Only two elements were missing; the means of collecting fresh data and the means of disseminating information. The Archaeological Institute attempted to remedy the first through the local networks

but as we have seen this failed fairly early. The publishers were a potential network for the latter but the Institute was only successful in attracting them for as long as it also attracted a pool of writing talent. At the turn of the century that pool was drying up and the organisms within it were seeking specific cultural niches, forming habitats in which they could survive independently.

Ladies and gentle women

Gender appears to be a recent topic in histories of archaeology. A fashionable cause for concern. Current consideration takes a bilateral approach (DuCros and Smith 1993) insofar as it asks questions both about the archaeological activities of women (McBryde 1993) and about the role of women in the past, i.e. how archaeological interpretation defines the female and the male (Gero and Conkey 1991). The historiography of archaeology over the last fifty years (Daniel, Trigger, *et al.*) would suggest that this is a modern preoccupation but once we start to look for the female of the species we find this is not quite correct; the issue may not have been so central but it is not new. There are some basic questions which must be asked before any informed debate on gender can take place. Firstly, were there any women involved in the formative period for archaeology? And what were they doing? Once we have established this we can go on to ask other questions of the basic information we have acquired. Was there, for instance, a distinct female contribution or anything that could be identified as an alternative understanding? Were women involved in specific ways and if so why? Do we look for women simply to set the record straight? There is a paucity of information and research has been largely a peripheral by-product of other work. Do we look for women to seek out potential role models or to demonstrate the marginalization and suppression of women? Can women as a social group be used to illustrate how ideology in general affects the production of knowledge? These are chicken and egg questions. We do not know whether the exercise is fruitful or not until we attempt it yet these questions have a relevance to both internal and external histories of archaeology. It is not sufficient to say that the history of archaeology is a metanarrative, the story of the storytellers (Christenson, 1989, 75) and as such almost exclusively a male exercise. While it is true that, at present, working knowledge of women in the public domain is largely haphazard and incidental the information may be there if

we seek it and the archaeological societies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are as good a starting place as any.

Hudson (in McBryde 1993, xii) notes 'a spectacular rise in the number of women members for all British county societies' between 1900 and 1930. In a paper written in those apparently heady years for female participation E. Reginald Taylor (1932) discusses the first congress of the British Archaeological Association held at Canterbury in 1844. It is revealing in two ways. On the one hand we learn quite a lot about the activities and behaviour of women at that congress and, on the other, Taylor unselfconsciously relates that information to the behaviour and actions of his contemporaries, his audience in 1932. He finds the early Victorian attitude to women rather quaint: "Poor things!" he says "Is not this a delightful sidelight on the education of women ninety years ago" (Taylor 1932, 197). Most of Taylor's account is based on contemporary sources collected by a participant in 1844, Thomas Crofton Croker. The event was chronicled by many of the daily national newspapers, several local ones and many journals such as *The Athenaeum*. It is surprising how often women were mentioned. Either they made their presence felt or added novelty to the proceedings. They were not only participants, however, in one instance at least the journalist was a woman and there was a disparity between the character of the observations made by the male journalists upon the women and the comments, reputedly, of the women themselves. From the former we would deduce they were occupied with fashion and gossip thus, according to the *Kent Herald*, there were 'a great number of elegantly attired ladies' and from *The Athenaeum* 'Many ladies were present, and more topics from London were talked about than the doings of these new Canterbury Pilgrims' (Taylor 1932, 193). When the women speak for themselves a different picture emerges, not only do 'even the ladies seem interested' (*The Pictorial Times* in Taylor, 1932, 194) they are amongst the most dedicated participants. While excavating a barrow in a downpour

vainly did the noble president entreat the ladies to seek the only shelter the bleak down afforded – that of the windmill; he met with the observation 'that the loss of a dress which could easily be replaced was a trifling consideration compared with the interesting and instructive researches in which they were engaged'. The labourers were the only individuals who seemed at all anxious to shirk the antiquarian operations – in fact, it was only the ladies so bravely enduring the pitiless pelting of the storm that kept them at work." (*ibid.* 196-7). Pity the poor workmen! This

was from the pen of the redoubtable but anonymous lady correspondent from the *Cork Constitution*. Of course they were laughed at for their pains, even in bad verse (Taylor 1932, 198), but this was the lot of most antiquaries at that time. They were not often flattered as they were by the lady from the *Cork Constitution* great was our surprise to see that several were handsome young men dressed in the most fashionable attire, others, although not exactly young, very *distingué*-looking, and all far superior in appearance to what we expected." (*ibid.*, 193).

Only rarely do we find such references again in the press or in the *Archaeological Journal* although women continued to attend and participate. Contrary to popular belief (Taylor 1932, 190) there is no evidence to suggest that women were ever barred from membership simply because they were women. Membership had always been open to women. If there was discrimination it was rather more subtle. An unattributed review in 1850 remarks upon 'the diversity of tastes which must prevail in societies of this nature, in whose ranks also so many archaeologists of the gentler sex are enrolled' (AJ7, 1850, 321). Admittedly there is only one lady member listed in 1845, Anna Gurney the Anglo-Saxon scholar, but there were 20 subscribers and this is more typical of the numerical strength of women in the organization for most of the nineteenth century. The most dramatic rise in female participation occurred between 1893 and 1913 (Fig.5) against a background of political agitation for women's rights. By 1942 the number of women in the Institute approached one-third of the membership with a similar proportion (26%) of seats on the Council and the Executive Committee. Rose Graham, an expert on ecclesiastical art history, was an honorary vice-president. Typically many of the women involved in the Institute both then and earlier were related in some way, either as wives, daughters, sisters or, in the case of the Dowager Lady Stanley of Alderley, as mother-in-law, to men who were also active in the field of archaeology. Inevitably those listed as members have an ascribed status derived from that of their male relatives. As such they can be described as members of a privileged élite, with few exceptions even in this century, defined in terms of wealth, education or both. Nevertheless there are some interesting asides in the text of the *Journal* which suggest that an interest in archaeology was not exclusively the preserve of such an élite group. At a monthly meeting in 1881 Flaxman Spurrell reported on a coin hoard recently found by a labourer who mistook the mass for 'green buttons' but they were

recognised for what they were by the labourer's wife because she had read a popular book on the subject (AJ38, 1881, 433). On another occasion W.T. Watkin reported how five bronze patellae had been preserved by Mrs. E.M. Humphries of the Cambrian Arms and that she had 'since secured four other vessels of bronze' which were with them (AJ43, 1886, 85).

Women members with an identifiable occupation outside marriage or the family can be identified mainly as writers such as Agnes Strickland (1796-1874), historian and minor poet, and Fanny Bury Palliser (1805-1878), a writer on art in both English and French. Ironically it becomes increasingly difficult in the twentieth century to identify the occupational activities of the women members, they become more rather than less anonymous, with the exception of known archaeologists such as Kathleen Kenyon, Jacquetta Hawkes and Tessa Verney Wheeler. It is significant that many of the women who made a career of sorts in archaeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were not members of the Institute. Women such as Amelia Edwards (1831-92), founder and leading light of the Egypt Exploration Fund, sponsor of a chair of archaeology at University College, London; Margaret Murray (1863-1963), author of over 80 books and articles, excavation director in Egypt, Malta and Minorca, assistant professor at University College, London, friend and pupil of Flinders Petrie; Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) first Director of Antiquities in Iraq and founder of the British Institute of Archaeology there; and Jane Ellen Harrison (1850-1928), a leading and charismatic authority on ancient Greek religion, are all noticeable by their absence. Absent too are the many women students encouraged and taught by Flinders Petrie during his long career despite his high profile in the Institute prior to 1902. The very existence of such women, however, suggests that common perceptions of women at this time should not be endorsed automatically, either patronisingly or reluctantly. It is clear that women and their activities are heavily encoded. Nevertheless it is inappropriate to accept at face value that archaeology in the nineteenth century was "almost exclusively a male exercise where female gender roles were as clearly prescribed [between 1850 and 1900] as women's positions in the illustrations: to observe, receive, admire. To the extent that women participated in archaeology it was as audience, helpmates or preservers; curatorial roles – preparing and preserving the objects hunted and gathered by males – seemed forecast. It should hardly be surprising that museums of archaeology today are staffed and curated largely by women (Hinsley 1989, 94).

While it is fair to say that women had no distinctive voice in the Institute and all that they did was recounted through a male-dominated medium it would be rash to presuppose that they were happy with their lot or that their lot was simply that of helpmeet. It would be advisable first to look at the evidence.

Women were regular attenders at meetings although it is noticeable that they tended to come in groups (AJ31, 1874, 400: AJ39, 1882, 90). Women, or ladies, were always welcomed to the annual meetings with varying degrees of pleasure or condescension. Thus in 1885 "After a toilsome scramble over boulders and through fern and heather...Some delay was caused by a lady fainting through over-exhaustion and a weak heart" – but on a brighter note it gave the rest of the party time to examine the earthworks! And after tea and a downpour "a small but indomitable section, including a lady, was brave enough to complete the programme of the meeting by walking to the old Manor House" (AJ42, 1885, 512). They also made financial donations and were regular contributors to the temporary museum. Contributions tended to follow the pattern of the monthly meetings, namely high status post medieval artefacts such as silver plate and embroidery but on occasion a woman would exhibit a coin collection or Roman artefacts. Women were not prolific contributors to the monthly meetings but nevertheless provided a steady stream of items of interest. Most of these would be personal ornaments, including watches and jewellery, or art or needlework. Occasionally, like the men, she would bring a flint arrowhead (AJ59, 1902, 210), silver vessels from Hildesheim (AJ41, 1884, 96) or a chance find such as the bronze figure found during excavations for foundations for a new house (AJ60, 1903, 210). Some, again like the men, brought a flavour of empire, of far-flung places, like Mrs. Lewis' personal ornaments from the South Seas, her cloisonné enamels and grotesque bronzes from the Summer Palace (AJ38, 1881, 104) or Mrs. Lovell's 'globe of crystal' from Japan. In effect the contributions of the women were little different from those of their male colleagues.

Some were more serious than others. Miss Ffarington (sic) of Preston Lancashire is mentioned again and again. Not only did she provide objects for discussion but, a little like the Duke of Northumberland perhaps, she had her own museum (AJ36, 1879, 386) at Worden Hall and she was active in rescuing and preserving such remains as came within her area of authority. In 1885 W.T. Watkin sent some notes on recent discoveries of Roman remains in Lancashire

The vessel was completely broken by the spade, and the coins were distributed amongst the workmen. But by dint of exertion, Miss Ffarington, who is lady of the manor, succeeded in recovering 65 of them which she sent to me for examination (AJ42, 1885, 218).

Several women helped with illustrations, namely, the daughters of Albert Way and J.L. Petit, Richard Neville's wife Charlotte and Marian Bonomi, friend of Baron de Cosson. Charlotte Bathurst, daughter or sister to the Rev. W.H. Bathurst, catalogued the coins from Lydney Park (AJ36, 1879, 419) while Miss Goodwin, daughter or sister of the Bishop of Carlisle, collated the church plate of various parishes in the diocese under the auspices of the local society (AJ38, 1881, 465; AJ39, 1882, 472). Some, like Miss Baker, were happy to contribute physical labour (AJ35, 1878, 415). Still others, like Mrs. Everett Green contributed papers but these were usually on historical topics (AJ24, 1867, 366; AJ31, 1874, 29). The earliest written contribution on material remains by a woman of which there is mention in the *Archaeological Journal* was actually sent to the Society of Antiquaries in 1850 by a Mrs. Mayle (AJ38, 1881, 107). On December 12th she exhibited there the drawings of several urns found with some 30 bushels of charred wheat in excavations (courtesy of the Great Northern Railway) at Sandy in Bedfordshire. The only published work relating to Sandy dating from this time was printed in the first volume of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society (1854) and is anonymous. Mrs. Mayle appears to have been one of a network of correspondents who began as general suppliers of information to the Institute, the British Archaeological Association, the Society of Antiquaries or their local secretaries but who increasingly addressed themselves to individuals, like W.T. Watkin, with a proven interest and expertise in a particular area of study. Watkin was the recipient of what constitutes the first written contribution to the *Journal* from a woman albeit in the form of a letter. Given that the activities of so many women in the Institute had a religious aspect it seems apt that this should be from the Lady Superior of St. Mary's Convent, York although the finds themselves were Roman. In another article on Roman Nottinghamshire, written in 1886, Watkin gives an account of a certain Mrs. Miles, the wife of the rector of East Bridgeford in 1857-58, who had written to tell him that for many years she had

noticed fragments of pottery on the surface of the ground in several fields. A small hole was dug in the 'Castle Field' when fragments of pottery in great abundance were found...Mrs. Miles

informs me that the circumvallation may still be most clearly traced....Mrs. Miles says that it “passes through a field in which we gather every year numbers of specimens of pottery lying on the surface, besides deer horns, bones, arrow heads, coins, Samian ware, plaster off walls, still coloured; and in the adjacent field near the spring, and apparently used to hold the refuse of the camp, old iron, leather, oyster shells, bones, horns, bulls of lead, flue tiles, stone tiles, tesserae, and thousands of pieces of pottery of different colours, qualities and materials...” After heavy rain, the fragments of various remains are found on the surface of the ploughed land. On one occasion Mrs. Miles found two perforated six-sided cylinders, of red cornelian, with the polish quite unhurt....Mrs. Miles possesses most of the above named articles.....(AJ43, 1886, 18-19).

The advent of papers by women generally was heralded by the extraordinary reception accorded to Sophia Schliemann in 1877 to welcome her as an honorary member of the Institute. At a much publicised meeting on May 4th, 1877, ‘a large and distinguished company’ gathered to present Dr. and Mrs. Schliemann with the diploma of the Institute and congratulatory addresses. Minutes of the Council meetings prior to the event record no concern over the status of Mrs. Schliemann although there was considerable perturbation over the fact that the Institute did not actually possess a diploma (Royal Archaeological Institute Council Minutes Book, April, 1876-1877). Lord Talbot de Malahide, as president, introduced Dr. Schliemann and spoke “in the highest terms of his discoveries which had placed him and Mrs. Schliemann in the first ranks of explorers” (AJ34, 1877, 302). Separate addresses were then made to each although Sophia Schliemann had been unable to attend:

[We]...beg to tender to you the homage of our most respectful admiration in the work in which you have proved yourself, in its truest sense, a help-meet to your distinguished husband....we are justified by his own affectionate testimony to your devoted and chivalrous aid, in what will ever be accounted as your joint work....It is a disappointment to us that we are deprived of the great pleasure of receiving and personally honoring you here; but you will be at least assured by this and other testimonials you will have received, that the essential part you have taken in the unprecedented discoveries of Troy and Mycenae is fully understood and gratefully appreciated by numberless sympathising friends in this country. As the first lady who has ever been identified in a work so arduous and stupendous, you have achieved a reputation many will envy – some may emulate – but none can ever surpass (AJ34, 1877, 303).

So disappointed were they by Sophia Schliemann’s absence, and possibly because of the tremendous public interest in the Schliemanns and their work, that another meeting was arranged for the following month to fete Sophia Schliemann in earnest. Another ‘large and brilliant company’ was assembled, this time including women in a very cosmopolitan mix. The company included Robert

Browning (non member), who published his translation of Agamemnon that year, Lord Houghton (Monckton Milnes), Gladstone, Karl Blind (non member), a writer and German political exile from 1848 whose daughter Mathilde was to become a champion of women's rights, Julius Reuter (non member), founder of Reuter's news service, Lady Alcock (non member) and Amelia B. Edwards (non member). Sophia Schliemann read a paper which was as comprehensive as its title suggests 'On the High Culture of the Ancient Greeks; the Long Series of Agents which contributed to it; the reason of its Decay; of the Advantages of the language of Plato; and further of the Share she had taken in the Discoveries at Troy and Mycenae'. Predictably perhaps it is a paean of praise to Greek civilization and the Greek nation which was once more at odds with Turkey. The Turkish amabassador had been invited but was prevented from coming because of 'a prior engagement' (AJ34, 1877, 454).

It is tempting to think that Schliemann, ever the showman, was not above using his young wife not only as 'help-meet' but also as a public attraction. Nevertheless it is undeniable that in doing so, whatever the motive, Sophia Schliemann was given a voice of her own and raised the profile of women thereby. She states quite bluntly and modestly her share in their achievements:

The part I have taken in the discoveries is small, in Troy as well as in Mycenae. I have superintended thirty workmen. One of my explorations at Troy was the excavation of the large heroic tomb which, according to Homer, was attributed by the immortal gods to the Amazon Myrine and by men to Batieia, the Queen of the Dardanus. In Mycenae I excavated the large treasury close to the Lion's Gate. This excavation, one of the most difficult works we ever accomplished, lasted four months, and though I found no treasures there, yet this exploration has been of some importance to science, because, besides a number of sculptures, I found there a mass of most interesting pottery, which shows us the remote antiquity in which the treasury was shut up.

I have further taken an active part in the excavation of the five royal tombs in the Acropolis, all of them were rock-cut, and at a depth of from twenty-five to thirty feet below the surface of the ground. The flat bottom of these tombs was covered with a layer of pebble stones, which can have had no other intention than that of giving ventilation to the funeral pyres that were put upon it, and on which the dead bodies overlaiden with jewels were laid. There were in all fifteen bodies in the tombs, and each of them had been burnt on a separate pyre. The fire of the pyre was not yet extinct when the whole of the sepulchres were covered with a thick layer of white clay, and then with another layer of pebble stones, upon which earth was thrown. Above these tombs were erected sepulchral slabs, and, when these had been covered up by, and disappeared in, the dust of ages, other tombstones were erected three or four feet above them.

Until the upper layer of pebble stones the excavation was easy, because we had only to direct our workmen to dig here or there; but from thence it was exceedingly difficult, because, on our knees in the mud, my husband and I had to cut out the pebbles, to cut away the layer of clay, and to take out one by one the precious jewels. But the joy we felt in seeing our efforts crowned with such marvellous success made us forget our hardships, and our enthusiasm was so great that we often thought we had breakfasted and dined when we had not got anything at all for the whole day (AJ34, 1877, 455-7).

Heinrich Schliemann's coda is curious. He added, among other remarks:

To the long series of agents which have been instrumental in producing the high perfection of art in Ancient Greece must be added the entire absence of our present code of conventional proprieties and the perfect freedom which the fair sex enjoyed regarding dress, which was consequently in analogy to the hot climate, and hardly amounted to anything at all....[thus] the ancient Greek artist was at liberty constantly to study the symmetry and anatomy of the female body, and he could produce wonders by merely copying what he saw. A similar advantage can never again be enjoyed by any artist and therefore sculpture and painting can never again reach the high pitch of perfection which it had attained under such exceptional circumstances in antiquity...(AJ34, 1877, 457).

The reader now is given the impression that the speech was calculated to address the sympathies or interests of various members of the audience. Perhaps this was intended for Lord Houghton, a collector of erotic art, who officially responded to the address in company with Gladstone and Charles Newton.

If Sophia Schliemann set a precedent other women were slow to follow. It was twelve years before Helen Mary Tirard delivered her thoughts on 'The Great Sphinx: Ideas of the Sphinx in the Ancient World' at the monthly meeting in November 1889 (AJ47, 1890, 28-42). In subsequent years there were papers by R.H. Busk, E.K. Prideaux and Nina Layard. They are united by a tendency to dwell upon aspects of religion, either in the form of artefacts or beliefs, but this may be a reflection of prevailing taste in the Institute rather than the women themselves. Few if any of these women engaged in excavation after the fashion of Sophia Schliemann. Miss Busk was active in the Palestine Exploration Fund but appears to have been more anthropologist than archaeologist. Nina Layard conducted what was tantamount to a watching brief in Ipswich but her relatively numerous contributions to the *Archaeological Journal* dealt mainly with religious artefacts. One must look hard to find women engaged in any similar activities. Occasionally they surface like Mrs. Cunnington in Wiltshire in a book review in the 1900s (AJ 68, 1911, 445).

It is equally difficult to identify areas of peculiarly feminine interest, so much of archaeology then would now be considered art history, but there is the occasional hint of a feminine perspective. Helen Tirard for instance considered the gender of the sphinx and Mrs. Miles, in her report of the site at East Bidgeford, says "it is I imagine quite full of the remains of a gradually disused dwelling place, that is to say nothing whole or hidden with care but just the debris that would be left by long years of occupation" (AJ43, 1886,19). This is a far cry from the invading hordes and calamitous events which were the general stuff of history until the 1880s. Possibly a better understanding of any feminine perspective could be gained from the many books which women were clearly writing between 1845 and 1942. Book reviews in the *Journal* provide some indication of the range and scope of those available. In the first fifty years the range was limited, apart from works of a strictly historical nature (e.g. Agnes Strickland, Mary Everett Green, Kate Norgate), to acknowledged authorities such as Margaret Stokes on Irish ecclesiastical architecture, Mrs. Gatty on sundials, Mrs. Hailstone on lace, Miss F.C. Gordon Cumming on jade, and the more local specialists such as Miss Goodwin, Miss Ferguson and Mrs. Ware, all of whom concentrate on religious memorials in Cumberland and Westmoreland, a hotbed of female participation in the latter part of the nineteenth century. From 1890 onwards there were many more reviews of 'little books intended for general readers' (AJ66, 1909, 419) as well as lengthier, more scholarly works from authors such as Gertrude Bell (AJ67, 1910, 204) and M.W. Porter (AJ66, 1909, 419). These little books were remarkably cheap and, although they were frequently patronised by the reviewer, they made a wide range of topics from Greek vases to ruined churches, from the remains of Carthage to Leland's Itinerary accessible to the general reader. In the early years of this century women were frequently the authors of popular syntheses such as A.Hingston Quiggins' Primeval Man: The Stone Age in Western Europe (1913). Later there were books for children and young people such as Mary Boyle's Man before History (1924). Mary Boyle had worked as secretary to Miles Burkitt in Cambridge and her book is introduced by Abbé Breuil. And who, over the age of fifty, can forget Kathleen M. Gadd's classic schoolbook From Ur to Rome first published in 1936 and still in use in the 1960s?

A superficial survey of popular and educational books suggests that the story they tell, even when written by women, is essentially male. They share this characteristic with views of the past expressed in the pages of the *Archaeological Journal* for much of the first one hundred years. The perception of women, indeed any consciousness of gender at all after that first meeting in 1844 and prior to the late 1880s, is more remarkable by its omission than commission. The few images of women conjured up in the text – there are no illustrations other than of buildings or artefacts – tend to be those of the domestic sphere (AJ39, 1882, 238), dependency and a patriarchal society (AJ38, 1881, 246-7). Occasionally they are seen as seducers and temptresses (AJ30, 1873, 35-36). To a certain extent there is a vaguely discernible pattern whereby the images of women were related to the chronological period, e.g. medieval or prehistoric, which was under consideration. Early medieval women, for instance, were portrayed as subservient to men with notable, and noble, exceptions such as Aethelfleda, daughter of Alfred, who was depicted as martial heroine and leader of her people, the Mercians (AJ38, 1881, 30; AJ 43, 1886, 245). Where they existed at all prehistoric women tended to be androgynous (Worthington Smith reputedly gave them beards and moustaches (AJ53, 1896, 218) and in 1908 Robert Munro produced a paper which used the third person plural and was not gender biassed (AJ65, 1908, 205-244). In general the 1890s and 1900s saw the production of more papers by men giving a positive image of women. There were revised histories of, for instance, Amy Robsart (more talented and more able than her husband, AJ49, 1892, 163) and Lady Pembroke, a patron of art and science (AJ56, 1899, 186). This was accompanied by an acknowledgement of their more active role in eighteenth century life (AJ54, 1897, 418; AJ50, 1893, 221-223) be it as commentator or pawnbroker.

Women were most fiercely defended by Bunnell Lewis, a classical scholar, and it is in his accounts of the Roman period that we find the most positive images of women. He tells a very different story, a story of female heroism (AJ33, 1876, 272; AJ53, 1896, 73), of women as historians, poets and lexicographers (AJ38, 1881, 154), of women as landowners and benefactors (AJ38, 1881, 161; AJ49, 1892, 251-253), as queens and rulers (AJ 40, 1883, 37); as wives and mothers involving themselves in politics (with contemporary parallels) (AJ42, 1885, 173). In short women, to him, were individuals with



talents and faults, feelings and aspirations, they were human beings. It is interesting that in a tribute to his brother, S.S. Lewis, he quotes Terence - *Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto* (I am a man, I count nothing human foreign to me). In a footnote to one of his many papers on the antiquities of Europe he wrote:

When I visited the cathedral of Autun, M. Berouquet, the senior Canon, told me that during the fair he observed some country-women looking at these sculptures, and overheard one of them remarking, 'Il est évident que ce travail a été fait par les hommes, car ils ont mis toutes les femmes dans l'enfer (AJ40, 1883, 117).

Conclusion

It is important to remember when using the statistics in this analysis that only four groups are definitive, namely those showing geographical distribution, titled members the clergy, and women. The percentages for the other sub-groups, which are not necessarily discrete, are only indicators of relative strength in the organization based on the minimum numbers identifiable for each sub-group. It should be borne in mind that members of some sub-groups may be more easily identified than others because of variables such as social preferences; these variables can act as hidden censors. The earliest published membership list is ordered first by county, then by rank, then alphabetically; it effectively proclaims the aims and preferences of the Institute at that time, and possibly their view of society. Later lists were compiled alphabetically and the individuals themselves as well as social convention may be censoring the social indicators such as affiliations to other organizations. Generally a member of a prestigious professional body such as the Royal Academy is more likely to be recorded than the Institute of Civil Engineers, a doctor is more easily recognised than a teacher although teachers were not without influence. A. Moray Williams, described as 'a polymath who communicated his enthusiasm to others' (Archer, pers. comm. 1998), taught Classics and History at Bedales School, Hampshire where he involved the pupils in excavations of a high standard. Their work certainly surpassed that of Moray's contemporaries at the more prestigious site of Corbridge. Social preferences might also operate in secondary sources of information such as biographical dictionaries. In the 1916 edition of the Dictionary of Universal Biography - 33.4% of the membership in 1845 is cited,

20% in 1861, 24% in 1883 (Hyamson 1916). On the one hand this could be taken as an accurate indication of the numbers of public figures in the Institute or it might merely reflect changing fashions in what was considered suitable for inclusion in such a publication.

The foregoing account of the people behind the Archaeological Institute demonstrates above all the vitality, diversity and fluidity of the Victorian intellectual and social milieu. Inevitably it is biased in favour of the great and good, the rich and famous, the people who made an impact upon their contemporaries. The average member is a hazy figure, part of the muted background which enhances those brought into sharp focus by the public spotlight. Synchronic snapshots show this figure in 1845 to be more likely to be male than female, living the life of the rural gentry in south-eastern England, a man whose wealth derives from the land or investments, who regularly attends his parish church, and who has a paternalistic conception of his Christian duty in his community which translates into patriotic feelings for his country. His interests are diverse, ranging from aspects of natural history to local history, his passion is collecting medieval seals or brass rubbings or old documents. He has little reason to doubt that God created the world and everything in it. In 1900 he is living in the more spacious city suburbs of London or the suburban cities of the south-east, he has been educated at public school and university, he is receiving a salary although his work is not overtly connected with archaeology and religion is no longer a focal point of his intellectual life but more a matter of habit and where that habit is indulged it will be as part of the Anglican Communion. Now he has a profound belief in human progress and an equally profound belief that the intellectual and political hegemony of England is the surest way of achieving this for those he sees as less fortunate than himself. By 1935 he, and perhaps his wife, sister or daughter, is likely to be university educated, living in an urban environment in the south-east of England and working in the professions or higher education. He is a member of the Church of England with an interest in church architecture, his interest in archaeological excavation is more theoretical than practical as the Institute is now funding professionally-led excavations through research grants. For him the past is a jigsaw for which the grand design has been lost, only small parts are accessible but those small parts are spread across the globe.

If the social background of the participants is a determinant of debate within a voluntary organization then it is unlikely that the Archaeological Institute would be at the forefront of radical thought. For most of the first 100 years the membership was essentially conservative; where it perceived change to be necessary, as in conservation and monument protection, the approach was through established channels rather than innovation, by persuasion rather than coercion, by individual rather than collective action. The contribution to the archaeological and historical discourses should not on this account be underestimated. The Institute provided a much-needed forum for the exchange of ideas and information across a significant part of the spectrum of contemporary life. It may have been a narrow part but it was significantly close to power however that is defined. In the *Archaeological Journal* we have a mirror of those processes by which discourse emerges and non-discourse is defined – *Abest persona, manet res.*

PART II

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

Introduction

Within the type-site, so to speak, of the Archaeological Institute between 1843 and 1942 we have an opportunity to investigate the membership and its attendant spheres of influence, by sociological analysis of occupation, education, social background and belief system. There is potential to explore the social context of production or, to extend the analogy, the landscape in which archaeology was being shaped. We can also examine the *Archaeological Journal*, which has an immediacy lacking in books and oeuvres, for tropes, citations, terminology and format, in other words the matrix that envelops the objects of discussion. Together these constitute the finds, features and structures forming the statements whose patterns of dispersion define the objects of discourse peculiar to archaeology. There is potential to explore the modes of colonization of the intellectual landscape.

Think initially of using the archaeological paradigm to write history rather than the historical paradigm to write archaeology. For the sake of argument let us assume that the essence of archaeology is 3-dimensional. The purpose of archaeology is to derive information about human activity, at whatever level you choose, from artefacts (products of human activity). Chronology is an historical adjunct of the archaeological paradigm, a fourth dimension if you like, rather than integral to it. An archaeological text is a product like any other with the potential for elucidation as both artefact and context. This potential is enhanced in the case of texts such as the *Archaeological Journal* by the relative immediacy of publication; by the longevity of the text; by the diversity (or plurality) of opinion contained within it; and the information it contains about the producers (both writer and reader). Textual analysis or the detailed recording of data recovered from the text can be categorized as follows:

- Format – patterns of publication and distribution; contents; illustrations (style and technique); organisation.

- Citations – presentation; subject areas; publication type (book, journal, newspaper); foreign language; (e.g. French, Latin); approximate date of publication; authority.
- Terminology – nomenclature of time; nomenclature of things; specialist vocabulary.
- Tropes – metaphors for the past; metaphors for archaeology; metaphors regarding the past in the present.
- Objects of Discussion – standing buildings; below ground remains; art; original documents; artefacts; theory and method; assigned period; provenance; status; place of origin.

These categories emerged early in the process of the research and the subdivisions were almost self-selecting. Taken together with the earlier membership analysis (Part I) it becomes possible to build up a picture of the choices and desires which shaped archaeology at various points in time. These 'points in time' or the identification of episodes or phases are as significant as on any site because here just as in the ground there were periods of more or less intense activity. They may be genuine reflections of, for the sake of argument, Kuhn's paradigmatic shifts in the discipline at large, merely a temporary lull in the Archaeological Institute, or both, or indicative of change in the epistemological role of such societies generally.

In archaeology proper, where the calendar is retrospective, these episodes are identified on site as **phases** from which a general sequence of events is built up. Phases are an arbitrary interpretative tool whose efficacy is dependent upon the capacity of archaeological method to recognise similarity and dissimilarity, homogeneity and heterogeneity. They are recognised in several ways; positively by resemblances and contiguities of context, matrices and finds assemblages; negatively by observable differences and discontinuities in this spatially ordered data. A single phase is marked by a homogeneity of matrices, finds, features and structures; more often than not its function is to bestow an internal chronology upon a site. As one of the most widely sold recent expositions of archaeology puts it "The first, and in some ways the most important, step in much archaeological research involves ordering things into sequences" (Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 102) but they go on to say "What we want ultimately to reconstruct

and date are the past human activities and behavior (sic) that the deposits and materials represent" (Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 103). The use of phases in relative dating/ internal chronologies is not necessarily primary. It could be argued that to use them in this way is merely arrogating to archaeology what is, in fact, the domain of history and "its essential theme, the phenomena of temporal succession and sequence" (Foucault 1994, 166). Indeed Kuhn uses them in precisely this way. Phases more usefully allow the archaeologist to perceive the process of human activity; its contemporaneity and relationships within it. Comparison of phases of activity between sites and across time, in ethnoarchaeology for instance, requires us to recognise not identity but patterns of dispersion of data and the activities which cause them to occur. Duration is secondary to an understanding of human activity.

In the world of intellect Foucault attributes primary importance to the synchronic description of discursive formations derived from patterns of dispersion of 'statements, codes and rules' because this looks, like archaeology in the field, at process; time is important insofar as it marks a point of change from one phase of activity to another.

When [Archaeology] does have recourse to chronology, it is only, it seems, in order to fix, at the limits of the positivities, two pinpoints; the moment at which they are born and the moment at which they disappear, as if duration was only to fix this crude calendar, and was omitted throughout the analysis itself; as if time existed only in the vacant moment of rupture, in that white, paradoxically atemporal crack in which one sudden formulation replaces another (Foucault 1994, 166).

Of course on site we know that sudden change is usually spurious, most probably the action has merely gone elsewhere. Likewise in the Archaeology of Knowledge.

We must not imagine that rupture is a sort of great drift that carries with it all discursive formations at once; rupture is not an undifferentiated interval – even a momentary one – between two manifest phases; it is not a kind of lapsus without duration that separates two periods, and which deploys two heterogeneous stages on either side of the split; it is always a discontinuity specified by a number of distinct transformations, between two particular positivities. The analysis of archaeological breaks sets out, therefore, to establish between so many changes, analogies and differences, hierarchies, complementarities, coincidences and shifts; in short to describe the dispersion of discontinuities themselves (Foucault 1994, 175).

It is not easy however to understand precisely what Foucault means by a statement, code or rule. When you try to apply Foucault's analyses you find he

uses almost an inductive paradigm to uncover the theoretical frameworks of knowledge. When looking for statements, codes and rules as a preliminary to patterns of dispersion the only way to recognise them is to use quantitative data and non-normative categorisations. It almost goes without saying that statements, codes and rules are embedded in language and action. The argument here is that in the relative immediacy of quarterly publications such as the *Archaeological Journal* it is possible to identify them and their patterns of dispersion in a way which is not possible elsewhere. Subsequently perhaps it is possible to recognise the conditions of existence of archaeology but it is necessary to begin with a systematic analysis of the available data in the first instance in the *Journal* itself.

Format

The early to mid Victorian period is characterised historically by growth, expansion, innovation, by the breaking down of barriers both physical and mental. It thrived paradoxically on destruction. One of the potential casualties of this war for a new world was the past whether in the expansion and construction of an urbanised landscape, the laying of railways and sewers, the reconstruction of social relationships, of wealth and power, of deference and respect, epitomised in the construction of a new Houses of Parliament, or, in the more amorphous regions of belief, exemplified most clearly in religious debate, more pervasively in the way in which each individual ordered his or her private world. In the midst of such change what distinguished this period from all others in the Western world and its sphere of influence was a conscious retrieval of the past in the form of material remains. It was as part of this process that publications such as the *Archaeological Journal* emerged.

At its foundation the Archaeological Institute and its product *The Archaeological Journal* was typical of this mélange. Founded in 1843 the organisation itself, after a stormy beginning (Wetherall 1994), was characterised by a superficially calm and polite form of debate reflected in the mirror of its journal which belied the imperative of rescuing the past which prompted its creation. The format of the journal was orderly, the contents were chaotic. It was originally produced and circulated, like many contemporary publications, both educational and literary, as a quarterly. In good years it appears to have been distributed in March, June, September and December. Occasionally publication appears to have been more erratic, 1861 states March, June, September and October. The book, like its subject matter, was manageable, bite-sized, digestible; in its annual form it was good to handle, both visually and tactilely pleasing, a tome of some 300 quality pages although it deteriorated rapidly in the mid-1870s following the deaths of Albert Way and Joseph Burtt. It is distinguished from other publications dealing with similar subject matter such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* by its specificity. The past, principally the British past was its domain (see Geographical Provenance below). On paper at least this had hitherto been the domain of the Society of Antiquaries and I think we must take with a generous pinch of salt the statement of the Central Committee that

no kind of rivalry or interference with the recognised province and professed objects of that Society is contemplated (AJ1, 1844, 3)

unless the reader was aware that given the current state of the Society of Antiquaries it actually had no recognised province and professed no objects. Albert Way had made his first contribution to *Archaeologia* in 1841 and the following year was elected Director of the Society of Antiquaries. Appalled by the condition of historical monuments he

conceived the idea of extending the sphere of the Society's usefulness by engrafting upon it an organization founded upon that of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and of the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie [of which he was a corresponding member].....Having failed in this objective he (and a large number of personal friends) formed the British Archaeological Association (AJ31, 1874, 397).

After the split of 1844-5 the BAA retained the original name and the Institute retained the *Archaeological Journal*. One way or another these new societies posed a challenge to the Society of Antiquaries which was only resolved in the 1880s when the process was reversed (see Part I).

In the 1840s the Archaeological Institute differentiated itself from the moribund Society of Antiquaries by appealing to a much wider, livelier audience for whom accessibility to the past was attained through a regular structure which after some false starts became a familiar pattern. Each quarterly opened with two or three fairly lengthy articles or memoirs as they were then known which in the very early years were either unattributed or merely initialled. These were followed by a section entitled Original Documents consisting of wills, deeds, state papers and suchlike with appropriate commentaries. Next came the accounts or minutes of the monthly meetings, the Proceedings, which usually included a list of 'Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited'. The proceedings centred upon the objects brought for discussion or admiration by the members. They also had a news element; readers were kept in touch with the latest developments and discoveries or alerted to imminent damage, destruction or restoration. The reader was then brought up to date with the latest in Archaeological Publications, either in print or in the process of being written (and frequently requiring that Victorian form of sponsorship, subscribers). Should there be any news or information to communicate which did not fall into this category or had slipped through the net of the monthly meetings then the section entitled Archaeological Intelligence was there to fill the gap. For many years the list of subscribing members, with names

and addresses, was also published as well as an abstract of accounts. The membership lists were ordered originally by county and rank. This rapidly resolved itself into the now more orthodox alphabetical order. The atmosphere was such as one would imagine a gentleman's club to be. At no point are we told explicitly who is producing the journal, writing the reviews, making the editorial decisions. All decisions are, to all intents and purposes as far as the general reader is concerned, being made by the Central Committee the membership of which was elected on a rotation basis at the Annual Meeting. The report of the Annual Meeting was also published in the fourth quarter. These meetings provided an opportunity for reflection, socialising, theorising and debate as well as papers and display. Until 1866 when a Prehistoric Section was inaugurated briefly, papers were presented under the aegis of the Historical, Architectural and Early and Medieval (Antiquities) Sections although latterly the Historical Section was the only one to maintain an integrity distinct from archaeology. The temporary museum of which more or less full accounts were given was generally ordered on a chronological basis.

The museum disappears from the record in 1887. This is one of several seemingly minor changes which occurred in the ensuing five years. The Original Document Section fell by the wayside followed by Archaeological Intelligence; the memoirs became 'papers' and the items exhibited at the Monthly Meetings were relevant to the papers being read there. The eclectic element had largely disappeared.

For the first 40 years or so the *Journal* contained high quality illustrations in the form of lithographs, etchings and engravings. Contributors included Orlando Jewitt, J.H. LeKeux, Edward Blore and, mid century, J.B. Utting. In the 1840s the drawings, like those of the Isle of Man in an article by J.L. Petit (AJ3, 1846, 48-51)), had a Romantic aspect with tumbling clouds, windswept skies, craggy shores and desolate ruins visited only by the unseeing lonely traveller, oblivious peasant or gentleman deep in thought. Others were architectural in character even allowing for the occasional naked bather (St. Winifrede's Well, AJ3, 1846, 148). Later drawings used many of the then current conventions of architecture, eg. lighting from the right and line drawing, but there is a dead quality in the illustrations which are far from diagrammatic; the best are superbly representational, delightfully detailed and totally devoid of vitality.

By the 1880s the style of illustration as well as the medium was changing. Landscape views were exceedingly rare; in their place is the architectural ground plan. Human beings do not intrude in this measurable world. Drawings of individual objects were now diagrammatic; pottery illustrations of profiles and sections were more common although by no means commonplace. Photolithography, which had its first general application in art publishing in the late 1860s, began to supplant the exquisite precision of Jewitt's and Utting's engravings. But regardless of the fitful development of a recognisably archaeological style of recording or illustrative technique, of conventions, which was most notable in the contributions of Flinders Petrie (AJ43, 1886, 45-51; AJ40, 1883, 269-280) and Flaxman Spurrell (AJ40, 1883, 281-295), there was no longer any uniformity of quality in the illustrations, a characteristic of which the Institute had been justifiably proud between 1845 and 1870. After that time contributors supplied their own illustrations and occasions on which professional illustrators were employed by the Institute were rare indeed. By the turn of the century some illustrations were recognisably modern, e.g. ground plans for Roman villas (AJ66, 1909, 36-37). Others, like Worthington Smith's churches (AJ70, 1913, 71) or the ground plan of an excavation at Hayling Island (AJ63, 1906, 124) which is reminiscent of a painting by Kandinsky or Mondrian, had a style of their own.

The style and content of illustrations can be seen as indicators of attitudes to the past. As theoretical tools illustrations can also be indicators of the development of conventions in a discourse. The response of the Institute to alternative technologies notably photography is interesting on both counts. The technique was first mentioned in the 1850s when a Rev. F.A. Marshall suggested it could be a useful means of recording monuments (AJ12, 1855, 307). Almost fifty years later amateurs and professionals were being invited to send photographs of 'any antiquarian subject, whether parts or whole of ancient buildings' to the National Photographic Survey which was to be deposited in the Print Room at the British Museum (AJ60, 1903, 378). In the intervening period local societies such as the Huddersfield Archaeological and Topographical Association (AJ25, 1868, 95) and the Burton Natural history and Archaeological Society (AJ38, 1881, 120) showed far more alacrity and willingness to try the new process. Photography was seen as potentially beneficial in two ways. It

recorded perishing remains and, as one writer pointed out, photography and artificial light together meant that books which had previously taken a lifetime now only took eighteen months (AJ42, 1885, 124). Many members held the view that not only was the photograph the most reliable substitute for the object itself but it was also a means to scientific truth, the camera did not lie.

Of all substitutes for the object itself, photography is the most portable and the most faithful....Hereafter, when it is more permanent, it may supersede all other methods of figuring objects of archaeology (AJ29, 1879, 300).

In practice, however, the Institute was very slow to endorse the new process in its publication and it was 1908 before photographs of excavation work in progress were published (AJ65, 1908, 125-135). J.H. Parker was singular in his enthusiasm for the medium and he used it extensively in his record of archaeological work in Rome in the 1860s and 1870s although his photographs were not reproduced in the *Journal*. He was eager to share his enthusiasm with others:

We have not only taken plans, sections, drawings and photographs of all the antiquities that have been found but have also had photographs taken, not only of fresco paintings, but of the plans and drawings so that for a trifling expense the historical student in any part of Europe can obtain accurate information on all the long-disputed questions respecting the historical topography of Rome. Our historical photographs are distinguished from all others...by the use of a six-foot rule painted alternately black and white, placed against the wall to measure the size of the stones or the thickness of the bricks, which are the safest guides to the dates of the buildings....We are assured by our photographers that our photographs are highly appreciated by the well-educated Germans, who buy many more of them than either the English or the Americans (AJ29, 1872, 420).

Parker was quick to see that photographs were language-free, there were no national barriers to understanding, or there should not have been. Unfortunately Parker encountered considerable problems of understanding with the Catholic Church not least over his use of photography. In 1877 in a paper entitled 'Notes on the dates of the paintings in the Roman Catacombs' (AJ34, 1877, 439) Parker responded to an attack on his work in the Roman Catholic magazine *The Month* written by Spencer Northcote (author of a popular abridgement of De Rossi's *Roma Sotteranea* (1869)). In short Parker argued that these burial places were not the exclusive preserve of Christians, Jews and followers of Mithras among others, were also interred there, and there was a continuation of use by the same families from pagan to Christian times. The pre-fourth century history of the Church in Rome as relayed by the Roman Catholic authorities had no basis in

archaeological fact and the paintings which suggested such an early presence were, in fact, heavily restored in the eighth and ninth centuries when the temporal power of the popes was being established. It is scarcely surprising that he found the authorities in Rome less than sympathetic on numerous occasions. His pursuit of truth, as he saw it, resulted in some desperate stratagems. On one occasion he had the guard of a particular tomb enticed away to breakfast at the local *osteria* two miles away while he paid an unauthorised visit (AJ34, 1877, 434). In the footnotes to the paper Parker carefully explained the superiority of photographs over 'pretty pictures of modern artists' (a dig at Spencer Northcote). He had taken Charles Smeaton 'a very clever Canadian photographer' to Rome specifically to record the paintings in the catacombs using magnesium light.

All the Roman photographers had told Cardinal Antonelli that it was *impossible* to take photographs in the catacombs and gave apparently very strong reasons for saying so. No one has been allowed to take any more since these were taken (AJ34, 1877, 433 fn.).

He cited two examples where later sightings of the paintings were materially different from his photographs (*ibid.*, 438 fn2 and 439) the inference being that inscriptions which dated them had been removed. Finally in a defence of his work, The Archaeology of Rome, he said

I saw the importance of photography for historical objects, because no one could say that the artist had *doctored* [his emphasis] his drawing to suit the views of his employer, as is too often done (AJ34, 1877, 441).

Regardless of its acknowledged virtues however the new medium was not actively endorsed by the producers of the *Journal*.

There is little overt consistency in the versions of the past revealed through Format. Neither is there a straightforward development to a formalised discourse. Three phases of activity are vaguely discernible beneath a veneer of conservatism, namely, 1843-1870, 1870-1905 and 1905 to the arbitrary date of 1914. After a brief flirtation with ordering, for instance, Archaeological Intelligence by period (Primeval, Roman, Saxon, and Gothic Art) the structure is seen to be driven by an agenda only loosely concerned with time and related concepts. The domain of the past is simply that which is manifestly not the present. The material remains thereof were unstratified, disordered and chaotic in modern terms. The 'curio' element so much decried in the 'unscientific' antiquarians of the eighteenth century was strong and the organisation provided a forum for a broad spectrum of collectors between the 1840s and the 1870s. The

Journal, rather like the Monthly Meetings, appears on the surface and on the basis of format to be a spontaneous response to the preoccupation of individual contributors and readers. There was a desire for orderliness, even scientific respectability, and truth (see Parker and photography above) but the past remained unquantifiable, a treasure trove of material objects with a multitude of meanings to the subscribers. In the mid to late nineteenth century there was a subtle shift in orientation marked very discreetly by changes in the preferred format of the *Journal*. These changes were not radical, the audience was, after all, more than likely to be conservative, but they reflect a trend towards a more controlled debate which is, paradoxically, not reflected in its illustrations. It is also possible to read too much into any single set of events. After all a preferred format at any time could be attributable to any one or all of a number of causes; individual editors, financial constraints, technology, the available pool of talent could all direct choice quite apart from the readership. In the late nineteenth century for instance there were problems at times in finding honorary secretaries, local presidents and executive members. After the Institute lost the support of Albert Way (died 1874) and Talbot de Malahide (died 1883) it had to cast its bread upon the waters. The death of Way in 1874 was followed by that of Joseph Burt (1876). There was a change of secretary and the clerk ran off with some of the funds. In 1877 Ranking, the new secretary, resigned and there were vacancies on the executive. Albert Hartshorne took over the direction of the *Journal* until 1891, with a brief interval when St. John Hope was editor, against a background of financial difficulties and low recruitment (See Part I). Nevertheless all these factors could only come into play within a wider context. Any identifiable patterns of dispersion here need to be matched against those elsewhere.

Citations

Just as the overall format of a publication is determined to some extent by existing conventions so too, in the modern world certainly, is the format of citations or references. How to handle them most effectively is an ongoing problem for both writer and editor. Even today the form which citations take varies from publication to publication, from author to author. Indeed some authors make a point of giving none but by and large polemical books or those with pretensions to academic weight will use citations for a variety of reasons. For the purposes of this study references in the text of the *Archaeological Journal* are treated as possible indicators of (a) the bank of knowledge from which the writers are drawing; (b) a perceived means of valorisation by author and publisher; and (c) formalisation in the discourse. The data used is derived from an exploratory study of references given in the text of the *Archaeological Journal* at three specific points in time, 1845-6, 1865-70 and 1885-90, within the context of a more general understanding of citation practice between 1843 and 1913. References were recorded as written in the main text or in footnotes with the aim of detecting similarities/differences over time in (i) presentation, (ii) subject matter, (iii) type of publication, (iv) approximate date of publication, (v) author /authority, and (vi) foreign language input.

(i) In 1845-6 citations occur in both the main text and as footnotes but there is little consistency in **presentation**. While it is fairly common for author, title, volume and page number to be cited it is unusual to find it accompanied by publisher, place or date of publication, e.g. Pliny 33 xii, Lemaire, Paris, 1831. It is far more common for references simply to take the form of the author's name, e.g. Dr. Bosworth (meaning his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary) or Fosbroke (referring to his Encyclopaedia of Antiquities), or of author and book, eg. Strutt's Horda or Dugdale's Monasticon. In general references were used in much the same way as we would use literary references today. Shakespeare's *Tempest* or Eliot's *The Wasteland* would not require the same degree of specificity, for example, as an archaeological report. There was an assumed familiarity with and access to the bank of knowledge which implies a community of interest and education. It is also perhaps a measure of the immediacy of the text; modern parallels occur in newspapers, for instance, when Hugo Young in *The Guardian* refers to civil

servants as 'Sir Humphreys' we all know he is referring to a character in a television programme.

In the mid-nineteenth century there was no marked change. Contributors still referred, for instance, to 'Leake's Asia Minor' or 'Rowland's Mona Antiqua'. Works were also cited occasionally by title alone, e.g. Horae Ferales, but it was increasingly unusual to refer to authors alone. Each contributor appears to have been allowed a degree of latitude, even idiosyncrasy, in their mode of referencing. Only one, J.J.A. Worsaae, in all his contributions cited authors and works in a 'modern' fashion, e.g. "Engelhardt, 'Denmark in the Early Iron Age', Williams and Norgate, 1866", or "Baudot, Memoire sur les Sepultures des Barbares de L'Époque Merovingienne, 1860, Dijon".

Towards the end of the century citations were presented increasingly in a recognisably modern format. The habit of referring to authors rather than their works fell into disuse although the practice still occurred occasionally. In part this was an acknowledged recognition of the fact that the audience had changed. There was a greater awareness among contributors, particularly the professors, that it was no longer a circle of equals either in terms of the bank of knowledge or in access to it. The ever erudite Bunnell Lewis, professor of Latin at Queen's College, Cork, is an excellent case in point. Lewis' contributions over many years (1873-1907) are illustrative of several characteristics of citation in the later period which were lacking in the early years. He was concerned to give information which would allow the non-specialist or student access to knowledge as well as the wealthy antiquarian or polemical scholar. There was such a great diversity of form in references that we must assume that the contributors themselves were the arbiters of style. The change to more instructive citations was gradual. Writers such as Bunnell Lewis, WT Watkin and thereafter a new generation, led by example. The reasons behind the change of style were not necessarily identical. Whereas Bunnell Lewis was eager to increase the bank of knowledge of the reader, Watkin, and his successor in the field of epigraphy F.J. Haverfield, needed to provenance and record their raw data in a scientific manner both to build up the corpus of inscriptions and to validate their work in a hotly contested and increasingly specialist area. Footnotes became the more common and acceptable way of introducing the required information although Lewis was equally keen to give lengthy appendices which were, in effect, bibliographies. It

is also notable that it was contributors involved in European research areas who seemingly promoted and expanded the modern format which had hitherto been the province of foreign contributors such as Worsaae.

(ii) Sources referred to can be identified according to **subject area** listed in Table 3. In some areas, e.g. Geography (which includes maps) and Anthropology, the labelling is somewhat anachronistic, these terms did not fall readily from the lips of the users, but the material was regarded in a recognisably modern way. Furthermore some subject areas were blurred therefore some studies in Comparative Anatomy, for instance, have been listed under Medicine where the authors were medical practitioners and using that expertise but others have been listed under Natural Science (e.g. contributions from Richard Owens) or Archaeology (e.g. Thurman's contribution on crania) where the emphasis lies in these areas.

The diversity of source material is striking. There were approximately 19 subject areas being drawn upon in the early period and 27 in both the middle and later periods. As an indicator of the growth and availability of the bank of knowledge the sample is inadequate and it is possibly heavily influenced by sample bias attributable to the relative strengths of individual contributors. Nevertheless the range is interesting in two ways. On the one hand the core subjects remained largely unchanged over time. Archaeology, as one would expect, moved up the table but Antiquarian works, Art, Architecture, Classical authors, Ecclesiastical/religious works, History, and Topographical works all maintained their position in the top ten. Literature, numismatics, and philology slipped down the table in the 1860s but re-established themselves in the 1880s. In general the most frequently cited classical authors are Caesar (*De Bello Gallico*) and Tacitus (*Annales*, *Historiae*, *Agricola*) but Bunnell Lewis had a penchant for using Latin texts of immense variety to support his contentions about standing remains across Europe and he had a particular fondness for Juvenal's *Satires* and Martial's *Epigrams*. These account for substantial proportions of Classical author citations. Of more general significance, however, was the consolidation of epigraphy and numismatics.

Epigraphy, reached unrivalled heights in the latter part of the nineteenth century and can be considered one of the finest products of the inductive method. Accurate and effective citation was essential to that process. In numismatics

better cross-referencing was used in a different way, not to establish chronologies but rather to illustrate architectural and artistic styles. The contiguous subjects for epigraphy were history, law, political science (and natural science in terms of method and paradigm); for numismatics they were art and architecture. Philology too was a pivotal subject for cultural paradigms in archaeology as elsewhere in the nineteenth century. In the early to mid nineteenth century philology was not only being used as a specific point of reference in archaeological work, eg. Kemble on method, Birch and art history, Thurman and craniology (see Tropes below), but it also encompassed a particular intellectual approach that was radical and linked to political change occurring across Europe. It was intimately connected with concepts of nation, state, and citizenship. There was a resurgence in the 1880s and 1890s. Outside the Institute it is well known in the poetry of latter-day Romantics like W.B. Yeats. Within the Institute it was reflected not only in the popularity of the works of De Vit (Forcellini's *Lexicon* (1858-79), *Onomasticon* (unfinished 1891) and Professor (Sir) John Rhys (*Celtic Britain* 1882) but also in the integration into the discourse of etymologies and local records of dialects such as Basque and Catalan. Ultimately, of course, this was part of the people/race or ethnic paradigm that was emerging as an explanation of prehistory and culture change (see Tropes below). Whereas philology was radical in that it was used to promote national identities, topographical works and genealogies were far more ambiguous. On the one hand Edward Freeman, for example, radically incorporated a topographical approach into history:

One of the greatest attractions of this work [The History of the Norman Conquest] is the frequency and vividness of its topographical visualizations (AJ30, 1873, 216).

It could even be argued that he incorporated a sense of the physical presence of the country into the foundation myth of England (Part I:Historians and Handmaidens). On the other hand topographies and genealogies were essentially conservative maintaining the (mythical?) virtues of the *status quo*. It is interesting to note that admittedly superficial research thus far suggests that topographical works which were so popular in England well into the nineteenth century were not common in continental Europe. In France, for example, the archaeological/antiquarian information contained amidst a profusion of other knowledge in the English county histories was more usually available through state agencies and local society publications. Topography, genealogy and works

of an ecclesiastical or religious nature, that perennial favourite of the Archaeological Institute, were all on a downward trend in the later period. Even those topographical works which were being cited were no longer treated necessarily as authorities but rather in order to correct them. (AJ44, 1887, 380)

This move away from the apparently non-discursive does not necessarily imply a compensatory move towards the positivist sciences. Contrary to the oft-professed wishes of contributors to the *Archaeological Journal* that archaeology be treated as a science subject, areas such as geology, mineralogy, medicine and the natural sciences retained their low profile. But this is not to say that the array of subject areas was totally idiosyncratic or dependent upon individual contributors although, no doubt, they had their part to play. There was a pattern. It is possible to argue, although more work needs to be done, that relationships existed between the subject areas which, in the first place, positioned archaeology within the modern episteme and, secondly, were indicative of a synchronic mutation in a formative or fluid period in the mid nineteenth century. Fig. 6 shows how archaeology was drawing upon the subjects encircling it, all of which were also informing their neighbours. As archaeology established its own epistemological space, as boundaries hardened in the episteme generally, there was a tendency to align itself with the sciences on the right of the diagram and to inform the remaining subjects to which it had previously been closer.

(iii) Five types of publication were cited; journals (specialist, such as *Archaeologia*, and general such as *The Gentleman's Magazine*); documents (original and collated); newspapers; books; and personal communication (letters and verbal exchanges). If we look at the number of specialist journals in proportion to those of a general character we find that in 1845-6 the ratio was 4:1; in the 1860s the ratio was 11:1; and in the late 1880s it was a ratio of 6:1. The ratio for the 1880s is a little surprising and contrary to expectations when we know that specialist publications such as the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the *English Historical Review*, and *Revue Celtique*, were proliferating at this time. It is explained in part by a number of debates being conducted in journals *other* than strictly archaeological ones. We find debates being carried on, not just in the form of articles, but also through the letter pages of *The Builder*, *The Quarterly Review*, and *The Academy* (a favourite under the editorship of E. Walford, 1879-1894). Issues were also discussed on occasion in the more geographically defined

journals such as the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society* and the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*. In 1887 a debate on prehistoric archaeology and the movements of peoples was being conducted in the publications of the Anthropological Institute, the Geological Society, the BAAS and the Belgian Royal Academy of Science. Within citations of specialist journals there were a growing number of contributions from the local societies both in this country and abroad. By the 1880s approximately 30% of the specialist journals fell into the former category and most of the foreign journals were French or German with some from Italy (most notably Rome where archaeological work was so hectic following unification), Switzerland, Spain and Portugal.

Documents were an important source material prior to the 1870s. By the late 1880s the regular publication of original documents (medieval and post-medieval) in the quarterly issues of the *Archaeological Journal* had ceased. Documents were still cited but much of the hard work of conserving and collating which had been an original impulse behind the work of the Institute had been, or was being, carried out by a re-organised Public Record Office and Historical Manuscripts Commission as well as local organizations like the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society. It is scarcely surprising therefore that the proportions of collated to original documents being cited falls from 2:1 in 1845/6 to 6:1 in the late 1880s.

We know that newspaper coverage of the opening congress of the Archaeological Institute was extensive (Taylor 1932 and Part I, Ladies and Gentle Women)) but newspaper articles were not cited at all in the early period and constitute a very small percentage of total references in the middle period (4 in all between 1865–70). In the later period, between 1885 and 1890, however, newspapers were cited 37 times. They still did not constitute a major forum for debate but the relative increase does reflect a change in public perception of the antiquarian. In the 1840s he (and she) had been a figure of fun. By the 1880s the record is a little more serious and a lot less personal. Occasionally local papers were recording meetings of archaeologists and antiquaries; the local society in Yorkshire regularly published the account of its annual meeting in local newspapers, but most citations either related to debates which were conducted in the letter pages of (mainly) national newspapers, usually *The Times*, or referred to articles in local newspapers reporting chance finds or, an increasingly fashionable

item, regular columns relating the local history of the area. These last appear to have been particularly valuable to WT. Watkin in his pursuit of updating the corpus of Roman inscriptions and for his books on Roman Cheshire (1886) and Roman Lancashire (1883).

The incidence of personal communication also changed over time. There are 17 instances in 1845/6, 101 instances between 1865-70 and 346 between 1885-90 but these figures in themselves do not tell us very much. In the early period the personal communications reflect a feeling of familiarity mentioned earlier in the discussion on presentation; there is a profound sense of a small group of *friends* talking to each other possibly to the exclusion of others. The increased incidence in the latter part of the century suggests that the community has changed. At one level perhaps the community is merely larger or debate is less leisured. At another level perhaps the change is a mark of formalisation in the discipline, of more adversarial or agonistic debate, of greater rivalry. To clarify any significant change it is necessary to identify any recurring patterns in the actual use of personal communication. There are two points to note. In the first place personal communication in the form of letters and/or verbal exchanges was more commonplace in some subject areas than others, notably epigraphy, philology and medieval architecture. Secondly communication within a subject area was on one of two levels, either the interchange of ideas between equals or the exchange of information between unequals. Epigraphic research in the 1870s-80s provides an interesting illustration of the process. The pattern here is reminiscent but not an exact replica of the 'field of competency' which Rudwick (1985, 419 ff) posits as operating in geology forty years earlier. The model is represented in Fig. 7. The concentric circles represent zones of competency which were not static. They were made up of individuals of different levels of status/competency which were as Rudwick puts it, "attributed to the individual at the time by himself and by others" (*ibid.*). Thus in epigraphy we find 'fieldworkers' or amateurs in the provinces, such as Hooppell, Blair, Raine, Venables and Scarth corresponding with individuals such as Watkin, Collingwood Bruce and Roach Smith regarding inscriptions they have found. Watkin, Bruce and Roach Smith operated at a middle level of competency. Although they may have had pretensions to a higher level they were 'accomplished' in this field and their primary interests tended to be

geographically localised, Watkin in the North West, Bruce in the North and Roach Smith in the South of England. This 'accomplished' group, or the 'minor actors' as Rudwick alternatively describes them, passed on information which was beyond their competency or contentious to what could be described loosely as the 'élite' group of Hübner, Mommsen, Kaibel (Berlin), Stephens (Copenhagen), and, possibly, Robert Mowat (France). This same group, which was soon joined by Frances Haverfield, communicated amongst themselves and acted as a last resort in cases of dubious interpretation. A fair example of such networking can be found in the text for 1885 when a controversial inscription from Brough was sent in the first instance to Watkin then to Stephens in Copenhagen, then Mommsen, Hübner and Kaibel in Berlin. Unable to arrive at a consensus the debate continued in *The Academy* involving, among others, Professors Sayce and Ridgway. "A tolerably fair reading" was finally established by Arthur Evans (AJ42, 1885, 141-158). There was, however, one major difference between the epigraphers and the geologists of an earlier generation; almost all the elite epigraphers were professors not gentlemen amateurs. They were part of an emerging academic community. This is of course a gross oversimplification of any individual case but similar patterns were emerging in other areas. In medieval architecture St John Hope, and possibly Micklethwaite, formed the authoritative élite. The former could be described as a professional archaeologist whereas Micklethwaite, a member of an older generation, was a working architect. The providers of information and queries were the jobbing architects, masons, clerks of works. These, in turn, were supplied with information by builders, labourers and gangers, as well as the ubiquitous local vicars. In all the examples considered the exchange of information was initiated at the outer circle but ordered and if necessary terminated by the inner circle. In other words the élite was not actively seeking empirical evidence whereby to test hypotheses merely to build up a body of inductively derived data. Although it cannot by any means be inferred from citation analysis alone it would seem to suggest that archaeology, even in its most organised form, remained opportunistic at this time – awaiting perhaps the major syntheses.

(iv) Books represent the greatest number of citations and it is arguable that books are a useful indicator of any sudden or gradual expansion in the bank of knowledge. With a view to identifying any trends in these directions a note

was made of the **publication dates** of the various works cited. In the earlier period 1830 was used as a dividing line and in the two later periods 1840 was chosen. In 1845-6 the ratio of cited books published before and after 1830 was 3:1; between 1865-70 the ratio of cited books published before and after 1840 was 1:1; by the late 1880s the bias had swung entirely the other way and the ratio was at least 1:3. These figures would indicate a trend of expansion in the mid-Victorian period but they are crude and it would be useful if more detailed work could be done to identify rapid and slow periods of growth. Other, more subjective, analysis suggests that archaeology, along with many other fields of knowledge, was part of the massive expansion in publication which accompanied technological change and the spread of education (see Part I, Ladies and Gentle Women; Spreading the Word) between 1882 and 1913.

(v) It is debatable whether this points to a growing author-based **canon of literature**. It is certainly not easy to recognise such a thing in the pages of the *Archaeological Journal*. Antiquarian authors such as Camden and Leland maintained their popularity throughout. Dugdale (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1655-1661), Wilde (*Catalogue of Irish Antiquities*, 1857), Franks and Kemble (*Horae Ferales*, 1863), Wilson (*Prehistoric Annals*, 1851) and Douglas (*Nenia Britannica*, 1793) stand out from the crowd in the mid nineteenth century. In the later period there are no clear favourites although De Vit, Viollet le Duc, Hübner and Mommsen are worth mentioning. In the twenty or so years prior to 1913 those whom one would expect to find in retrospect, archaeologists such as Petrie, Pitt Rivers, Arthur Evans, and Frances Haverfield are noticeable by their absence. These men were all members of the Institute and used it to varying degrees early in their careers but, for one reason or another, ceased to do so once they were established. Did they cease to regard the Archaeological Institute as part of the developing 'community' of archaeology? It was effectively run by amateurs. Or did the archaeological community as represented by the Institute not recognise them as useful authorities?

(vi) References to sources in foreign languages are regarded as a measure of the international circulation of ideas and practices as well as the general level of education expected of authors and readers. Furthermore in a discussion of Kuhn's ideas on the development of science, Sterud (1973, 14) states that

increasing awareness on the part of scholars from one country and 'school' of thought, of the work of other schools is seemingly another sign of imminent change.

If this can be applied retrospectively then the data derived from the *Archaeological Journal* is curious. The work of the Institute was heavily influenced by de Caumont, a French antiquary with a background in geology. He had set up a local society in Normandy (of which Way was a corresponding member) in 1824. He arranged regular conferences to which other nationalities were invited. He was a firm believer in the importance of regional and local societies as conservators and protectors of their own monuments and remains on the grounds that they knew them best (AJ31, 1874, 360). The Abbé Cochet, another French antiquary, was cited as a model of the value of active foreign members in the Institute (AJ32, 1875, 462). He had collaborated with C. Roach Smith, Wylie, Akerman and Richard Neville to establish the Anglo-Saxon period in England, with Lindenschmidt regarding the 'Riparian and Allemannii' period in Germany and had himself excavated and defined the Merovingian period in France. According to Roach Smith, in Cochet's obituary,

Our joint labours and mutual comparisons resulted in a perfect elucidation of the early general Teutonic archaeology (AJ32, 1875, 462).

In addition to these networks the Institute borrowed, almost wholesale, the 'Queries and Directions intended to assist correspondents in the arrangement of topographical communications' (AJ2, 1845, 66) from the French. It also listed, in those early days, German and French publications in the original language. They were as numerous as those in English. This particular practice had fallen into abeyance by 1850 but it was never uncommon to find foreign language books and journals being cited. In 1845-6 in order of frequency they were French (59), Latin (17), German (13), others (11, mainly Welsh and Italian). Between 1865-70 the order of frequency was French (79), Latin (49), German (28), and others (27, chiefly Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Italian and Spanish). Between 1885 and 1890 the order of frequency was French (347), German (305), Italian (51), Latin (24) and others (5, Danish and Spanish). Latin figured more as an indicator of educational background. In the first fifty years of the Institute Latin text was often reproduced or quoted at length without translation presumably on the understanding that readers would be literate in this language. Although Latin scores highly here these figures do not include classical authors where it is

unclear whether they were being read in the original; the bulk of the texts recorded here were in fact medieval documents. If the Sterud/Kuhn hypothesis is correct then this information would suggest that, although there was a background level of international liaison and associated flux, the later period was one of more imminent or greater change. Inevitably with such a small sample the data are susceptible to the influence of individual contributors one of whom was certainly Bunnell Lewis who, as has been mentioned earlier, was extremely fond of annotating his work in great detail. Nevertheless he does not invalidate the data, rather his overt concern for precisely this sort of scholarly co-operation reinforces it. He actively sought to encourage English scholars to increase their acquaintance with scholars at all levels across Europe many of whom he met in his extensive travels between 1873 and 1907. He considered a working knowledge of other languages to be essential, "we ought to learn from foreigners facts unknown to our own countrymen" (AJ47, 1890, 193). In 1876, after a visit to Brittany, he said:

The interchange of commodities between England and France is a source of benefits to both, but the interchange of ideas in the pursuit of knowledge is a reciprocity of a nobler kind.....(AJ33, 1876, 274)

With regard to German scholarship he felt

the German savants may not have that fascinating charm of manner which makes our nearest neighbours so agreeable; but they equal their rivals in cordiality; they surpass them in profound and varied erudition (AJ47, 1890, 392).

Some authors, notably Bunnell Lewis and Pitt Rivers, were more conscious of the international dimension than others.

It is also worth noting that the French and German scholars were mapping out different areas of expertise. The French were effectively the authorities on numismatics (e.g. Cohen, Rollin & Feuardent) but the coins were not used primarily as dating tools but as a source of information on art and architecture. French interest appears to have focussed upon the intellectual and aesthetic dimensions of civilisation. The German schools on the other hand were establishing themselves, or had indeed established themselves, as experts on Roman epigraphy (e.g. Mommsen, Hübner) and associated histories of the Western Empire. Berlin had become a centre for international publishing and it is clear that there was a well-established school of translators of and commentators on classical texts. English scholarship was queried on more than one occasion

and suffered by comparison. Thus, in 1889, Bunnell Lewis thought that Germany had led the way in archaeology as in many other subjects; a course on ancient art and architecture had been established in Bonn University in 1826 and “Any prospectus of Berlin University issued in the last decade,” he said, “will show what advances have been made” (AJ46, 1889, 425). He felt, however, that all was not lost and English scholarship was entering a new phase. In 1885, when the British School in Athens was about to be set up, Joseph Hirst made similar comparisons with France and Germany. The French school of classical and ancient art had been set up in Athens forty years earlier. It was government funded and had six three-year bursaries for students. The German establishment had been there for eleven years, was also government financed and had five bursaries. In addition to this the German government had financed the excavations at Olympia to the tune of £50,000. The American school had been there for three years under the tutelage of the American Institute of Archaeology. It was organised and supported by fifteen leading colleges and they elected their director. All the schools produced papers, either bi-monthly, quarterly or annually.

There can be no manner of doubt that so many German and French students could not have obtained the world-wide reputation they now enjoy, had they not been trained in the actual labour of deciphering day by day the inscriptions found, and of piecing together and reconstructing the broken statues and architectural fragments disinterred in the course of the excavations undertaken by their respective governments at Olympia, at Delos.....(AJ42, 1885, 404).

Although it was felt a little inappropriate that Hübner should have produced the *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae* (Berlin 1873) in general the epigraphers appear to have formed a friendly community across national boundaries at the élite level. Disputes occurred but they tended to be between local antiquaries or between the locals and the élite (AJ40, 1883, 133; AJ46, 1889, 414-425). Haverfield’s reputation in the field of Roman studies, and membership of the elite, was effectively established by his collaborative work on the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (Berlin 1872-1912), a supplement to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

Overall whereas the French scholars were concerned with the spirit, German scholarship seems to have been engaged in plotting out the bones of empire. There was a general feeling in the early phase of the 1840s and later in the 1880s and 1890s that English scholarship had much to learn from Germany

and France in its organization if not in content. The relationship with France was always the closer of the two but not unalloyed with criticism (AJ36, 1879, 10).

Talbot, on a visit to Algiers wrote:

Since the conquest of Algiers, the French, although they have in many instances rivalled their predecessors the Vandals, in the destruction of ancient monuments, have produced some very learned and zealous inquirers. They have formed several provincial Antiquarian Societies who have done good work in preserving many ancient relics, and have published valuable journals (AJ39, 1882, 227).

The German scholars meanwhile had a reputation for research and patience (AJ31, 1874, 418) which resolved itself into a lack of charm coupled with profound erudition, as Bunnell Lewis put it, and a ponderous and opaque style (AJ48, 1891, 266; AJ55, 1898, 131). By the 1890s they had an international reputation for detail and method. Sometimes however it was felt they got the details wrong. In 1887 Scarth attacked Mommsen's treatment of Britain as a Roman province, in particular his treatment of Scotland and Wales. Scarth ended with a rousing defence of the British Empire:

We can at this present day, however, compare Britain as a Roman province with Britain as an empire. We can see the work of development that 1700 years has brought about. If Roman colonies, then planted in Britain, became the first step towards England's greatness, we see how successive changes have ripened it into a great empire, founding colonies in every portion of the habitable world, and daily extending a power and influence far beyond any exercised by Imperial Rome.

We see above all the *difference of principle* [his emphasis] by means of which power and influence have been extended, and can look forward to a still greater extension of those principles of liberty and justice, on which any permanent empire must be based (AJ44, 1887, 363-4)

There was always a competitive edge to the Anglo-German relationship. Perhaps Tolstoy's assessment of the European situation, written in the 1860s, is the most apt:

A Frenchman will be completely self-assured because he considers himself personally irresistibly charming to men and women; an Englishman because he knows himself to be a citizen of the best-conducted state in the world and therefore, by being an Englishman, whatever he does must be undoubtedly right. An Italian is self-assured because he gets excited and easily forgets himself and others; and a Russian because he knows nothing and wants to know nothing, and disbelieves in the possibility of anything being known. But a German is self-assured more firmly, more unpleasantly, more obstinately than anybody, because he knows 'the truth' – science, which he invented himself and which to him is 'the absolute truth' (Tolstoy, 1943, 243).

Despite its tentative and exploratory nature several distinct patterns emerge from the citation analysis. Firstly it reveals both the diversity and the conservatism of the bank of knowledge. Secondly there is a lack of overt authorisation/valorisation processes in the early days that is masked by the closeness of the community of readers and writers and appears to emerge in the later period as part of a process of hierarchization. There was a persistent dichotomy between accessibility and exclusivity. What appears to change is the primacy of social or intellectual competency or status. Again this is reminiscent of Rudwick who remarked upon the likeness between the social and cognitive topographies of geology in the 1830s-40s (Rudwick, 1985, 425). Hübner's corpus of Latin inscriptions is relevant here in the context of archaeology as it had a far greater impact upon the practice of British archaeology prior to 1914 than the more spectacular works of Schliemann or Pitt Rivers. If the citation analysis is examined in Kuhnian terms it is possible to identify a pre-paradigm and first paradigm stage. In the latter, post 1870, the Archaeological Institute appears to have been on the periphery of the emerging 'community'. As an organization the Institute appears to have promoted those areas of the potential totality of archaeology which lost out, so to speak, in the pre-paradigm struggle for supremacy. This would suggest that the Institute and its journal were on the borderline of the discursive and non-discursive since we know from other areas of analysis that both were being used by archaeologists from within the community (Munro, Boyd Dawkins, Petrie, St. John Hope, C.R. Peers) to publicise issues of concern. And if this were to be the case how far does citation analysis take us in understanding the conditions of emergence and existence of archaeology? There are hints of the lacunae which archaeology was expanding to fill, spaces left by other emerging disciplines – the place of man in geology and biology, the place of a past in political science, the place of god in the universe. But citation analysis alone cannot explain the strange configuration which archaeology was to become and which is so peculiar to the modern episteme.

Terminology

The use of language is a matter of constrained choice. Terminology is a set of terms used with specific meaning in any art or science. As such it is a useful indicator of the rigidity or laxity of thought in any given science or art at a particular time. There may also be specific areas within that science or art where the terminology is ambiguous or ambivalent. It is these areas which tend to be the most productive of insights into the formalization of discourse, the transition from non-discursive to discursive, to a specialised and exclusive or disciplined use of terms. Once identified these problematic areas can also indicate the laying down of boundaries, the staking of claims, within an emerging epistemological space.

Within the context of the *Archaeological Journal* between 1843 and 1913 ambiguity centres primarily upon chronology. There were, for instance, approximately 20 synonyms for prehistory alone in use in the mid nineteenth century. A secondary area of ambiguity is the archaeological vocabulary both in the sense of terms specific to archaeological method and technique and to the material products which it was seeking to investigate. All of these issues were rarely discussed openly and when discussion did take place it did not generally mark a clean break in usage. Although it is useful in some ways to note these discussions, remarking upon who, where and when they were taking place after the fashion of traditional histories, a simple record of usage dispersed through the text mirrors quite effectively characteristics such as innovation and longevity which bear upon the rate of change in the discourse; periods of activity (or turmoil) and inactivity; and revealed preferences.

Sequencing the Past or the Ordering of Time

Although antiquarians were not unduly concerned about chronology in the early years of the Institute it rapidly became clear in the course of this research that a degree of consensus on nomenclature for past periods of human activity was a pre-requisite of meaningful debate in the emerging disciplines of both history and archaeology. In the seventy years under consideration terms used to locate a subject/object in time fall into one of the following eight categories.

- 1) *Peoples*. Time was defined either absolutely or relatively by culture, civilisation, people, nationality or race, e.g. *Roman, Celtic, Anglo-Saxon*,

British. A modern example can be found in a chronological table in the Oxford Companion to Archaeology (Fagan 1996) where the sequence for Eastern Europe is given in these terms, i.e. *Scythians, Samatians, Goths*. In general this category reached the height of its popularity c. 1860-1890 when it also attained a peak of diversity and ultimately, one suspects, incomprehensibility. The major weakness in such an ordering of the past, in this theoretically laden metaphysical vertical section, was the difficulty of positively identifying these various peoples as well as adequately locating them within the sequence. Where there was an indisputable archaeological horizon, e.g. *Romano-British*, or an historical record, e.g. *Norman*, then the terminology has survived. Where proof was less easily demonstrated, in prehistoric or Early Medieval periods for instance, then sequencing based upon philology, linguistics, craniology and art history – and only very loosely on archaeology – generated an amazingly complex terminology and orthography. As a way of ordering time however it had many advantages for the users. These are discussed more fully below (see Tropes).

- 2) *Materials/technology*. These are time periods defined by artefact assemblage and dominant technologies with which we are still familiar, e.g. *the stone age*. This is the terminology whose development tends to be reflected in traditional histories of archaeology through the work of individuals such as Worsaae, Lubbock and Evans. It is a story that is so familiar it requires little comment. Its usage was confined almost entirely to the period now known as prehistory. The period of greatest diversity was around the 1860s when there was clearly a rapid take-up of the 'new' language but a tentativeness in use is marked by the quantity of current synonyms, the use of apostrophes and capital letters (or not). Sequencing of the past on the basis of materials/technology was demonstrable within the parameters of current scientific paradigms, of inductive method and typological analysis derived in the main from art history.
- 3) *Chronos*. This is a relative concept of time which usually uses the present as a point of reference. It is essentially teleological, e.g. *the Middle Ages*. The period of greatest diversity was during the 1870s-80s. The area of maximum application was prehistory. The contest for this terminology at that time hinged upon distinctions between 'historic' and 'non-historic' periods and

coincided with a contemporary divergence between an aggressive new school of history (Freeman, Stubbs, *et al.*) and archaeology. At no time was this category used for what we now call Early Medieval.

- 4) *Calendar*. Calendar dating, e.g. *AD 411* or *1485*, was obviously never a bone of contention like the three preceding categories. Nevertheless it had its own small passage towards conventionality. Usage increases in frequency from the 1880s onwards when modern conventions such as *AD* rather than *A.D.* also occur but are by no means universally adopted. It is worth noting perhaps in the context of a seemingly neutral dating sequence that calendars other than the Christian one were used on occasion, e.g. *AH* (Islamic) (AJ30, 1873, 99) and *A.U.C.* (Roman) (AJ40, 1883, 82).
- 5) *Credo*. This category defines periods of time on the basis of religious belief rather than a specific event in a belief system, e.g. *heathen*. For the most part these had a Christian bias, were infrequent and fell into disuse by the end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps this change can best be understood in the context of the wider contemporary debate over the primacy of science or religion in ways of seeing the world (see Part I). Sometimes the Druids were treated as Category 1, at other times as Category 5. By 1886 they were dismissed as that 'handy safety-valve of early archaeological speculations' (AJ43, 1886, 191).
- 6) *Geological* terminology such as *Drift period* or *Quaternary* was confined in usage to prehistory and did not occur prior to the 1870s. It was assimilated with far greater ease than that of Category 2 (Materials/technology).
- 7) *Locus*. The terminology derived from geology was rapidly superseded by that based on type-sites in the 1900s, e.g. *Solutr  en*, *La T  ne*. The underlying paradigm of the naming of sequences may well have been that of geology but the terminology was peculiar to archaeology. In many ways it was a refinement of the earlier *Cave period* and *Reindeer Age* but Locus based sequencing was an integral part of the expanding archaeological vocabulary to a far greater extent than the more familiar material-based nomenclature for the simple reason that it depended for its validity upon specifically archaeological method. Although the cave men are still with us (the Flintstones?) it is debatable whether the Locus terminology has ever acquired the non-discursive currency of Category 2 (Materials/technology).

8) *Idiosyncratic*. Occasionally authors indulged in dating terminology like *Old Northern* (early Scandinavian invaders of Ireland?) (AJ27, 1870, 303) which was meaningful only in the context of their own contribution. The most persistent idiosyncrasy however was *the dark ages* or *Dark Ages*, a concept belonging more properly perhaps to the historians of an earlier generation which had a resurgence in the 1880s and 1890s when S.R.Maitland's The Dark Ages was reissued (AJ46, 1889, 469). This terminology can only be understood in the context of patterns of dispersion manifest elsewhere in the archaeological discourse which suggest that its usage was more a reflection of the ordering of time than sequencing the past.

Looked at from the perspective of present-day time categories additional patterns of dispersion are revealed as well as the problematic areas hinted at above.

Medieval (Table 4)

This was not a problematic area. The terminology in use was essentially the same as the present-day. Teleological (Chronos) and calendar dates had the greatest currency. The dating sequence was principally historical with some terms borrowed from architecture (*Early English* in the 1860s) or art history (*Period of Gothic Art* in the 1840s; *cinque-cento* in the 1860s).

Early Medieval (Table 5)

Dating was heavily weighted towards Category 1 (Peoples) particularly between 1850-1890. As mentioned above this coincides with the development of a strong, nationalist history with a Teutonic bias and it is a reflection in many ways of the influence within the Institute of one of the 'new' history's more formidable proponents, E.A. Freeman. The use of this terminology, a revealed preference, was invariably associated with a vision of the past as a place of bloody strife, warfare, tribal loyalties and blood ties, of change contingent upon invasion, of the triumph of the strong over the weak, of national and racial stereotypes. In effect it constituted a foundation myth for the bourgeois state. In the late 1880s an alternative history began to emerge which was personified in the *Archaeological Journal* by some unlikely advocates who included Earl Percy, the Rev. Joseph Hirst, a Roman Catholic priest, and Thomas Hodgkin.

Romano-British (Table 6)

Thomas Hodgkin and Joseph Hirst made their most significant contributions in the field of Romano-British and Classical studies. They followed upon the period of greatest activity and diversity in this area which took place in the 1870s. The term *Romano-British* which figured in the work of Richard Neville in the 1840s and 1850s was always the preferred option but subsequent to the publication of Hübner's *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum* (1873) there was a period of competition for authority which reveals itself in a multiplicity of terms. Perhaps the presence of terms where precedence is given to the 'English' element, i.e. *Britanno-Roman*, *Anglo-Roman*, *Brito-Roman*, also indicates the influence of the nationalist agenda mentioned above. The Idiosyncratic (Category 8) *real "villa" period* occurred in the context of relatively intensive excavation of villa and town sites in the south of England in the early 1900s. This was a response by A. Moray Williams, a gifted amateur, to a perceived need for an internal chronology for the Romano-British period. This need was met subsequently by refinements in pottery studies rather than identification of house types, the major contribution coming from Curle at Newstead (AJ68, 1911, 256-258).

Prehistoric (Table 7)

While Romano-British studies arrived at a consensus on dating terminology through relatively dignified debate (see above Citations), and, towards the end of the nineteenth century, through empirically determined excavation and deductive interpretation, and whilst the process in the Early Medieval period could be described as a nationalist dog-fight, the Prehistoric period was a veritable battlefield left strewn with defunct terminology. This cannot be explained entirely by the immense period of time under consideration. The sheer diversity also reflects conscious (this is the only area of openly debated terminology) and unconscious preferences. It is also the only time period where the terminology was not resolved by 1913; new terms continued to arise.

1893-1913 witnessed for the first time the introduction of idiosyncratic terms such as *Beaker* and *Early*, *Middle* and *Late Minoan*. The latter was the now familiar brainchild of Arthur Evans, introduced with much *élan* at the International Congress of Archaeology in Athens in 1905 [AJ62, 1905, 85-6]. At approximately the same time the French practice of using type-sites was gaining ground although the earlier geologically determined terminology was in parallel

use. Both Category 6 (Geology) and Category 4 (Calendar) chronologies began to supersede Category 5 (Credo) in the 1870s and Category 5 had been effectively displaced by the turn of the century. A similar change is recognisable in Category 3 (Chronos). The terminology of the 1840s and 1850s (*Primeval, Early, Remote*) was resolved into the familiar *prehistoric* and *primeval* by 1913 but not without undergoing a period of flux. The term *prehistoric* was brought into current use, if not coined, by Daniel Wilson c. 1851. It is fair to say that the popularity of *prehistoric* both inside and outside the Institute was assured by the publication of Lubbock's Pre-historic Times (1865). This issue is covered most effectively by Christopher Chippendale (Chippendale 1988). The neologism was not greeted with universal joy however within the Archaeological Institute hence its somewhat confused orthography and many synonyms over at least four decades. Perhaps one further point is worth mentioning; in the 1880s the forum of the Archaeological Institute saw either the invention or revived use of terms such as *ante-historical, unhistoric, non-historic* and *proto-historic*, at a time when history was in the ascendancy. This reinforces the suggestion made elsewhere (see Tropes below and Part III) that it was at this point that history and archaeology diverged and archaeology began to occupy a space of its own.

The most complex vocabularies were those using Categories 1 (Peoples) and 2 (Materials/Technology). The latter is perhaps the one with which we are most familiar in the context of the history of archaeology. The Three-Age System was effectively introduced into England by J.J.A. Worsaae. His first book Denmark's Olden Times was favourably reviewed in the *Journal* in 1845 (AJ2, 1845, 291-92). The general thrust of the review, however, was to impress upon the reader the importance of a national collection. His later work Primeval Antiquities of England and Denmark was published in English in 1849 and also reviewed in the *Archaeological Journal* (AJ7, 1850, 101). The terminology was not taken up rapidly or without question in the Institute hence the quotation marks, e.g. "*Stone Age*" and "*so-called stone period*". As mentioned above (Part I Historians and Handmaidens) the efficacy of such a chronology was seriously questioned at its inception and it was largely ignored for the first decade or so by most members of the Institute. The concern about overlapping technologies rumbled on for much of the nineteenth century in a mutated form. Nevertheless it is apparent from Table 7 that Lubbock's address to the Institute in 1866 (AJ23,

1866, 190-208) went some way to resolving the problem and the innovatory *Palaeolithic* and *Neolithic* with their geological and typological subscripts were generally accepted into the language within ten years. The term *Mesolithic* also occurred in the late 1870s but interestingly does not reappear until the next major period of flux in the 1890s when it appears in the text as "*Mesolithic*" and was synonymous with equally apostrophised "*Eo-lithic*". In the 1890s "*Eo-Lithic*" and "*Mesolithic*" can be seen simply in the context of the so-called 'hiatus problem', i.e. the transition from a Palaeolithic stage of civilisation (to use contemporary phraseology) to a Neolithic one but perhaps it has a wider significance. There was a shift in emphasis in debates at this time which was not confined to prehistory but was integral to the archaeological paradigm. To move beyond the specifics of the 'hiatus problem' (which was resolved to Robert Munro's satisfaction in a comprehensive article in 1908 (AJ65, 1908, 205)) the problem lay, to put it bluntly, in the beginning and ends of things. How were these to be determined? Not just between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic, or between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age (hence *aeneolithic*), or the end of Roman Britain and the beginning of Anglo-Saxon England; but where, at what point in time did archaeology end and, to use a term anachronistically, palaeoanthropology begin? (AJ55, 1898, 113) At one level there was a recurrent concern with identifying transition and possibly continuity (Pitt Rivers AJ54, 1897, 318 and Haverfield, Evans AJ54, 1897, 340). At a deeper level a theoretical shift was manifesting itself, a shift away from a paradigm which saw the past as a sequence of violent and abrupt change to one of transitions, continuity and evolutionary change. By 1913 the Britons of Roman Britain had been rehabilitated, the Ancient Britons were no longer savages, Neolithic men and women were just trying to make an honest living and Palaeolithic **man** was one of the finest artists ever to have lived (see below Tropes), and *ipso facto* highly intelligent. Strangely the Early Medieval period did not share greatly in this metamorphosis.

At the same time another debate was being conducted, sometimes by the same people, using the terminology of race and nation. Of course none of the categories were mutually exclusive although some contributors preferred one terminological set over another (see Tropes below). Prior to the 1860s the blanket term *British* for example defined an uncertain past of a more literary sort. Only

ante-Roman referred somewhat obliquely to an archaeological horizon. *Druidical*, by which was meant the time immediately anterior to the Roman invasion, had effectively ceased to be current by the mid-1860s although it lingered as a sort of archaeological bogeyman. Once more the period of greatest diversity was approximately 1870-90 but in part this is attributable to a convoluted orthography (e.g. *Gaedhelic*, *Goidel*, *Gael*). *Celtic* was always a source of confusion only marginally clarified by A.W. Franks aesthetically based classification of Iron Age artefacts as 'Late Keltic' in *Horae Ferales* (1863). Prior to the 1890s *Celtic* was applied fairly indiscriminately to any period before 1066. In the 1890s Arthur Evans used the term *Late Celtic* in a specifically archaeological sense to interpret the Pre-Roman Iron Age cemetery at Aylesford, to great if not unmixed acclaim (hence the *so-called Late Celtic* and '*Late Celtic* in Table 1: 1901-1913). In 1902 M'Kenny Hughes suggested that *Aylesfordian* would more apt (AJ59, 1902, 223-4). This in no way affected the popular understanding associated with the Celtic revival and nationalist sentiment which was so fashionable at that time and reached new heights of popularity. (It was not new. During his time in Ireland thirty years previously Pitt Rivers had found it rather tiresome. With regard to the Irish raths he wrote:

They afford almost virgin soil to the pre-historic archaeologist who will patiently and dispassionately search them in the interests of science. But I fear that they offer a somewhat uninviting field of exploration to some of those, unfortunately too numerous antiquaries of the sister country who are bent upon seeing in every hole and corner, which at any period of antiquity might have harboured a dog, vestiges of the departed and still fading splendour of the Emerald Isle (AJ24, 1867, 139.)

The appreciation of artistic achievement, which was part of the rehabilitation of the Ancient Britons, merely heightened the romance of those who followed "after the red-rose bordered hem" (Yeats 1965, 56-7). At the Annual Meeting in 1884, which was held in Newcastle and at which so many papers were read which, curiously, asserted a Northern identity, Arthur Evans engaged in a discussion on sculptured stones from Jarrow. "The great characteristic", Evans remarked, "which separated the remains found in the north and west of Britain was, that in the north there was a really living system of ornamentation, and that ornamentation was Celtic." He further asserted that this tradition existed before the Romans came and after they left and it was neither Saxon nor Teutonic (AJ41, 1884, 430). *Celtic* carried, and possibly still carries, a wealth of

references, weak in archaeological evidence and strong in ideology. In this respect it resembles all other Category 1 synonyms. The term remains an ill-defined amorphous concept that comes and goes with monotonous regularity.

At one level the race paradigm was a way of ordering the chronology of more recent prehistory, that of former inhabitants whose existence could not be disputed – their graves after all were all around. From the 1870s onwards not only were the dead ascribed to ethnic groups of a mystic past (e.g. *Aryans*, *Celts*, *Cymri*) but so too were the living (e.g. *Iberian*) on the basis of supposed physical similarities, linguistic analyses and, ominously, mental characteristics (AJ55, 1898, 113). The version of the past to which this gave rise, of waves of migrants sweeping across Europe usually but not invariably from east to west; (the earliest inhabitants, it was suggested at one point, arrived in the west and migrated eastwards taking their Neolithic culture with them and displacing and eventually eradicating the indigenous itinerant Palaeolithic tribes and ultimately settling in Egypt and Mesopotamia (AJ51, 1894, 236-7)) would be so ludicrous as to defy rational discussion if it did not resonate so loudly with aspects of our present day culture.

An Archaeological Vocabulary

Antiquarian was by far the most common synonym for *archaeologist*. In fact the former was probably used more often and with less hesitation throughout the period from 1843 to 1913. They were truly synonymous with a barely perceptible bias towards *archaeologist* as a scientific practitioner, i.e. the adjective *scientific* occurs occasionally with *archaeologist*, but rarely, if ever, with *antiquarian*. The term *field archaeologist* was used by F.J.C. Spurrell in 1883 (AJ40, 1883, 293) (*contra* Evans, 1956, 375) and *scientific anthropologist* was used with specific reference to Pitt Rivers although he used the term *pre-historic archaeologist* in 1867 (AJ24, 1867, 139). Otherwise the pattern revealed here is distinguished from that of other areas of analysis by a steady diachronic refinement of vocabulary from the 1860s onwards when the key words *find*, *site* and *deposit* first appeared in the text. The introduction of new words also deviates from problems elsewhere insofar as introduction and subsequent uptake is heavily author dependent, i.e. the vocabulary was substantially altered by individuals or their close associates who either subsequently or at the time won renown for their

work in archaeology. This is not to say that the emerging authorities were always successful in imposing their terminology.

Key Words

- (1) *Site*. The use of the word *site* in the text in the 1860s marked the introduction of a generic noun with a specialist use in archaeology. This term was used with increasing frequency throughout the nineteenth century culminating in a general acceptance and specifically archaeological meaning by the 1900s when the first recognisably modern and self-styled *site-plans* were published and the phrase *site of historic interest* appeared. Paradoxically at the same time as sites were being used to mark prehistoric epochs the term *type station* was being used to denote a type-site. This may have been a result of translation or because of the evolutionary context of that particular debate.
- (2) *Find*. This word occurs initially in the text in the 1860s but it did not find universal or prompt acceptance. The earlier terms, *vestiges*, *remains*, *relics*, and *monuments* were equally popular until the 1890s. The word *find* when used was frequently in quotes, as neologisms often were, until meaning and use were established. In the 1870s distinctions were made between *heavy relics* (non portable) and *smaller relics* (portable). In the 1900s this was refined into *smaller finds* or *minor finds* although each had a limited currency. At the same time the term *accidental find* occurs in the text. This is the nearest equivalent to the present-day *chance find* other than the singular example of *come-by-chance surface flint* as used by Spurrell in 1891 (AJ48, 1891, 318). *Surface flint finds* were also referred to by Pitt Rivers (AJ54, 1897, 317).
- (3) *Excavation/s*. This term was in general use from the 1860s onwards but earlier terms such as *exploration* and *investigation* were equally popular. *Exploration* was frequently associated with the adjective *scientific*. Synonyms included *diggings* and associated words such as *digger* although they never gained great currency in the Archaeological Institute. *Excavator* was used in the late 1880s and in the 1890s we find increasing use of phrases using *the pick and shovel* as being peculiar to archaeology. At the turn of the century the phrase *archaeology of the spade* was used; on the one hand, we assume, to distinguish field work from less physical antiquarian pursuits but also as a

means of hypothesis testing (Birley 1961, 63). The terms *field-work* and *field-meeting* first appear in the 1870s although they were never common. *Structure* is used in the archaeological sense at the same time although *feature* does not appear until the 1900s. *Trial trenches* and *trial pits* appeared in the 1880s and by the 1900s there were sufficient excavations to warrant a *season* for digging. Some terminology had a restricted usage on sites from particular periods, e.g. *blocks* and *insulae* were terms used only on Romano-British sites.

(4) *Stratification*. Terms relating to stratification occurred with increasing frequency and growing sophistication from the 1860s onwards. Thus in the 1860s and 1870s there were *deposits*, *strata* and *layers*. In the 1880s the additional terms *level*, *stratification* and *stratified deposits* appeared. In the 1890s we find *matrix*, *horizon* (which becomes *archaeological horizon* a decade later) and the French term *gisement* - a term used only by Pitt Rivers in the Archaeological Institute. By the 1900s some terms had fallen by the wayside, notably Pitt Rivers' *gisement* and *relic table* but generally usage of terminology relating to stratification increased greatly. Newly found terms included *stratigraphy*, *beds* and *relative sequence of deposits*. *OD* was becoming more current and ultimately the *traverse section* emerged. The twin concepts of *made ground* and *natural soil* were current in the 1870s although the distinction between the two was not always made. The vocabulary here changed decade by decade, i.e. *virgin soil* then *natural*, *undisturbed soil* in the 1900s rather than being concurrent as happened with other terms. The term *buried soil* was also in use the 1880s.

(5) *Dating*. The main innovator in this area was Flinders Petrie, the most notable contribution being *absolute* and *relative dates* in 1878. He also introduced *pottery sequence* to the Institute. In the 1880s *terminus a quo* appeared.

The Naming of Parts

Almost all reported discussion on terminology in the *Archaeological Journal* centred upon nomenclature of objects rather than time periods. In the first two decades all sites had been given an ascribed status such as *station*, *camp*, *barrow*, or *hut circle*, which was not further defined. The need for a clearer terminology was raised by at least two contributors in the 1860s. In 1866 Edwin Guest was

calling for clarification on an agreed nomenclature for the various British tribes of the Roman period (AJ 23, 1866, 166) and a year later G.T. Clark in a paper on Medieval military architecture in England had intended to include earlier earthworks but it

seemed more prudent to lay this branch of the subject aside for the present, in the hope that it may be taken up when the completion of the larger scale Ordnance Survey Maps afford more accurate and copious data than now can be conveniently procured. The subject, in fact, should have entered into the instructions given to the officers of the Survey, by which means we should at least have avoided *the obscure and sometimes contradictory nomenclature* [my emphasis] by which these works have been designated at different periods of this great, and in most respects admirable, national undertaking (AJ 24, 1867, 99).

Traditionally these overt discussions are seen as steps in a 'natural' process of terminological clarification the end result of which is present day terminology. This is useful up to a point but there are two potential weaknesses; traditional history can mask possible alternative strategies and, at a purely functional level, does not allow for independent translation or analysis because the language is obscured. On this basis I have recorded the linguistic variations found in the *Archaeological Journal* using present-day periodization.

A)Prehistoric. Not surprisingly this time zone manifested the greatest confusion. There were problems in classifying sites in terms of settlement type, dwelling type and burial/ritual type. There was a similar problem with artefacts and to a lesser extent with pottery. Until the 1880s prehistoric settlement sites could be described as *camps, hut settlements, oppida, hut-circles, hut-clusters, hut-towns, camps-of-refuge, hill fortresses, hill castles, crannogs, Lake villages, "British villages", British towns, and hill-camps*. It was a source of irritation as well as confusion; in a review of Robert Munro's much acclaimed The Lake Dwellings of Europe the anonymous reviewer says:

within the last few months we have heard English archaeologists wrangling over the pronunciation of the word 'crannog' and many of the technical terms 'terramara', for instance, necessarily used by our author, must be unknown to all but the few who are acquainted with the continental literature on the subject..." (AJ48, 1891, 92).

By the 1900s this had narrowed down to *oppida, hill-forts, hill-top type of fort, hut circles or camps, and ancient British villages*. Dwellings, in the 1870s, were referred to as *hut-dwellings, chamber huts, huts, "pit-dwellings"* or simply *wigwams*. By the 1900s *huts* and *hut circles* (this was used both in the sense of a

circular collection of huts and as the ground plan morphology of a single hut) were the preferred terms. *Wigwam*, as used by Sir Walter Scott in Rob Roy in 1827 (Scott 1995, 427), disappeared from general usage by the turn of the century although Haverfield seemed to find it a useful epithet for early Romano-British habitations as late as 1918 (AJ75, 1918, 29).

The nomenclature of burial and ritual sites was also a cause for concern. In 1871 Way discussed the use of the term *cromlech* and its many European variations (AJ28, 1871, 98). Prior to 1880 any number of terms were available – *grave hills*, *barrows*, *kistvaens*, *dolmens*, *cromlechs*, *stone circles*, *ganggraben*, *passage graves*, *tumuli*, *sepulchral mounds*, *cists*, *menhirs*, *standing stones* and *maen hirs*. The nomenclature was again discussed in a review of Greenwell and Rolleston's The British Barrows (AJ36, 1879, 186). All of these terms however continued in use and are still familiar today. Perhaps because, in this instance at least, the student still has recourse to early work. The survival of local terms, e.g. *kistvaen* in company with descriptive epithets, e.g. *passage grave* is an interesting aspect.

Prior to the 1860s most flint and stone implements were referred to as *weapons*, *axes* or *celts*. In 1865 Greenwell complained of inaccurate usage:

I must protest against giving grand names to very common things. We continually see in records of the opening of barrows, accounts of the finding of daggers and spear and javelin-heads of flint. In most cases such objects are nothing more than mere flint flakes, and persons not practically acquainted with the usual contents of a barrow, will form a most erroneous notion of the frequency of the occurrence of such weapons when they read these accounts (AJ22, 1865, 244).

By 1879 considerable doubt was expressed as to 'whether stone axe hammers were made for the purpose of war alone' (AJ36, 1879, 298). In a paper on jade read in 1888 James Hilton ran through some of the names at the disposal of archaeologist:

flake, implement, scraper, tool, arrow head, weapon, hatchet, axe, and celt, besides other specific forms. They occur as rough looking chips up to a smooth and shapely weapon (AJ45, 1888, 191).

Celt was pervasive and continued in use throughout the nineteenth century although mid century the so-called weapons were transformed into more neutral implements or tools. This nomenclature in turn attracted some criticism possibly because it implied function and was not purely descriptive. Flaxman Spurrell was a major contributor to clarification within the Institute, not least through his excavations and experimental archaeology which he seems to have quietly

pursued with little or no encouragement. His contributions commenced in 1880 ("On Implements and Chips from the Floor of a Palaeolithic Workshop", AJ37, 1880, 293ff; and "An Account of Neolithic Flint Mine" *ibid.*, 332). Ten years later he took up the old chestnut about how to distinguish natural from manufactured flints:

["Scrapers"] usually...the name....covers and includes all sorts of indefinite forms; when, however, it is applied to the Plateau Rude flints it assumes a definiteness and an importance among the scanty names, very suggestive of uncertainty in definition. No two persons, following this method of deducing evidence for their being human handiwork, have, however, succeeded in forming such a list in agreement with one another, either in nomenclature or in enumerating the mere variety of forms. In the latter more than twenty varieties have been given by one person, and by another as few as six. An instance of the difficulty is seen where two hollows have left between them a projecting cape (to continue my [geographical] simile), - in one case it is named a double scraper, in another the same object is called a pointed implement.....

As there is no precise and indisputable mark of human work on them, and, as in the case of the shapes and forms, there are none indisputably and exclusively of human origin - it is not until the numerical method is used that it can be shewn that some of these are the result of human influence. If numbers are put together resemblances are seen between them which are not apparent in single cases. Types thus formed are fallacious.

If, then, these rude plateau tools, - for it is not claimed that they are weapons, are to be considered in the light of "handy" and "likely" stones used for a purpose, which in using have become shaped into more or less definite forms, I can partly agree with the collectors of the implements exhibited now. But that they are all implements fashioned for a purpose before using there is not yet evidence sufficient to determine, or even support it....." (AJ48, 1891, 318-9)

Robert Munro and Spurrell had an exciting exchange of ideas regarding the naming of saws and sickles (AJ49, 1892, 53-62 and 164-175) in which the resourceful Spurrell resorted once more to experimental archaeology to prove his point that the patina on so-called 'saws' could only be achieved by long and continued wear, not by hard usage, and that the 'sickle' "worked best when a handful of corn is grasped in the left hand.....It also cuts well low down near the ground.....". Names which implied function were to be used with caution. Latterly a more neutral terminology was adopted, e.g. *palaeotalith* and *palaeolith*.

B) Romano-British. The contentious Romano-British sites were largely military. Indeed prior to the 1880s virtually all Roman sites were referred to as *stations* and no clear distinction was made between military and civilian except in the case of *villas* where the evidence was so overwhelming as to defy any other

possible description. In the 1870s they were also known as *castellae* and *Roman fortresses*. In 1880 G.T. Clark attempted to rationalise the nomenclature for what he called *fortified camps*. He suggested four classes; *smaller camps* (*castra aetiva*), *forts* (*castra*), *towers* (*castella*), and *turrets* (*turres*) (AJ37, 1880, 378-385). This was not a success and never really caught on.

Even the major Roman frontier works such as the Roman Wall and the Antonine Wall were not exempt from change although *Limes* maintained a constant if low level of popularity amongst the more classically minded scholars. Having been the subject of the '*murus*' controversy mid century the frontier works in this country were carefully referred to as the *Barrier of the Lower Isthmus* and the *Barrier of the Upper Isthmus* when arguments broke out afresh at the turn of the century (AJ57, 1900, 85 after G. Neilson and the Glasgow Archaeological Society). Once again it is the more contentious, value-laden terms which have survived in popular usage.

House types also presented something of a problem for the late nineteenth century Romano-British researcher. *Villa* had always been acceptable but by the early 1900s it was inadequate to the task; it did not adequately describe the growing number of house plans which were emerging as a result of the excavation of towns like Silchester and of villa sites across Southern England. '*Courtyard*' and '*corridor type*' houses were identified in the 1890s and Haverfield happily uses the term *vicus* for civilian settlements but the debate continued into the early 1900s.

A recurrent argument also surfaced at intervals over the correct nomenclature for pottery. An unnamed reviewer, for instance, commented:

Our author [Pitt Rivers] raises many curious questions in the description of these relics, of which one is the date of the introduction of so-called Samian ware....there is now a movement in favour of calling this ware pseudo-Arretine, and we are glad to find General Pitt-Rivers, after consultation with Mr. Franks, advocates adhering to the term Samian; we would commend to the school of antiquaries who are bitten by the craze for a correct nomenclature, what the General says.....(AJ49, 1892, 317)

The reviewer argued reasonably enough that if a name were changed every time a flaw was discovered in the denomination they would end up with a Tower of Babel. Nevertheless several attempts were made to re-name *Samian* more positively but most people gave up on this with good or bad grace depending on temperament. Haverfield attempted to impose his authority but to no effect

(AJ47, 1890, 232; AJ50, 1893, 280). The identification of locally produced wares helped diffuse the argument and the development of Romano-British pottery studies in the early 1900s, while it retained the convention of naming the ware after a point of origin (e.g. New Forest ware), promoted interest in more specific indicators. T. M’Kenny Hughes queried the more general conventions of *British*, *Roman*, *Saxon* and *Medieval* in a curate’s egg of a paper on ‘The Early Potters’ Art in Britain’ (AJ59, 1902, 218-237). Potsherds, he argued,

are in archaeology what characteristic and representative species are in geology. They tell us the succession and geographical distribution of the people who made and used the ware. There is nothing else that gives us such trustworthy and generally available *data* by which to trace the story of migration and conquest (*ibid.*, 220).

But the current nomenclature was neither ethnological nor chronological. British wares, for instance, which included all those used before the Roman invasion, was far too general. The use of subdivisions such as *early* and *late Celtic* was no better. He cited the work of Arthur Evans at Aylesford:

It would be a good thing if [he] would rename the type of ware he describes....., seeing that “Celtic” is not sufficiently well defined to be of use for racial or chronological distinctions, and should be reserved as a linguistic term. If “early Celtic” has to become an equivalent for British, we know that it must include many tribes which no one would call Celtic. He might call it Aylesfordian or some other name that would indicate the type to which he refers (AJ59, 1902, 223-4).

Chronologically pottery terms indicated succession but allowance had to be made for continuity and dissemination from a point of innovation.

A victory, an invasion, or a reign which marks the commencement of a new condition of society may be capable of precise chronological definition, though its influence was at first felt over a very limited area, and though the old order of things prevailed on the outskirts for many a long year after the change had been established at the centre. So it is with regard to pottery.....(*ibid.*, 222).

To understand these processes of continuity, change and assimilation

it is a comparison of the fragments of common ware which people used and broke every day, that is needed to help us to read the history of migrations and invasions, rather than a record of rare and exceptional types or a collection of only perfect and well-preserved specimens. There is often a repetition of similar types in one district which suggests the possibility of our being able with more care to arrive at a rough grouping, based upon form and ornament, which may have some relation to the distribution and mixture of nationalities (AJ59, 1902, 224).

M’Kenny Hughes proposed no new names, however, but tacitly acknowledged the conventionality of terminology:

We must therefore be allowed to use these words, British, Roman, Saxon, Medieval, which are quite convenient for our present purpose, in a somewhat arbitrary and elastic manner, as indicating a type of ware connected, it is true, originally with certain races and ages, but in the vicissitudes of history extending beyond the bounds of nationalities and chronological limits (AJ59, 1902, 223).

He also flagged up the tensions inherent in the use of a terminology which was not positivist and which, as a convention, must either change its meaning in an archaeological context and/or become defunct.

C) Early Medieval and Medieval. Earthworks were the main bone of contention in this period and G.T. Clark made a serious attempt at classification in the 1870s and 1880s although his earlier pleas to the Ordnance Survey seem to have gone largely unheeded. In 'A Contribution towards a complete list of moated mounds or burhs' written in 1889 Clark said:

It is still very much the custom to describe these Burhs as British, and sometimes as Roman works, though a little attention to those named in the Saxon Chronicle, or known to be of Saxon origin, would enable the observer to appreciate the distinction.....Much confusion is produced from the absence of a settled system of nomenclature, even in the full-scale ordnance survey.... (AJ46, 1889, 198-9).

Despite Clark's industrious and in some ways groundbreaking attempts (he was a great believer in practical observation in the field) to resolve these problems his *Saxon burhs* were transformed into the less contentious *moated mounds* in 1912 when the Government-sponsored earthworks survey finally paid some heed to Clark's request of over fifty years before.

Tropes

.....And this is the Office of the supreme Figure of all: Metaphor. If Genius, and therefore Learning, consist in connecting remote Notions and finding Similitude in things dissimilar, then Metaphor, the most acute and farfetched among tropes, is the only one capable of producing Wonder, which gives birth to Pleasure, as do changes of scene in the theater. And if the Pleasure produced by Figures derives from learning new things without effort and many things in small volume, then Metaphor, setting our mind to flying betwixt one Genus and another, allows us to discern in a single Word more than one Object.....I construct Aristotelian Machines, that allow anyone to see with Words (Eco 1996, 90-91).

Tropes are figures of speech, more particularly those in which a word or expression is used in other than its literal sense. For the purposes of this analysis we are talking about metaphor, metonym, synecdoche, simile and to some extent paradigm. The identification and analysis of the use of tropes in general and certain tropes in particular, i.e. those which occur repeatedly, are more commonly associated with literary criticism but writing is writing, a text is a text. It could be argued that scientific writing does not indulge in such literary artifice, it uses language in a formal, conventional and unambiguous way; in other words at the level of discourse language is formalised. This may or may not be true. If it is correct then it is likely that the use of language is part of the formalization of a discipline and that will be considered later. For the time being we are looking at a period in archaeology for much of which there was little or no recognisable grammar or syntax specific to the subject and a voluminous but vague vocabulary as the sections on Format, Citations and Terminology have already demonstrated.

A trope is a more or less deliberate creator of mood; it is emotive in precisely the way that scientific/documentary writing is supposed to avoid. Thus we can ask several questions of the text concerning tropes. In the first place are tropes used? Are they common? Does their use increase or decrease over time? Are they of a particular nature (e.g. optimistic/pessimistic, positive/normative)? Does that nature change? Secondly what are they telling us about the views of both author and reader with regard to key concepts such as time past, present and future, and the past in the present, ie. its physical and metaphysical preservation? Which tropes repeat themselves almost at a sub-conscious level across authors, across text? What is acceptable, what is obvious (to contemporary writers and readers of the text) and what is not considered part of the epistemological space

being defined? What is pushed towards the borders to be excluded? What is on the borders and ripe for the expansion of empire?

In answer to the first question tropes were certainly used in the *Archaeological Journal* for much of the period under consideration. The most prolific sources are the Presidential Addresses which often hovered on the borders of the discursive and non-discursive. The presidential address reached its apogee in 1894 when Sir Henry Howorth gave a virtuoso performance in a universal survey of archaeology in which his use of tropes was as wide-ranging as his subject matter (AJ51, 1894, 221-250). But as I have said this was the apogee – there was a marked decline in the use of tropes generally after that time. Some tropes were mere euphemisms such as ‘certain laughable objects’ for amulets of an unspecified sexual nature (AJ26, 1869, 26), ‘unfortunate propensities’ for adulterous behaviour (AJ24, 1867, 374) or were used either by a single author, e.g. ‘gleaning’ and ‘fruitful harvest’ (AJ7, 1850, 321, 409) or only very sporadically. These are particular and not considered significant here. Those which are spread throughout the text fall into one of three groups. There are tropes used as metaphors for the past; those used as metaphors for archaeology; and a more amorphous, less easily defined group which refers generally to contemporary attitudes to material remains.

Metaphors for the past

The past was viewed variously as **foreign country** to be explored, as a **book** to be read, as a **treasure store**, usually to be plundered, displayed and possessed, and as an **organism** of which we as human beings were part.

The past is a foreign country is a familiar enough phrase today but it is not particularly novel:

as foreign travel extended their [men’s] sympathies laterally, archaeology extended them vertically (AJ24, 1867, 358).

By 1900 this had transformed itself into a kind of time travel. At the annual meeting Sir Thomas Drew invited his audience on a mental journey through the streets of Dublin (AJ57, 1900, 290). Metonyms and phrases such ‘wilderness’, ‘landmarks’, ‘highways’, ‘explore/exploration’, ‘carry people back’, ‘go back into the past’ occur repeatedly. Schliemann was referred to as the ‘great explorer’ in 1877. Towards the end of the century tropes of this sort acquired a more

progressive connotation, e.g. 'tramping along the avenues of time'. The geographical concept conveyed by these tropes was echoed and amplified in the concurrent mapping of the past, in a migration/invasion model of culture change, in the use of ethnographic parallels and in the vicarious traveller.

Mapping the past began with topographical works including the County Histories which

if neither popular nor intellectual....form at least a well recognized and highly respectable branch of our literature (AJ26, 1869, 411).

Such was the feeling of most Institute members in the early years. The longstanding popularity of these seemingly eclectic works which were actually as disordered as a landscape by Repton or Brown is borne out by the citations (see Table 3). The record masks however a more critical approach by readers in the 1870s and 1880s when the old authors were cited as much for correction as for a source of knowledge. At this time the local societies and their publications were multiplying most rapidly; it was felt that it was no longer possible for topographies of the old sort to be compiled by one individual such was the growth of knowledge and the demands upon an individual's time (AJ43, 1886, 199). Ultimately they were replaced by the Victoria County Histories.

The concurrent map work of the Ordnance Survey did not merely provide archaeology with skilled cartographers such as Henry Maclauchlan or a pool of professional recorders, it also linked the past and the present in a visual, pictographic conventionalized way. As the mapping of the British Isles proceeded in the mid nineteenth century a record of ancient monuments and sites was increasingly included, largely at the instigation of organizations like the Institute (AJ12, 1855, 212). Admittedly this was never done to the entire satisfaction of the members (see Flinders Petrie's suggestions in 1878 (AJ35, 173-4)) and it was many years before the Ordnance Survey record was comparable with the privately sponsored work of Maclauchlan (AJ8, 1851, 227, 373) or the period specific maps produced on the basis of the Ordnance Survey by, for example, Richard Neville (AJ11, 1854, 208). Other individuals such as John Phillips also brought an overtly geographical perspective to their understanding of the past:

Among the most powerful aids to a sober and correct idea of the early state of the British people, we must count a large and considerate view of the great physical features of the country in which they lived (AJ10, 1853, 179).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century although the government-produced maps were rarely used as specific points of reference they were borrowed by some contributors to the *Journal* such as Flaxman Spurrell (Early Sites and Embankments on the Margins of the Thames Estuary, AJ42, 1885, 269-302) as a basis for reconstruction of the past. As site drawings became more abstract than figurative the past, often in the form of a ground plan as at Harold Brakspear's Roman villa at Box (AJ61, 1904, 6), was superimposed on the present more often than not. The landscape of both the past and present could be read simultaneously by those who knew the code.

The view of the past as unmapped territory appears to have been linked to four other aspects of the conceptual infrastructure of the mid nineteenth century; namely, the most consistently expressed explanation of culture change, i.e. the sudden and usually aggressive movement of peoples; ethnographic parallels; the simultaneous identity of race, nation, and language; and the hierarchization of civilizations.

Migration and invasion, the movement of people be they Germanic tribes (on the basis of Biblical proofs) or Celtic hordes (on the basis of philological proofs) (AJ2, 1845, 291 and 368-9) was by far the most popular explanation of culture change. To some extent this was a rewriting of either the Noah myth or the itinerant Phoenician myth which for much of this early period provided a vague unquestioned backdrop to the human story. There was a choice of myth. You could opt for the peopling of Europe by the various sons and grandsons (and their respective wives) of Noah after the Flood. You could favour the adventurous Phoenicians landing in the West Country. Or you could combine the two with the latter bringing the rudiments of civilization to the hitherto benighted sons of Albion. The stories were united not just by the fact that they were text-based but at another level there was a complete lack of any sense of the possibility of indigenous development. Change and more specifically progress was triggered from outside. The views of contributors to the *Archaeological Journal* were superficially more sophisticated but only appeared so because they confined themselves to detail, e.g. the Belgae (AJ7, 1850, 310; AJ8, 1851, 142) or to the tentative rationalisation of changes in burial practices and associated finds by men like Greenwell (AJ22, 1865, 257). Worsaae alone demurred in a quiet way (AJ23, 1866, 21-43) ultimately prompted to query this assumption

explicitly not just by the turn his own work was taking but also by the actual invasion of his own country in 1864 when Flensburg was occupied and the director of the museum there, Conrad Engelhardt, was ordered 'to deliver up the museum so that the collection.....might be sent to Berlin as Old German antiquities' (AJ21, 1864, 93). (A minor point of history for the record: Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was present at the meeting where this was raised.) Certain German scholars engaged in a fierce and apparently unscrupulous attack upon their Danish colleagues (AJ23, 1866, 105-6 fn.) suggesting that they (the Danes) were withholding and tampering with the evidence regarding the early occupations in Schleswig. Among other things early Runic inscriptions were used by the Prussians to support their territorial claims on South Jutland. This was rebutted in mostly scholarly terms by Worsaae. The more immediate past, c.AD 450-AD 700, or Worsaae's First Division of the Late Iron Age, was another bone of contention. Who 'owned' the Jutland peninsula at this time? In 1858 Jacob Grimm had argued in the Frankfurt parliament that Germany had a lawful claim thereto on the basis that the definite article was placed before the noun in some of the Jutland dialects rather than after as was more usual in Denmark as a whole. Worsaae responded with more solid evidence of community drawn from material remains (AJ23, 1866, 96-120, 181). At the London meeting in 1866 Worsaae described the situation as he saw it:

German archaeologists, misled by political bias and national prejudice altogether foreign to true scientific research, have attempted to find in the antiquities of South Jutland vestiges of an ancient German population, to whose supposed existence there in pre-historic times they appeal in calling Sleswick a German country, and in claiming a right to possess it as such. In order to give a colour of foundation to these unscientific attempts to press archaeology into the service of political and national agitation, these authors are obliged to arrange the few – in many cases misconceived – facts at their disposal according to their preconceived theory, not vice versa, and the inevitable consequence is an endless confusion. (AJ23, 1866, 22).

In some senses the ordering of time had collided with the ordering of space.

Space and time were also colliding on the world stage as the British Empire, among others, consolidated a hold upon foreign cultures and civilizations with different technological bases. It is a truth commonly taught in traditional histories of archaeology that the opening up of the 'New World' to Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also opened up a new understanding of earlier inhabitants of the home countries of the explorers. It is

equally true that the expansion of empire in the nineteenth century increased the reservoir of that master trope, the ethnographic parallel, from which the antiquarian could draw. Examples came from all corners of the globe (see Objects of Discussion), from the West Indies to Java, from the Arctic to Australia. The way in which these parallels were used however was not uniform throughout the nineteenth century. The background and continuing approach was that of induction and utilitarianism. In other words ethnographic parallels were collected and used to explain the function and manufacturing technology of objects such as celts or even clubs. This approach was commonplace between 1840 and 1870 but it was operating within the twin concepts of sudden change for the most part (Leemans, Curator of the Museum of Antiquities in Leyden cites an exception AJ11, 1854, 117) and what was known as a scale of nations. Contemporary parallels were used in effect primarily to supply information on function and manufacture and only secondarily in order to understand what was to become the concomitant of time, social change. This explains the warm welcome given to Wilde's Irish Catalogue

....the publication of such a synopsis will be of great advantage in supplying materials and evidence towards establishing in scientific system that Chronological Classificationwhich we trust may be hereafter achieved. That classification is alone wanting in order to give to Archaeological Investigation its true and highest aim as an auxiliary to Historical and *Ethnological* [my emphasis] inquiries....(AJ14, 1857, 394).

In the 1860s ethnology became far more didactic and increasingly speculative. The main voice in the Institute was that of Pitt Rivers who did not shrink from the speculative statement. On accidental discoveries at Old London Wall in 1867 he opined

Savages in all parts of the world appear to have an affection for swampy ground, and it is not unlikely that the Romans may have left them in undisturbed possession of it (AJ24, 1867, 63).

Even more spectacularly in an article on the Roovesmore Forts in Ireland and Ogham Stones he posited that on the basis of parallels with 'Esquimaux' culture these people may have been the original Palaeolithic inhabitants of Europe 'pressed north and west by great waves of eastern migration' (AJ24, 1867, 133-135). In effect the ethnologist had taken a theoretical framework, the Three-Age System, applied it to contemporary people and then superimposed the master trope back onto the past on the one hand to provide testable hypotheses and on the other to reconstruct that world in its own image. Simultaneously we see the

transition from relatively passive ethnography to actively intrusive ethnology. Ethnographic parallels were characteristic of prehistory and no other area of research. There was a low level of use in the Archaeological Institute and the main forum for speculation and research at this time was the Ethnological Society. Its members and publications ranged freely through both prehistory and contemporary society in much the same way. The 1870 volume of the Society included papers from Pitt Rivers (then Lane Fox) on flint implements from Southern England, from Lubbock on stone implements from South Africa and Huxley on the 'Geographical Distribution of the Chief Characteristics of Mankind'.

While Pitt Rivers and others conducted their debates elsewhere Institute members continued to use ethnographic parallels in a more orthodox fashion for a while at least. There was a distinct diminution in use at the turn of the century. Meanwhile an alternative discourse emerged when theory and interpretation were touched upon. Where the ethnologists pursued an aggressive social change paradigm other possibilities were raised in the *Archaeological Journal*. In 1872 E.T. Stevens delivered a paper on flint implements in which he addressed the troubling question of the successive character of the Three-Age System as a paradigm. He made the distinction that the ages were not solely concerned with time but were, in fact, culture periods 'a thing of the present as well as the past' which was 'actually being watched as it expired'. He went on to criticise those who equated civilization with the use of metal; it was more a matter of the possession of domesticated animals, the practice of agriculture, a sub-division of labour leading to traffic and commerce. "Any attempt, therefore, to form a general scale of civilization founded upon the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Periods can scarcely be satisfactory" (AJ29, 1872, 394) Steven's found E.B. Tylor's (Transactions of International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology, 1868, pp13-14) classification least offensive but Tylor had recognized discrepancies, namely, that the 'Pfahlbauten [Switzerland] people led relatively sophisticated lives while the Hottentots who are familiar with iron did not' (AJ29, 1872, 394). He also took Hodder Westropp to task over his 'Pre-historic Phases' and used examples of indigenous American tribes to disprove that hypothesis:

...no general arguments as to culture can be deduced from the remains found in different countries, each series of facts must be separately and cautiously investigated before an opinion can be safely pronounced upon it (AJ29, 1872, 395).

Man's patient labour, his powers of reasoning, and his inventive faculties, have at all periods led to results which, once achieved, were not lost, but were transmitted to his posterity; and each generation has thus started from a higher and still higher vantage-ground of accumulated knowledge. I allude to man's knowledge of the mechanical arts, and of those arts which tend to the general ease and comfort of life. His mental and moral condition lie beyond my subject.....There does not appear to me, however, any *necessary* [his emphasis] connection between the merest babyhood in the industrial arts and a low state of mental power or moral culture.....(*ibid.* 401).

With regard to Pitt Rivers he said:

Among the most zealous promoters of the 'development theory' [i.e. the progressive improvement of the human condition and 'the theory of modernity' which is discussed below] is Colonel Lane Fox, and few men possess anything approaching to his knowledge of the varying forms of implements and weapons in use by modern savages, as well as of those which were in use by pre-historic races of men (AJ 29, 1872, 402)

But he judiciously tempered his praise by remarking upon examples of 'retrogression' in the presence of 'a higher civilization' such as that of the Melanesians where the native skills had died out in the space of ten years leaving the islanders more helpless, more dependent upon European civilization than before. Stevens generally opted for independent development rather than the transmission of change and a 'cheerful belief' in the general if uneven forward movement of mankind.

Likewise in an account in 1874 of the Ashanti Indemnity, a collection of African gold surrendered to the British Government by way of surety, the idea of degeneration is again considered from a slightly different angle. The members of the Institute discussed this 'mass of treasure' in the presence of Prince Ossoo Ansah of Ashanti, the English educated son of the King of Ashanti, who was currently the guest of the Everett-Greens. The main focus of interest was in the aesthetics and value of the gold work but nevertheless the question of the position of a culture capable of producing such work arose almost inevitably. It was felt there was a strong resemblance between the Ashanti work and that of the Celts, Saxon and Scandinavian tribes during their period of 'semi-barbarism'. Because the traditions of gold-working were exceedingly durable it was assumed that the

Ashantis had migrated taking earlier traditions with them and adapting them to present circumstance:

It is evident to me that the Ashantis are the inheritors of traditions, which in the lapse, perhaps of ages, have become partly obscured. Whence did these traditions come, and from whence is the origin of this people who still retain them? These questions are ethnographical and ethnological (AJ31, 1874, 29-40).

In the same year there was a 'Notice of Pre-historic Implements found in Siberia' (AJ31, 1874, 262-268) in which the author suggested not only indigenous development but also environmental change as triggers of social change—in this case the 'degeneration' from a high state of civilization of the 'wandering tribes of Tartars'. In the following year the unnamed reviewer of Boyd Dawkins' Cave Hunting also queried the assumptions of the migration theorists on similar lines. Pursuing Pitt-Rivers' line of thought that there was a blood relationship between the Palaeolithic cave-dwellers of North Europe and modern Eskimos in North America he said:

If the whole set of rude implements, fitted for various uses, and some of them rising above the common wants of savage life, agree, it is said the argument as to race is of great value. No two savage tribes now living use the same set of implements without being connected by blood, which is said to be an answer to the objection that savage tribes living under similar conditions would invent similar implements (AJ32, 1875, 123).

The blood connection was said to be further strengthened by the fact that the animals found in the caves were similar to those eaten by the 'Eskimo'. The reviewer found this difficult to accept and simply pointed out that this may be a reflection merely of what was available.

These alternative viewpoints were united by a belief in the possibility of indigenous change and an acknowledgement of less than perfect progression or even regression. There is a hint of co-existence and variability in a dominant paradigm of hierarchy and unremitting progress. Meanwhile ethnographic parallels of the less contentious sort continued to be used for comparison as in the museums which seem so lurid in retrospect. The new Scottish Museum of National Antiquities, for example, in 1891 had the 'Comparative or Foreign Collection' on the second floor and in the Prehistoric Section on the first floor 'a noticeable feature was the extent and variety of the collections obtained by systematic examination of special localities'... (AJ48, 1891, 470) – this included 15000 objects from Culbin Sands, Morayshire and 10,000 from Glenluce Sands,

Wigtownshire. The Historic Section also included items illustrative of 'Old Domestic Life' and agricultural implements. These exhibits were not as esoteric as they seem. An examination of the areas of interest in which ethnographic parallels were used most often between c.1870 and 1890 throws an interesting side-light on the development of the discourse. It is the somewhat unlikely investigation of early mining, a low status occupation, where the parallels are most common. Not only that but they were used (e.g. AJ30, 1873, 67-73) in conjunction with versions of the labour theory of value. This is interesting insofar as it echoes a shift in interest in ethnography towards the indigenous population of Britain itself. In the review of Cave Hunting mentioned above an article in *The Times* was quoted with regard to the physical stature of recent army recruits. It was also manifest in the interest in folk lore, superstition, custom and tradition exemplified in the publications of G.L. Gomme in the 1880s and the work of the Folk-lore Society. When Pitt Rivers returned to address the Institute as the Grand Old Man in the late 1880s he laid particular stress upon the importance to archaeological interpretation of what he referred to as osteology (formerly craniology) then anthropology in establishing ethnical identifiers. His interest was not confined to the distant past. He saw Wiltshire as 'an ancient ethnical frontier':

Here by the investigations of Dr. Beddoe and others into the physical condition of the existing population, we begin to come upon the traces of the short, dark-haired people, whom he believes to be the survivors of the earliest wave of Britons. My own measurements confirm this opinion (AJ44, 1887, 269).

Pitt Rivers was by no means alone in holding these opinions. Park Harrison was heavily involved in a Kentish survey which effectively identified Jutes by their noses although he never published anything in the *Archaeological Journal* on this topic despite being a prominent member. In fact these views were so commonplace that the Bishop of Bristol (AJ61, 1904, 199) could divide his flock upon ethnic lines although he was notably cautious about doing so either to their faces or in front of journalists:

To one whose diocese includes, as the diocese of the Bishops of Bristol now does, besides the city itself, a considerable part of Hwician Gloucestershire, 100,000 people in British Somerset, and 80 parishes of West Saxon and British North Wilts, the characteristics of those various peoples, physical and otherwise, stand out clearly marked to this day. Of the relative value of those characteristics, I prefer, for bishops are said to be timid folks, to speak in the several districts, and

not before reporters. The two types of skull, the long and the round, are still located with curious accuracy. There is probably no place in the kingdom where this is more clearly the case than at Malmesbury, in but not of the West Saxon land. It was a great British fortress down to the year 656. Its isolation in the dense forests, and its established importance as a British and Scotie school of learning, preserved its individuality and kept its population British after the conquest by the West Saxons. King Athelstan riveted that stamp upon it, by presenting it with a large estate, to be held by commoners, who must reside within the walls of the town, and must be the sons of commoners or men who have married commoners' daughters. These strict provisions account for the accuracy with which the boundaries of the town have been preserved, and for the British roundness of the skulls. As the early Britons were a somewhat hasty folk, and there may be some of their descendants present who retain the hereditary temper, I desire to point out that the round skull and the delicate cheek bones, and the well-shaped jaws of the Britons, were and are features of beauty; and it is evident that if a skull is – say 24 inches in circumference, there is still more room for brain if it is round than if it is long and narrow. Still, I would warn you that they are a little touchy on this point, those good ancient Britons whom you will see on Thursday. I was giving an address in the old council house of the commoners of Malmesbury some time ago, and I gave the facts about the roundness of the Malmesbury skulls, without the lubricating statements I have now made about the beauty of their faces and the great brain capacity of their heads. When I had finished the senior warden rose, and spoke with unmistakable meaning and emphasis, "We know nothing about the shape of our skulls; but we reckon to have as much in 'em as other folk" (AJ61, 1904, 202).

Perhaps the culmination was the Ethnographic Survey begun under the aegis of the Anthropological Institute (AJ53, 1896, 215-248). In certain typical 'villages, parishes and places' physical types among the inhabitants, current traditions and beliefs, peculiarities of dialect and any monuments or other remains of ancient culture were to be examined as well as 'any historical evidence as to continuity of race'. Three hundred and sixty seven places were named with no fewer than 100 adults whose forefathers had been there for at least three generations and of whom photographs and physical measurements could be obtained. 'Careful instructions' for the making of the physical record were drawn up by Professor Haddon and Dr. Garson, the government expert on Bertillonage and fingerprinting (Part I: Comparative Anatomy and the Medical Profession). George Payne, who had carried out the archaeological survey of Kent, was the Society of Antiquaries' representative on the Ethnographic Survey Committee. It would appear that that these people too, to use E.T. Stevens phrase, were being watched as they expired. Their passing was reflected more kindly perhaps in the novels of Thomas Hardy but how different was the Ethnographic Survey from the

reports for the Department of the Interior in Manila (1905) on the Bontoc Igorot or the Naboloi Dialect and the Bataks of Palawan (1906)?

Mid-century the members of the Institute occasionally strolled into the observation of their fellow Europeans in a far more casual way. In 1867 during a discussion which centred upon flagellation and self-flagellation as historical forms of chastisement, at which Gladstone was present, one contributor pointed out that

the rite of scourging is still followed, and while I was a student at Rome, I saw it performed upon the bare shoulders of two policemen; they had wounded a criminal, who while being led to prison, made his escape, and ran into a church (AJ24, 1867, 228).

This particular discussion took place at a monthly meeting but the conversational tone adopted there was not confined to the minutes. The idea of the past as a foreign country was frequently reinforced by the articles which adopted a 'Baedeker' style or more properly perhaps something akin to the travel books of John Murray, publisher of Layard's Nineveh, the 'California of Archaeology' (AJ9, 1852, 4). For many years it was a style associated with the country vicars who provided picturesque monographs of their churches and parishes and the monuments therein but other more eminent contributors brought a touch of adventure and exoticism to their descriptions. Charles Newton, for instance, told of liquorice merchants and brigands in the backwoods of Turkey (AJ22, 1865, 41) with an almost Gothic relish. In the second half of the century the wants of the vicarious traveller were met at various times by a variety of writers including Talbot de Malahide, E.A. Freeman and Frances Haverfield who sent his 'jottings for the archaeologically minded tourist' from Galicia and Transylvania (AJ48, 1891, 1). Griffin Vyse recounted his experiences in the Chit-Duen wilderness of India:

The most perfect mirages I have ever seen I have witnessed here....lakes, islands, fields, trees, pretty villages, towns, cities....it is such scenery as this that has taken many a wretched worn traveller miles and miles away from the beaten path, and whilst he follows this freak of nature, as his only goal, his only escape and last chance of existence, has left him mockingly to die, the most awful death of thirst and hunger, friendless in the desert. The number of skeletons and bleached bones I met with in my wanderings prove how great a number have met their end in this way...(AJ34, 1877, 41)

He goes on to tell of deserted cities, of Alexandrine conquests, of the lost river of India and ends

I had been wandering in the jungles and desert for nine months without once seeing a European face or hearing a word of English spoken, and was delighted to get back again to civilized life (AJ34, 1877, 46).

Most contributors were happy to explore nearer home although they also had their excitements. The most prolific, the most erudite and the most entertaining was Bunnell Lewis who appears to have spent each summer travelling the highways and byways of Europe in search of Classical antiquities. He was eager to share his experiences and encourage others into the field work which he saw as the essential counterpart of Classical texts. For over thirty years Lewis took the reader on his travels from the grass-grown streets of Ravenna (AJ32, 1875, 417-431) to war torn Constantinople in 1882, from Buda-Pest and an emergent Hungary (1892) to the Rhineland (1903). Sicily was dangerous but clearly enchanted him, Carinthia was unclean. He seems to have had a preference for borderlands and political trouble spots. On a visit to Saintes, near La Rochelle, he warned that the Abbaye des Dames had been converted into a military barracks:

This fact must be borne in mind by the antiquarian visitor otherwise he may be mistaken for a spy, especially if, as often happens with our fellow countrymen, he speaks French like a German; in that case he would be roughly interrupted in the midst of his researches and ordered to leave the precincts by the sentry on duty. The best plan is to ask for permission at the Poste Militaire (not the Poste aux Lettres)...(AJ44, 1887, 218).

Lewis had a clear eye for present reality and would offer advice on accommodation, travel arrangements and most importantly the names of local people who might be helpful (and sometimes those who were not). Above all he was eager to teach and eager to learn. The state of English scholarship was a constant worry to him; 'The Classical archaeologist must be a traveller', he said, 'as well as a student'. He needed to understand foreign languages

not only in order to converse with people who do not understand English...but also to study foreign literature that has not hitherto been translated. In the latter case the difficulty increases; at the revival of learning and long afterwards, scholars wrote for the most part in Latin, but now they employ the vernacular more and more. Even.. Hungarian authors are discontinuing this ancient and universal medium of communication, which was used for parliamentary debates, as I am informed, even later than 1830, and remained a part of the speech of the common people longer in this country than anywhere else. Or to take an example from an opposite quarter, no one could compile a satisfactory account of Scandinavian antiquities without a knowledge of Danish, such at least as would be sufficient for literary purposes.....[The student/traveller] should start on his journey, equipped with a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Roman authors; otherwise he will see objects with the outward eye, but will be unable to discern their significance and mutual relations.

A mere bookworm who has spent his life in libraries cannot prosecute researches of this kind successfully, for a realistic treatment of the subject is required; we have to deal with things rather than words, and ought to learn from foreigners facts unknown to our own countrymen (AJ46, 1890, 193).

Towards the end of his life he indulged himself a little in the reflection which is the luxury of old age:

I revert for a moment to the past; when I think of many a long journey and many a difficult investigation, I seem only to have plucked with feeble hands a few ears of corn; it remains for more energetic labourers to enter the field of research, to cultivate it diligently and in due season reap an abundant harvest there (AJ55, 1899, 342).

It comes as no surprise that his bequest to the Institute was a research fund and his last contribution a cheerful exhortation to get out of that armchair:

Most of our fellow countrymen travel on the Continent for health and pleasure....but the serious student of history and antiquity...turns aside from the pursuits of a too material age; he willingly lingers in old cities...There he may recruit his moral vigour, dwelling on the memory of those who fought the good fight, who laboured and struggled for truth, liberty and reform (AJ60, 1903, 351).

Not all travellers in time were as optimistic as Bunnell Lewis or the Bishop of Lincoln in 1861 for whom "travel in a foreign country [had] a tendency to unite men of different nations in feelings of brotherhood" (AJ18, 1861, 385). In fact most were distinctly gloomy if not downright hostile. Descriptions such as 'the age of darkness and inhumanity' (the Norman period), 'undisciplined savages', 'warriors', 'invaders', 'barbarian hordes', cannibalism. 'rapine and pillage,' tyranny and violence', 'anarchy and barbarism' were far more common than the empathetic statements of the Bishop or the touching if rather Gothic prose of Thomas Bateman:

The emotional character....in nearly...every relic.....addresses us....almost with a vocal sound...By store of valued trinkets deposited with corpse of wife or daughter, we not only arrive at certain conclusions regarding domestic economy, but are convinced that the ties of nature were then as strong, and the affections as tender, as at present (AJ13, 1856, 420).

Such friendly views emerged later rather than sooner. They were in strong contrast to the mental images current in the 1840s when records told 'only of rapine and bloodshed, of internal strife and lawless aggressions.' (AJ3, 1846, 93).

It would appear therefore, [said one author], that those who then followed the decorative arts, had, even while secluded within the comparatively safe precincts of a cloister, so imbibed the restless spirit then abroad in the land, that they could not calmly sit down to perform a work requiring both patience and study to accomplish; or that they attempted to carry out their designs only to a

small extent, fearing, that before their labours could be satisfactorily concluded some destroying hand would come, and with the sword leave their works to posterity only as a tottering ruin, or the memorial of a bloody conflict (AJ2, 1845, 129).

In general the past was a wild and uncouth land of violence and even degradation which needed taming.

One way in which it was tamed was to classify or order the past in such a way that it was no longer threatening. Prior to and for a time concurrent with the Three Age System a kind of order was imposed upon the past through the use of the then synonymous terminology of *race* and *nation*. The metonyms British, Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman were used primarily if not exclusively to denote successive periods of time. They were ambiguous, inexact and blurred at the edges but they provided a sequential framework into which the rapidly accumulating evidence of past lives could be fitted. Their currency was not attributable to ignorance but rather to a particular idea of the past which was contingent upon two major concepts which were embedded in contemporary ideology on the one hand and scientific thought on the other; these concepts shaped and made sense of the contemporary world. One was a definition of 'country' which is almost alien to us now and the other was a belief in the immutability of nature. Both sets of ideas had complex ramifications.

I have used the word 'country' above to describe what was encompassed by both race and nation because it is the nearest modern equivalent. In the early to mid nineteenth century these terms were interchangeable, rather as early settlers in North America would speak of the Sioux nation for instance; they meant or implied a physically, mentally and culturally homogeneous group of people and the terms were used in most circumstances without pejorative overtones. Thus in a review of Worsaae's Denmark's Olden Times in 1845 the reviewer says:

The first, and to our mind the most interesting [part], treats of the Antiquities of Denmark – *our* [his emphasis] Antiquities, the author styles them, and so closely are they identified with those discovered in this country that *we* [his emphasis] might well adopt his phraseology and his book as an exponent of *our* [his emphasis] Antiquities....The volume before us may be regarded in the first place, as an attempt to encourage the feeling now expressed amongst all classes of the community in Denmark, of the value and interest attached to such remains in a national and historical point of view, by furnishing them with a popular sketch of the contents and importance of their unrivalled collections: - and secondly, as the precursor of a more extensive work on a

subject, of which the interest, as the editor very properly remarks, is not confined to Denmark, but extends to all the countries of Europe, and in an especial degree to such as are of Germanic race (AJ2, 1845, 292).

Similarly, twenty five years later Major General Lefroy refers to the Tuatha De 'race' as British Druids driven west by the Roman invasion – "A view which assigns at once a definite antiquity to these venerable and ancient monuments [tumuli at Dowthe, Knowth, and New Grange]" (AJ27, 1870, 284). The terms were used repeatedly in the text of the *Archaeological Journal* in the nineteenth century; they were the weft upon which so much of the warp of history was being woven but they were not unproblematic. To ascribe national status to historic periods was not an entirely comfortable arrangement as witnessed by the fact that the successive nation model (British, Roman, Saxon etc) was not universally adopted and was only one framework among several (see Terminology).

It is interesting to note however that the race/nation model found its most ardent and persistent supporters among, in the first place, the historians of the Early Medieval period and secondly (after 1871) among the prehistorians (see Terminology). In the 1850s and thereafter the model was appropriated especially by the historians of the emerging nation state, by men such as Freeman, Stubbs and J.R. Green at a time when, as Williams (1981, 249) put it "serious scientific work [in philology] became radically confusedwith other ideas derived from social and political thought and prejudice." At about this time the model was also taken up by some prehistorians whose interest in ethnology has already been touched upon (see Terminology). The two schools were united by a vision of the past as a place of violent change and, on the whole, brutal manners. The waves of Angles, Saxons and Jutes and their subsequent internecine struggle to be English were transmuted into waves of Aryan, Goidel and Celt.

The second embedded concept was the immutability of nature. Natural Historians had brought order out of chaos using the inductive method and taxonomy. The would-be archaeologists followed suit; Wilde's Irish catalogue for instance borrowed heavily from Natural History, ie. objects were sorted by Class, Order, Species, and Variety. The principal classes were stone, earthen, vegetable, animal, and metallic; the species were weapons, tools, food, implements, household economy, dress and personal decorations, amusements, music, money and 'a few others' (AJ14, 1857, 388). Drawing to a large extent on

philological paradigms it could be argued in the 1850s that the ordering of objects and time by race/nation groupings followed a similar 'natural' pattern. The Saxons for instance were recognisable in the archaeology of the 1850s by a fixed (or it was hoped it would ultimately be fixed) taxonomy of cultural and physical attributes; the way in which they buried their dead, their pottery, their ornaments, their weapons, their skull shape and size, and that most useful of cultural tools, their language.

The results from careful excavations in ancient cemeteries have at length assumed so definite a form as to be susceptible of scientific classification. The substitution of observation for theory, of induction for a priori reasoning, has tended to throw light upon a darkness almost primeval, and to bring order into what, for centuries, had been little more than a mass of confusion. Comparison of data capable of being tested by known and ascertained facts of history, now enables us to bring them within fixed limits of space and time, to assign various phenomena to various periods, and to reason with some security upon the races to which such phenomena can be referred (AJ12, 1855, 309).

The past, like nature, could be comprehended in an essentially static way: there were cycles of birth, growth and decay which determined progress and allowed people 'to march along the highway of history' but this was a natural cycle of development not to be confused with evolutionary theory. Two elements within that taxonomy, language and physical characteristics, were unstable insofar as they could not easily be made to fit into the pattern of which they appeared to be part. It was at these points that evolutionary theory and the race/nation model met.

If we take physical characteristics as exemplified in craniology first, the idea that skull shape and size, whether dolicho-cephalic or brachycephalic, long-headed or round-headed, was an indicator of race was widespread among practitioners of archaeology in the mid nineteenth century. Greenwell and Rolleston are perhaps the best known archaeologists to incorporate the concept into their work. In the Institute they were joined by J.Barnard Davis and John Thurnam, the most explicit theorists of craniology in England. The recording of physical characteristics and a typology of race began on a systematic basis in Germany in the late eighteenth century with the work of Blumenbach and what was then known as Comparative Craniology. Davis and Thurman refer to these antecedents in *Crania Britannica* (AJ13, 1856, 420-423). In a paper on 'the bearings of ethnology upon archaeological science' written in 1856 Davis

outlined the scope of ethnology and craniology. They were concerned, he said, with “the physiological laws to which his [man’s] organisation and whole being are subjected” (AJ13, 1856, 315). This included mental and moral properties. For it to be a science it must first be ascertained that

different races have and observe something like definite laws in their origin, developments, alliances and mutations (*ibid.*)

Nevertheless for the craniologists race was a permanent and enduring entity whose primeval origin was unchanged and unchanging. Furthermore as mental and moral properties were immutably linked to physical character the obvious method of reconstructing the past according to the race/nation model was to identify a modern equivalent and retrospectively apply the associated cultural, intellectual and spiritual characteristics to earlier people. Both the paradigm and the practice drew on experiences in Comparative Anatomy. Such reconstruction was widespread among people working in the field. Some examples were drawn from prehistory for instance in 1864 the human crania from the Bruniquel Cave in Southern France, which had been acquired in conjunction with other finds by Professor Owen, were to supply “through the skill of the comparative anatomist, a clue to the race and the period to which these remarkable remains should be assigned” (AJ21, 1864, 386). To be effective the model required race to be enduring, otherwise how useful could the classification be? But at the same time the retrospective application must somehow incorporate change, a phenomenon which thrust itself upon the human consciousness almost daily in Victorian Britain. This dilemma was obviated in two ways. Firstly there was the complementary concept of a ‘scale of nations’; the use of metal, for example, was the result of contact with other metal-using cultures, the use of stone ceased “as the more perfect order supersedes and banishes the less perfect” (AJ12, 1858, 385). As this was closely linked to the concept of nation in both established and nascent senses of the word the latent superior/inferior dichotomy was not difficult to find. Here indeed was a version of the theory of modernity, so much discussed in geography recently and so ignored by historians of archaeology, by which Europeans in general or single nations within Europe considered themselves superior in intelligence, culture and rationalism, and, as a consequence in technology. Again it is not difficult to see how this particular world view could be used to justify ‘bringing light to the heathens’ as a moral imperative or

economic exploitation as a beneficent act. In many ways the appropriation of the past went hand in hand with the appropriation of an empire. To be successful each nation, in the modern sense, had to own its own past, to have a legitimate genealogy. In part craniology provided that genealogy. While it did not create the race/nation model craniology confirmed, validated and added the dimension of time to an existing idea when there was a vacuum in that particular area of knowledge. Of course this vacuum was a result of instability in the model itself.

Secondly, although craniology is associated most closely at the present day with the barrow diggers and prehistory at its height it was validated through Comparative Philology, in particular the philology of the Anglo-Saxon period in this country. Quite simply there was an affinity between physical characteristics and language (AJ12, 1855, 383; AJ13, 1856, 315; AJ22, 1865, 278). This was best demonstrated in the Anglo-Saxon period. J.M. Kemble's watchwords for archaeology 'compare and combine' were largely derived from comparative philology. The prevailing metaphor for the history of languages was that of the family tree, from which it was assumed there was an original language or progenitor. There were obvious parallels with the Noah myth for the peopling of Europe even in the names assigned to language groups (Semitic-Shem). The Congress of Orientalists in held in London in 1874 had Semitic, Hamitic, Turanian and Aryan sections as well as archaeological and ethnological. Presidents included Samuel Birch, described as an Egyptologist, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Assyriologist and member of the India Council in 1868, Sir Walter Elliot, Indian civil servant and archaeologist, and Professor Max Müller, first professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford. The methodology of comparative philology, which was largely of German design, derived from Natural History but incorporated the organic metaphor of comparative anatomy as did craniology:

We must note resemblances and differences, and apply something of the principle which guides us in comparative anatomy (Kemble, AJ12, 1855, 297).

More explicitly, in 1881, Charles Magniac, MP and amateur, explained

We want to cultivate our knowledge and bring it to such a point that we may use it as Owen did when he saw the fragment of a bone, and read off, as like from a book, that the animal to whom it had once belonged was an amphibious animal, with a long tail, a large mouth, and a certain number of teeth; that it ate certain things, and had lived a certain number of years. From that he was able to deduce the kind of country it lived in, the kind of climate it lived in; he was also able to deduce that the position in which it was found in all respects differed essentially and materially

from the necessary conditions which were required to enable it to live. He was consequently able to deduce that an enormous and great change had come over the country in which the animal was found; and he was able to come to some conclusion as to whence and what was the cause of these changes. From these and other reasons he was able to infer the period when those changes took place, and the result was that he was able to form within reasonable limits a fair opinion as to the time when such animals existed. And all that was derived from a splinter of broken bone. That is the way in which we want to apply our archaeological knowledge (AJ38, 1881, 413).

Similarities and differences were identified in existing languages and from them it was possible to reconstruct earlier stages of development and ultimately a proto-language which no longer existed. The method embraced both genealogical (Schleicher) (with cycles of growth and decay) and typological (Schlegel) approaches (Crystal 1992, 292-295). What differentiated the philologists from the craniologists in their pursuit of a common goal was the priority given to change – the philological model was primarily concerned with change, it acknowledged change and mutation was inherent. Despite this Kemble promoted a static model in its most practical application, etymology. He is quoted as saying in *Horae Ferales*

Very striking is the way in which the names originally given to little hills and brooks yet survive; often unknown to the owners of estates themselves, but sacred in the memory of the surrounding peasantry or of the labourer that tills the soil. I have more than once walked, ridden, or rowed, as land and stream required, round the bounds of Anglo-Saxon estates, and have learnt with astonishment that the names recorded in my charter were those still used by the woodcutter or the shepherd of the neighbourhood (AJ27, 1870, 287).

In 1871, the year of publication of Darwin's *Descent of Man* and more significantly perhaps in this context, of E.B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, the scene shifted emphatically to the prehistoric period. While the evidence from the Archaeological Institute scarcely corroborates the picture given by Desmond and Moore (1991, 579) of an intellectual community heaving with speculation about the descent or rise of mankind – that was to occur much later with Pitt Rivers and the Bishop of Salisbury (AJ14, 1887, 276) – it is true to say that the parameters of debate had shifted. In the 1870s more members promoted and received a view of the past where “each race moves along the ladder of civilization, propelled by natural selection, aided by use-inheritance, with selfish instinct giving way to reason, morality and English customs” (*ibid.* 580). Craniology and philology lived on transmogrified by natural selection, often imperfectly understood, in the new arenas of prehistory, ethnology and anthropology. Evolution was used to

explain many things from drinking bouts to armour to towns. It was at this point that the idea of struggle came into play at different levels; no longer just in a past depicted as a bloody struggle for supremacy although that continued unalloyed but also in the morphology of debate itself. Tropes such as 'extermination' and 'absorption' also began to be used about cultures and peoples. The inadequacies of the paradigm were to be revealed most tellingly in Piltdown Man. "I like this Yorick, who clowns, makes a mock of us, even with his bones" wrote Jacquetta Hawkes (1959,130) in 1951. There is a footnote to the later edition:

In 1953 Piltdown Man was exposed as a complete fake, showing comparative anatomy to be less objective than comparative anatomists suppose (Hawkes and Hawkes 1959, 130).

The inadequacies were revealed most cruelly in the consequences of racial stereotyping for our fellow human beings which makes the laughter hollow, the joke sick.

The past as a foreign country contained within it many contradictions. There appears to have been a struggle for control, an inherent conflict between a past which was depicted as alien but at the same time, because of present contingency, i.e. legitimization of the nation state, required it to be acknowledged part of, or related to, the present. Hence the Victorian fascination with the Medieval period, an undeniable part of the related past:

While every effort which has elevated Archaeology to the dignity of a science has at the same time, by exhibiting the past in a more lively relationship with the present, given to the study more general interest (AJ9, 1852, 1ff).

It is equally undeniable that this past was approached from a high status if utilitarian point of view. What was borrowed tended to be what was comfortable and either reflected well upon *our* past or, by contrast, made the present seem acceptable. What was clearly uncomfortable and problematic in this scheme of things, both intellectually and ideologically, was what we now term prehistory and the Early Medieval period, both 'dark ages'. They were not so easy to acknowledge in a paternalistic fashion.

Perhaps it was in part this struggle to understand or come to terms with the more uncomfortable aspects of the past which explains the use of another trope which was adopted both overtly and implicitly, **the past as a book**. This trope was used

in two ways; the past was seen as a book to be read and deciphered where necessary and also as a didactic tool.

In the first instance there were references to the 'unwritten chapters' and 'pages' of history as in "These discoveries have opened out a fresh page in the history of man" when commenting on the discovery of Palaeolithic remains in the Drift gravels (AJ20, 1863, 399). Or regarding megalithic remains "I believe that that book will not always be a sealed one" (AJ38, 1881, 413). Such references are scattered throughout the text of the *Journal* and decrease in usage only towards the end of the century in parallel with all other tropes. In general however the more sophisticated use of the book metaphor between 1840 and 1870 related to the Medieval period. Many of the remains studied were standing buildings (see Objects of Discussion) which, unsurprisingly, belonged to this period. The practice of archaeology is the mirror image of architectural practice. The architect begins with an idea the realization of which is governed by codes and rules including 2-dimensional representation. The end product is the concrete expression in 3-dimensional space. The archaeologist begins with the 3-dimensional material remains which are formally represented as 2-dimensional. The end product is an idea of past space. It is interesting therefore to note the emphasis which was laid upon the construction of a grammar and vocabulary for architecture in the 1840s. William Whewell at the annual meeting in 1845 thought

he might be allowed to say that he was no unfit representative of amateurs in Architecture...when a schoolboy, he had imbibed it with his very grammar, and the little work of Rickman which he had then happened to possess, was always in his pocket. It became the Grammar and Dictionary of a new language to him. The study of Architecture was not a mere amusement, but a most profound and valuable mental culture. To those who pursued this study, buildings presented a meaning and a purpose which, though others might feel, they could not understand (AJ2, 1845, 304).

This grammar and dictionary, this naming of parts and its associated stylistic dating techniques was popular in the 1840s and 1850s. Sometimes buildings were correlated with documentary sources

to supply authentic information regarding portions of the fabric, and original terms of art, which are highly useful as contributions to the vocabulary, hitherto very imperfect, of appropriate ancient appellations of various parts of buildings, or their accessory ornaments (AJ2, 1845, 181).

Where documents were dated it was possible to build up a framework for a stylistic chronology with a more secure foundation than that of architectural style alone. The architectural paradigm was essentially utilitarian and far more common in the first twenty years or so than later but its impact upon the mental constructs of archaeology should not be underestimated. It gave a boost to an image of the past conceived in 3-dimensional terms and the confidence to mentally reconstruct that past; much as an architect conceives of a building before it exists so the archaeologist conceives of that which is gone.

Tropes such as 'curious', 'mysterious', 'peculiar', 'secret', 'hidden', 'enigmas', 'puzzles' and 'riddles' were commonplace at all times. In the 1870s however they came together in a novel way; words like 'clue' occurred more frequently. In 1883 an archaeologist followed up "the trail of a Roman find with the nose of a sleuth hound" (AJ40, 1883, 113). On one occasion we are even given a 'red herring'. Tales of mystery, murder and suspense and the detective story had arrived with almost immediate literary effect in the Institute. Wilkie Collins, Edgar Allan Poe and Arthur Conan Doyle spring unbidden to mind. The relish with which the tale is told in Lukis' account of excavations at Castle Dykes (AJ32, 1875, 132-150) is in marked contrast to the restrained account of what appears to have been the scene of an horrific crime inadvertently discovered in 1846 (AJ3, 1846, 257). In 1892 the reviewer of Petrie's Ten Years Digging in Egypt invites the reader into this world:

to follow the author's example and endeavour to find out the secrets of the soil, the hidden graves, houses, and workshops of bygone ages....In Egypt the very stones cry out...but the Turk, the Arab, the dealer, the explorer – too great or too small to be interested in their story – cut their throats and bid them to be silent, and so their tales are never told, and those who would have listened come upon the scene to find life just extinct (AJ49, 1892, 210-11).

Contemporaneously archaeology became a heuristic device – the key to unlock these puzzles of the past - it could "fit the key to some of the ciphers of our half-revealed past" (AJ36, 1879, 369). Almost but not quite simultaneously we find the introduction of the legal paradigm of agonistic debate and tropes borrowed from criminal law. 'Evidence' is the most common word associated with this trope. It was used increasingly after the mid 1870s – and there is evidence of every kind – 'circumstantial', 'direct', 'absolute', 'sound', 'negative', 'reliable', 'false' and 'foolish'. There were 'witnesses', 'testimonies' (of history

and photography) and ‘informants’; they were ‘silent’, ‘living’, ‘trustworthy’, and ‘expert’. ‘Cases’ were ‘weighed’, ‘judgements’ made and ‘verdicts’ given on the basis of ‘proofs’. To some extent, particularly in the early 1880s the advocacy paradigm is attributable to a single individual, C.S. Greaves QC, who, when he chaired meetings, brought a quasi-legal flavour to the proceedings (Part I: Historians and Handmaidens). But the change went much deeper. There was an association of law with truth and the advocacy or legal paradigm was seen as a way of arriving at the truth. There was also a concurrent development of the concept of author/authority which could be cited or appealed to as judge. As mentioned in Part I (Historians and Handmaidens) Howorth went to great lengths to explain the analogy:

Truth has to be sorted out of manifold testimonies and evidence has to be weighed and measured (AJ55, 1898, 130).

It is well to confront each man with a brief for his own side and his own opinion, making the best fight he can for that view and opinion, dissecting, analysing, and answering his rival, and then permitting the judge, or perhaps the Jury of Public Opinion to decide between the two (*ibid.* 137).

In the later years the ruins and standing buildings became not just silent witnesses but, more often than not, ‘sermons in stone’. They had a didactic and an educative function. After the split with the British Archaeological Association in 1844 the Marquis of Northampton suggested a new name for the Institute:

The word ‘Institute’ is, I think, a better name than ‘Society’...The word implies that we mean to teach, and that we are not merely a company met together for the sake of society (AJ2, 1845, 316).

The point was repeated in 1852:

Whilst the remains of former times were collected and treasured rather for their own sake, than for the illustration they afforded to history, social manners, or art, the antiquary was considered a worshipper of what was essentially unreal...His researches have risen in estimation, as they have been animated by a more comprehensive spirit and directed to more *instructive* [my emphasis] end (AJ9, 1852, 1).

In 1861 an MP speaking at an annual meeting said “Education has now taken the position of one of the most important, as well as one of the most popular, subjects of public discussion” (AJ18, 1861, 380). This concern for educative function at various levels, not just a select few, continued for the next fifty years. Talbot de Malahide felt it had a place in elementary schools:

It is remarkable that, whilst we are accustomed to consider the Spaniards as very backward in most branches of intellectual inquiry, it is the only country that I know of in which a respect for

Archaeology is endeavoured to be planted in the rising generation by elementary works. I may especially refer to a little volume printed at Barcelona, which I may call an Archaeological Primer, by Don Jose de Marijanes, for the use of national schools (AJ27, 1870, 229).

The following year Bunnell Lewis expressed the hope that numismatics and other branches of archaeology would be “more generally introduced into the higher education of our country” (AJ28, 1871, 38). In the 1880s this process gained momentum but archaeology was never integrated into the school curriculum in the same way as history. Thomas Hodgkin attended the Archaeological Congress in Athens in 1905 as a delegate from Durham University. The Prehistoric Section meetings were held in the Syllogos of Parnassus which was “usually devoted to a night school for the poor lads of Athens, especially the ‘Lustre-boys’ or shoe-blacks”. He felt the congress was preaching to the converted:

What one wants to do is to get hold of the busy money-making men of one of the great cities of the Present, to make them understand the spell which is cast over us by the study of the Past, and to persuade them to give that noble science its true place in the education of our people and to have its modest, its very modest, claims to help recognised by all Chancellors of the Exchequer (AJ62, 1905, 91).

The metaphor of the book was used largely as a neutral, if not friendly, concept and is much rarer than the predominantly hostile view of the past as a foreign country:

Lastly, one lesson let us carry away with us, lest we forget the humility which becomes the students of the venerable past. If it be true that we are the heirs of all the ages, it is true also that the memory of much of our inheritance is blighted and sophisticated. It is not exhilarating to our vanity and self-respect to think that human progress is not a continual growth – that men reach levels very often which those who come after cannot emulate. The men who built the Parthenon, no less than the unknown architects of so many of our great minsters, the artificers who manufactured the lovely embroideries, the matchless tiles, the radiant decorations of the Alhambra, and the Taj at Agra, have left us no heirs, and we are mere scholars sitting at their feet (AJ51, 1894, 249).

Occasionally the two metaphors overlapped and the past was treated as a palimpsest:

A district may be studied and examined in much the same way as a great writer. It has its peculiar charms, its special lessons, a style and mode of expression distinctively its own (AJ42, 1885, 41), wrote Canon Creighton in a plea for regional history as opposed to the prevailing nationalist version. Those authors who treated the past in this way tended to have a benign rather than a hostile vision. John Phillips, then president of the Geological Society, for instance used terms such as ‘darkest pages’ but not in

conjunction with the hostile terminology associated with the past as a foreign country. He extended the metaphor to a reading of landscape in a way which is reminiscent of Freeman but the end result of which was markedly less bloody:

The world of George Stephenson is much different from that of Julius Agricola but some features remain to connect the earliest with the latest aspect of our country; and among these the least altered and the most instructive appear to be the mineral products and the mining processes (Ancient Mining and Metallurgy among the Brigantes; AJ16, 1859, 7).

Another aspect of the instructive approach manifested itself in the attitudes to museums those quintessentially Victorian institutions where, for a child in the 1950s, even the air seemed trapped in time and space like the exhibits. In 1845 an Act for encouraging the establishment of Museums in large towns 'for the Instruction and Amusement of the Inhabitants' went through Parliament. In 1904 Flinders Petrie described museums as 'ghastly charnel houses of murdered evidence' (Petrie 1904, 181). In the interval museums were referred to variously in the Institute as 'arsenals' (AJ24, 1867, 2), although it is not clear who the enemy was; as 'an asylum' (AJ33, 1873, 414); and as 'a treasure house'. In his opening address as president of the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting in Cambridge in 1892 C.D.E. Fortnum, a trustee of the British Museum, took the opportunity to reflect upon the past fifty years. In the first place he remarked upon the growth of national museums and the international situation. He was generally in favour of the proliferation but felt that "the Germans have become dangerous rivals in the auction rooms and the market place" due to the liberality of their emperor:

they carry off to Germany treasures dispersed, alas, from many of our noble and formerly wealthy houses. Every such dispersion carries choice objects abroad which have long been the pride of those who had collected or inherited them, and were the boast of our country (AJ49, 1892, 282).

This was followed by a description of the various elements forming the British Museum collection which included 'arms and implements in former and present use by the savage races of every portion of our globe' (*ibid.* 285), the Egyptian and Assyrian galleries, Greek vases and Roman and Etruscan antiquities.

It is remarkable [he went on to say] that among the higher and educated classes how seldom it seems to occur to parents and to teachers that a frequent visit to these galleries would impress more upon the minds of their children through the tangible evidence of objects of daily use and religious observance by peoples whose printed histories are crammed into their young brains, without any visible, and, as it were, living corroboration such as is afforded by the contents of our museums.

The growth of such institutions is in itself a history, and one which is truly Archaeological in character that I may be permitted to continue the theme...(AJ49, 1892, 287).

He took the reader through South Kensington, Dublin and Edinburgh:

The larger manufacturing towns are now rivalling each other in the erection, and wealthy citizens are liberally contributing towards the formation and the filling of picture galleries and museums for Art objects and for natural history specimens...(ibid.).

He mentioned the Fitzwilliam in Cambridge to which his fellow member of the Institute, S.S. Lewis, had lately bequeathed his collection. At the Ashmolean J.H. Parker had endowed the curatorship which Arthur Evans was putting to such good effect; Fortnum himself had provided some of the money for the new building there and Greville Chester was another generous benefactor. The Pitt-Rivers collection he considered to be 'another jewel':

These [museums] are more truthful evidences of history than records, or than folk lore, and therefore of the highest value to the Archaeologist. It is in the investigation, and elucidation of these relics that the true Antiquary learns to read and determine passages of history unknown. By the comparison of fragments new languages become revealed; a paltry piece of stone, a seal, records, a personage or fact in history, which may upset the carefully worked out or built up theory of the historian. Among these relics we have brought before us objects which human fingers fashioned thousands and, perhaps, tens of thousands years gone by, shewing us objects of beauty and painstaking labour unsurpassed, aye, unequalled by any production which modern ingenuity, aided by modern science can produce. Museums, therefore, are surely worthy of our consideration as Archaeologists, and their rise, improvement and development are a part of the history of our own time which is equally interesting to the Antiquary, the Artist, and the Historian (AJ49, 1892, 289-90).

Clearly the members of the Institute were generally supportive of museums, giving in material terms as well as words. Not only were museums seen as depositories of knowledge which should be shared (AJ25, 1868, 144) but neither did they neglect the amusement aspect mentioned in the 1845 Act. The temporary museum, a feature of the annual meetings for forty years, no doubt fulfilled the specialist function for some members but for most, one suspects, they were so eclectic as to be entertaining in the nicest sense of the word. The temporary museums were frequently viewed to the accompaniment of music and the *conversazione*, the social highlight of the week. Archaeology appears to have always had a non-discursive element, a will to engage with popular understanding. Publicity was as much a part of archaeology in the nineteenth century as at present. Petrie's annual Egyptian exhibitions which were held in the

Institute's rooms in the late 1880s and early 1890s were publicity for the cause, the Egypt Exploration Fund, on a par with the opening to the public of private land with recently excavated Roman remains at Cirencester in 1851 or Wroxeter in 1859, or Wheeler's excavations at Caerleon in the 1920s.

Every museum carries within it a narrative, usually the story of its creator/s. Only Petrie and Pitt Rivers appear to have reflected very greatly on that story. To members of the Archaeological Institute the museum, whether national or local, permanent or temporary had a utilitarian function, a specialist function, an educational function, a popular function and a tacit, but nevertheless very obvious, ideological function. If mass education was integral to the nation state, the past was integral to education; a museum was an ideal way to engage the viewer with concepts of progress and national identity.

At one point in Fortnum's review of the state of the museum he described the British Museum as a treasure house meaning both the value of the knowledge it contained and the intrinsic or market value of its collections. For many people the past itself was a **treasure store**. The role of the eighteenth century collectors and their cabinets of curios in archaeology is well known, the sub-title to Leonard Woolley's Digging Up the Past (1949) was 'An introduction to archaeology showing how excavation has grown from treasure hunt to science'. The would-be archaeologists of the mid-Victorian period were undoubtedly anxious to rid themselves of what they considered to be an eccentric public image. The French archaeologist Abbé Cochet described his experience:

Many imagine, including my own labourers, that I dig in the earth for treasure. They take me for a Californian adventurer, who not having the courage to emigrate from France to California, would transport California into France. In their eyes I am a magician, who has learned from the stars, or old books and writings, the mysterious existence of concealed treasures. Others, more numerous, think that if I search in the earth it is to find vases, arms, coins, and other precious things. But it is nothing at all of the kind that I seek for. To speak the truth, when a beautiful object comes out of the earth, when something important is revealed by the pickaxe or the spade, I am not indifferent; but once taken from the earth, to me they lose half their value; and when they have been well-studied, I deposit them all with pleasure in a public collection; and resign myself to see them, perhaps, no more.

What I search for in the bosom of the earth is a thought. That which I seek for at each stroke of the workman is an idea. That which I am anxious to collect is not so much a vase or a coin, as a line of the past, written in the dust of time, a sentence on ancient manners; funeral

customs; Roman or barbarian industry; it is truth that I would surprise in the bed where it has been laid by the witnesses of twelve, fifteen or eighteen hundred years ago. I would willingly give all the objects possible for a revelation of this kind. Vases, coins, jewels, have only a price and value, when they reveal the name and talent of the artist; the character and genius of a people; in one word, the lost page of an extinct civilization. This especially would I seek in the bosom of the earth. I would read there as in a book: thus I interrogate the least grain of sand; the smallest stone; the most fugitive débris; I demand of them the secret of ages and of men; the life of nations, and the mysteries of the religion of peoples (AJ32, 1875, 464-5).

Less poetically perhaps the mid-Victorians openly stressed the positivist aspects of the inductive method:

We need to heap flint on flint, to add bronze to bronze, in order that the base of our theory may be laid upon the firm sub-structure of well-sifted and oft-recurring detail (AJ22, 1865, 98).

And in theory at least they eschewed hypothesis and speculation. The museums, particularly the public collections, were at the heart of this approach but archaeology was and still is in a peculiar relationship to its raw data. In the modern industrial state the earth tends to be owned and objects possessed by the state, corporations or private individuals. In the period under consideration here a transition was underway in these categories of ownership and the rights, responsibilities and area of domain of private individuals was central to that transition. The most obvious manifestations of the pre-occupation with the ownership of the past, both real and imaginary, were the recurrent discussions, both public and within the Institute, on the merits and demerits of Treasure Trove (see Part I:) and monument protection. Nevertheless beyond these overt debates metonyms such as 'hunt', 'pursue', 'discover', 'rich field', 'rich store', 'treasure' and 'precious relics' continued to reinforce the antiquarian idea of the past as a place to plunder, the domain of the treasure seeker, however it was glossed over.

The prevailing attitude to the material remains of the past as treasure highlights the problematic area of conflict/struggle over the rightful ownership of objects from the past and almost inevitably the past which they were used to illustrate. The 'national depositories' such as the British Museum and its 'stores of evidence' (AJ19, 1862, 396), the local museums and by extension the potential sources of museum material, the 'unexplored depositories' (AJ21, 1864, 386) represented appropriation by the state if not common ownership (the two were hardly synonymous) but this was in marked contrast to the views of the private collectors of whom there were many in the Institute. Some collected flints and

such like, essentially low status objects, in a methodical fashion but for others the aesthetic and real value of articles was significant. The Institute was a home for several specialist collectors through the years; in 1911 Lewis Evans, a collector of astrolabes, contributed a paper on the subject (AJ68, 1911, 221); in 1872 the paper on the gold work from the Ashanti Indemnity (AJ31, 1872, 29) was written by Mrs. Everett Green and a Mr. Warrington who was not only a member of the Institute but also one of the partners of Garrards, the Crown jewellers and current possessors of the gold. In addition to the trend towards diffusion of knowledge discussed earlier there was an equally strong and enduring feeling that private collections should remain precisely that. At the more articulate end of the spectrum the case was put most forcibly by John Evans:

Without undervaluing national or local museums, he maintained that no thorough knowledge of antiquities, and more especially, coins, could be attained without that intimate acquaintance with ancient relics acquired by collecting them; and he regarded any measure aimed at private collectors as one calculated to do infinite mischief to the cause of archaeological science (AJ22, 1865, 89).

Forty years later Flinders Petrie, a man of more modest means but generous commitment to education, whose relationship with museums was laden with paradox, implicitly acknowledged the role of the state to an extent which John Evans would have found incomprehensible. When Petrie referred to museums as charnel houses he was not objecting to museums as such but rather to the strange habitat they created. Regarding Treasure Trove he said in 1904:

These confiscatory laws, these claims on private property on behalf of the state, are more or less illogical nibblings on a wide claim which no state has ventured yet to formulate, - namely that all objects of past generations are public property (Petrie 1904, 184).

According to Petrie the national museums, as then constituted, were part and parcel of an illicit trade, part of the commercialization of the past:

There is not a country from which any antiquity could not be removed by sufficient care in smuggling. Every national museum has its underground feeders, knows how to defeat the laws of other countries, and incessantly grows in spite of laws. To seize property without paying its real value is seldom a profitable proceeding in the long run, and that is what every government tries to do with antiquities (*ibid.*).

He had no objection to commercialization as such but was aware of the inadequacies of the system as it then was. He felt that

the logical outcome of the present laws and present tendency [to buy what was necessary for a national collection as it came up for sale] would be the nationalisation of all antiquities (Petrie 1904, 185).

Essentially the past was a community asset for which the state should pay a full and fair price in its role as guardian. Private collections had no part to play and merely encouraged the black market. Part of the problem had indeed little to do with the furtherance of knowledge implicit in Evan's argument or even directly with the emergence of a school of history dedicated to the nation state but rather with the real market value of the objects themselves. For many years there had been a market in collectable items such as flints; a market which was sufficiently lucrative to encourage a robust line in forgeries. In addition the focus of attention in the Institute during the first forty years or so had been upon high status objects (see Objects of Discussion) valued either for their raw materials, aesthetic qualities or both.

In 1852 Edmund Oldfield considered himself to be living "in an age by no means remarkable either for its reverence for the past, or its sensibility to impressions of romance; an age distinguished, in common phrase, as pre-eminently 'practical' and 'utilitarian'" (AJ9, 1852, 1). At one level the aesthetic treatment of high status objects was very much a part of this viewpoint; the emphasis on personal ornaments, sculpture, aspects of architecture was rationalised as instructive in past production techniques and skills. At another level, however, particularly in the 1840s, the aesthetic/art history approach allowed for the speculation and hypothesising so frowned upon by more scientifically minded followers of the inductive method. Art History provided not only a utilitarian *raison d'être* for archaeology but also a profoundly speculative and illuminating way of ordering the past.

Although by no means singular (see also Richard Westmacott AJ3, 1846 193 and Albert Way, *ibid.* 239) an analysis of a lengthy paper on Celtic torcs by Samuel Birch illustrates the point. The question Birch purports to address was "whether the art remains of the Celts are sufficient to enable us to fix the position which that people occupied in the scale of nations?"

It should always be borne in mind, that there is an art history co-existent with the traditional written history of every country, and that there is a relation subtle and philosophical, but not the less certain, between all the products of the mind of man. Thus the same extended observation, careful comparison, and due reflection, which enable the anatomist to pronounce upon the

structure of an extinct animal from the inspection of a single bone, may lead to the mental reproduction of a departed race from scattered and apparently insignificant remains. These considerations have induced me to attempt in the present paper, a classification and description of the chief remains of Celtic art, the Torque and its varieties (AJ2, 1845, 368).

After an erudite history of the torc which draws heavily upon Classical sources, literary, numismatic and sculptural, Birch expounds a typological classification for Celtic gold torcs. The basis of the classification is epitomised in the following sentence:

Now it is peculiar to the progress of all art, that massive forms, either for the sake of structural beauty or economy of material are gradually succeeded by lighter ones retaining all the essentials of type....I would propose this explanation of the motives of a simple people (AJ3, 1846, 32).

He concludes:

The torcs of the Celts are evidently productions of a rude, simple and unartistic people, and are evidence of their intellectual inferiority to the other great nations of antiquity (AJ3, 1846, 38).

Typological dating methods derived from art history (and architecture) provided a past interpreted through the material remains of high status groups through the medium of a high status social group (in this case the Archaeological Institute). It was as dependent upon aesthetic taste as archaeological fact, as was freely admitted, but it provided a progressive framework within the safe confines of a circular argument the basic tenets of which we have seen before. For those who endorsed the viewpoint of the past as treasure store it conjured up a past which could be warmly acknowledged as a creator of beauty and nobility and furthermore it was desirable, collectable and often for sale. The fact that it was for sale did not present any great problem apart from the trifling matter of provenance. Only those from the same social group had access to this past and they could circulate the objects through private wealth. The possession of wealth, in most cases, indicated that the owner was a citizen of a country high on the scale of nations and therefore had an inalienable right if not an actual duty to protect and preserve such valuable objects. Purchases for public museums however tended to create a different and more complex scenario. There was a conflict with the democratisation of society in general and the spread of education in particular.

At least as late as 1871 visions of the past were marked by a hierarchical paradigm with hegemonic associations. After that there was a fusion of evolutionary theory based on natural selection and existing paradigms of

development inherent in art history, craniology and philology. This brings us back to concepts already discussed in the trope of the past as a foreign country. What emerges in this analysis is not a sudden paradigmatic shift, a road to Damascus incident, but rather, as some authors like E.T. Stevens recognised at this time with regard to cultures, a plurality of old and new and a mixture of the two. The co-existence of cultures was mirrored in the ideological sphere in the co-existence of alternative and unstable paradigms. The hierarchical ordering and a sense of continuity persisted as a given. Flinders Petrie, for instance, in 1877, while he took an empirical stance on earthworks in general continued to assess “the abilities of the constructors as to the **lowest** [my emphasis] sort of accuracy, straightness, or the **higher** [my emphasis] attainments of equality of dimensions and rectangularity” (AJ34, 1878, 448); in 1883 with regard to Egyptian sculpture he wrote:

After this first and glorious age came a dreary time....social wars....foreign invasion.. But although the political order is thus different, the art history has some resemblance in its separation from earlier work, and its beginning the style which **continuously** (my emphasis) developed into the best known period (AJ40, 1883, 19).

M.H. Bloxam on the study of medieval sepulchral antiquities said:

It requires indeed a knowledge of detail to appreciate and follow the gradual and almost imperceptible changes of fashion...embodying as it were the feelings of each successive age in **the advance to some more perfect state of civilization** [my emphasis] (AJ35, 1878, 262).

‘Pagan’ stone sculptures were seen as the forerunners of the ‘highest form’, i.e. Christian sculptures (AJ40, 1883, 153); St.John Hope and Baron de Cosson (AJ 43, 1886, 137-161 and 326-340) used the term ‘evolutionary process’ to describe the development of chalices and armour from the simple to the complex; in 1890 J.E. Bale, writing about a Norman font, could say

the widespread influence of this Celtic feeling in art is demonstrated by the art work of barbaric peoples, such as have probably descended from **higher** [my emphasis]) forms of civilization, or lost the touch of former civilised associations, as was noticed in the gold and metal work of, especially of the Ashantees, exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, West African section; and the writer, speaking from a quarter of a century’s knowledge of these people, and the country, finds the most conclusive circumstantial proofs of their former intercourse with the ancient Egyptians and probably with Carthage (AJ47, 1890, 163).

In the same year Professor Middleton expounded upon a similar theme at the annual meeting:

The Art and Antiquities of no one country can fruitfully be studied by themselves, but must be explained and illustrated by a comparison with the state of artistic development in other countries – not necessarily at a contemporary period of time, but with those which were passing through a similar stage in **their mental and artistic development** (my emphasis).

The extraordinary unity of the human mind wherever found and in whatever period – **provided there is some similarity in their relative stage of progress** (my emphasis) – is a very striking and important fact. (AJ47, 1890, 344).

Middleton then described similarities in art and architecture between ‘races’ across Europe and across time culminating in the analogy of the ‘palaces of the hero-kings of Mycenae and Tyrians and the halls of the Teutonic or Scandinavian chiefs...’ (which, incidentally, had ‘one or two smaller and more private rooms’ behind the main hall for the use of the women). In 1901 M’Kenny Hughes was still ‘examining instruments which are in use among races of **low civilization**’ (AJ58, 1901, 199). With regard to the boomerang in particular he said:

It might be inferred that, since they [the Aborigines] could not have elaborated such a complicated machine, they must have obtained it from some other people of **higher civilization** [my emphasis], or be themselves the degenerate descendants of such a race (AJ58, 1901, 208).

He believed however that this difficulty could be overcome by demonstrating the natural prototypes of such implements and he dismisses an idea which he described as current and in which representations of boomerangs were used as ‘corroborative evidence’, that the ‘black races’ of India, Australia and early Egypt had a common origin. Pitt Rivers brought his own perspective to this ongoing fusion and probably gave the most articulate and seemingly logical exposition. “Experience has proved,” he wrote,

that the forms of human art and handicraft, no less than the strata of geological deposits, or the breeds of animals, develop in continuous sequence...During this development many varieties were produced, some of which led to no further improvement, just as in the development of species, varieties of breeds were sometimes produced, which dying out led to no further results, but in every case it is easy to see from what stage in the main stem of development these side shoots branched off, and to assign to them their proper place in the general progress of the art....

It is because progress has tended to advance uniformly from the simple to the complex that an element of certainty has been introduced into our calculations....But we should be wrong if we assumed that the changes in past time any more than at present were uniformly in the direction of improvements, for we have degeneration as well as progress to take into account as a persistent element of change. Not only have there been in times past as there are at present, communities living side by side with **normal** [my emphasis] communities, **in a lower condition of culture than the average** [my emphasis], using commoner and simpler things, but there is also

a tendency for every form of art and industry to degenerate as soon as it is superseded by more advanced forms (AJ41, 1884, 61-63).

On the basis of this model it was possible, he argued, to establish the when or age of things; from the bones it was possible, he argued, to establish the who, and the who was identified by the race which was then known to have lived in a certain state of civilization at a certain time. He made one *caveat*

There is one point in which archaeological investigations must always fail us, and this arises from the fact that in the determination of Race, character, refinement, energy, beauty, and every human quality, the fleshy and perishable parts of the body are of far more importance than the bones (*ibid.*).

How like the fossil.

An alternative view emerged simultaneously. As well as Stevens (AJ29, 1872, 401) some art historians also queried any straightforward correlation between simplicity of style/race/ age/ and position in the scale of civilization (which the scale of nations had become). Bunnell Lewis suggested alternative explanations for simplicity of style, it could be merely haste in execution (AJ33, 1876, 287). In art if not in nature they recognised the difficulty in knowing what had been superseded and that which had not. Alwyne Compton made one of the few references to A.R. Wallace. There was, he said,

little historical foundation for the theory of the gradual development of man's civilization from the ignorance which he is supposed to have shared with his supposed ancestors – the anthropoid apes. On the contrary, the earliest traces of man – whether in his bones or in his works – show a very high order of intelligence, and in a large part of the globe, barbarism has followed, not preceded civilization (AJ35, 1878, 411).

Greaves meanwhile, in the paper on cannibalism mentioned earlier (Part I: Historians and Handmaidens, AJ36, 1879, 53), had an entirely different measure of civilization – not the material products of mankind but education, justice and morality.

Although the Archaeological Institute is particularly interesting in the context of the assimilation of ideas and the popular dissemination of science only rarely did members engage in debate on this particular issue. One interesting exception to this rule took place in a very gentlemanly discussion at a monthly meeting in 1883 (AJ40, 1883, 322). The topic was the age of some flint implements and pottery from Honduras. On the one hand Lefroy espoused the idea that they must indeed be very old because of their spatial contiguity with

some 'magnificent ruins' which *ipso facto* they must pre-date. Spurrell on the other hand resolutely looked at the provenance and argued that there was no inconsistency in the co-existence of civilizations. Flint working, he argued, could have continued as a response to 'dire necessity occasioned by poverty' when other, more grandiose, elements of civilization had decayed. He cited examples in Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula and also pointed out that flint working itself required great skill.

Henry Howorth in an amazing presidential address which flew from art to continuity to dispersion of ideas to trade, mercantilism and empire summed up the position as he saw it in 1894. He began by stating that "Archaeology is the study of history by its monuments, and not a branch of aesthetics...

What Herbert Spencer and Darwin have pressed upon the students of natural history, we antiquaries learnt long before in regard to art, namely, that there are no jerks and jumps in its history, but a continuous flow, and not only a continuous flow, but something more. It was formerly the notion that when art took an apparently new departure and became rejuvenated after a long period of stagnation, it was a spontaneous movement from within. We now know that in almost every case this rejuvenescence was due to contact from the outside. A new graft into the old tree was the real source of better fruit (AJ51, 1894, 225).

Let us now turn to some of the concrete results which our more powerful analysis has enabled us to compass. In the first place, we have learnt that it is a mistake to confuse art with race. We cannot change our race – that is indelibly stamped upon us by Nature; but art – art of every kind – including language, is not an inheritance from Nature, but is as much acquired as our hats and coats. We learn all our arts. Hence we must be perpetually on our guard against the fallacy that because art has taken a new departure, therefore we are in the presence of a new race (*ibid.* 228).

The arts, he said, were not the peculiar heritage of one race – "the foundation of the culture which we call Aryan or Indo-European is really to be traced to the now-despised Turkish and Finnish races" (AJ51, 1894, 239-40).

And with regard to the perplexing problem of the origin of man he said:

The moral from the archaeological vista is this: we can take up the various specialized and elaborated civilizations which men have produced, and trace them up to simpler and less specialized forms. We can separate the tangle created by their mutual influence upon each other, and trace the enormous changes due to the gradual introduction of new ideas and new processes, of new weapons and new tools. We can trace the complicated pedigree until we reach an age when all men used very similar tools and had very similar arts. The cramping influence of having to use the same often stubborn materials, compelled a monotony of form and ornament which is in itself bewildering. Eventually we reach a stage where it is most difficult to discriminate among races or their characteristics by their art alone (*ibid.* 229).

He then went into a lengthy digression on ways in which the origin of man could be resolved, one of which included the use of ethnographic parallels:

These various tribes of savages are generally ignored when we study history and archaeology. No greater mistake could be made. Assuredly they present us with survivals on a great scale by which we can measure and test the phases of human progress in its earlier stages, and some time, perhaps, we may be able to get them all into one pedigree, and to show how a real continuity combines them all...(AJ51, 1894, 233).

He made two other interesting observations. Regarding the arrangement of objects in the British Museum:

It seems a pity to confuse the ingenuous student by exhibiting Greek and Roman objects from Alexandria in connection with the arts of the old Egyptians, and it would be well also if scientific archaeology as tested and worked out by in the admirable diggings of Mr. Petrie, were more closely followed. It is now quite possible to separate objects according to certain great lines of progress in the arts, the key being the only one available, namely, the different stages at which objects occur in the ground (AJ51, 1894, 238).

And Greek art should be dated from the foundation of Naukratis –“This was the real *terminus a quo* from which Doric architecture, itself a daughter of Egypt, started...(ibid. 244).

Whilst he acknowledged the significance of the art history approach in a way which had not been done for over thirty years the focus of the argument had shifted to continuity and the extrapolation of racial and cultural characteristics on the comparative anatomy model had gone. His general concern in this particular address with demonstrating, as he saw it, gradual development and continuity echoed the ongoing debate which had split the prehistorian community since the early 1870s, namely, the ‘hiatus problem’ or the relationship between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic. This was never in itself a great issue in the Archaeological Institute where the alternative views were merely propounded from on high, so to speak, by Boyd-Dawkins (pro hiatus) and Robert Munro (contra hiatus). The real debate and discussion of evidence took place elsewhere at international congresses and at the meetings of the British Association. Nevertheless the fundamental model for change, the perception of the past as a place of transition or lacunae, a need seemingly for a universally consistent model when reality itself may not, of course, be consistent, was a cause for concern.

In an article published in 1908 (AJ65, 1908, 205-244) Robert Munro took up the cudgels once more with a view to resolution. As part of the argument he reviewed the debate from its inception in 1872 and, in so doing, amply illustrated the fusion of paradigms in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the first place the 'ladder of civilization', the 'scale of nations' was still firmly in place but it admitted of explanations in some quarters other than progressive, rung by rung, ascent (e.g. environmental pressures and cultural adaptation); the race/art history extrapolations had again been side-lined and a natural science paradigm put in its place. Dolicho-cephalic and brachycephalic people occur in the conclusion to the paper but the two were living in harmony in the period of transition – we even have the 'later Palaeolithic inhabitants' of Britain joining hands with "French troglodytes on the intervening common hunting grounds now forming the bed of the English Channel" (AJ65, 1908, 244). Typology however was still at the core of analysis. Munro cited De Mortillet as the instigator of the debate, the identifier on the basis of a classificatory system for the Palaeolithic "which is practically founded on the technical scale disclosed in their manufacture" (AJ65, 1908, 207) and his five epochs or 'progressive stages of culture'. De Mortillet identified '*une large et profonde lacune, un grand hiatus*' between the Magdalenian (Palaeolithic) and the Robenhausian (Neolithic). A positive outcome of the fusion of typology and natural science theory was the production of testable hypotheses and as Munro pointed out:

The evidential materials available in the discussion of the special problem.....are based on a combination of facts derived from stratigraphy, archaeology and palaeontology, which, being supplementary to each other, strengthen the final deduction in proportion to the amount of agreement between the respective results elicited from these different lines of research (AJ51, 1908, 206).

The testable hypothesis provided demonstrable sequences in the form of stratified deposits. This was recognisably modern archaeology and Munro's paper actually sets out the agenda pursued by archaeologists for many succeeding generations among whom the best known are perhaps Grahame Clark and V. Gordon Childe (Munro's paper is cited in Chapter 1, footnote, p.8 in the 1925 edition of The Dawn of European Civilization).

Half a century earlier Worsaae had turned the world of art history upside down. 'A foreign country', 'a book', 'a treasure store' are all 'things' something outside man; Worsaae on the other hand was singular, in this country at least, insofar as when he expanded upon the general nature of the past he used words such as 'infancy' and 'cradle of civilization', similes of nurture and growth. Oldfield also used the term 'infancy' in 1852 when referring to the development of manufacturing processes but it is clear from an adjacent remark in the text that he was familiar with Worsaae's work and, of course, Worsaae addressed the Institute in the same year (AJ9, 1852, 198). Otherwise views of the **past as a person**, as an organic entity, were confined to Worsaae in the early years although it is interesting to note in passing that Lubbock, when referring to archaeology itself, used the same metaphor: "For an infant science, as for a child, it is of small importance to make rapid strides at first" (AJ23, 1866, 208). What is significant here is that in this instance the past was seen not as other but as part of the human condition. It was centred upon man in a way which has parallels in the art history approach but is substantially different. The truth of this is borne out by Worsaae's metonyms for period, i.e. the Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Essentially Worsaae took the art paradigm of the treasure store and stood it on its head. He used typology in much the same way as Birch did in his classification of Celtic torcs on the understanding that there must be a progression from crude to sophisticated manufacture. That hypothesis underpins the whole concept of the Three Age System insofar as less technical knowledge or a smaller store of knowledge was assumed to be required to produce the earlier artefacts than the later whether it be in the extraction of raw materials or the processing of them. What differentiates Worsaae from, for instance, Birch, is firstly the non-aesthetic, mundane, intrinsically non-valuable nature of his raw data, which was also relatively ubiquitous and does not wittingly discriminate on the basis of social status; and secondly the interpretation of the data was centred upon the producer rather than the product. In Birch's examples the producer was peripherally described in terms of generalisations which merely supported the hypothesis upon which the analysis was founded, namely that complex societies/men produce complex goods and by inference cruder workmanship implies cruder men. Add to this the idea that civilization, one of whose *a priori* characteristics was artistic taste, was a mark of the intelligence, sensibility and moral rectitude

of the 'race' which created it, then the producers of the inferior product must necessarily be inferior in these other attributes too.

Worsaae's work ignored this moral high ground. Within the text of the *Archaeological Journal* at least he did not use the word 'race' but preferred 'people' instead. He had serious doubts about the scientific validity of craniology. He saw change as gradual rather than violent although he quite clearly, as demonstrated earlier, had a nationalist agenda. Significantly he concentrated upon what could be inferred about a total way of life even if its subject was absent; it was more like visiting the house of a friend who had gone out for a while than Burglar Bill. As the unattributed reviewer of Denmark's Olden Times observed:

He has adopted the simple, yet comprehensive system of classifying the relics of earlier times according to the materials of which they are composed: for unquestionably the material marks the period in which such relics respectively were produced; while the skill displayed in their construction seems to show the gradual development of the arts, the gradual process of civilization during such a period. And little does the uninformed reader, who is ready to scoff at what he considers the useless labour of the antiquary, little, we say, does such a reader dream of how much historical information as to the state of society, and the condition of the people, the daily business of their lives, their domestic relations, their modes of warfare, and the extent of their commercial intercourse with other parts of the globe, Mr. Worsaae has acquired from an explanation of the monuments of which he treats, and how agreeably he brings such information to bear upon the illustration of those mouldering and time-eaten monuments from which he has extracted it (AJ2, 1845, 292).

That Worsaae was able to use raw materials for time periods because he was also aware of context and association is relevant here only insofar as he transferred those concepts, consciously or unconsciously, to interpretation. By 1866 his archaeological practice was confirming an idea not giving birth to it. It is significant that what was particularly meaningful to Worsaae's contemporaries was not his technique but that, on the one hand, he presented them with a satisfactory, and to all intents and purposes, objective classificatory system in line with the inductive method by which *time* as well as *objects* could be ordered and, on the other, a humane, explanatory view of a living past which embraced all social classes and conditions of men in its ordinariness, from the materials which provided its base to the interpretations laid upon them. He breathed life into the past.

Organic tropes were never ubiquitous within the Institute but they were more common after c.1860. This personification of the past is seen in the use of the historical imagination. Spurrell presented one of the earliest examples:

Near this place were many blocks of flint stone which had fallen on the shore from out of the cliffs above, and the "palaeolithic" man (excuse the awkward phrase) sitting on the beach or fore shore, on a suitable spot of clean hard sand, chipped the flints into the shapes required by his wants...The blocks of weathered and bruised flint were obstinate and flawed, and great difficulty was experienced in getting good pieces to work upon, which contentment with inferior stone proves his inability to mine it from the rock, besides the fact that there are no such excavations in the ancient cliff hereabouts, and it is lucky that it was so, for we have before us a *hâche*, which in making he had split and thrown away....I have built up around it the pieces he struck off, so as to shew his method, a wild one, betokening great necessity and little art (AJ37, 1880, 295).

It was equally significant that Spurrell supported all his suppositions with empirical observation, practical experiment and logical deduction. Others who used the organic trope included Goodwin, the Bishop of Carlisle (AJ39, 1882, 223), Lord Aberdare at the Newcastle meeting (AJ41, 1884, 417) and Joseph Hirst who wrote in 1889:

The field of Archaeological study seems suddenly to have shifted ground, and to have reached deeper, wider, richer, and more fruitful strata. Our minds seem to have been lifted out of the narrow sphere of home concerns, and of the contracted region of our own country, and to have been almost wholly transported to those vaster fields occupied by the nations of antiquity. The study of the monuments and customs of our own country will ever be of immense importance for the illustration of our own national history. But we must remember we are only one of many nations, and there is far away in the dim regions of the past, and calling for attention at our hands, an aboriginal history, of universal, or as I may say, of *humanitarian* (his emphasis) interest, which equally concerns us all. Knit as we all are in one lasting brotherhood, we cannot but feel attracted to the origins of our race, which, moreover, contain within themselves, in some way or other, the germs of all future, separate, distinctive and national development throughout the many lands of East and West (AJ46, 1889, 14-15).

In some ways Robert Munro's paper quoted above could equally well be cited here largely because of the way in which some authors incorporated the natural science paradigm into their work. It is interesting that V. Gordon Childe in the preface to The Dawn of European Civilization used the organic metaphor explicitly:

It must be remembered that our material is only the skeleton of an organism which once was clothed with flesh and which is still immanent in every moment of our lives...(Childe 1925, xiii-xiv).

All those who used this organic trope appear to have shared a humanitarian, liberal and international vision. Although those cited here seem to concentrate upon prehistory their interests were diverse and not confined to that period. They were fascinated rather than frightened by the past and the present and viewed both with an open mind. They were, to use the phrase non-discursively, enlightened.

Metaphors for archaeology

Tropes used to describe the study of archaeology displayed a tendency to be more organic in the second half of the nineteenth century but, as part of a general pattern, they appear to fall into pairs of antonyms; light/dark; order/chaos; truth/falsehood; past/future; democratic/elitist; positivist/normative; and science/art. The most common and continuous analogy for archaeology, to the point of banality, was with light; it was continually throwing light into darkness in one form or another. The medal struck to commemorate the first annual meeting in 1843 bore a hand carefully filling a lamp with oil (Taylor 1932, 233). Neither was the analogy with electricity wasted on contemporary commentators. Fortnum wrote:

I can recollect Paris with only a few gas lamps in some of the more fashionable streets; the rest was dimness made manifest by the feeble glimmer of the oil-fed wick smouldering in a filthy lamp that creaked on its suspending chain, barely revealing the slush of the foul road beneath. Electricity now changes their night's darkness into day. I can recall the time when present at experiments to try some method of transmitting messages by that electricity so far as round the precincts of a London dock. The globe is now in a network of its conducting cables. These are amazing steps in progress, but I can also recall the time within memory when the nucleus of our National Gallery –now one of the richest and, perhaps, the most representative collection of pictures in the world – was dimly seen in a private house, of moderate pretension, in Pall Mall. When old Montague House in Bloomsbury contained an *olla podenda* of savage implements, "an alligator stuffed and other skins of ill-shaped fishes, green earthen pots, etc.," in truth Shakespeare's vivid description of the apothecaries shop was equally applicable to the then British Museum, to the dear old Ashmolean, and to what few others could be found in England and elsewhere. The development of natural historical science and of the study of Art and Archaeology, for these last are twin sisters, has thrown as much light on these dark depositories as electricity has done on the filthy slums of Paris (AJ49, 1892, 284).

For Bunnell Lewis on the other hand the archaeologist was the unveiler:

A white mist from the sea rested on the city concealing everything except the highest cupolas and minarets: gradually it lifted and all the charms of a fairy scene were disclosed to view. I would fain regard it as an omen of success crowning the labours of modern scholars, whose investigations raise the veil drawn over the history and monuments of former times.....(on his first visit to Constantinople, AJ42, 1885, 124).

It was also seen as bringing order out of chaos, particularly in the early years (AJ13, 1856, 315) a vision which was intimately connected to aspirations of archaeologists to be received as colleagues and peers in the scientific community and perceived as such by society at large. That there was a will for archaeology to be a science from the very beginning is indisputable (AJ12, 1855, 297). The ghost of 'curiosity' was thought to have been laid to rest by the 1880s (AJ38, 1881, 418) although it was a spectre which still returned occasionally to haunt the Institute. Analogies were drawn from philology, comparative anatomy, natural history, and even economics to the extent that the Dean of Chichester favoured the division of labour within the Institute itself (AJ24, 1864, 18). Above and beyond all was the ubiquitous and scientific prerequisite of inductive method. Nevertheless archaeology was a wayward child and as we have seen in other sections on the use of language, the path to scientific status was not straightforward. There was a strong and recurrent literary and aesthetic strand which persistently pulled in the direction of art and intuitive discourse. The latter was at its strongest in the 1840s and 1850s. The purpose of archaeology at that time was to elucidate or 'throw light' upon the subject studied on the basis of objective fact but there was no bashfulness about ascribing it a didactic role. The past was used to build the future. This awareness of future time as a corollary of the past occurred most forcibly in the 1880s and 1890s:

For the light that gleams from the dimness of one horizon flashes too upon the dimness of the other (AJ46, 1889, 280).

Parallels with the development of the detective novel were mentioned earlier; perhaps it is equally apposite here to draw the attention of the reader to the birth of science fiction and the futuristic novel (e.g. H.G. Wells, The Time Machine, 1895).

This concern with the future coincided with the overt expression of two other concerns, namely archaeology and education (AJ46, 1889, 249-50) which was discussed to some extent in *Metaphors for the Past* (the past as a book) and also the development of democracy. In the 1840s archaeology had possessed a

democratic element or potential (which was recognised) in much of its raw data. This re-surfaced far more explicitly in the 1880s. Petrie, for instance, drew attention to the more mundane remains of Egypt:

Though the long extent and chequered vicissitudes of Egyptian history are now being read from the monuments, yet a stratum of it is as yet scarcely touched, that of domestic remains. The brilliancy of the workmanship, and the interest of the written history of Egypt, on its temples and palaces, have attracted the whole attention of the literary explorers who have worked in the country. The remains of ordinary life have scarcely been noticed, and the condition of the bulk of the population have been nearly unknown (AJ40, 1883, 17).

An article on ancient Roman mining operations was novel in its concern for the slave labourers engaged in the process (AJ42, 1885, 20-40). In a very different area one writer expressed the sentiment “we are not sure that the great peoples’ wills are by any means the most interesting” (AJ46, 1889,77). Edward Peacock writing on ‘Church Ales’, a kind of alcoholic garden party fund-raiser, the demise of which he seems to discreetly lament in those days of temperance, wrote:

It has been often remarked by those who take an intelligent interest in the past, that time, who has spared so few relics of our remote kindred, has in some cases given us almost a profusion of less interesting, and entirely deprived us of the more interesting facts of their lives. We would willingly exchange some of the saintly biographies.....for a contemporary picture of society here when it was half Christian and half heathen...no one thought it worthwhile to record that which was so common and so trivial as to be utterly beneath notice (AJ40, 1883, 4).

The role of the press in disseminating information of an archaeological nature to a wider audience was warmly applauded (AJ46, 1889, 259). Lord Percy stressed the importance of local societies in attracting people to archaeology. He was often told, he said, of the want of respect shown by people in general for ancient monuments. He felt we only heard the bad news:

He was not sure, considering how the exigencies of life in this nineteenth century pressed upon a great number of people, how they had to hurry through life without much opportunity for education in its higher branches, or in its truer sense, how they were obliged in the race for wealth, or even for a livelihood, to sweep away any obstacles in their path – he thought it was wonderful how many cases there were in which they found those who had not, perhaps, any very intelligent appreciation of the value of ancient remains, were willing to do all in their power to preserve them from injury, and were very anxious to give information of their being in any peril.....to those who were more qualified to deal with them....he thought it showed that the work their local societies had been carrying on...had borne good fruit.....by stretching out their arms and welcoming as many people and classes as possible.....as friends....included in

expeditions....They might depend upon it, that in the heart of almost every man and woman living there was some innate feeling for that which was old and venerable...(AJ49, 1892, 413).

Added to this there was a need to communicate with ordinary people to be a good archaeologist:

A man *must* (his emphasis) start on such research furnished with the necessary requisite of local knowledge. He must be in touch not only with the ground he treads, but with the people who are sons of the soil (AJ46, 1889, 245).

In 1894 Somers Clark raised the issue of the Aswan Dam (The Devastation of Nubia: AJ51, 1894, 268-282). He cared about the loss of monuments but more concerned about the effect on people living in the area. He did not have a great deal of faith in the British engineers entrusted with the work:

Mr Willcock proposes to rebuild the structure or structures [the temple/Philae] on the adjoining island of Bigeh. Sir Benjamin Baker will screw up the whole affair [by which we assume he means 'fix']

There is yet another feature of the scheme which I have just mentioned before. One of the greatest importance to the people. England has not only posed as a benefactor to the peasantry, but there is very little doubt that she has assisted the Egyptian people against the oppression of the pashas, landowners and members of the Khedival family. But what through her engineers does she now propose to do? To turn out between 25,000 and 30,000 people from their homes and to absolutely efface the very sites on which they were bred and born. Nothing but rocks and Nile mud would be left for a distance of about 100 miles.

This, which is in many ways a more serious matter than destroying history and antiquities, is treated in the most light and airy way in the report. Where the poor people are to go is not even stated, nor the method of their removal..... the work would involve the entire displacement of a considerable tribe with their own language, customs, etc., and we have also to remember the botany, the ethnology, in fact everything that gives a country its own character except the bare bones of geology, will be effaced, and surely no greater cruelty to a people has been shown since the days of the convée (AJ51, 1894, 280-281).

He asked two of the engineers where the people would go and was told further up the valley sides.

Those who know that the people live only on their date palms, and that a date palm takes eight years after it is planted to bear fruit, will understand the amount of thought that has been spent on the people of Nubia

It is especially from the point of view of the poor that the thoughtless cruelty proposed should be combated (AJ51, 1894, 281).

This movement for education and democracy, admittedly with a strong paternalistic flavour, could be said to have borne some fruit in 1910 when

For the first time in the recorded history of the nation, the [Liberal] Government of the day has determined to “make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilisation and conditions of the life of the people” A great step in the right direction (AJ67, 1910, 279).

In the first thirty or so years of the Institute’s existence archaeology had a democratic element. It took people not only to churches and castles but to their cottages and homes (AJ24, 1867, 358, 367); it “levelled up”, to use a political phrase current in the 1860s (AJ27, 1870, 41) and invariably it contrasted itself with history which was considered narrow and elitist. In the 1880s history had established its own epistemological space and archaeology was still involved in the struggle for existence; public opinion and public knowledge could only help. At the same time archaeology, according to some contemporary writers, was about truth and how to recognise it. The role of the Institute was to ‘elucidate truth’ by ‘the torch of scientific inquiry’ (AJ46, 1889, 245) using ‘the telescope of history’ and ‘the microscope of archaeology’ (AJ48, 1891, 265). Archaeology itself became a metaphor for knowledge (AJ34, 1877, 164). Had ‘the minute philosophical inquiries’ with their moral virtues (AJ7, 1850, 307) been replaced by science? Had science become the new religion? In the pursuit of knowledge Pitt Rivers had slaughtered and dissected several animals - like the reviewer of Cranborne Chase we also must feel some sympathy for these sacrificial lambs (AJ46, 1889, 79).

Metaphors regarding the past in the present

We come to a group of tropes for which there is no simple explanatory heading, namely those tropes associated with the preservation or otherwise of material remains, of the past in the present. It is well known that the early to mid Victorian period saw a revival of interest in church architecture and much of the time and energies of Institute members were taken up by this. The revival was attended by a great deal of demolition and restoration although restoration itself had become a metonym for destruction by the late 1860s. Much of the language referred to here was being applied to ecclesiastical architecture but it also reflects a more general attitude to ancient remains, many of which were being destroyed by the laying out of the infrastructure of a modern industrial and commercial nation. The key words were destruction, threat, fear, danger, barbarism, vigilance, watchfulness,

reckless, ruthless (particularly of railway engineers), wanton and, above all, vandalism. They formed an unrelenting pattern which was only slightly ameliorated in the 1860s and thereafter. The late 1880s witnessed an impulse among some writers to take a less aggressive stance and the urge to record what was inevitably passing away:

The present century has seen enormous change pass over the whole of England.....Railways work every year unnoticed migrations of people....School inspectors demand from children throughout the land uniform knowledge, uniform ideas, as much as may be, uniform pronunciation.....[In the process] the key will be lost to much that will be of growing interest to the antiquarian...Much, very much, has been done in explaining the Roman Wall as illustrative of the life of the Romans. Something remains to be done in studying it as illustrating those whom it was meant to repel...(AJ42, 1885, 43-46).

On the other hand, another writer sarcastically (I assume) looked to the invasion of England by 'a more civilized nation' as the only hope of protecting the Wall from the local farmers (AJ52, 1895, 405). The destruction of remains and the lack of protection was the only issue, with the possible exception of an isolated outburst over the British Museum (Part I: Patrons, Presidents and Politicians), which aroused such strong feelings. The social and professional standing of the members of the Institute does not suggest that these men were normally intemperate yet here were people who felt angry, fearful and, surprisingly, powerless. Was it just the ancient ruins, churches and castles that were threatened? Or was it a world and a way of life?

Certainly by the 1900s there is a feeling of loss, of sadness and of grief. Books such as Vanishing England were common:

The output of such books as this is astonishing. It is also gratifying, at least in this sense, that the spread of popular knowledge and appreciation of the disappearing antiquities may make for their preservation and more tender handling...The mere list of our losses in the last hundred years, could such ever be compiled, would be simply appalling.....We put down Mr. Ditchfield's book, provided though it is for our entertainment, as if we had had the company of a death's head at our feast (AJ67, 1910, 413).

The previous year a writer described what was happening in a Durham township: Ten daughter parishes have been carved out of the ancient parish of Houghton each with its own church and large mining population. The resident gentry has fled, and their houses are disappearing or being gradually converted to baser uses (AJ66, 1909, 75).

He goes on to say that at West Rainton, nearby, the former home of Sir John Duck (a local seventeenth century equivalent of Dick Whittington) was now

partly a small general shop, partly Salvation Army 'barracks' with the ruin of a classic doorway and a broken pediment; the comparatively modern mansion of the Strathmores at Hetton is described as 'abandoned to decay' and the 'hollow stone' of Hetton, known locally as the Fairy Cradle, had been taken away to a museum, the land levelled and cottages built on the site. The only memento being a stone "set into the front of a dismal row of pit cottages". At Eppleton the old hall stands "but the pit smoke has killed its grove of protecting trees and blackened the buildings, the upper windows are given over to pigeons and the lower rooms are inhabited by a farm servant". Conyers at Horden was 'a mere shell' – the staircase, mantelpiece and oak panelling had been 'torn out' and removed to Castle Eden (the new home of the owner). Nesham Hall was become a 'common tenement house'. Most of the writing in this vein is written more in sorrow than in anger. Of course most of the old owners had not disappeared; they had merely moved away from the grime and unpleasantness of wealth creation to Castle Eden or Surrey. It is true however that the world of which they were part had changed. Was this 'creative destruction'? Or Berman's modernity in the making:

To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are (In Harvey 1995, 10).

Yet another aspect of this modernisation process was restoration, reproduction and reconstruction. Eminent architects and architecture figured largely in the early days of the Institute. It was never an unmitigated success but, on the whole, it was considered fruitful and positive during the period of the Gothic Revival. By the 1880s the wheel had not only turned but gone full circle. In 1879 the language previously reserved for the developers was being applied to the restorers too, they were the 'twin demons' (AJ36, 1879, 425). At the turn of the century the work of the earlier generation of members was being referred to as barbarism and atrocities. In 1883 J.T. Micklethwaite, working architect and sometime adviser to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, addressed the issue in his capacity as president of the Architectural Section at the annual meeting (AJ40, 1883, 368-376). His tone was moderate even if the message was critical. He was at pains to stress the paradox in that what made a parish church interesting was the story it told, of continuity and change. The

nineteenth century, he argued, had as much right as any other to be part of that process or story. His objections were centred upon the restoring architect's habit of imposing an ideal version of medieval architecture upon a building which was not and never had been representative of that ideal. The restorers imposed a spurious integrity and, just as importantly, destroyed the real integrity of the building by making it almost impossible to distinguish what was genuinely old and what was reproduction after the passing of a few years. Most contributors were far less temperate. In an amusing and heartfelt address entitled 'Restoration Considered as a Destructive Art' (AJ56, 1899, 332-341) Sir W. Brampton Gurdon suggests (jokingly I think)

There can be no doubt that any one who wishes to earn a crown of martyrdom would deserve most highly of posterity if he were to go round the churches of this country with a pocketful of stones and to destroy nine-tenths of the coloured windows, the crude greens and blues of modern glass, the product of the half-century now drawing to a close...

Alas poor Charles Winston the hero of the hour forty years before (Part I: Artists, Architects and Engineers) and forget women's suffrage these were the issues demanding direct action. The gravestones of his ancestors had unfortunately been overlain with 'the most hideously vulgar, garish, encaustic tiles' which he looked forward to tearing up. In passing he says a sharp watch should be kept at Easter, Christmas and Harvest time:

Strictly forbid the entrance of nails and hammers....Do not let a really fine bit of carving be broken off because it gets in the way of a sprig of holly (*ibid.*).

This so-called revival of old customs, such as decorating the church with flowers at festivals, the more secular Dunmow Flitch, and Pancake Tuesday, this late nineteenth century physical manifestation of the *volksetymologie* of philology, was as spurious in historical if not aesthetic terms as the architecture of the Gothic revival.

This attempted reproduction of the past has an interesting history and good examples of it can still be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. In essence, if not in fact, it stems from the utilitarianism of the Gothic revival. It was suggested (AJ9, 1852, 5) that the newly inaugurated section for 'British and Medieval Antiquities' at the British Museum should include reduced models of 'the noblest edifices of antiquity'. Later in the century the concept of 3-dimensional models was extended to sites, the best executed and best known, perhaps, being those of Pitt Rivers at Farnham; he considered this to be the most

effective way of communicating an accurate impression of topography. Perhaps the work of men like William Burges, William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement is also relevant here although not very apposite. Meanwhile work at the Saalburg in Germany was on a vastly different scale. In England the restoration or repair of Stonehenge had raised serious questions about the integrity of a national monument; the Saalburg managed to plumb the depths and climb the heights of that debate and set a new agenda.

James Hilton had made several visits to the Saalburg in 1883. It lay, as he said, 'within a pleasant day's ramble from Homburg' (AJ41, 1884, 203-210) and he made some comments upon the then limited restorations, saying that he had some difficulty in distinguishing old from new although

of course the general effect makes a better impression on the casual observer....[but] The camp presents such an appearance of neatness and uniformity as to create an impression that too much has been done for it...(AJ41, 1884, 209).

Work at the Saalburg was originally carried out by a local antiquarian society c.1853 but had rapidly engaged the attention of the Kaiser. The site was opened officially by his son, Kaiser Wilhelm II, in 1903.

Now in the beginning of this twentieth century [wrote Hilton] the respect which is usually shown for genuine ancient works of interest by thoughtful and single-minded archaeologists in Britain, and in many other distant foreign lands, is disregarded at the Saalburg [Much as it was to be disregarded in Crete?], where all has been absolutely restored, rebuilt, and reconstructed according to what is thought to have been its appearance at the period of the Roman occupation. Elaborate buildings appear in the place of foundations almost level with the surface which were laid bare by the clearing away of the earth which had buried them for past ages. A new big building occupies the position of the Praetorium, which is destined to hold the contents of the excellent Roman Museum at Homburg; other buildings have been set up for modern occupation, and one may expect as a natural sequence that a tavern may be brought into existence in place of a supposed Roman canteen. The two gateways north and south, called the Porta Decumana, and the Porta Praetoria, also the Porta dextra, and the Porta sinistra, have been entirely rebuilt, with square sloping roofed towers or guard rooms in supposed imitation of the original Roman structures, and the entire rampart of the camp is restored and crenellated (AJ61, 1904, 320-1).

His travelling days being over he had gathered this information from a set of recently published postcards. They showed, among other things, a statue representing the 'Genius of the Post' the pedestal of which was used as a letter box – " a post-office has already sprung up to serve the place which is as yet without a population to use it" (*ibid.*). The post box bore an inscription:-

I.NHD.D.GENIO/VEREDARIORVMNN/ANTONIANVSREMVS/DENKSTEI
N DER VEREDARIER (POSTREITER)/GEFUNDEN IM LIMESKASTELL
KAPERSBVRG

And beneath the letter box:

CVRSVS PVBLICVS (REICHSPPOST).

Hilton remarked also on the other modern inscriptions in a similar vein but honouring the Emperor Wilhelm; on the base of a statue of Antoninus Pius was inscribed: *Imperatori Romanorum Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio Guilelmus II Imperator Germanorum.*

Outside the camp there are many modern constructions completed or in progress, made to represent what the Romans had built there, but of which only the foundations survived to these modern times; for instance, huts or cottages for the usual population in connection with a camp, the hypocaust and the villa of the Emperor Caracalla, the early existence of which is evidenced only by the excavated substructions. And a little way off a tramway is ready to convey the antiquary from Homburg to the Saalburg, in place of four miles agreeable walk by the road along which the Roman legions marched until fifteen centuries ago....(AJ61, 1904, 322).

The heritage industry had arrived. Hilton verbally raised his eyebrows and obviously expected his audience to share his disquiet on the grounds that the evidence was being obliterated but he does try to put the other side of the argument. He concedes that it is 'a pretty exhibition' and an 'instructive model' but it should have been built elsewhere and the authority for the reconstruction (Fabretti's drawings of Trajan's column) he felt was dubious for the time and place.

The modern Saalburg will doubtless afford some instruction to visitors who are not influenced by the feeling of archaeological regret at the transformation which I have thus presumed to place on record (AJ61, 1904, 323).

What would have been Hilton's reaction to a recent speech subtitled 'Going too far or never far enough?' by Peter Lewis, Director of Beamish, the North of England Open Air Museum – a museum dedicated to those 'dismal pit cottages' mentioned earlier?

If this speech was a sermon my text would be a simple one; that open air museums worry far too much about architecture, far too little about artifice. I discovered recently a quotation which has given me much pleasure. Let me share it with you:- "there are only 4 major art forms – painting, music, drama and ornamental pastry-making...of the last architecture is only an unimportant subdivision." The author is anonymous, though more likely I would have thought, to be a pastry cook than an architect. I have much sympathy with the idea. I quickly become bored with

buildings as buildings. Rarely am I aroused by architecture, only by that itching curiosity to know why a structure was made and who used it. For me folk are always more fascinating than fabric, people infinitely more important than porticos or pargetting. There is no history other than the accumulation of innumerable biographies. People are –like flies and bed bugs – inexterminable. There will always be some of us that survive in the cracks and crevices of architecture. It's the duty of curators, not to behave like washerwomen wiping surfaces clean, but to show where the bugs have been (Lewis 1998, 1).

The concept of 'legacy', of 'heritage', the use of such tropes was relatively recent and occurred sporadically in the text of the *Archaeological Journal* from the 1880s. Their use was accompanied by a sense of the future, of posterity, the need to transmit to future generations a sense of the past. For some this had to be done with integrity, both moral and material; for some, as at the Saalburg (and at Stonehenge) material remains were the post box bearing a message (and how deliciously apt the medium of the picture postcard); for some it had to tell a good tale, to attract the passing attention of the passing man on the Saalburg tram.

OBJECTS OF DISCUSSION

"The time has come," the Walrus said,
"To talk of many things:
Of shoes – and ships – and sealing wax –
Of cabbages – and kings-"
And why the sea is boiling hot-
And whether pigs have wings".
(from *The Walrus and The Carpenter* by Lewis Carroll 1872)

In previous sections textual analysis has revealed various ways in which the formative archaeological discourse, as seen through the medium of the Archaeological Institute and the *Archaeological Journal*, was being shaped and defined; areas of instability, potentiality and conflict have been shown as embedded within the use of language, format, and citation. In short questions have been asked at one level about how the data were ordered and at another level questions have been raised about the deeper significance of such ordering. Taken as a whole the *how*, the *what* and possibly the social *where* can be said to define the **objects of discourse** peculiar to that part of epistemological space known as archaeology. It remains therefore to examine the data themselves; what, in a Baconian sense, constituted the perceived area of expertise or interest in this arbitrary period of 1843-1914. These are **the objects of discussion**. Furthermore, is it possible to identify any patterns of dispersion of these objects which may be relevant to contemporary epistemological formations and the level of discourse?

The **objects of discussion** are the topics and items discussed in the published memoirs and in the proceedings of the monthly meetings. Although the role and content of the annual meetings is discussed here much of the material recorded there is repeated elsewhere in the publication and it is accounted for in that way. Originally the objects of discussion were not overtly characterised or exclusively defined although the 'Queries and Directions intended to assist correspondents in the arrangement of topographical communications' (AJ2, 1845, 66-70) indicated what Bromet at least considered valid and relevant information. He borrowed heavily from a model then current in France for his '*Desiderata*' "for the guidance of persons about to make local archaeological investigations."

Some of these questions are taken from a list sent, I believe, by M. Guizot, when Minister of Public Instruction, to each of the 33,000 communes or parishes in France; but several which are found in the French list have been here omitted, and their place supplied by others which are more applicable to English monuments (AJ2, 1845, 66-70).

In effect Bromet listed four categories of interest which were only loosely and implicitly related to the age of the remains in question. The first category concerned 'Rocks or standing stones'. Correspondents were asked to record whether there were any local superstitions or any names attached to them; whether they were natural or 'placed there by the hand of man'; and any geological provenance, was the material out of which they were fashioned local or imported? If the latter over what kind of terrain? They were to record the number, dimensions and arrangement, whether 'rocking stones' or forming 'a kind of altar' or 'covered gallery', in which case they were requested to supply the orientation of the opening; whether the stone had been worked in any way; whether there had been excavations in the vicinity and did they appear to have been part of tumuli; what had been found near them, were they on or near parish boundaries or 'other ancient geographical division'; were there any earthworks or mounds not part of medieval fortifications built 'apparently, for military or sepulchral purposes, or as places of refuge for the inhabitants of a district subject to inundation'. Had they ever been dug into? What was found? What was the construction of any masonry? Were there any artificial or natural caverns 'apparently employed either as sepulchres or as granaries, or hiding places'? Trees, wells or springs of superstitious interest were also to be noted and at what distance from the 'present' church. Were there any trackways or roads and of what materials, construction and direction, straight or winding. Any bones of man were to be recorded with orientation of the skull, or 'bones of inferior animals', or 'wedge or hatchet-like objects of stone or metal – any shields, spears, swords, or other weapons – arrow heads or knives of bone and flint – pottery, bone pins, rings, beads, bracelets, collars, coins'.

The second category referred to Roman remains beginning with Roman roads 'or their immediate successors'. Correspondents were asked to record materials and methods of construction; 'what name and history do the peasantry attach to it?'; the general direction by the compass point and the names given to the parts of the parish which it traversed. They were also asked to record any

sculptured stones or edifices in the vicinity; regular earthworks or enclosures; any traditional battle-fields and any finds supporting such a tradition; fragments of glass, pottery, coins, buckles, pins, bracelets, brooches, rings, seals, keys, tesserae, and 'small figures of men or animals' with 'precise localities'; ashlar walls, straight or curved, texture of mortar or cement; inscribed stones, portions of columns, statues of marble or bronze; coffins with their orientation, ornamentation and inscriptions; ancient coins and seals ('send impressions on sealing wax from the various kinds of them stating precisely in what locality, and with what other ancient objects they were found'); and present location.

The third category comprised 'Ecclesiastical Edifices or Conventual Remains'. It was suggested that these be examined externally and internally and, by and large, the details to be recorded were architectural although correspondents were asked to note the presence of any 'Roman-like' bricks and whether there was a tree 'of remarkable size or age' in the vicinity.

The fourth category referred to what we would call secular or vernacular architecture, i.e. castellated buildings, mansions, halls, granges or farmhouses. It also asked for information regarding 'ancient gardens' and parks.

In modern terms the torrent of information which was forthcoming can be usefully categorised as Standing Buildings, Below Ground Remains, Art, Documents, Artefacts and latterly Theory and Method. Within each category it is frequently, but not invariably, possible to identify certain characteristics, namely, assigned period (modern terminology is used here for ease of reference; for contemporary usage see Terminology), status (high/low), class (ecclesiastical/religious, vernacular, military/state), provenance (excavation, chance find, private purchase) and place of origin or geographical provenance. There are also some items which defy categorisation, notably seals and seal matrices and memorial brasses, mainly because after the first few years they were so numerous and ubiquitous that even the recorder at the Institute was reduced to listing them as, for instance, 'Seals, etc.'. Nevertheless, although they have been necessarily omitted from the quantified analysis they were significant to members. In short seals and brasses were treated as documentary sources, invaluable adjuncts to the writing of history and the omnipresent genealogies, as works of art and as stylistic indicators of architectural history. They were also relatively ubiquitous, portable in the case of seals and accessible in the case of

brasses particularly after the invention of the heel ball in 1838 by Ullathorne, and eminently collectable. Fig.8 illustrates the relative strength of the various categories (excluding Theory and Method) over time.

Standing Buildings (Fig.9)

Churches, castles, stone circles, bridges and houses are all included in this category. As a percentage of items/topics under discussion they rose at the end of the century but it should be borne in mind that whereas in the early period the Institute was dealing with over 100 objects of discussion per year, in the later period this had dropped to one quarter of that number on average per year. Whereas in the ten years from 1854 to 1863, for example, 1468 objects of discussion were considered by the Institute, this had been reduced to 226 between 1904 and 1913 (Fig.10). In numerical terms the interest in standing buildings was at its height prior to the late 1850s. The most significant drop was in the 1860s. The overwhelming majority of buildings investigated were ecclesiastical and Medieval. Between 1873-1893 the frequency of Early Medieval buildings increased but they never overtook the Medieval period for popularity.

The reporting was primarily architectural in style and content following Bromet's advice to some extent and, secondarily, historical when it linked a building to a particular historical figure, family or genealogy when a narrative style was preferred. Towards the end of the century there was a tendency for this historical narrative to be superseded by a more descriptive narrative of the building or buildings. Changes in the frequency and treatment of standing buildings can be related to both the internal and external histories of the Institute. The shift from historical to architectural narrative was contemporary with a change in the direction of the Institute after the death of Talbot de Malahide in 1883. In 1884 there was a wholesale change in the administrative personnel of the Institute, a new president, a new secretary and a new editor in the shape of WH St. John Hope. Hope had begun work in his native Derbyshire and rapidly proceeded to excavate a host of Medieval ecclesiastical sites (some with standing remains) at the behest of landowners such as the Duke of Northumberland in the 1880s. Many of these were published in some form in the *Journal*. Excavations at the Premonstratensian Abbey at Alnwick were prompted by the impending visit of the Institute to Newcastle. The interest in Early Medieval ecclesiastical

architecture can be attributed at least in part to a long-running dispute between two individuals (J.H. Parker and E.A. Freeman) as to whether pre-Norman churches were ever built in stone. A pronounced interest in Medieval remains prior to the 1860s was clearly influenced by members of the Institute who were also architects eager to play their part in the Gothic Revival aided and abetted by the clergy (this is discussed more fully in Part I). At the same time however the visible remains of the past, whether parish church, cathedral or megalithic monument, the initial stimulus to archaeology, introduced certain intellectual concepts. Paradoxically, in the light of attitudes to restoration in the 1870s and later (see Tropes: metaphors for the past in the present), the architects also introduced ideas of preservation and reconstruction. Architectural studies also introduced the 3-dimensional mental construct and 2-dimensional representation of that construct in the form of the architectural drawing.

Below Ground (Fig.11)

Interments, settlement sites and earthwork surveys are included in this category. In the early days many of the sites were investigated as chance discoveries resulting from railway development, urban expansion and renewal, increased mineral extraction and changes in agricultural practice. The incidence of chance investigation declined while that of deliberate excavation and survey remained relatively steady with an upward trend towards the end of the century. Romano-British sites were consistently the most popular, occasionally matched but rarely overtaken by a flurry of interest in prehistoric sites between 1865-1885 and Medieval sites c.1895-1905. It should be noted however that a relatively high proportion of interventions which were unassigned prior to 1870 were in fact prehistoric. The status and character of the Romano-British sites also changed. Before c.1870 although some town sites, such as Cirencester and Wroxeter were investigated fragmentarily, most sites were small scale and high status. Many of these were excavated at the instigation of individual landowners such as Richard Neville (Lord Braybrooke) (Cambridgeshire and Essex) and W. Owen Stanley (Anglesey). By the turn of the century large scale sites like Silchester required large scale support and public funding. This involved rule by committee (AJ16, 1859, 215 & 279) – a practice which had been adopted earlier at Wroxeter where the landowner did not appear to have been particularly interested but was either pressurised into giving his support in the form of access to the land or took a

benevolent if non-participatory stance. Few, as was mentioned often at the time, had the patience, obsession, or resources of Pitt Rivers at Cranborne Chase. Many major excavations, of course, were taking place abroad. Some used Government money and resources, Charles Newton at Halicarnassus for example (AJ13, 1856, 14; AJ16, 1859, 305), while some, such as Frank Calvert in the Troad (AJ17, 1860, 288-292; AJ18, 1861, 363; AJ21, 1864, 42; AJ22, 1865, 51-57), were privately financed. Lack of money was a perennial problem particularly for large scale work. Flaxman Spurrell had been funded to the tune of £150 by the British Association (AJ26, 1869, 294) to pursue his investigations into 'dene holes' in Kent, a relatively small scale undertaking, but all the Institute could offer in response to a request for funds from Woods at Ephesus was to follow the example of the Society of Antiquaries and send a memo to the Government in support of state funding (AJ29, 1872, 360). One response was the exploration fund and another, very late in the day, in the opinion of many English archaeologists, was the setting up of the Schools in Rome and Athens subsequent to the French and German initiatives (see Citations). The Palestinian Exploration Fund was set up in the mid 1860s following a preliminary excursion by Capt. Wilson. In 1865 (AJ22, 1865, 170) Talbot de Malahide enlisted the help of the British Consul and a few other members of the Institute, including J.H. Parker, who were over-wintering in Italy to form the British Archaeological Society at Rome. Two years later the secretary, Mr. Shakespeare Wood, and Parker were reporting back to the Institute on the work going on there and the pressing need for funds. By 1872 the Roman Exploration Fund was in receipt of subscriptions (including several women subscribers AJ29, 1872, 420) and set out its prospectus. The aim was not to look for statues or works of art but to take plans, sections, drawings and photographs of all that had been found. Parker explained that further help was necessary to preserve the remains which had in the past been preserved by poverty and inertia. The previous year there had been an attempt to form the Roman Exploration Company backed by investors, Rome apparently was no stranger to the speculative excavator, but free market venture capital failed in its appeal in this instance. Parker however was not to be deterred and in the face of English public opinion that the Roman Exploration Fund had done its work and stimulated the new Italian government to shoulder its responsibilities he said they could not do it alone

Archaeology is necessarily neutral and international; the Pope and the King of Italy, M. Thiers and the Emperors of Germany and Russia, might each subscribe to it [the REF] with propriety, if they liked to do so (AJ29, 1872, 420).

Parker then proceeded to ask for £20,000 from the British House of Commons 'as an example to others in the international community'. Nevertheless the need to ask for voluntary contributions and to sell some of the finds to finance further work continued as a *modus operandi*. In 1882 possibly one of the best known examples, the Egypt Exploration Fund, was set up on this basis. The Government run and sponsored India Archaeological Survey, begun in 1862 which one might have thought would be a model or precedent received very little attention in archaeological circles. Large scale excavations or long term projects such as the investigation of the Wall in Northumberland continued to be carried out by public subscription and committee. Small scale excavations such as the brief flowering of villa excavation in the south of England in the early 1900s (e.g. AJ62, 1905, 262-4; AJ64, 1907, 1-14), which had its own agenda, also continued but they were increasingly carried out under the auspices of local societies and were directed by individuals who did not own the land but were granted access. They were aided, in part, by organisations such as the Archaeological Institute, the British Archaeological Association and the Society of Antiquaries either with grants or personnel. At the same time some laudable watching briefs were carried out by amateurs like F.W. Reader (AJ60, 1903, 137) following in the footsteps of the architect William Tite (AJ21, 1863, 177) and Pitt Rivers (AJ24, 1867, 61-64).

Art (Fig.12)

This category includes those objects, usually brought before the monthly meetings, which were treated aesthetically or primarily as art objects. A strong utilitarian rationale was given for their presence in the first twenty to thirty years but the approach taken by members of the Institute in discussion could be described at best as art appreciation or connoisseurship or, at worst, that of the collector. They were objects of desire. Items included murals and frescoes, most frequently of a religious nature; sculptures and effigies; tapestries; paintings; enamels; painted glass; embroidery; heraldry; illuminated manuscripts, which were also treated as documents; wood carving; bronzes (Classical and Post-Medieval); precious metalwork; church furniture; miniature portraits; mosaics (e.g. in a mosque in Constantinople in 1855); and glyptic art.

It is apparent from Fig.12 that there was a fairly steady interest in this category. To some extent this general picture masks clear peaks of interest related to specific events such as the Great Exhibition in 1851 and the Archaeological Institute's own exhibition of glyptic art in 1861. The apparent increase in interest in the early 1900s can be attributed, perhaps, to a changeover of personnel at the Institute as well as external factors. In the previous decade the Society of Antiquaries reorganised and at the same time increased their strength in the Archaeological Institute (see Part I: Historians and Handmaidens). It is possible, and I certainly had this impression, that texts of an aesthetic and perhaps less scholarly character were being diverted into the Institute and the *Archaeological Journal* as an environment considered more suitable. At the same time the Institute was recruiting people like W.R. Lethaby and their contributions focussed upon the aesthetics, both past and present, of an object rather than the archaeology. The utilitarian and didactic strands were also re-invigorated as the art history/scale of civilizations approach was dumbfounded by the aesthetics of Palaeolithic cave art and the apparent crudity of the Neolithic.

The Medieval and Post Medieval periods were consistently the most popular although the latter faded away in the 1900s. Ancient and Classical art enjoyed a brief rise in frequency between 1860-80. This was mainly Greek and Egyptian. The items discussed were predictably high status on the whole and mainly of a religious character. Their provenance was generally poorly recorded, some contributors were more frank about their acquisitions than others, and they came mainly through purchase or from established collections.

Documents (Fig.13)

The reproduction of original documents was a regular feature of the *Archaeological Journal* until 1880s. Until that time the majority were Medieval and high status such as early books, wills, court rolls, letters, and rolls of arms but it also included inscribed stones, Egyptian papyri, a document taken from a Sri Lankan temple (1853), the Ossian controversy (1857) and maps (including some from China (1866) and one from Palestine (1867)). The interest in documents has to be seen initially against a background of conservation and the legal, historical and political issues inherent in the contemporary campaign for an Historic Manuscripts Commission as well as a lively collectors' lobby. Interest was at its highest in the 1850s and appears to rise again in the 1870s (AJ30, 1873, 420)

when it could be argued the 'New History' of Stubbs, Freeman, Green and Norgate among others became thoroughly established and public interest in history was more widespread than hitherto. After the Historic Manuscript Commission was set up in 1859 and the Public Record Office was reorganised the agenda changed slightly. It was felt for instance that perhaps the wills of the rich and famous, the great and the good were by no means the most interesting. Furthermore there was concern over access to these documents by scholars, that charges were unreasonable. Many people expressed disquiet over the condition of the lowly parish registers. The dominant feeling was that they should be transcribed wherever possible and kept locally where local people could read them but that copies should be kept in a central depository. There was a perceptible impulse, which manifested itself most often at the annual trips away from the metropolis, against centralisation or what was perceived as over-centralisation and a distinct lack of confidence in the competency of those at the centre to care adequately for the local record (e.g. *The Right to a Parish Register*, AJ46, 1889, 470).

Between 1876 and the early 1890s there was a rise in the number of Romano-British documents as a result of the publication of Hübner's *Corpus* and the epigraphic studies of W.T. Watkin in the first place and then F.J. Haverfield. They disappear abruptly as Haverfield pursued this interest elsewhere.

Artefacts (Fig.14)

This category comprises coins, church plate, jewellery, personal ornaments and utensils (e.g. pomanders, tobacco pipes, wig curlers, etuis, styli, keys, and cutlery), games and playing cards, reliquaries, clocks and watches, mosaics, flints, weapons (e.g. hand axes, bronze spearheads, swords, armour, cannons, and firearms), tools (e.g. Roman fish hooks, bone implements), stone crosses, bricks, floor tiles, lead window quarries, pottery and kiln debris, articles of social constraint (e.g. a scourge, a scold and a ducking stool), cup and ring marked stones, sundials, books and their bindings, first editions, clothing, and the ubiquitous brasses and seals. There were several miscellaneous, not to say mysterious, articles which cropped up repeatedly such as the so-called Chinese porcelain seals and 'ring money' both ancient and modern (at least one example was manufactured in Birmingham for export to Africa). Then there was the exotic and the unique; the iron prostheses (1853), the Egyptian mummy (1850), the

fencing dummy (1853), the Finnish shaman's collar (1854), the human head carved in graphite from an Australian mine (1859), the gold cup of Montezuma (1860), the plunder from the Summer Palace at Beijing (1863) and a collection of Elizabethan shoes found in a cupboard in 1852. In numerical terms Artefacts always dominated the activities of most members (see Fig.8). The recorded numbers peaked in the mid 1850s after the Great Exhibition and there was a downward trend thereafter. As a percentage of frequency of all objects of discussion artefacts peaked slightly later. Nevertheless it is true to say that the interest in Artefacts was at its height in the mid-Victorian period.

Whereas other categories were more or less dominated by single periods, e.g. Standing Buildings were mainly Medieval there was a much wider spread of Artefacts across periods. It is possible that patterns here might be relevant to both the internal and external histories of the Institute and archaeology.

A breakdown of frequency by period shows that Unassigned artefacts (Fig. 15) declined and eventually disappeared toward the end of the century after a particularly sharp downturn in the 1880s. This is consistent with a decline in the real numbers of Objects of Discussion as well as a more selective approach on the part of the members combined with greater certainty regarding dating, a more empirical and less eclectic methodology and possibly a different audience. The frequency of Unassigned objects indicates four phases; 1844-50 is erratic, there is little consistency in the incidence; between 1850 and 1880 the frequency hovers around 25%; between approximately 1880 and 1905 the trend is downwards and erratic; after 1905 it is not an issue.

When we look at the objects assigned to the Prehistoric period (Fig. 16) after a peak in the late 1840s which is consistent with interest generated by the publication of Worsaae's Denmark in Olden Times there is a gentle downward trend until the mid 1860s. The trend is then upward for a short while only to drop again in the 1870s. This is consistent with the internal history of the Institute, when Hartshorne took over as editor of the *Journal* in the 1870s his interests lay in the Medieval period. The mid 1860s upsurge in interest had wider ramifications but it was certainly helped by the London meeting in 1866 where Lubbock explained his classification of prehistory although this is much more a case of the chicken or the egg. The seemingly erratic highs and lows of the later period actually reflect a more systematic approach within the Institute which

reveals itself in this way, namely, more focussed meetings with papers prepared in advance around particular topics. It could also be taken as a measure of increasing specialization. Interest in the Prehistoric was always at a relatively low level in the Archaeological Institute and we have to assume that the debate was largely conducted elsewhere. Certainly in the later part of the century in this area at least the Institute appears to have been more a disseminator of ideas, e.g. contributions from Lubbock in 1866, Pitt Rivers in the 1880s and 1890s, and Boyd Dawkins and Munro in the 1890s and 1900s, rather than an initiator of debate. There were notable exceptions however in the contributions of Flaxman Spurrell and Flinders Petrie. These were lost to the Institute by the turn of the century.

The frequency of Roman period items (Fig. 17) hovers around 15% and is fairly steady before the mid-1880s. At that time interest rose swiftly and peaked at 28-30% (1884 and 1886). This is explained by the high profile of the epigraphers at that time. They were collecting and collating Roman period material and provided both a network for the exchange of information and a stimulus to field workers such as Robert Blair and the Rev. Hooppell in the north east of England (see Citations). W.T. Watkin was also producing his county-based Roman period syntheses. The subsequent pattern was similar to the Prehistoric. It then followed the same pattern as the previous categories with erratic highs and lows.

The Early Medieval period (Fig.18) was hampered no doubt by the lack of material and it generally had a very low frequency. There was a brief revival of interest between 1907 and 1913.

The frequency of Medieval period artefacts (Fig. 19) was erratic between 1844-48 reaching a high of 76% and a low of 17%. Overall the frequency was fairly consistent after 1850, with the exception of 1888 and 1889, until the 1900s when the trend once again seems to be upward. In part this can be attributed to increased period specialisation and, as mentioned above, in part to the rejuvenation of the Society of Antiquaries in the previous decade. Prehistoric and Romano-British studies were developing their own networks in the form of congresses and journals which, while they did not exclude the Archaeological Institute and its publication, no longer required the publishing and debating platform which it had provided earlier. It is also possible, and other evidence

would support this, that as people became more specialised the hybrid Institute was considered old-fashioned and insufficiently informed certainly in terms of its audience and possibly in terms of its editors and executive. The rejuvenation of the Society of Antiquaries meant that it had re-established itself as official arbiter in archaeological matters and, as has been stated elsewhere there was a considerable overlap of personnel. As a result the Institute took a subsidiary role in many ways but it also drew on its historical strengths in art, architecture and the Medieval period and thus retained a hold on that area.

The same reasons account for the rise in Post-Medieval items in the late 1890s-1900s (Fig.20). The downward trend in the 1880s is yet another indicator of the end of eclecticism.

The category designated as Other (Fig.21) included items used as ethnographic parallels from either contemporary or older societies as well as material from classical or other ancient civilisations such as India. It also included modern artefacts and occasionally forgeries. The steep rise in the 1880s and 1890s is attributable to two main factors. Firstly it marks the impact of the Egypt Exploration Fund upon archaeology and the Institute. And secondly it marks the development of anthropology and the contributions to the Institute of people such as Theodore Bent and Helen Mary Tirard.

The balance of the provenance of artefacts also changed in the last quarter of the century. Prior to the 1880s most were chance finds or parts of collections bought in the auction rooms of England or the official and unofficial markets of the wider world such as an Abyssinian cylinder from Donaldson's purchases (AJ26, 1869 297). The practice continued sporadically and less frequently as the century progressed although in 1890 Sayce examined a Hittite cylinder bought by Greville Chester in Smyrna, 'the centre of the trade in coins and other antiquities which are found in the interior of Anatolia' (AJ46, 1890, 211). Between 1844 and 1860 or thereabouts the majority of articles had religious associations; in the 1860s military items such as weapons and armour took precedence. In part the latter can be explained by the interest and activities of members like Lefroy, Salvin and Hewitt all of whom were involved with the Ordnance Survey and the establishment of museums of armaments at the Tower and Woolwich Arsenal. It is also clear however that we are seeing the spoils of war. One of the earliest examples presented at a meeting was an object picked up on the battlefield of

Inkerman in 1854. This was followed by a collection of Turkish, German and Persian weapons purchased for the Tower Armoury from Alton Towers in 1858. Much of the mid-century material came from the Crimea. In May 1863 there was 'an Asiatic sabre taken from a slain Afghan chief' as well as other weapons from India and the North West Frontier. The presence of the English soldier abroad was never completely lost but after that time items were equally likely to be the result of deliberate excavation or museum collections. They were also less likely to be high status although the religious element persisted.

Geographical provenance

The members of the Institute were undeniably aware of the importance of provenance for the accumulation of data regarding the past. In art at least it was a guarantee of sorts of authenticity. Bromet also made the point in his directions to correspondents in 1844. The point was repeated by various people thereafter. The reality however was rather different. Most data came from accidental discoveries or collections which had been acquired in various ways and deliberate excavation was the least of these. Provenance was generally understood as recording the place of origin rather than any stratigraphic location and even that could be haphazard. No geographical provenance was given in between 10-20% of cases between 1844 and 1884. No doubt some of these were so obvious to the perceived reader to render the information superfluous, a Renaissance bronze for instance, but they were also part of a general pattern. There was a discernible trend towards better provenancing from 1860 onwards. Marked improvements were seen in the late 1880s and more consistently after 1903. Both of these changes can be understood as a result of either internal change in the Institute or external changes in the perception of archaeology and science. Geographical provenancing was markedly better when St. John Hope took over as editor of the *Journal* in 1884 but then declined again when he left to take up a post with the Society of Antiquaries in 1886. Likewise there were wholesale organisational changes in 1903 when an executive committee took over the administration. Externally better provenancing could be deemed to be the result of the increasing frequency of systematic excavation or investigation (Fig.11) and the demonstrable value of stratigraphy and accurate recording as a validation tool. These issues are discussed more fully in Theory and Method below but it is pertinent here to examine the patterns in the geographical provenance. The

geographical provenance of the objects of discussion raises two major questions. The first is relatively simple, what was the extent of the national and international dimension in defining the archaeological discourse? The second – what is the character of the intervention? - is more complex and is contingent not only upon the first but also upon an understanding of the role of empire, not just in amassing objects, but in the active process of defining cultures in the West and elsewhere around the world.

The extent of the pool of information from which the Institute was drawing are reflected in the numbers of countries of origin cited and their relative strengths. The range was greatest (25) in 1866 and at its nadir (2) in 1910-11. There was a tendency for numbers to rise prior to 1866, most spectacularly following the exhibitions of 1851 and 1861, and after that time the trend was downwards and one of contraction.

The British Isles (South , Mid and North England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland) England was the core country. Objects of Discussion from England as a percentage of the total rise steadily from around 50% in the 1850s and 1860s to 90% in 1913. Within England the South at 25-40% and a mode (grouped frequency distribution) of 29% consistently scores higher than any other single region or country. The high points for South England were 1844 (55%) and 1904 and 1912 (50%). The low point was 1892 (11%). There was a weak trend away from a southern bias until the turn of the century when there was a decade of strong fluctuation. Several factors contributed to counteract any metropolitan bias in the *Journal*. The annual meetings, whose locations were ironically dictated by the railway network, produced papers with a local bias. In part this was deliberate policy as the history of the nation was seen as the sum of its parts:

As history is largely made up of the personal history of particular men, so it is largely made up of the local history of particular places, [said Freeman at the annual meeting in Cardiff]. The local historian who does not raise his eyes to general history is a very poor creature. But I venture to think that the general historian who thinks himself too great to cast an eye downwards on local history is a poorer creature still....We thus come step by step, towards the perfect definition of our object. Our business is history, and that specially local history, but it is local history viewed in direct relation to history on a wider scale...As we meet each year in some particular place, our special business for that year is the history of that place and its neighbourhood..[which gives] the best opportunities for carrying out the comparative method of study... (AJ28, 1871, 179-81).

And latterly, as the new history sank into orthodoxy and the eclecticism of the monthly meetings declined the annual meetings became the core supplier of papers for the subsequent year's journal. Contemporaneously as eclecticism declined the monthly meetings changed format. The meetings centred around two to three papers, which often had an international dimension, given by members or guests rather than the Antiquities and Works of Art. These papers supplied any shortfall in the *Journal*. The growth of local societies in and around the capital as well as elsewhere also obviated the need for increased recording of activities in and around the metropolis of London. At the same time the Congress of Archaeological Societies (1888) was inaugurated under the control of the Society of Antiquaries. The Institute was under pressure from many quarters and any niche-seeking was manifested more in subject area than geographical preference.

The Institute had always considered itself a national organisation with national goals. During the first thirty years of its existence Ireland, Scotland and Wales were constantly present in the record although only as a small percentage (about 5%) of the total number of places of origin. Scotland became more sporadic in the 1880s and subsequently it almost disappeared from the record. This was a reflection of a strong independent Scottish interest in antiquities. The Scots had their own Society of Antiquaries and, by the end of the century, their own national museum, their own academic schools of archaeology. Indeed Thomas Hodgkin's address to the Historical Section at the annual meeting in Edinburgh treats of Scotland almost as a separate nation and this is highlighted by a sense of his own Northumbrian, as opposed to English, identity (AJ48, 1891, 263-273). Ireland followed a similar pattern in terms of provenance although it disappeared from the record slightly earlier in the 1880s. 1900 was an exceptional year (13%) when the annual meeting was eventually held in Dublin. Wales managed to maintain its presence into the 1880s when interest there also became more sporadic. In the case of Wales the impact of the annual meetings was negligible despite the fact that the Cardiff meeting (1871) was one of the largest ever held with participants numbering over 500 at times who were sumptuously entertained by the Marquis of Bute, among others, in the candle-lit precincts of the semi-ruinous Caerphilly Castle which had been especially renovated for the occasion. If, however, E.A. Freeman's rather derogatory views on Welshness (Presidential Address to the Historical Section: AJ28, 1871, 177-195) or Canon

Rock's patronising desire to count all Welshmen he liked as English (AJ28, 1871, 333) are at all representative of the prevailing attitude then it is scarcely surprising that someone should eventually write a letter entitled 'Why No History of Wales?' (AJ49, 1892, 402). The mystery is why anyone should address such a letter to the Archaeological Institute.

Western Europe

(Belgium, Crete, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Lapland, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Sardinia, Scandinavia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland).

France had a fairly constant presence. Not only was it a popular holiday destination or *en route* to one, there were also personal links between the Institute and organisations with similar interests in France which stretched from Bromet in the 1840s to Lefèvre-Pontalis, Director of the Société Française d'Archéologie and Professeur à l'École de Chartes, in 1913. During the latter part of the nineteenth century it was common for delegates to annual meetings and congresses to be exchanged. For much of the popular Medieval period of course the history of England and France were intertwined. In 1867 there was considerable public debate on both sides of the Channel when it was suggested that the effigies of the Plantagenets be removed from Fontrevault to England. The matter was discussed at the monthly meeting in March of that year and the general feeling of the members was with the French:

It being urged that the monuments were now in their proper place, as the sovereigns of England were the Dukes of Anjou, of whom Fontrevault was the burial place; the removal of these effigies to this country would not be in accordance with proper principles for the conservation of historical monuments (AJ24, 1867, 182).

W. Owen Stanley, who was in the chair, requested that a question be asked of HM Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons. At the following meeting in April the Secretary of State confirmed that:

Representations had been made to His Majesty the Emperor of the French that these monuments were in a very neglected condition, and that their removal to this country was very greatly to be desired. His Majesty, with that respect for our wishes that had characterised his dealings with this country, had thereupon offered the effigies to Her Majesty the Queen...(*ibid.* 184).

This offer had been accepted and he therefore thought it was too late to do anything. It had created such an outcry in both France and England however that W. Owen Stanley took it upon himself to interrogate the Secretary of State (Lord

Stanley) who responded that the Queen had asked the Emperor if he wished to reconsider the matter and, incidentally, see to the condition of the monuments. The Emperor agreed and thus the wishes of the Institute were carried out. Later in the century, at the height of local government reform J.H. Round contributed a paper on the origin of the mayoralty in London. Not only did it offer a new revolutionary paradigm for change and a dialectical form of argument but it drew heavily upon French examples of the 'commune' in the twelfth century. Round argued that the mayoralty was a 'purely foreign importation' and preserved 'the memory of the triumph of the 'commune' in London, to which revolutionary episode it owes its birth':

The great want of London.....was an efficient, homogeneous government of her own. The City....found itself, in fact, during the Norman period, in the same plight as greater London found itself in our own days...(AJ50, 1893, 247-262).

The connections between English and French ecclesiastical architecture were also a closely studied and recurring theme. The most noticeable breakdown in contact was in the 1870s during and after the Paris Commune and the Franco-Prussian War.

Contacts with Italy followed a similar pattern until 1909 when they ceased. J.H. Parker acted as an unofficial reporter on events following Italian Unification and he sent very full accounts of his exploits, and others, during their over-wintering in Rome in the 1860s and 1870s. Parker's relationship with the representatives of both the Italian Government and the Vatican appears to have been rather tempestuous. Affairs seem to have run more smoothly after his death and the re-constitution of the British American Society in Rome in 1886.

Germany makes an initial appearance in 1849 but in general is far more sporadic as a point of reference than either France or Italy and disappears from the record in 1903. Despite the tremendous impact of Teutonic history mid century and the output and growth of German institutions concerned with history and archaeology relationships between German scholarship and the Archaeological Institute were never as rosy as the French connection or even the stormy Italian one (see Citations).

Belgium was a popular source of fine art and enamels in the 1860s.

Switzerland scored relatively heavily in the 1860s and 1870s largely as a result of Keller's work on the Swiss Lake Villages. Again a personal connection was maintained.

Denmark featured relatively highly in the early 1850s and the late 1860s. As has been noted elsewhere in the text Worsaae maintained a personal connection with the Institute and later in the century Professor Stephens of Copenhagen continued that tradition although it must be said that the latest contributions from Denmark were more of a travelogue (AJ63, 1906, 5-24 and AJ65, 1908, 35-40). By the turn of the century if not earlier the contacts referring to prehistory had gone. The debates were taking place in more period specific organisations and at a different level.

Greece had a surprisingly low level of interest for the Institute members. It peaked, if that is the appropriate word, at 1% to 3% in the early 1860s and again in the late 1880s at 4%-5%.

Spain and Portugal also maintained a low profile but were not without their charms. They provided an early example of field walking (AJ56, 1899, 245-305) and on one occasion the Institute was the recipient of a letter offering to find them antiquities on a commission basis (AJ29, 1871, 94). No response was recorded.

It was not unknown for 'Europe' to be recorded as a place of origin and this was much more frequent on the late 1890s and up to 1914. Europe was, after all, a common background to prehistory. It was a recognisable concept which stretched from Asia to the Atlantic seaboard as a landscape of the imagination. Prehistory, despite the obsession with migrating hordes and alien races, paradoxically gave a cultural unity to Europe revealed not least in the International Congresses of Prehistoric Archaeology the first of which was held in Spezzia in 1865.

Central and Eastern Europe

(Albania, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Russia)

Objects of Discussion from Central and Eastern Europe were relatively more frequent between 1850 and 1870 in particular from Russia. One interesting contribution (AJ31, 1874, 262-268) on prehistoric implements found on Siberia came via Switzerland and Cambridge (S.S. Lewis, brother to Bunnell). Prehistoric discoveries were partially responsible for the resurgence of interest in

the 1890s but by this time they were in the newly emerging nations of the old Habsburg Empire, in and around the Balkans.

Near East and Asia Minor

(Turkey, the Troad, Palestine, Persia, the Yemen)

There was a persistent but low level of interest in this area between 1850 and 1890. Turkey, particularly the Troad, and the satellites and possessions of the decaying Ottoman Empire were the main focus of attention. It is worth mentioning here perhaps how often archaeologists were members of or closely connected to the Diplomatic Corps; Charles Newton in Rome, Frank Calvert in Turkey, Dennis at Smyrna, W.A. White at Constantinople and Alexander Cunningham in India all held diplomatic posts at some time and involved themselves in archaeological activities. In addition J. Russell Lowell was invited to attend the annual meeting in 1882 during his term as US ambassador in Britain and the British ambassador in Paris, Meredith Reade, was an active member of the Institute in the 1850s. By and large there was an uncanny correlation between areas of conflict, potential conflict and disputed borders and archaeological activity.

Asia

(Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, China, East Indies, India, Japan, Malaya, 'the Orient')

This area was dominated by the Indian sub-continent particularly between 1860 and 1880. It was greatest numerically in the aftermath of the Indian 'mutiny' and during the initial years of the government sponsored and run, if curiously named, India Archaeological Survey (1862-1870) which was as much ethnological as archaeological, a dissection of a land and its peoples. For the Institute however the Indian sub-continent was a source of religious, cultural and artistic inspiration as well as the spoils of war. C.W. King, a Cambridge academic with expertise in glyptic art and Gnostic studies, was particularly fond of Hindu analogies. But we also find at least one example of imperial competition in 1880 when it was discovered that large quantities of finds from an excavation in Madras state were being sent to Berlin. This excavation was immediately halted until 'such time as a systematic excavation could be undertaken by someone qualified to conduct it successfully' (AJ37, 1880, 108-9).

Objects from China were treated mainly as art objects. The incidence was sporadic and tended to be related to military exploits. There was for instance a reference to two large maps obtained there by Col. Gordon RE which were described as remarkable for their exactness 'although deficient in scientific construction'; "they had been constantly used by Col. Gordon in his operations against the insurgents in those parts of China." (AJ23, 1866, 304). In 1862 a Dr. MacGowan gave an account of an ancient inscribed slab dating from c.2205 BC and pointed out that the Chinese were 'partial to antiquarian researches and delight to collect relics of olden times'. Japan was a late comer (1905) and the record there is of a collection of swords. Armour in general had been popular as a subject since the presidency of Viscount Dillon a decade earlier; it was one of his specialist subjects.

Africa

(Abyssinnia, Algeria, Egypt, Nubia, Somalia, Sudan, Ashantis)

Africa generally occurs on a regular if slight basis between 1840 and 1880. Looting is recorded as taking place there much as in India (AJ29, 1872, 95) although an Abyssinian cross brought to the Institute following the military expedition against King Theodore was described as 'a very unsuitable object of loot'. Apparently weapons were acceptable, objects from churches were not. The charge in this instance was ameliorated however because the cross had been looted from the church in the first place by King Theodore. The British soldiers had merely taken it from the palace. Between the late 1870s and the 1890s the record is dominated by Egypt. The record was greatly influenced by the shopping expeditions of Greville J. Chester and subsequently by the work of W.J. Loftie, Flaxman Spurrell and Flinders Petrie. This pattern was abruptly broken in the late 1890s. Although Petrie had briefly been a vice-president all contact seems to have been lost at this point. Spurrell also failed to make any further contributions. With the notable exception of the Ashanti Indemnity the bulk of the continent of Africa apparently had no history.

North America

(USA and Canada)

Contact with the United States and Canada appears to have had a personal dimension to it although references to these countries were always slight and restricted to two main areas of interest. For much of the nineteenth century the

two countries were used as a source of ethnographic parallels and towards the turn of the century the US was a source of admiration for its museums, philanthropy (with regard to museums) and institutional research programs. Squiers visited the Institute when in London in the 1860s and obviously was an acquaintance of Charles Lyell whose books on the USA were of interest to members. Daniel Wilson also appears to have kept up a casual contact after his move to Canada in the 1850s. McCaul, author of Britanno-Roman Inscriptions (1866) and a professor at Toronto, kept up a correspondence with the British epigraphers and was frequently asked for an opinion. Late in the century we hear of the Long Island Field Club (AJ51, 1894,123) and Edwin Barber's trip to Utah (AJ41, 1884, 92) when he accompanied Prof. F.V. Hayden on the US Geological and Geographical Survey.

Central America and the Caribbean

(Barbados, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua)

Again the contact here was low level and sporadic. Most references can be traced to one individual Brigadier General Lefroy who was governor in Bermuda before 1875 and a life-long member of the Institute. His contributions were often a trifle esoteric. Flints were to be expected perhaps but shipwrecked treasures from Renaissance Europe, witchcraft among European colonists in the seventeenth century, and his cave explorations in the Honduras while commendable for their concern for humanity and beauty (he was one of the very few to suggest a history previous to European settlement which had then been destroyed) were unusual even for the Institute. After 1894 or thereabouts a different kind of network was in operation of which Central America was merely one example, the network of libraries, government reports, books and academic journals.

South America

(Peru)

South America was rather neglected. There were a few references in 1859-60 but no consistent interest. Those which did turn up were more travelogue than archaeology.

Australasia

(Australia, New Zealand, South Sea Islands, South Pacific)

The South Pacific Islands were an abundant source of ethnographic parallels but otherwise were seen as having no historic value. New Zealand was treated in a

similar manner although in this case it is more surprising as A.J. Beresford Hope, a leading member of the Institute, had a strong interest in the missionary college at Christchurch. There was next to nothing from Australia. The only significant find recorded, the representation of a human head found 60 feet below the surface in the strata of a graphite mine near Melbourne in 1859, was virtually ignored despite being well-provenanced (AJ16, 1859, 214). Later statements regarding the aboriginal inhabitants were similarly dismissive.

Theory and Method

Statements on theory and method are difficult to quantify because the topics were rarely specifically addressed particularly in the early days. A pattern of sorts was set whereby general statements about archaeology were embedded in addresses to the annual meetings and statements about method were embedded in papers, usually given at the monthly meetings, referring to specific investigations or discoveries. A further opportunity was offered by book reviews which allowed the reviewer to expand on positional statements made by authors. All these statements were driven by three imperatives; the need to collect data, an inductive or Baconian drive which was identified as scientific; a need to arrange those data; and the need to interpret those data. The relationship between the three imperatives changed over time.

The collection of data, an *a priori* of Baconian inductive science, dominated the Institute from its inception in 1843. It was a rationale which continued throughout the 70 years under consideration here and it should be seen as the background against which or within which changes now seen as significant were introduced. Prior to the mid 1860s the collection of data, by purchase, by accident, or by investigation, was primarily a matter of amassing sufficient evidence which, theoretically at least, was not influenced by speculating or theoretical posturing. The problem oriented and technically groundbreaking work of people like Frank Calvert in the 1860s were the exceptions rather than the rule. Discussions on method were largely confined to the exposition of practical conservation techniques such as Buckman's contribution on the lifting and preservation of Roman mosaics in 1856, or restoration, such as Charles Winston's contributions on painted glass. Otherwise it was very much a case of teaching by example (e.g. excavations at Cirencester AJ8, 1851, 187).

Whether or how the lesson was heeded is difficult to assess. Collection methods underwent a slow transformation in the 1870s and 1880s from eclectic and inductive to synthesis, deduction and hypothesis testing. Joyce at Silchester (AJ30, 1873, 10-27) paid attention to excavation technique, recording and specialist analysis. The proposed excavation at Byland Abbey (AJ33, 1876, 1ff.) was to be undertaken with specific aims in view and a detailed research plan including costing was published in an effort to raise funds. 1877 proved a particularly fruitful year with contributions from Schliemann, J.H. Parker and Flinders Petrie. Schliemann brought not only glamour but also used his very public presence at the Institute (AJ34, 1877, 303ff) to explain the minutiae of specifically archaeological excavation. Whether the pursuit of a personal obsession constitutes hypothesis testing is another matter. Parker meanwhile was concerned about truth, or at least an accurate record, something best achieved he felt through the medium of photography (see Format). He was also concerned about the record on a grander scale following the recovery of some horseshoes during drainage work on the outskirts of Oxford. He felt that records of all such finds should be kept, including information on the matrix from which they came: "Such a record would not only be interesting from an antiquarian point of view, but might be valuable as regards future works which may have to be carried out" (AJ34, 1877, 466). Flinders Petrie presented to the monthly meeting the plans of 36 British earthworks, which he had surveyed in the previous two years (AJ34, 1877, 448-50). The significance of the contribution lay as much in the manner of presentation with its emphasis upon empirical observation, technique and method (which he insisted on sharing) as the fact that it was a synthesis. The following year he presented his Notes on Ancient Roads (AJ35, 1878, 169-175), another synthesis with axioms and definitions and a testable hypothesis. From work such as this deductions could be made about date, the state of the country, and the age of vicinal remains including field systems. It was a way forward, a systematic piece of work which was warmly received but not acted upon at least with regard to its specific subject matter. Boyd Dawkins suggested a far less effective approach to the same problem in 1904 (AJ61, 1904, 315).

During the 1880s statements on method were essentially two-pronged. On the one hand there were the general propositions of Joseph Anderson (AJ38, 1881, 239) that one should work from the known to the unknown, albeit in the

context of architectural styles, and the more empirical approach implicit in the work of Petrie (AJ40, 1883, 108ff). Petrie's The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh was favourably if briefly reviewed as 'a work which we have no hesitation in describing as a credit to English scientific and historical research' (AJ40, 1883, 459). Nevertheless the following year saw the publication side by side of papers by R.P. Pullan and Petrie which were in stark contrast to each other. Pullan (AJ41, 1884, 327) describes his meeting with Sir John Savile Lumley, the English ambassador in Rome, and their joint interest in looking for the temple at Lavunium the results of which were architectural and sculptural. Significantly he says that no inscriptions were found therefore the site could not be dated. Petrie had spent the last few years effectively demonstrating the limitations, if not the entire futility, of this approach with papers on Egyptian Bricks (AJ40, 1883, 108), Weights and Measures (AJ40, 1883, 419) and Egyptian Pottery (AJ40, 1883, 234). At the monthly meeting in November 1884 he presented a paper on Roman Antiquities from San (AJ41, 1884, 342-348) which dealt specifically with the detritus of everyday life, the burnt papyri, the smashed pottery, the nails, knives, paint palettes and other everyday things. These had been exhibited in the rooms of the Institute by the Egypt Exploration Fund and were to be presented to the British Museum:

thus they will form the first nucleus of what we may hope to see much extended in the future, namely, a series of systematic groups of objects which have been discovered together, of one age, of one place, and of one class of life. Such groups are rarely the keys to the proper understanding of the whole of our great collections of antiquities, in which scarcely any two things belong together, and in which history must be a process of guess-work and analogy, and even locality is too often unknown" (AJ41, 1884, 348).

The Finding of Daphnae (AJ44, 1887, 30-42) took the process a step further. Petrie regarded Tel Defenneh as 'a pattern site for research'. F. Griffith reinforced Petrie's conclusions in the EEF report for 1888; inscriptions alone will never give a complete picture – "the continuous history of each town lies not in its temples, but in its stratified remains, and in the poorest graves of its cemetery..... (AJ45, 1888, 93).

Other aspects of technique designed to eliminate guesswork were being pursued by Flaxman Spurrell, who, almost single-handedly within the Institute, pursued an interest in experimental archaeology (AJ37, 1880, 296; AJ40, 1883, 112; AJ49, 1892, 48; AJ52, 1895, 223) and in environmental archaeology (AJ42,

1885, 269-292; AJ46, 1889, 170). One of the most interesting and painstaking examples of the former resulted in a debate with Robert Munro on Early Sickles or Saws (AJ49, 1892, 53-68 and AJ49, 1892, 164-175). Spurrell argued on the basis of experiment that the polish on flints used to form the cutting edge in a jawbone, examples of which had been found by Petrie in Egypt among others, was caused by the long and continued cutting of cereals. Not only that, 'but they worked best when a handful of corn is grasped in the left hand ... and it also cuts well low down near the ground' (*ibid.* 62). This interest in function and the accurate assignment of function to objects belonged to that phase in the development of archaeology where the legitimate objects of discussion had been established but the objects of discourse had not.

Others too helped to refine and expand available techniques aimed at the recovery of data. Talbot de Malahide, an unlikely candidate, returned from a trip to Algeria with an account of Dr. Reboud's 'ingenious theory for determining the age of the dolmens of Rocknia' which was based on snail shell analysis (AJ39, 1882, 232). Bunnell Lewis likened the fair ground at the long-lived site of Mont Beuvray to geological strata; it was 'as if the geologist could see in one spot a complete series of strata from granite downwards' (AJ40, 1883, 125). Pitt Rivers pursued the point in his presidential address at Lewes in 1884 (AJ41, 1884, 61) and, incidentally, introduced his interpretation of the evolutionary paradigm and its applicability to archaeology. More significantly in this context Pitt Rivers also looked at excavation methods; he suggested that camps were likely to be more meaningful than burials, total excavation more fruitful than deductions drawn from sections. Once again there were signposts to future work, not in the teleological sense, but for his contemporaries.

Meanwhile, as with Pullan, the old methodology continued to co-exist more or less happily. The inductive method is exemplified in the painstaking work of J.F. Hodgson 'On the differences of plan alleged to exist between the churches of the Austin canons and those of monks; and the frequency with which such churches were parochial' (AJ42, 1885, 42ff) begun in 1884 and published in a serialised form for several years thereafter. The Rev. J. Hirst merrily described pottery found on his walks around Athens:

Pieces of pottery with coloured patterns and mutilated painted figures rewarded our researches, made with no other help than the aid of an umbrella and a penknife (AJ42, 1885, 404).

In 1886 a reviewer felt confident enough to say:

Colt Hoare, Bateman, Greenwell, Rolleston and Thurnam.....successively brought together a mass of information which enables the student to proceed from the 'digging' and 'discovery' stage to that of clarification and systematic study (AJ43, 1886, 192).

This was the background and names like Petrie and Pitt-Rivers and Spurrell which figure so highly in this transition as described here do so not because they have been seen to be significant with the benefit of hindsight but simply because it was they who were making the statements on method. In doing so they were going far beyond the expectations of the 1886 reviewer who, in common with others, seemed to consider the classification and generalisation of amassed facts as the end of the process, of the end of 'digging'. For those who elucidated the method it was merely a beginning. In 1889 in his opening address to the Antiquarian Section at the Leamington meeting Rev. Hirst straddled the divide:

It is only, to speak roughly, within the last quarter of a century, that excavations have been conducted on a large scale, and that the wrecks and still surviving monuments of antiquity have been investigated and studied on the spot. The value of the information derived from actual contact with tangible remains of the past, the sureness of touch gained by familiarity with visible structures, the light shed on the dark regions of antiquity by this new method of practical experience, cannot be too highly estimated...surmises [have been] changed into facts and theories...scattered to the wind, and many a cherished hypothesis, based merely on induction from the present, was banished forever from the domain of science (AJ46, 1889, 12).

From the late 1880s there were an increasing number of examples of deliberate excavation, of hypothesis testing via the spade. At the walls of Chester (AJ44, 1887, 15; AJ47, 1890, 191), in Egypt (AJ 43, 1886, 45; AJ44, 1887, 30), in France where it was funded by local taxes (AJ44, 1887, 164), at Alnwick at the behest of Earl Percy (AJ44, 1887, 337), in Northumberland 'to escape the region of guesswork' (AJ49, 1892, 438-9; AJ49, 1892, 96), at the supposed site of Rutupiae in Kent by the local archaeological society (AJ53, 1896, 204), at Corbridge (AJ64, 1907, 38; AJ65, 1908, 121). At the annual meeting in 1897 Boyd Dawkins went so far as to suggest that the excavation of one 'fortress' such as Maiden Castle would do more to fill in the blanks of knowledge than any other work. A resolution was duly passed supporting him in this proposal (AJ54, 1897, 394 & 407). Not all hypothesis testing had positive results however. The earthworks at Tara in Ireland are recorded as having been thrown down by people searching for the Ark of the Covenant (AJ57, 1900, 334). Despite such

aberrations, and occurrences like those at Tara were not that frequent, the increased activity was accompanied not by any further innovations in method but perhaps a more uniform application.

Our duty [wrote M'Kenny Hughes, a professor of geology] is to 'eye the delver's toil', to note exactly where things were buried and what objects were found associated – in fact, to take special cognisance of the fossils of Archaeology. This being the case, I felt I might legitimately urge upon your notice a stricter observance of the methods of geological research in dealing with this class of evidence It is not enough to say that under such and such a house or street, at such and such a depth, such and such an object was found. It will not do to record the information of an obliging workman, who soon finds out what lends an interest to the find....

You must carefully observe each section for yourself and note what objects are confined to one layer, and which of them, ranging through a longer period, recur at several horizons...the most trustworthy evidence is that derived from the spade. In the deep trench we can see for ourselves layer after layer, each holding the waste and refuse and broken vessels of every-day life. This is the record which has been neglected by Archaeology (AJ53, 1896, 249).

There was also a refinement of technique. Thus we see Pitt Rivers meticulousness extended to the slaughter of animals for the sake of science and a representative statistical population (AJ46, 1889, 79); we see Spurrell's streambed sections (AJ47, 1890, 170); and the growth of a body of workers, both amateur and professional, with specialised knowledge and special skills (AJ49, 1892, 212). Cowper and Collingwood produced a model report on a site which 'lacked any sensational discoveries' but it was reported promptly and accurately in a modern format (AJ55, 1898, 89-105). There was a call for an archaeological survey of the United Kingdom similar to that of the Geological Survey (AJ55, 1898, 410), 'with acknowledged rules for exactness, archaeology has now attained a recognised status, and should claim to rank as a science'. There was field walking in Spain (AJ56, 1899, 185) and the return of the amateur with Reader's watching brief on the Walbrook site in London accompanied by Kennard's specialist report on the organic remains and the nature of the soils (AJ60, 1903, 137-204 & 213-235). In the same journal M'Kenny Hughes contributed a paper on deposition processes and how to recognise them. This was also the first mention of Darwin's earthworm studies (AJ60, 1903, 256). Refinement of technique was accompanied by increasing period specialisation among people working in the field. Villa excavation in southern England was 'filling in the gaps' in Romano-British studies, dealing with the Britain of the Romanized provincial rather than the provincialised Roman on the Wall (AJ66, 1909, 33ff). A review of W.M. Ramsay

and Gertrude Bell's book A Thousand and One Churches praised the virtues of swift publication – apart from anything else it was becoming a competitive field (AJ67, 1910, 204). Curle's work at Newstead begun in 1905 finally reached publication stage. It was reviewed by R.H. Forster as 'one of the most important products of the new era'. It introduced to a wider world the concepts of phasing and cross-dating and an internal chronology for Romano-British sites (AJ68, 1911, 256-258). Another book reviewed in the same year, although possibly not by the same reviewer, was John Ward's The Roman Era in Britain. It was criticised for a lack of synthesis, it was a catalogue with no insight but the reviewer nevertheless took the opportunity to point out future avenues of work. Strangely Haverfield's work was never reviewed in the *Archaeological Journal* despite his associations with the organisation. In 1897 Pitt Rivers gave the presidential address at the annual meeting which was being held in Dorchester. In many ways it was a valedictory speech and he took the opportunity to remind his listeners of what he considered to be important to archaeological work; the importance of total excavation, of knowledge of sedimentation, of excavation technique, the need to work down in spits, of pre-excavation contouring, of the need for skilled workers at all levels, and of the need for accurate recording, a process which in his estimation took at least five times as long as digging (AJ54, 1897, 320).

In 1913 Howorth was still singing the praises of Pitt Rivers (AJ70, 1913, 505). The collection of data had been his strength but changes had also occurred in the process of arranging that data. Statements about the arranging or ordering of the collected data were even more embedded in the text than those regarding collection. In the 1850s there were four ways of ordering the data which were not mutually exclusive. There was the Three Age System, most closely associated with prehistory and Worsaae at its introduction. There was 'compare and combine', a cultural historical approach explicitly adopted by J.M. Kemble. There was the art history approach and the scale of civilisation taken by Birch among others. And there was Wilde's Linnaean taxonomic approach. Where the first and third approaches were progressive models, the second and fourth were static. Lubbock's address to the Institute at the annual meeting in 1866 undeniably conferred legitimacy and primacy on the Three Age System in prehistory. It could not and did not answer questions about change and transition;

it invited them instead. It did however provide nominated areas into which accumulated data could be fitted and a framework for synthesis. In the 1870s such syntheses could be described as descriptive and cautiously speculative. Boyd Dawkins Cave Hunting (AJ32, 1875, 114), Greenwell's The British Barrows (AJ36, 1879, 185 & 293), Lubbock's Prehistoric Times (AJ36, 1879, 217 – it was only reviewed in the *Journal* at the 4th edition), and Evans' Bronze Implements (AJ39, 1882, 206) all fall into this category. In the *Archaeological Journal* itself we find G.T. Clark's earthwork treatises (AJ37, 1880, 217 & 378; AJ38, 1881, 21 & 258), Micklethwaite on parish churches (AJ37, 1880, 364) and St. John Hope and T.M. Fallow on English chalices (AJ43, 1886, 137) (a curious kind of evolution without the natural selection). As a writer on medieval wall-paintings put it

As time after time, these discoveries are made, it is found that there is a recurrence of the same subject, therefore to avoid a tedious repetition of description, it is now necessary to classify and to generalise... (AJ34, 1877, 219).

In the early 1880s a subtly different kind of synthesis emerged which also lay down guidelines for the future. These syntheses were invariably produced, in the first instance, by those who were also making the statements about the collection of data, about the methodology of archaeology, such as Flinders Petrie (AJ40, 1883, 234) and Pitt Rivers (AJ41, 1884, 65-66) or who were personally closely associated with them, e.g. Flaxman Spurrell (AJ39, 1882, 1ff) and James Hilton (AJ45, 1888, 202-3). Some, Pitt Rivers (AJ44, 1887, 261) for instance, and Hirst (AJ46, 1889, 12) took it upon themselves to define archaeology in terms of method as well as material. The two-fold nature of synthesis, the past and future dichotomy, the questions implicit in any progressive model of how do we get from one stage to another was soon recognised in areas other than prehistory or Egyptology. By the late 1880s Romano-British studies were also looking to the future (Jessopp AJ46, 1889, 277 and G.E. Fox AJ46, 1889, 331). Synthesis had identified the gaps in the data and had raised the possibility of filling those gaps through systematic research.

Between 1890 and 1913 more and more excavations were carried out on a problem solving basis. It was a period of consolidation rather than innovation. The production of syntheses continued; stone circles (AJ49, 1892, 137); Romano-British mining and metallurgy (AJ52, 1895, 25-42); flints and early man (AJ54,

1897, 363); prehistoric problems (AJ55, 1898, 113); medieval pottery (AJ59, 1902, 1-16); prehistoric and Roman roads (AJ61, 1904, 315); Anglo-Saxon brooches (AJ65, 1908, 65); and the transition between the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic (AJ65, 1908, 205-44). The process might be said to have culminated in 1913 with an attempt to answer by excavation, and astronomical calculation, one of the oldest and hardest perennials in English archaeology – the age of Stonehenge (AJ70, 1913, 563).

In addition to the changes in the arrangement of data there was more consistency and agreement about what constituted archaeology, about how archaeology itself was to be defined. Statements about the interpretation of data were intimately connected with how archaeology was defined by its practitioners and how they felt it was perceived by others. As a narrative it hinged upon the current concept of science and the parallel story of history.

Speculation was antithetical to induction. Within the Institute it was frowned upon for two reasons; the discredit and ridicule which it had brought upon antiquaries in the past and the perceived need for archaeology, or antiquarian study, in the 1840s and 1850s to be respected as a science, although curiously, it must be said, there were more speculative papers in the 1840s than later. There were papers dealing with numismatics, painted glass, Anglo-Saxon architecture, military architecture, costume, Roman London, philology, literary history, social history (eating habits), iconography and iconoclasm. This can only be construed as the Archaeological Institute's initial attempts to establish a niche. In the 1850s and into the 1860s overt statements were primarily concerned with establishing a mutual relationship with other more recognised sciences such as geology, philology or ethnology, e.g. Gideon Mantell (AJ7, 1850, 316). At the same time its chosen role was as handmaid of history:

The great end and express purpose of archaeology consisted in minute investigation and inquiry; to verify facts moral or material; to elicit evidence serving to enlighten the obscurity of past history, and guide them in present emergency. Archaeology seemed to take its place with minute philosophical inquiries; and as the agriculturist recognised his obligation to chemistry, the physician to minute anatomy, the miner to the detailed inquiries of the geologist, thus also the historian must admit his obligation to that careful discrimination of facts, which properly fall within the province of the archaeologist...The historian must heartily admit the importance and value of archaeological investigation, without which his productions were little superior to those of the writer of romance (AJ7, 1850, 307).

It is scarcely surprising therefore to find the historians dominating the interpretative debate with a history of technology (1857), a narrative history of England since the Roman invasion (1859), a narrative account of Caesar's landing written by the Astronomer Royal, a history of Ingulfus, a history of chain mail from Homer to the eighteenth century (1866) or a history of Aulus Plautus. In the 1870s what had been a gentlemanly discussion became more argumentative. The shift is exemplified in a long running and at times bitter debate between J.H. Parker and E.A. Freeman. These two men were perhaps among the more forthright members of the Institute and there was almost certainly a clash of personalities but the weapons with which they chose to arm themselves are nevertheless interesting. The point at issue was an old one namely the dating of pre-Norman architecture and by association whether pre-Norman churches were built by people accustomed to using cut stone and hence a continuation of a debased Roman style or by people used only to building in wood and therefore producing clumsy imitations of Roman remains (AJ30, 1873, 117-126 & 181; AJ31, 1874, 47-52; AJ45, 1888, 1-6). Parker questioned Freeman's archaeological competence:

That he is a far more learned man than I am I do not for a moment question [as readers we are not expected to believe this for a moment], and if the matter was one of history only I would not attempt to compete with him. History is a record of things that have been, and depends upon *written* [his emphasis] evidence only. Archaeology has to do with existing remains, only compared with, and confirmed by, history. (AJ30, 1873, 118)...The rules of archaeological evidence are our safest guide to the date of a building.... The construction of the same period is always the same (*ibid.* 125).

Parker continued his theme in his work in Rome reviewed in the *Journal* the following year (The Archaeology of Rome, AJ31, 1874, 197). He does not accept, says the reviewer, the views of 'learned men of earlier days', of Niebuhr, Bunsen or Burn.

His wish has been chiefly to put on record his own experiences as an excavator, at the same time noticing, as he was bound to do, the agreement or disagreement of what he has found, in situ, with the traditional stories embalmed in the works of such writers as Livy and Dyonisius.... He has wisely left to others to decide how far what he has himself found on the spot is consistent with the *dicta* of those who speculated and theorised before any or similar explorations had been made...In fact in all such matters there are two distinct lines of research; the one that of the scholar who works out a theory more or less consistent with what he finds recorded in his books [e.g. Niebuhr, Bunsen and Arnold]... , the other, that of the laborious digger, who with no theory of his own,

unrolls the buried memorials of the past, careless – yet not, we believe, wholly careless – whether his spade work supports or upsets preconceived notions (AJ31, 1874, 197).

In 1877 Thomas Kerslake produced an interesting article entitled 'What is a Town' (AJ34, 1877, 199-211) which is indicative of the same process. Kerslake's paper is a form of synthesis but he identified the new terms of debate, of material culture v. documentary sources, of archaeology v. history. It was necessary, he argued, to look not at the documentary evidence for towns, these were dominated by warfare and defence, but rather at the morphology of a town or city in order to classify them and arrive at a more accurate appreciation of urban development, of peace and prosperity, of commerce and culture and humble people in pursuit of happy lives.

For a while the protagonists pursued their own agendas although it is perhaps significant that this interval in debate was also the time when there was a change of tone in the way in which Flinders Petrie and Pitt Rivers addressed the Institute. Whereas previously they had been happy to share the details of their research now they speak to the members as non-specialist, as people who, perhaps, need to be told the tale in broad outlines and with flourishes while the detailed record is published in full elsewhere. By the 1890s however, if Hodgkin (AJ48, 1891, 263-273), Bunnell Lewis (AJ50, 1893, 328) and Howorth (AJ55, 1898, 122) are to be believed, the ways of history and archaeology had parted. History was emphatically an art, archaeology a science and an empirical one at that. They were separated by method (Hodgkin AJ48, 1891, 263-273), where history painted the broad picture, archaeology looked for the minute evidence. At the same time Flinders Petrie (AJ49, 1892, 210), M'Kenny Hughes (AJ53, 1896, 249), Pitt Rivers (AJ1897, 311-339) and Boyd Dawkins (AJ54, 1897, 377) were publicly defining archaeology in precisely these terms. Of these four Pitt Rivers' presidential address at Dorchester was perhaps the most striking exposition of the archaeological paradigm. It was comprehensive, meandering at times, but amusing and centred in modernity:

I have always remembered a remark of Professor Huxley's in one of his addresses. "The word 'important'", he said, "ought to be struck out of scientific dictionaries; that which is important is that which is persistent." Common things vary in form as the idea of them passes from place to place, and the date of them and of the places in which they are found, may sometimes be determined by gradual variations in form. There is no knowing what may hereafter be found to be most interesting. Things apt to be overlooked may afterwards turn out to be of the greatest value

in tracing the distribution of forms. This will be admitted when it is recognised that distribution is a necessary prelude to generalisation. I regret to find in endeavouring to trace the distribution of patterns, that archaeological societies illustrate fewer things than formerly The illustrations need not be elaborate, but sufficient to trace the transition of the forms. If ever a time should come when our illustrated newspapers take to recording interesting and sensible things, a new era will have arrived in the usefulness of these journals. The supply, of course, must equal the demand, but the demand shows what intensely stupid people we are. People bowing to one another appears to form the staple of these productions, as if it were not bad enough for those who are compelled actually to take part in such functions. Field sports are no doubt things to be encouraged, but can it be necessary to have a picture of a man running after a ball upon every page of every illustrated journal in this country ? Let us hope for evolution in this as in all other things (AJ54, 1897, 337).

Conclusion

“The persistence of a type is very confusing,” wrote Flinders Petrie, “and it is necessary in exploring, to fix the attention on characteristic forms not found in more than one period” (AJ40, 1883, 280). In the context of Objects of Discussion we can say that while most of the categories persisted with only minor modifications, they approached equilibrium in relation to each other, the geographical emphasis became far more localised in terms of the core country, it was the statements on theory and method which changed form. Using these statements it is possible to identify three phases of activity. Between 1840 and 1870 there was an inductive phase, a period of accumulation of evidence which culminated during the 1870s in the cataloguing synthesis. For some this was an end result, for others a beginning as it opened the door to synthesis of another sort based on the methodical collection of data. In the 1880s and 1890s while the cataloguing synthesis continued, often in the guise of evolution, a new interpretative, speculative, synthesis emerged which allowed for deduction and hypothesis testing. Synthesis identifies gaps in knowledge and a recognised methodology indicates how or where those gaps can be filled. There had been a shift away from the chance serendipity of past work and this phase was characterised by the emergence of a paradigm of planning, control and future. It was followed in the 1900s by a phase in which this paradigm was applied to increasingly period specific areas and methodological refinement.

Nevertheless this phasing must be seen against a background which consisted of a multiplicity of narratives. There were no abrupt changes across the

whole spectrum of debate. It remains to be seen whether there were any systems of simultaneity operating at different levels in the Objects of Discourse as a whole. Does the Archaeological Institute demonstrate the form and existence of external as well as internal dimensions in the shaping of archaeology? Perhaps the relationship between the different levels is not as obscure as it would appear in conventional histories. The nexus could sometimes be an individual, or equally frequently, it could be a socially circumscribed network of individuals. As the particular epistemological space of archaeology solidified was the external dimension of power and ideology subsumed in the internal as it became part of the broader epistemological arrangement of a particular societal form? Was there in effect a qualitative change as the facility to define a nascent power structure and validate it through ways of seeing the world (in this case through science) was no longer necessary (or desirable)? Is the formalization of the discipline of archaeology relevant to this process? What were the conditions of emergence and existence?

PART III

CONDITIONS OF EMERGENCE AND EXISTENCE

The Path to a Profession

In the Introduction there is a quote from Stuart Piggott which refers to 'the public mind', a concept as obscure and as obvious as the metaphysically challenged man on the Clapham omnibus which we all recognise but few could adequately define. It is a concept which haunts archaeology – archaeology has a popular dimension. Many archaeologists feel ambivalent towards the public. It is a benign monster best fed with 'good, authoritative popularization' to keep it from the 'lunatic fringes on the wilder shores of archaeology' (Daniel 1981, 215). That ambivalence or unease is not new. It reflects one of two things; either a discourse which is immature or a discourse which is positioned on the edge of a system of knowledge. In either case it is open to attack and subject to change. Nevertheless the public mind is as persistent as the passer-by who sticks his head over the fence when you are digging and asks the perennial question 'What've you got there then?' (usually it's lunch time and what you've got there is a bap from the baker's). The public mind is a shadow which cannot be detached Peter Pan-like and put away in a drawer. When the Archaeological Institute was founded in the 1840s its aims were specifically to encourage and promote research into the past; it was part of a pattern of popularisation of science and scientific method. This was reflected in its role models, in the BAAS and the French monument record; in its constitution which was essentially democratic within the narrow limits of the membership; in the heterogeneous nature of the annual meetings which welcomed a relatively broad spectrum of the local populace; and in the temporary museums, the popular front of eclecticism or the inductive method, it was the visitor's choice. All this was inaugurated and arranged and organised by what was, in effect, a pressure group, a voluntary agency with volunteer agents. This raises several questions. Was it a pressure group for the nascent bourgeois nation state or the last bastion of an economic and political system based on land and hereditary rights? Was it a manifestation of modernity or the collapse of enlightenment thought? Was The Volunteer Movement, a reactionary response to politically expressed demands for social change, fortuitous in its structure or part of a pattern of response? These questions seem a long way from the

Archaeological Institute but they are provoked by the foregoing study of its practice. Between 1845 and the 1860s the volunteers in the Institute interacted in many ways. The network of architects, engineers, developers, clergy, politicians and historians (fig. 2) discussed in Part I is only one example although perhaps a very pertinent one in the context of current debates on modernity (Harvey 1995 16-17). They gave a utilitarian edge to the process of enlightened self-interest operating through the free market. They were a manifestation of the first flush of modernity embedded in urbanisation, of the primary problematic centred upon the entrepreneur, Schumpeter's 'creative destroyer *par excellence*' and the architect/restorer, the destructive creator (*ibid.*). While London provided most of the detail in the *Archaeological Journal*, Rome, in the aftermath of Italian unification, was the epitome. Harvey however argues that modernity espouses a break with history and tradition and while I agree, on the basis of the evidence in the *Archaeological Journal*, that 1830-1870 saw a break with Enlightenment thought analogous to the destruction of the material remains of the past I would also argue that that same destruction was actively involved in a process of creating a new past which was central to the modern episteme.

These overlapping networks of individuals created an establishment which was formalised through self-appointed non-governmental institutions at a national and local level. Organizations such as the Society of Antiquaries had proved too hidebound and lacked the necessary freedom of association which the Archaeological Institute and the British Archaeological Association, among others, could furnish. Together with the local societies they also provided the (mainly amateur) workforce. In terms of periodization or phases this was followed, between approximately the 1860s and 1890s, by a time of specialization. The prehistorians for instance conducted their debates largely through congresses with a nominally international dimension (in reality they were European) from the mid-1860s onwards. During this period of imperial expansion there was a passage from passive ethnography to active ethnology, from reactive recording to active intervention. The Ethnological Society and the Anthropological Institute actively appropriated the spatial dimension of prehistory with modern parallels. The Archaeological Institute meanwhile could always provide a home for the medieval, as the Objects of Discussion indicated (Part II), but it also continued to provide a means of entry into the debate on the

past for fields of work and workers as yet unrecognised. Flinders Petrie and Egyptology, Flaxman Spurrell and experimental archaeology, Watkin, Haverfield, epigraphy and Romano-British studies are three examples as demonstrated in Part II. It was in this phase that publication became a matter of concern; not only should it be prompt but there was also a recognition of the need for standardization in citations and proper indexing (AJ42, 1885, 267: AJ59, 1902, 389). Often attributed to Pitt Rivers, who did indeed urge this course of action, his example proved as daunting as it was inspiring. In fact there was a more general process in this direction fostered by publications akin to the *Archaeological Journal* as the citation analysis (Part II) indicates. This was accompanied by a transition from informally defined parameters of debate based on 'gentlemanly respect', an unwritten but nevertheless common code of behaviour among the members, readers and writers alike, to a more conscious avoidance of polemic. The phase was also marked by the novelty of what can be called authority figures and authorization. In this phase the former owed their status to a body of work rather than, as previously, to social position or ascribed status. Worsaae and Lubbock are perhaps the earliest examples. They were followed by Schliemann, Pitt Rivers, Petrie, Boyd Dawkins and Munro. This phasing is most clearly exemplified in Part II (Objects of Discussion: Theory and Method). With the exception of Boyd Dawkins who was president very briefly and very late in his career, none occupied the position of figurehead. The presidency resolutely linked the social and the intellectual, non-discourse and discourse, as the two manoeuvred into position. What united the authority figures in the second phase was a pattern of behaviour: despite their earlier associations with the Institute they came to the proceedings increasingly as outsiders, they no longer spoke among equals, they came to explain their work in synopsis to the layman. They were also not shy of publicity; indeed it could be said they courted it.

Some of these men were wealthy amateurs able to finance their own work; some like Petrie and Boyd Dawkins could not. Capital, in this as in the earlier phase, had a role to play. From its inception the Institute had paid employees; Joseph Burt, for instance, received quite a handsome honorarium as secretary. Mid-century the Government or state could be described as the major employer through the Public Record Office, the Historic Manuscripts

Commission, the British Museum and other museums in the capital. By 1886 (AJ43, 1886, 440) there were pleas for more money and professional specialists. History had established itself as an academic discipline and as a popular area of study, manifested as Montagu Burrows, Professor of Modern History at Oxford, put it, in specialisation, division of labour, multiplication of societies, international rivalry in the literature, and in the plethora of recently published 'little' books and small histories for schools. Nevertheless he registered a familiar complaint which in passing outlined events since the 1860s:

The truth is that, while no country possesses richer stores of documentary literature, few spend less money upon making use of them.....Few countries have made such efforts in the cause of national education, but they have not been accompanied with the proper corollary, a generous expenditure on the means of providing the teachers of the schoolmasters and mistresses with the materials which would raise the standard of historical education to its proper height. Some fifty years ago Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and his friends did, as we all know, persuade the Government of the day into the exercise of a wise and noble liberality in these matters; and the great collections [Calendars of State Papers; Chronicles of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages] they produced during a very few years ...have been the foundation of every archaeological effort of an historical kind which has been made since. But how distressing is it to remember that the Government became so terrified at the expense of these publications that they were summarily and almost immediately stopped!I am glad to be able to announce that there are signs of a more liberal treatment of this subject on the part of the Government...but if it is to display itself generally, depend upon it the call must come from such societies as this, and from a change in public opinion which will have to be created by your efforts (AJ47, 1890, 357).

Despite occasional requests archaeology was never incorporated into the school curriculum in the same way as history. As the state provided the wherewithal of written history, albeit reluctantly and in pinchbeck fashion, the archaeologists turned to public subscription and exploration funds. The government funded some surveys and excavations abroad, e.g. India and Ephesus, mainly in the classical heartlands, but most major long-term work was conducted through the enthusiasm of private individuals combining together, in Rome, Palestine and Egypt. These proved seminal in training and organisation. At home in England a similar expedient was adopted. As late as 1888 the excavations at the North City Wall in Chester were the subject of an appeal by Arthur Evans, Professors Pelham and Middleton, Frances Haverfield and Bishop Wordsworth in co-operation with the local society and backed by Stubbs and Mommsen. However donations came not just from private individuals such as

Pitt Rivers but also from the Society of Antiquaries and Oxford University. E.F. Benson, a Cambridge scholar, assisted in the field work courtesy of a £40 grant from the Craven trustees (the same body were also funding field-walking in the Baetis Valley in Spain).

A pattern had been set for excavation committees and *ad hoc* funding which depended to a great extent on public interest and support. Yet the first port of call was always central government. This may have been peculiar to the Archaeological Institute, the influential members were close to government (Part I) – and Carlingford regarded some of them at least as ‘the permanent Archaeological Service’ (AJ34, 1877, 2). Lubbock’s Bill for monument protection, which was always felt to be too weak, failed in 1874 but the public profile of archaeology was maintained by Schliemann’s work at Hissarlik and the report on Ephesus, where the Government had purchased the land in 1872, was also presented to Parliament in May of that year by a British Museum official. Carlingford said he lacked the courage as a politician to demand equivalences with Italian measures in monument protection but relied upon a change in public opinion to override the rights of property:

Of course one knows the difficulty with the noble British sense of the rights of property, but we know that the wholesome feeling can be, upon occasions which seem to the public sufficient, made to give way to the public interests, and whenever one-fiftieth part of that feeling, which over-rides the rights of property for the sake of a new railway, a road, or a drain, shall be applied to our national monuments, this measure of Sir John Lubbock will pass without any difficulty (AJ34, 1877, 10).

If this was to be the key it was a long time coming. When the bill was eventually drafted in 1882, members were quick to point out the limitations. Not only was it entirely permissive but no Roman monuments, such as the Wall, were included in the schedules (AJ39, 1882, 219-220). It was conceded however that it was a first step and an archaeologist was in employment as one of a growing band of government inspectors for factories, schools and now monuments. The efficacy of the Act became an issue again in the late 1890s. In the interim the British Government had officially joined the competitive race for a stake in ancient Greece alongside France, Germany and the USA – “their only want”, said one observer, “is that power that is represented by ‘the almighty dollar’” (AJ49, 1892, 291). Meanwhile comparisons with other nation states in the area of monument protection were constantly made and constantly unfavourable – “it is only with

Russia that England shares the dishonour of having no national legislation on the subject” (AJ54, 1897, 273-4).

In 1906 G. Baldwin Brown, then Professor of Fine Arts at Edinburgh, published The Care of Ancient Monuments: an account of the legislative and other measures adopted in European countries for protecting ancient monuments and scenes of natural beauty, and for preserving the aspects of historical cities. Britain fared rather badly. All other countries had a minister with responsibility for monument protection. “In a country so rich in monuments as Great Britain, the taxpayer is not very willing to furnish the funds necessary for their protection, and requires to be educated”, commented the reviewer (AJ63, 1906, 41). The picture which emerges is in stark contrast to the *laissez-faire* commercialism of earlier phases. The state needed to protect monuments and, significantly, sites of natural beauty, if not by active support then at least by preservative legislation. (The National Trust, another voluntary body, also belongs to this phase). At the same time as, at the heart of empire, central government was being chastised for lack of interest, government departments in the more remote parts of the world were producing reports on aspects of native culture which were under threat (AJ63, 1906, 40, 45; AJ65, 1908, 137). In 1909 the Government acted and the following year saw the publication of the first interim report of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England. The Archaeological Institute commented:

It is proverbially difficult to estimate the importance of contemporary events, and the judicious critic must often seek safety in the current political catchword ‘Wait and see’. But for once in a way, forsaking their habitual caution, English antiquaries may hail the appearance of this volume as a portent of the happiest omen. For the first time in the recorded history of the nation, the Government of the day has determined to ‘make an inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization and conditions of the life of the people’....And with this intent to ‘specify those which seem most worthy of preservation’...a great step has been made in the right direction.....It is indeed highly probable that this generation will not see the end of the great work, and its full consequences will probably only be enjoyed by our grandchildren; but at least it is a comforting thought that nothing can take from our own times the credit of its inception (AJ67, 1910, 279).

So far so good.

Local government was another potential source of funding and recognition of archaeological pursuits. During his presidency Talbot had always

seen the municipalities as the 'great bulwarks' for the protection of monuments (Part 1) but they only really took an active role in the 1880s simultaneously with the emergence of an alternative history, a broader history, which recognised different classes and regional identities in apposition to the centralising uniformity of a national history which was essentially English, essentially southern and, strangely, essentially rural. McCord makes the point that changes in public administration between 1880 and 1906 have been undervalued in comparison with what may be seen as a more heroic struggle for the growth of government in earlier years, or the achievements of the Liberal Governments in the years after their electoral triumph in 1906. True, the 1880-1906 changes were largely a piecemeal continuation of trends established earlier, rather than the result of revolutionary new concepts.....Cumulatively, however, the changes were so extensive that they amounted to much more than a simple development of earlier moves (McCord 1991, 404).

Events and attitudes recorded in the *Archaeological Journal* certainly bear this out. Hobsbawm describes the process as the 'real country' penetrating the political enclosures of the 'legal' or 'political country' (Hobsbawm 1996, 85). Many faceted real and perceived change was brought about in the wake of the Local Government Act of 1888 and the London Government Act of 1899. In education what had been a modest subsidy to voluntary efforts in 1883, as McCord puts it, had become a department of state by 1902 when new municipal grammar schools were established with administration in the hands of local education authorities (McCord 1991, 413).

This assault on the 'legal' country was accompanied not only by the alternative histories but also by foundation myths and local histories. On the one hand there was the revival or invention of the 'folk'. Customs like the Dumnow Flitch were re-invigorated according to Victorian fancy. G.L. Gomme wrote a book entitled Primitive Folk-Moots or Open-Air Assemblies (1880); the primitive assembly was "all that primitive man had to fall back upon in his struggles for right and justice It figures on the solidity of the foundation upon which it was based, namely, the patriarchal community" (AJ38, 1881, 246). There were no documentary sources but there was "a large amount of evidence of the right of all freemen to attend and take part in public affairs" (*ibid*, 247). The evidence usually came from a system of land tenure said to date back to early medieval times. At its heart was the parish –

The parish is the unit of our social life, from which many things in Church and State that we set most store by have been evolved. It was in the Middle Ages a much freer and simpler organization than it has now become. The great land-owners have cramped it in one way, and the cast-iron rigidity of Acts of Parliament often draughted by persons who were almost wholly ignorant of rural affairs, have well-nigh crushed the life out of it. (AJ40, 1883, 7).

The ignorant drafters were more concerned with the regulation of urban settlements – the new municipalities, and these too set about creating a past for themselves. The corporations were taking increasingly active steps in the preservation of their own records (Norwich 1889, Colchester 1890, Shrewsbury 1894, Gloucester 1907), architecture and antiquities (Lincoln, Carlisle, Bury St Edmunds 1887, Norwich 1889,). A corollary was the need for qualified staff to carry out the work “as far as money and the wholesome fear of the ratepayers will allow” (AJ63, 1906, 208). Histories written by professional historians traced the early development of the municipalities; they were seen as aspirants after freedom “not the result of a permissive act of central government setting forth a fixed model [but] the outcome of struggle between various rival influences” (AJ56, 1889, 293) In a paper on the mayoralty of London J.H. Round glorified self-government and municipal freedoms; “it has been the special glory of the City, throughout her history, that she has shewn us how to reconcile the claims of property and true freedom” (AJ50, 1893, 247-263). Leeds Corporation called upon St John Hope for advice and assistance in the preservation and repair of Kirkstall Abbey; he wrote papers on the Civic Insignia of Gloucester and English municipal heraldry (1895). The most important secular buildings at Silchester where G.E. Fox worked for the Society of Antiquaries, belonged to the municipal authorities (and the remainder to the Duke of Westminster). London County Council invited the Institute and others to compile a register of ancient historic buildings in the metropolis (AJ55, 1898, 403) while at York it was suggested that the Corporation should have representation on the council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society “in consideration of a subsidy” (AJ60, 1903, 375). The custodian at Clifford’s Tower was already an employee of Yorkshire County Council. New standards of public health threatened old houses, motor cars threatened old bridges, both innovation and preservation relied on arguments of local patriotism. The birth of the planning authority was also the birth of the public enquiry, the phase of the entrepreneur had ended, the ‘creative destroyer’

was brought within Weber's 'iron cage' of bureaucratic rationality (Harvey, 1995, 15). The phase was also marked by the day-tripper, tourism and the revenue therefrom. Paradoxically the mobility which brought down the bridges brought much else besides.

In the early years of the twentieth century planning and education up to the secondary level lay in the hands of local authorities and their elected representatives. The most commonly accepted mark of professionalization, the university chair, lay in a kind of limbo between central government and free enterprise, accountable to a self-perpetuating oligarchy defined still by class and to a lesser extent religion. The history of archaeology in the academy between 1843 and 1913 is remarkably brief. Bunnell Lewis gave a series of lectures at University College London on Classical Archaeology in 1873. These were a comprehensive treatment of the subject and recognisably archaeological insofar as he propagated general archaeological principles (e.g. the maxim 'work from the known to the unknown') in the treatment of material remains rather than aesthetics. He was concerned that these principles be taught rather than assimilated:

We cannot pause to enquire whether the present educational regime is good or bad; but while it lasts, we must deal with actualities. As a rule, undergraduates will study nothing but what they will be examined upon. Under these circumstances, if we wish them to learn things as well as words, we should not rest satisfied till Archaeology is made a necessary and indispensable part of the higher Classical examinations in all our Universities (AJ46, 1889, 426).

In 1892 C.D.E. Fortnum was nonplussed and embarrassed when asked by a German professor about chairs of archaeology in English universities. He could recount only a handful. Most of these were in Classical Archaeology, the archaeologists had trained at excavations abroad, and they were integrated or closely related to the schools of Fine Art. He omitted Scotland and listed in England two chairs at Cambridge, the Slade Professorships in Fine Art included the archaeology of art, one at Oxford, and one at University College London. Petrie, of course, brought a new dimension as Professor of Egyptology, and Arthur Evans help to reinvigorate the subject at Oxford through his work as keeper at the Ashmolean. The professorships were acknowledgement of a certain status; they promulgated a kind of hierarchy and bestowed status on the discipline but did little to advance the subject as a whole.

The advisers and professionals derived mainly from the national societies, from the erstwhile pressure groups of the Archaeological Institute and the British Archaeological Association and, by the 1900s, their élite group, the Society of Antiquaries. Between 1840 and 1860 the evidence from the Archaeological Institute suggests that executive members of the organisation enjoyed a quasi-official status in the areas of monument protection and recording. The shift came in 1888, after a period of relative stability and ineffectiveness, when the Congress of Archaeological Societies came into being. The Congress was an attempt to rationalise the disparate organizations which made up the public face of archaeology (Part 1). The process of rationalisation involved strengthening the Society of Antiquaries through centralisation and, at the same time, strengthening the local societies. In doing so it compounded the already confused relationship between the amateur and professional. Until the late 1880s amateur or professional status was not an issue. At the Annual Meeting in 1845 the Dean of Winchester felt moved to observe that

while by means of such meetings as these, a greater attachment to hereditary rank and institutions was created – a wider field was thrown open for the exertion of talent, whereby men of humble grade were raised up to social importance (AJ2, 1845, 303).

In 1881 Charles Magniac MP was unhappy about the trustees of the British Museum. They were representatives of families that had contributed liberally to its foundation and great men of the day. The Archbishop of Canterbury was there simply by virtue of his office. He felt that

a body chosen, not elected, under such conditions, [was] likely to be conservative rather than otherwise. I do not think there is any particular division of art which has been furthered by the British Museum, without their own walls, they have been content and anxious to keep the whole thing to themselves (AJ38, 1881, 416).

He wanted them, and other national museums, to come out of the (dusty) closet in which they had enclosed themselves “and be made subservient to art and Archaeology all over the country” (*ibid.*). Magniac did not ask for professionals but was clearly unhappy with self-appointed amateurs. Pitt Rivers was anxious to have trained individuals working on archaeological excavations and said so on many occasions, but the same man, in the preface to Cranbourne Chase Vol. II (AJ46, 1889, 79) suggested that, as the government had made local politics inimicable to local landowners (the Local Government Act of 1888 brought about the demise of old Shire County structure and the growth of electorally

accountable county councils) the latter should devote their new-found time to archaeological investigation on their estates. It is interesting that as the process of professionalization creaked along, the role of the amateur was redefined or reasserted. Just as the authority figures emerged, others were reassuring the audience of the Archaeological Institute of the valuable place of the amateur. It was their role 'to study the antiquities in the path of everyday life' (AJ47, 1890, 287); they were to collect the minutiae, the microcosmic details to be sorted and pronounced upon by the arbiters of the macrocosm in the Society of Antiquaries or the universities. The local societies were a very well adapted vehicle for such work; county histories, as one writer pointed out, could no longer be written by one man:

The work was now sub-divided between many societies the *fauna* and *flora* and geology are dealt with in books confined to one branch alone, Mr Foster and the Harleian and kindred societies take off the pedigrees, while the Surtees, the Chatham and similar associations take off the documents; local antiquarianism and archaeological societies go into parochial and minuter details (AJ49, 1892, 212).

At the same time the executive of the Institute was concerned about unsupervised amateurs. Percy reminded them of the need for careful guidance (from the Society of Antiquaries and professionals) but he was generally in favour of these 'organised bands of workers under the direction of an acknowledged chief' (AJ49, 1892, 212). All that was needed was proper leadership and regardless of the dangers the 1900s witnessed a flurry of excavations by local societies. A labour force and a structure of command had been established. Training however remained a matter of chance or providence; Pitt Rivers had worked in his youth with Greenwell, Boyd Dawkins had learnt his trade with Pitt Rivers; Flaxman Spurrell and Petrie were self-taught. With the exception of Petrie's work at University College and on site in Egypt little was done about training. Inside the Institute members were unwilling or unable to provide any resolution. "Experience" as they say "is a hard school but the only one a fool can learn in."

Paths to Discourse (Formalization)

There is a distinction to be made between professionalization and the formalization of discourse. One may well mirror the other, they may share a simultaneity in phases of emergence but is one a prerequisite of the other?

Archaeology's involvement with the public and the amateur suggests that this is not necessarily the case. To speak of the formative and formalization presupposes a progression from disorder and disarray to order, arrangement and hierarchy. The paths to professionalization saw the emergence of a hierarchy which followed a pattern similar to but not identical with that explored by Rudwick (1985) in geology. There was a shift in social and cognitive topography between 1843 and 1914 from socially ascribed authority to earned or meritocratic status embedded in a hierarchical model or structure of command. The structure of any working 'dig' still retains this pattern in the microcosm; there are workers or labourers who collect the data under the governance of certain rules and regulations; there are specialists who interpret the data within limits set by the director (e.g. the theoretically laden vertical sections); the director alone can authoritatively interpret the data (theorize) and will oversee the next stages to publication. At a different level, that of the institution, by the 1900s the archaeological discourse was being conducted by a hierarchy with a quasi-professional Society of Antiquaries at its head, to which other archaeological bodies, namely the Archaeological Institute and the British Archaeological Association and the local societies, deferred and the Government came for advice and recruitment. The Archaeological Institute had, in effect, been sidelined. Education and training were a recognised lacuna which the Institute attempted to fill in a very small way through research grants for field work. In common with the universities and the government, through the medium of the schools at Athens and Rome, experience as has already been mentioned was considered the best teacher. In Kuhnian terms too there was a shift in the 1880s and 1890s regarding the parameters of debate and appropriate areas of research which manifested itself in specialization such as Romano-British Studies under Haverfield, Egyptology under Petrie, or Munro's paper in 1908 on the hiatus problem in prehistory which effectively outlined future work.

Formalization of discourse is rather different. Professionalization in the the mirror of the Archaeological Institute was defined against a background of amateurism and popularism, two factors which could not or would not be entirely dispensed with. Formalization is a separation from these two factors through theoretical understanding. In traditional histories which treat of the period, the years between c.1840 and 1880 are generally treated as formative but in the eyes

of practitioners there was perfectly acceptable theory and there was method which was not without rationality. In the words of John Phillips:

Ought we not, before declaiming on the ignorance of the ancients be careful to make allowance for the differences of form in which knowledge presents itself at different periods, as well as for the incompleteness of *their* records, and the imperfections of *our* interpretations [his emphases] (AJ16, 1859, 7).

The inductive method, the utilitarian ethos, comparative analysis, the rule of the wise sages through the minute philosophical investigations of Baconian science were not necessarily the foundation stones but perhaps the latent characteristics of emerging discourse. The textual analysis (Part II) revealed both phases and immanent discourse, the problematic areas or tensions which had the potential to allow the work to take alternative paths. Format, terminology, citations and tropes revealed a drive towards science (and truth) the first phase of which (c.1840-70) was characterized by the multiplicity and diversity of the Objects of Discourse at all levels. Variety and pluralism was always an option unless the underlying paradigm (the search for truth?) demanded resolution. In practice a resolution did occur in the 1880s in the form of adversarial/agonistic debate, syntheses and the concomitant testable hypotheses. Speculation, accompanied by the rigours of scientific method which, if the experiment could not exactly be repeated could identify simultaneity, similarities and differences across sites, became not just acceptable but necessary. It is at this point on the axis of thought that Pitt Rivers meets Poincaré. Conventions were agreed on the nomenclature and the ordering of time and space which should have put archaeology fairly and squarely into the modern episteme, a part of a system of knowledge based on deduction and positivism. After all archaeology at that time shared so many of the characteristics of established science, an accessible repository of facts in museums, books and journals (of national and local societies and congresses), a canon of authors, a method for collecting and interpreting data, a scientific paradigm. But it also bore the characteristics of new science – it was about surfaces.

The earth turned in her sleep and traded one surface for another. Where ammonoids once fed, diamonds. Where diamonds once grew, vineyards. The logic of the moraine, of the landslip, of the avalanche. Dislodge one pebble, by chance, it becomes restless, rolls down, in its descent it leaves space (ah, horror vacui!) another pebble falls on top of it, and there's height. Surfaces. Surfaces upon surfaces. The wisdom of the Earth. (Eco 1990, 639).

Among the conventions archaeology had adopted was the meaning of deposition, the relationship between surface and sub-surface, between appearance and reality or truth or science. Craniology had measured the surface of the skull, Freud at the extreme of psychology and neurology was looking for meaning within it (1900 The Interpretation of Dreams); the geologist had measured time through space, Einstein (1905 & 1916 Theory of Relativity) added a different dimension to the laws of physics; the philologists had linked race and language at a superficial level, Saussure (1916) gave new depths and meaning to language. And yet archaeology, at least in the mirror of the Archaeological Institute, dallied with the aesthetic and the non-discursive. The archaeologists sat like Manet's diners (Déjeuner sur l'herbe 1863) part naked in the park, invitingly exclusive.

Conditions of emergence and existence

Three broad phases can be identified by patterns of dispersion in the paths to professionalization – c.1840 to the 1860s, the 1860s to 1890s and a period commencing in the 1890s with some unresolved issues. The process of formalisation threw up a similar pattern but was more conclusive. So what, we might ask, were the conditions of emergence and existence which prompted, stimulated or favoured one immanent discourse among several? Where, if anywhere, is the answer to Foucault's 'how'? One thing is certain archaeology was firmly anchored in modernity.

The condition of modernity, according to Harvey (1995, 10) in a delightful and thought provoking analysis, is characterized by ephemerality and change. Not only is a break with the past a condition of emergence but modernity constantly breaks with its own past and others as a condition of existence. Why then was the past in the present so important in the nineteenth century? Why in the 1890s is there a multiplication of pasts manifest in the incorporation into history of region and class, of the peaceable and the mundane, in tandem with the physical reconstruction of sites (the Saalburg) at one extreme and the preservation of ruins and monuments (Stonehenge) at the other? Why do tourism and heritage enter the equation at this time? It is almost a cliché to say that archaeology is a concomitant of the nation state (although I was taught this applied to other countries not my own) yet every detail of both the internal history of the Institute and the external history of archaeology reinforces that

idea. The metaphors for the past in the present (Part II) alone demonstrate the creative destruction/destructive creativity dichotomy. In the first phase (1840-1860) the developers were the vandals while the Institute, and others, were fighting a battle to preserve and protect. This could be interpreted as the response of individuals or a social group whose interests were threatened by change. It could also be interpreted as a typical or characteristic response of the phase in that it enhanced the role of the individual (not the corporation, company, or organization) as an agent of social action or reaction. Yet at the same time it was to the government that the Institute turned in the first instance for aid. Furthermore it argued the case for aid on the basis of the good of the nation and national unity. In the second instance, having appealed to the representatives of the nation as embodied in the government and legislature, they appealed directly to the people, to the 'real' country. Where history was élitist archaeology was perceived as democratic; it drew the whole nation/country/people into the fold. Perhaps that first phase was the end of an era, the end of the naïve optimism of the Enlightenment where men and women combined together to achieve the social project, or perhaps not. In any event organizations like the Institute created a new past characterized by a method of recovery dependent upon recognition of similarities and differences and of simultaneity. The will of the age of the Gothic Revival could be interpreted as a desire for timelessness and the abstract spirituality of Christianity captured in the worked stone of the cathedrals and churches of the high Middle Ages (Part I: Artists, Architects and Engineers). But Westmacott at least had no illusions in that respect and the architects of the Victorian aesthetic rapidly became the destroyers. The archaeologist meanwhile became a wonderful paradox who destroyed in order to build ostensibly that which he had destroyed.

Why anyone should wish to do this returns us to the main theme. Preservation of the material remains of the past was a problematic area, not just because of the spatialization of time it encapsulated with the attendant problems of historical imagination and the conquest of time but because it also posed the question of ownership. At one level this was argued out in terms of property rights. At another it was about the relationship between the state and the individual. It was an essentially bourgeois debate which had to be resolved, and was resolved in legislative terms at the turn of the century, by the recognition of

the state as the legitimate representative of these bourgeois interests which were best protected in a bureaucratic form where necessary overriding the localised interest of the individual. It is interesting that in England at least this was a process of negotiation. In this later phase the state staked a claim on monuments outside the metropolis, on monuments which had previously been the preserve of the pre-industrial landowners, and on monuments which did not have an imperialist significance. The Ancient Monuments legislation was perhaps more a matter of consolidation. The earlier and as yet unresolved issue of treasure trove is more illuminating in this context. Treasure trove epitomised on the one hand the confusion over ownership in the broadest sense and, on the other, confusion over the concept of sovereignty (a knot so conveniently unravelled by the Teutonic historians). Treasure trove (Part I) had to actively address the relationship between the common people, the disenfranchised and the uneducated, and the landowner. It raised questions about the market place and supply and demand in antiquities. It raised questions about the education of the mass of the people making up the nation. It raised issues of policing both actual and ideological. The police and the coroner's court were the primary enforcers while valuation involved experts and intellectuals being recruited by the state as impartial arbitrators. That impartiality was constrained by market values and the innovatory concept of a national depository and a national collection. The national depository was seen as the natural home of finds declared treasure trove, the two were interdependent and at the heart of both lay a transfiguration of sovereignty. The rights of ownership, in the English law of treasure trove, resided in the sovereign, originally in the person of the king (or queen). The struggle over treasure trove is symbolically significant in that it marks a transfer of sovereign power from the monarch to the nation state with a monarch as its figurehead. The sovereign state required national identity, encompassing the sense of unity or sameness implicit in that word. Is it pure chance that the New History of Freeman and others addressed itself to foundation myths of Teutonic origins, of a paternalistic if hierarchical community dating from precisely that period from which the English law of treasure trove was said to derive? It was not beyond the bounds of possibility for the interpretation of the tenets of Roman jurisprudence to have been adopted as in India.

In the first phase the term 'nation' was used most of the time in the Latin sense of *nationes*, a culturally defined and possibly geographically located people. It was also interchangeable with 'race' or 'family'. Whereas 'nation' hardened into the meaning given it for the last hundred years or so, urged on perhaps by the didacts of the Archaeological Institute, 'race' acquired secondary characteristics. It was used principally by the historians of the early medieval period mentioned above as a chronological indicator (Terminology) and then by the prehistorians in an increasingly injurious and hierarchical way until in the 1890s the mass of the living inhabitants of the home nation (England in this case) were being classified in the same way. The leading exponents of archaeological method, men like Pitt Rivers (President of the Ethnological Society but never president of an archaeological body) and Petrie (author of Janus in the Modern World, 1906 and The Revolutions of Civilizations, 1911, both of which were heavily influenced by Francis Galton and theories of eugenics) did not merely accept a racial paradigm but actively endorsed it. We have to ask (and this is problematic for us) if race was the answer what was the question? Is the racial paradigm so deeply embedded in the nation state that one cannot exist without the other? Is the racism which accompanied the racial paradigm a defining characteristic of modernity, endemic in the systems of knowledge forming the modern episteme or simply a feature of the many dichotomies which give it its essential character?

In the discussion on tropes in Part II I mention a hierarchical paradigm - 'the scale of nations or civilizations' - which permeated the text in the first phase. It was so ubiquitous and endemic that it was never attributed. To me at least it was also anomalous and difficult to explain. The clearest and possibly innovative exposition came from the art history school and Samuel Birch (Part II: Tropes; Metaphors for the Past). In a discussion on the position of art in the modern episteme a statement by Harvey suggests a possible answer. He says:

The exploration of aesthetics as a separate realm of cognition was very much an eighteenth century affair. It arose in part out of the need to come to terms with the immense variety of cultural artefacts, produced under very different social conditions, which increasing trade and cultural contact revealed. Did Ming vases, Grecian urns, and Dresden china all express some common sentiment of beauty? *But it also arose out of the sheer difficulty of translating Enlightenment principles of rational and scientific understanding into moral and political principles appropriate for action* [my emphasis] (Harvey 1995, 19).

Art and aesthetics, in other words, were to be a bridge between theory and practice, the means by which the ends of the Enlightenment project were to be achieved. It explains the emphasis placed in the first phase on the importance of cultivating good taste in the populace. If civilization was measured by aesthetics and the dominant aesthetic, which could be objectively measured (beauty was an eternal, immutable and static quality) reflected the moral and spiritual worth of the civilization that produced it then perhaps the process was two-way. If a country had good taste and high art then everything else would follow. In many ways this explains Gothic Revival architecture at one level and the significance of the church presence in the Institute at another. It also explains why the antiquarians and archaeologists turned to the government for help, they had a political agenda, however unarticulated, as a result of which the nation state emerged although perhaps not in the form which many desired. The nation manifested itself as a unifying cultural aesthetic, primarily in art and architecture, and the unifying cultural aesthetic manifested itself in the nation, happy, well-fed, industrious and educated citizens, Manet's picnic in the park with clothes on.

The limitations of this strategy, if strategy it was, are only too apparent now (and it is possible that Harvey's suggestion is over-endowed with hindsight). Embedded in the text of the *Archaeological Journal* we see in the metaphors for the past first the co-existence of the hierarchical art history paradigm and the scientific paradigm of philology and craniology followed by a merging of the two. In the second phase the merging is signified by the proliferation of possible chronological indicators which use cultural designations (Table Terminology/Peoples). These were cultural designations only superficially, in practice they relied heavily upon craniology in combination with aesthetically derived typology. They were racially and stereotypically derived and defined. In the course of time, just as the English nation examined its own genesis in physiological terms with, for instance the Ethnographic Survey, so too we find some of those dispossessed by history, e.g. 'Celtic' Ireland, Scotland and Wales, defining themselves through concepts hitherto applied only to the past. What had been a means to national unity started on a process of fragmentation. The inherent instability of the second phase was also manifested in the diversity of chronological nomenclature across all categories most notably for the prehistoric period where, paradoxically, there was the greatest potential for internationalism

and universalism. The exchange of ideas regarding this period was formally conducted on an international level but rapidly hardened into a dominant Western vision underpinned by a hierarchical paradigm derived from aesthetics and confirmed by science (e.g. natural selection and theories of evolution as understood at that time).

Simultaneously we find the processes of formalization and professionalization enter a third phase. On the one hand there is a distancing from the political arena which is concurrent with a methodology that seeks to control the act of destruction at its core with regularity and reconstruction. At the same time what had been primarily a concern about the loss of things, of monuments and artefacts, became a concern in some quarters about the loss of life. There was a shift, for instance, in Romano-British studies from an emphasis on the conqueror to the conquered. Were the British exterminated? is a question which is asked in the late 1880s and 1890s. Somers Clark in Egypt was primarily concerned about the British Government's wholesale and ignorant movement of people living in the path of the proposed Aswan Dam (AJ54, 1894, 268: AJ55, 1895, 240). It was not an entirely novel concept, there had been the Scottish clearances and the exodus from Ireland after the famine in 1846-7. Meanwhile in South Africa the idea of a concentration camp gained concrete expression and in 1906 the Aliens Act was passed after a long-running and racist (mainly anti-Semitic) debate. "The half century before 1914", as Hobsbawm puts it, was a classic era of xenophobia, and therefore of nationalist reaction to it, because –even leaving aside global colonisation – it was an era of massive mobility and migration and, especially during the Depression decades [Percy's 'bad times'], of open or concealed social tension (Hobsbawm 1996, 152).

This is revealed in the text of the Archaeological Institute in various ways one of which can be described as a casual insulting or belittling of anyone who was not white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and literate although this is a gross oversimplification and there were statements which could be used to counter this charge. In general however I believe it to be correct. There were other aspects of the matter to be considered. Thomas Kerslake (prompted in part by the Land Clauses Act (1872) which gave municipal corporations the power of compulsory purchase) was concerned about recording the morphology of towns as a way to understanding their histories and the history of the people within them. In a paper

entitled 'The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter' (AJ30, 1873, 211-226) he mentions a part of that town known as 'Little Britain' –

a place of refuge conceded for that abject remnant of the banished race [the Britons or Celts, they are used interchangeably here] who accepted tolerance, with a servile position, after the expulsion of their nation [by the Saxons]; in which place their designation of contempt has lingered nearly to our own time (AJ30, 1873, 224).

Kerslake goes on to make analogies with the position of Jews in medieval towns and 'also the strict seclusion of degraded classes still maintained in many continental cities' – a principle which he felt was still operating in London on a less formal basis. On one level this paper marked the beginning of the shift in opinion regarding the ancient (and hitherto socially excluded) Briton manifested more substantially in the alternative histories of the 1880s and later Romano-British studies but at another level it also marked a recognition of what it is like to be other or alien. There is also a chilling and portentous description of an incident said to have taken place during a Jewish pogrom in the Middle Ages when a group of Jewish people were enticed on to a ship with promises of safe passage to the continent and then left stranded on the Goodwin Sands to await their fate while the treacherous captain returned to port with their possessions on the incoming tide (AJ 59, 1902, 161-2).

For the most part the social tensions were well-concealed or encoded. Just as the debates were conducted against a background of hierarchization it is as well to remember that the dominant theoretical framework of social change was the migration/invasion hypothesis only mildly ameliorated by theories of indigenous development in the second phase. Hostility to the past (Part II: Tropes) as presented in the text of the *Archaeological Journal* was the most consistent and overt expression of xenophobia. Theories of indigenous growth more properly belong to the third phase where change was becoming part of an accepted pattern and was under control, when struggle, contest, even dialectic, were becoming incorporated as a characteristic.

In the foregoing monograph I touch only lightly upon global colonialism (see Part II: Objects of Discussion, geographical provenance). As Edward Said said of literature of a different sort:

It is difficult to connect these different realms, to show the involvements of culture with expanding empires, to make observations about art that preserve its unique endowments and at the

same time map its affiliations, but I submit, we must attempt this, and set the art in the global, earthly context. Territory and possessions are at stake, geography and power. (Said 1993, 5).

One step in this process of mapping as far as archaeology is concerned might be an historical geography of interventions. They are but dimly perceived through the glass of the Archaeological Institute. The Objects of Discussion in particular and the Objects of Discourse generally are centred in the locus of power, the modern state, while the global dimension is submerged and subservient. With the possible exception of India which is brought into the classical/Aryan nexus the countries of the imperial dominions and colonies had no history and therefore no archaeology other than art. Whilst Celtic mists are comprehensible, the Western fringe of Europe can be rather damp, why is Africa, a land of colour, light and variety, the 'dark continent'? (AJ39, 1882, 13) Why, despite the acknowledgement that Greek culture derived from Egypt and Egypt's earliest inhabitants probably came out of Africa, does Africa have no interior and no anterior? Its only history being set at the furthest limits of palaeontology as the possible home of our earliest ancestors. In the Institute, inevitably perhaps in the history of a national organization, we find simply a creeping bias in the membership towards the metropolis at the heart of empire and the dominance of the metropolitan museum with its core collections of aesthetic objects. The shift manifest in the transformation of the indigenous Britons from savages to Celts on the one hand and in the division of the Roman Empire into national units, e.g. Romano-British Studies, on the other, would indicate that Classical scholars were not necessarily upholding neo-colonialist values but that the discipline itself was part of the neo-colonialist experience. It was not as straightforward as Haverfield's comment of 1903 (Part I) might suggest, of looking for analogies. That would have been utilitarian, a function of history as useful or useless as rediscovering Roman central heating or how to hang roof tiles or even reproducing Etruscan jewellery (all of which can be found in the *Archaeological Journal*). The question we have to ask is why did the shift happen when it happened? The society which produced Romano-British studies also produced at the same time Freud and Einstein. The motivation behind Romano-British studies was not merely to copy or to learn from history in the administration of empire nor to justify present action – any historian could do that. The motives were perhaps deeper and more complex. To excavate in an outpost of empire was to

understand the exercise of imperial power both within ourselves as executors and, standing outside ourselves, seeing ourselves (the indigenous Britons) as other, as recipients. Perhaps it was part of a process of understanding the forces which shaped a modern complex society in which the individual was king and kings could only rule with consent. The Town Planning Movement which we know had its links with classical studies can be seen as a more concrete expression of this dichotomy.

It is in this phase too that we find women demanding once more to be part of this consensus and women were being actively incorporated into archaeology (Part I: Ladies and Gentle Women) both in its institutions and in some versions of the past. Only in the 1890s was gender seen as openly and mildly problematic and women were rapidly assimilated into an asexual episteme. Thereafter there were women active in the Institute as elsewhere but there was no feminist or feminine agenda although it is worth remembering perhaps Schliemann's association of the female with the aesthetic in 1877 (Part I: Ladies and Gentle Women). Gender, and sexuality, were remarkable by their absence. Archaeology at its most basic was about the accumulated data of ordinary, mundane life. It is intriguing how an element so integral to everyday life and its procreation, could be so remorselessly ignored especially in the light of the appetites and preferences of some well known archaeologists, acknowledged only obliquely in the preferred form of archaeological history, the biography and autobiography.

While it is true that women such as Margaret Murray were active in excavations and field work, within the Institute and elsewhere they were associated more frequently with aesthetics, with art and architecture. Aesthetics form an element in archaeology which is often overlooked but the relationship between the two is not wholly fortuitous. The former are an integral part of archaeology not just, as we have seen, in the bridge between the Enlightenment and the Modern, in the intertwining of race and nation, or in the Gothic Revival. Aesthetics posed one of the 'grievous puzzles' at the heart of the hiatus problem in prehistory at the turn of the century. How could anyone explain the beauty of the cave paintings of Lascaux and equate them with savagery? How was the aesthetic of the early Neolithic to be understood in a male dominated society? The Modern aesthetic itself was affected by these puzzles. Post 1914 versions of the past were to reflect these dilemmas just as they had done in the previous

seventy years or so. The text of the Archaeological Institute indicates three phases of activity in that time the last of which was itself interrupted by an hiatus of horrific proportions. The phases were characterized by changes in the Objects of Discourse marking transitions in the conditions of emergence and existence. Conditions of emergence, the nation state and the aesthetic bridge, the inductive method, race and nation, colonialism, and the passive female were operating between 1840 and the 1890s. Conditions of existence can be said to be operating after that time; those conditions can be described very briefly as more or less regulated struggle within the context of a nation state and all that implies. The struggle for discourse becomes in itself characteristic and internalized. The conditions of emergence and existence reveal on the one hand the aesthetic strand which creates the problematic areas for us now, e.g. racial stereotyping, ethnocentricity and gender blindness. On the other hand the professionalization and formalization process reveal the areas which were problematic for them – the unresolved issues of supply and demand, of the past as a commodity, of funding and a somewhat equivocal relationship with the instruments of power. These problem areas left organizations such as the Archaeological Institute and archaeology in an ambiguous position, dependent upon public finance (in the form of taxes or subscriptions) or private wealth, both of which tended to enhance the problematics inherent in the aesthetic strand. Archaeology in 1914 occupied a position on the edge of the configuration which was the modern episteme with a thin line between discourse and non-discourse.

POSTSCRIPT – 1914 and After

In the summer of 1914 one hundred or so members of the Archaeological Institute and their friends met at Derby for the annual meeting. It was presided over by the Duke of Rutland and the guest of honour was M. Eugene Lefèvre Pontalis, Directeur de la Société Française d'Archéologie and Professeur à l'École de Chartes, who spoke, in French, on Romanesque sculpture. To all intents and purposes the meeting pursued its accustomed round of day-time excursions to churches, castles and earthworks followed by teas in vicarage gardens or the homes of wealthy landowners and spent the evenings listening to papers on places they had visited. The only intimation of approaching disaster lay, perhaps, in the unprecedented mishaps which haunted the meeting although they are referred to with typical *sang-froid*. A church they had intended to visit was burnt down a few weeks previously and a speaker was absent "due to illness from which, unhappily, he has since died" (AJ71, 1914, 387). Nevertheless the secretary, G.Hardinge-Tyler, confidently ends his report:

Thus ended the summer meeting of 1914. The members descended the hill to tea at the Hardwick Arms, motored to Chesterfield and dispersed. The meeting was in all respects a most successful one. The weather, almost without exception, was fine, yet the motor car journeys were not rendered unpleasant by clouds of dust...(AJ71, 1914, 413).

Away from the Summer Meeting the Institute had witnessed a period of almost unprecedented prosperity; membership had been rising for the last decade and the Council had felt sufficiently confident to spend some funds on excavation. 1913 saw some small organisational changes which were in tune with the optimistic mood. Henceforth the annual report was to run from December to December to coincide with business practice and the principles upon which the research grants were given were more strictly formulated. The Institute had been in the habit of making modest research grants on a regular basis since 1905 when they had made a donation of £5 to the Glastonbury Excavation Fund. In subsequent years grants were made to approximately four excavation funds each year. In 1913 it was felt necessary to define the principles upon which these were given and, incidentally, the principles upon which excavations were undertaken. The Council declared that there were four rules to be followed in making grants:

- (i) The objects that the Institute wishes to encourage are the excavation of sites, fresh contributions to knowledge and original research.
- (ii) Its grants are made in order to set an example rather than to finance an undertaking.
- (iii) In appropriate cases in making a grant it is stipulated as a condition that a report of the work done should appear in the *Journal*.
- (iv) Except in rare cases, its contributions are nominal where work is undertaken by, or under the superintendence of another archaeological body (AJ71, 1914, 417).

With regard to items (iii) and (iv) verbal reports were also given at meetings. In 1914, for instance, Felix Oswald and T. Davies Pryce reported on recent excavations at Margidunum, Castle Hill, Nottinghamshire to which the Institute had made a donation of £5 although the work was, in fact, published in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* and *The Antiquary*.

Then came the hiatus of war. There was no intimation of the clouds of dust which were to disturb the horizons of the old men of the Council. The written records of the Institute are perhaps a salutary lesson in the inadequacies of the written word. If by some strange chance the only written records to survive were those of the Institute, in five hundred years time it will be the battlefields, the dug-outs, the trenches, the cemeteries and the war memorials, which will be the more telling reminders of events. At first it was very much business as usual but gradually the European war, as it was called, began to take its toll. The Summer Meetings were the first casualty as they were "cancelled owing to the war" (AJ72, 1915, 191).

Not only was it felt that at so critical a time few members would wish to attend it, but the difficulty of making arrangements in advance for accommodation in trains and motor cars had proved an insuperable obstacle (*ibid.*).

Annual General Meetings were held in London instead and Summer Meetings were not resumed until 1920. The Monthly Meetings, however, continued to be well attended and maintained their popularity. The Council continued to allot research grants to excavation funds such as St. Augustine's, Canterbury (1915) and Templeborough (1917) but the pre-war conditions were not imposed. The Council was scarcely in a position to insist upon them. Publication of the *Journal* soon became erratic; it was in arrears in 1915 and, despite strenuous efforts, was still in arrears in 1929. Initially this was attributed to the efforts of archaeological workers being diverted into other channels but by 1917 other factors were coming into play. The Report of the Council for that year said that "owing to the

shortage of labour and materials, more particularly copper for process-illustrations the *Archaeological Journal* has been allowed to fall somewhat in arrear....”(AJ74, 1917, 268). Council decided it was better to maintain the pre-war standard and issue it at longer intervals rather than in reduced size. Optimistically, or myopically, they envisaged that “all arrears will be overtaken as soon as circumstances admit” (*ibid.*). In fact, the wartime volumes, when eventually published, were slimmer and more perfunctory. Nevertheless the Council made provision for that eventual publication by putting sums aside for that purpose each year. They were good stewards. The financial position, although sound, was a matter of ongoing concern for the Council. In part this was due to doubts about the stability of the economy, a fear of rising prices, but also, more significantly, to the falling membership rolls. The annual subscriptions were the core of the Institute’s financial probity. In the early years of the war eighteen libraries (eleven in ‘enemy countries’) were lost and ordinary membership showed an increasing deficit owing to deaths and resignation between 1915 and 1918. The trend was slowed but not reversed by the outbreak of peace. The Annual Report for 1918 stated that:

The Council desire to point out that the rise in prices and the shortage in effective income caused by the war must be made good if the *Journal* and other activities of the Institute are to be maintained at their former level.

The Council also wishes to lay special emphasis on the importance of filling the gaps caused by deaths and resignations (the Society has suffered a net loss of about sixty members and subscribers during the last four years) and they rely upon the assistance of members in bringing the Institute to the notice of their friends (AJ76, 1919, 339).

It was not necessarily the younger members who were dying or resigning, indeed several notable older members, among whom were the president, Sir Henry Howorth (d. 1923), and the director, W.H. St.John Hope (d. 1919) died at the latter end of the war or just after, but rather that the new generation which should have been encouraged and nurtured were simply not being recruited. The ‘community’, if such they were in any Kuhnian sense, was failing to train their successors. There was effectively a generation gap compounded by the deaths of the older members.

One of the older members who died immediately after the war, in 1919, was Frances Haverfield. In that year G. Hardinge-Tyler, who had been editor for the last fifteen years, handed over that increasingly difficult task to A. Hamilton

Thompson. One of the first issues Hamilton Thompson must have edited was that of 1918 (AJ75 published after 1921) which contained a curious and elegiac paper by Haverfield on Roman Leicester. Probably the last written work of Haverfield it is indicative in many ways and at many levels of contemporary change. The paper, and the passing of Haverfield, marked that historical cliché the end of an era.

In common with much of Haverfield's earlier contributions to Romano-British studies the paper is significant as a pointer to current and future work. He opened by saying that he saw research on individual town sites as the next most important step in advancing knowledge of the Roman Empire

and to prove various general conclusions as to the development of the Empire.....This study of single sites has been, unfortunately, undertaken by the scholars of no country, except perhaps by the French in respect of North Africa.....It is, of course, no easy task.....this inquiry means a long hunt through the archaeological slums [the museums and private collections] of each town. In wartime we cannot dig up ancient sites, or even cherish hopes that, after peace *has* come, money for digging will be plentiful, and we might fill the gap by excavating museums, and extracting forgotten stores from their cellars, where, as I know from long experience, much can often be found. Many museums deserve to be labelled at once *Lethe* and *Chaos*; they resemble the writing desk of a busy man who has been away a while....(AJ75, 1918, 1-2).

He intended to write a book on what he termed the ten or twelve 'real towns' of Roman Britain, prompted by his visit to Leicester in 1917.

The paper is more significant perhaps in other ways. At another level it is indicative of the chaos, both intellectual and social, which could be attributed to the effects of war beneath the seemingly placid surface of the Archaeological Institute. Haverfield had originally promised the article for the 1917 volume and it is listed in the contents for that volume, the error being corrected in the addenda (AJ74, 1917, facing p.248). It actually appeared in the 1918 volume which was not in fact published until after 1921. Furthermore it is indicative of a mood or state of mind after four years of war. Born in 1860 Haverfield had made notable contributions to the development of Romano-British archaeology both through his books, which provided modern syntheses of contemporary research, and not least in the pages of the Archaeological Journal through epigraphic collection and interpretation. He lived and worked through a period of consolidation of the discipline and was a major contributor to that process through his collaboration with Mommsen and Hübner in Berlin as well as

through his work as a theorist and teacher at Oxford and to less specialised audiences. **Roman Leicester** was written originally as a lecture to the Leicestershire Archaeological Society in 1918 and the Roman Society in 1919. In a footnote the editor states that

it is only fair to him [Haverfield] to say that....he would never have published it in its present form.....No archaeologist has ever taken greater pains with the form in which his material was presented. Every published article or work was re-cast more than once.....This paper, therefore, must only be regarded as the first draft...(AJ75, 1918, 1).

This is doubly fortunate for the historian. The paper was written for an audience which, while not necessarily unsophisticated, was not highly specialised, and in first draft condition it displays a style of address, unusual for the *Archaeological Journal* in its frankness and simplicity, not seen since the early days of the Institute.

In the first place one is struck by Haverfield's linkages between past, present and future; by his use of literary analogy; by the intrusion of the present-day into his thoughts. He is clearly perturbed by the savagery of the war and conscious of a sea change in his familiar world:

[The] condition of Roman Leicester resembled that of our English county towns a hundred years or more ago, before railways had transformed the modern world.....news certainly came seldom and slowly.....buried among the great woods and pasturages of a far-off island, the citizens of *Ratae* were affected even by the worst wars of the Empire.....as little as the characters of Jane Austen by the Napoleonic Wars, which show so scantily in her novels. Our world is different. Morning newspapers, afternoon telegrams at the club, excite us twice daily. To us Roman Leicester would have seemed unbearably dull; its citizens, I fancy, would have fled in disgust from our wilder and more savage life (AJ 75, 1918,4).

Later, when talking about villas, few of which had been found in Leicestershire, he distinguished them with a gentle irony from "the eligible suburban residences, each with its bay windows, lace curtains, and short, tiled path from roadway to front door." Instead he likens them to "the country houses of our landed gentry today..[and] to our better farmhouses" (*ibid.*,5). He employs once more the literary analogy drawn from Jane Austen:

How far this civilisation spread to the peasantry who dwelt around the 'great houses' cannot at present be guessed. One can see in contemporary England that there is often a broad line between the social life of our great houses and that of even the middle classes of our adjacent towns, and I suspect that a similar division exists even in democratic America. The relations which Jane Austen depicts as existing between Mr. Collins, the parish clergyman, and Lady Catherine de

Bourgh in her house at Rosings, however it influenced her middle class neighbours, can have spread little civilisation among the Kentish peasantry...(AJ75, 1918, 6).

Bearing in mind that this paper was delivered against a background of revolution in Russia, social unrest in Germany and widespread fear of a communist uprising of the workers in this country perhaps it is quite restrained but nevertheless the allusions are unusually political for the *Archaeological Journal*. Haverfield makes one concession in his metaphysical reconstruction of Roman Leicester to political change in *his* lifetime insofar as he describes *Ratae Coritanorum* (*ibid.* 29-30) as the *chef-lieu* or 'chief town' of a rural area in the sense that the council of the canton, "in modern phrase the 'county council'", met there. With regard to any pre-Roman presence he dismisses such objects relating to this as of doubtful provenance or, echoing the words of Sir Walter Scott a century earlier in *Rob Roy*, indicative of no more than a 'chance wigwam or two'. But he was prepared to adopt a policy of 'wait and see'. This was rather more promising than his concluding comment:

On the dim period which lies between the Roman and the English, the 'lost centuries' of our history as they have been called, I can throw no light. Coins show that Leicester existed as an inhabited town during the later Roman Empire, and written records and Saxon remains in some of its churches point to its existence as a considerable place during the Saxon period. But of the process by which at Leicester the Roman passed into the English, I at least am profoundly ignorant, and I am not hopeful of ever learning much (AJ 75, 1918, 29).

Haverfield's paper begs the question of how much is aimed at reflection on the Roman world and how much upon that of himself and his audience. Is it a retrospective on the last hundred years? The overall tone is one of resignation, almost of defeat. There is a pervading feeling of farewell, that things will never be the same again and the future is uncertain. *Ave atque vale*.

Despite its elegiac quality the paper had two clear indicators of the future embedded within it. Firstly it was sensitively edited and prepared for publication by a woman, Margerie Venables Taylor. Perhaps it is a tribute to Miss Taylor's talents that the integrity of the paper and Haverfield's personality have been preserved in the way they have. Secondly, it seems equally fitting that it is here, among the footnotes, we find the first mention in the *Archaeological Institute* of R.E.M. Wheeler (AJ75, 1918, 9, fn.1-referring to Colchester town plan).

Wheeler was a survivor of the hiatus, one of the new generation who eventually joined the Institute, along with a phalanx of others, in the late 1920s.

Anyone reading Mortimer Wheeler's archaeological writings could guess, if they did not already know, that at some point in his life he had been a soldier who saw active service. In reflective mood in 1954, at approximately the same age as Haverfield in 1919, he writes of his remembered feelings at that time, of his sense of isolation which, if his autobiography is to be believed, was a *leitmotiv* throughout his life:

This brings me back to 1919; but before proceeding with my chronicle, I must here recapitulate some of the thoughts which were passing through my mind in that year of decision. First, it was clear to me that the next advance in our knowledge of human achievement outside the historical field was dependent upon fresh and methodical discovery, and that fresh discovery means fresh digging. In Romano-British studies, which to me as a classic, were the starting point, Haverfield had carried synthesis pretty nearly as far as it could be carried on the existing evidence.....And as I looked around me with these thoughts in my head, two other factors stuck out a mile. The first was the utter inadequacy of the pre-war techniques for the recovery and analysis of buried material. At Wroxeter under JP Bushe-Fox we had been groping towards something a little more adequate, inspired, as each generation fortunately is, by a filial contempt of our elders. But then the First German War had blotted us out. That was the second factor: we had been blotted out. Those familiar only with the mild casualties of the Second German War can have little appreciation of the carnage which marked its predecessor. It is a typical instance that, of five university students who worked together in the Wroxeter excavations of 1913, one only survived the war. It so happened that the survivor was myself. In other fields were AW Clapham and OGS Crawford [he was writing in the *Archaeological Journal* in 1920 on Celtic Place Names and a new methodology – AJ77, 137-147] both of whom became the closest of my friends. But in my own rather ill-defined province, a sense of isolation was already apparent to me in 1919; in what followed it was to become a dominant element (Wheeler, 1955, 65-66).

This resonates strangely with Haverfield's last paper, while at the same time they are curiously at odds. Those who are familiar with the career of Wheeler (Hawkes, 1982) will see it almost foreshadowed in the opening paragraphs of **Roman Leicester**. Yet Wheeler saw himself as a man with a mission. How much of that mission was of his own making, as he perceived it, and how much a continuation of others' struggles after the hiatus of war is open to question. Wheeler's own claims to fame include broadening the popular front of archaeology; of involving local government, the primary planning authority, when it suited him, in a way in which Haverfield with his somewhat academic approach had not done; of integrating field archaeology into the education system at least at university level and through which he was able to disseminate a more rigorous practice. But are these the results of the efforts of a single individual or

even a group of individuals? All of these issues and several others left unresolved are to be found in the commonplace texts of organisations such as the Archaeological Institute before 1914. The effect of a society under stress upon intellectual endeavour remains a puzzle. It is unlikely to be solved by examining the actions of so-called great men alone. To say there was a gap is simply to state the obvious; to understand the nature of the gap and how the vacuum came to be filled might be more fruitful. To approach such an understanding requires insight as well as practical research, a point of view which Wheeler appreciated. He recognised and applauded the usefulness of science but he was not blind to the fact that as a philosophy it was opportunist (Wheeler, 1955, 229-30). Scientific method was not sufficient, merely necessary:

it was equally my conviction that research should proceed not fortuitously, but on a rigidly selective scale of values. These values necessarily change from age to age and from mind to mind; the prime point at issue is not their individual character but the necessity for their presence. Put simply, I would say to the young archaeologist, *Have a plan*. And, having a plan, see that the plan is worthwhile, is likely to add significantly to our knowledge of the human achievement. Let our work be creative to the maximum extent of which, in a reasonably limited space, it is capable. My experience is that far too large a proportion of our own effort is expended with inadequate planning; and economic duress is by no means solely to blame. Planning on any liberal scale implies a contest with providence and reflects therefore a certain sense of adventure. And how astonishingly rare that sense of adventure is (Wheeler, 1955, 231-2).

Wheeler goes on to describe the attitude of a serving soldier of his acquaintance whose preferred lifestyle was summed up in the phrase 'easy live and quiet die'. It exemplifies the different approaches of two individuals in the same profession at similar times in their lives; where Haverfield preferred the past literary analogy, which is largely what imparts the elegiac feeling to his piece, Wheeler always prefers the contemporary analogy with which to foment the historical imagination. It is scarcely surprising that Wheeler's preferred metaphor for archaeology is one of struggle. We might not agree with it; as he says, values change from age to age and mind to mind, but archaeology should surely remain an adventure not just in new methods but also in its theoretical understanding of both past and self.

Appendix 1**Presidents of the Royal Archaeological Institute 1845-1942**

Albert Denison Conyngham, Lord Londesborough	1844-1845
J.A. Compton Spencer, Marquis of Northampton	1845-1851
Lord Talbot de Malahide	1851-1861
Lord Lyttleton	1861- 1862
Marquis Camden	1862-1867
Lord Talbot de Malahide	1867-1882
Earl Percy	1882-1891
Viscount Dillon	1892-1897
Sir Henry Howorth	1897-1923
Sir William Boyd Dawkins	1924-1926
Sir Charles Oman	1927-1939
Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson	1939-1942

Table 1 Occupational Groups

Table 1. Known occupational groups in the Royal Archaeological Institute Membership 1845-1942

Percentage membership in each occupational group by year												
Occupational group	Year	1845	1861	1873	1883	1893	1903	1913	1922	1933	1942	
Clergy		34.9	19.8	17.4	16.1	14.7	12.2	13.4	9.3	6.0	4.6	
Architects		3.5	4.0	3.1	3.7	1.0	0.7	1.1	0.8	2.6	2.9	
Artists		2.9	2.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	-	-	0.5	0.2	-	
Engineers		0.3	1.0	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	-	0.2	
Financiers/developers		0.5	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.3	0.5	0.2	-	0.2	1.0	
Law		2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.8	0.3	0.3	1.8	2.0	2.2	
Medicine		2.1	2.2	2.7	3.5	2.5	1.7	3.0	3.3	4.2	3.4	
Politicians/statesmen		3.5	4.1	4.1	5.7	1.8	2.6	0.9	0.5	0.4	-	
Armed services		2.1	2.2	3.1	2.6	4.1	2.6	3.2	5.8	5.2	3.8	
Civil Service & Local Government		1.3	2.2	2.0	1.3	1.0	1.0	0.2	0.3	1.4	1.2	
Publishers & Printers		0.9	1.2	1.2	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Authors & Journalists		6.0	6.3	5.6	5.1	2.8	0.7	0.9	0.3	-	-	
British Museum		1.5	1.3	0.5	0.4	-	-	0.2	-	0.4	1.0	
Other museums		0.3	0.2	0.5	0.9	1.3	-	0.7	1.3	1.8	2.9	
Librarians		0.9	0.8	1.0	0.7	0.3	-	-	0.3	0.4	0.2	
Education		1.3	0.3	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.3	1.4	1.2	
Universities		6.1	2.8	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.3	3.3	2.2	4.3	
Total membership		1498	605	587	454	395	303	441	400	499	410	

Table 2 Geographical Distribution

Table 2. Royal Archaeological Institute Membership 1845-1942 – Geographical Distribution

		Percentage of membership in regions by year											
Region ↴	Year ➡	1845	1861	1873	1883	1893	1903	1913	1922	1933	1942		
London & Middlesex		26.1	31.7	34.4	36.8	32.7	33.3	29.5	30.5	29.9	31.4		
South East		19.1	13.1	16.0	15.6	13.7	15.8	22.2	19.8	26.7	23.5		
East Anglia		9.4	7.3	8.4	8.2	10.9	7.3	7.5	7.0	5.8	6.0		
South West		13.2	13.1	14.7	12.8	11.7	12.9	16.3	17.0	13.4	10.1		
Midlands		14.8	10.9	9.7	9.7	5.8	9.9	10.9	9.5	8.6	10.6		
North		7.2	10.3	9.4	9.9	12.4	13.9	8.8	10.0	7.8	9.1		
Wales		2.2	2.2	3.4	3.8	3.5	3.0	1.6	1.5	1.8	3.1		
Scotland		1.4	1.8	1.0	0.4	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.0	0.8	1.7		
Ireland		1.9	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	-	-	0.8	1.0		
Overseas		2.6	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.1	2.3	2.6	3.4		
Total membership		1498	605	587	454	395	303	441	400	499	410		

South East = Beds., Berks., Bucks., Hants., Herts., Kent. Oxon. Surrey, Sussex
East Anglia = Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk
West & South West = Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucs., Hereford & Worcester, Somerset Shropshire, Wilts.
Midlands = Cheshire, Derbys., Leics., Lincs., Northants., Notts., Staffs., Warwicks.
North = Cumberland, Durham, Lancs., Northumberland, Westmoreland, Yorks.

Table 3. Citations ranked by subject area

1845 – 46	*	1865 – 70	*	1885 – 90	*
Classical authors	68	Archaeology	181	Classical authors	391
Topography	51	Topography	176	Epigraphy	303
Literature	34	Classical authors	99	Archaeology	294
Antiquarian	34	Ecclesiastical / Religions	95	Topography	264
Art	28	Antiquarian	90	Art / Art History	251
Ecclesiastical / Religions	26	Art	67	Antiquarian	229
Unclassified	20	History	42	Ecclesiastical / Religions	183
Archaeology	12	Architecture	35	Architecture	161
Philology	11	Military	33	History	148
History	11	Epigraphy	21	Numismatics	143
Numismatics	10	Biography / Diaries	20	Travel	134
Biography / Diaries	9	Literature	19	Philology	88
Architecture	9	Numismatics	18	Literature	51
Epigraphy	7	Genealogy	14	Geography (incl. maps)	50
Genealogy	5	Travel	13	Letters / Diaries / Biographies	23
Travel	3	Philology	10	Folklore & Customs	22
Geography	2	Medicine	9	Music	16
Mineralogy	1	Legal	9	Geology	15
Military	1	Ethnology	8	Genealogy	13
Folklore	1	Geography (incl. maps)	8	Natural Sciences	12
		Natural History	7	Anthropology / Ethnography)	8
		Folklore	6	Law	8
		Mineralogy	5	Medicine	5
		Geology	4	Philosophy	2
		Dress & Costume	4	Bibliography	2
		Mathematics	2	Sport	1
				Metallurgy	1

* Number of citations

Table 4 Terminology (Medieval)

Table 4 – Terminology applied to Medieval Period, 1843- 1913

	1843-50	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1900-1913
Peoples			Early English Norman	Anglo-Norman Norman Norman period			Norman
Materials							
Chronos			Early English Medieval Middle-Ages		Middle ages		Medieval
Calendar	1485	1485	1485 cinque-cento AD 1485 AH 1044 sixteenth century	eleventh century A.D. 1485 A.H. 630	Circa 1200 1180 12 th century AD 1485		
Credo							
Geology							
Place/site							
Idiosyncratic	Period of Gothic Art			Tudor Gothic			

Table 5 Terminology (Early Medieval)

Table 5 – Terminology applied to Early Medieval Period, 1843-1913

	1843-50	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1900-1913
Peoples	Celtic Anglo-Saxon Saxon Danish ante-Norman	Celtic Anglian Saxon Anglo-Saxon Teutonic Danish Ante-Norman Early Norman	Post-Roman antiquity Late Celtic pre-Saxon Anglo-Saxon Saxon Danes Hiberno-Saxon Danish Gothic Teutonic ante-Norman pre-Norman period	Saxon Early English English Anglo-Saxon Saxon late Celtic Teutonic Wikings Dane pre-Norman	Post-Roman period Anglo-Celtic Anglo-Saxon Saxon English period Brets Danes Teutonic	Saxon Anglo-Saxon Dane Teutonic	Saxon Anglo-Saxon Teutonic Hun
Materials							
Chronos							
Calendar			AD 654 seventh century	AD 552	ninth century AD 552 A.D. 552 476-900	700 AD	700 AD
Credo			Christian era	post-Christian periods			
Geology							
Place/site							
Idiosyncratic			"Old Northern"	ninth century of our era	dark ages	the Dark Ages	

Table 6 Terminology (Romano-British)

Table 6. Terminology applied to Romano-British Period, 1843 – 1913

	1843-50	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1900-1913
Peoples	Roman Anglo-Roman Romano-British	Classical Roman Anglo-Roman Celtic Britannico-Roman Romano-British	Roman Romano-British Roman-British Gallo-Roman British tribes (e.g. Cassii)	Roman Romano-british Gallo-Roman Romano-barbaric "Romano-British" Anglo-Roman Britanno-Roman Pure Roman Brito-Roman	Romano-British Britanno-Roman Roman Anglo-Roman Celtic	Romano-British Anglo-Roman Roman	Romano-British Roman
Materials							
Chronos			Lower Empire Upper Empire our era				
Calendar			AD 411 1st century	AD 200 A.D. 67-78 2 nd century A.D. 380 A.D.	AD 411 797-800 AUC 1 st century AD	fourth century of our era	2 nd century AD 3 rd century A.D. 200 AD 400 340 A.D.
Credo			pagan	Early Christian 47 or 48 of Christian era	Early Christian times the Christian era	Christian era	
Geology							
Place/site							
Idiosyncratic			our era	pre-Domesday period			real "villa" period

Table 1 Terminology applied to Prehistoric Period, 1843 - 1914

	1843-50	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-1913
Peoples	British Early British Celtic	British "British" Early British Aboriginal Celtic Cymraic Druidical Ante-Roman	British Ancient British Early British Aboriginal "Celtic" Kellic Phoenician Late Celtic Gaelic Druidical 'so-called Druidical'	British ancient British Early British Primitive Briton Kellic period Celtic Late Celtic Cymry Cimbric Atrebatian Brit-Welsh prae-Roman pre-Roman	British ancient British pre-Celtic Iberian Aryan Gaedhil Goidel Gadhelic Gaelic/Goidelic Celtic 'late Celtic' late Celtic period Cymri Gothic Belgic Non-Teutonic	British pre-Aryan Iberic Kellic Celtic Aryan Brythonic Neo-celtic Late Celtic "Late Celtic" non-Aryan	British "Early British" Aryan Goidels Brythonic neo-Celtic Late Celtic so-called Late Celtic "late Celtic period"
Materials	Stone period [1850]; Bronze period Iron Age [1849]	Stone period "Stone Age" Stone ages bronze period "Bronze Age" Bronze ages Iron ages	Stone period "Stone period" stone age so-called stone period Palaeolithic "Palaeolithic age" 'unground and unpolished Stone period' earliest stone period Neolithic "Neolithic" Later Stone Age age of polished stone implements Bronze period "Age of bronze" Early Bronze Age age of bronze Iron Age Early Iron age late Iron age "Age of iron" age of iron	Stone period Palaeolithic period "Stone period" palaeolithic age or that of chipped stone neolithic Neolithic or second stone period later or Polished Stone Age Mesolithic bronze period "bronze period" age of bronze iron period Younger Iron Age	Palaeolithic Palaeolithic Stone Age "later Stone Age" Neolithic Neolithic polished and chipped stone period Bronze Age Age of Bronze Early Iron Age	Pre-Palaeolithic pre-palaeolithic age Palaeolithic Age Palaeolithic Early stone age Stone Age stone age "Eo-lithic" "Mesolithic" mesolithic proto-neolithic Neolithic early neolithic neolithic Neolithic Age Bronze Age bronze age Iron Age early Iron Age Prehistoric Iron Age	Stone Ages Palaeolithic Neolithic Neolithic Neolithic age polished stone period aeneolithic bronze age bronze Bronze Age early Iron Age or Late Celtic early Iron age
Chronos	Primeval Early	Prehistoric primeval	Prehistoric pre-historic antique ancient archaic times primeval early early ages primitive very remote period	Prehistoric Primeval ancient times prae-historic prymaeval pre-historic archaic early times early primitive times remote periods unhistoric ages	Remote period prehistoric times very remote prymaeval unhistoric pre-historic archaic ante-historical non-historic proto-historic	Pre-historic period prehistoric period non-historic prehistoric prymaeval Prehistoric period	Prehistoric Primeval
Calendar		BC	BC [1 st specific date (862) 4 th century before Christian era 1000 years before Christ 2000 years ago	200-100 BC fifth century BC fifth millennium B.C. B.C. 3122 two to three centuries before Christ	Seventh century B.C. B.C. 378 1500 bc 2200 years before Christ	3000 BC	6 th century BC 100 B.C.
Credo		Heathen Druidical	Heathen so-called Druidical remains pre-Christian era	Druid/druidical Pagan times	before the Christian era Pagan times		Before the Christian era
Geology				Pleistocene Drift period so-called Reindeer Period mammoth period	Quaternary period 'cave' age	River-drift period Pleistocene Surface stone period Cave period Reindeer period	Quaternary Drift Cave Reindeer age;
Place/site						age of Mycenaee Epoque Moustérienne [1898]	Mycenaean Chelléen epoch Moustérien epoch Solutréen epoch Magdalénien epoch Tardenoisien Aurignacian Cro-magnon Furfooz La Tène I La Tène II
Idiosyncratic	Obscure		obscure				Beaker Early Middle and Late Minoan

Fig.1 Total Membership

Fig. 1 Total membership of the Royal Archaeological Institute 1845-1942

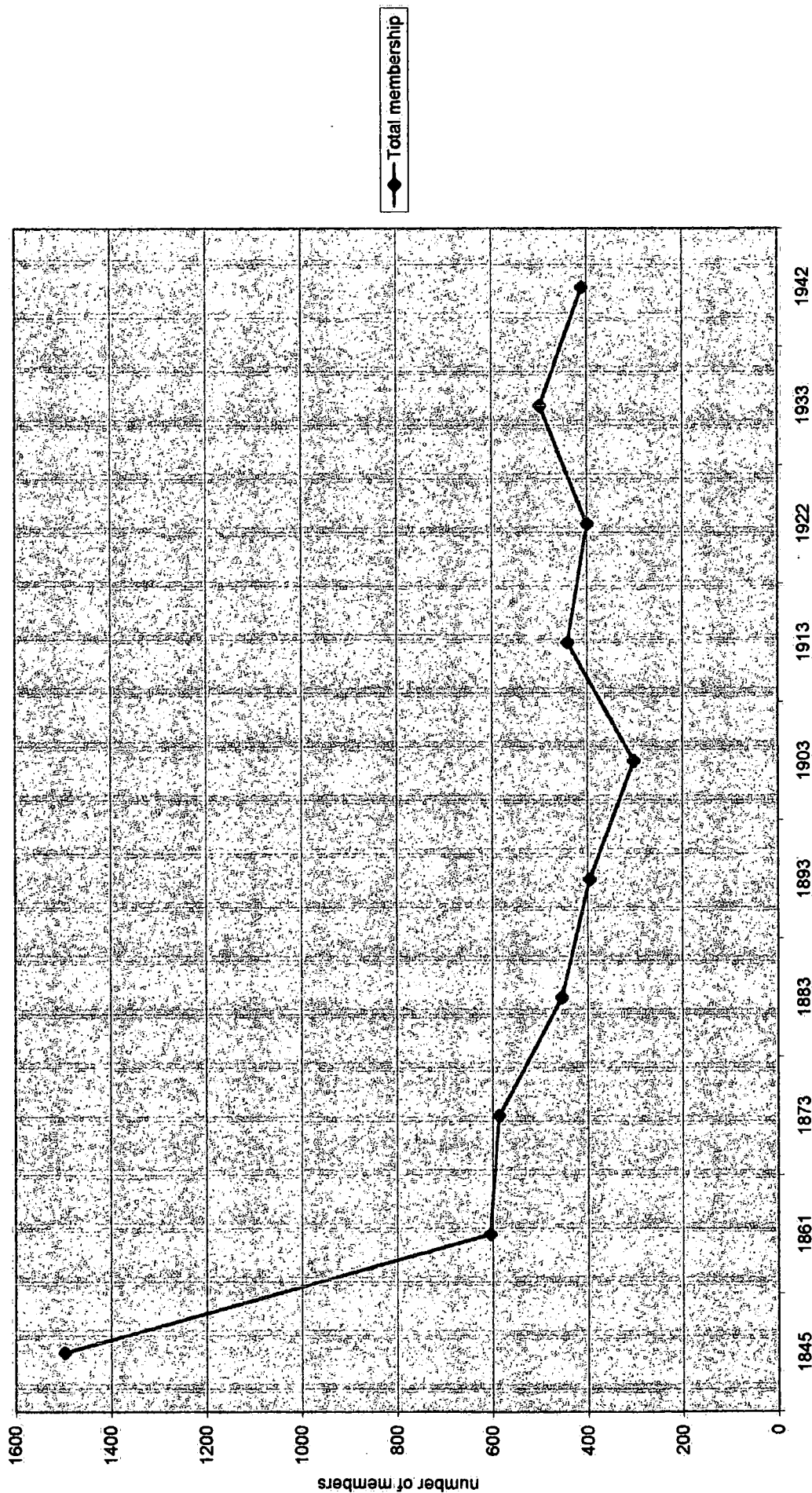


Fig.2 Some 19th Century Networks

Fig. 2 Some 19th century networks in the Royal Archaeological Institute

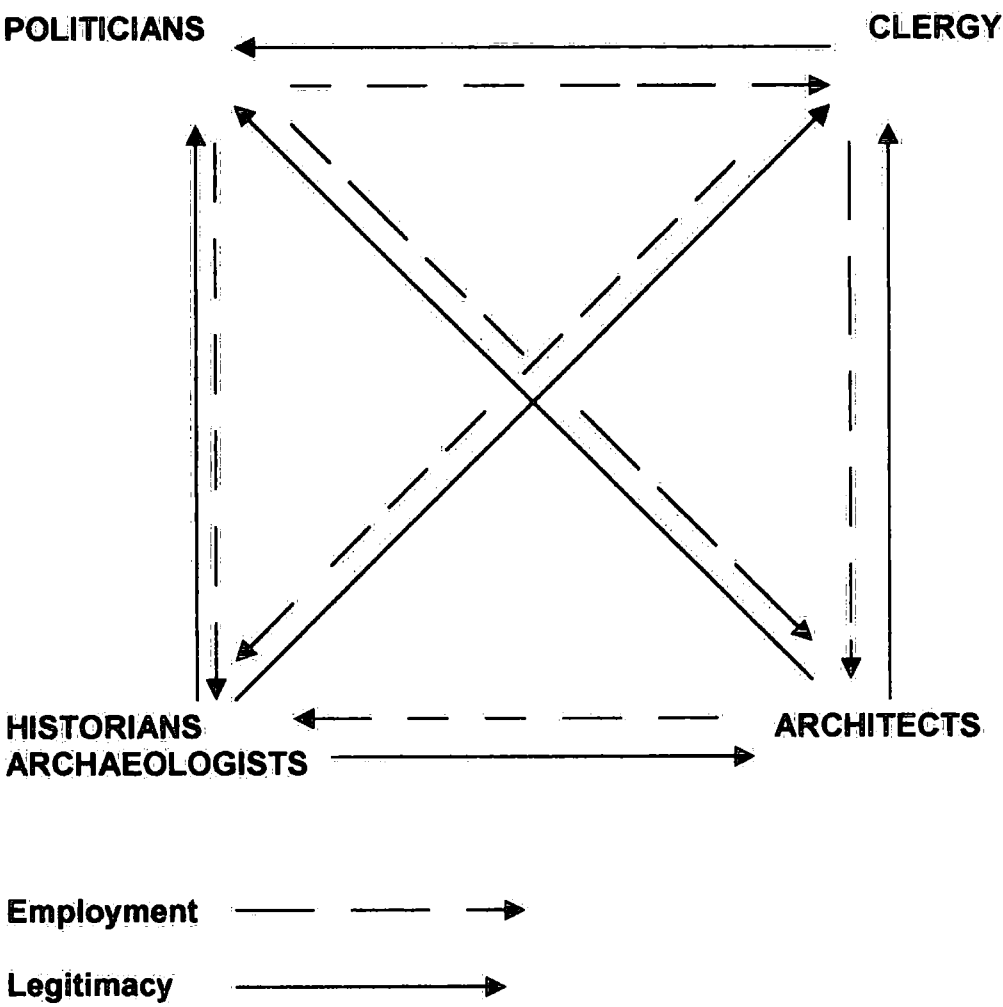


Fig. 3 Titled People

Fig. 3 Titled people in the Royal Archaeological Institute 1845-1942

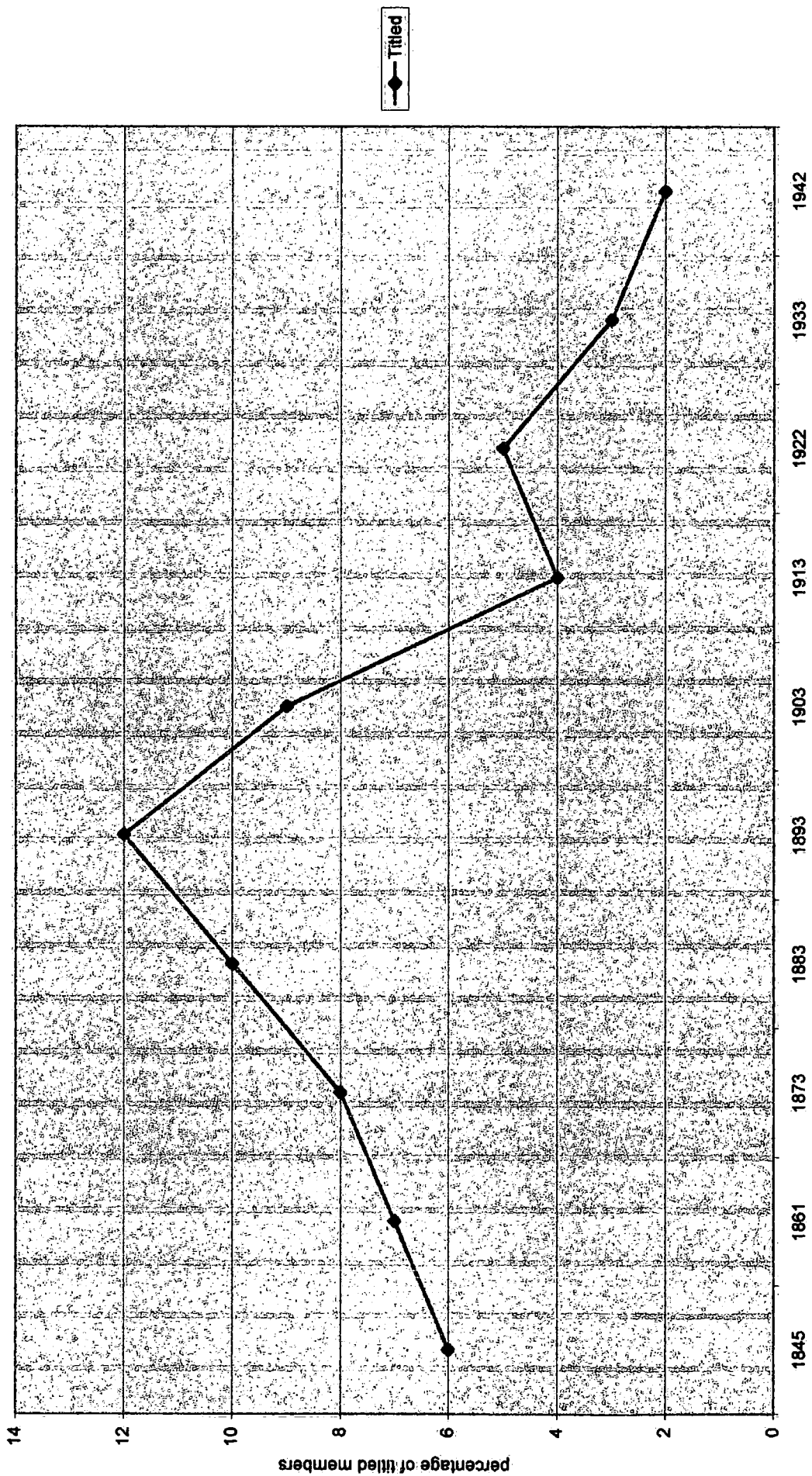


Fig.4 Clergy

Fig. 4 Clergy in the Royal Archaeological Institute 1845-1942

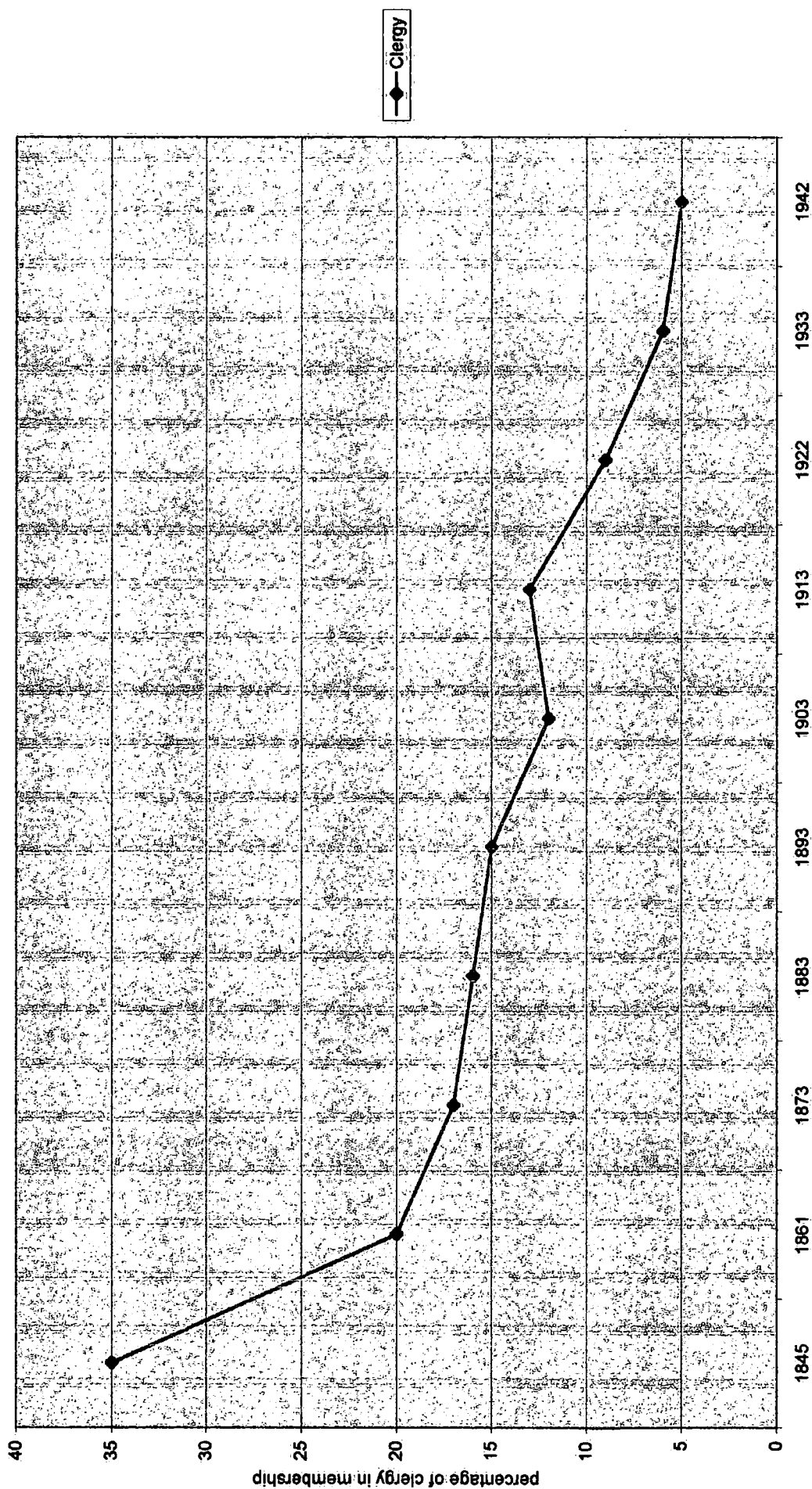


Fig. 5 Women

Fig. 5 Women in the Royal Archaeological Institute 1845-1942

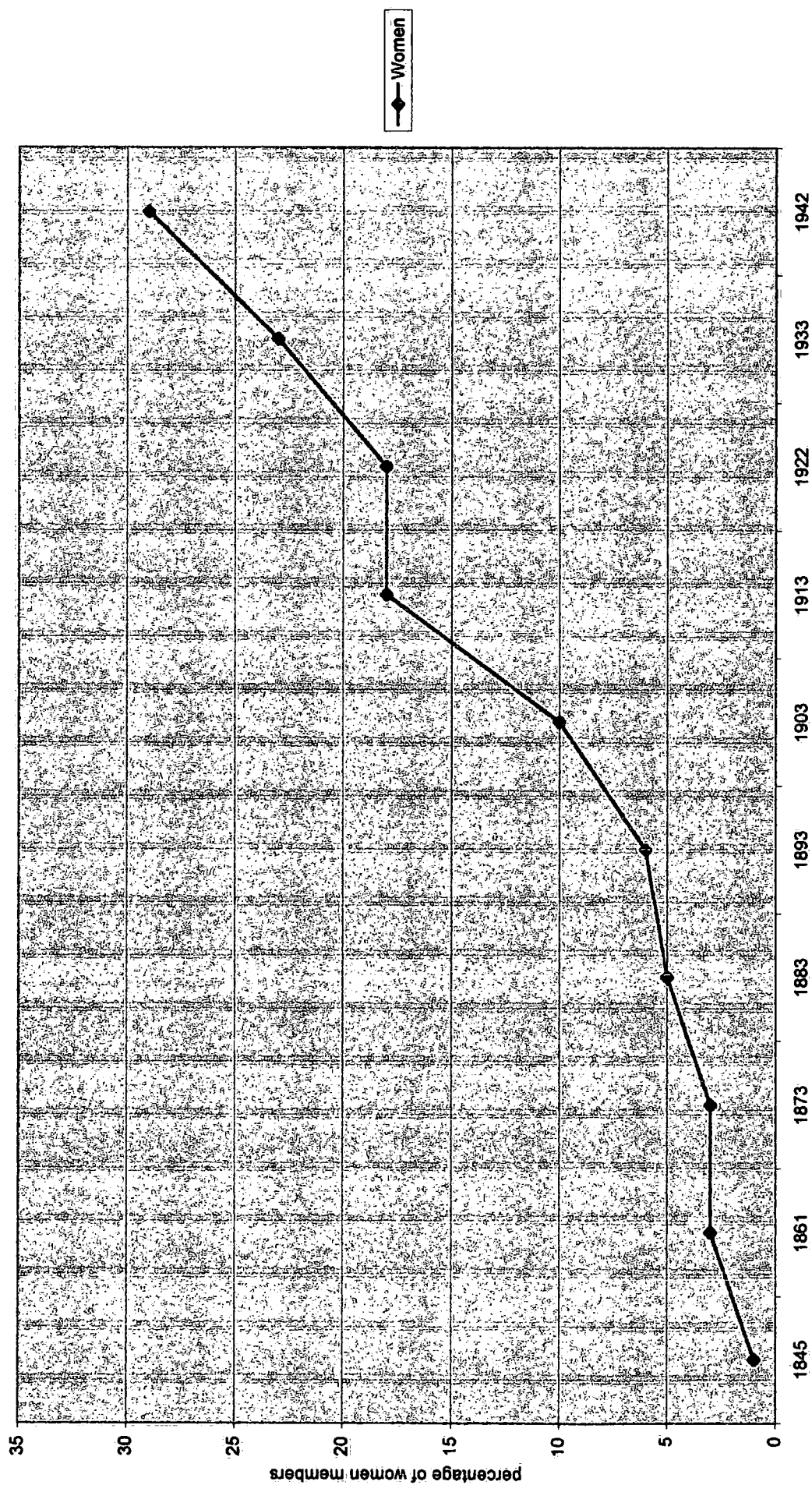


Fig. 6 Archaeology in the Epistemological Space of the 19th century

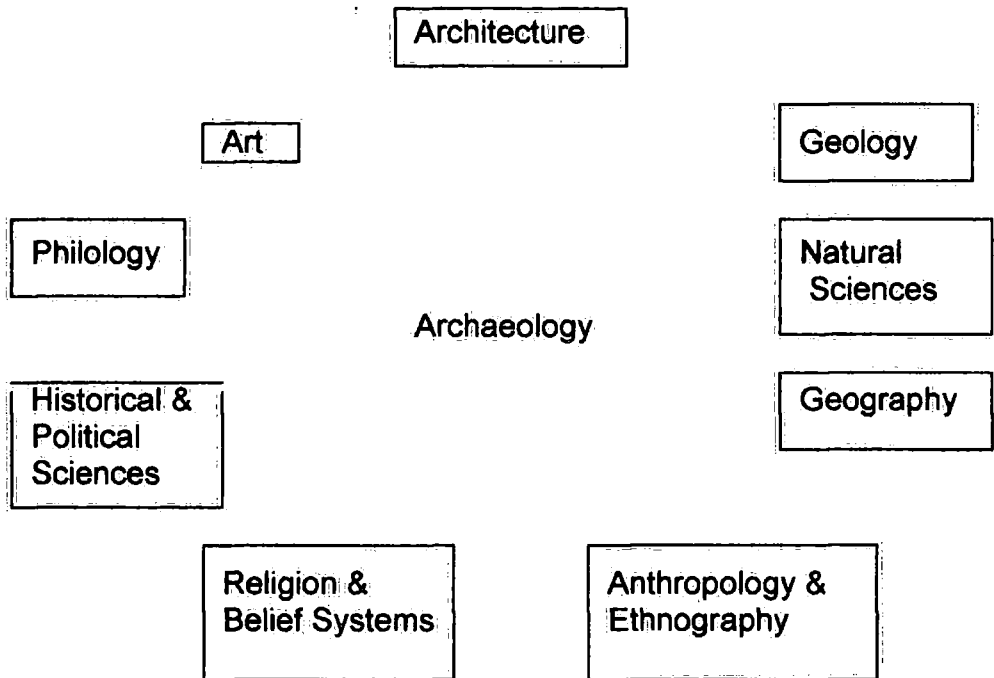


Fig. 7: Field of Competency Model – (after Rudwick 1985, 415).

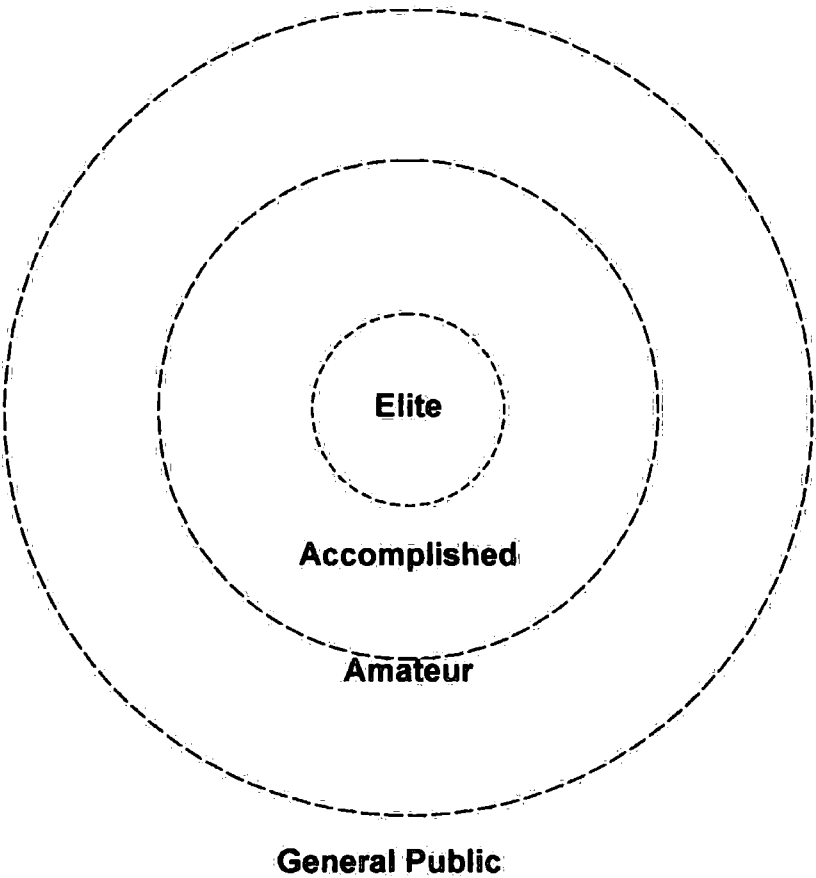


Fig.8 Objects of Discussion by category

Fig. 8 Objects of Discussion by Category

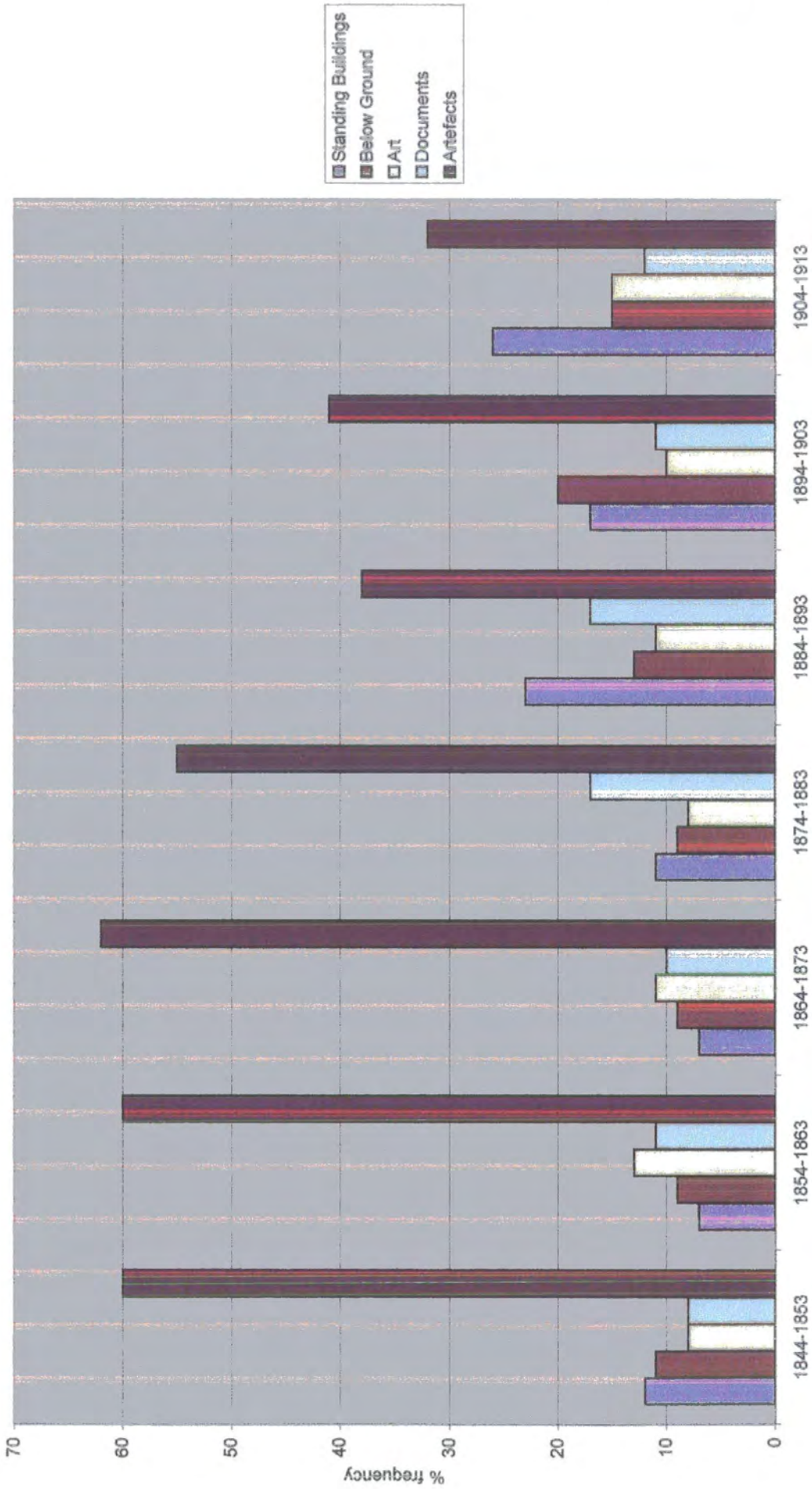


Fig.9 Objects of Discussion Standing Buildings

Fig. 9 Objects of Discussion (Standing Buildings)

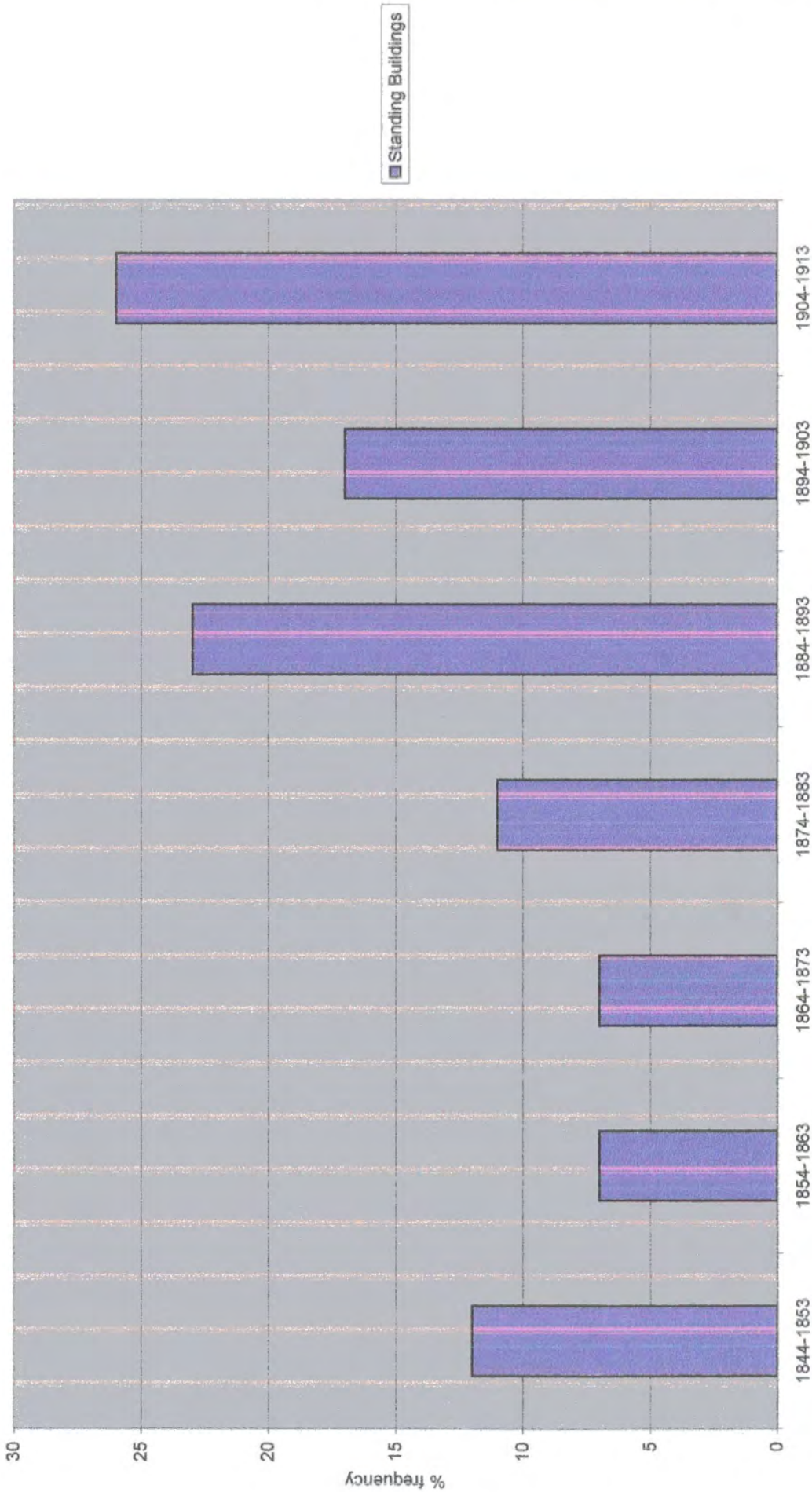


Fig10 Objects of Discussion Total numbers

Fig. 10 Objects of Discussion Total Numbers at ten yearly intervals

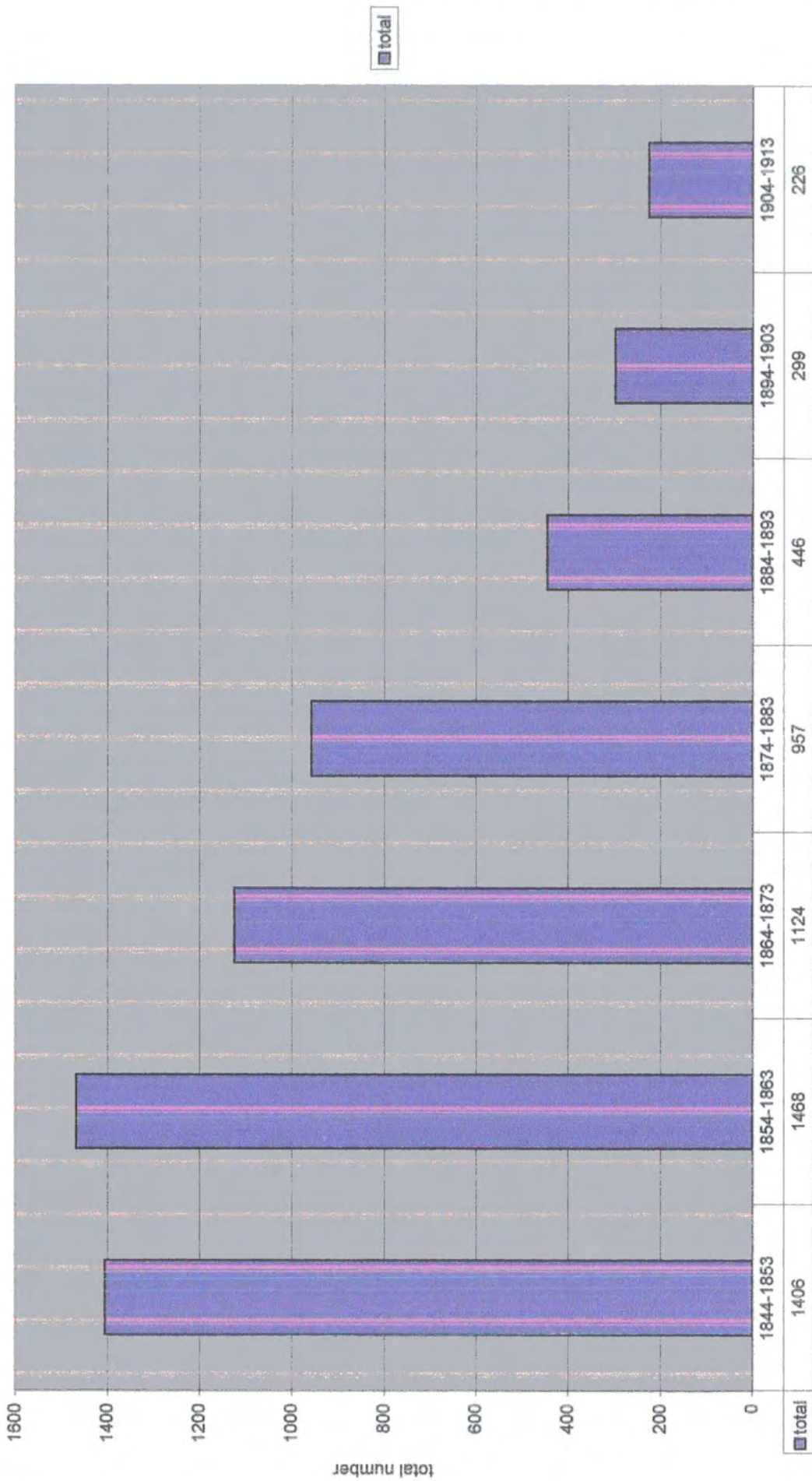


Fig.11 Objects of Discussion Below Ground

Fig. 11 Objects of Discussion (Below Ground)

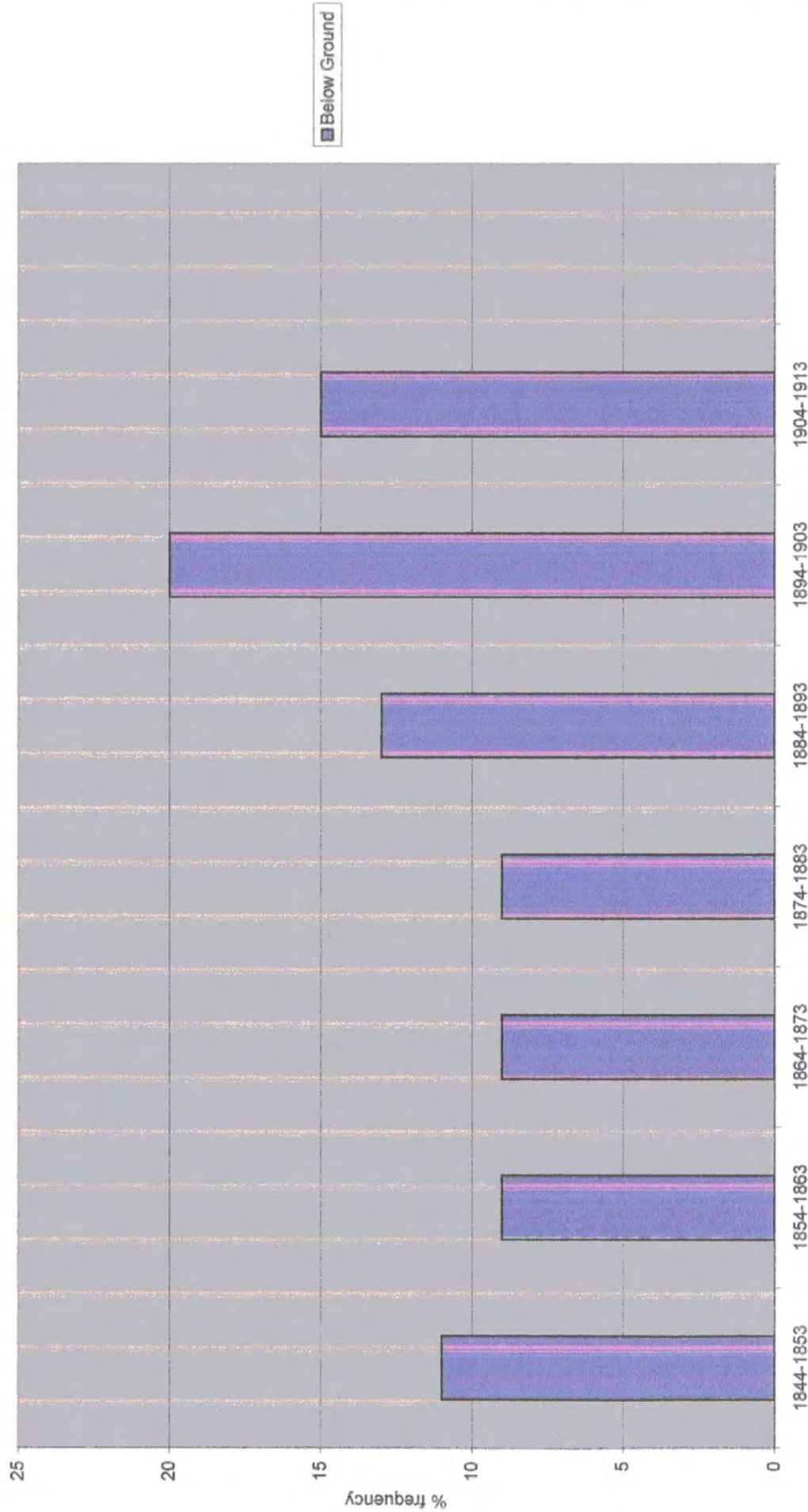


Fig.12 Objects of Discussion Art

Fig. 12 Objects of Discussion (Art)

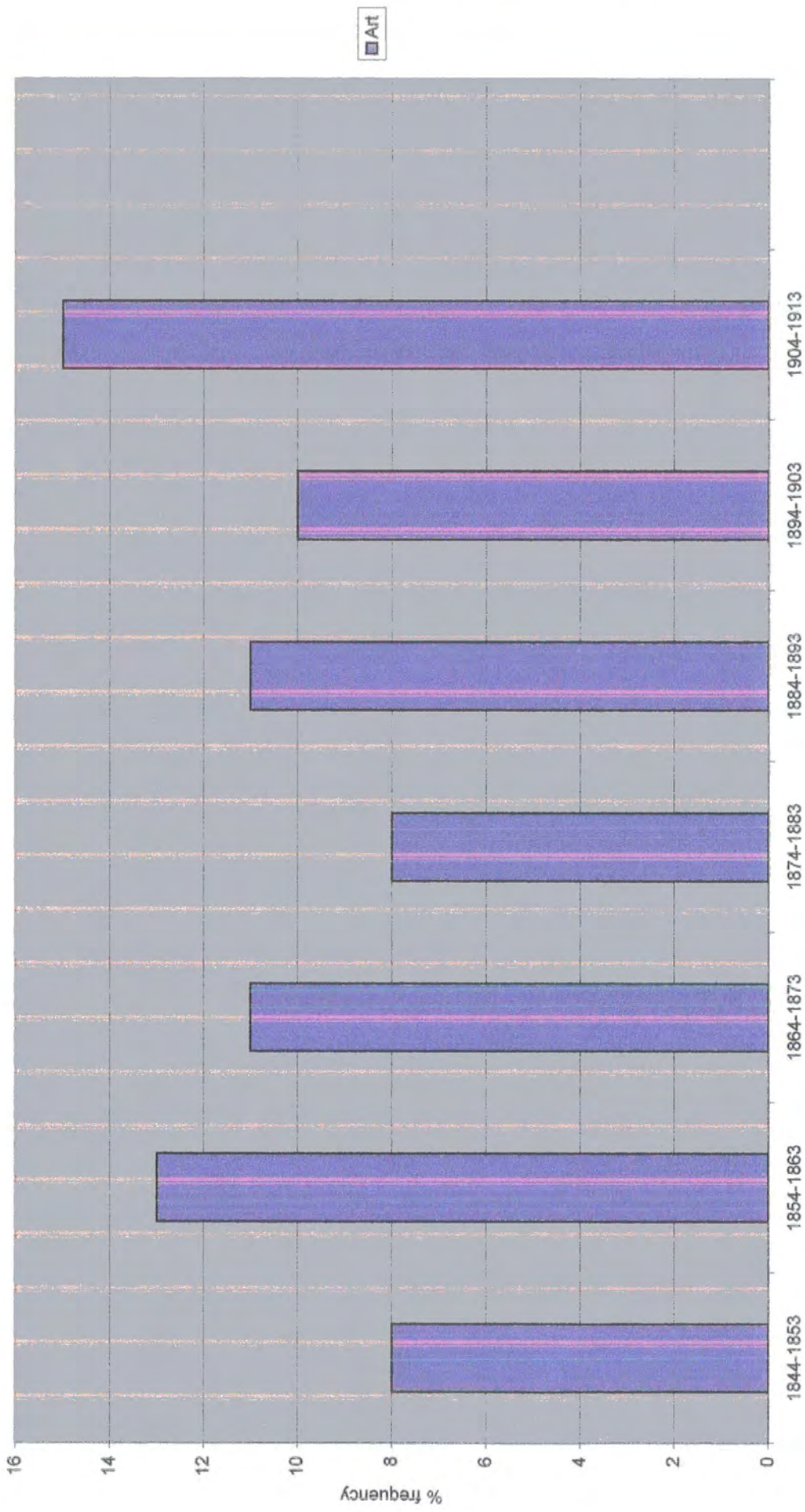


Fig. 13 Objects of Discussion Documents

Fig. 13 Objects of Discussion (Documents)

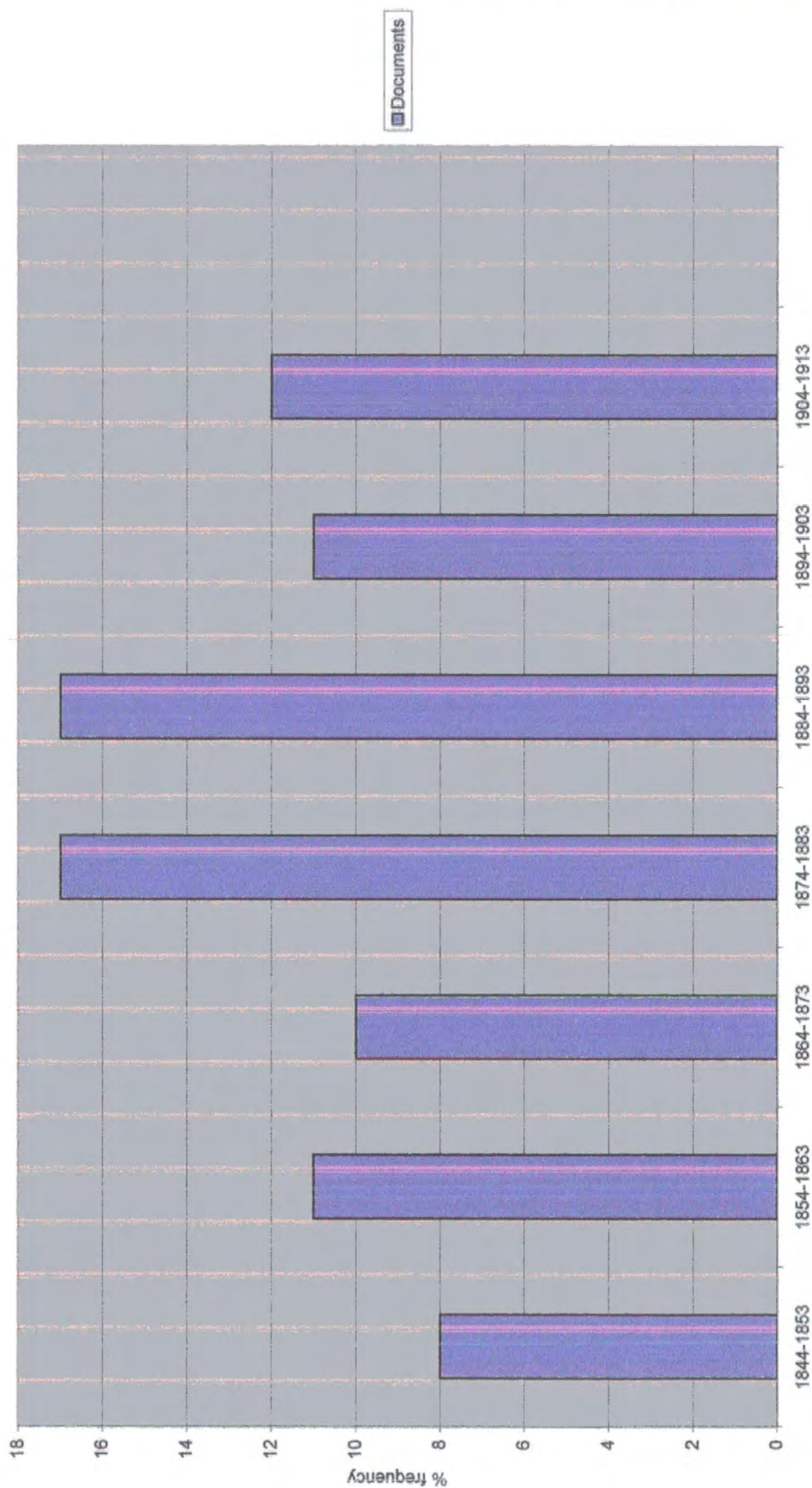


Fig.14 Objects of Discussion Artefacts

Fig. 14 Objects of Discussion (Artefacts)

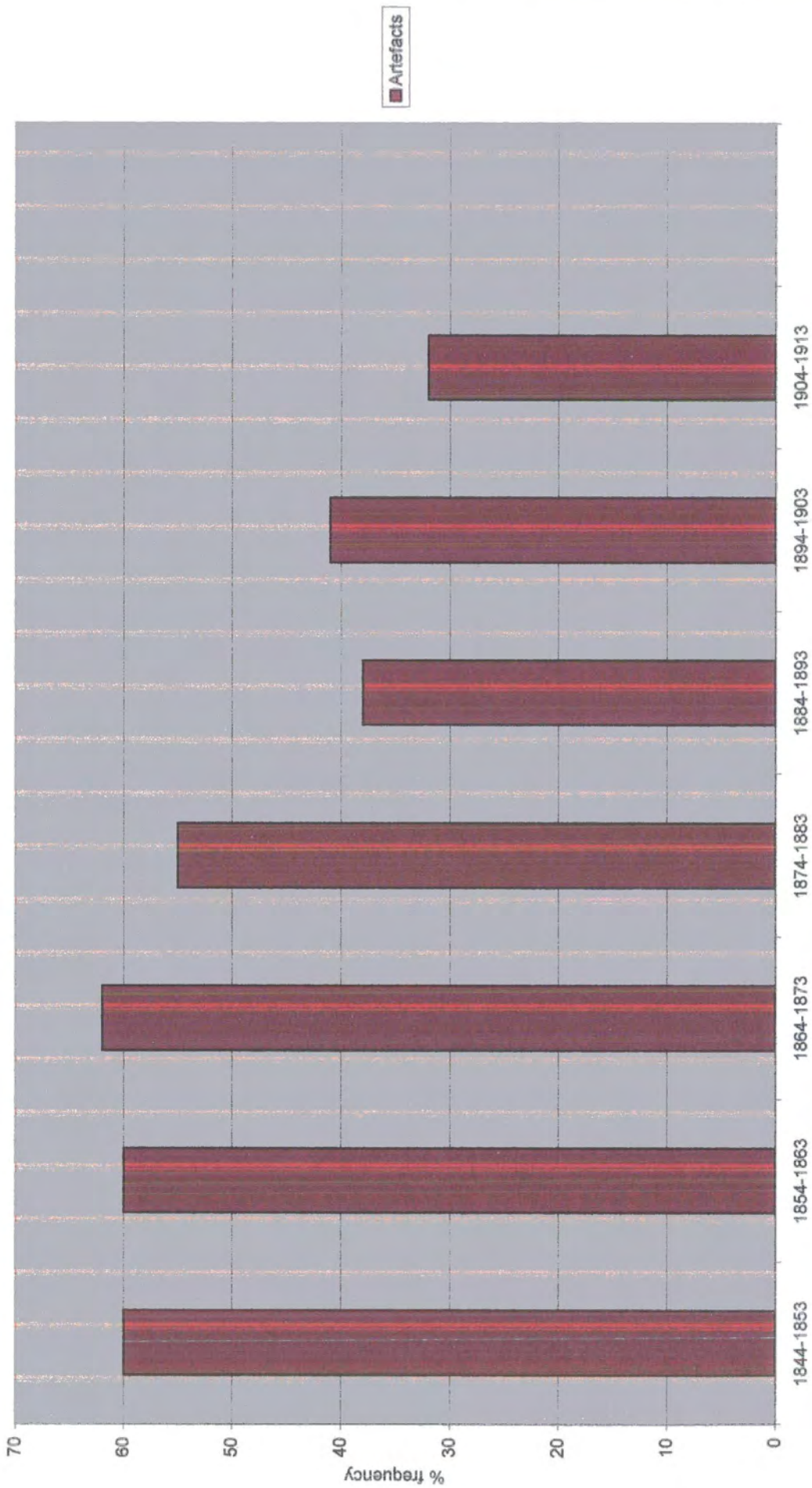


Fig.15 Frequency (Unassigned)

Fig. 15 Frequency of Artefacts Unassigned to Period

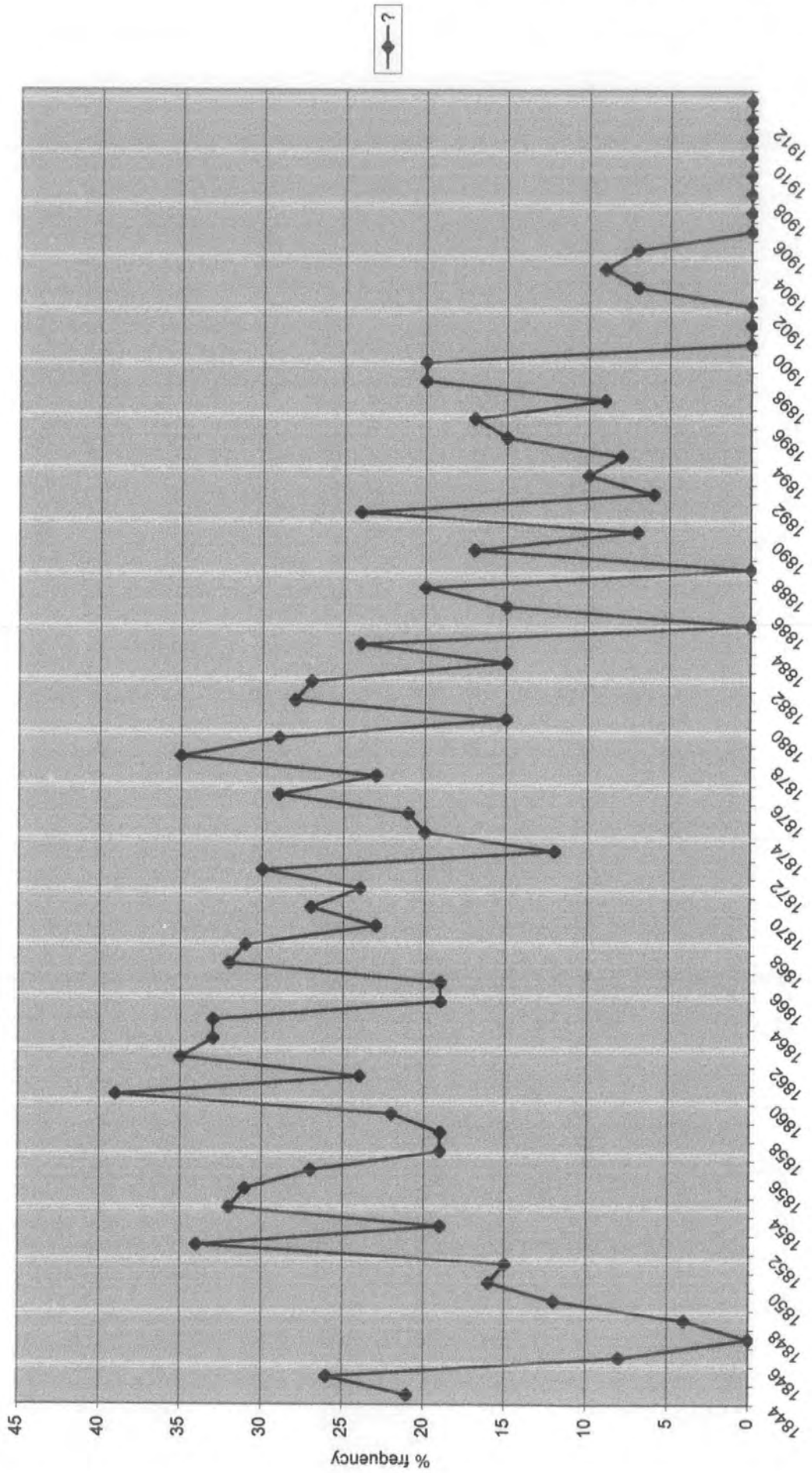


Fig.16 Frequency (Prehistoric)

Fig. 16 Frequency of Prehistoric Artefacts

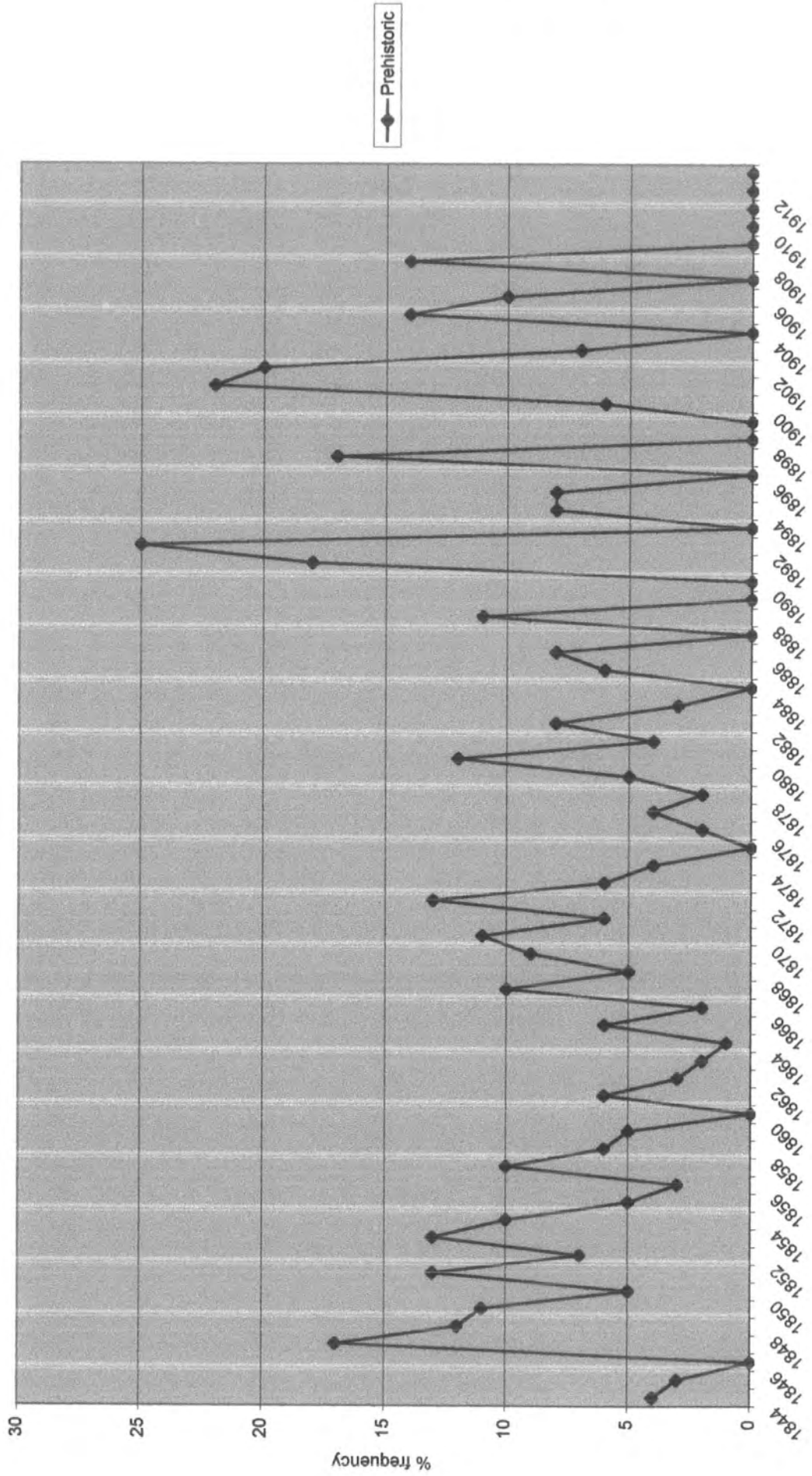


Fig.17 Frequency (Roman)

Fig. 17 Frequency of Roman Period Artefacts

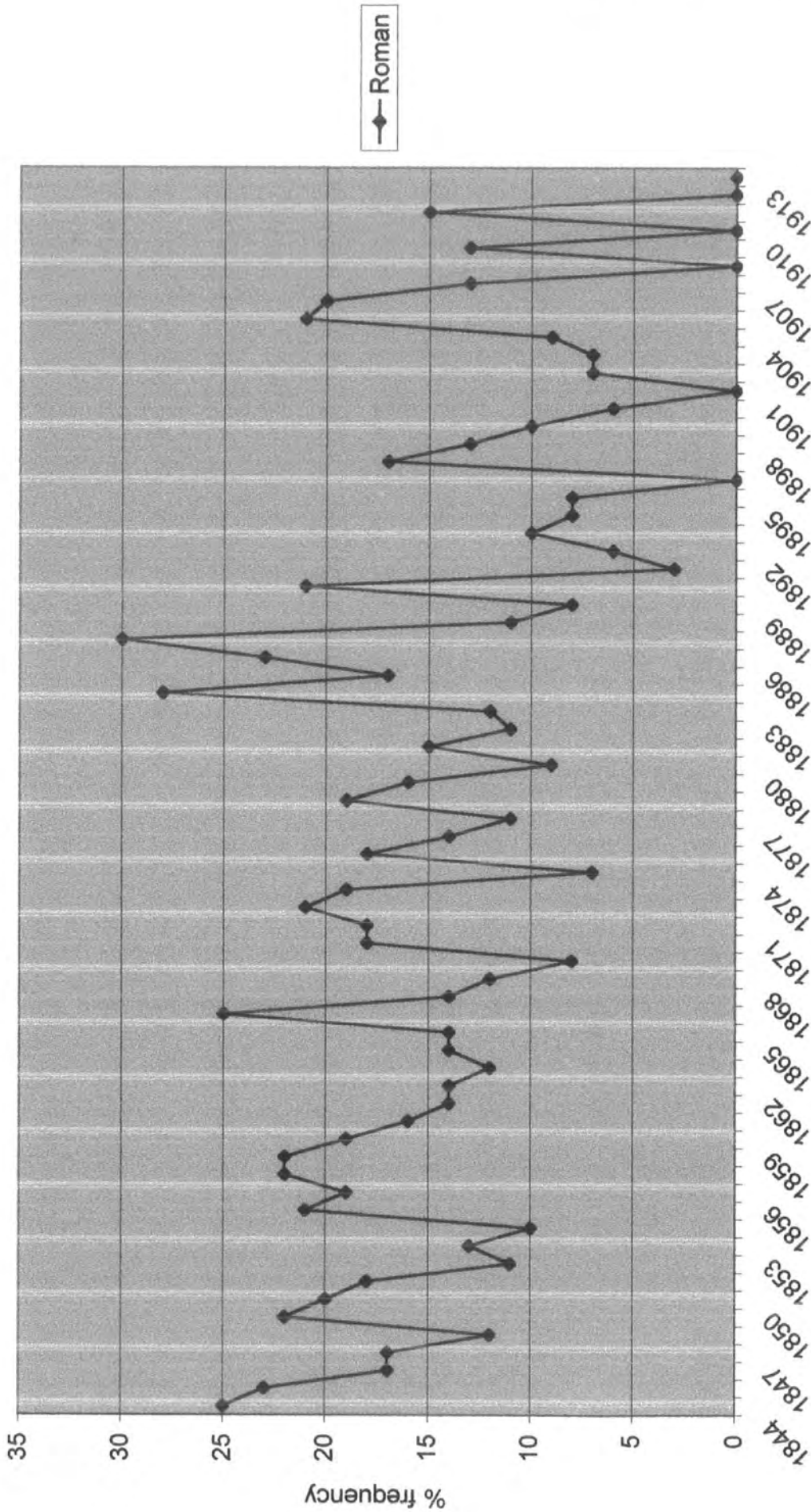


Fig.18 Frequency (Early Medieval)

Fig.18 Frequency of Early Medieval Artefacts

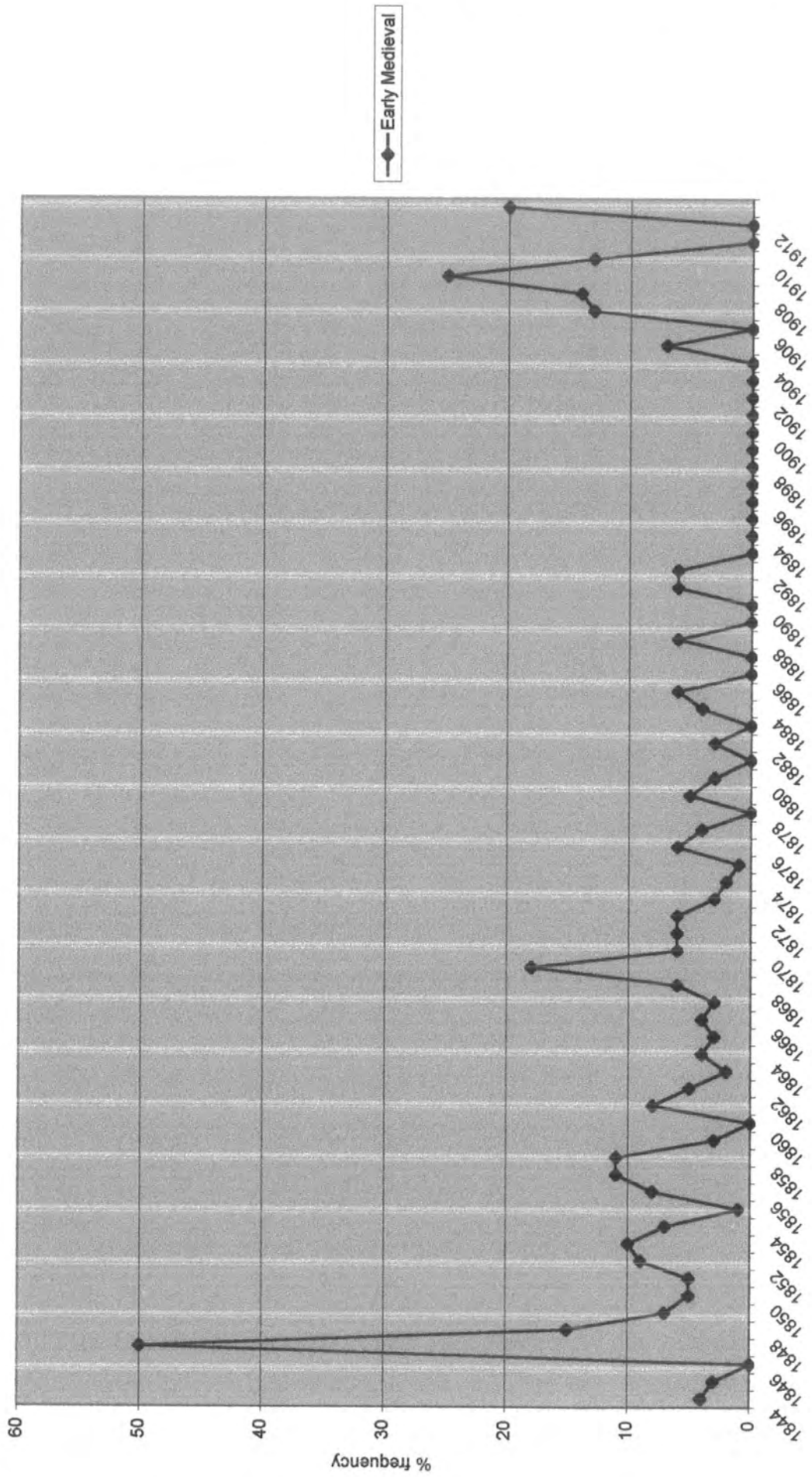


Fig. 19 Frequency (Medieval)

Fig.19 Frequency of Medieval Artefacts

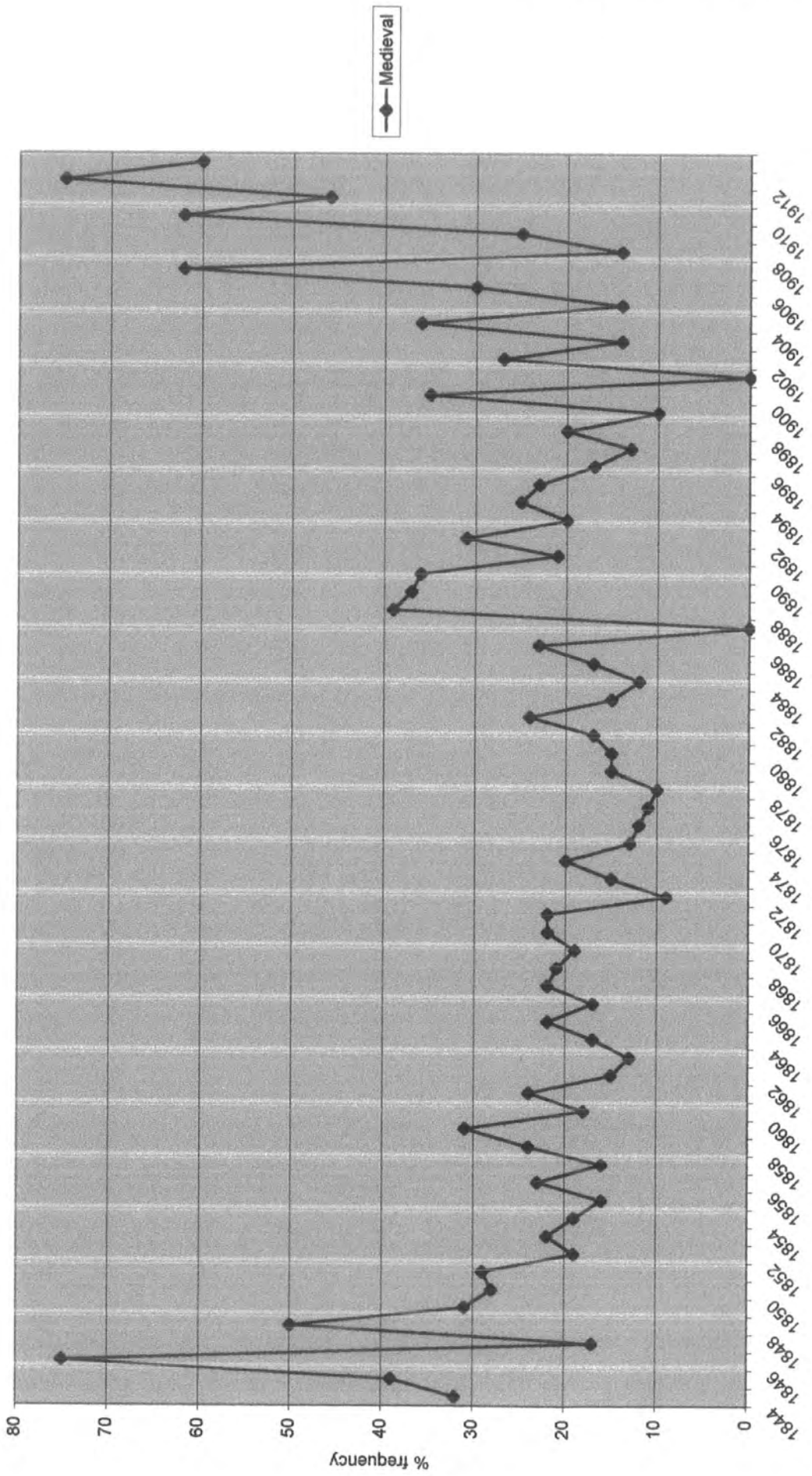


Fig.20 Frequency (Post Medieval)

Fig. 20 Frequency of Post Medieval Artefacts

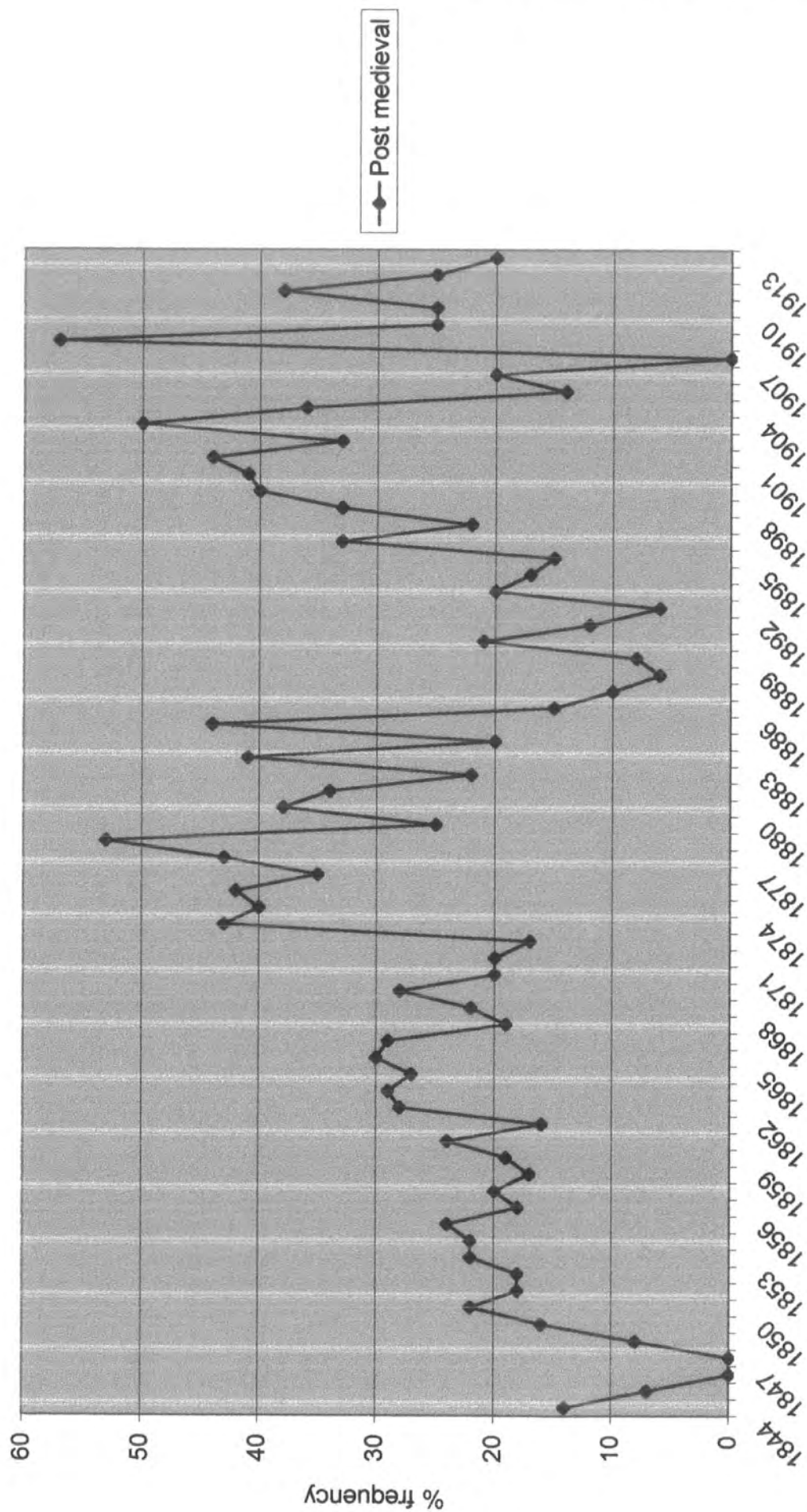
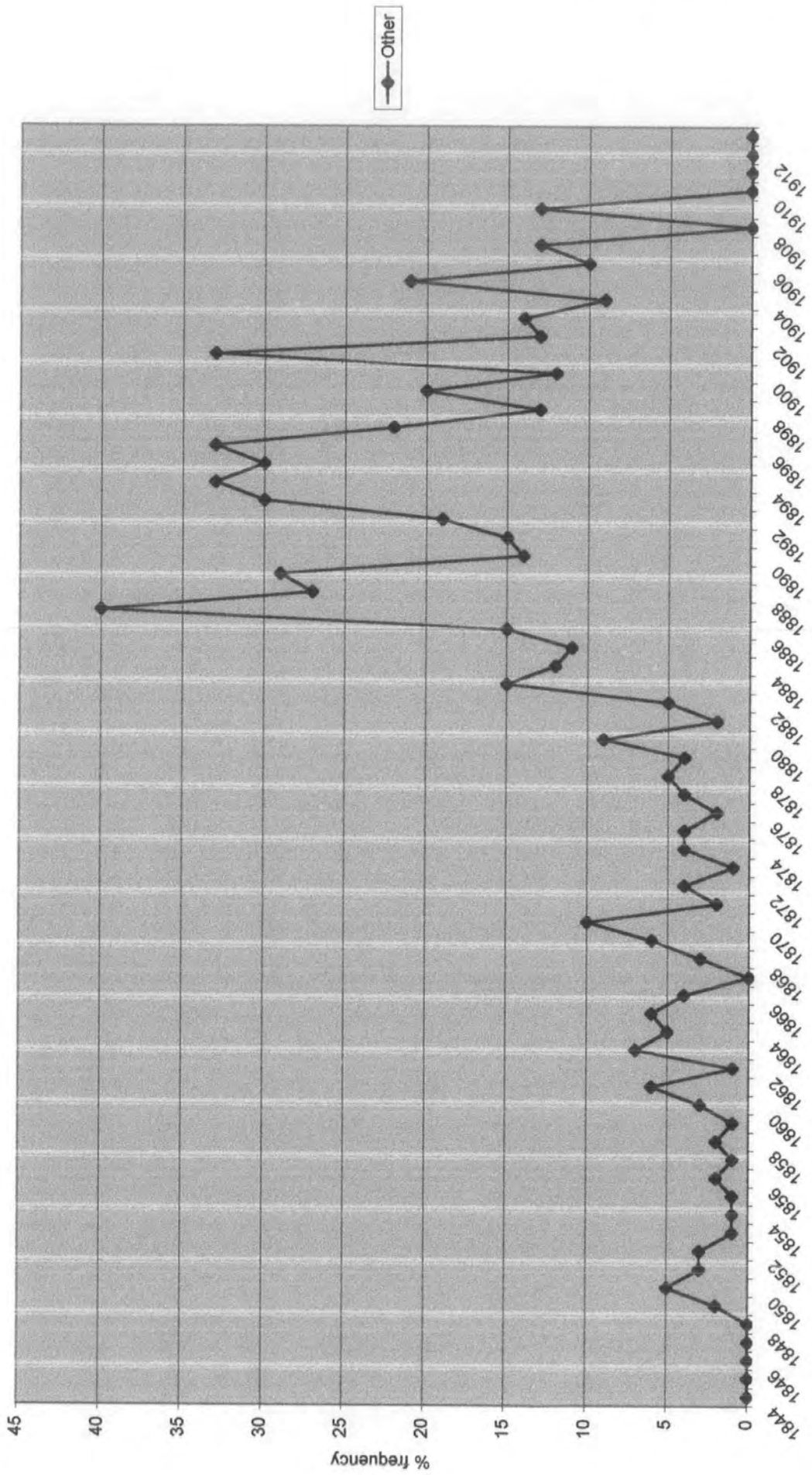


Fig.21 Frequency (Other)

Fig.21 Frequency of Artefacts by Period (Other)



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