

L.A.M.A.S.: A VICTORIAN ESTABLISHMENT

SALLY A. BROOKS

I. VICTORIAN LEARNED SOCIETIES

The Victorian period was the Age of the Society. From the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the Society of Friends, or the Anti-Corn Law League, to the Complete Suffrage Union, the British and Foreign Temperance Society, or the Anti-Teapot League, it would be no exaggeration to state that whatever the political, religious, literary, economic or scientific viewpoint, there was, somewhere, a society to promote it. Even if there was not, it would only require a few like-minded persons to gather together for a society to emerge, followed, as likely as not, by the publication of their views in print.

The origins of the Victorian interest in the formation of learned societies were to be found in the emergence of heightened class awareness in the preceding century. The effects of industrialization, such as urbanization and differentiated occupation, led to the creation of a distinct 'middle class' distinguishable not merely by hegemonic and ideological interests, but by cultural inclination. Opposition to the landed interest, registered in middle-class values and life-style, was complemented by independent cultural pursuits. Upper-class patronage of art and literature was met by a middle-class appropriation of science which appealed not simply by its meritocratic nature but by its emphasis on order from chaos and progress in nature. Societies with a membership comprised of middle class (and often non-conformist) individuals were formed, such as The Literary and Philo-

sophical Society of Manchester (1781), and by the first half of the nineteenth century a number of national scientific associations were meeting, such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Archaeology was no exception to the Victorian relish for learned pursuit. While the Society of Antiquaries had received its Royal Charter in 1751, it lived in splendid isolation in London until the formation of the British Archaeological Association and its offspring, the Archaeological Institute, in 1843 and 1844 respectively. Likewise, on a national level, archaeological societies in the pre-Victorian era were confined to isolated bodies in Edinburgh and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. However, from the 1840s societies with an interest in archaeological pursuits began to spring up all over Britain, with the result that by around 1880 no self-respecting county was complete without one.

The extraordinary proliferation of learned societies in general from around 1830 onwards undoubtedly had some relation to Peel's comment that it takes two generations to make a gentleman¹. Learned societies were no longer a distinctive form of cultural identity but additionally fulfilled the necessary requirements of an activity acceptable as a means of filling increased middle-class leisure time. Recreation needed to include the Victorian attributes of being purposeful, utilitarian, fortifying and efficacious. Two generations on, the true gentleman, engaged in what was euphemistically referred to as being "in business", could not be seen to idle away his leisure hours

but must add to his respectability by either working for the public good (by sitting on local committees), or by undertaking some form of earnest, self-improving educative process. Archaeology was just such a respectable pursuit.

Encompassing a wide range of study which included architecture, Fine Art, brass rubbing, heraldry, palaeography, genealogy and so on, archaeology, more generally referred to as antiquarianism, provided ample scope for armchair study. Moreover, the accessibility of local documents, buildings and so forth, meant that individual interests could be shared with others at a local level by the reading of papers at society meetings. The mixed interests of such groups are indicated by their titles, such as the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, or the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, whereas others had a specifically archaeological designation, such as the Surrey Archaeological Society. It was at the second meeting of the latter group that the idea of a Middlesex archaeological society was first put forward.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By 1855 it was high time that the fashion for forming archaeological societies should have reached that city which Victorians regarded not only as the capital of Great Britain but of the world². George Bish Webb, Honorary Secretary to the Surrey Archaeological Society, suggested to that group that their area of interest should be extended to incorporate Middlesex. While the idea was defeated George Bish Webb was not and, on approaching his friend, the Rev. Thomas Hugo, with the suggestion he won to his cause a keen antiquarian and indefatigable worker. Moreover, Hugo was in close contact with other London antiquarians, a small number of whom met regularly at his house in Bishopsgate Street Within to discuss archaeological, architectural and historical matters. He conveyed the idea to them with the result that on

Monday, 30th July 1855 Hugo took the chair at a meeting held at the Surrey society's headquarters in Covent Garden. The proposal placed before George Roots, the Rev. Charles Boutell, Joshua Butterworth, William Tayler and George Bish Webb was "to consider the propriety of instituting a Society for the purpose of investigating the Antiquities of the County of Middlesex", and it was resolved that such a society "would be highly proper and conducive to the extension of archaeological science"³, and that the parties present would do their utmost to further its success and well-being. It was also agreed to advertise the proposed Society with the aim of attracting potential members, and accordingly five hundred circulars were printed and distributed, and advertisements were placed in *Notes and Queries*, *The Athenaeum*, *The Literary Gazette* and the *County Chronicle*. On 8th August 1855, sandwiched between an advertisement offering for sale marble and terra cotta fountains and an announcement on behalf of 'the Royal Asylum of St. Anne's Society for Children of those once in Prosperity', there appeared in *The Times* the following notice:

MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Persons desirous of joining this Society are requested to communicate with George Bish Webb, Esq., Honorary Secretary pro tem., 6 Southampton Street, Covent Garden.

At the next provisional meeting on Wednesday, 15th August, it was decided to insert the above advertisement three times in *The Morning Chronicle* and to continue advertising in *Notes and Queries* every alternate week until October, the Provisional Committee presumably meeting the expense. The advertising campaign also included the printing of an additional two hundred and fifty circulars. Results were already apparent at this second meeting, with the addition of three men to the Committee and the knowledge that twenty-nine people had expressed an interest in the proposed society. Indeed, five meetings later, on the eve of the inaugural meeting, the Provisional Committee had grown to thirteen in number while the total number of applicants for membership rested at one hundred and thirty-eight. In addition, the Provisional Committee had secured the Marquis of Salisbury as Patron and Lord Londesborough as President. Moreover, the area of the society's activities now specifically incorporated London in response to a suggestion made by Lord Lon-

desborough in his letter of acceptance, dated 19th August⁴.

The Provisional Committee met for the last time on Friday, 14th December at 1 o'clock, one hour before the inaugural meeting was timed to begin. Due to the illness of Lord Londesborough an attempt was made to engage the Lord Mayor, but as his time was already filled it fell, rather fittingly, to the Rev. Hugo to take the Chair of the Society's first meeting. Despite "a condition of the weather which was very unfavourable" the meeting was well attended and the motion "That a Society to be called the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society be now established"⁵ was accepted unanimously. After some debate the Rules and Regulations were adopted by the meeting, and the Marquis of Salisbury and Lord Londesborough were likewise accepted as Patron and President. In addition, the Provisional Committee members were elected to the Council (with George Bish Webb as Honorary Secretary), and a handful of local dignitaries, including the Lord Mayor and several Aldermen, were appointed as Vice-Presidents.

After a round of the sort of thanks and self-effacing responses usual on such occasions, the Rev. Hugo ended the proceedings by wishing the Society "a signal, enduring, and complete success", and all those who had indicated a desire to join were, in conclusion, formally declared to be members. LAMAS had arrived on the Victorian archaeological scene.

II. THE STATE OF LONDON ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE TIME OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LAMAS

By 1855 there were already three archaeological societies with their headquarters in London. However, the interests of the Society of Antiquaries, the British Archaeological Association and the Archaeological Institute were wide-ranging, encompassing antiquarian discoveries from all over the world, not just Britain and the Empire. The object of LAMAS, as with all other county societies, was therefore to look at local antiquities. Using typically Victorian militaristic terminology, Sydney Smirke described the situation by stating that

the three London institutes were "like the staff of an army; they are not attached to any regiment, but they exercise a power and an influence over the entire system of operations". While they swept the horizon with the telescope, LAMAS was to "take up the microscope for the purpose of minutely examining objects immediately before us"⁶. It would appear from the emphasis placed on 'no trenching' that archaeological societies were not working together but were markedly antagonistic and jealous of each other. At the inaugural meeting William T aylor stated that "it is clearly laid down that we trench on no other Society" for the resulting collision with kindred societies would be "injudicious and improper"⁷. Despite such assurances the Society had, in certain quarters, aroused feelings of suspicion and jealousy, presumably from the Society of Antiquaries seeing as special reference was made to the fact that the society had never been a popular institution⁸. The rivalry between various societies was summed up by the Rev. Hugo who was resigned to the fact that LAMAS would be regarded unfavourably since archaeology in Britain "seems fated to bring out the antagonistic principle"⁹. It would seem that prior to 1855 the archaeological societies in London were concentrating their efforts on national and international discoveries and were not particularly interested in co-operating with each other. At the same time sites of archaeological importance were being destroyed literally on their doorsteps as the result of massive Victorian construction work. Without any form of State intervention, monuments and artefacts were disappearing in the path of progress at an alarming rate. There was no attempt at recording or preserving sites as there was

no-one to whom such information could be given¹⁰. Indeed, the very idea that any form of protection should be given to London's buildings and monuments was one that had occurred to very few people. Those who were concerned were the sort of people who joined LAMAS, and the state of affairs that worried them is well documented in the *Transactions*.

At the inaugural meeting Charles Boutell collected how four statues in niches in the western towers of Westminster Hall had been 'lost' during cleaning, and he also recalled having watched boys climb the walls of Henry the Seventh's Chapel to pick out pieces of the stained glass which they would then sell in the streets at a penny a piece. The threat to London's monuments was not simply from workmen and small boys however, and Deputy Lott related how a chapel was destroyed "in order to make way for an edifice of a far less agreeable character, the courts of law"¹¹. However, the greatest outrage, and the one that most deeply impressed prospective LAMAS members, was that perpetrated on the Crypt of Gerard's Hall in the City. In the path of civic development the enlightened decision was taken to dismantle it and rebuild the crypt at Crystal Palace. However, as the stones had all been "thrown together in confusion" without being marked, it proved impossible to reconstruct the edifice. Another version of events stated that the stones had been numbered but some of them were utilised in the building of an engine-house, "and thus it was that carelessness combined with utilitarianism to sacrifice this very interesting monument of early art"¹².

Time and again reference is made to 'wanton destruction', 'wanton mutilations' and 'vandal brutality'. While buildings were being destroyed in the face of the Corporation's 'utilitarian ignorance' those left standing were in little better shape and their contents were often in chaos. The neglected and dilapidated state of the tombs and monuments in Westminster Abbey were complained of by the Rev. Boutell, while George Gilbert Scott described an appalling scene at the Chapter House where the floor seemed to spring under him. "Upon examination it was found that the floor was nothing but a quantity of parchment consisting of writs, charters, and other records, which had been trodden down into one solid mass"¹³.

It was not just buildings that suffered from the lack of state concern. Artefacts were turning up at a remarkable rate due to construction work relating

to the laying of railway lines, the building of termini, road widening schemes, sewerage works and the digging of foundations for civic buildings. Coins and pottery were revealed during the digging of foundations for a new Militia Depot in the City Road, while foundations for a new gasometer in Whitefriars exposed various artefacts including a number of medieval shoes. Digging work around Fleet ditch in relation to the new Metropolitan Railway turned up silver coins, spurs, keys, spoons, leather jerkins, collars and shoes, and shoe buckles, while two leaden coffins were dug up in the course of excavations for the middle level sewer in Shoreditch¹⁴. An interesting example of what happened when objects like the latter were discovered is given in the *Transactions* by Henry King, repeating an observation made by a Mr Rolfe of Bethnal Green¹⁵. An inhabitant of Camden Gardens was digging for gravel in his garden when he came across an oblong of lead. Thinking it might be a treasure chest he and his neighbours broke the lid and discovered a quantity of partially discoloured lime through which parts of a human skeleton were visible. "Recovering from surprise and disappointment, an attempt was made to turn the discovery to pecuniary advantage. A screen was erected to destroy the view from the adjoining garden, and a penny was taken from every adult that entered . . . At this stage of the proceedings, two policemen and the parish beadle demanded an investigation. The latter dug up and mixed the whole of the contents into a confused mass with a mason's trowel. In the first night a thief contrived to carry off the piece of broken lid." After a few days the coffin was removed to the owner's greenhouse and the contents put into tubs, where they presumably remained until the householder got bored with the novelty and disposed of them.

In the absence of protective local or national legislation artefacts found their way into private hands, sometimes literally. Charles Roach Smith's interest in antiquities was fired when he recognised a Roman coin in the cash register of the shop in which he was working, and it formed the first of what grew to be an enormous collection of Roman artefacts. Such private collections were a major feature of Victorian antiquarian interest, and were a continuation of tradition. Both the British Museum and Ashmolean had been formed around the acquisition of private collections, the latter being centred on the collection of the Tradescant family while the British Museum was primarily set up as a repository for the Sloane collection. By the Victorian period in London anyone with a taste for archaeological pursuits and who was in possession of a little extra cash could start a collection simply

by turning up wherever construction work was in progress and buying direct from the workmen. Of course, where there is demand there will always be someone ready to supply it, and fraud was a serious problem. Roman coins and prehistoric stone implements were the most susceptible of all artefacts to fraud, the latter being manufactured in Yorkshire. Suspicion was finally raised not so much because of the undamaged, beautiful quality of the flint, but because slight qualms began to be felt when purchasers found that the flints could be procured to order. More enterprising frauds involved the 'discovery' of genuine archaeological artefacts which had in fact been removed from a different location. New Forest pottery appeared in Bush Lane, and even Roman lamps from Italy turned up in London trenches. Thomas Hugo related to a meeting of LAMAS how a workman approached a friend of his with a Burmese idol of gilded alabaster, complete with a liberal covering of wet mud. Suspicious, the friend challenged the man who came up with the story that "a 'mate' of his had it given to him by a gentleman at some India merchant's office in the city; the said 'mate' was gone back to Ireland . . ." ¹⁶.

Private collections could be anything from a few pieces of pottery to the vast and important collections of people like Charles Roach Smith whose collection of Roman antiquities was visited by many people from Britain and abroad, including Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae ¹⁷. Several other LAMAS members owned major collections, Joseph Mayer's eventually going to form the core of Liverpool Museum's collection. Some were less well organized. Living at Brentford, Thomas Layton was particularly interested in collecting artefacts dredged from the river, and these, combined with his collection of books, required storage space. "Shed after shed was added to his house, and every empty corner filled with books, pottery, fossils, stone implements, bronze swords" and so on ¹⁸.

Such then was the state of archaeological sites and artefacts in mid-Victorian London, and the concerned response of some individuals was the formation of a society to oppose that neglect of London's heritage which was apparent around them. The objects of LAMAS, listed under the Society's Rules, were the articulated response to a real need formulated by the founder members.

III. THE MEMBERSHIP

(i) TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Victorian period was characterized by class consciousness. In 1844 T. A. Webster's *Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy* took a basic division of five orders of society, from 'Lord' at the top to 'Esquire' at the bottom, and divided it into another nine divisions according to income and the number of servants employed. A first-rate establishment comprised a nobleman employing twenty to twenty-four domestics and with an income of over £5,000 p.a. At the other end of the scale, the ninth category consisted of those with an income of £150 to £200 p.a. and employing only one maid of all work. In addition, Webster went on to divide servants into a hierarchy of twenty-two categories ¹⁹. In such a class-obsessed period LAMAS existed as a middle-class concern, run by the middle classes for the middle classes. As the term is in itself so broad as to be meaningless, some attempt must be made to give a more specific definition of the membership.

Class	Designation	Modern Examples
I	Professional	Chemist, clergyman, doctor, lawyer, architect, accountant, university lecturer.
II	Intermediate	Farmer, manager, MP, nurse, teacher, engineer.
III	Skilled (Non Manual)	Clerical worker, draughtsman, sales rep., secretary.
	Skilled (Manual)	Miner, railway guard, bricklayer, carpenter.
IV	Partly Skilled	Machine sewer, agricultural worker, postman.
V	Unskilled	Railway porter, messenger, kitchen hand, labourer.

By classifying society according to occupation the Registrar General, devised in 1911, provides the following categories:²⁰

The Registrar General does not only rest on occupation, but takes into consideration 'general standing within the community' and incorporates assumptions about education and income as well as abstract concepts such as attitudes and style of life. As such the Registrar is not static, and occupations may change categories through time. Nevertheless, as such movements usually only involve a move up or down one category and mostly affect new professions, it is possible to use the Registrar General as a rough means of classifying Victorian society. By such means nearly all the known professions of LAMAS members fall firmly within categories I and II. The membership consisted of chemists, professors, lawyers, barristers, civil servants, astronomers, surgeons, Members of Parliament, Aldermen, Justices of the Peace, physicians, librarians and so on²¹. Indeed, the lowest known profession in LAMAS, according to the Registrar General, would be book illustrators, and while these would fall into category III (M), it is likely that in the Victorian period their social standing was higher²². In any event, from the known occupations of LAMAS members they would all appear to belong to classes I–III. Given that the Registrar General can be used to distinguish between Upper Classes I–III and Lower Classes IV–V, it is possible to make at least such a preliminary classification of the LAMAS membership.

The type of five-fold division of society made by the Registrar General was adapted to a specifically Victorian environment by J. S. Neale, with the following result:²³

From the membership lists for 1857, 1881 and 1906 it can be seen that LAMAS had a small number of members who came within Neale's group I classification, such individuals usually holding the honorary position of Vice-President. William Amhurst Tyssen-Amherst, for example, was the heir to Lady William Cecil (and 10,000 acres), becoming the first Baron Amherst of Hackney in 1892. Himself a member in 1881, members of the family had joined from its inception, such as John Robert Daniel Tyssen of the Manor House, Hackney. Other aristocrats included Lord Talbot de Malahide, who owned Malahide Castle, Co. Dublin, and Auchinleck House, Ayrshire, as well as 3,600 acres. Another of the Society's Presidents, Lord Londesborough, was wealthy enough to dispense his patronage with prodigious ease. When Charles Roach Smith retired from business, Londesborough offered to build him a house on his Grimston estate, and, as Smith later recalled, he "understood the responsibilities which wealth entails upon the conscientious; and his benevolence was as ample as his means"²⁴.

While some LAMAS members belonged to Neale's Upper Class, far more belonged to his Middle Class category. Industrial and commercial property owners included Charles Roach Smith with his business in Liverpool Street, Edwin Freshfield, whose family firm were solicitors to the Bank of England, John Gough Nichols of the Nichols printing company, the jeweller, Joseph Mayer, who presented twenty thousand volumes (and a building to house them in) to the village of Bebington, and Thomas Layton who left his collection of antiquities and £20,000 to found the Layton Museum at Brentford. These are just a few specific examples, but that many other LAMAS members fitted comfortably into this class can be postulated from indirect evidence. For example, from the

1.	Upper Class	Aristocratic, landholding, authoritarian, exclusive.
2.	Middle Class	Industrial and commercial property owners, senior military and professional men, aspiring to acceptance by the Upper Class. Deferential towards the Upper Class because of this and because of concern for property and achieved position, but individuated or privatised.
3.	Middling Class	Petit bourgeois, aspiring professional men, other literates, and artisans. Individuated or privatised like the Middle Class but collectively less deferential and more concerned to remove the privileges and authority of the Upper Class in which, without radical changes, they cannot realistically hope to share.
4.	Working Class A	Industrial proletariat in factory areas, workers in domestic industries, collectivist and non-deferential, and wanting government intervention to protect rather than liberate them.
5.	Working Class B	Agricultural labourers, other low-paid non-factory urban labourers, domestic servants, urban poor, most working-class women whether from Working Class A or B households, deferential and dependent.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP FOR YEARS 1857/1881/1906

	1857	1881	1906
Total Members	395	340	170
Female Members	9 (2.28%)	8 (2.35%)	5 (2.94%)
Unlettered members	221 (55.95%)	187 (54.99%)	49 (28.83%)
Unlettered known professional members	27 (6.83%)	24 (7.07%)	27 (15.88%)
Lettered members	138 (34.94%)	121 (35.59%)	89 (52.35%)
Professional Lettered Members—Breakdown			
FSA	43 (10.89%)	41 (12.06%)	25 (14.70%)
FRIBA/ARIBA	32 (8.10%)	24 (7.06%)	4 (2.35%)
Clergy	31 (7.85%)	20 (5.88%)	11 (6.47%)
Legal	3 (0.76%)	5 (1.47%)	3 (1.76%)
Civil/Government	8 (2.02%)	13 (3.82%)	27 (15.88%)
Medical	5 (1.27%)	6 (1.76%)	7 (0.59%)
Academic/Learned	51 (12.91%)	33 (9.70%)	29 (17.06%)
Military	3 (0.76%)	6 (1.76%)	6 (8.57%)
Honours	8 (2.02%)	13 (3.82%)	12 (7.06%)

Notes:

1. Percentage figures represent the percentage in each case relative to the total membership in that year.
2. Some members within the above totals were members of more than one professional body.

Fig. 1

eighteenth century the position of Alderman required the possession of a private fortune of around £15,000, and it is likely that the case was similar in the nineteenth century. In any event, those LAMAS members who were J.P.s, M.P.s, Aldermen, Deputy Aldermen and so on must, by the nature of events, have been extremely well off. William Roupell, MP for Lambeth, for example, was able to equip some two hundred and fifty men, at his own expense, for the newly formed Volunteer Forces (a group that also interested Major Heales who aided the formation of two companies at Stoke Newington). In addition, many members belonged to the City Guilds, membership to which was usually by birth or purchase rather than apprenticeship.

On a more general level the fact that LAMAS members belonged to Neale's Middle and Middling Classes is available from a consideration of the membership lists²⁵. Approximately 40% of members had some form of professional or academic qualification. The lists include members of learned societies (such as A.R.A., F.G.S., F.R.H.S., F.L.S., F.R.S.L., F.Z.S.), professional qualifications (for example D.C.L., F.R.C.S., M.R.C.S., LL.B) and academics (B.A., M.A., Phil.D.). From business addresses it is possible to push the total of Middle/Middling Classes to over 50%, LAMAS members holding positions in the Record Office in

Chancery Lane, the Admiralty, Gray's Inn, the Sessions House, Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, Merchant Taylors' Hall, Commercial Chambers, Merchant Taylors' School, the Royal Polytechnic Institution, Christ's Hospital, the *Daily Graphic* office, the Guildhall, St. Dunstan's Vestry, the Engineer-in-Chief's Office, India Office, *City Press* Office, Probate Registry, Leathersellers' Hall, Prisons Department, the Apollo Theatre and so on, and on²⁶.

What then of the remaining members? Certainly they did not come from Neale's group 5. Booth's urban poor with an income of 18 to 21 shillings a week were living on the bare minimum possible for survival, 30.7% of Londoners being rated in this group in 1899. Neale's Working Class B therefore included those who were living in absolute poverty and for whom it was "... a struggle to obtain the necessities of life"²⁷. If Working Class B are excluded from consideration, then so too should Working Class A, who may have had slightly less of a struggle to buy the necessities of life but who were still living on a precarious line between managing and falling into the abyss of poverty. Skilled engineers, for example, earning an average wage of £1 9s 4d a week in 1880²⁸ could hardly afford to pay an entrance fee of 10s together with an annual subscription of 10s²⁹ to become members of an archaeological society. Even if a skilled artisan

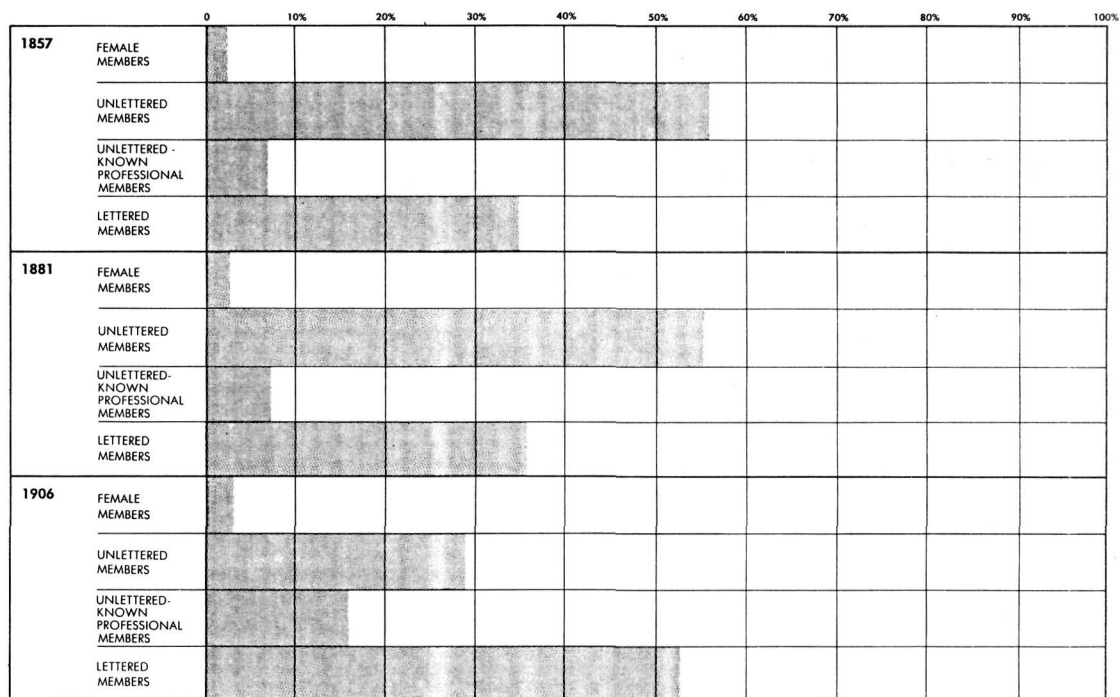
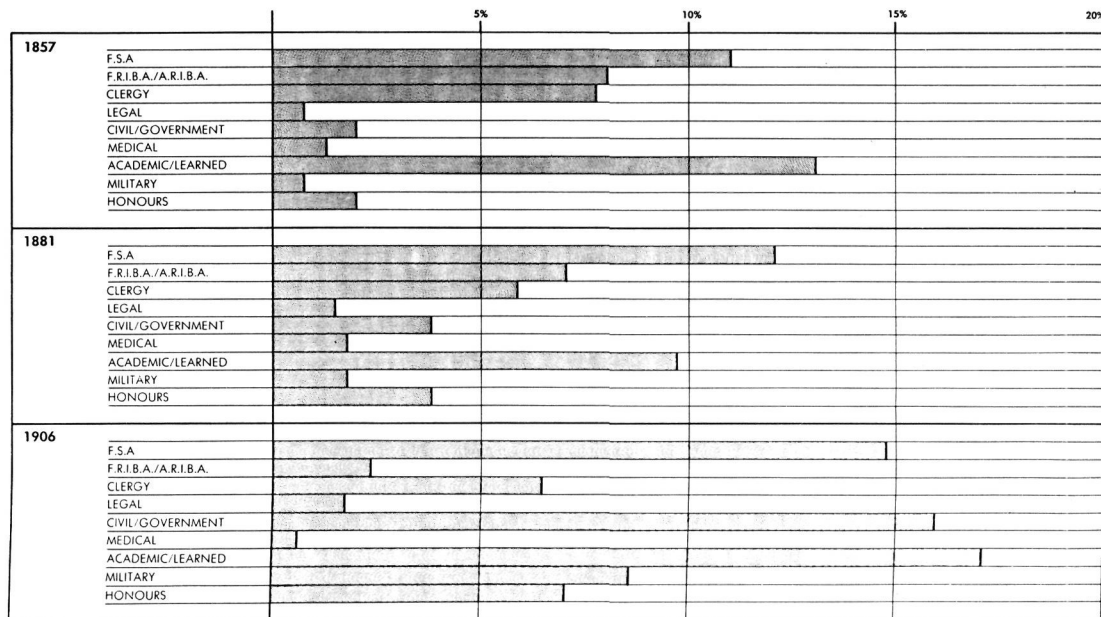
MEMBERSHIP FEMALE/UNLETTERED/KNOWN PROFESSIONAL/LETTERED - FOR YEARS 1857/1881/1906

Fig. 2.

PROFESSIONAL LETTERED MEMBERSHIP - FOR YEARS 1857/1881/1906

NOTE 1: PERCENTAGES ARE IN EACH CASE RELATIVE TO THE TOTAL MEMBERSHIP IN THAT YEAR

NOTE 2: SOME MEMBERS WERE MEMBERS OF MORE THAN ONE PROFESSIONAL BODY

Fig. 3.

could afford the membership fee, the cost of belonging to the Society did not stop there. An extra fee was levied to attend evening meetings³⁰, while the cost of actually getting to some of the meetings ranged from between 4s to upwards of a pound³¹. Then there were the additional events such as *conversaciones* which frequently required the wearing of evening suits, the possession of which was in itself indicative of class distinction. While the cost of the *Transactions* was incorporated in the fee, binding in one volume cost an extra 2s 3d, and there were always frequent requests to contribute to the printing of Society publications or to meet the cost of a commemorative medal³².

There are other indirect means of attesting to the middle-class membership of LAMAS. For example, pages of the *Transactions* printed in Latin indicate the educated nature of the membership in an age when education was a purchased commodity. In addition, the fact that meetings were frequently held during the day indicates that members had to be free to dispose of their time as

they wished, either because they owned the business where they worked or because they were of independent means. Of the members of whom nothing is known it is highly likely that they belonged to this latter group, particularly as the 1851 census showed that there were over 33,000 people of 'rank or property' in London, meaning that they did not have, or need to have, an occupation. The suggestion that LAMAS members belonged to this group is furthered when one considers the areas in which they lived.

As can be seen from Fig. 4 the majority of LAMAS members either worked or lived in the City or West London. Social division had always been a feature of London's topography, the aristocracy, for example, having grouped around the court at St. James, but by the nineteenth century such tendencies had become more marked. The development of the docks to the East combined with the impact of the railways and the concomitant increase in traffic led those who could afford to do so to escape from the congestion by

LOCATION OF MEMBERS IN AND AROUND LONDON

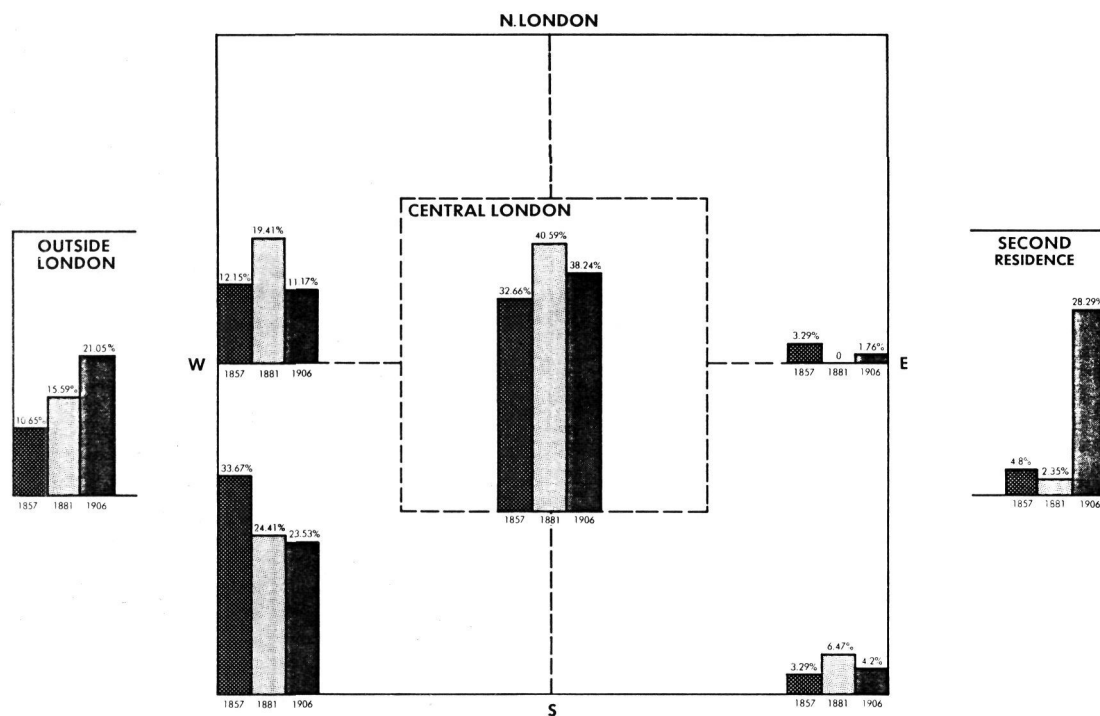


Fig. 4.

moving out of the centre. There was a general move westwards into the recently built squares, terraces and crescents in such areas as Brompton and South Kensington, while the building of Buckingham Palace and Regent's Street at the beginning of the century had established the West End as the fashionable place to live. LAMAS members, not surprisingly, lived in such areas. Some came from traditionally wealthy centres of Mayfair and Belgravia, but the majority came from middle-class strongholds like St. John's Wood, Brompton, Bayswater, Westbourne Park and Hyde Park, and from the fashionable Squares such as Cavendish, Fitzroy and Grosvenor.

During the century the drift away from the centre of town became even more attractive due to the improvement in communication systems, for it became increasingly possible for anyone earning over around £150 p.a. to move to the peripheries of London and travel in to work each day by omnibus. In 1850 there were nearly thirteen hundred omnibuses in operation, the major routes operating in the West from Paddington, Hammersmith and Blackwell. In addition, regular steamboat services operated along the Thames from the 1840s, and from the 1860s the

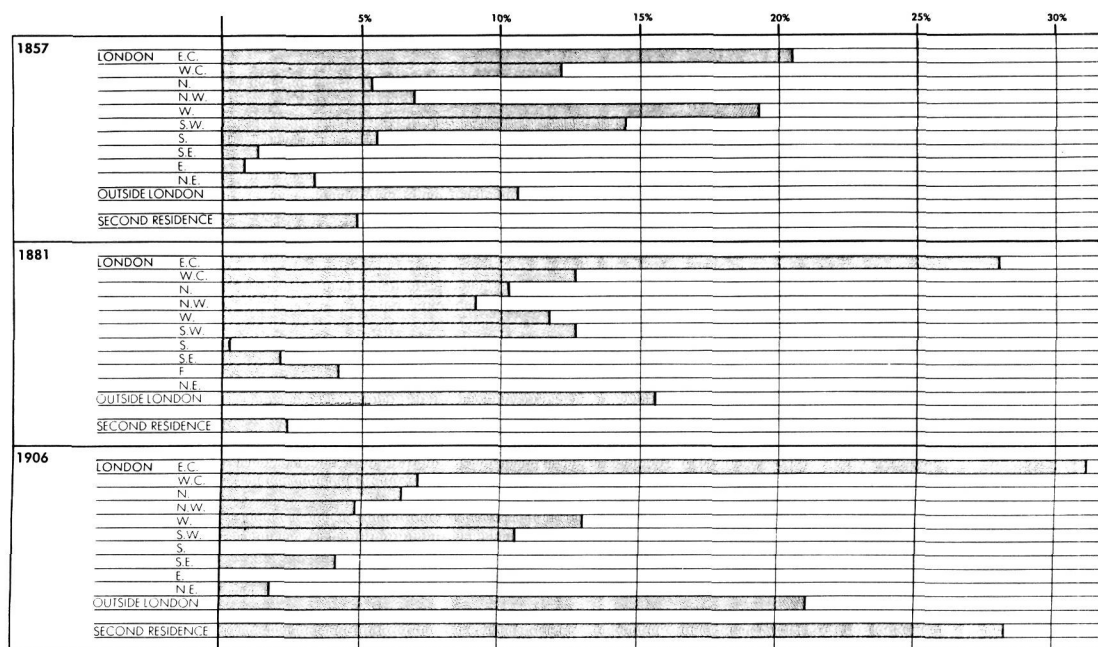
new underground railway along the Embankment provided additional means of transport. From the 1906 membership list the increasing tendency to separate work and home that was fundamental to the Victorian middle-class can be observed³³. It is not simply that more members were providing two addresses, but the lists show a marked increase in the numbers of members living out of London, in Kent, Middlesex, Sussex, Hampshire and so on. LAMAS members were of their age, the age of the train, and were among the first of the new breed, the commuter.

It would appear from the above that the contention that LAMAS was a middle class concern is correct, and that the sort of people classified under this heading are those of Neale's groups 2 and 3, and the Registrar General's groups I-III. Having defined the membership it is now possible to look more specifically at the individuals to ascertain the sort of person likely to be attracted to the Society.

(ii) SPECIFIC

LAMAS contained its share of Peel's second generation gentlemen who had inherited not only

MEMBERS RESIDENCES AND SECOND RESIDENCES



NOTE: PERCENTAGES ARE IN EACH CASE RELATIVE TO THE TOTAL MEMBERSHIP IN THAT YEAR

Fig. 5.

the family business but a family taste for learned pursuits. A notable example is John Gough Nichols. His grandfather had succeeded to his partner's printing firm, and the taste for antiquarian study combined pleasantly with business, Nichols's company being the printer of the journals of several archaeological societies, including the Society of Antiquaries and LAMAS, as well as archaeological books such as Hoare's 'Wiltshire'. John Nichols, apart from acquiring the printing company, had also written several books, including the famed *History of Leicestershire*, and the literary and antiquarian taste had continued with his grandson. John Gough Nichols became Assistant Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and followed both his grandfather's and father's footsteps by becoming a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, regularly contributing papers to that society and to LAMAS.

Another third-generation businessman was James George White, whose family brushmaking company had occupied the same house in Cannon Street for over one hundred years. White broke the tradition of living on the premises and as such is an example of the Victorian tendency to separate home and business. James George White also serves as an example of the sort of upstanding citizen who was involved in local affairs, so enhancing that much desired Victorian quality, his respectability. Born, bred and in business in the Ward of Walbrook, White became Deputy Alderman to that Ward and undertook many other public offices such as Guardian of the City of London Union, Governor of Bridewell Hospital, Master of the Parish Clerks' Company and Chairman of the Basket Makers' Company, to name but a few.

Edward Brabrook was another public-spirited man who joined LAMAS in 1865 and eventually became President. In 1869 he was appointed Assistant Registrar of the Friendly Societies, becoming Chief Registrar in 1891. Sir Edward is an excellent example of middle class Victorian society, his opinions on such matters as pensions exhibiting the classic values and preoccupation with self-help, thrift and utility. While his opposition to state pensions might be questioned today³⁴, there is no doubt that his love of thrift combined with his legal training helped to promote LAMAS's financial solvency during his term as President.

As with all archaeological societies LAMAS had its fair share of Reverend gentlemen. The 'learned cleric' with time on his hands and a subject for study in his church next door, was a

common component of county societies, the Oxford Movement perhaps having played some part in encouraging closer attention to be paid to the fabric of churches. The major clergyman as far as LAMAS was concerned was undoubtedly Thomas Hugo. Born in 1820 he lived life at an exceptionally energetic pace. The week after his election to the Society of Antiquaries in 1853 he gave the first of over sixty papers to that group as well as being an Executive Committee Member. The leading spirit of LAMAS, he contributed over a score of papers to the *Transactions* as well as being a frequent and active participant at meetings and an industrious member of the Council. As in life, so in death: "His death was extremely sudden. He attended and assisted at a midnight service in his own church last Christmas Eve, and within twenty-four hours he sank to rest"³⁵.

The Rev. Hugo was exceptional. So too, in a different light, was another of the Society's founder members, the Rev. Charles Boutell. Famed as an authority on brass rubbing, Boutell was unfortunately infamous to the Council for the disappearance of £56 15s in subscription fees. As Honorary Secretary the money had been handed over to him by the Society's collector, but it was never paid into the bank account. An extraordinary Meeting was held and an attempt made to regain the money, but without success. However, 'the late Honorary Secretary' refused to lay down and continued to prosper, Charles Roach Smith recalling that Boutell went on to suffer from a 'similar lapse' in relation to the Surrey Archaeological Society³⁶.

(iii) GENERAL

Archaeology was one of the few subjects open to female membership, possibly because of the wide range of 'genteel' areas of study incorporated in antiquarian studies. Local history in particular, with its emphasis on houses and families, was considered sufficiently uncorrupting and harmless as to be suitable for the sensibilities of ladies. Indeed, the fact that ladies had taken the lead in knowledge of archaeology was commented on by at least one contemporary commentator. J. H. Parker, in an address to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, stated that

a sign of education in ladies was to discover whether they knew of the subject. He noted that "The daughters of our higher nobility . . . are almost always well acquainted with Archaeology" whereas their brothers were not³⁷.

While female membership of LAMAS was not large, it appears to have been active, and a Miss Nethersole was among the list of twenty-nine names of interested members noted by the Provisional Committee at its second meeting. (Henry Nethersole, the Society's first auditor, did not indicate his interest until the next meeting). The size of the female membership appears to be a direct reflection of the subservient role of women in Victorian Society rather than an indication of lack of interest. Certainly their presence at meetings should not be underestimated for on at least one occasion female attendance was greater than the number of men present. The *Morning Advertiser* of 15th June 1859 records that at a meeting of LAMAS at the Guildhall on the day before, "There was a large attendance, the majority being ladies", a point reiterated by the *Morning Post*³⁸. Despite being patronized by the male members, those women who did attend meetings do not appear to have been passive observers. For instance, during the Society's visit to Westminster Abbey in 1856 "some of the party, including several fair archaeologists, followed their conductors to the very roof of the edifice"³⁹. Although it would appear that female membership was not negligible it is hardly surprising to note that no women appear to have taken part in discussions during meetings or to have contributed papers on such occasions during the first fifty years of the Society's history. The British way of life had to undergo considerable changes before a woman could make such a bold move, but it is at least to the credit of LAMAS that those women who wished to join did find one area of intellectual interest open to them.

The membership of LAMAS seems to confirm the suggestion that membership of a learned society was all part and parcel of being a gentleman, and was therefore a family concern. From the 1857 list obvious family connections can be traced. Charles Baily of 72 Gracechurch Street was a member as was H. Baily from next door⁴⁰, and John and Samuel Godefroy joined independently although both lived at Aden Cottage, Chertsey. Joseph Good and his son Joseph Junior not only shared the same leisure interest but the same profession, both being Fellows of the Royal Institute of British Architects. John Gough Nichols's father was a member, and

father and son membership would appear to exist in the cases of J. and J. Knowles, J. and J. Monckton, and James Anderson and William Anderson Rose. It would also seem plausible that M. J. Routh of Hampton Court was related to the other two Rouths listed and presumably suggested they join, given the fact that one lived in Yorkshire and the other in Hungerford. Obviously in a modern context the fact that two surnames are the same would mean little, but given the importance of 'father and son' to Victorian life, the fact that when names are repeated they appear in pairs is cause for suspicion. J. and R. Bell both lived at separate addresses but were both F.R.I.B.As, while of the three Browns listed one is named John and the other John Whitely. In addition, family connections can be postulated when the surnames are unusual. For instance, of the four names listed under 'V', John and Hugh Vardon are two, the other pair being Gabriel and Henry Valpy. As it is impossible to be objective about family connections, these have not been tabulated, but it is an interesting aside that for the 1857 list there are thirty-six pairings. Above this there are four instances of three repeated surnames, one of four and two of five. In the latter the surnames concerned are Smith and Wilson, and of the five Wilsons, three lived in Kent.

Verification of the tendencies of membership to be a family fashion is limited but interesting. Apart from John, John Bowyer and John Gough Nichols, Sydney Smirke's father and three brothers were all F.S.A.s, as were George and William Roots. The practice seems to have continued, for in the 1906 list both Edwin and Edwin H. Freshfield are listed as F.S.A.s. In addition, ninety-nine years after the foundation of LAMAS the oldest individual member at the time, Mrs Kate Butler, died, thus ending one family connection with the Society for her father, William Ivatts, had been its original Collector.

The LAMAS membership lists evidence the idea that belonging to a learned society was one of the marks of a gentleman, not simply from the patriarchal aspect but by the numbers of other societies joined. Indeed, some joined so many respectable groups that they sometimes overstretched themselves. The Rev. Henry Christmas is a case in point. Apart from being a Vice-President of LAMAS and a Council Member of the Society of Antiquaries, Christmas was a Fellow of the Royal Society and member of the Numismatic Society, to mention but a few. Moreover he was active professionally, originally as librarian and secretary to Sion College and then as Professor of English History and Archaeology to the Royal

Society of Literature. In addition, he was a prolific writer of books such as *Universal Mythology*, *Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean* and *Christian Politics* and, being an excellent linguist, he frequently undertook translations such as Calmet's *Phantom World*. Given such demands on his time his attendance at the Society of Antiquaries' Council Meetings was often less than frequent, causing one contemporary to note that his absence should not be a matter for surprise "... for, as you know, Christmas comes but once a year"⁴¹.

Many other LAMAS members belonged to several societies. John Green Waller was an F.S.A. and a member of the British Archaeological Association as well as belonging to the Essex and Surrey Archaeological Societies and the Quekett Club. Sir Edward Brabrook's "genius for friendship"⁴², was invaluable to his colleagues at the Athenaeum Club, the Society of Antiquaries, the Balham Antiquarian Society, the Beddington, Wallington and Carshalton Archaeology Society, the Anthropological Institute, the Folk Lore Society and the South-Eastern Union of Scientific Societies. Brabrook's mania for societies was not typical, although S. Wayland Kershaw ran him a close race with his membership of LAMAS, the Society of Antiquaries, the Kent Archaeological Society, the Society of Architects, the Huguenot Society, honorary membership of the Guernsey Antiquarian Society, and Vice-Presidency of the Balham and District Antiquarian and Natural History Society. However, most LAMAS members seem to have contented themselves with only two or three other subscriptions. Edwin Freshfield, for example, was particularly interested in the City of London and in Byzantine antiquities, such interests being reflected by his membership of LAMAS, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund and the Hellenic Society. Likewise the Rev. Canon William Benham restricted his antiquarian interests to the Society of Antiquaries and LAMAS, and his religious preoccupation to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Multiple and family membership to learned societies adds to the picture of the exclusive nature of such groups. An applicant that was of the 'right stuff' for one society was likely to be acceptable to another, and was equally likely to have friends in each. The point is particularly relevant when consideration is given to the fact that many societies only accepted applicants proposed by existing members. For example, in a brief note to the Council dated 27th February 1867, Henry Gough states that "My friend W. Francis Henry Hammond A.K.C.L., architect, has requested me to inform you that he desires to join the L. & M.A. Society.

His address is Melbourne Lodge, North Brixton. Will you be so kind as to let his name be proposed in the usual way?"⁴³. The following day he received a printed acknowledgement, stating that the application would be laid before the Council at the next meeting.

Obviously family connections and friendships had important connotations to the way in which learned societies were run, and it is this aspect of the membership in relation to LAMAS that will be considered next.

IV. IMPLICATIONS OF THE MEMBERSHIP TO THE FUNCTIONING OF LAMAS

(i) SOCIAL

There can be little doubt that the social club aspect was a major attraction and inseparable feature of learned societies. Membership of such bodies enabled the individual to fraternize with others of a similar social standing and, as an added bonus, could even allow one to rub shoulders with a Lord or Baronet. That 'hobnobbing' was an attraction is illustrated by a letter to Henry Gough from Charles Boutell dated 16th August 1855: "We are anxious to obtain as many influential names as possible before printing a List" he stated, the suggestion being that the Provisional Committee was well aware of the drawing power of having a Lord as President and a Marquis as Patron. The self-satisfaction apparent on having achieved this coup is indicated in the speeches at the inaugural meeting, William Tayler, for instance, speaking of the "happy influences" extending over England resulting from the interest in archaeology taken by "noblemen and men in high places". Throughout the Society's first fifty years honorary positions of Patron, President and Vice-President were always held by individuals of high social standing and the attraction of meeting the Lord Mayor or the Bishop of London must

have had some weight to Neale's "aspiring professional men" and "deferential" middle class.

The social club aspect of LAMAS worked in other ways, and added to the exclusive nature of the Society, for friendships established elsewhere must have led to the formation of cliques. Looking back on his life, Sir Edward Brabrook recalled that his intimate friends in LAMAS had been Henry Coote (V.P.), John Price (Hon. Sec., Evening Meetings) and Alfred White (Trustee)⁴⁴. The four would meet together on Thursday evenings to share a meal at Giraud's restaurant in Castle Street, where "good burgundy was to be had", and would then go on to the weekly meeting of the Society of Antiquaries.

An idea of how exclusive groupings of LAMAS members involved friendships made elsewhere is given in the *Retrospections* of Charles Roach Smith, which additionally shed more illumination on the state of mid-Victorian archaeology. A close friend of Smith's was F. W. Fairholt, and a letter of his dated 29th October 1855 is of particular interest: "... My more immediate object in writing is, to ask your advice about my being on the Council of the Middlesex Archaeologists. Shall I say 'Yes'? Do you think it well? Give me your honest advice, and I will follow it ... I cannot *work* for it, but I will accept as you are on it, if I am able to help you or them"⁴⁵. Fairholt, like Smith, was a friend of Lord Londesborough, and when the latter's health necessitated a trip to the South, Fairholt accompanied him to Rome. Fairholt also made frequent trips to the Rhine and Moselle regions with Charles Roach Smith, another friend and travelling companion of whose was John Green Waller whose etchings often graced Smith's publications⁴⁶. In addition, John Green Waller and his brother Lionel produced etchings and provided information on monumental brasses for that "unscrupulous adventurer" the Rev. Charles Boutell.

The impression given is that the membership of LAMAS included a core of individuals who were well acquainted from other learned societies. The Rev Henry Christmas, for example, took over as secretary to the Numismatic Society from Charles Roach Smith, and it was through Christmas's offices that Smith became a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Spain. Smith, J. G. Waller and the then Lord Albert Conyngham (later Lord Londesborough) were founder members of the British

Archaeological Association, and Waller was no doubt acquainted with Major Heales and William Ivatts through membership of the Surrey Archaeological Society. While not actually incestuous, the social grouping from which LAMAS members were drawn must have been extremely close.

There is considerably more reason than that already touched upon to suggest that LAMAS functioned as a social group for a minority concern, not the least of which is the way in which the meetings were run.

MEETINGS

The holding of regular meetings and the publication of the information shared on such occasions were the major processes by which the objectives of the Society were achieved. From the very beginning the Society was peripatetic in nature. This was a conscious decision but it also reflected the fact that for the early years of the Society's history it did not have a permanent headquarters. Indeed, the Society's rooms for most of the early period seem to have been the business address of whoever was active on the Council at the time⁴⁷. The fact that LAMAS was able to be peripatetic is an indication of its unique location compared to county societies, for the latter would have been restricted to a handful of possible meeting places, whereas LAMAS was spoilt for choice. Legal members ensured that the Inns of Court were available for a Society visit, while members of the City Guilds enabled LAMAS meetings to sample the hospitality for which the wealthy Companies were famous. With the Mayor and various Aldermen as honorary members the Society was able to visit the Mansion House and Guildhall, and then there were the libraries and academic halls, where various members worked, which could be visited, as well as major sites such as Westminster Abbey and the Tower⁴⁸. London and Middlesex had a fair share of that staple of all archaeological societies, the church, and Middlesex provided a wealth of interesting places to visit, such as Harrow School.

Within a year of its foundation, the pattern of LAMAS meetings was well established. The basic approach was to introduce members to the various locations, the procedure being that members would meet at the chosen site where they would listen to three or four papers which had a direct bearing on the building itself or its immediate vicinity and famous inhabitants. For the first twenty or so years of the Society's his-

tory three to five meetings were held a year comprising of two or three in Westminster and London and one or two in Middlesex or further afield⁴⁹. Other papers not directly relevant to the location would also be read, usually when a meeting was held at a site used several times, such as the Gallery of British Artists, Crosby Hall and University College. Papers were contributed by members, usually those active on the Council and their friends⁵⁰. Where non-members are listed as having provided a paper they are invariably those with a direct relation to the site visited at that time, such as librarians or parish vicars⁵¹.

That the meetings were a social event cannot be questioned. After listening to the papers members would partake of refreshments and perhaps wander around the hall, observing the Guild's collection of plate, or the church's monumental brasses. Alternatively, a temporary museum of antiquarian objects brought to the meeting by individual members might be on show, and at any event there was always one's colleagues to talk to, discussion perhaps dwelling on a recently acquired artefact or the Rev. Hugo's evidence at the Eastwood v. The Athenaeum libel case concerning leaden objects "purported to be genuine Pilgrims' Signs"⁵². Such meetings must have been very pleasant and congenial occasions, as were the afternoon or day meetings held further afield. These were certainly popular, the visit to Hampton Court attracting over four hundred people. Indeed this, combined with the seven hundred people who attended the Tower of London visit, must have induced the Council to attempt greater management for within a few years LAMAS outings had become highly organized and efficient affairs, with tickets available in advance from the Secretary, complete with travel and luncheon vouchers. Such efficiency ensured that a little learning was acquired with the minimum of effort and the maximum possible comfort, almost all the meetings ending with a meal, whether it be a collation in a marquee in Northolt, lunch at The Star Hotel in Maidstone, or a Jubilee Dinner in the company of the Lord Mayor. Food seems to have been an important aspect of LAMAS meetings and as such is indicative of the social nature of such events. Indeed, on the rare occasions when the meal was not up to standard it was reported in the Press. In addition, several members appear to have formed the London and Middlesex Archaeological Club for the sole purpose, it would seem, of holding annual dinners.

The fact that LAMAS's activities were reported in the Press is indicative of the social aspect of the Society as well as providing another indicator of the social class attracted to join. The 'gentlemen of the press' were invited to attend some functions, *The City Press*, for example, publishing the whole of Deputy Lott's paper on Sir Richard Whittington, read at a meeting, in three large extracts on 10th July, and 7th and 14th August 1858. Press cuttings give an interesting insight into LAMAS meetings, a good example being that from *The City Press* of 18th June 1859, reporting a meeting held at the Guildhall. "The assembly was of the most brilliant character, and included many of the most eminent antiquarians, architects, and persons of taste and culture, with whose names we are wont to associate pleasant reminiscences of intellectual and moral worth". *The Daily Telegraph*, *Times*, *Standard*, *Building News* and *Daily News* as well as the *Morning Chronical*, *Advertiser*, *Herald* and *Post*, and countless local newspapers, all reported LAMAS meetings in a most deferential and flattering manner⁵³.

As time passed the social side of events appears to have been dominant over the archaeology. By the 1890s social events had become quite grand, the *Conversazione* held in honour of LAMAS by the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers in 1904 being a case in point. The evening featured a concert by a string band of the Royal Artillery as well as a vocal and instrumental concert in the Drawing Room. Some archaeological purpose was served, however, for two papers were given, and an exhibition of "Various Objects of Art and Antiquity" was displayed. In addition, a note at the bottom of the programme informed members that "The Instrument used [in the Drawing Room] will be a Violin 343 years old, made by Christopher Wise, in Vine Court, Bishopsgate Street Within, in 1661 . . .".

Social grandeur had also hit the Society's publications. The publication of the *Transactions*, issued free to members, was from the very beginning the major expense of the Society, the cost of its impressive illustrations having to be met by donations of money or whole blocks. In addition, the Society published a number of separate publications, the first being *A Description of the Roman Tessellated Pavement found in Bucklersbury* by J. E. Price F.S.A., published at ten shillings. By 1895, however, the Society was publishing a reproduction of Ogilby & Morgan's large map of London, originally published in 1677, and complete with a seventy-eight page *Explanation*. The

price was eighteen shillings to members and one guinea to the public. This was an extravagant undertaking at a time when membership was low, and the financial implications are suggested by the fact that after volume five of the *Transactions* was published in 1881, volume six did not appear until nine years later and the volume after that covered a fifteen year span.

The evidence seems to suggest that by 1905 the social aspect of the club was of primary importance. Even though the cost of membership had not risen since the late 1870s, the cost of attending day meetings combined with the expenditure necessary to take part in other activities must have in effect made LAMAS financially less attractive than at its inauguration, and perhaps explains the drop in membership numbers to an all time low at this period. An additional factor, however, may have been that as time went by the subject areas originally incorporated under the umbrella of archaeology may have slowly emerged as disciplines in their own right with their own societies and membership. In any event, the social cycle had turned full circle as far as LAMAS was concerned. Of the one hundred and thirty-eight members in December 1855, and the hundred and seventy of 1906, over fifty per cent had some form of professional or educational qualification. It is perhaps time to consider how far the membership influenced the Society's archaeological objectives.

(ii) ARCHAEOLOGICAL

One point that emerges from a study of LAMAS is that the Society, like any other (past and present), had a large passive membership and a small core of active participants. These latter members were those who were devoted to antiquarian study and who aimed "to elicit new and unpublished facts [and] . . . to place known facts in a more clear and intelligible light"⁵⁴. Such individuals, who usually belonged to several archaeological societies, moulded the style of LAMAS by becoming active members of the Council, arranging meetings, acting as site guides, presenting papers and attempting to popularize archaeology in London.

One of the admirable features of Victorian archaeology was its interdisciplinary nature. Information from any source was valued, and the variety of individual interests encompassed within antiquarian study could only have been to its benefit. For instance, Sydney Smirke brought his architectural knowledge to bear on buildings visited by the Society, and drew atten-

tion to the fact that the technical construction and decoration of a building could provide information on determining its date and the state of the arts at that period. Nothing, therefore, was without interest, however mundane, and Smirke displayed all manner of objects at meetings, such as wooden and iron wedges, pillar bases and scraps of decorated ceiling plaster.

The study of original documents was considered a vital aspect of antiquarian study and high standards of scholarship were upheld. Original sources were studied in order to prevent the repetition of other people's errors, and the indispensable quality of the true antiquary was considered to be "the love of absolute truth and accuracy for its own sake"⁵⁵. With a number of librarians as members it is hardly surprising that original documentation was consulted, and this was often useful to meetings. When the Society met at St. Paul's, for example, the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson provided information on the Cathedral derived from Lambeth Palace Library, Simpson being one of the Archbishop of Canterbury's honorary librarians.

Other interests could also be incorporated into the meetings. Alfred Heales, a keen ecclesiologist, was able to provide information relating to the churches of Heston, Stanwell and Greenford when those sites were visited. John Green Waller's knowledge of art was utilized at a meeting in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, and his interest in mural painting and ecclesiastical symbols resulted in communications on such objects as brasses. Edward Brabrook's profession as a barrister enabled him to provide information to the meeting at Lincoln's Inn, and on the trip to Enfield John Gough Nichols was able to provide a biography of one of its famous inhabitants, his godfather, Richard Gough. The impression that results from all this is that wherever a meeting was held there was always a member who lived, worked or had an interest in the site and its vicinity, who was able to provide a paper. Members therefore directly influenced the Society's proceedings. For those with a more specialized interest of the sort that would be recognized today as archaeological, there were in addition the Evening Meetings. Less well attended, the Evening Meetings were more concerned with artefact discovery, and discussion was encouraged⁵⁶.

When considering the effect of the membership on the archaeological content of the meetings it is not surprising, given the emphasis placed on the local interests of LAMAS, that little attention appears to have been given to the geological debates and palaeolithic discoveries of the day⁵⁷. Cer-

tain members, such as Dr Roots, Mr Akerman and their friend, the Rev T. Hugo, did have a particular interest in 'celts' recovered from the Thames, but during the first fifty years of the Society's history only one paper was given on the prehistory of London⁵⁸.

The membership of LAMAS can be seen to reflect the state of mid-Victorian archaeological methodology. 'Excavation' to them clearly had the basic meaning of digging holes, usually for a non-archaeological purpose, artefact recovery being a pleasant, and profitable, secondary result. However, one illustration is given in the *Transactions* of a case where an excavation was carried out for the sole purpose of recovering archaeological material⁵⁹. Joseph Wilkinson describes how an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was discovered in Cambridgeshire in 1860 as a result of the digging of drainage ditches. After two days of digging himself, Wilkinson uncovered seven graves, and the next year discovered many more. However, in 1861 "... labour was very scarce, owing to coprolite digging in the neighbourhood, and in place of two or three men I could only secure the services of one ...". While Wilkinson, like other LAMAS members, provided detailed descriptions and precise measurements of the artefacts he found, it is clear that the object of excavation was simply to remove such artefacts from the ground. Indeed, the only appreciation of the context in which artefacts were found seemed to be that the observation of the soil could be a means of detecting fraud.

LAMAS was of use to archaeological studies in its recording and preservation work, and in its attempts to popularize archaeology. The members appreciated the enormous task involved in recording new sites⁶⁰ as they were discovered and old buildings as they were modified and destroyed, but the attempt was made and the *Transactions* and separate publications today provide a detailed description of sites that have long since disappeared. Naturally, the members would rather have seen a building preserved than have to record it prior to destruction, and the members were active in the promotion of the preservation of London's heritage. At the very first meeting the Council was authorized by the members to write to the civic authorities to complain against the "unbecoming and injurious treatment" being meted out to some statues at the House of Lords, and at the next meeting a letter was read out stating that Sir Charles Barry would exert his influence to prevent further injury. The Society was active in the cause of the Chapter House (1862) and Heston Church (1864), and in 1866 badgered the City Corporation into granting £200 to the fund for the restoration

of St. Bartholomew's the Great. The same year the Society supported the St. Helen's Priory Church Restoration Committee in their work, and in 1879 the results of their agitation to avert the danger to St. Mary-at-Hill, posed by the District Railway, was to witness the withdrawal by the Company of the Bill before Parliament for the extension to the line.

Such successes were linked to the Society's ability to bring archaeology to public attention by holding informative and well-attended meetings that were reported in the Press. More importantly, however, by inviting London's dignitaries to be honorary members who chaired meetings, the end was achieved of bringing the need for civic intervention for the preservation of monuments to the attention of the very individuals who had that power to exert. In addition, pressure from such bodies as LAMAS led to the setting up of museums and libraries, such as the Guildhall Library, so making redundant one of the objectives of the Society, to set up its own library. LAMAS had been set up to fulfil certain archaeological needs in London, and within their own definitions the members were successful.

CONCLUSION

There can be little doubt that everything about LAMAS, from its inauguration, objectives and membership to its social aspects and archaeological content, was a direct result of contemporary Victorian society and was particularly related to the unique position of the middle class. The emphasis on class has therefore been great, but the intention has not been to criticize the membership for being a privileged minority in an age of appalling deprivation. Nor is the fact that many members treated the Society as a social club necessarily an implied criticism, for the need to popularize archaeology is as great, if not greater, today as it was in 1855.

While it is easy to denigrate Victorian society today, the fact remains that there were, of course, individuals worthy of respect. Not all antiquarians were dilettante collectors, Charles

Roach Smith, for example, refusing the £3000 offered by Lord Londesborough for his collection and accepting £1000 less from the British Museum in order to ensure that his Roman antiquities would remain intact for the benefit of the public. In addition, a number of dedicated individuals brought to archaeology an enviable display of general knowledge, and an appreciation of learning for its own sake, that has been lost today with the advent of that specialization which is said to be the necessary 'professional' approach to the subject. The needs which LAMAS came into existence to meet were recognized and tackled by caring 'amateurs', and it is such people who continue to complain against the 'crowbar and the shovel' today. The membership of LAMAS knew what it was about, and should be left to speak for itself:

"... our object at these meetings is to popularize archaeology⁶¹, so far, at least, as that object can be attained without the omission of the necessary scientific details, the absence of which, I hardly need add, would reduce that which should be learned investigation to the level of mere child's play ... [It is therefore justifiable] to depart from that dry routine in which antiquaries have so often appeared to delight, and [to endeavour] to invest our fascinating study with the garb which it most eminently deserves. The subject in either case is the same, but the mode in which it is presented to the student is widely different. And the mode in which a subject is presented is, as all good teachers know, a matter of infinite importance."

(The Rev. Thomas Hugo, 14th June 1859)

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My Father drew the diagrams and my Mother kept the peace. Thanks, finally, to Jane for the typing.

NOTES

1. One of several ideas suggested by Mark Billinge (1984). Hegemony, class and power in late Georgian and early Victorian England: towards a cultural geography. Baker, A. R. H. and Gregory, D. (eds) *Explorations in Historical Geography*, Cambridge.
2. At the inaugural meeting several individuals registered their surprise at the fact "that the county in which is situated the greatest city in the world ... should be without any institution of this kind". *Transactions I*, p. 10.
3. Details of the Proceedings of the Provisional Committee are given in *Transactions I*, pp. 1-2 and in the original Minute Books housed in the Museum of London.
4. The letter includes the following: "Permit me to suggest that the Middlesex Society should be established in connection with the City of London, and that the Corporation of London should be invited to take a leading part in it ...". From a copy in the Minute Books.
5. 'Proceedings at the Inaugural Meeting' *Transactions I*, pp. 3-22.
6. *Transactions I* p. 11.
7. *ibid* p. 5.
8. *ibid* p. 12.
9. *ibid* p. 30.
10. See, for instance, *ibid* p. 11.
11. *ibid* p. 18.
12. *ibid* p. 19. On page 135, A. J. Beresford, giving the address at the Third General Meeting, states that the stones were "broken up to mend the roads at Sydenham".
13. *ibid* p. 142.
14. The majority of the smaller items ended up in the possession of LAMAS members.
15. The account was given to the Evening Meeting of Tuesday, 18 March 1862, and is recorded in *Transactions of the Evening Meetings 1860-74* pp. 76-81.
16. *Transactions I* p. 325.
17. Recalled in Charles Roach Smith (1883, 1886, 1891) *Retrospections Social and Archaeological*, 3 vols, London. J. J. A. Worsaae is mentioned in Volume II.
18. The Society of Antiquaries of London, *Proceedings* XXIV p. 232.
19. T. A. Webster quoted in Neale, R. S. (1968-9) Class and class-consciousness in early nineteenth century England: Three classes or five? *Victorian Studies* Vol. 12, 5-32.
20. Information on the Registrar General from Reid, Ivan (1978) *Social Class Differences in Britain: A Sourcebook* London.
21. For information on the members, see Figs. 1-3.
22. Both Orlando Jewitt and R. B. Utting (members 1857 list) were wood engravers who did some work for the Rev Charles Boutell. Illustrators often travelled with authors and were, necessarily, 'gentlemen'.
23. Neale, *op. cit.*
24. C. R. Smith, *Retrospections* Vol. I, 162-9.
25. See Figs 1-3.

26. A number of members give the address of their Club, establishments which were themselves nineteenth century foundations. Indeed the architect of both the Conservative Club and the Carlton Club was Sydney Smirke, a LAMAS member.
27. The quote from Booth and information about him is from Holman, R. (1978) *Explanations of Social Deprivation* London (Chapter 1).
28. Knowles, K. and Ronertson, D. (1951) Differences between the Wages of Skilled and Unskilled Workers, 1880–1950 *Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics* Vol. 13, 109–127.
29. Initially, membership cost 10s (annual subscription) or £5 (life membership). By 1874 an additional entrance fee of 10s had been introduced, and by the end of the 1870s the annual subscription had gone up to one guinea and life membership to £10. Subscriptions remained at this rate until the 1950s.
30. The Evening Meetings were introduced in 1860 and were originally held in association with the Surrey Archaeological Society. Originally held on the third Tuesday of each month the evening, time and frequency of the meetings seems to have come under frequent alteration and they eventually came to an end around 1874. The cost of an annual ticket was 5s, but by 1861 this had increased to 7s 6d, while visitors tickets had been raised from 5s to 6s a dozen. Further increases were made.
31. The costs usually included transport (return rail fare and carriages) and tea or dinner (wine extra) and examples include:
Westminster Abbey, October 1860, 4s in advance (7s 6d on the day)
St. Albans, June 1899, 6s
Rye and Winchelsea, June 1901, 12s 6d
Abingdon, Dorchester-on-Thames, Wallingford, July 1901, 14s
Old Basing and Silchester, June 1903, 16s
32. For instance in 1859 a £50 fund was introduced towards defraying the expenses of bringing out and illustrating Part III of the *Transactions*. There were commemorative paintings as well as medals. For example, a letter from the Treasurer to members of 10th June 1874 announced the intention of presenting Mr Price with a portrait of his mother, the widow of the eminent London antiquarian, E. B. Price, F.S.A. This was in recognition of Mr Price's services to the Evening Meetings, and the suggested subscription was one guinea.
33. See Figs 4 and 5.
34. In an address to the Economic Section of the British Association in 1904, Brabrook gave a review of the history of the Friendly Societies "which was of great importance, in view of the trend of public opinion towards Old Age Pensions." He deprecated the idea that "some day and somehow the State would provide pensions for everybody", and when the Act was passed in 1908, he read a paper before the Royal Statistical Society supporting the idea that pensions should be contributory as a proper "assertion and enforcement of the doctrine that the right way to provide for old age is by thrift, self-denial and forethought in youth". *Transactions* NS6, p. 380.
35. Soc. of Ant. *Proceedings* VII, pp. 199–201.
36. Smith, *Retrospections* II, p. 28.
37. Quoted in Pigott, S. (1974) The Origins of the English County Archaeological Societies *Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society Transactions* Vol. 86, 1–15.
38. The information used from newspapers comes from a pile of cuttings at LAMAS, Museum of London.
39. *Transactions* I, p. 198.
40. It is interesting to note that their near neighbour, Mr E. Rigby of 80 Gracechurch Street, was also a member.
41. Quoted from Smith, *Retrospections* II, p. 156.
42. *Transactions* NS6, pp. 380–1.
43. The letters to and from Gough are contained in three volumes of letters, papers, invitation cards, etc., at the Museum of London. They give an interesting insight into a 'passive' member. Gough worked at Lincoln's Inn and was often required to travel around Britain, but he kept a close watch on his affairs and complained to the Council at the delay in publication of the *Transactions* on several occasions. When he received the first part of the New Series he proceeded to complain that (a) the pages had been cut, and (b) that he had been listed incorrectly as an F.S.A. A member from the beginning, Gough supported the Evening Meetings, and in November 1878 opted for life membership of the Society. He died early in the 1900s.
44. President's Address, 23rd February 1917, in *Transactions*, NS3, p. 323.
45. *Retrospections* I, pp. 218–226.
46. The fact that many members had the time and money to travel abroad is yet another indication of the type of person who joined LAMAS.
47. A home was eventually found at the London Institution (January 1895–January 1911), and then the Bishopsgate Institute, where the Society was still located in its centenary year.
48. That LAMAS was 'of its time' is further indicated by the fact that many sites began to open their doors to visitors in the nineteenth century, the Tower Armouries, for example, first opening in 1828.
49. For example, 1858 meetings were held at the Gallery of British Artists, Islington, the Society of Arts and Enfield.
50. For instance, at the Third General Meeting on 26th February 1856, held in the French Gallery, Pall Mall, papers were given on 'Primaeval London and Middlesex' (Hugo), 'Monuments in Westminster Abbey' (Boutell), and 'The Chapter House' (G. G. Scott). In addition, Henry Mogford contributed some 'Recollections of Westminster' and Sydney Smirke commented on some London relics.
51. The number of papers contributed by non-members increased over the years, but never made up more than thirty per cent of the contributions. Such contributions were usually the result of a request from the Council. Edwin Cookworthy Robins, for example, provided a paper in 1880 on the Worshipful Company of Dyers, of which he had been Prime Warden, in response to an invitation from the Hon. Sec. to put together a few facts connected with the Company's history.
52. Soc. of Ant. *Proceedings* VII, p. 200.
53. All, that is, except the *Athenaeum* which carried the following report in October 1858:
"The Middlesex Archaeologists met at Enfield on Monday—with a disappointment. Lord Ebury and Mr. Heath were absent, and the unhappy excursionists found themselves floundering in the antiquarian shallows of the Rev. Thomas Hugo. A return train at length came to their relief, and the party arrived in London by sun-down, all we hear, very weary, and yet thankful."
In contrast, *The Times* refers to a "most delightful day", and the *Building News* to "a day of much pleasure and instruction combined".
54. *Transactions*, 2, Proceedings of the Evening Meetings, p. 36.
55. *Transactions*, 4, p. 489.
56. At the first meeting, for instance, papers included one on a piece of lead pipe from Old Broad Street and an 'account of a subterranean brick chamber in the grounds of the house at No. 12, Canonbury Place.'
57. At an Evening Meeting one paper was given on "Stone Hatchets, Spearheads, and Arrow-heads in the gravel of the Valley of the Somme in France" (Evening Meeting, 16th April 1861). Knowledge of geology did exist, as illustrated by the opening speech at the first Evening Meeting: Our object is to show relics of the past "... not as mere objects of curiosity, but as remains which serve to the historian and the philosopher as do fossils to the geologist—by defining and illustrating the strata of time, and revealing the modes in which human intellect and sentiment developed themselves in different ages".
58. Not surprisingly this was provided by the Rev Hugo (*Transactions* 1, 136–141) aided by a wealth of classical references which he considered preferable to "the fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth and others of his school."
His picture of London was of a clearing in "one umbrageous wood, with occasional clearings for such oppida as Caesar and Tacitus have described for us,—a group of huts both for men and cattle, at some almost inaccessible spot, surrounded with a rude pallisade and ditch ...".
59. Evening Meeting, 18 March 1862, *Transactions* 2, pp. 76–81 (at back).
60. "Investigate as we may, there is still more to know; labour as we will, there is still more to do; collect as we can, every excavation reveals fresh features, and supplies fresh examples." *Transactions* 1, p. 26.
61. Alas, even Hugo had a very limited meaning when he spoke about popularizing archaeology, as conveyed by an earlier comment that archaeologists must "cheerfully encounter a close acquaintance with the mud of London excavations, and put off all squeamishness in regard of the places and persons with whom we may come in contact." *Transactions* 1, p. 327.

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Who Was Who.

Plus, a selection of unpublished material from the offices of LAMAS, housed at the Museum of London.