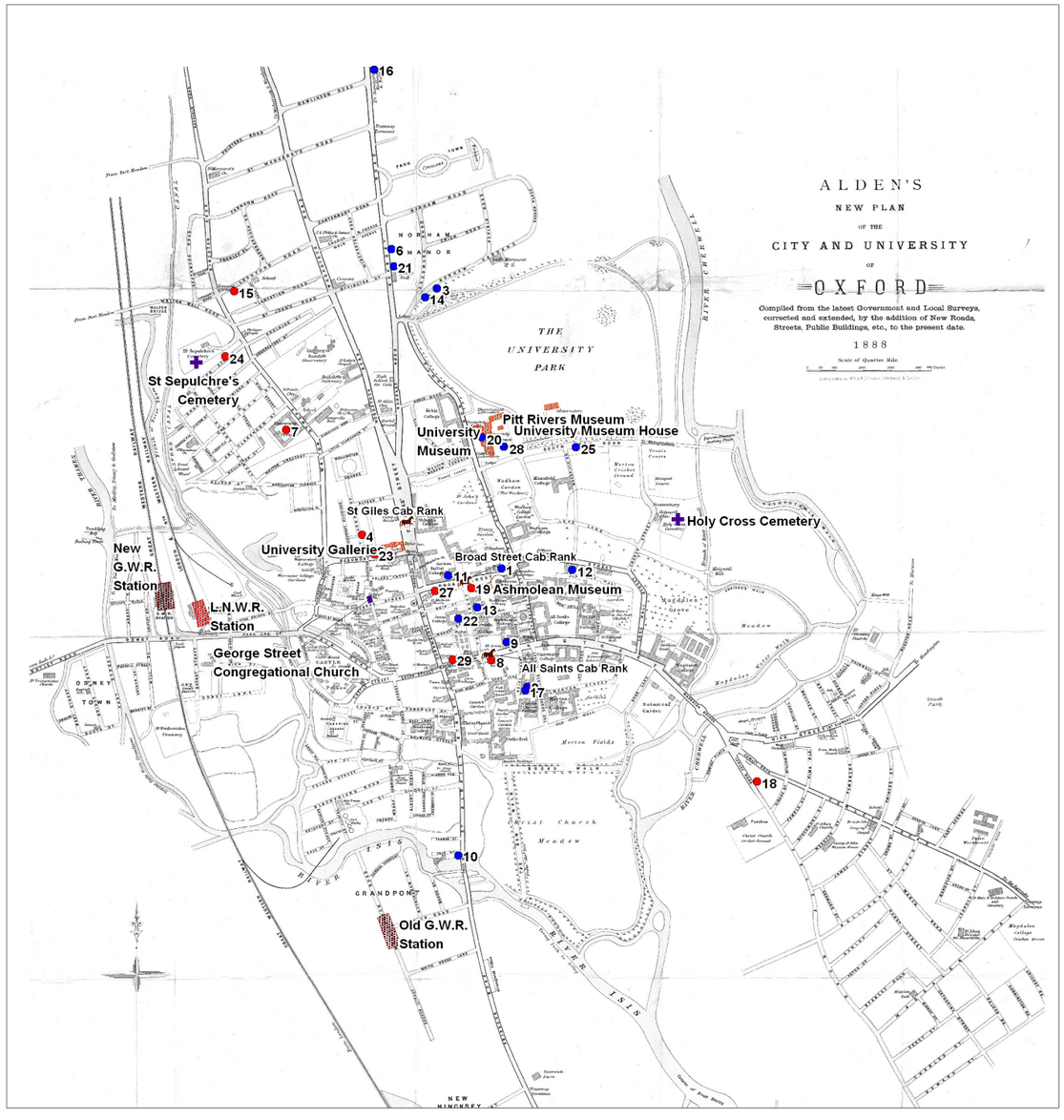
Appendix 1: Oxford People and Places in the late Nineteenth Century

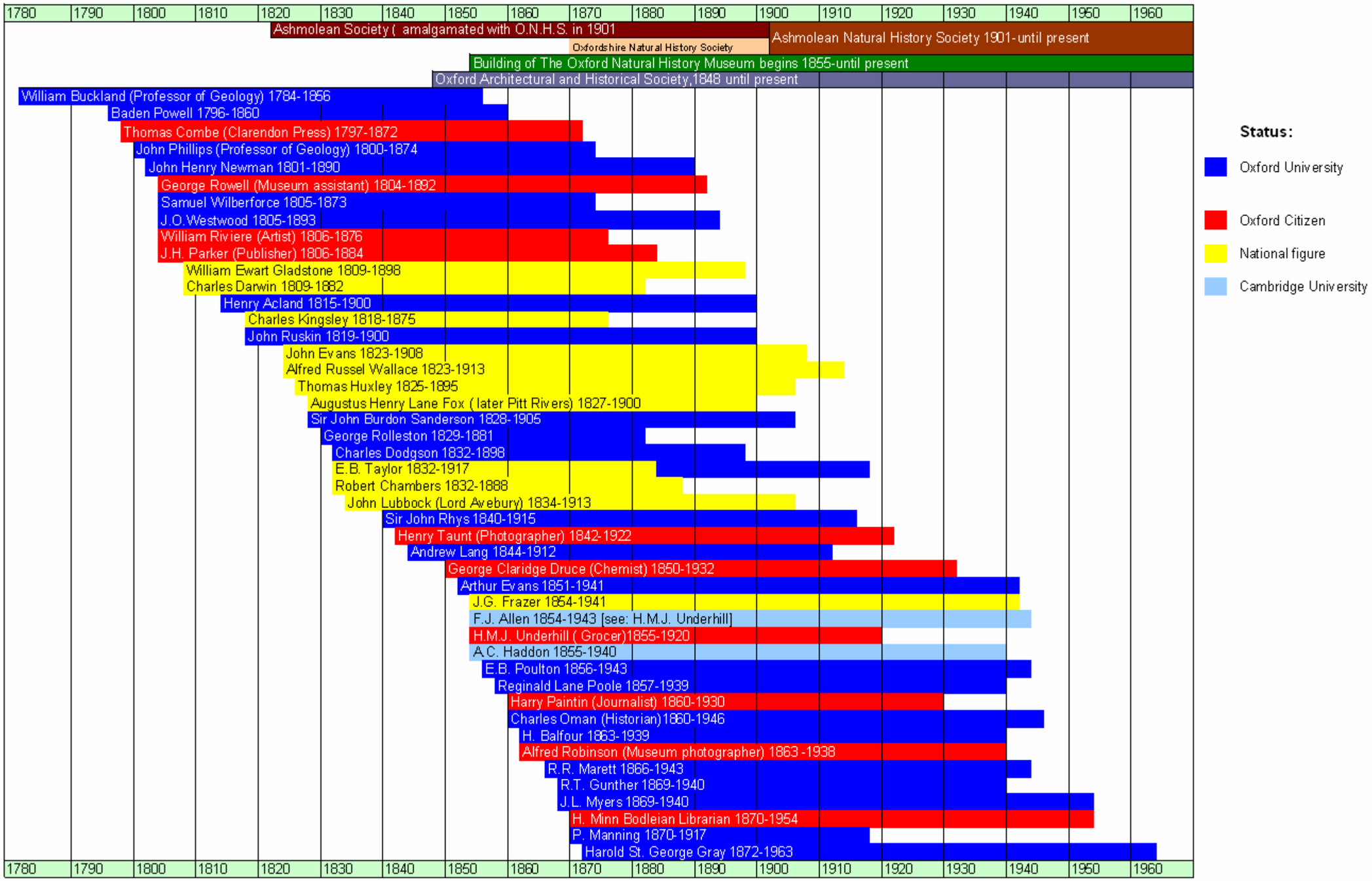


number	name
1	Acland, Henry
2	Baden Powell
3	Balfour, Henry
4	Bellamy, Frank
6	Burdon Sanderson, Sir John
7	Combe, Thomas
8	Druce, George Claridge
9	Evans, Sir John Arthur
10	Gunther, R.T.
11	Lang, Andrew
12	Manning, Percy
13	Marett, R.R.
14	Max Muller
15	Minn, Henry
16	Myres, J.L.
17	Newman, John Henry
18	Paintin, Harry
19	Parker, John Henry
20	Phillips, John
21	Poulton, Edward
22	Rhys, Sir John
23	Riviere, William
24	Robinson, Alfred
25	Rolleston, George
27	Taunt, Henry
28	Tylor, Edward Burnet
29	Underhill, H.S. and Sons

Cab Ranks
Cemeteries
Museums
G.W.R.Stations
L.N.W.R. Station

From: Town and Gown: Amateurs and Academics, Price 2007

Appendix 2: Oxford 1850–1900 *Dramatis Personae*



Appendix 3: Oxford People and their interests 1860-1900

Name	Born	Died	Status	Occupation	Interest 1	Interest 2	Interest 3
Acland, Henry	1815	1900	U	Physician & University Professor	Science	Theology	University policy
Baden Powell	1796	1860	U	University Professor	Science	Theology	
Balfour, Henry	1863	1939	U	University Lecturer	Anthropology	Museology	
Bellamy, Frank	1864	1936	C	Astronomical Technician	ONHS		
Buckland, William	1784	1856	U	University Professor	Geology	Theology	Natural History
Burdon Sanderson, Sir John	1828	1905	U	University Professor	Science		
Combe, Thomas	1797	1872	C	Printer (OUP)	Arts		
Druce, George Claridge	1850	1932	C	Chemist	Botany	O.N.H.S.	City Councillor
Evans, Arthur	1851	1941	U	Museum Keeper	Archaeology	Museology	University policy
Gunter, R.T.	1869	1940	U	Museum Keeper	Science	Museology	
Lang, Andrew	1844	1912	U	Man of Letters'	Folklore	Anthropology	
Manning, Percy	1870	1917	U	Student	Local History	Archaeology	
Marett, R.R.	1866	1943	U	University Professor	Anthropology	University policy	
Minn, Henry	1870	1954	C	watchmaker	local history	Photography	
Myres, J.L.	1869	1954	U	University Professor	Archaeology	Geography	University policy
Paintin, Harry	1860	1930	C	Journalist	Local History		
Parker, John Henry	1806	1884	C	Printer/Bookseller & Museum Keeper	Archaeology		
Phillips, John	1800	1874	U	University Professor	Geology	Museology	
Poulton, Edward	1856	1943	U	University Professor	Science (Entomology)	University policy	
Rhys, Sir John	1840	1915	U	University Professor	Folklore	Celtic Studies	
Riviere, William	1806	1876	C	Artist and teacher	Art Eduction		
Robinson, Alfred	1863	1939	C	Assistant Museum Keeper	Photography		
Rolleston, George	1829	1881	U	University Professor	Science	Archaeology	Anthropology
Rowell, George	1805	1892	C	Assistant Museum Keeper	Science		
Ruskin, John	1819	1900	U	Artist		Science	University policy
Taunt, Henry	1842	1922	C	Photographer & Author	Photography	Anthropology	Folklore
Tylor, Edward Burnet	1832	1917	U	University Lecturer & Museum Keeper	Anthropology	Archaeology	Museology
Underhill, H.M.J.	1855	1920	C	Grocer	Entomology	Anthropology	Archaeology
Wilberforce, Samuel	1805	1873	U	Bishop of Oxford	Theology		

Key:
U: University
C: City

Appendix 3a: Institutions and Appointments

Institution

Ashmolean Museum (opened 1683)

University Museum 1860

Pitt Rivers Museum 1884

Academic Appointments

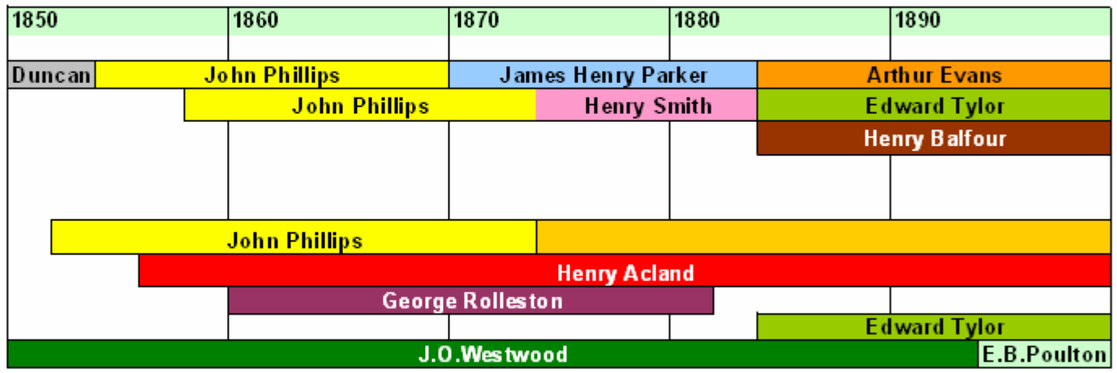
Geology

Anatomy

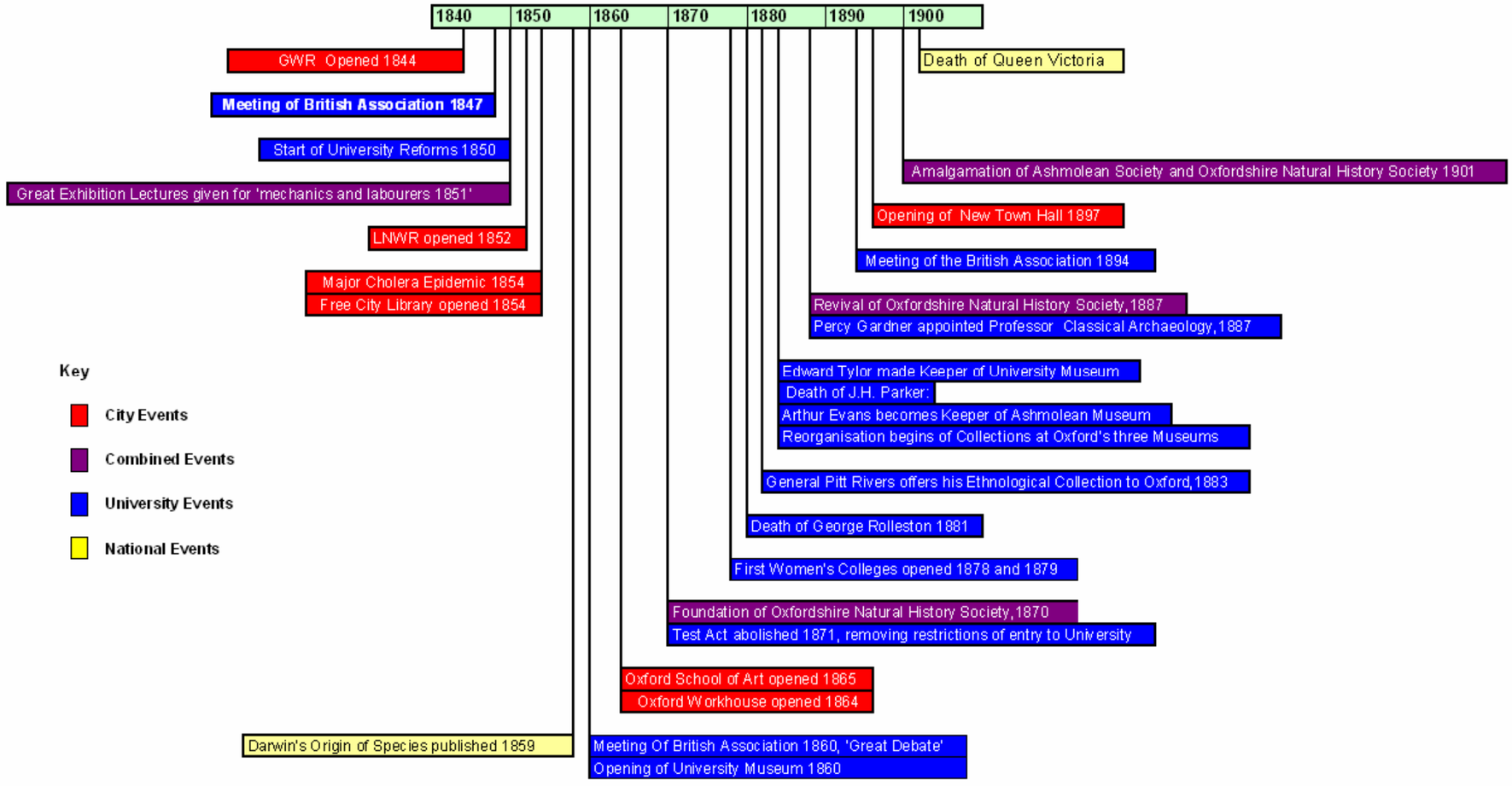
Linacre Human and Comparative Anatomy

Anthropology

Zoology



Appendix 4. Oxford 1840-1900 Significant Social and Cultural Events



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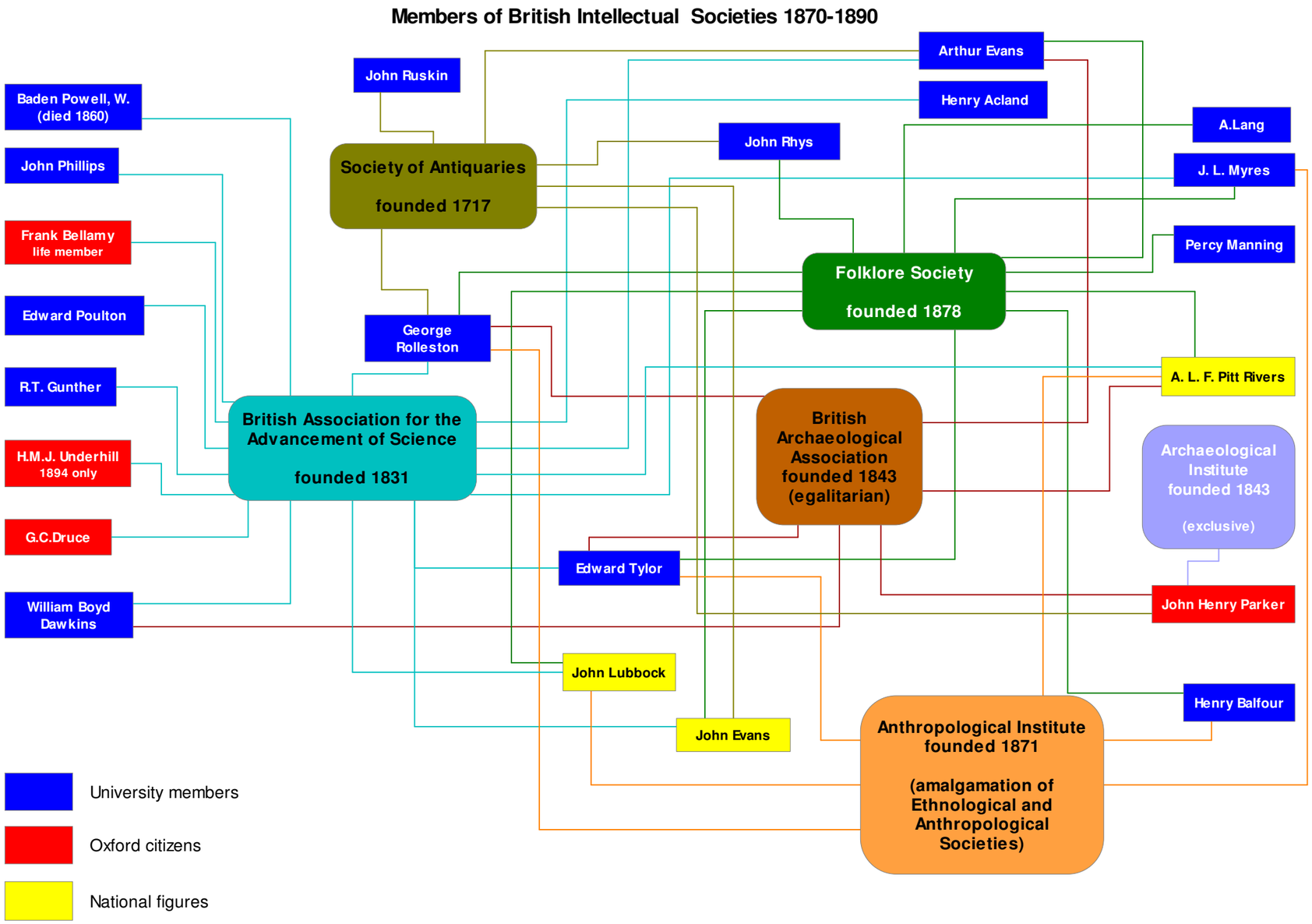
Appendix 5: Networks of members of National societies 1870-1890



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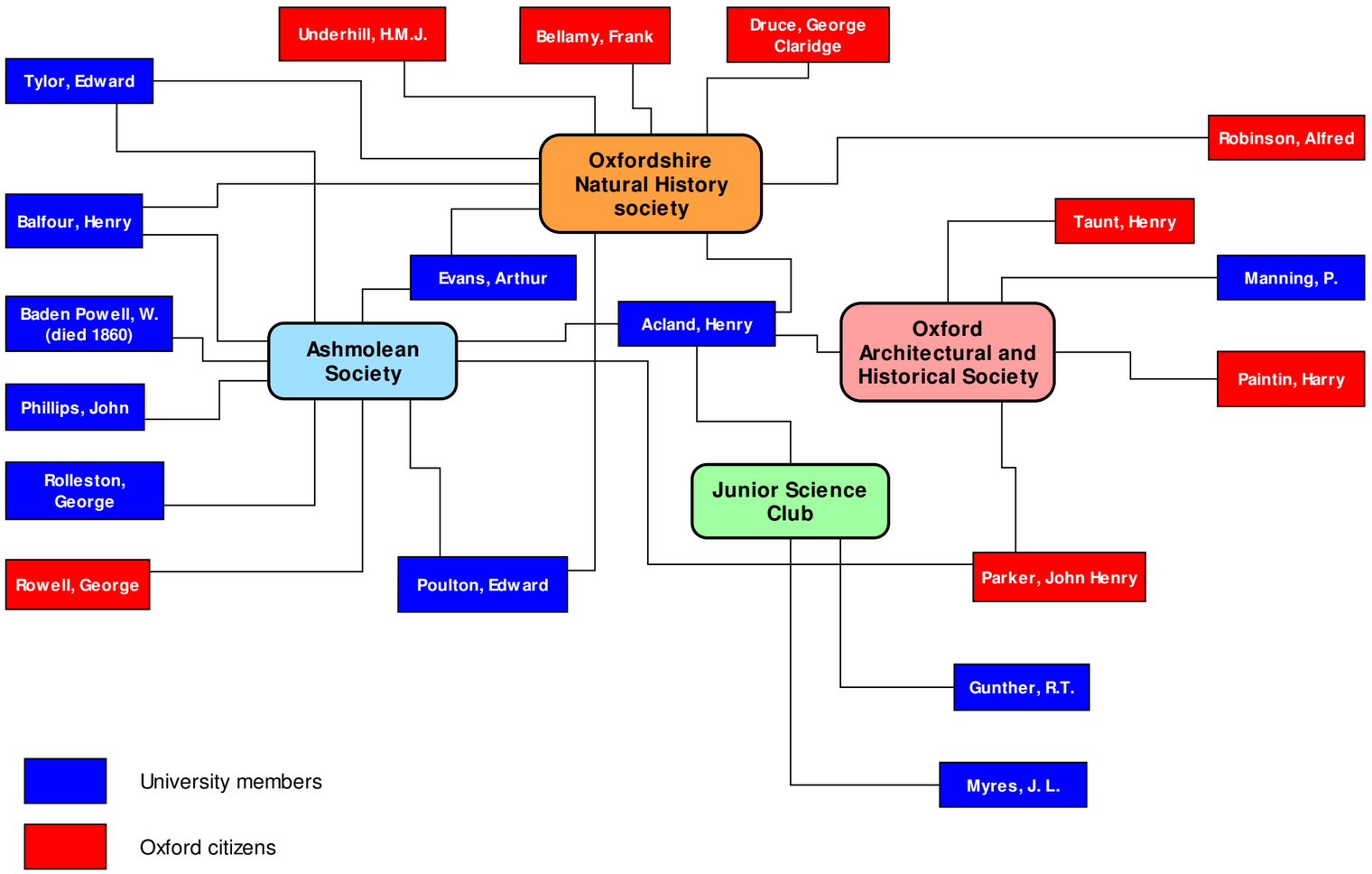
Appendix 6: Networks of members of Oxford Societies

Members of Scientific Societies in Oxford, 1870-1890



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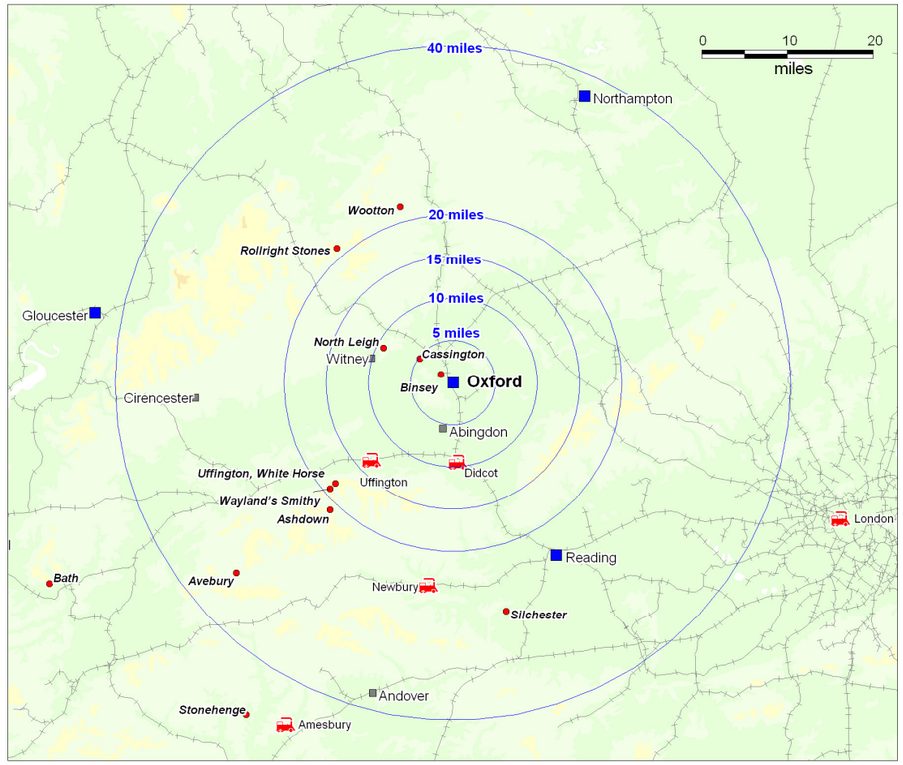
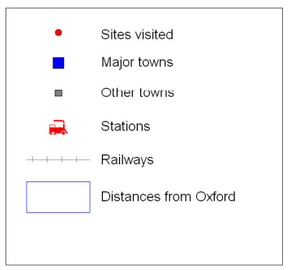
Appendix 7: Travels of H.M.J. Underhill





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Appendix 8: An Oxford Prosopography

This prosopography summarises the lives of people who are often mentioned in this thesis but whose biography does not appear in the main body of the text. Following Kuklick (1991), they appear chronologically and the focus is on their particular role in nineteenth century Oxford rather than a full biographical account. It is assumed that national figures in the intellectual history of nineteenth century, Darwin, Huxley, Pitt Rivers and Wilberforce are sufficiently well known not to be included here.

William Baden Powell (1760-1860)

Baden Powell died in Oxford in June 1860 aged 63, a week before the meeting of the B.A.A.S. Athough he had been ordained in Holy Orders, Baden Powell is credited with having broad and liberal views and was part of a 'small band at Oxford in the mid nineteenth century who supported the study of the physical sciences, and as one of the University Commissioners introduced them as a system of study (Obituary, Proceedings of the Geological Society 1861).

John Phillips (1800-1874)

John Phillips was Oxford University's Deputy Reader in Geology from 1854. From 1861, he had the task of overseeing the development of the new Natural Science Museum in Parks Road and was appointed its first Keeper, a position he held together with his office as Keeper of the Ashmolean. Phillips was raised by his uncle William 'strata' Smith, and despite lacking a university education, he rose to hold a number of highly prestigious posts within the British academic and scientific community. In 1874, he died after attending a dinner at All Soul's College, an event witnessed by many of his Oxford contemporaries, such as Acland and Rolleston.

Westwood, John Obadiah (1805–1893)

In 1857 Westwood was appointed conservator of Hope's collections at the University Museum. In 1858 he joined Magdalen College, becoming a fellow in 1880. In January 1861 Westwood was appointed the first Hope professor of zoology. Westwood like many of his era, for example, George Rolleston, was a genuine Renaissance man. His hobbies included collecting Anglo-Saxon and mediaeval manuscripts, illuminations, ivories, and inscribed stones. Westwood was described by some as 'a staunch churchman' and in the 1860s disagreed with Darwin's evolutionary ideas. Westwood's portrait was painted by William Rivière in 1876 and is now in the University Museum. He died on 2 January 1893 at 141 Woodstock Road, Oxford and was buried in St Sepulchre's cemetery, Jericho. Edward Poulton succeeded Westwood as Hope Professor of Zoology.

Parker, John Henry (1806-1884)

John Henry Parker matriculated as 'bibliopola privilegiatus' on 4 February 1832. This enabled him to trade as a bookseller in Oxford, and following the retirement in that year of his uncle he took over the business in Turl Street, which in 1823 had expanded to include a further shop in Broad Street. Under his direction from 1832 to 1847 the business was styled 'John Henry Parker, Broad Street, Oxford', and he continued to act as agent for the university press. In 1849 Parker was elected FSA, and between 1851 and 1855 he contributed to their journal Archaeologia. On 27 June 1867 the University of Oxford awarded him an honorary MA. In 1869 Parker endowed the keepership of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, with a sum yielding £250 a year and was appointed its first Keeper in 1870, a post he retained until his death; his inaugural lecture was on 2 November 1870. Parker was vice-president of the Oxford Architectural Society, and for many years participated in the annual congresses of the Archaeological Institute. He died, aged seventy-seven, at home at 21 Turl Street, Oxford, on 31 January 1884 and was buried in St Sepulchre's cemetery in Jericho, Oxford (see map).

Sir Henry Wentworth Acland (1815-1900)

As Professor of Medicine, Acland applied himself to the training of medical students. It was largely due to his campaigning with George Rolleston, that a proper sewage system was installed in 1873 and that the city's water supply was gradually improved from the appalling sanitary conditions that he found in the city of Oxford. By the end of the century, Oxford no longer suffered epidemics of smallpox, cholera and typhoid, which had dominated the poorer areas of the city (see map). Acland was responsible for the founding of the University Museum in 1855 which served as the main centre for the teaching of science in Oxford. His lifelong friend John Ruskin, whom he had met as an undergraduate at Christ Church, was responsible for the unique decoration of the building. Acland's house at 39 Broad Street (now part of Blackwell's bookshop), where he lived for 53 years, was filled with portraits and mementoes of his large circle of friends. His collection of photographs and visitor's book are now in the Bodleian Library. The Acland Hospital, now on Banbury Road, was named after his wife Sarah Cotton Acland (1815-78). Both are buried in Holywell Cemetery.

Greenwell, William (1820-1918)

Greenwell was educated at University College, Durham, 1836-1839. He was ordained priest in 1846 and held various church posts. The 'Canon', as he was known, was bluff and plainspoken. Sir John Evans remembered him as 'eminently unclerical in his manners and manner of thinking, and a very sensible man'.

Greenwell is best known for his activities as an archaeologist and collector. From 1862 he undertook intensive fieldwork and excavated some 295 burial mounds. He reported his finds in British Barrows (1877), produced in collaboration with George Rolleston. Greenwell rarely recorded the structure of the mounds he examined in detail, and was criticized by his rival J. R. Mortimer for hasty excavation. He nevertheless took justified pride in the serious scholarly pursuit of his archaeology. Among those he influenced was A. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, who worked with him in 1867. The artefacts he sold or presented to the British Museum between 1879 and 1907 form one of the foundation collections of British prehistory. His collection of skulls was presented to the University Museum, Oxford. He was a member of the London Society of Antiquaries and the Ethnological Society; he was elected fellow of the Royal Society (1878) and honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1879).

Edward A. Freeman (1823–1892)

After leaving Trinity College, Oxford in 1846, to marry rather than take up holy orders, Freeman embarked upon historical studies. In 1860, he settled in Somerset and over the next ten years published various political histories of Britain and France and gothic architecture. Between 1857 and 1873, Freeman was an examiner in the school of law and modern history at Oxford. He was a colleague of J.H. Parker and Edward Tylor through his links with the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society. In 1870 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L at Oxford and in 1884 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History. His eldest daughter Margaret (1848–1893), who had helped her father with his research, married Arthur Evans in 1878.

Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900)

Max Müller first visited Oxford in 1847 to lecture to the British Association. In May 1848 he decided to settle there and in 1855 he became a naturalized British citizen. In 1851, he was appointed deputy Taylorian professor of modern European languages and made an honorary MA and a member of Christ Church. In 1854 he became a full MA by decree and in 1858 became a Fellow of All Souls.

Max Müller was appointed a curator of the Bodleian Library from 1856 to 1863 and again between 1881 and 1894. In May 1860 he applied for the post of professor of Sanskrit at Oxford but was rejected in favour of Monier Williams. At that time the holders of many Oxford chairs were elected by the entire body of Oxford MAs, many of whom were Anglican country clergymen. Far more attention was paid to the political and religious views of the candidates rather than to their academic qualifications and Müller was a liberal Lutheran and had no sympathy for the theological and ecclesiastical struggles of contemporary Oxford. In his later

years Müller wrote and lectured on comparative religion, though many of his ideas and his methodology gradually became obsolete. He died at his home, 7 Norham Gardens, Oxford, on 28 October 1900, and was buried in Holywell cemetery, Oxford, on 1 November 1900.

John Lubbock (1834-1913) (later Lord Avebury)

When Charles Darwin moved to Downe in 1841, he acted as John Lubbock's informal tutor in natural history. This gave Lubbock an early introduction into Darwin's 'inner circle' He believed that natural selection provided a 'true cause' which could be applied to archaeology as well as anthropology and entomology. Lubbock's first wife died in 1879. In 1884 he married Alice Fox Pitt, daughter of the archaeologist, Augustus Pitt-Rivers, they had three more sons and two more daughters. Upon his father's death in 1865, Lubbock took over as head of the family bank, a position he continued to fill until his death.

From the 1850s Lubbock divided his time between banking, politics, and scientific and popular writing. His first major scientific contribution was *Pre-Historic Times as Illustrated by Ancient Remains* (1865), where he defined the distinction between palaeolithic and neolithic man, using existing evidence to support notions of human antiquity, stressing the similarity between prehistoric tools and those used by 'modern savages'. In *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man* (1870), Lubbock provided a more explicitly evolutionary account connecting 'savage' with 'civilised' societies.

Lubbock was a member of the Royal Institution, the Geological Society, the Royal Society (FRS 1858), and the X Club. He also supported labour issues, the early-closing bills in the 1870s and the Bank Holiday Bill in 1871, which created the first secular holiday in British history, popularly called 'St Lubbock's day' in his honour. In 1873, Lubbock introduced a bill to preserve ancient monuments and in 1900 chose the title 'Avebury' after an ancient 'druidical' site which he had long fought to save from being 'destroyed for the profit of a few pounds' (Scientific Lectures, 2nd edn., 1890)

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917)

In 1884 Edward Tylor was appointed Keeper of the University Museum when General Pitt Rivers offered his ethnological collection to the University of Oxford. Part of the deed of gift stipulated that Tylor was to be offered the post of Keeper to the University Museum and supervise the organisation of the Pitt Rivers collection. With the post as Keeper of the Museum, came a house in the grounds, built in the same Gothic style as the Museum, and a salary of £40 per annum. Unfortunately Museum House was pulled down in the 1950s to build a new science block. Tylor and his wife Anna (1832-1921) lived in Oxford during term but returned to their home in Wellington, Somerset during the University vacations.

From 1884, Tylor's role became that of collector and manager for the whole Museum and not just the newly- arriving Pitt Rivers Collection. The Pitt Rivers Museum was officially opened in April 1891 and the first curator was Henry Balfour (1863-1939). It must have been quite a challenge to Tylor to supervise the museum staff as well as the collections of stuffed animals and birds, fossils, and geological specimens. Between 1884 and 1902, Tylor's role developed from that of an enthusiastic amateur to a professional lecturer and administrator. His job description was always vague and in later years this led to disagreements about his overall role and responsibilities.

. From the 1850s, Tylor's interest in the proto-discipline of Anthropology which then included prehistory drew him into a proliferating network of academics, amateur and professional scientists, industrialists, travellers and colonial administrators with whom both he and his wife corresponded and were on social terms. In the early days of collecting objects for museums, the 'intelligentsia' relied on both social networks and family connections. Tylor was probably first introduced to academic Oxford through his membership of clubs and learned societies such as *The Athenaeum* and *The Royal Society* where he met influential Oxford figures such as George Rolleston, Edward Freeman and Max Müller.

John Richard Green (1837-1883).

Green was the son of an Oxford citizen, a 'registrar and maker of silk gowns for Fellows'. He was a member of 'the town,' who, because of financial support from his family, became part of 'the gown' community.

At the age of sixteen he obtained a pass degree in classics at Jesus College. Boyd Dawkins introduced Green to Geology and together they attended Professor Phillips' lectures. In 1859 Green and Boyd Dawkins (whom he called 'Dax') visited Somerset. They explored the caves at Wookey Hole and 'unearthed relics of prehistoric man whose existence recently had been made known by similar discoveries on the continent.' Green noted in his diary that he had been 'geologising, archaeologising, physiologising, studying bone caves and old ruins with Dax (Diary J.R.Green, 1859-64, 22). In Oxford Green was interested in its local history and contributed to the *Oxford Times*. Between 1877 and 1880 he published four volumes of the *History of the English People*. Despite his interest in geology, natural science and prehistory, this work only begins with the Norman Conquest.

In the 1860s Green became interested in the early Darwinian debates. In June 1860 he wrote to Boyd Dawkins that he had become an 'A.B.A.; an Associate of the British Association,' commenting that 'facetiae seems to be the order of the day–in deference to the ladies I suppose. Just as the Dons strive to rub off their dust and rub up their wits to greet these fair creatures at Commemoration.' Green replied that he found it 'quite jolly to find [Boyd Dawkins] swimming about so cosily among the Tritons of Science'. As a member of the British Association, Green observed the Huxley –Wilberforce debate in 1860 at the University Museum. His account adds yet another version of the 'episcopal defeat' (see chapter 3 and appendix). In a letter to Boyd Dawkins, he wrote that

> *'After Draper had ceased his hour and a half of nasal Yankeeism, up rose 'Sammivel' and proceeded to act the smasher; the white chokers who were abundant, cheered lustily…and proceeded to 'pitch into Darwin and his friends'. After the well known query from Wilberforce concerning the relationship between Huxley's grandfather and an ape and Huxley's reply, -'let me say such rot never fell from episcopal lips before Huxley, young cool, quiet, sarcastic scientific in fact and treatment, gave his lordship such a smashing as he may meditate on over his port at Cuddesdon* [The Bishop of Oxford's residence] (Green, Letters, 44).

Dawkins, Sir William Boyd (1837-1929

Dawkins was a geologist and palaeontologist. In 1854 he went up to Jesus College, Oxford. It was there that his career as a geologist began. He gained a first-class degree in natural sciences (1860) under the encouragement of the professor of geology, John Phillips. As an undergraduate he met J. R. Green (q.v.) (later a distinguished historian) and a mutual interest in history led to a pact: Green would deal with the history of Britain in the written record, while Dawkins resolved to explore the prehistory as revealed by geology and archaeology.

At that time there was widespread interest in human prehistory and particularly in the survival of human implements and other remains. As an undergraduate Dawkins turned his attention to cave research. In 1859 he began the excavation of a hyena den at Wookey Hole, near Wells, Somerset.

Between 1875 and 1878, he took part in excavations in caves in the Creswell crags, near Worksop, on the border of Derbyshire and wrote two books. *Cave Hunting* (1874) was an attempt to correlate within a single volume the growing mass of prehistoric material evidence. *Early Man in Britain and his Place in the Tertiary Period* (1880) was intended to complement Green's *A Short History of the English People* (1874).

Taunt, Henry William (1842-1922)

After leaving school about 1852, Taunt worked in several shops in Oxford. In 1868 he set up as a photographer and opened a small shop at 33 Cornmarket Street. His photographs of the Oxford area and the River Thames soon attracted praise and he publicized them through magic-lantern lectures and in his book, *A New Map of the River Thames* (1872). In Oxford, he organised many lanternslide lectures and annual children's entertainments and battled for clean city water in 1880 and against the electric tramways in 1906.

Taunt was forced into bankruptcy in 1895 with debts of £3000 due to a dispute over the lease of his shop. After working from various premises from 1906, he operated solely from home. By 1922 he had amassed over 60,000 negatives.

Like many other nineteenth-century photographers, Taunt documented the local urban and rural scene. His archive was rescued due to the efforts of Harry Paintin and is now a valuable resource at the Centre for Oxfordshire Studies.

Andrew Lang (1844-1912)

Lang is now best known for his twelve *Coloured Fairy Books*, beginning with *The Blue Fairy Book* in 1889. He stressed that he did not write the stories himself in his *Coloured Fairy Books* series, (Preface, 1901, *Violet Story Book*) but collected the work of others, drawing on folktales from a large number of countries; Germany, India, Iceland, Turkey, Greece, France, Denmark, and Russia. His wife Leonora assisted with these translated and revised tales from many cultures, and he also heavily edited these tales to remove what he considered 'offensive elements' for children. Each book contained a preface addressed to children in which he emphasised the moral lessons to be learnt from its contents and, more significantly, he indicated the timeless ideas that the stories portrayed, 'full of the oldest ideas of ages when science did not exist, and magic took the place of science' (Violet Fairy Book, xii 1901).This observation was reiterated in the approaches to religion and magic of Edward Tylor (1832-1917) and James Frazer (1854-1941) and in Victorian romantic notions of the past.

Arthur Evans (1851-1941)

As the son of the wealthy businessman and archaeologist, John Evans, Arthur was able to travel widely, even during his time as an undergraduate. Before entering university he had already shared many of his father's interests and mixed with his distinguished friends and fellow archaeologists. It is often forgotten that until the late 1890s Evans' archaeological interests focussed mainly on the growing evidence of British prehistoric sites and artefacts. He contributed a large number of papers and lectures on British prehistoric sites. Between 1885 and 1888 he gave a series of lectures in Oxford including one on 'Megalithic Monuments' and in 1885 he excavated a Roman Villa at Frilford. In 1878, Arthur Evans married Margaret Freeman, the daughter of the historian Edward Freeman. In 1884, at the age of 32, he was appointed Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. In 1893 he bought a 60-acre site at Boar's Hill, just outside Oxford, for £3,500 and by the early autumn of 1897, the house was built and named Youlbury. This was intended to be the home of Evans and his wife Margaret, but she died of TB in 1894.

The programme of supervising the transfer of objects from the Ashmolean Museum in Broad Street to the University Galleries in Beaumont Street and to the University Museum caused many administrative problems for Evans. It was probably a combination of the personal and professional problems in Oxford that led him to spend more time away from the Museum. In 1893, while travelling in Athens with J.L.Myres, a discovery of Cretan seals rekindled his interest in Crete. Certainly, by 1900, when the first trench at Knossos was dug, he was spending the winters in Crete, and like Parker and Tylor, was an 'absentee Keeper.'

The Underhill family

Edward Underhill studied classics at Magdalen College and became a Tutor to undergraduates, among whom was Alfred Douglas the companion of Oscar Wilde. Tthe students viewed Underhill as a figure of amusement and christened him 'Squish' (i.e. marmalade) from his kinship real or imaginary with a grocer of his name in the High Street. 'When Squish lived in College an Underhill van drove up each week to the Lodge door with provisions for the brilliant member of the purveyor's family and was weekly greeted by the cheers of the assembled undergraduates. Spurred to energy by the applause of his pupils and the generous rations provided by his relative, young Underhill in those days must have written the lectures which still, when I was up, wearied us to distraction'. (T.B.Simpson MS, Magdalen, 1916).

Frank Allen (1854- 1942)

A member of a branch of the Underhill family from Shepton Mallet, Somerset, Allen became an M.A. and M.D and was also M.R.C.S.and L.R.C.P but never practiced (Scott Diaries Vol XXVII, January 1905). He was at Cambridge with A.C.Haddon and later taught at Mason University College, Birmingham from 1887-1899. He returned to Cambridge to study church architecture and became honorary Secretary and editor to the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society* from 1913-1930. In 1932, he published *Great Church Towers of England* in which he acknowledged the photographic work of his cousin, 'the late Mr Henry Michael John Underhill of Oxford'. While he was living in his hometown of Shepton Mallet, he became a member of *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, based at Taunton in Somerset, joining in 1884 (Obituary, *Shepton Mallet Journal*, January 1st 1943). His obituary in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society,* 1942 was written by Harold St.John Gray, the former assistant of Pitt Rivers, who was then president of the society.

Henry Justice Ford (1860-1940)

H.J. Ford was the illustrator from the 1880's for Andrew Lang's (1889-1910), series of twelve coloured Fairy Books for children. These were drawn upon by Underhill to re-tell his own folktales. Ford was born in London, he attended Repton School and won a scholarship to Clare College, Cambridge, from which he graduated with a first-class degree in classics.

Robert T. Gunther (1869-1940)

In Oxford, Gunther was the pioneer historian of science and founding Curator of the Museum of Science. He was a student of natural science at Magdalen College in 1888-1892. This probably explains his knowledge of Henry Underhill's work, through his contemporary, Edward Underhill (qv). Gunther became a Lecturer in Natural Science in 1894 and lived in the High Street after his marriage in 1900. He was prolific writer, his most famous publication being 15 volumes of *Early Science in Oxford* (1920-1945). These deal mainly with natural philosophy, but Gunther also wrote about zoology, geology, Oxford gardens, the history of botany, south Italian amulets and architecture.

Percy Manning (1870-1917)

After taking his degree at New College, Manning settled in Oxford and devoted his time to archaeological and historical research, collecting printed books, manuscripts, prints drawings and maps relating to the City, University and County of Oxford. These collections, bequeathed to the University were distributed between the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. He was an active member of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and the Folklore Society. Although well over military age for a World War One soldier, in 1916 he joined the National Reserve as a medical auxiliary and died of pneumonia in 1917.

Butler, (Christina) Violet (1884-1982)

Violet Butler was born into an intellectual Oxford family and lived in the newly built suburb of Norham Gardens (see map). She took a teaching diploma at London University.Violet joined the civic activities of the wives of dons, who were prominent in late nineteenth century Oxford for their voluntary social work (the *Charity Organization Society,* Scott diaries) Throughout her life she 'operated on the fruitful margin that arbitrarily separates the statutory from the voluntary body' (DNB 2004)**.**

Violet’s family connections gave her an inside view of the city of Oxford and its local government. *Social Conditions in Oxford* is, even today, the best account of nineteenth century Oxford outside the University. The work fuses her intellectual curiosity, interest in human nature, and down-to-earth practicality. From 1914 to 1945 Butler combined her local social work with as tutor in economics at St Anne's College.

Appendix 10: Popular representations of prehistory

The growing popularisation of scientific knowledge in the nineteenth century was evident from the number of commercial journals that were available (see Chapter 2). The people that contributed to them were often amateur writers on the edge of the scientific world. It is likely that Henry Underhill drew on these and similar sources, including their ideas in his lectures.

This section extends Moser's examination of nineteenth century images of early humans (Moser, 1998), to include the way in which the ritualised or altered landscape was interpreted in the late nineteenth century. The discussion includes publications by amateur clergymen such as Samuel Lysons (1806–1877) and H.N. Hutchinson (d.o.b. not known), the architect, James Fergusson (1808–1886),) and the artist, Edgar Barclay (see Chapter 7). They were typical purveyors of popular literature that aimed to disseminate scientific thinking to a general audience. Although this genre has recently been examined in the natural sciences (Jardine et al., 1996; Shtier, 1997) it has yet to be fully addressed in archaeology.

Imaginative representations of primitive societies had appeared in traveller's tales and in literature from the middle ages. In *The Tempest*, for example, Shakespeare presented 'Caliban' the resident of the Island as a 'primitive' and Othello's 'traveller's tales' tell of 'anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders' (Act I, Sc. 3.). In the nineteenth century Daniel Wilson produced a long study entitled '*Caliban: the Missing Link'* (1873), where he presented Shakespeare and evolutionary ideas side by side. According to Beer (1983, 139), 'Daniel's work is the only counter-example to the general tendency to figure the missing link fleetingly, obliquely, and askance,' in the literature of the time, and, I would add, sympathetically.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, publications containing the first scientific images of the human race were being presented to the public. These images were based on evidence discovered by palaeontologists and geologists which legitimately enabled them to be described as 'scientific' (see section on *Vestiges*, Chapter 2).

Moser (1998, 107) analysed the way these images appeared on the surface to be 'non-mythological, non-religious and non-historical, based on scientific evidence of humans and their artefacts'. However, these supposedly 'new' scientific images inevitably grew out of the established iconic traditions of western art, rather than offering neutral scientific evidence. Some of this evidence for early humans was based on discoveries made by anthropologists, colonial administrators and explorers of their encounters with living 'primitive' societies. A later example in Oxford is Alfred Robinson's work, possibly produced for E.H. Mann.

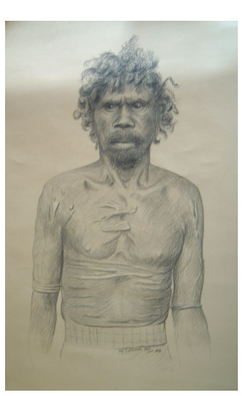

Fig 8.11 Alfred Robinson for E.H. Mann; Pitt Rivers Museum Collections, untitled

One function of the earliest images produced around the time of the debates on human evolution was to convey the notion of human primitiveness in societies in lesser stages of cultural advance (Moser, 1998, 133–141 and Kuklick, 1991). This style seems to have continued in popular prehistory until the end of the century (see below).

At the same time, early nineteenth century representations of landscape were infused with romantic concepts of mystery, mythology and supernatural awe. For example, the German artist Friedrich (1774-1840) painted Megaliths as remnants of a distant, mythologised, non-Christian past.

Morning, 1821 **Spaziergang in der Abenddämmerung 1830–1835**

Similarly, in Britain during the 1850s, the schools of Turner, Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement were dominant artistic and architectural influences. However, apart from the dramatic depictions of Stonehenge by Turner and Constable in the 1830s (Chippindale, 2004, 96–112), it would appear that very few well-known artists attempted to paint the prehistoric landscape later in the century.

One possible exception is Holman Hunt (1827-1910) whose painting exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1850 shows vestiges of a megalithic construction in the background.

Fig 8.13 A Converted British Family sheltering a Christian Missionary from the Persecution of the Druids, Holman Hunt (1827-1910). Ashmolean Museum

Literary and pictorial images such as these ran parallel to the trend for amassing ‘Cabinets of Curiosity’, which in Oxford formed the basis for the first Ashmolean Museum collections (MacGregor, 2000). The leitmotif throughout is ‘difference’; these images were explicitly intended to demonstrate human progression through cultural stages of existence from the primitive past to the civilised present, which, in the nineteenth century was perceived to culminate in the enlightened Western world.

In the wild, rural landscapes produced by eighteenth and early nineteenth century artists, notions of ‘the primitive other’ were suggested by scenes of uncontrolled elemental forces. By experiencing rural landscape through art, the wild was viewed from within the protection of the controlled. The genre of early nineteenth century paintings of Stonehenge, often show the megaliths against a tempestuous and threatening background. The use of landscape as a background to narrative often created a supernatural atmosphere to frame the message of the picture (Chippindale, 2004,Chapter 6).

To search for nineteenth century representations of the prehistoric monuments we have to look beyond the figures in the landscape and examine the landscape itself. In Western art, the natural landscape was not brought to the foreground until the seventeenth century. Before then the picture’s message emphasised human or divine action.

This section examines various British paintings produced after 1860. This was during the creation of the new discipline of prehistory archaeology, when not only members of the scientific community, but also the general public were beginning to accept incontrovertible evidence for humanity existing long before the Biblical version of creation.

To show how early humans were portrayed in contemporary literature Moser used examples from French illustrations of primitive man, *L'Homme Primitif*' (Figuier, 1870, 122-3; Moser 1998, 121). The preface for the English version '*The Earth Before The Deluge'* was written by Edward Tylor, who praised Figuier's illustrations of artefacts. He commented on the 'Raffaelesque' appearance of the human figures [in the Western tradition] but 'assumed that they were based on sound evidence' (1870, vi). Images such as these showing prehistoric people hunting, tool-making, feasting, using fire and creating art soon became standard and were often copied and offered for sale as lanternslides (Moser, 1998, 141).

In late nineteenth century Britain, parallel representations of prehistoric landscape were not yet a feature in popular scientific literature. Only two amateur archaeologists, Edgar Barclay, an artist by profession, and Underhill, a tradesman with artistic training, appear to have painted views of Stonehenge and explored its potential meaning (see above).

Nineteenth century literature on prehistory

In the middle of the nineteenth century, writers of popular history were often Oxbridge-educated clergymen whose amateur interests in science had been challenged or stimulated by the new theories of biological evolution (Gates, 1997, 180). As a result, many of these early accounts combined ideas from the classics, theology and modern science in order to present an acceptable version of human origins to a general reading public (see Chapter 2).

Our British Ancestors: Who and What they Were written in 1865 by Reverend Samuel Lysons (1806–1877) offers a typical antiquarian view of human prehistory. Lysons drew his evidence for the past from classical texts such as Homer, Livy and Tacitus, but also consulted scientific nineteenth century writers such as Worsaae and James Pritchard. Consequently, '*Our British Ancestors'* became a synthesis of classics, folklore, etymology and religion.

A notable feature of the book is that Lysons states in the preface that it was written 'at the moment of the major discoveries of human antiquity' (Lysons, 1865, vi) and that there were as yet no contemporaneous histories of Britain. However, even though he was aware of the latest evidence, Lysons stressed his 'adherence to all the implications of the Biblical creation and its genealogies' and attempted to ' elucidate the Traditional History of the Early Britons, by means of recent excavations, Etymology, Remnants of Religious worship, Inscriptions, Craniology and Fragmentary Collateral History' (Lysons, 1865, vii). The result of this, predictably, was a confusion of natural theology, scripture and classical allusion, rather than a coherent history of prehistoric Britain.

Thirty years later, in 1896 The Reverend N.H. Hutchinson produced *Prehistoric Man and Beast,* illustrated Cecil Aldin, the artist of *The Illustrated London News*. This work was contemporary with Henry Underhill's lectures on prehistory in 1896 and 1897 (Bellamy, 1908, 183–184) and it may be possible that it was one of the popular publications to which Underhill referred for textual material. In conjunction with the book, Hutchinson was offering lanternslides for sale (prepared by Newton & Co) and public lectures (Hutchinson, 1896 Preface, iv).

Fig 8.14 Lanternslide for *Prehistoric Man and Beast* by C. Aldin, (private collection)

Hutchinson stated in the preface to '*Prehistoric Man and Beast'* that the book was 'intended for everybody, not for the specialist in Geology or Archaeology, to explain the final production of countless ages of Evolution, the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals, and the highest manifestation of Creative Power that has yet appeared thereon'. This comment shows than in the field of amateur scientific writing, the doctrines of natural theology continued to survive to the end of the century outside the field of 'professional' science, and in certain fundamental religious areas, to the present day.

Hutchinson devoted a whole chapter in his book to Stonehenge and here, his perceptions are notably far-sighted, he said:

> *'Every kind of theory has been proposed, and as regularly combated. And so it will be until the end of time. Each generation considers itself wiser than the preceding, and better able to explain those matters, which …only appeared more difficult…. More books have been written about Stonehenge than about all the megalithic structures collectively…[it] can no longer be regarded as the work of the Druids, but a sacred memorial connected with the cults of departed spirits*
>
> (Hutchinson, 1896. Preface xii).

Hutchinson's opinion is comparable to many present-day observations, for example, 'every age has the Stonehenge it deserves-or desires' (Hawkes 1945) or Chippindale, 'no single explanation of it has ever come to dominate, the favourite justification of it today [that it was an astronomical instrument] is very much of and from our own culture' (2004, 6). As Hutchinson observed (1896, 284), and as writers of studies of prehistory today still admit (Chippindale, ibid), 'there is no complete answer to the how or why of these constructions.'

A remarkably modern perception was Hutchinson's observation that 'the absence of any inscriptions, point to proof of high antiquity, the builders and society remain unknown' (1896, 284). Sadly, he then destroyed this balanced and modern argument by venturing to introduce his theory of fairy builders.

Like many writers on folklore anthropology and prehistory, of his time, Hutchinson believed that 'fairies were real people, a dwarf population akin to the Lapps' (Hutchinson, 1896, 214–240). He devoted a whole chapter to their existence, weaving in theories of folklore and drawing on the work of MacRitchie (1893) and Arthur Evans' work on prehistoric sites (1895). When compared to the current work of Parker Pearson, Thomas, and Pollard (Stonehenge Riverside Project, 2005-6), there does seem to be a thread of philosophical continuity connecting nineteenth century writers like Hutchinson and present theories of megalithic origins. However the twenty first century has discounted the involvement of fairies.

Further comparative analysis of theoretical approaches from the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries might produce remarkable similarities. Hutchinson's comment that 'discoveries follow one another so rapidly that a book of ten years ago on Prehistoric Man becomes somewhat out of date' (Hutchinson, 1896, ii), offers a valuable indication of the speed by the late nineteenth century in which knowledge of the past was being discovered and transmitted to the public. Today, in the same way, theories explaining the construction and purpose of the Stonehenge environment evolve year by year.

Prehistory and natural history

Reverend J.G. Wood (1827–1889) was a graduate of Oxford, and worked for a time under Henry Acland in the University Anatomical Museum (Wood, 1861, iv). From the early 1850s he wrote for a growing general audience of people interested in science. His scientific background was, like many clerical amateurs, formed by theological natural history a philosophy that kept human beings apart from the rest of the natural world (Armstrong, 2000, 4–6, and see Chapter 2).

Wood's works on microscopy, such as '*Common Objects of the Microscope'* (1861) were used in Oxford as a standard reference. Underhill used his work as a reference (Underhill Archive; Museum of the History of Science) and Edward Evans, the Assistant Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum who succeeded George Rowell (passim) used Wood as a reference when compiling the catalogue of anthropological objects that were being transferred to the Pitt Rivers Museum (MacGregor and White, 2000, 255-256).

Wood's *The Natural History of Man* (1874) is an excellent example of popular scientific literature of the time. It is possible that Henry Underhill emulated his literary style as a model for his articles on the natural sciences (Beer, 1996, 209). Like many 'popular' writers of science in the post-evolutionary period, Wood still used the 'manners and customs' approach to convey his information. His work is a fusion of both evolutionary thought and natural theology, an approach which can also be discerned in many of Henry Underhill's articles, particularly those written with Frank Allen for amateur journals on spiders (1875a, 1875b) and creating lanternslides (1892).

The Natural History of Man, an account of the 'uncivilised races of man' is a compilation of many travellers' accounts all of which are un-referenced. Wood presents 'the varieties of character that develop themselves among races who have not as yet lost their individuality by modern civilization' (Wood, 1874, vii). The same method was frequently used by 'armchair' anthropologists, (Radcliffe-Brown, 1951, 15), such as Frazer, Lubbock and Tylor during the 1870s who synthesised information from written sources to support their theories.

Tylor reviewed *The Natural History of Man* as he had Figuier's work, (see above) and, despite his reservations about the distortions of Wood's illustrations, he recommended the book 'as the best and most readily available compendium on the arts and culture of primitive man' (Tylor 1874, 279–280). The approval of such eminent writers of the time would have added a scientific legitimacy to these popular publications.

The representations of popular scientific literature discussed above concerned 'our primitive ancestors.' Similar attempts to interest the public in the monuments of the ancestors were not as successful. The following section discussed the work of one author.

The monuments of prehistory

James Fergusson (1808–1886), author of *Rude Stone Monuments* was 'principally an architect of all nations' and took a wider view of monuments (Preface 1872). He stressed that although he was not an antiquarian or an archaeologist, by using examples from India and the Middle East he believed he could see connections or 'survivals' in monumental buildings throughout the world.

Many of the theoretical approaches to prehistoric societies emerging in the late nineteenth century and those of today refer to the similarity of stone constructions in other societies, for example Parker Pearson (1999) in Madagascar. Fergusson's work is an interesting piece of conjecture and it later caused Arthur Evans to publicly dispute his ideas 'that the builders had contact with the Romans in first centuries of Christian era' (Evans, Archive Ashmolean Museum, 1885 lecture V, p.6).

In order to promote a discussion on the origin of 'rude stone monuments', Fergusson wrote an article in the *Quarterly Review* in July 1860, (pp 200–225) which he later developed into '*Rude Stone Monuments'*. An interesting juxtaposition occurred in the above journal; immediately following it was Samuel Wilberforce's unfavourable reaction to Darwin's '*The Origin*' (1859), stating his refusal to accept the idea of natural selection (*Quarterly Review,* 1860, 261). Both of these articles represent the paradigm shift of accepted Biblical, scientific and historical evidence in the middle of the nineteenth century (see Turner 1993, and Chapter 2).

Fergusson's article received no response, possibly because of the more contentious debates that ensued that year over Darwinian evolution (see Chapter 2). He presented his theory in the *Quarterly Review* once more, in April 1871, but again there was no reaction.

Fergusson, like Hutchinson, in 1896 devoted a whole chapter of his book to Stonehenge. Following a description of its location and dimensions he concluded that the stones were ‘generally erected by partially civilised races, after they had come into contact with the Romans and therefore belong to the first ten centuries of the Christian era’ (Fergusson, 1872, Chapter III). This idea was later criticised by Arthur Evans, (Evans, Archive Ashmolean Museum, 1885 lecture V). Fergusson did argue, however, like many of today’s archaeologists (Parker Pearson; 1999 Thomas, 1999) that the stone monuments although connected with rites of the dead, were not temples (1872, 27).

Both Fergusson and Underhill included the 1870 Ordinance Survey map to present their information (Fergusson, 1872, 102; Hogarth, 1925; Underhill slide 765). An interesting comment that characterised many of those on the edge of academe during the professionalization of knowledge was the DNB entry for Fergusson. It stated ‘insecurity at his lack of a university education perhaps explains some of the vehemence of opinion that characterized [his] long career as a critic of Victorian architecture’ (Boyd Haycock, 2004)

By the end of the nineteenth century, written accounts and artistic representations of Stonehenge were not the only ways of presenting the monument to the public. The growing interest in the remaining evidence of the ancient British past was being promoted by a new form of technology, the magic lanternslide.