THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON 1843 - 1871

by

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ABSTRACT

The Ethnological Society of London was a forerunner of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the main body of professional anthropologists in Britain today. Some discussion of it exists in the literature, although it is not generally known in conventional histories of anthropology. It has also been particularly neglected in text-book accounts of the development of the discipline. What discussion does exist usually focusses upon the ESL's relationship with the Anthropological Society of London, a splinter group, formed in 1863. The two united in 1871 to form the RAI. Studies to date have tried to account for the split in intellectual terms, looking at the different ideas the two groups held, and the reunion in structural terms, saying that financial difficulties drove the two together.

This thesis, concerned with only one of the two groups, argues that the standard interpretations are not valid, since they neglect the all-important social aspect. The social composition of each group must be examined and, in particular, the members' social status. The outcome of this examination is the discovery that a primarily social explanation is most appropriate to understanding the events under consideration. This type of explanation asserts that the major forces at play were social, and they must be recognized and brought out. This is not to ignore or

deny the importance of intellectual or structural features but to contend that any explanation based on either of these alone is inadequate.

To this end, the thesis explores the social composition of the ESL and considers the implications of its particular makeup for its type of anthropology. At the same time a detailed description is given of the intellectual and structural aspects of the group. Thus, each facet of the Society is presented, so that all the evidence can be weighed together in deciding upon the most appropriate explanation.

This treatment of the ESL serves another purpose: to illustrate the anthropological approach to history. The past is regarded as a culture distinct and different from our own, meriting careful and unbiassed study just as does a primitive culture. An ethnographic account of the group in question is given, relating it to its cultural context of Victorian England in order to interpret its behaviour correctly. It is argued that because of our close lineal relationship to Victorian England we do not therefore "know" our past, but rather are the more likely to fall prey to mistaken interpretation and biasses. We must regard our past to be as foreign to us as any strange culture, and approach it with the same caution. There is more than methodological significance in this reasoning. Finding that the past does contain other cultures opens up a whole new field for anthropological endeavour. Anthropologists can find in the past more societies to study,

yielding more material for generalizations about the nature of culture and of Man.

A further reason for a careful approach to this topic and this period is the implications it has for the history of anthropology. A certain picture of Nineteenth Century anthropologists is common to standard works of anthropological history, and particularly to textbooks of anthropology which purport to introduce the discipline to new students. This picture is described in the thesis and shown to be not only wrong but also Whiggish. Its consequences are to be deplored: anthropologists work with a misguided view of their past and learn an approach to history that looks for "Good Guys" and "Bad Guys". The functions of such historiography are explored here and an explanation for its persistence is offered, with reference to a Kuhnian framework of argument. This historiography is to be rejected and all the more since anthropologists especially, endeavour to avoid ethnocentrism; yet, where their ancestors are concerned, they are found indulging in it with no qualms at all. History of anthropology must be more accurate. This thesis is an attempt in that direction.

ABBREVIATIONS

APS	Aborigines' Protection Society
AR	Anthropological Review
ASL	Anthropological Society of London
ESJ o.s.	Ethnological Society Journal, old series
ESJ n.s.	Ethnological Society Journal, new series
ESL	Ethnological Society of London
EST	Ethnological Society Transactions
RAI	Royal Anthropological Institute

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Chapter I: Introduction

The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is now in its second century. Although today facing financial difficulties which have necessitated the separation of its library and headquarters,[1] and somewhat threatened by conflicts between different strains of interests,[2] the RAI still constitutes the main body of professional anthropologists in England.[3] It publishes Man, has a vast anthropological library,[4] and supports fellowships and lectures in anthropology.[5] It has recently declared its desire to be free of its origins in Victorian times, seeking to be more than "an old-fashioned Nineteenth Century Learned Society",[6] but those origins remain of interest, although they are no longer meant to be of influence. The RAI dates its own beginning to 1843, with the birth of the Ethnological Society of London. Its official account however, of the events from that time to the formation of the Institute in 1871, (when the ESL united with the Anthropological Society of London) is, to say the least, brief, and gives no sense of the significant developments of the period between the two dates.[7]

Yet this was a time crucial to the formation of the science of anthropology as we now know it. Indeed, the definition of anthropology current today as an holistic scientific study of Man, involving all the aspects of his experience and his position in the larger animal world,

originated in this period. It was noted at the time as a radical departure from the old meaning of the word, connoting "gossip".[8] The four-fold division of the strains within anthropology that we still recognize--linguistics, ethnology, physical anthropology and archaeology--[9] also emerged in England during this mid-Nineteenth century era. In recent years, we have become more aware of this period, through work like J.W. Burrow's on Victorian social evolutionary thought, and George Stocking's article on the formation of the RAI.[10] It was a time of much activity and argument, and one that merits closer attention for that reason also.

This thesis looks at one of the two Societies of this time in length, that of the ethnologists. Besides detailing the history of this particular group, such a study provides a means of entry into the questions of the formation of the ASL, the relationship between the two Societies, and their later union which produced the RAI. In a more general sense, it also leads us to consider the nature and development of mid-Victorian anthropology.

I

The Ethnological Society of London was set up in 1843 by men who left the Aborigines Protection Society. They were not as inclined to that body's increasing emphasis on missionary work, and wanted to ask more scholarly questions about primitive peoples.[11] By 1863, some members of this new group were feeling that its concerns were not yet scholarly

enough, and twelve of them left to form the Anthropological Society of London. Whereas the ESL concentrated upon the various races of Man and their inter-relationships, the ASL wanted to go further and look more closely at Man's place in Nature, and the links between him and other animals. The anthropologists were more interested in an all-encompassing Science of Man.[12] Other issues were also involved in this split, such as polygenism versus monogenism; that is, the question of how many species of Man there were: the related question of the unity of the human species, and its implications for the equality of the races of Man; the stand thus to be taken on the American Civil War; opinions about the current Irish situation: and, beyond these, the admitting of women to an anthropological Society.[13]

Shortly after the ASL was formed, the problem of combining science and religion arose here, with the result that those who favoured their studies having a missionary purpose left in 1865 to set up the Victoria Institute.[14] After that, there was no other hiving off from either the ESL or the ASL. The two Societies existed separately, as noted until 1871, when they united as the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland ("Royal" as added in 1907)[15]. Negotiations for union had begun in 1868, but there were many problems to resolve, of which a major one was the proposed name "Anthropological" for the new Institute. The ethnologists could not accept it, and the anthropologists refused to give it up. The latter group were finally successful

in their stand, and the Institute received their name.[16] In 1873, a number of the anthropological party who felt that their interests were being ignored withdrew to form the London Anthropological Society, but this ended in 1876,[17] and the RAI continued its development as the sole anthropological body in England.

The two original Societies in this story, the ESL and ASL, existed apart, then, for eight years, from 1863 to 1871. The periodic sniping issuing from the ASL[18] during their division showed that the separation, from that group's point of view at least, was not exactly amicable. Yet they shared meeting rooms,[19] published journals of very similar formats, wrote on similar topics, and even had some overlap in membership. And so a question arises as to their precise natures and relationship. This together with the separation and later reunion of the Societies has constituted a topic of discussion from time to time in some of the detailed historical studies of anthropology that exist,[20] as well as in the occasional paper.[21] The discussion, however, seems like the situation of the Societies themselves, confused and contradictory. Reading the accounts that exist, one finds disagreement in them about the Societies' purposes, their similarities and differences, the reasons for the split, and the conditions that made reunion possible. There is also confusion about the actual outcome of the reunion. Did the ethnologists win, as some say,[22] or the anthropologists, as others do?[23] Or did no one win: was the RAI something

completely new?[24] There is reason therefore to reassess the situation, to see if the discrepancies can be cleared up.

A further reason for seeking to present a clearer picture here is that, apart from accounts in the few works on the growth of the discipline of anthropology, it is not a generally know period in its history. Surveying twenty-two textbooks of anthropology,[25] one finds mention of the two Societies in only four of them, with a great deal more confusion than that noted above.[26] This is more than a simple matter of neglect, as awareness of the Societies casts a totally different light on the way we see Victorian British anthropology. The typical interpretation of this period is that there were only a few isolated, and therefore very brilliant, individuals thinking anthropologically at the time, particularly Tylor, Maine, McLennan, Fraser and Spencer. Granted, this version goes on to say that their ideas may be useless now, and even wrong, but that they still should be given credit and venerated for their pioneering work.[27]

But there were two Societies concerned with the study of Man at that time, not to mention the inclusion of anthropological pursuits in a section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.[28] Hence we must discard an oversimplified view of the past of the discipline. These "lone thinkers" in Victorian Britain had bodies of similarly interested individuals with whom to exchange ideas. Perhaps

the insights that we attribute to these few persons of genius were only those held commonly by the members of the groups. And indeed, Tylor and McLennan both belonged to the ESL, and Fraser, of a later period, was a member of the RAI.[29] Spencer, as Burrow points out, was a recluse,[30] while Maine was more interested in being a lawyer then a founder of anthropology.[31] At any rate, the Nineteenth Century was not the anthropological desert that we regard it, and it needs reconsideration in the light of what is really was.

Not only have commentators neglected the circumstances surrounding the formation of the RAI, and ignored the fact that a community of people with anthropological interests existed at this time, they also overlooked the work done in the two Societies. Furthermore, if we are so little aware of their existence, it also seems likely that we have not fully comprehended their endeavours. For that reason too, the picture of Nineteenth centure anthropology that we have is simplistic, and even dubious. To cite the Standard Version once more, we have the venerated Fathers at least getting the discipline going, but in the main doing it wrong, being armchair anthropologists, and throrough-going and misguided evolutionists.[32] Yet it seems impossible that that was all that they did, and that they all achieved nothing. Again, a reconsideration seems in order.

If the ESL has been neglected today, it also seems to have had little impact on its own time. One finds very few references to the Society, for example, during the years of its existence, in contemporary journals. Of the thirty-two publications surveyed by the present writer, only two mentioned the ESL. Although prominent figures who were members of it, such as A.R. Wallace, Thomas Huxley, Sir Charles Lyell and Charles Darwin, appear frequently, the ESL is not mentioned in conjunction with them.[33] Similarly, it would first appear that the members did not regard their tie with the Society as important. Entries in biographical dictionaries seldom note that a person belonged to the ESL, although other Societies such as the Royal Society and the Royal Geographical Society are mentioned. Even Huxley, who figured so greatly in the formation of the RAI, does not mention it in his autobiography.[34]

It is too simple a solution however to decide that the ESL was of no significance. A brief reading of the Society's journals reveals many men of note in other areas of Victorian life, in position of power and prestige. Mention has been made of Lyell, Darwin, Huxley, and Wallace, men of Victorian science. There were also those who held high governmental positions, such as Sir Rutherford Alcock, Lord Brougham, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, Earl Gray, and men of note in other fields, such as Charles Kingsley, F.W. Farrar, Sir James Clark, and Sir John Conolly. It does not make sense to say that these men, so accomplished and prominent

in their own fields, were simply incapable in ethnology. One wonders just what the Society meant to them, what function it fulfilled in their lives, and how these considerations might explain its reputation, or lack thereof, in Victorian society. The very contradiction, then, between the Society's contemporary reputation and the calibre of its membership, furnishes yet another reason for re-examining the ESL.

What faces us, in fact, is the two-fold question of the ESL's position in our time and in its own. An inquiry into the ESL in this latter way comes to have bearing on the history of mid-Victorian England, as it produces an examination of some of the society's famous men in a sphere where apparently their ability did not shine through. Such an examination also has relevance to Victorian social history in another way, in that it is a study of a particular men's association. The mid-Victorian period was especially a time of the multiplication of men's groups, a feature remarked upon by foreign visitors to England,[35] and a phenomenon that has yet to be studied in depth. There are descriptive accounts of some of the older groups,[36] and more sophisticated analyses of selected Societies.[37] Lyndsay Farrall has suggested a four-fold typology of such groups: the philanthropic society, the religious sect, (the political movement)[38] the learned society. But other than this classification (which, it should be noted, is not strictly limited to men's groups) there is little to be found by way of an overall examination

of these associations, and the explanation of their function in Victorian society.

One can think of anthropological literature on such groups in primitive societies for its suggestions of functions that might also be present in Victorian England. There is the cross-cutting effect that such groups have in a society which is becoming increasingly complex, and difficult to integrate through face-to-face interaction.[39] Associations in this case break down society into manageable groups in which decisions can be made and tasks solved. Such groups also combat the impersonality of a society by offering the members a basis of identification. Then too, there is the aspect of solidarity, in this case among the males of the society, as the occupants of a particular role and upholders of particular values.[40]

These and other findings from the literature may on a more detailed examination be found to be relevant to the phenomenon of groups in Victorian society. This particular thesis is concerned with more limited matters, but it does have broader significance in that it offers information on one of these groups that may be added to the growing body of such work, and eventually utilized in an overall study. Further, it may suggest, in pointing to the important aspects of the ESL, what types of things are to be looked for in the larger issue. The subject of this thesis, therefore, and the information it discusses has bearing in particular upon the history of anthropology, and more generally upon

the history of Victorian England. To these ends the work here is important for the data it deals with.

II

This thesis also has relevance in another area: methodology. In this study, I wish to test and argue in favour of certain methodological points. One has to do with the way in which the histories of such Victorian men's groups are done. The studies of this sort fall into two main types, as mentioned above. First, there are those which are essentially descriptions and chronologies of the group's activities.[41] Then there are those that attempt to trace a Society's development and significance to its time, often illustrating a particular point or theory external to the group.[42] In both types there is generally some mention of the membership or the social composition of the group, usually anecdotal or biographical information in the former, and attempts at more analytical treatment in the latter. But these analyses need to be more rigourously done.

On the whole, this analysis bases upon very incomplete, suggestive material that is never methodically examined. For example, from reference to a few facts about individual members, the nature of the whole Society is deduced,[43] or from reference to a larger, but still not representative sample, the same sort of conclusion is attempted.[44] Biographical information on what is actually a small number

of people out of the total is given in detail, thus clouding the inadequacy of the sample,[45] and percentages of similarly small groups are presented as being significant.[46] The meanings of the social features of the group are not always sought in their own context, but in ours, thus giving anachronistic readings of the data.[47]

It is my contention, which I attempt to illustrate here, that the social analysis must be properly done, in detail and methodically, and the social nature of the group must be validly established. Until then, all generalizations can relate only to impressions, not data. In a sense, this is little more than a call for good history, and nothing very novel. Still, in that it is necessary to point out and rectify the situation, the fact remains that adequate studies of the social aspect of such groups are, on the whole, yet to be done. Bearing this in mind, in this thesis I attempt to reconstruct the social nature of the ESL as accurately as possible, drawing only such conclusions as the documentation warrants, and looking for a social configuration representative of the whole group.

Another, more general, methodological issue is the way in which the history of anthropology is done, particularly by anthropologists. Mention has been made earlier of the usual picture of Nineteenth Century anthropology, and how the information on the ESL and ASL stands to change it drastically. The implications of the findings on this period can now be expanded and explored. The significance of the

existence of two Societies concerned with the Science of Man goes beyond the point of correcting erroneous facts about Victorian anthropology. It has consequences for our view of the past and development of our discipline in general.

If we reassess the standard picture of this period in anthropology suspicions as to the picture's validity should arise, even without having, as we happen to have here, particular facts that contradict it. The notion of Great Men, either inspired or misguided, seems at the least simplistic. It gives a very heroic picture of our development, which has the function of reinforcing us in our struggles today, especially to the extent that our forebears were tackling the same problems that we face. But is this function fulfilled by a true reading of the past? In the particular case here, this does not seem to be so.

The next aspect of the standard interpretation, is that the essence of anthropological development was intellectual, and that it consisted of a succession of good ideas -- the Great Idea concept. This point of view tends to make one look at the ideas of the past divorced from their social and cultural context, and thus often from their original meaning. It also, like the Great Man approach, creates a utilitarian attitude towards the past, looking at it for what it said of use to us today, and not for what it was in its own terms.

This way of treating ideas, plus the view that the succeeding ideas are seen as cumulative progress, leads to a further point: the evaluative nature of the treatment of the past. Our anthropological predecessors are seen as "anticipating" or "failing to see" important points;[48] they are inspired or misguided, and accordingly venerated because or in spite of themselves. And yet, by whose criteria are they "misguided" or "inspired"? Further, when such judgments of our predecessors change so radically over time, one must be even more doubtful of the factual nature of the picture he is accepting. To illustrate, E.B. Tylor is today commonly seen as the Father of Anthropology:[49] T.H. Huxley, on the other hand, is hardly ever mentioned in conjuction with anthropology except as somehow lending his name to the annual Huxley Memorial Lecture of the RAI.[50] Yet the position of these men in anthropology today represents a complete reversal of an earlier view that Huxley was more important to the development of the discipline and Tylor was completely on the wrong track.[51]

Similarly, the idea that all the people interested in anthropology in the Nineteenth century were old-style evolutionists is again sweeping, simplistic, and suspect. The fault here is not a matter of having the wrong facts about our past; indeed, the facts are hardly known, and very seldom sought. The problem lies rather in the area of how we approach the past and do our history: the historiography of anthropology.

The various elements that we have discussed in the anthropological treatment of its past are not unique to that discipline. They are typical of the history of science in general. T.S. Kuhn has discussed the matter in his Structure of Scientific Revolutions, and pointed out the fallacy of such procedures, particularly the Great Man - Great Idea approach,[52] and the notion of cumulative progress with its attendant evaluative treatment of the past.[53] Historians have labelled the approach "the Whig Interpretation of history": it is history seen only from the point of view of the current victors, tracing their development to success.[54] This type of historiography has been so widespread in anthropology that J.W. Burrow, in his Evolution and Society, points out that he is specifically not doing a history of Victorian social anthropology as anthropologists would do it, and he goes farther to identify just that sort of history as Whiggish.[55]

We have suggested a function of such historiography for historians, inasmuch as they are given a type of moral support in their present-day concerns. Further, their work is given validation to the extent that they can demonstrate their direct intellectual descent from the past, and trace their current questions and thoughts to their discipline's founders. This function of Whig historiography may be of particular importance in anthropology if anthropology is, as Kuhn says of all the social sciences, in a pre- paradigmatic state.[56] By this Kuhn means that a discipline

is not truly a science, its practioners not having reached an agreedupon definition of their concerns and methods, and, therefore, still arguing as to the nature of the field.

It certainly strengthens the case of a given school if it can be seen as a direct descendant of the founders of the discipline, carrying the true and proper traditions to the present. Thus that "history is on our side" becomes an important claim to make in these circumstances, and hence provides a motivation to interpret the past in order to establish just that fact. A good example of this is Marvin Harris's Rise of Anthropological Theory in which he, a cultural evolutionist, sees the history of anthropology as being the history of the final emergence of the cultural evolutionary framework in anthropology.[57] But in his attempt to establish this, the history of the discipline suffers.

Those of schools which opposed his are written off as insignificant or villainous; thus, Boas becomes misdirected and unproductive,[58] and Kroeber, whose impact on anthropology was, says Harris, doomed by his primary training literature, is similarly passed over.[59] Harris's is a dangerous book, not just for its faulty history, but for its possible effect. It is easy to accept his interpretation as simply being the history of anthropology if one has no other knowledge of the field with which to compare it. Further, his book is so impressively large, and there are so few histories of anthropology, most of which only repeat the work of those preceding them,[60] that it is the more tempting to take

him as the Truth.

The question of the authority that the historian of anthropology, because of his rarity enjoys, leads us to another issue, that of intellectual responsibility. It is unfortunate that most novice anthropology students learn their history of anthropology from those textbooks which are the strongest adherents to the "standard version". As Kuhn has pointed out, such works have a great effect because they provide a student's first contact with the nature and basics of his discipline.[61] When texts present the type of story that we find in anthropological historiography, they not only perpetuate myths about the past, they also pass on a way of looking at the past that is to be discouraged. Poor history of anthropology, therefore, is especially bad when it appears in sources like these.

Surely anthropologists could spend more time determining what did happen in the past. Then they could decide whether it is relevant to today's concerns, and if it is use it, and if not transcend it. But that is a step to take after documenting the past, not while doing it. They could take this effort for reasons, still of a utilitarian nature, that George Stocking has pointed out. Anthropologists could save some time in their studies if they could look at the past and "...distinguish between the questions ... asked which have long since been answered, the questions which are still open, and the questions which we would no longer even recognize as such".[62] Beyond that, they might

have an interest in the past just possibly because it is appealing for what it was, and for what happened, which, so far, we hardly know.

There is a further reason for anthropologists doing better history and not making these mistakes, and that is that they are trained to do otherwise. Relativism and objectivity are values central to the discipline, at least when approaching primitive cultures. Why are these suspended when anthropologists consider their own past? Anthropologists today would not take a few single individuals and generalize about the related culture and time from these, with no reference to the actual context. Similarly, an anthropologist would not consider the words of a culture, for example, their oral tradition, apart from their setting. And what anthropologist would label the members of a primitive culture "misguided" or "far-seeing"? Such terms are obviously out of the question. Surely our values go beyond our dealings with primitive peoples.

Thus we must try to see the men of the past in their own terms, as products of their society and culture; to understand them we must also examine their social and cultural context. We must look for the meaning of their activity in this, and not in our own setting. In essence this means regarding our past as we would another culture. This is more than just a philosophical stand taken for the sake of argument or a methodological trick; it is also a logically tenable approach. Our past is just as much another culture,

removed from us in time, as is a primitive society, removed from us in space. We are not identical in either case. We are more closely related to our own past, being lineally descended from it and affected thus by its decisions and actions. Still, the culture that we experience today is one that has developed over time, and is not the same as that of our ancestors. In fact, because of the very closeness between our past and ourselves, with our resulting reactions favourable or negative, we have all the more reason to try to recognize and set aside our biases.

In this endeavour we can make use of techniques learned for the study of primitive cultures. One of these is, the holistic approach, and concern with all the aspects of a society together. Thus we are concerned with the structure and nature of the total society in question, and also, to this end, with documenting the various features of social life in that society or part of it that we are stressing. This latter is in itself a second technique typical to anthropology; the ethnographic approach. Applying these techniques to the case here, we are therefore trying to understand the ESL as a phenomenon of Victorian society, and also gathering, sorting and presenting detailed information on this group. Where necessary, we can refer specific points to the material on the larger Victorian setting in order to comprehend their meaning and significance. This thesis, in this sense, represents a test of the argument that the past is another culture and ought to be treated as such. At least, we

should not take the other position that our ancestors were similar enough to us to be perfectly comprehensible according to our own experiences and behaviour until we know this for certain.

This anthropological treatment of the past has an obviously wider application than the question of the history of anthropology. Our history in general could be approached this way, with advantages to both historians and anthropologists. Anthropologists would gain a new field in which to develop their ideas on the nature of Man, and historians would gain new techniques to apply to the past. And finally, in terms of the issue raised at the beginning: this approach has bearing upon the question of the relationship of history and anthropology. Here we are advocating, and this thesis will demonstrate, the application of anthropology to history. To these ends, therefore, this thesis is of relevance in the area of methodology.

III

There is yet a third area that this thesis bears upon, besides data and methodology, and that is the type of interpretation that best explains the topic here. The most usual explanation of the position of the ESL, its relationship with the ASL, and the reunion is given in terms of the intellectual aspects of the groups in question. With reference to the events leading to the formation of the RAI, issues are compared and contrasted, and the two groups are seen

as separated essentially by their different ideas on these topics. Thus the ESL is seen as: monogenist,[63] hence believing in the unity of the human species,[64] and as a consequence anti-racist;[65] accepting religion,[66] (although also accepting Darwin);[67] humanitarian and philanthropic;[68] and in favour of admitting women to the Society.[69] The ASL is regarded as representing the other side of the coin: polygenist,[70] believing in the existence of a number of species of Man,[71] and racist;[72] anti-religion[73] and pro-science,[74] although opposed to Darwin:[75] concerned only with study and not advocating a cause:[76] and opposed to allowing women in their Society.[79] And so it is argued that inimical beliefs kept the two Societies apart.

This is a very neat and understandable picture, but the fact alone that there are inconsistencies within each profile suggests that it may be overlooking something. That the ESL could support both religion and Darwin is one obvious inconsistency, and that the ASL could be both committed only to scholarly work, and yet racist, is another. Attempts have been made to iron out some of these problems. Stocking, for example, has offered an explanation of how the ESL could be the more favourable to Darwin.[78] But then one finds only one article in that Society's thirteen volumes of publications mentioning Darwin,[79] and wonders if there was that much of an impact made by him on this group, and that, even if the ASL opposed Darwin, did the ESL necessarily accept him? Further, other literature suggests that the

Society was quite impervious to his ideas, although still not actually opposed to them.[80] Similarly, the ESL also talked in favour of science, and indeed was itself ostensibly formed from the Aborigines Protection Society in order to study Man rather than to promote a cause.

A reconsideration of the positions of both Societies suggests that they were not equally ranged along a set of issues on which they held contrary opinions. For instance, the ASL published definite statement on its views of the inequality of races, and in particular the Negro's inferiority.[81] It also went farther to support the South in the American Civil War,[82] and Governor Eyre of Jamaica for his harsh suppression of an uprising of Negro farmers.[83] The ESL, however, did not launch a counter attack, condemn the ASL, or promote the opposite sides in the disputes that the ASL entered. Instead, it was silent.

There is only one reference in this group's journals that might indicate its taking a stand on the Negro's position in humanity, but the significance of this becomes apparent only after G. Stocking has pointed it out for us. That was the mention of a delay in publishing an article on Sierra Leone. The fact that Sierra Leone was a state of freed slaves, and the illustrations accompanying the article depicted the Negro in a very flattering way, that is, similar in appearane to Whites, indicates, says Stocking, the ESL's anti-racist views.[84] This is not at all obvious, however, from the little that the ESL reveals in its brief note

about the delay.[85] The controversy seems to have stemmed more from James Hunt who opposed the article and who shortly after left the Society to set up and lead the ASL, rather than its having been a major issue with two camps equally opposed.

Hence, the purely intellectual explanation is faced by various inconsistencies, which perhaps a more detailed study of the situation will explain and clear up. Then again, perhaps this type of explanation is not adequate for the case here. The question arises of how some people could belong to both Societies: perhaps they were not so strongly polarized on the issues as other, more vocal, members. There is the further problem of how union was possible, in terms of how the competing ideas were reconciled. This is one type of interpretation to keep in mind, then, when analyzing the situation here in more detail. Just what were the ideas of the groups, and to what extent were they different and incompatible? In this study we will document the detail of the ESL, thus establishing the intellectual nature of the Society. Then we can compare this with similar material on the ASL. For now, this latter will come from the literature and a cursory reading of the ASL's publications; a complete study of the matter must await a similar detailed treatment of that group.

There is a second type of explanation possible here which has been touched upon, but not developed, by George Stocking. He talks of three successive approaches to the

study of Man involved in the period in question, which he calls the "ethnological", "anthropological" and "evolutionary" traditions.[86] Elsewhere, he has related these to Kuhn's work on the structure of scientific revolutions, referring to them as "paradigms".[87] Thus he has suggested a different area to look at in considering the two Societies and their relationship. For although "paradigm" has to do mainly with the intellectual aspect of scientific thought, how knowledge is organized and interpreted, it has the further connation of the way in which such a framework comes to prevail. A paradigm is not just a way of seeing the world; it is a particular way of seeing the world that has won acceptance.

To Kuhn, change in scientific ideas is not an issue of the succession of one idea by a better one, as is the usual interpretation.[88] Rather, he stresses the importance of the relationship between scientific ideas and the community of scientific practitioners. Ideas have to be accepted by the community, not just be better: indeed, superiority is something in itself to be decided by the comminity, and not an inherent quality of the idea itself.[89] Thus the struggle in science for the ascendancy of an idea or set of ideas as a framework; that is, a paradigm, is to be seen as a struggle of the scientific community. Kuhn's study of science focusses upon the nature of this community and its workings rather than upon ideas as isolates. His is thus a type of explanation concerned more with structural or organizational elements.[90]

Other literature on the same issue which expands Kuhn's thesis may also be relevant here. Warren Hagstrom is concerned with the organization of science rather than ideas per se, and his book, The Scientific Community, deals with disputes among the members of a discipline, often resulting in the formation of a new discipline. Lyndsay Farrall has summarized his argument as follows: differences as to goals, methods, or theories produce deviant groups which can attempt either to reform the discipline, or to gain for themselves the recognition that the orthodox group enjoys. This may be done by setting up a new journal and appealing to authorities outside the discipline.[91]

A further extension of Kuhn's work is offered by M.D. King who gives a label to the outcome of such disputes: intellectual authority. He says that while Kuhn identifies the arguments over paradigms as a part of the scientific community, he does not carry the implication of these to its logical end.[92] Kuhn talks of the succession of one paradigm by another, the result of a scientific revolution, only in terms of a religious conversion or gestalt switch, thus effectively removing the question to the realms of the unanalysable and undiscussable.[93] King, however, feels that its significance lies within our grasp. The outcome of a scientific revolution is the intellectual authority accorded to the successful paradigm, and, by extension, to its upholders.[94] It has gained, by winning, the right to define the field of study, to decide what questions are important and how to

pursue them, and how to interpret the resulting discoveries. It can thus license or censor practitioners in the field according to how closely they follow its model. It has become the new orthodoxy.[95]

This type of explanation may be appropriate to the case under examination here. Possibly the two Societies were involved in a struggle over their different views of Man, the outcome of which would decide which group would define the study of anthropology. The differences between them then were less a matter of particular ideas then something more structural, having to do with what types of questions and theories were valid and important, and thus how anthropology was to be organized and carried out. From the general picture of the ESL-ASL dispute, an interpretation along these lines seems plausible. The ASL did set up its own journal, and it claimed to be more concerned with true science. Perhaps a closer look at the ESL will reveal similar evidence of the struggle as that Society experienced it, and more details as to its nature and outcome. Possibly too, this overall explanation will be more satisfactory than a solely intellectual one.

Using this framework, however, requires some caution, for it involves a fair amount of extrapolation. Anthropology at the time we are studying was not a science in Kuhn's sense; indeed, as we have pointed out above, Kuhn thinks that all the social sciences today are still in the pre-paradigmatic state, and not proper sciences. Strictly speaking then,

Kuhn, and King who carries on from him, cannot be applied to the case in question here. Still, Kuhn does allow for some wider application of his argument, saying that similar developments in fields outside science are not impossible.[96] Similarly, Hagstrom defines the boundaries of his work very precisely. He is concerned with the scientific community only, which he sees as a Twentieth Century phenomenon, and then only in the experimental sciences.[97] Thus Nineteenth Century anthropology is not (by his narrow definition) a discipline. We must therefore at least be careful in saying that the developments we are considering directly illustrate a Kuhnian framework, but to the extent that they manifest similar patterns, reference to this type of explanation is valid for generalizations about the significance of the events taking place.

In both types of explanation discussed thus far, the intellectual and the structural, the concern is with the scientific community only: the relationships within the group of men in the particular associations, and the ideas that these groups produced. But there is also the question of the relationship of the community to the larger one: the position of the group members in Victorian society. This is an aspect that Kuhn and Hagstome do not deal with, as they regard the scientific community as a closed one, and do not relate it to the outside world.[98] Other historians of science argue similarly,[99] and possibly today, with science such as well established, highly specialized profession,

such is indeed the case. However, it is highly unlikely that this was so in Nineteenth Century England, when science was not a profession,[100] barely a discipline in universities,[101] and studies in scientific societies, largely by amateurs[102] whose vocations were in other unrelated areas. The chance to do science at this time, moreover, was closely related to one's social position, as, excepting a very small group of paid, full-time scientists,[103] only those with the means, and therefore the leisure, could pursue scientific inquiries.[104]

Thus we have a third framework of explanation with which to regard the ESL: a social one. In this we are concerned with the relationship of the group to the larger society, and how their composition was reflected in the work they did. There is more reason in this study to consider this type of framework, in the light of the particular problem that emerges with the ESL: the discrepancy between the Society's reputation and the quality of its membership. In this case the tie with the larger social context cannot be ignored. Moreover, it may be that the ASL had a social composition of a different sort, and that this was a fundamental distinction between the two groups. Finally, perhaps this element is more important than any intellectual differences, or a particular structural struggle.

* * *

In sum, this thesis attempts to say something in each of three different areas. At the level of information, it offers material on a period of anthropology that is neither well known or well understood. Secondly, it provides information on a form of group typical of this period of English history. Next, it illustrates and tests certain methodological points about studies of such groups, the nature of the history of anthropology, and the possible application of anthropological techniques to a Society in our own past. Then, it bears on the types of explanations used in dealing with the particular problem at hand, the ESL and ASL, their relationship and reunion, and also the more general question of the differences between such groups, and the processes and issues involved. The next and final issue to discuss is the procedure by which this study was carried out.

My main source of information was the publications of the ESL: the Journal, covering the years 1844-53, the Transactions for 1861-69, and the new series Journal, for 1869-71. These volumes, thirteen in all, contain articles, mention of members and executive, mentions of meetings and the discussions that took place at them, and presidential addresses. Reports of the Annual Meetings are published in some volumes of the Transactions, and these sometimes include a list of the papers read to the Society in the year preceding. One also finds membership lists published in the Transactions for 1863 and 1866-71. The entries in these are divided according to type of membership, and they include, besides

names, addresses, and indication of social title, occupation, and membership in associations other than the ESL. In total, the journals tell about such things as the ideas and topics of interest to the Society, its aims and formal setup, numbers and distribution of members, and the social nature of the membership.

In the earlier journals, the selections cover a broad time span. The later publications seem increasingly better organized and more directly representative of the activity in the meetings. The dates of the articles are more or less chronological by the time of the second series of the Journal. A comparison of the tables of contents with the lists of articles read, as given in the yearly Report, show, for example, that in 1869 only four of the forty-three papers presented were not published,[105] and in 1870, five or thirty-eight were left out.[106] The type of material in the journals also changes over time, and one starts finding book reviews and sections, such as the Notes and Queries, for the discussion of anthropological questions. There are also some obituaries, although these were published only for those who made particularly significant contributions to the Society or to ethnology.[107] The yearly Reports, which exist for 1868-70 include a statement of the budget, which is useful for establishing the financial situation of the ESL. The presidential addresses, too, often mention the Society's finances.

These volumes furnished most of the information analyzed here on the ESL. They are not complete sources, and this fact must be recognized and taken into account. Where I could, I supplemented them with other material, following elsewhere leads that emerged from the journals. In the least one can note the various drawbacks and gaps, and consider their effect on the thesis. One problem is how much of the information published was specifically selected, and how much was the result of accident. To what extent do the journals mirror the ESL, and how much allowance should one make for errors? For instance, a number of the Society's members were also in the ASL, but of the 648 names of people that appear in the former, only nine are described as FASL. A list of the founding members of the ASL, on the other hand, give seventy-six of the ESL members.[108] Who was wrong here, and, if the ESL, was this deliberate omission or just oversight? There is also the question of the articles selected for publication. Were they included because they were thought controversial or significant, or were they the only ones submitted to the editor? Then, how much social data has been omitted: do the journals tell us all there is to know about a person, or only what seems most impressive, or again, only what the editor was able to find out?

Thus, interpreting the ESL from its own publications requires awareness of the problems involved. More documentary material on the Society would fill in some of the gaps. The RAI in London does have a copy of the Council Minutes,

and there is manuscript material in various archives in Britain. While I was unable to go to see these for myself, I did look at the notes of one who had, Douglas Lorimer, who worked on the papers of John Lubbock, Lord Avebury, and the Huxley and Wallace collections, in writing a thesis on Victorian attitudes toward the Negro. Periodically, I shall refer to his notes to document certain ideas here. One cannot rely very heavily on such a source, but where it does enlighten the material under discussion, it is useful to include. I utilized his notes on the ESL Minutes to help establish the number and times of meetings, and also the Society's financial situation. I also noted certain very revealing quotes from letters of Huxley, Wallace and Lubbock on the state of the ESL, and the negotiations for union.

My major primary sources therefore came from the Society itself. I augmented these to some extent with some other contemporary sources, particularly Nineteenth Century journals, and some novels. For the rest, I referred to Twentieth Century historical treatments, - both in general works and in ones devoted to specific topics - and biographies and biographical dictionaries. However, I did not use these additional sources directly for biographical data, but rather to explain the details from the journals. Thus they furnished information of the social and cultural context in which the ESL existed, and to which I referred for the precise meaning of the various facts presented the Society's journals.

This is, to a certain extent, a departure from how social material is gathered in most studies of Societies of this sort, particularly for my not using biographical dictionaries for biographical information.[109] Part of the reason for this was simply economic, the lacking of the time and funds to research the 648 members of the ESL in such detail. But besides some necessity, there was also reasoning involved in this step. The ESL's journals furnish a great deal of social information: almost every name mentioned has additional social data given with it. This is not necessarily the case with other Societies, and therefore their historians are forced to consult biographical dictionaries for the necessary detail. In doing so, however, one is automatically selecting to study a certain type of man, and possibly talking about a very small number of the total group. Biographical dictionaries only contain men of note, of achievement and fame, and unless a Society has a high representation of these, one will learn very little about the whole group.

Had I time to deal with more sources, there are various ones I would examine. First I would add the information from the dictionaries and biographies to that of the journals. Then, I would look into such things as census data, university registration lists, Post Office directories, and medical registers. These would add in particular the information on the members, relating to the various aspects of social life. It would also be useful to check the names of executive

and ordinary members of various other associations to see in which ones, and of which type of groups, the ESL members appear. Much of this information is not in the ESL's journals, and the chance is that the members were not associated with these various groups. However, allowing for lack of information and errors creating the journals' picture, it is also possible that the ESL members were active in these other fields. There is the final and further question of inter-relationships between the members of the group. More research would establish more clearly the ties of blood and marriage, and thus the amount of interaction outside the concerns of ethnology. For an exhaustive study, thus, the material can be added to, but for now, at least, what we have is sufficient to the purposes of the thesis.

I have examined the material on the ESL with respect to three main categories: its thoughts and interests, its formal organizational aspect, and its social composition. The data and arguments relevant to each aspect are presented in the body of the thesis as follows:

Chapter 2:	aims, purposes, topics discussed, issues and ideas of the ESL.
Chapter 3:	development of the Society from its origins, numbers distribution, offices, finances.
Chapters 4 and 5:	social composition - social data on the members and its significance, overall nature of the membership of the ESL.

The approach in this is in keeping with what I have advocated above, the application of anthropology to history. This is intended to be an holistic study, looking at the group in its different aspects, as a part of a larger social and cultural context. It is also an ethnographic treatment of the group, describing it as a manifestation of a culture different to our own, and, as such, a study in which the detail in itself, for documenting life in another culture, is of interest. Lastly, the particular divisions in this ethnographic account were chosen to correspond with the areas usually focussed upon by the different frameworks of explanation discussed above. Thus the information in Chapter 2 is essentially that which one would stress for a primarily intellectual explanation. That in Chapter 3 relates to the structural type of explanation, and that in Chapters 4 & 5 furnishes the material relevant to an explanation stressing the social nature of such a group. At the end of the ethnographic study, divided in this way, we can see which, if any, of these aspects predominates, thus determining which type of explanation is most valid.

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(✓) All the Year Round
The Argosy
✓✓ The Athenaeum
Belgravia
Bentley's Miscellany
✓ Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine
✓ Chamber's Edinburgh Journal
✓ Cornhill Magazine
✓ Contemporary Review
Country Life
Edinburgh Monthly Review
Family Economist
Foreign Quarterly Review
✓ Fortnightly Review
✓ Fraser's Magazine
✓✓ Gentleman's Magazine
(✓) Good Words
(✓) Household Words
(✓) Penny Magazine
✓ Macmillan's Magazine
Monthly Review
Mirror
✓ National Review
New Monthly Magazine
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88. Kuhn, T.S. — Structure of Scientific Revolutions: 95.
cf. King, M.D. — "Reason, tradition and the progressiveness of science" History and Theory, 1971, v.10:3-4, 5-7.

89. cf. Kuhn, T.S. — "Postscript--1969":176.

90. Ibid:176-181
cf Ben-David, Joseph — The Scientist's Role in Society: A Comparative Study. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971:2-6.

91. Farrall, L. — op. cit:185 ff
cf. Hagstrom, Warren — The Scientific Community. New York: Basic Books, 1965, Chapter 4.

92. King, M.D. — op. cit: 21-29.

93. Ibid.: 28-9
cf Kuhn, T.S. — Structure: 110-134.

94. King, M.C. — op. cit: 5, 19-32.

95. cf Kuhn, T.S. — Structure: 7, 11, 18-19, 49, 102, 108.

96. Kuhn, T.S. — "Postscript--1969": 208-9.

97. Hagstrom, Warren — op. cit.:1.

98. Ibid.
Kuhn, T.S. — "Postscript--1969":176-8.

99. cf. Ben-David, Joseph — op. cit: 7-14, and references.

100. Cardwell, D.S.L. — The Organization of Science in England: A Retrospect. London: William Heineman Ltd., 1957:192.

101. Roderick, G.W. — The Emergence of a Scientific Society in England 1800-1965. London: Macmillan, 1967:11.

102. Ibid.:13
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104. Cardwell:192
Reader, W.J. — Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966:100ff, 32-3.

105. Ethnological Society of London
Report, Annual Meeting, May 1869
ESJ, n.s. 1869, v.1:vii-iv.

106. Ibid. — Report, Annual Meeting, May 1870, ESJ nsv2 1870:x-xii.

107. Ethnological Society of London
Transactions. 1868, v.5:341.

Chapter 2: The ESL: History, Aims and Interests

The beginnings of the ESL can be traced to the movement for the abolition of slavery.[1] Various Englishmen, especially Evangelicals and Quakers, agitated for the end of the African slave trade and slavery in the British colonies, until they achieved success in 1833.[2] The following year, a number of these men formed the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aborigines to ensure that the new law was being properly observed.[3] They acted as a pressure group on behalf of native peoples with whom England had dealings. When in 1837 the Committee's particular work was ended, some of its members formed the Aborigines' Protection Society to continue vigilance in native affairs.[4] Over time, the APS's concerns seemed to divide into two areas. There was the political question of the natives' treatment, and the scholarly one of their origins and nature. By 1843 these interests had diverged sufficiently to warrant the establishment of another Society, and in that year the ESL was born.[5]

The prime mover in this was Thomas Hodgkin, a Quaker doctor who had been in the forefront of the abolition movement and in the establishment of the APS.[6] He favoured the scientist camp of the APS, having been favourably impressed by the Ethnological Society of Paris, which had gone beyond being merely a French version of the APS and was more involved in studying the peoples with which it dealt.[7] As the years went on, it seemed increasingly to Hodgkin and others that

the APS was not having much political impact. Indeed, the Society seemed to recognize this fact itself when in 1842 it changed its published aim from protecting the aborigines to recording their history.[8] Yet despite this change, there were still those who found the work of the APS unsatisfactory for their interests, and a group of twenty-three men met in Hodgkin's home in February 1843 to set up the ESL.[9]

There is a strong possibility that this new Society was not concerned merely with disinterested study. The members' humanitarian views were an important part of their existence, and likely furnished a guideline to their research. For instance, a major issue of this time was that of monogenesis vs. polygenesis.[10] Was Mankind created at one time, and therefore of one species, or had there been more than one Creation, and thus were there different species of human life? This question had important implications for one's view of other races: were they also Man, also "us", and to be treated accordingly, or were they something else, "others", and therefore beyond the pale?

The ESL stated its view on this in the first volume of its Journal:

> ...we may be able to collect the colours of the prism, each of them rich and beautiful, into the pure ray of light, and confirm by inductive science the cherished unity of mankind....[11]

Thus, the Society's motivation was not wholly impartial.

In 1863 the complaint of inadequate science was brought against this new body.[12] Led by James Hunt, the former

Honorary Secretary of the ESL, eleven men left to form the Anthropological Society of London.[13] Besides the scientific question, there were also other issues cited for the split. Disagreements over the place of Negroes, the Irish question, and the admission of women to meetings were among them.[14] There was also a disagreement with the line of study that the ESL favoured, centering largely on philological questions and methodology.[15] The ASL founders wanted a more physical and anatomical approach.[16] This stemmed perhaps from their professional interests as doctors. Hunt himself was a physician, trained in the highly-regarded Scottish system.[17]

However, it is not clear just how much this move represented intellectual differences and how much it was a matter of personalities. There were a number of people who held memberships in both Societies, intellectual conflicts apparently notwithstanding. There were even those who served on the executive of both Societies.[18] Yet, at the same time, there were published expressions of opposition and even antagonism between the two.[19] Most of these emanated from the ASL, and many of these were anonymous. Later, they were revealed as written by Hunt, who was editor of the ASL's publication, as well as the Society's president.[20] It is likely that reunion of the two Societies in 1871 was facilitated by Hunt's death in 1868 and that the reconciliation was also more than an intellectual matter.[21]

As far as public expressions of its ideas went, the ASL presented itself as favouring polygenesis in contrast

to the other Society's support of monogenesis.[22] By implication, and in fact, this group believed in the differential values of different races, and in particular the inferiority of the Negro.[23] It supported Governor's Eyre's suppression of the uprising of Black farmers in Jamaica in 1866.[24] The ASL also favoured the South in the American Civil War.[25] It had a smaller clique in it, of dubious academic character, called the Cannibal Clique. This group met in an Italian restaurant off Leicester Square, and were brought to order by a mace carved in the shape of a Negro head.[26] The Society offended the Christian Union, its neighbours across the road, when they displayed the skeleton of a savage in their front window.[27] Despite its apparent dedication to science, the ASL as a whole was regarded as a group of outcasts in the legitimate scientific world. Huxley described them at different times as "quacks" and "that nest of imposters",[28] Joseph Hooker was them as "...a sort of Haymarket to which the demi-monde of science gravitated...".[29] Sir John Lubbock, who was the first president of the united Societies, advised the French archaeologist Morlot to have nothing to do with them.[30]

There was some problem of where the two Societies did actually fit into the larger world of British science. For all its drawbacks, the ASL was an extremely vigorous and prolific group, and did seem to have the organization and attitudes that could be productive in the development of a science of Man.[31] The ESL, the more orthodox and acceptable

of the two, was somewhat disappointing. Huxley, writing of them to Lubbock in 1867, said that they were "simply an organized stupidity".[32] With time, it appears that such scientists came to favour the union of the two Societies as a way of preserving the best of both and sloughing off the worst.[33] Two infant Societies studying the science of Man were weak and repetitive, whereas one might make a strong start in an important new field.[34] Indeed there were men in both Societies who were interested in union. Mention of such was actually made the year after the ASL was formed[35] and arose again throughout the 1860's.[36]

In 1868 negotiations were formally opened.[37] They were beset by much argument and disagreement, one of the biggest problems being the choice of a name. "Anthropology" was anathema to many of the ethnologists, both as being presumptuous, and for its obvious connections with the ASL.[38] Discussion broke down over this issue, but with much effort on the part of various people, and not a small amount of backroom dealing, talks were resumed in 1869.[39] In 1871 an agreement was finally reached, the offending name was accepted, and the two Societies were united as the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Such in most general terms was the life of the ESL from its birth till its end with the creation of the RAI. We can now look in more detail at the years in which it flourished, turning to consider the aims and ideas of the group. Its prospectus expressed its concern as "the promotion

and diffusion of the most important and interesting branch of knowledge, that of man".[40] As we have noted, this study had as a by-product, and perhaps as a purpose, ideas about the true origin and nature of Man. Man could be explained as well as described, and explained scientifically, in ways that were compatible with the members' beliefs. To gain better understanding of how the study was to be carried out and of what results were expected, we can consider the ideas of its members as expressed in their writings, particularly in the Presidential addresses given at the Annual Meetings.

These writings noted the objective fact that native peoples around the world were dying or being killed off.[41] This situation was cause for some concern, although not quite for the same reasons that had prompted the formation of the APS: that is, to preserve and protect the aborigines.[42] The authors noted that the study of aboriginal races could afford ideas about what kind of being Man was in his basic state and about the origins of various cultural traits.[43] With the passing of such peoples would go the valuable chance of thus exploring the nature of Man.

There were also larger issues to consider. The questions of monogenesis, polygenesis, and the unity of the human species have been noted.[44] There was also the issue of the antiquity of Man. The thoughts on this were constantly being revised as geological discoveries indicated that the world was a great deal older than the time worked out according

to the Biblical record.[45] This in turn raised the question of the validity of the Bible, and led into the whole problem of the relations of religion and science. Were they antagonistic, mutually exclusive frameworks of explanation, or was there some way in which they could be reconciled?[46] The study of aboriginal peoples, and also of the evidence of prehistoric man from the numerous fossil finds of this period[47] would help in untangling these problems. The ESL authors expressed their own views on these issues. Their belief in monogenesis has already been mentioned, and others echoed the passage quoted above in support of the unity of the species.[48]

The outcome of ethnological study would be a better understanding of the other members of the human family. Dieffenbach's statement on this amounts to a plea to overcome ethnocentrism:

> If we have examined, step by step, the physical history of the human race -- if we have entered the wigwam of the Red Indian, and followed the hunter in obtaining the scanty means of his precarious existence-- if we have endured and Arctic winter in the snow hut of the Esquimaux and have ceased to sneer at him when we find that no other life was possible under the circumstances in which he is placed -- in one word, if we have traced Humanity through all the forms, simple and complicated, rude and civilized and have found that in each state there is something recommendable, then, and not till then shall we treat with consideration those who differ from us, instead of warring against individualities and forms which are not the same as our own.[49]

On the question of the geological finds and the accuracy of the Bible, Hodgkin pointed out in 1843-4 that the significance of the finds were still highly speculative and inconclusive.[50] He said, however, that "religion has nothing to fear from the strictest scrutinizing of the characters and history of the varieties of mankind, or from the geological study of the globe on which they belong".[51] Cull added that one should recognize the limits of the Bible; for example, there is no mention of the New World, yet that does not make the account inaccurate.[52] It had to be taken for what it was, an ancient history. It was religion, not ethnography, and could not be used as a guide or evidence of what Man is.[53] Brodie also said that ethnology did not contradict but rather confirmed the Biblical record.[54] The ESL's attitude toward religion and science is summed up in Cull's quotation of Spurzheim:

> ... genuine philosophy and genuine religion are very nearly akin. The one explores the elder volume of nature -- the other investigates the later volume of Divine revelation. Both unite in their practical results; both promote the present improvement of man; both conduce to his ultimate felicity.[55]

A number of the men who wrote on ethnology and its potential in solving such problems noted the opportune position that British ethnologists occupied. Britain as a successful trading nation was in contact with many uncivilized parts of the world, and so was in a natural position to meet different races and gather information on them.[56] She was also involved with native people through her military

and naval activities and through the energies of the various exploring parties and individual adventurers who travelled the globe.[57]

There was then a place for ethnology, and those writing on the matter made clear that this was not to be merely another name for any other study that was already engaged in. Although similar to various other fields of research, ethnology was still unique. It was like natural history in that it looked at structural features and changes in living creatures, and was attempting to arrive at basic laws.[58] But it was not only natural history, for it dealt with what has been and not only with what is.[59] In this way, it had more in common with archaeology and history. Also, it was concerned with Man as a group, a people, a nation, and a variety, and not only as a mental and physical constitution.[60]

Some of ethnology's finds were like those of geology, in dealing with the past and changes over time.[61] Still, it was more than geology because it also used history and the history of language as important parts of its work.[62] It was concerned with physiology, anatomy, craniology and phrenology in dealing with the physical nature of man,[63] but it went beyond looking at man merely as a physical phenomenon.[64] Nevertheless, the authors did not deny ethnology's links with these fields, and they urged a co-operation between the various approaches to the study of man to arrive at a complete understanding of the subject.[65]

This new and necessary science of man would be served by the ESL. Just as Britain was the ideal place for the development of ethnology, so London, as the hub of Britain, was the perfect home for a Society devoted to that study.[66] The ESL would provide a gathering-place and a forum for men interested in ethnology to air their ideas.[67] It could be a repository for material collected on the different races of the world, whether written or artifact.[68] It could stimulate new researches by generating questions to be answered on the different aspects of human life, and perhaps by giving financial aid to those gathering such information.[69] Through publications the Society could inform others of developments in the field, and record the ideas of various ethnologists.[70]

The work done by the ESL was to reach outside its own doors and the concerns of its members. It would still be associated with those interested in protecting the natives, by furnishing information to groups such as the APS.[71] It could help travellers in understanding the peoples they met, and would be of use to men of commerce who had to trade with native peoples.[72] The knowledge and analyses it imparted would be of use to men in the Colonies who were charged with looking after the natives.[73] Lastly, it could make the statesman's lot easier in informing him about those for whom he had to design policies.[74] Ethnology was a study, thus claimed the ethnologists, that was sorely needed.

The study was intended to be carried out as thoroughly

as possible. The Society was concerned with the many varieties of human physical and cultural forms that were to be found over the world.[75] A cursory glance at the countries mentioned in the yearly assessment of ethnological work shows that this exhaustive approach was taken seriously. The Report for 1844, for example, mentions work done on the following areas and countries,: Europe, Asia, Russia, Africa, America, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, Melanesia.[76] These reports also discussed the work done in studies related to ethnology such as philology, craniology, paleography, geology, music, anatomy, etc.[77] Thus, the members met with ideas outside their immediate area of interest. They also were informed of the work done by ethnologists in other countries to further their knowledge of Man.[78]

Besides looking at the many forms of human life, the ESL also considered its many parts. In the first volume of the Journal, Dieffenbach talked of studying such things as the fecundity of different races, their muscular strength, durability, longevity and natural diseases. Then he discussed more strictly cultural questions such as body markings, food, medicine, domesticated animals and plants, clothing, shelter, language, and music.[79] Others repeated and enlarged this list, adding such features as intellectual capacity, moral qualities, form of government, degree of civilization, religion, influence of environment, history, and so on. In 1839 a paper by Prichard on extinct races prompted the British Association to produce A Manual of Ethnological

Inquiry to aid in learning about what aboriginal peoples were left in the world.[81] The committee that drew up the questions included Hodgkin and Cull, and the result was the ancestor of today's Notes and Queries. Then as now this work was intended to guide travellers, sailors, consuls, merchants, etc., in collecting data on different races. Also, it would serve to promote a certain standardization in tye type of material gathered, thus making possible accurate comparative studies.

In 1851, the ESL printed the manual in its own publication. It was fourteen pages long, and included the following main headings: physical character - for example, size, complexion, etc. - language, individual and family life, buildings and monuments, works of art, domestic animals, government and law, geography and statistics, social relations, religion, superstitions, etc.[82] From time to time it was revised as new questions arose. The manual stated in a clear and detailed form just what questions the ethnologist was to consider, and, it might be noted, herein lay the seeds of systematic fieldwork.

Equipped with a delineation of the areas they were studying and the specific questions they were asking, the ethnologists also defined two dimensions along which they were going to proceed. First, there was the matter of a detailed examination of a people's life in terms of the aspects described above. This was an attempt to document their present-day existence as fully as possible, much like

the synchronic studies done by anthropologists today. Then there was the consideration of these people in a temporal framework. How did they develop over time? What were the origins and causes of their present-day lifestyles? In like manner, the general study of mankind as a whole was to proceed. One needed to understand contemporary Man in his many forms, and also the origins and development of hyman life.[83]

As far as a specific methodology for answering these questions went, the ethnologists had little to say. The need for systematic investigation was pointed out,[84] and there was some awareness of how work was done in other fields.[85] One author even advocated a particular type of reasoning, induction, as the way to carry out the science of Man.[86] But there was no talk of such things as controlled studies, validity tests or statistical accuracy.

Equally, although science had been the issue in the creating of the ESL and later in the splitting off of the ASL, there was almost no serious discussion of ethnology as a science and what scientific studies entailed. Science seems to have been more important in an evaluative sense than in a practical one. It was relegated to the role of a Good Thing, and ethnology was to be scientific in order to share in that goodness. When it did not seem to measure up to what some people thought science should be, it was criticized accordingly. John Crawfurd was a guiding light in the ESL, president for four terms, vice-president for

three, and, with his fory-seven different contributions to the publications, the most active of any of the ESL members.[87] Nevertheless, Huxley deprecated Crawfurd because he did not meet Huxley's particular requirements of science:

> ...Crawfurd is dragging Ethnology through the dust whenever he talks about it -- I have every respect for the weakness of a really able and distinguished man who is past work but it is getting too bad.[88]

Similarly, under Huxley's presidency the Society was reorganized to render it more scientific.[89] The reunion of the two Societies, of course, was also seen as a victory for Science.[90]

Still, besides invoking its name and worth, there was little time spent in the ESL on discussion of just what "Science" was, and how one would actually do good science. Only one article in the ESL's Journal touched on the subject. T.S. Prideaux, in 1864, argued for more precise definitions of terms and a typology of races so that ethnologists would be speaking a common language. He called for more order and rigour in the collecting of data as the basis of generalizations to be made about Man. He advocated the establishment of a museum of specimens and a library of coloured engravings to further empirical studies. He wondered what the laws were in this science of Man, and argued for the inductive method as the way to arrive at them. Lastly, he cautioned that the student of Man must recognize any personal biases and set them aside -- an early condemnation of ethnocentricism. But his was the

lone voice in almost thirty years of publication.[91]

We can examine the ESL's interests and aims in terms of the work that the Society did. This involves both the topics and geographical areas that the ESL discussed over the years.[92] Table I deals with the topics discussed by the Society, summarized by year and category. The items analyzed in this chart are the entries in the ESL publications. On the whole these are articles, usually papers read at meetings, that were then published. Besides these, the entries include book reviews, annual reports, "Notes and Queries", a question-and-answer feature, and lists of the Society's executive.

The categories of the table have been defined as follows: column one, "Ethnography & Ethnographic" refers to articles dealing with the customs and life style of a total culture or some of its aspects. This includes such features as religion, art, poetry, environment, kinship, government, etc. "Ethnology" is applied to articles that present theory drawn from such ethnographic material. (Both this category and the one preceding have been applied only to entries dealing with peoples contemporaneous to the ethnologists doing the study.) Articles about ethnology itself as an actual field of study, an incipient discipline, the ESL, or particular ethnologists, fall into the third category. "Philology, Language, Linguistics" refers to writing about actual languages or the study of linguistics. "Physical, Anatomy, Races" is applied to articles dealing with the physical features

of a people, physiological and anatomical characteristics, and race defined physically rather than culturally. "Archaeology" refers to excavations, actual finds, and reports on such. "Pre-history, History" is applied to information on Man's past found in written and unwritten documents.

Analyzing these these figures, one finds that columns 1-3, which are very similar in nature, combined make up the bulk of the papers. Ethnography is consistently strong over the years, with ethnology becoming of importance in the 1860's. Philology wanes in this decade while archaeology and prehistory increase. This suggests a change in the interests of the Society, and in the men writing articles and in control. It also suggests a growing sympathy with the physical anthropological interests of the ASL, for archaeological finds involve fossils as well as artifacts, and a technique for interpreting such finds would be useful to scholars of both areas. Prehistory is naturally allied with archaeology, dealing as it does with the time period in which the finds were deposited. The decline in philology would show the lessening influence of the Prichardian strain of ethnology, again bringing the ESL closer to the other Society.

The growth and decline of topics in physical anthropology from 1861-1863 also seems significant. I would interpret the increase as evidence of interests that were to lead to the splitting off of the ASL, inimical as they were in concern and approach to philology and ethnology.

Table I: Topics Discussed by the ESL

N.b. There were no articles published between 1854 and 1861.

Column #	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	
Date	Ethnog. Ethnog's	Ethnol.	re Ethnol ESL Ethnol'ts	Phil. Lang. Ling.	Phys. Anat. Race	Archaeol.	Prehist. Hist.	Total per year
1844	9	0	1	1	0	0	0	11
1845	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	4
1846	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
1847	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	4
1848	1	0	5	1	0	0	1	8
1849	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	5
1850	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
1851	9	1	3	2	1	1	1	18
1852	4	0	1	6	4	0	1	16
1853	4	0	1	5	2	0	1	13
1854	4	0	2	2	1	1	1	11
1861	13	7	1	1	10	0	1	33
1862	6	5	1	4	7	6	0	28
1863	5	4	0	0	1	0	0	10
1864	7	4	2	1	2	2	3	21
1865	8	4	1	1	2	4	2	22
1866	9	8	4	2	1	5	5	34
1867	12	9	2	1	3	1	2	30
1868	13	9	2	1	2	4	2	33
1869	15	9	2	2	3	15	4	50
1870	4	9	3	0	2	16	5	39

The 1863 figure could thus show the interest in physical studies that remained once the ASL members had departed. Thus, the topics studied are indicative of the state of the Society, as well as showing the interests of its members.

We may also learn about the Society's concerns by examing the geographical areas that it dealt with. Table II is also arranged by year and category. As in Table I, each item here is a Journal entry. Not every journal entry dealt with a particular place or people, and so one may find a discrepancy between the number of items given for a year and the actual total of journal entries for the same year. Where more than once country was referred to, the item was coded under "various". The categories on the chart correspond to those numbered on the accompanying map. They had to be chosen somewhat arbitrarily, since boundaries and national units change frequently. They are meant, however, essentially to facilitate the locating of peoples discussed on the map so that one may readily discover what parts of the world were most important to the ESL. To this end the world has been divided as follows: 1. Britain 2. Continental Europe and Canary Islands 3. Middle East and Northern Africa 4. Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Kashmir 5. Mongolia 6. South Asia 7. East Asia 8. Southeast Asia 9. the Philippines 10. Pacific Islands 11. Australia and New Zealand 12. Black Sub-Saharan Africa 13. North America

Map 1: Geographical Areas Discussed by the ESL

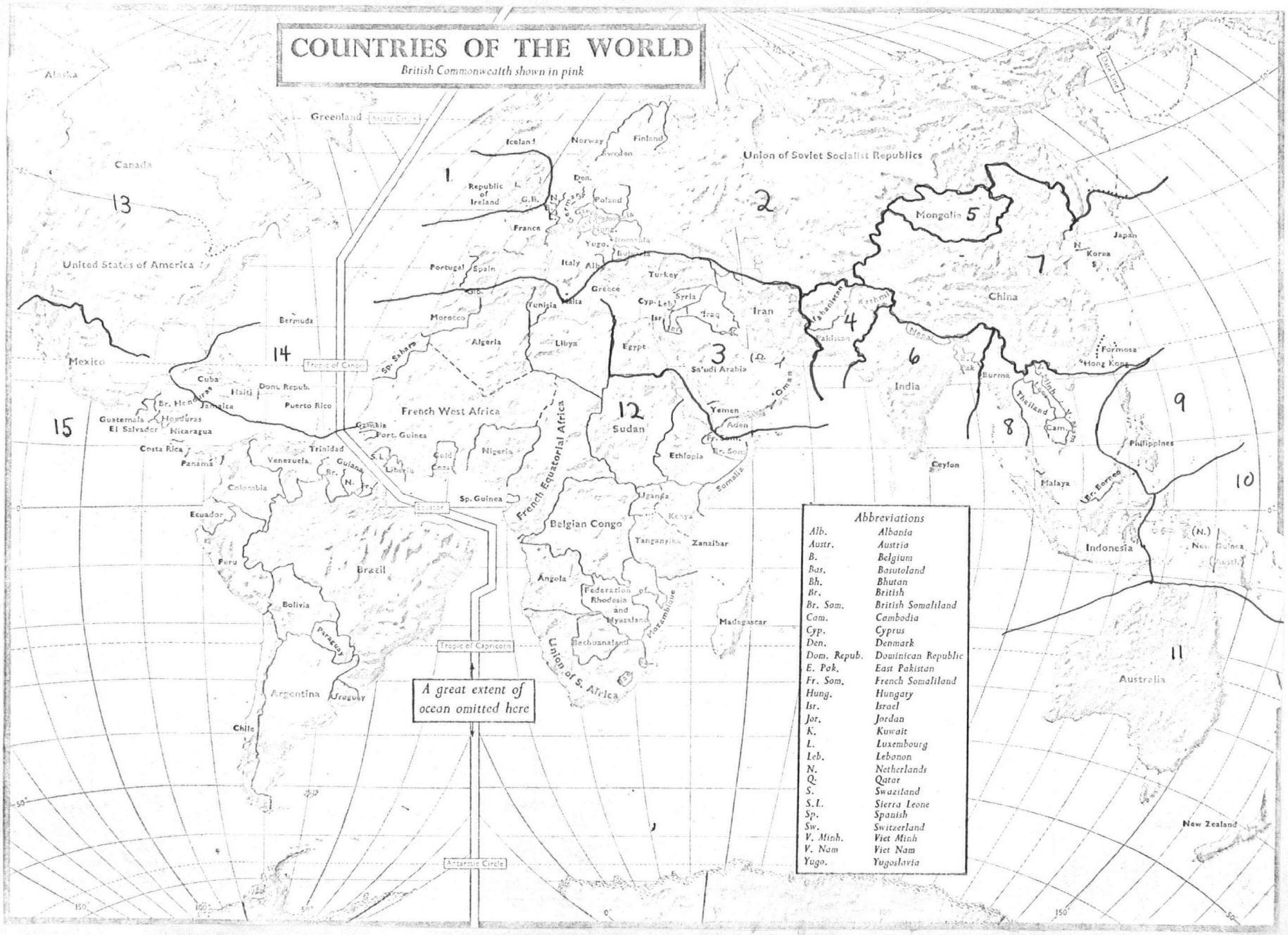

Table II: Geographical Areas Discussed by the ESL.

Date	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	total
1844	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	11
1845	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
1846	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
1847	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
1848	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	8
1849	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	5
1850	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
1851	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	18
1852	2	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	16
1853	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	13
1854	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	11
1861	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	4	2	0	1	11	33
1862	3	1	2	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	4	9	28
1863	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	5	10
1864	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	7	21
1865	3	1	2	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	2	3	22
1866	4	4	3	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	7	34
1867	0	3	1	0	0	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	9	30
1868	3	5	0	0	0	4	3	2	0	0	0	3	3	0	1	6	33
1869	6	2	2	1	0	10	3	0	0	1	4	4	5	0	1	4	55
1870	18	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	5	39
total	51	33	16	1	1	40	12	13	1	4	19	35	24	3	20	75	

14. the Caribbean, and 15. Latin America.

One might not expect an ethnological society in Great Britain where there were no aboriginal peoples to spend most of its time on its own natives, but this seems to have been the case. Many of the articles on Britain had to do with archaeological finds in that nation. Here again the Society's work indicates the directions in which its interests were leading it. Next in importance came Britain's most significant Imperial possessions under Victoria: India and Ceylon; and then the other Colonies of British North America, Australia and New Zealand. Of interest too, are the number of items concerning Latin America and the Far East. Although not significant in the Empire until a slightly later date, Africa also received much attention. It appears then, that the ESL studied not just interesting peoples, or sought out ones of particular scientific note. Its interests seemed to have followed very closely those of its country.

Thus far this chapter has dealt with the substance of the ESL's concerns. It remains now to look at who and how many of the Society's members contributed to the discussion of the various issues and topics that have been examined above. The findings on participation are given in the following tables. The information for these comes again from the journals and is of two types: mention in the text of the journals and mention in the membership lists. Of the 648 ESL members, one finds 234 names that

Table III: Participation of ESL Members by Type of Contribution

	0	1 only		2		3		4		5
	234	New	125	N & W	11	D,W,S,	1	D,P,W,S,	1	1
		Discuss	25	N & P	6	N,P,S,	1	N,D,P,W,	6	
		Position	29	P & W	13	D,P,W,	13	N,P,W,S,	1	
		Write	143	D & W	14	N,D,P,	3			
		Submit	4	D & P	5	N,P,W,	1			
				W & S	2	N,D,W,	4			
				N & D	5					
total	234		326		56		23		8	1

appear in the membership lists only, and 174 that are found in the text of the journals only. The rest -- 240-- appear in both lists and journals.

In Table III, five types of participation have been distinguished. "N" means that a man is mentioned as becoming a new member. "D" means that the person took in a discussion at a meeting. "P" means that the member is listed as occupying a particular position in the ESL's executive. "W" means that the member has published an article in the Society's journal, and "S" means that the person in question is noted as submitting an article, written by someone else, to be read before the ESL. Of these, N represents a minimal contribution, -- only taking membership in the Society --, while P denotes the exercise of power in the Society. W and D represent the contribution of ideas, and S the same to a lesser extent, in that the one in question has presented another's thinking to the Society.

Table III therefore presents the participation of the ESL members, broken down by these distinctions. The columns in this table take account of the fact that a man might participate in more than one way. Thus, for example, column 2 gives information on those who contributed in two different ways, noting the particular combinations of types of participation that occurred. Analyzing the participation by the different types separately produces the following results:

Table IV: Analysis of Participation of ESL Members: by Type

N	D	P	W	S
161	79	81	271	12

Thus, we can see that 414 of the members contributed in some way to the ESL and that the largest contribution was in ideas. Table V presents the number of times that the members participated, again broken down by the categories outlined above. N is omitted from here as of course one could become a new member only once.

Table V: Participation of the ESL Members by Number of Times Contributed

# Times per person	D	P	W	S
1	45	26	146	9
2-5	29	35	42	3
6-10	5	15	5	0
11-15	0	0	2	0
16-20	0	0	0	0
20-30	0	0	0	0
30-40	0	0	0	0
40-50	0	0	1 (47) (Crawfurd)	0

To recapitulate the main points, Chapter 2 has presented the purposes, interests and ideas of the ESL, and their changes over time. This could be compared, ultimately,

with a similarly detailed breakdown of the ASL's intellectual attributes for a complete study of the relationship of the two Societies. Of particular note here, in terms of the ESL's position among contemporary organizations, is how closely its aims and concerns were tied to those of the larger society. It was very much the result of England's situation in the mid-Victorian era that the study of ethnology could be pursued by its members, and was also attractive to them. Thanks to the country's internal conditions, its economic expansion, the resulting prosperity and increased leisure for those most fortunate, there were funds and time for travel and study. Thanks to England's international position, opportunity existed for the same fortunate few to meet primitive peoples, whether as tourists, businessmen, or representatives of the British government. Related to, and perhaps as a result of, Britain's situation both at home and abroad during the era, there was increased interest in the search for socio-scientific information, that saw the proliferation of groups centred around study of various sorts, from Working Men's Institutes to the Royal Institution. Ethnology was in this way a natural product of its times.

Further more, the ESL's ethnological work was not only an outgrowth of mid-Victorian society, it was also designed to feed back into that society. The presidential Addresses show the close association between the ESL's

interests and those of the Empire, in the justifications given for the Society's existence, such as: helping men of commerce to understand and deal with the natives and making the colonial administrator's task easier. The ESL's work was also closely involved with the concerns of Englishmen in their own country. The notable occupation of the ESL with British "primitives" and their own cultural beginnings mirrored a growing awareness in the English of themselves as a people. It also had to do with the questioning at this time of the origins and antiquity of the World in general, in the face of geological and fossil finds that challenged the traditional Biblical account, and by implications, the validity of the Bible. Around this revolved the larger question of the validity of religion itself, and the extent to which science offered better ways of explaining the world. The ESL was not only involved in this latter issue by the nature of its work: it also took a stand in the matter, upholding religion, although recognizing limitations to the Bible. The Society in this sense was not just a detached scholarly group; it was very firmly rooted in the society of which it was a part.

A second major point developed in this chapter takes us from the discussion of the Society's position in its own time to a reassessment of its reputation in today's world. The details that have emerged suggest that in terms of our concerns today, the ESL was doing anthropology that

was perfectly acceptable and good. It stressed ethnography and ethnology, studies that still command our attention. The former was organized around a standardized set of questions, the Notes and Queries, which in turn was based upon a concept of society composed of different parts with each part requiring investigation: in other words, on the concept of an organized and interrelated social structure. Neither of these features are foreign to us today. What ethnology was done in the Society thus followed as an extension of the basic ethnographic work, and not as vague speculation. Moreover, we have seen that fieldwork was encouraged by the ESL, and that the bulk of the papers on primitive peoples were written from the basis of personal experience. Lastly, we have found cautions against ethnocentrism and support of relativism, such as any modern anthropologist would give.

Consequently the ESL's relegation to oblivion in our day does not seem warranted. Considering its achievement in terms of what we value, it should enjoy a much better reputation. We must first correct our picture of the past and early development of anthropology: detailed enthography did not start with professional anthropologists, nor fieldwork with Malinowski. Besides, if praise and glory are to accompany recognition of such achievements, as they so typically do in anthropology, they have to date been wrongly bestowed, and this too need correcting. Certainly, the mistaken view of this period in texts and histories

of anthropology should be amended. Still further, in the light of the great difference between the textbook accounts of the period and the picture uncovered here, one must consider the extent to which the history of anthropology has been written to propagandize for various schools of thought, rather than to seek out and factually present what happened in the past.

As we turn to Chapter 3, one must note the changes in the topics dealt with by the ESL, with archaeology showing up with increasing frequency in the later years of the Society's life. That trend becomes clearer when it is related to the discussion in Chapter 3 of the structural changes in the ESL.

References:

1. A detailed history of the ESL is available from various sources, particularly George Stocking's "What's in a Name? The origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1837-71)" Man vol 6, #3:369-390, 1971, and Arthur Keith's "How can the Institute best serve the needs of Anthropology?" Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, v.47, 1917:12-30. There is also useful information in J.A. Barnes "Anthropology in Britain before and after Darwin" Mankind v V, #9, 1960:369-385; J.W. Burrow's Evolution and Society: a Study in Victorian Social Theory, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1970; and George Stocking's Race, Culture and Evolution, New York; Free Press, 1968. Various textbooks on anthropology have short historical sketches of the discipline, but these tend to be anecdotal, and contradictory. There are some histories of Anthropology that mention the ESL, but again much of their work needs verifying. D.A. Lorimer's Ph.D. thesis British Attitudes toward the Negro, 1850-1870, March 1972, U.B.C., Department of History, unpublished, has two very useful chapters on this period. He has stressed the ASL, but has a fair amount of material on the ESL and its members, and on issues, events, and personalities involved in Victorian anthropology.
The history of the ESL covers a period of almost 30 years, and so is impossible to condense here. Thus, I have chosen to mention only those issues and events of most note in sketching the development of the Society over this time.

2. George Stocking "What's in a name? The Origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute" Man, 1971, v.6, #3:369.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Arthur Keith "How can the Institute best serve the needs of anthropology?" Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1917, v.47:13.

6. Ibid.: Stocking op. cit.:369.

7. Keith, loc. cit.

8. Stocking, op. cit.:371.

9. Keith, op. cit.:14.

10. George Stocking — Race, Culture and Evolution. New York; Free Press, 1968:38 ff.
D.A. Lorimer — British Attitudes to the Negro, 1850-1870, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1972:189ff.

11. Dr. Ernst Dieffenbach "The study of Ethnology" Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, old series, 1848, v.1:17.
n.b. This article appears in the Journal volume for 1848, which contains dated articles as early as 1844. Dieffenbach's article itself is not dated, but there is reason to believe that it is earlier than the date of the volume. Keith mentions this paper in his 1917 article, giving its date as 1843 (Keith: 17). Hence, we will regard this as the date of the article.

12. Stocking "What's in a Name?" 1971:373.

13. Ibid.:370; Keith, op. cit.:19.

14. Keith Ibid.
J.W. Burrow — Evolution and Society, 1970:120-1.

15. Stocking op. cit.: 377.

16. Ibid.:376; Burrow op. cit.:123.

17. Burrow Ibid.
W.J. Reader — Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in the Nineteenth Century. London, 1966; Weidenfeld and Nicholson:134.

18. cf. advertisement in the first volume of the ASL's Anthropological Review, 1863, giving the members of its executive, and "Twelfth List of Foundation Fellows of the ASL corrected to June, 1865", published in T. Bendysshe, ed., The Anthropological Treatises of J.F. Blumenbach. London, 1865, published by the ASL.

19. Burrow op. cit.: 124.

20. Stocking "What's in a Name?":382.

21. cf. Burrow op. cit.:127: Lorimer op. cit.:245.

22. Burrow op. cit.:224: Stocking op. cit.:378.

23. Stocking Ibid.:379; Lorimer, op. cit.:230

24. Burrow op. cit.:125; Lorimer op. cit.:284; Stocking op. cit.:379.

25. J.A. Barnes "Anthropology in Britain before and after Carwin" Mankind, 1960:373.

26. Keith op. cit.: 20; Stocking op. cit.:380.

27. Stocking Ibid.

28. Lorimer op. cit.:236,244.

29. Ibid.:242.

30. Stocking op. cit.:377.

31. T.H. Huxley to John Lubbock, October 18, 1867. From D.A. Lorimer's notes on Avebury Papers, British Museum, Additional MS 49 p 640ff 24-5.

32. Ibid.

33. Lorimer, op. cit.:244-5.

34. "But I feel very strongly the desirableness of uniting the scattered and more less rival forces of the Ethnologists and Anthropologists and if I can be of the least use in bringing the union I shall not allow any provate convenience to stand on the way..."
T.H. Huxley to John Lubbock, August 1, 1866. Avebury Papers, from D.A. Lorimer's notes. BM Add. MS 49, 640 f, 137 (unbound).

35. Minutes of the ESL Council, April 12, 1864. From D.A. Lorimer's notes.

36. Stocking op. cit.:387.

37. Keith, op. cit.:21.

38. Ibid.:387;

John Beddoe	Memories of Eighty Years. Bristol, 1910, J.W. Arrowsmith:215.
T.H. Huxley	Address to the Ethnological Society of London, 1870. Journal of the Ethnological Society, new series, v.2.:xxi.

39. Keith, op. cit.:22; Stocking, op. cit.:383.

40. Richard King — Address to the ESL, May 25, 1844. Ethnological Society Journal (hereafter ESJ), old series, v.2,1850:15.

41. King, op. cit.:11
Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm — Address to the ESL, May 29, 1846. ESJ, o.s., v.2:69., 1850.

42. King, op. cit.:15.

43. Dieffenbach — "The study of Ethnology", 1843:17. ESJ, o.s. v.1. 1848.
Thomas Hodgkin — "The Progress of Ethnology" ESJ, o.s., v.1:1848:30-1.
n.b. — This article, like Dieffenbach's (see footnote #11) has no date, and appears in the Journal volume dated 1848. However, King's article of 1844 makes reference to it, and so we may conclude that it was written in either 1843 or 1844.
Malcolm, op. cit.:69-70
Sir B.C. Brodie, — Address to the ESL, May 16, 1854. ESJ, o.s., v.4, 1856:295.

44. Diefenbach op. cit., :15, ff; Hodgkin, op. cit.:28
James C. Prichard — Address to the ESL, June 22, 1847. ESJ, o.s., v.l., 1848:329.
Brodie — Address to the ESL, May 27, 1853. ESJ, o.s., v.4., 1856:99ff.

45. Hodgkin, op. cit.:35ff
Richard Cull — "Remarks on the nature, objects and evidences of Ethnological science" 1851 ESJ, o.s., v.3, 1854:109
Brodie, Address, 1853:99 ff.

46. Cull "On the recent progress of Ethnology", May 14, 1852. ESJ, o.s., v.3, 1854:177.

47. King, op. cit.:11.

48. Dieffenbach op. cit.: 15,17,20; Hodgkin, op. cit.:28; Prichard, op. cit.:329; Brodie, 1853:98-9.

49. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:26.

50. Hodgkin, op. cit.:36-9.

51. Ibid.:35.

52. Cull, 1851;109.

53. Ibid.:107-9.

54. Brodie, 1853:61.

55. Cull, 1852:177.

56. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:16; King, op. cit.:9.

57. Prichard Anniversary Address for 1848. ESJ, o.s., v.2, 1850:120.

58. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:15,18.

59. Prichard, 1847:302.

60. Cull, 1851:103.

61. Prichard, 1847:303.

62. Ibid.:304.

63. Cull, 1851:103-4.

64. Prichard, 1847:304.

65. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:25; Hodgkin, op. cit.:34; King, op. cit.:18; Malcolm, 1846:69; Prichard, 1847:304-329; Brodie, 1854:295.

66. King, op. cit.:9.

67. Hodgkin, op. cit.:42; King, op. cit:19.

68. Ibid.

69. Hodgkin, op. cit.:42; King, op. cit.:44.

70. Ibid.

71. King, op. cit.:45.

72. Malcolm Address to the ESL, May 26, 1845. ESJ, o.s., v.2, 1850:43.

73. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:26.

74. King, op. cit.:20; Brodie, 1853:102.

75. Hodgkin, op. cit.:42.

76. King, op. cit.:26-36.

77. Hodgkin, op. cit.:31-2; King, op. cit.:20-4-; Malcolm, 1845:53; Malcom, 1846:81-2, 71; Prichard, 1847:315; Prichard, 1848: 121-130, 144; Cull, 1853:117; Cull, 1854:297-314.

78. Malcolm 1846:71; Prichard 1848:144; Cull 1853:117.

79. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:18-22.

80. Hodgkin, op. cit.:27; Brodie, 1854:295.

81. ESJ, o.s., 193-4., v.3, 1854.

82. Ibid.:193-208

83. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:17, 18, 24; Hodgkin, op. cit.:30-1; Prichard, 1847:302; Brodie, 1854:295.

84. Hodgkin, op. cit.:41.

85. Ibid.:31 ff; King, op. cit.:18; Prichard, 1847:302.

86. Dieffenbach, op. cit.:16.

87. cf. Keith, op. cit.:18; yearly lists of officers & council of the ESL; ESL publications for count of articles.

88. Huxley to Lubbock, October 18, 1867. BM Add. MS 49, 640f, 24-5 (unbound) Avebury Papers. From D.A. Lorimer's notes.

89. ESJ, New series, v. 1, 1869:x, xi-xiv, 1-4.

90. ESJ, new series, v.2, 1870:xxii; cf. Stocking "What's in a Name?":374.

91. T.S. Prideaux "On the principles of Ethnology", November 22, 1864. Transactions of the ESL (hereafter EST), v.3, 1865:408-417.

92. The information for the two charts comes from an analysis of the 13 volumes of the publications of the ESL.

Chapter 3: The ESL: Structure and Organization

Having examined the origins and aims of the ESL, we can now look at its actual organization and structure. This calls for an exercise in itself, requiring a reconstruction of the Society's life from the material available in the Journals Minutes, contemporary primary sources, and the secondary lieterature. Accordingly, it is only as complete as these sources allow.

A first and basic fact to note is that the ESL was a Society of men. Women could not become members, and only two women ever published anything in the Society's Journals. This situation was partly the result of custom. Men's clubs were a common feature of Victorian England and played an important part in male society.[1] Nonetheless, women could attend meetings of some other groups that were formed out of common interest in a particular subject, such as the Royal Geographical Society (RGS).[2]

The refusal to admit women to the ESL meetings also reflected another feature of contemporary British society. As Hunt pointed out when the ASL was formed, societies involved in the detailed scientific study of man would have to discuss such topics as phallic worship, circumcision, puberty rites, and so on. These could hardly be mentioned in mixed company, and so the presence of women would seriously impede the scientific discoveries of such a Society.[3] When in 1869 the ESL instituted a series of

public lectures which women were allowed to attend, the ASL was quick to point out and mourn its rival's departure from serious inquiry.[4]

The ESL cam into being in Thomas Hodgkin's house in Brook St. in February 7, 1843, and continued to meet there from then till September, 1844.[5] Then it moved to 27 Sackville St. which it rented from Dr. Richard King, its first secretary.[6] King was a close associate of Hidgkin's in the APS, and had been responsible for issuing the prospectus proposing the creation of an ethnological Society in July, 1842.[7] King moved in September, 1847, to 17 Savile Row and the ESL moved too, to new quarters in King's house.[8] By 1852 the Society and King were at odds, and the ESL moved out to 23 Newman St., Oxford St., where it remained until 1859. Then it went to 4 St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, near the present site of the National Portrait Gallery.[9] The rooms were rented from the Royal Society of Literature, and it is interesting to note that the ASL met in the very same place - on different nights, of course.[10]

The ESL stayed at this last address during the rest of its life, and for some time after union.[11] It underwent five moves, therefore, in the period we are concerned with, but spent the majority of its years in only two places. It is significant to note the area of London in which it was located and how it was situated in relation to the homes of its members. This point will be developed

in more detail in a later chapter. Suffice it for now to mention where it was located, in Mayfair for nine years, Marylebone for seven, then Piccadilly for the remaining twelve years of its life; and to note that these were areas of high social position.[12]

Just when and how often the ESL met is never clearly stated in the Journals. Still, most of the Journal articles, which were papers presented at the meetings, have a date. They can be used, accordingly, to work out the frequency of meetings. Unfortunately, the first series of the Journals requires a good deal of speculation, for here no date is given for many of the articles. Also, there are great time gaps, as the four volumes cover a period of over a decade. With the later volumes of this series, however, as with the Transactions and the "new series" Journal, it becomes clear that the Society met every two weeks. A reference in Rear Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm's Address of May 29, 1846, further confirms this conclusion, for he talks of adding to the list of communications to the ESL every fortnight.[13]

These meetings were the regular ones for the whole Society, and the new series of the Journal designated them "ordinary". It was in these meetings that most of the ideas on ethnology were presented. Articles were read and discussed. From time to time specimens of ethnological note were exhibited, whether actual natives or artifacts. Presents to the library and museum were also noted. The

meetings seem to have been important social gatherings as well as intellectual forums, if the amount of money spent on refreshments is a fair indication.[14]

There was another category of meeting, the Anniversary meeting in May, and it becomes apparent that this was a yearly occurrence. Later volumes also called this a General meeting. It was at this time that the reports on the Society's activities and achievements of the preceding year, as well as presidential addresses, were given. One wonders why the anniversary meeting was held in May when significant dates associated with the ESL's beginnings are February and September, as noted before. A point from Elizabeth Isichei's Victorian Quakers may be relevant here. The author notes how the Quakers, active in philanthropy, founded a number of Societies which had their general meetings in May, to coincide with the Quaker's Yearly Meeting.[15] And indeed, Hodgkin was a Quaker, as were a number of the men who founded the ESL.[16]

Besides these two types of meetings, there was a third category which emerged in 1869 with the reorganization of the ESL under Huxley's presidency: the Special Meeting. These were held periodically, and ladies were permitted to attend.[17] For example, one was held on British ethnology and archaeology; in particular, on the question of preserving sites and relics which were threatened with destruction. Others dealt with India, North America, New Zealand and Polynesia, the practice

being to examine one area in depth at each meeting. These nights were intended to popularize ethnology, and perhaps to attract new members and money. The ESL reported them as well attended,[18] although later students of the Society have said that they did not achieve the desired results, either in membership or funds.[19]

It is interesting to note that the Special Meetings were held in the theatre of the Royal School of Mines,[20] and also in the theatre of the Museum of Practical Geology.[21] In both cases, this was with the permission of Sir Roderick Murchison, who was in charge of these institutions.[22] Murchison had also been a founding force in the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831 and a trustee from 1832-1870, serving as its general secretary from 1836-1845, and president in 1846.[23] The ethnologists were represented at the annual British Association Meetings, and the section they were given to share with geography in 1851 had Murchison as its president.[24]

Murchison had also been a leading figure in the Royal Geographical Society. In fact, he was power behind it.[25] It was this Society's model, deplored by the ASL, that the ESL was following in attempting to reach the public and in admitting ladies. Crawfurd, in one of his terms as the ESL's president, had actually tried to get his Society to join the RGS. He was unsuccessful, apparently opposed by executive members who wanted autonomy for the ESL.[26] One might also note that the Special Meetings

were originated under Huxley as part of a redirection of the ESL's energies, and that Huxley was employed by Murchison as a lecturer at the School of Mines.[27] The Geological Survey that Huxley worked on[28] was also directed by Murchison,[29] and Murchison was a member of the ESL Council from 1865 until 1871, the year of union and of his own death.[30]

These facts seem to be more than just coincidental or of passing interest. They suggest strongly how involved the legitimate scientific world was in the ESL, despite that Society's low scientific status.[31] The Society, meeting where it did, supervised as it was, was in very close contact with this world. We mentioned in the preceding chapter Huxley's view of the ESL. Now we see that established scientists were doing more than talking. Changes were being made in the ESL, changes that would further suggest that the ESL was, if gently, deliberately and definitely guided to a more respectable scientific position, which was finally achieved by union with the ASL in 1871.[32]

In the same year that the Special Meetings were introduced, the Annual Report made provision for yet another sort of meeting: sectional meetings. Again this was to the end of more efficient, more scientific work. The plan was introduced to have a number of different sections which would devote themselves to specific aspects of ethnological study; namely biology, comparative psychology, sociology, archaeology, and philology. Their concerns

and limits were described, and each section was to have an elected secretary to collect information, and arrange to present it. From time to time, if there were enough material or issues to require such, a section could have its own meeting where it could go into more detail on a subject than the ordinary or special meetings permitted.[33]

Lastly, there were Council meetings, involving the elected members of the executive. These are mentioned for the first in the 1869 Report, and here one also gets an idea of the Council's activities.[34] Prior to that time, the only information on this group's meetings comes from the Council Minutes, which are housed in the RAI library. My knowledge of the Minutes is second-hand, from D.A. Lorimer's notes, and so it is hard to know exactly how much material is available. They exist for 1846-1869, and George Stocking, who has also used them in studying the RAI, has pronounced them "more or less complete".[35] From them we learn that the Council met on the same nights as the ordinary meetings,[36] and that its task was to plan the agenda of the larger gatherings.[37] The 1869 Report outlines their work in more detail as including the "proposal of new ordinary members... announcement of the meetings of the Society or of its Sections and of the papers to be read at them", as well as receiving the reports of the treasurer, librarian, general secretary, publications and foreign secretaries, and discussion of the Society's business.[38]

From the Minutes one learns various new facts that never appear in the journals. For instance, in 1960 Crawfurd proposed the admission of women as guests to meetings.[39] This was accepted, but with the proviso "in all occasions certified by Council".[40] Evidently, no such occasions ever arose. In 1862, an attempt to have "Royal" appended to the Society's name failed when Sir George Grey refused to recommend it to the Queen on the grounds that there were not enough members to warrant such a move.[41] One finds that the ASL proposed union with the ESL in November, 1864, the year after the split.[42] In January 1866, moreover, a proposal was received for union with the Philological Society.[43] This was never publicly announced or duscussed. To all intents and purposes it never officially happened, for Huxley, talking of negotiations with the ASL in 1870, envisaged possible unions with other Societies, yet mentioned only the Archaeological Society, the Society of Antiquaries, and the Geological Society.[44] The omission here seems more than an oversight, when one considers that philology was the dominant approach in the ESL's science during the 1840's and 1850's,[45] and then remembers Huxley's view of this work under Crawfurd.[46]

Turning from meetings to membership, we are faced with more reconstruction work. From an analysis of the journals one can conclude that there were three ranks of membership: Members or Fellows; Honorary Fellows;

and Corresponding Members. All of these ranks were elected, but ordinary members had to pay a fee, while Honorary Fellows entered free. It appears, too, that Honorary Fellows had little say in their nomination and election unless they were violently opposed. Hunt, for example, resigned his membership and office in the ESL the year the ASL was formed, but upon receipt of his resignation the ESL elected him an Honorary Fellow.[47] Also, one notes the singular lack of participation by the Honorary Fellows in the Society's affairs, whether in presenting papers or in occupying executive positions, and the sketchy, out-of-date information on them in the membership lists. Thus, it appears that their major contribution to the Society may have been in the prestige their names imparted.

The Corresponding Members were apparently eligible for fees like the ordinary members, and both had the choice of paying either an annual subscription or taking out a lifetime membership. The number of lifetime members, in those years in which information exists, was as follows;

Table VI: Lifetime Memberships in the ESL 1863-1870

Year	Number	Total Membership
1863	35	284
1866	42	297
1867	43	297
1868	45	302
1869	45	302
1870	41	325

One can see that very few people took advantage of this method of paying their fees.

The annual subscription was set in 1844 as £2, along with a £3 entrance fee. It was decided that the first two hundred men could compound for £12, and thereafter for £20.[48] In 1846, the subscription changed from £2 to 2Gns, and it was decided that after the Society reached two hundred there would be an entrance fee of £3.3s. This state, however was never reached.[49] According to the Report of 1870, the fee remained at 2Gns for the rest of the ESL's life, for it was still that in that year.[50] There was also a provision for country members, those living beyond a twenty-mile radius, to join as Associates and pay only £1.1s.[51] This rule was not revoked until 1870,[52] and it is possible that the Corresponding Members were also subject to its conditions.

All types of members seem to have been eligible for executive position, although Corresponding Members would be physically unable to take such up. This consisted of a president, a number of vice-presidents, usually four, a treasurer, a secretary, a librarian, and a Council of from seventeen to nineteen people. The information here is also sketchy, existing in most detail for those years for which there are published lists of the Officers and Council of the ESL. Otherwise, one learns by noting references to position given after an author's name, and mention in the Council Minutes and the secondary literature.

Most of this data is therefore from the 1860's. The terms of all offices were one year, and elections appear to have been held at the Annual Meetings. There was a tendency for people to be re-elected or simply switched to another office. Fo example, for the eight years for which there are lists of the Officers and Council, one finds only forty different names for the 189 posts open over this period.

As far as the duties of the various offices go, there is again little explicit information until the Annual Report of 1869. Up till then, it is a matter of deduction. The president chaired meetings and each year addressed the Society on the nature of ethnology or the ESL's progress. Although his duties are never outlined, it seems from assessing his activities in the Society that he was its leader and guided its interests. Huxley led the ESL to reunion with the ASL, but under Crawfurd such an achievement was not possible. It seems that once one became head of the ESL he determined the direction that the Society was to follow.

The vice-president's, treasurer's, and Council's roles are also not described in the ESL publications. It would appear that the vice-president assisted the president in the running of the Society. A retired president became a vice-president when he stepped down, but it is hard to know what part he then played in decision-making,

and if his status was the same as that of the other vice-presidents. One may assume that the treasurer collected subscriptions, kept the books, and drew up the budget. His term was a yearly one, but over the eight years of the published lists there were, in fact, only two men in this position. It seems to have been more a practical than a political post. In 1869, the separate position of Receiver was introduced to collect funds,[53] and presumably to lighten the treasurer's load. Lastly, we find the job of Council member also lacking a description, but it appears that the Council was the assembly that handled most of the Society's day-to-day business.

The secretary seems to have been the other important executive member besides the president, although this might be dependant on personality, and not a feature of the role per se. When Cull, for example, was Secretary, he delivered a paper each year at the General Meeting on the progress of ethnology. In this he was sharing a job traditionally performed by the President, and in one case, the year after Malcolm's death, carrying it out alone.[54] When Hunt threatened to resign his post in 1863, ostensibly because his load was too heavy, and perhaps very much because of his differing views on ethnology, the Council voted to retain his services and hired a paid assistant to help him.[55]

The Secretary's position was split after 1863 and shared by two men. The office was further divided in

in 1869, and distinctions were made between general secretary, secretary for publications, foreign secretary, local and departmental secretaries, and sectional secretaries. Each had his own list of duties, outlined in some detail in that year's Annual Report. Basically, each had to collect and organize papers and communications in his particular sphere of interest, arrange for their presentation to the Council, and their eventual reading or publication. Each had to keep minutes of the meetings that he was concerned with, and arrange for press releases.[56]

The senior Secretary of the Society was usually distinguished by the term "Honorary" before his title. There is evidence that the ESL's secretaryship had once been a paid position, for the Council Minutes of May 17, 1849, record the decision to end the Secretary's salary.[57] The only paid position was that of Assistant Secretary, who by 1869 was also the sub-editor and had the responsibility of seeing to whatever the others left incompleted, potentially a great deal of work.[58]

There was a position of librarian, but this is again not described. The same person, L.J. Beale, held the post during the years of the Transactions for which information exists. The new series Journal does not mention anyone as librarian, so perhaps this job was carried out by another member of the executive. Lastly, there was the editor, whose position also receives little attention in the journals. It is not clear whether this job was

held by one of the executive or if it could be held by any person who was interested.

For the old series Journal there is no mention of any editor, save for a disclaimer at the beginning of each volume that the contents are the opinions of the contributors, and not of the Council. The Transactions do not even have this item. Volume 2 of the Transactions has a noted inserted by Thomas Wright, Hon. Sec., explaining the absence of some pictures that the Society had intended to publish.[59] Perhaps, then, the editorship was his job. But was it regularly the Secretary's? Volume 6 of the Transactions mentions payment of the editor as part of the budget. Was this an honorarium or a salary?

The new series of the Journal mentions a board of editors and a sub-editor as well. The board is the same for both years, consisting of Huxley, the President, Lubbock, a vice-president, A.L. Lane Fox, General Secretary, Hyde Clarke, Foreign Secretary, and Professor George Busk, a Council member. The sub-editor's position, as outlined in the 1869 Report, was supposed to be a part of the Assistant Secretary's job.[60] This was the case in 1870, when F. Rudler held both posts, but in 1869, the sub-editor was J.H. Lamprey, who was not even on the executive. It appears that the editorial board was chosen more less arbitrarily by the president.

The publications of the ESL changed three times in format: the old series Journal, 1843-1856, the Transactions,

1861-1869, and finally the new series Journal, 1869-1870. Each time, the publisher also changed: from W.M. Watts to John Murray to N. Trübner respectively. Murray and Trübner appear on the membership list, although they never contributed any articles. Watts is not listed, but as his work for the ESL was over in 1856, and the first list does not appear until 1863, his membership may simply not have been recorded.

Having examined the Society's structure, it now remains for us to look at some aspects of the development of ESL over time; that is, in regard to its financial state, its numbers and the distribution of its membership. The financial support came partly from fees, which have been discussed, and also from the sale of its journals. Otherwise, personal gifts enlarged its assets. Information on the Society's finances is most detailed where the financial statements are actually printed. Failing that, one must glean whatever he can from chance comments.

The first reference to this matter is in 1844, when Richard King said that the ESL was in working order but needed more money, and to that end, more members.[61] The following year, President Sir Charles Malcolm noted that the financial situation was favourable, which fact he saw as an accomplishment for a Society such as the ESL, existing as it did on private subscriptions.[62] Information on 1846 is available from a statement published for that year. We will reproduce it here, for it is

of interest to look at how the Society spent its money as well as its overall financial state.

Table VII: **ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR 1845.** [63]

	£	s.	d.
Balance brought forward	99	14	10
Subscriptions	144	4	0
Compositions	36	0	0
Balance due to Petty Cash	19	13	11
	£299	12	9

	£	s.	d.
Rent	135	0	0
Messenger	40	0	0
Housekeeping Expenses	34	6	3
Stationery	16	12	5
Printing	10	17	0
Coals	4	19	0
Postages and Parcels	4	12	5
Hire of Seats	4	10	0
Miscellaneous	2	5	3
Balance in the hands of Treasurer	46	10	5
	£299	12	9

Examined and approved,

THOMAS MAY, W. P. ANDREWS, } *Auditors.*

London, May 29, 1846.

That this represented the Society in a healthy situation is supported by the fact that Crawfurd in 1867 compared the year's budget with that of 1846, choosing the latter as a time when the ESL was "considered to be prospering".[64]

Until 1866, one must consult the Council Minutes for mention of finances. On June 19, 1850, the Auditor's report was pronounced favourable, and the Society was declared to be in a secure financial state.[65] The Annual Report of 1851 noted that the financial condition had improved,[66] and that of 1853 judged that the situation was highly satisfactory and that the Society was on firm ground.[67] For 1855-7 there is nothing definite reported, except the figure of the Society's balance at the time.

In April, 1857, the Minutes expressed an inability to report on the financial state because the Society's books were imperfect.[68] This must have been quickly remedied, because the financial report was given May 6 of that year; however again only the balance is stated.[69] Looking at the balances may give some indication of the Society's situation, if one is correct in assuming that its expenses and income remained relatively constant. The following chart summarizes what information is to be had on this. One should keep in mind that a balance of £46.10.5 was considered "prospering" in 1846.

Table VIII: Yearly Balances of the ESL 1851-1856[70]

Year	Balance
1851	£54.4.4
1852	£27.8.9
1853	£33.19.9
1854	£33.24.10
1855	£46.1.10
1856	£23.5.10

The above figures indicate that the ESL's fortunes were not very good in the 1850's, and this finding is borne out by the secondary literature. Keith talks of the "financial crisis of 1857",[71] and says of 1858 that "financial crisis succeeded financial crisis".[72] Stocking, too, says there was a "serious decline" in the mid-1850's, which was attributed by the Secretary to the Crimean War and by Hunt to the deadening impact of religion.[73] However, he talks of the ESL coming back to life in 1859 and 1860,

and Keith also says that the situation improved in the '60's.[74]

From this decade on we get more detailed information, and here we also have the chance of learning what the Society's income and expenses were. In 1866 the Council reported that the accounts were so satisfactory that the Society had the largest balance ever.[75] The sale of the Transactions, an important item of the budget, had gone up, and the increase in Fellows, while not great, was steady.[76] The breakdown was as follows:

Table IX: *Statement of Accounts of* FREDERICK HINDMARSH, *Treasurer, with the* ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, *from 23rd May*, 1865, *to 23rd May*, 1866. 77.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance, as per last Account on May 23rd, 1865	153	2	10	For Rent, Insurance, etc.	40	9	0
„ Subscriptions of Members for the current and past years (including compositions) .. 320 12 6				„ Refreshments and attendance at Evening Meetings	52	5	0
Commission .. 17 3 11	303	8	7	„ Reporting Proceedings	26	6	0
„ Cash of Mr. Murray, on sale of Society Transactions	20	2	4	„ Mr. Richards, for Printing ..	127	4	6
„ Cash error in addition of Subscriptions	0	3	6	„ Mr. Wright, for expenses and editing the Transactions for 1865 and 1866	66	6	0
„ Received difference of duty of Insurance	0	2	3	„ Mr. Cobbett, for Painting.. ..	4	17	6
				„ Balance	164	11	6
	£481	19	6		£481	19	6

(*Signed*) LIONEL BEALE, A. CAMPBELL, } *Auditors.*

It is interesting to note the items of the budget, and in particular the amount spent on refreshments, which would suggest that the social fact of getting together was of no little importance.

The following year was again reported as satisfactory.[78] Membership was up, the number of new members greater than in any one year for some years past, and a very few of the Fellows had retired. Finances were described as flourishing, the treasurer's balance being even larger than the preceding year.[79] The breakdown here was as follows:

Table X: [80]

Statement of Account of FREDERICK HINDMARSH, *Treasurer, with* THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, *from the 22nd of May,* 1866, *to the 21st of May,* 1867.

		£	s.	d.
To balance as per last account on May 22nd, 1866		164	11	6
„ Subscriptions of Members for the Current and Past Years	£285 1 0			
Less commission	16 16 4			
		268	4	8
„ Cash of Mr. Murray on Sale of Society's *Transactions*	£ 9 19 0			
	21 14 8			
		31	13	8
		464	9	10

Examined May 21, 1867,
WILLIAM BLACKMAN, HARRINGTON TUKE, } *Auditors.*

	£	s.	d.
By Rent and Insurance	40	6	9
„ Refreshments and Attendance at Evening Meetings	59	13	8
„ Mr. Mackie as assistant to the Secretary	40	0	0
„ Mr. Richards for Printing	128	6	0
„ Mr. Wright for Expenses and Editing the *Transactions*	43	10	0
„ Messrs. Bruce and Ford (Stationers)	5	17	3
„ Gratuity to Mr. Suggate of the Royal Geographical Society	1	0	0
„ Balance	145	16	2
	464	9	10

Refreshments were still a large expense, more even than the editing of the journal; but publications were also receiving a lot more money altogether than before.

By 1869, the ESL was under Huxley and changing considerably. Its finances were also changing. The 1869 Report says nothing specific but comments that the "Society's operations have always been on a limited scale, and its heads of expenditure few".[81] The 1870 picture is more

detailed. The new quarterly Journal was popular and selling well.[82] The budget was as follows:

Table XI:

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STATEMENT of ACCOUNT of H. G. BOHN, Esq., Treasurer, with the ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY from May 31, 1869, to May 16, 1870.

		£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers, May 31st, 1869		52	5	2
„ Subscriptions received from Members during the Session of 1869–70, less Collector's Commission		283	2	11
„ Contribution towards Lithograph, by Sir G. Grey		3	0	0
„ Sale of Society's Transactions. Cash received from Mr. Murray:—	£ s. d.			
July 7, 1869	6 9 7			
March 9, 1870	10 8 9			
		16	18	4
		£355	6	5

		£	s.	d.
By Rent (one year and a half)		60	0	0
„ Salary of Secretary and Assistant-Secretaries:—				
Mr. Wright	£10 0 0			
Mr. Lamprey	25 0 0			
Mr. Rudler	7 10 0			
		42	10	0
„ Printing (Mr. Richards), on account		50	0	0
„ Lithographing:—				
Mr. Jobbins	£3 9 9			
Mr. Stanford	4 5 0			
Mr. Hanhart	14 18 9			
Mr. Weller	3 7 6			
		26	1	0
„ Photographing (Mr. Pedroletti)		10	0	0
„ Stationery:—				
Messrs. Bruce & Ford	£3 9 10			
Mr. Stanford	0 18 0			
		4	7	10
„ Attendance at Special Meetings at Museum of Practical Geology		3	14	0
„ Postage and Incidental Expenses		38	8	3
„ Balance at Bankers', May 16th, 1870		120	5	4
		£355	6	5

Examined.

FREDERICK HINDMARSH. } *Auditors.*
J. W. FLOWER.

A significant change in this from the two preceding accounts of Crawfurd's day is the disappearance of refreshments. The expenses appear to have been concentrated into the work of the Society, largely the production of the Journal. This, I believe, is indicative of the changes in the ESL with Huxley's coming to power. It looks as if the Society had become more serious and, possibly, more efficient.

One should note that there is no debt apparent in

the Society during this time. Every year was an improvement, according to the available data. This is significant when one considers the reasons behind the ESL and ASL reunion. Lorimer has said that both Societies were deeply in debt,[84] and a letter from Huxley to Lubbock would seem to confirm this:

> Putting both together there will be something over 400 paying members and a debt of about £1100 - £1200 one third of which (roughly) belongs to the Ethnologists and two thirds to the Anthropologists.[85]

Keith and Stocking do not mention this as an element in the ESL's side of negotiations, although they do note the ASL's debt.[86] The facts presented above would support this. If, then, the Society was solvent or even prospering, the reasons for union could not have been financial. Nor could financial reasons have prompted Huxley's reorganization of the ESL. It would seem that something else was behind his desire to re-orient the Society, perhaps an interest in growth, - and of a certain sort, - rather than survival. At any rate, it well may be presumed that the ESL enjoyed good financial health.

The next question to examine is the size of the Society. The charter meeting of the ESL was attended by twenty-three men.[87] Keith says that the Society's beginnings were "auspicious",[88] and Lorimer states that by 1844 there were 157 members.[89] Malcolm's presidential address of the following year stressed the need to attract

new members,[90] and in 1846 the number was up to 170.[91] There is no mention of the issue again until 1852, when we find Cull again calling for more members.[92] In 1854, the Council Minutes stated that 45 annual subscriptions and three life memberships were paid in the year previous.[93] In 1855, the Minutes record that the number of paying members for 1854 was down to 54.[94] The next year it was even lower, at 32.[95] By 1858 this number had risen slightly to 38,[96] and from there things seem to have improved until in 1863 there were 212.

During the 1860's the membership lists were published, and so we will present a summary of their data in the following chart:

Table XII: Chart of Membership in the ESL 1863-1870

Year	Fellows	Honorary Fellows	Corresponding Members	Total
1863	212	44	28	284
1866	219	47	31	297
1867	219	47	31	297
1868	227	42	33	302
1869	230	39	33	302
1870	237	45	33	325

Thus, except for a slump in the 1850's, the Society seems to have either stood still or grown each year. Again, essentially it seems to have prospered, and again, one wonders why changes in the ESL were necessary.

Having looked at the number of members per year, we can now consider where they lived, and just where and

Table XIII: Membership in the ESL by Address 1863-70.

Place	1863	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	Difference between 1st & last years
London	122	117	108	106	101	108	-14
England	62	62	61	69	85	83	+21
Scotland	4	5	8	7	6	11	+7
Ireland	1	0	0	1	2	2	+1
Wales	1	1	0	0	1	3	+2
Foreign	59	81	87	104	80	86	+27
Not Known	35	31	33	35	27	25	-10
Total	386	297	297	292	302	318	

how far the ESL's influence reached. The data in this case applied only to the 1860's, when the published lists are available. We must make do with this situation: yet still, the '60's were especially important years for the Society, being the decade when it regained its footing financially and numerically, and the years which was the split of the ASL and the later reunion. Using the addresses given in the lists, I have analyzed the extent of the ESL's membership by the following categories: London, the rest of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Foreign countries and a residual category of "not known" those people for whom the information is incomplete. Table XII gives the results of this analysis.

From this one can see that with the total number of members almost constant, the proportion from London decreased over the years while those outside the city increased. Thus London in time came to be more the Society's base of operations, and not the sole scene of its activities.

Concerning the question of where the members lived outside London, the accompanying tables show the distribution in England and in the rest of the world. The division of England in the Table XIV is by county, and in the world map by the regions established Map I in the preceding chapter. The numbers included in each area represent the lowest and the highest number of members in that area over the eight year span for which this

information is available. One sees that in England, the membership outside London was heaviest in the Home Counties, and then stretched north into the southern Midlands, and to Devon on the West. There were not a great many members in East Anglia or in Northern England except for Lancashire. As for foreign countries dealt with in Table XV, the greatest number were in Continental Europe, and the next greatest in Imperial possessions, particularly India and Ceylon. Singapore is of especial note, alone having as many members as India.

Thus we have seen how the ESL was organized and how it worked, its size, and where knowledge of it spread. We have shown that the Society was thriving, particularly from the 1860's up to union. What changes were made in it were therefore not necessary: The ESL was doing well as it was, financially healthy and, according to the presidential addresses, content with its situation. There was no reason to increase membership, no necessity to expand and complicate executive duties, and no need for new types of meetings.

The changes, hence, must have been to meet purposes outside the group. The changes had the effect of popularizing ethnology and broadening the social base of the ESL's membership. They also introduced more scientific rigour into the study of Man, with the new division of ethnology into different sections, thus allowing close surveillance and guidance of the work done in the Society by the larger

Table XIV: ESL Membership in England Outside London 1863-70.

n.b. Where more than one number is given with a county name, the first represents the lowest number of members and the second the highest number in this county over the given time span.

County	Number
Bedfordshire	2-3
Berkshire	0-1
Buckinghamshire	1-2
Cheshire	2-4
Cambridgeshire	0-1
Cumberland	1
Durham	0-5
Devonshire	0-1
Essex	1-3
Gloucestershire	5-7
Hampshire	0-2
Hertfordshire	1-3
Kent	7-11
Lancashire	3-9
Middlesex	10-14
Oxford	1-3
Norfolk	1-2
Northumberland	1-3
Nottinghamshire	0-1
Shropshire	1-2
Somerset	1-6
Staffordshire	1-2
Suffolk	0-1
Surrey	2-8
Sussex	0-3
Warwickshire	0
Westmorland	1-2
Wiltshire	2-3
Yorkshire	1-4
Guernsey	0-4
Isle of Man	0-1

Table XV: ESL Membership in the World Outside Great Britain 1863-70.

n.b. The numbers with each area indicate the lowest and highest membership over the given span of years.

	Area	Number
1.	Britain and Ireland	1
2.	Continental Europe & Canary Islands	28-35
3.	Middle East & Northern Africa	2-3
4.	Pakistan, Afghanistan & Kashmir	0
5.	Mongolia	0
6.	South Asia	5-14
7.	East Asia	1-4
8.	Southeast Asia	4-5 (plus Singapore alone 2-13)
9.	Philippines	0
10.	Pacific Islands	0
11.	Australia & New Zealand	4-7
12.	Black Sub-Saharan Africa	2
13.	North America	0-2
14.	Caribbean	1-3
15.	Latin America	0-2

scientific world.

The changes in the ESL also indicate that a new group was in control of it. It has been stated that the introduction of Special Meetings, the expansion and redefinition of executive positions, the changes in types of spending, etc., were all instituted under Huxley's presidency. We must also note that Huxley had nothing to do with the ESL until 1863, according to the first mention of him in the journals. Why did he join then? At first glance, the answer seems straightforward enough. Huxley, like so many others, was interested in ethnology.

But Huxley apparently had other motivations. In 1863 John Lubbock became president of the ESL, and Huxley wrote him, "Of course under these circumstances, I shall become a member and do my best to help you...".[97] Huxley's concern with the ESL was not solely, if at all, founded upon an interest in ethnology. As has been shown in an earlier chapter when discussing what Huxley felt about Crawfurd, Huxley was not happy with ethnology as it was then being studied. The ESL he described as "an organized stupidity".[98] It does make sense that he should try to change the Society on attaining its presidency.

A further indication of the major alterations that the Society was to experience under Huxley is the fact that no obituary of Crawfurd was ever published by the ESL. Crawfurd had been on the ESL's executive many times and, publishing 47 papers, was the most prolific ethnologist of the Society. He was praised by his colleagues

in different papers[99] and, more than any of the few who were given the honour,[100] he merited an obituary. The ESL, now under Huxley, only noted his passing and made mention of intent to publish an obituary in the future.[101] This intention was never realized.

The changes that Huxley made were in keeping with his views, purposes, and standards. However, as has been established, they were not in keeping with those of the Society he joined. His aims were grafted into the ESL, not a natural outgrowth of it. Why did he introduce the changes that he did? A most obvious answer is that the ESL would gain the respectability that it lacked under Crawfurd: respectability in the scientific world. Huxley was a professional scientist, and was active in seeking to improve the standards of Victorian science and spread science's influence.[102] A further purpose is to be found in a most revealing from Huxley to Lubbock in 1866, a letter that supports the contention that a group with aims directly counter to the Society's own came to take over the ESL.

> So far as my individual and personal feeling is concerned I should have no hesitation about declining to become the President of any Society whatever--as I have not a particle of time or strength more than I need to get through the work that I already have before me.
>
> But I feel very strongly the desirableness of uniting the scattered and more or less rival forces of the Ethnologists and Anthropologists and if I can be of the least use in bringing about the union I shall not allow any private

> convenience to stand in the way.
> In order to put my own personality out of the business altogether the best thing I can do, I think is to place myself altogether in your hands. If the amalgamation can be brought about in a way satisfactory to you and you think that it is desirable for me to be President I will accept the office and do my best in it. If not, not. 103

This letter, showing both Huxley's purpose and Lubbock's participation in it, further establishes that the changes in the ESL that preceded union with the ASL were more than coincidentally related.

Indeed, the changes would facilitate union. With a cleaning up of the ESL's organization, a structure could be set up into which the ASL's members could easily fit. The ESL's journal became quarterly, like the ASL's, and the publisher to whom was switched under Huxley just happened to publish the ASL's journal as well.[104] Of course, more than the structure would need changing if the two Societies were to come together. There was the question of interests and ideas. Here the changes in the topics dealt with by the ESL., which were noted in chapter 2, played their part.

These changes functioned as a move toward a neutral ground that could enable the two Societies to come together with neither giving up its interests. Archaeology fed into the historical and cultural concerns of the ethnologists on the one hand, and the biological and anatomical concerns of the anthropologists on the other.

The two would no longer be researching in unrelated fields, each in its own way, and their work could be integrated as together contributing to a complete study of Man. Thus the conflict between the two Societies would be solved.

These two reasons that have been suggested as Huxley's possible motivation for his behaviour as ESL president are not unrelated. Uniting the two groups, both of which were pursuing the same study would not only stop the controversy between them, it would, again, benefit Victorian science. It would promote a more productive science of Man, with both Societies now exploring common instead of disparate questions. The end of controversy would end the negative attention one part of science was attracting to itself and, by extension, to scientific pursuits in general. One more field of scientific endeavour would be taught to proceed in the correct way, with any success bringing furthering the general advance of scientific knowledge.

Huxley described the ESL and ASL as respectively an "organized stupidity" and a "nest of imposters".[105] Surprisingly enough, he did have some favourable things to day about the ASL:

> The Anthropological Society is certainly alive and vigorous and under proper direction may become a very valuable organization.[106]

Still, as conditions presently stood, neither of the two Societies existing alone was acceptable. Altered and united they would produce good scientific data, thus enhancing the reputation of science.

More study would be necessary to establish whether Huxley was mainly following his own interests, or interests shared with others, in his activities in the ESL. There is evidence to suggest that the latter was the case, considering that Lubbock was also involved in Huxley's aims, as early as the first year that he became president of the ESL. (This was, interestingly enough, the same year that the ASL split off from the ESL, and so it would appear that interest in union of the two groups began immediately upon the creation of the second.) But there may have been others besides Huxley and Lubbock concerned with the situation of the ESL. Murchison has also been mentioned in conncection with the Society. These three men, along with others who were in the ESL, were also members of two elite groups of the scientific world: the Red Lions of the British Association[107] and the "X" Club of the Royal Society.[108]

It was said of these groups, particularly the X Club, that they ran science.[109] More evidence is necessary to prove that they deliberately moulded the ESL to their purposes as a group, as a "Scientific Mafia", or an invisible college.[110] But they certainly did belong to these elites,

and many of them were also involved with the ESL. Five of the nine members of the X Club, for instance, were members of the ESL.[111] The ESL was changed, and union was effected. We have shown that in this Huxley and Lubbock, at least, were following motives of their own, motives external to the ESL. It would indeed be interesting to know whether these motives were shared by any other than these two men, and exactly by whom.

At this stage we could say that we have now an explanation of the ESL-ASL relationship, and of its resolution by union. And, from chapter 2, we have found reasons to modify the present day view of the ESL's anthropology. Thus, with such answers to the issues set out in the Introduction, have we anything more to look at? There are, however, still the questions of the ESL's reputation in its own time, and why it did not have the aims for itself and view of its purpose that Huxley held. There is the matter of the type of membership and how this affected, if it did at all, the work and interests of the Society.

Hence we must go on, to look at the ESL in its final aspect: the social, and thus complete our ethnographic study of this group. Then having examined it in all its facets, we can attempt conclusions as to the nature and significance of the Society.

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3. Anthropological Review, 1869, v.7:119.

4. Ibid.

5. Arthur Keith — "How can the Institute best serve the needs of anthropology?" Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society, 1917, v.47:14.

6. Ibid.:13

7. Ethnological Society of London Journal (hereafter ESJ) old series (o.s.) v.2,1850:15.

8. Keith op. cit.:13.

9. Ibid. cf. p. 30.

10. Ibid,:13,20.

11. Ibid.:26. The ESL moved in 1884 to Hanover Square, the quarters of the Zoological Society.

12. The different areas of London and their relative status are described and documented in Chapter 5. At that time the significance of the ESL's location will be clearer.

13. ESJ o.s., v.2,:70.

14. This will become more apparent later on in the chapter when we discuss the financial statements of the Society.

15. Elizabeth A. Isichei — Victorian Quakers. London, 1970; Oxford University Press:xix

16. George Stocking — "What's in a name? The origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute" Man, 1971, v.6, #3:373, cf.369.

17. ESJ new series (n.s.) v.1, 1869:ix.

18. ESJ n.s., v.2, 1870:xiii.

19. For example, Keith op. cit.:19.

20. ESJ n.s., v.1:ix.

21. ESJ n.s., v.2:xiii.

22. Bernard H. Becker — Scientific London. London, 1874; Henry S. King & Co.:326.

23. O.J.R. Howarth — The British Association for the Advancement of Science: A Retrospect, 1831-1931. London, 1931; British Association: 18-9.

24. ESJ o.s. v.3:51.

25. Becker op. cit.:322-3.

26. Crawfurd to Murchison, September 21, 1860. Murchison Papers, BM Add. MS 46, 125 f, 483.83 (unbound). From D.A. Lorimer's notes.

27. Cyril Bibby — T.H. Huxley, Scientist, Humanist, and Educator. London, 1959; Watts:112.

28. Wm. Irvine — Apes, Angels and Victorians: Darwin, Huxley, and Evolution. Cleveland, 1955; Meridian Books: 32.

29. Archibald Geikie — Life of Sir Roderick I. Murchison. 2 vols. London, 1875; John Murray:189.

30. Carroll L. Fenton, Mildren A. Fenton — The Story of Great Geologists. New York, 1945; Books for Libraries Press:110.

31. Huxley to Lubbock, October 18, 1867. This is quoted in chapter 2 of this thesis, p.13. Avebury Papers, BM.

32. This interpretation of some sort of a scheme, if not a conspiracy, on the part of various leading Victorian scientists conerning the ESL, without any real reference to its members' wishes, is presented here for the first time, as far as I am aware. A full case would require more research on Victorian science, the ASL's side of the union, and a detailed examination of the manuscript evidence. But at least from the documents I have assembed, this case is plausible, and would only be borne out by further study.

33. ESJ n.s., v.2:xii-xiv.

34. ESJ n.s., v.1:xiv.

35. George Stocking to V. Careless, September 23, 1971.

36. ESL Council Minutes, April 19, 1849. From D.A. Lorimer's notes on the Minutes in the RAI library, London.

37. cf. Minutes, March 17, April 14, 1863.

38. ESJ n.s., v.1:xiv.

39. Minutes, October 17, 1860.

40. Ibid., November 27, 1860.

41. Ibid., November 4, 1862.

42. Ibid., November 8, 1864.

43. Ibid., January 9, 1866.

44. ESJ n.s., v.2:xxiv.

45. D.A. Lorimer British Attitudes to the Negro, 1850-1870. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, UBC, 1972:196.

46. Huxley to Lubbock, October 18, 1867. Cf. footnote #31 of this chapter.

47. Minutes, May 5, 1863.

48. ESJ o.s. v.1, 1848. This information is from Lorimer's notes on MS notes in the RAI Library's copy of this volume.

49. Keith op. cit.:13.

50. ESJ n.s., v.2:ix.

51. Keith op. cit.:13.

52. ESJ n.s., v.2:ix.

53. ESJ n.s., v.1:xiii.

54. ESJ o.s., v.3:103-9; Ibid.:165-117; Ibid., v.4:104-118; Ibid.:297-316.

55. Minutes, February 6, 1861.

56. ESJ n.s., v.1:xi-xiii.

57. Minutes, May 17, 1849.

58. ESJ n.s., v.1:xiii.

59. EST, v.2, 1863:v-vi

60. ESJ n.s., v1:xiii.

61. ESJ o.s., v.1:40.

62. Ibid.:43.

63. Ibid.:2.

64. EST, v.6,1867-8:6.

65. Minutes, June 19, 1850.

66. Ibid., May 14, 1851.

67. Ibid., May 27, 1853.

68. Ibid., April 8, 1857.

69. Ibid., May 6, 1857.

70. These figures are from the Minutes of the following dates, in the order given on the chart: May 14, 1851; May 14, 1852; May 27, 1853; May 26, 1854; May 25, 1855; and May 28, 1856.

71. Keith op. cit.:footnote, p.16.

72. Ibid.:16.

73. Stocking op. cit.:373.

74. Ibid.; Keith op. cit.:18.

75. EST v.5, 1866-7:4.

76. Ibid.:1.

77. Ibid.:4.

78. Ibid., v.6, .867-8:1.

79. Ibid.:4.

80. Ibid.:5.

81. ESJ n.s., v.1:x.

82. ESJ n.s., v.2:xii.

83. Ibid.:xv.

84. Lorimer op. cit.:245

85. Huxley to Lubbock, January 1871. BM Add MS 49, 642 (unbound) Avebury Papers. From D.A. Lorimer's notes.

86. Keith op. cit.:23; Stocking op. cit.:383.

87. Keith op. cit.:14.

88. Ibid.:16.

89. Lorimer op. cit.:195.

90. ESJ o.s., v.2:61.

91. Keith op. cit.:13.

92. ESJ o.s. v.3;1854:176.

93. Minutes, May 26, 1854.

94. Ibid.;May 25, 1855.

95. Ibid., May 28, 1856.

96. Keith op. cit.:16.

97. Huxley to Lubbock, April 1863, BM Add MS 49 639 f103, Avebury Papers. From Doug Lorimer's notes.

98. Same to Same, October 18, 1867. BM Add MS 49 640 ff 24-5, unbound. Avebury Papers. From D. Lorimer's notes.

99. EST, v.5, 1866:338;343.

100. Ibid., p 341.

101. ESJ n.s., v.1, 1869:xi.

102. Irvine, op. cit. p 264 ff.

103. Huxley to Lubbock, September 24, 1866. BM Add MS 49 640f 133 unbound, Avebury Papers, From D. Lorimer's notes.

104. ESJ n.s., v.1, 1869:x.
ESJ n.s., v.2, 1870:xii.
cf. title pages of ESL and ASL publications.

105. Stocking, George "What's in a name?" :377, quoting Huxley to Lubbock, May 3, 1863.

106. Huxley to Lubbock, October 18, 1867. BM Add MS 49, 640ff 22-5, unbound, Avebury Papers. From D. Lorimer's notes.

107. Bibby, Cyril T.H. Huxley, Scientist, Humanists, and Educator. London, 1959: Watts:95;248,9.
Huxley, Leonard, ed. Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley. New York, 1901: D. Appleton & Co.: v.1,p94.
Irvine, op. cit. p 235; 264.
Lodge, Sir Oliver Advancing Science: Being a Personal Reminiscencess of the British Association in the 19th Century. London, 1931: Ernest Benn:153-4.

108. Jensen, J. Vernon "The X Club: Fraternity of Victorian Scientists." British Journal for the History of Science. v.5, #17, 1970-1:66 ff.

109. cf. Ibid:65,7;72.

110. Ibid.:65-6.

111. Ibid.;71.

Chapter 4: The ESL: Social Composition

Having examined the intellectual and organizational aspects of the ESL, our next task is to look at the social. In this we are concerned with the nature of its membership: the life of the men apart from their participation in the ESL and their place in the larger Victorian social context. Thus, we wish to describe the indicative characteristics of their lives as Victorian Englishmen, and then assess the significance of these attributes.

This is not just a study in individual or collective biography in that our primary interest is not in the men themselves or in the ESL merely as the sum of these individuals. Rather, we are concerned with what the facts on the individuals tell us about the totality. What type of group was created out of the social experience of the ESL, and what was its role in Victorian life? To this end, the information on the members has been organized and analyzed, not by individual, but by various categories relating to social life.

This procedure also has methodological significance. The social nature of the group must be established, not just assumed or described by quoting the sources. Hence, in this and in the next chapter the information on the ESL membership is treated in the same way a social scientist would analyze data on any group today. Different social dimensions are examined in trying to establish the members'

social nature, such as title, education, occupation, and so on. The available material relevant to each dimension is considered, and conclusions are then arrived at as to the significance of the data here. A full picture of the Society emerges when the various dimensions are considered together, a picture based upon careful analysis, not impression or anecdote.

The main source for this material is the publications of the Society itself. Here one very rarely finds a name without some further social information. People are mentioned in such ways as: Captain Cameron, H.M. Consul; Prof. George Busk, FRS; Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, Bart, MTP., FRS., FRAS: Rev. T. Cornthwaite; John Shortt Esq., MD; and so on. The names appear in this form in both the body of the journals and in the membership lists, and one can see that they tell a great deal about the members.

The social information in its detail is reproduced in Appendix I. The following discussion will summarize this data as much as possible, being more concerned to present observations and conclusions drawn from it. Upon closer examination this material falls into certain general divisions. The first and most obvious is sex, for example "Mr., "Mrs.". A second category is title - for example, Equire, Sir, Lord. Further distinctions are made of rank of aristocracy - for instance, Earl, Prince, and orders

of knighthood -- KCSI, CB., etc. University education is indicated by the degree obtained, indicating the subjects studied, - e.g., B.A., M.B., - and the level achieved -- M.A., Ph.D. Honorary degrees are also noted, and professional training is indicated by job titles such as "Dr." and "Rev.". Occupation is a third category, given through acronyms like M.D., M.P., or actual title -- Consul. Membership in associations other than the ESL is also noted by acronyms following the name -- FRAS, FRS. Lastly there are addresses, but these are given only on the membership lists and are therefore to be had only for the years 1863-71.

The ESL journals do not tell everything about the members. Were there the choice of more, one might add the categories of religion, age, and perhaps income. Otherwise one would desire simply more information in the categories that exist. Nevertheless, what the journals contain is certainly sufficient for the analysis at hand. Other primary sources, such as novels, letters and periodicals, and the secondary literature, especially biographical dictionaries, offer additional information on the members, but with temporal and financial limitations on research I have not referred to these for descriptive material, and this is essentially a study of the ESL as it presented itself in its publications. Where I do use the other sources is in explaining the data from the journals, to

put my findings into their social context.

The above-mentioned categories have been used in analyzing the social information on the ESL. Let us now discuss the findings for each one in more detail. Because this analysis is concerned with ESL members as part of Victorian society, data on foreigners has not been included in the discussion; that is to say, those who were natives or citizens of a country other then Britain. British people in the colonies or even living in a foreign country are included because they still figured in and were affected by the Victorian social milieu. In certain cases, where a foreigner had been a long-time resident of England and active in the social life there, he has been included as participating in Victorian society. Subtracting the foreign group, therefore, from the total ESL membership of 648 leaves us with a group of 594. It is these that we are concerned with in discussing the social aspect of the ESL.

The first category to consider, then, is sex. This can be dealt with fairly briefly for, as has been noted, only two of the persons mentioned over the ESL's thirty years were female. This situation was not uncommon for that period, as most associations of its sort then were limited to men.[1] The Royal Geographical Society, in particular, and other interest-oriented groups admitted women to their meetings, but rarely allowed them to become

members.[2] The admission of women was a topic of some discussion in the ESL, as we have seen, and even in 1868, when they were allowed to attend the Special Meetings without needing a member's invitation, they were still not admitted to membership in the Society.[3] The ESL thus maintained a fair amount of exclusiveness and its "serious" image for not having female members.

Title is the next category. Here the three basic divisions of "commoner", "intermediate", and "noble" have been used. The "intermediate" label is applied to those who were commoners by birth but achieved noble rank by being knighted. The findings are given in the following table. The information in the different columns of the table is arranged according to the values given it by Victorian society.[4]

From this we see that over 50% of the ESL were commoners, while 5.7% were intermediate, and 5.5%, approximately, were noble. For 31% we have no information. At least one-tenth of the Society therefore was non-commoner. From Whitaker's Almanack of 1879 we find a total of 2841 non-commoners in the total British population of 33 million, a percentage of .0084.[7] Thus, the ESL had many times the national proportion of non-commoners, quite a substantial number of this elite.

The next category to consider is education. The findings presented in Table XVII. To establish the education

Table XVI: Title of the Members of the ESL

	commoner		intermediate[5]		noble[6]		other		no entry	total ESL
	Esq	309	KP	1	Prince	2	Maharajah	2		
	Mr	23	KCB	8	Duke	1	Prince	1	190	
	Mrs	1	KB	3	Earl	4				
	Miss	1	CB	5	Viscount	1				
			KCSI	2	Baron (Lord)	7				
			CSI	1	Sir, Bart (inherited "Sir")	18				
			KCMG	1						
			KCM	1						
			KCH	1						
			Sir alone	11						
total		334 (56.2%)		34 (5.17%)		33 (5.5%)		3 (.5%)	190 (33.1%)	

Table XVII: Education of the ESL Members.

	university		professional		no entry	total ESL
	Arts		Law			
	B.A.	4	Barrister	1	428	
	M.A.	9	Judge	2		
	Ph.D.	3	Chief Justice	1		
	guessed		Total	4		
	Prof.	7	Medicine			
	Total Arts	23	Dr.	32		
			Surgeon	4		
	Theology		MRCS			
	D.D.	13	F	6		
	guessed		Total	42		
	Rev.	32	Other			
	Archdeacon	1	Geologist	1		
	Bishop	1				
	Lord Bishop	1				
	Archbishop	1				
	Total Theology	49				
	Law					
	LL.B.	1				
	D.C.L.	3				
	Total Law	4				
	Medicine					
	M.B.	1				
	M.D.	42				
	Total medicine	43				
total		119		47	428	594

of the ESL members any degrees obtained were first noted. Use was also made of hints in other data such as mention of a profession, for example, "Rev.", "Dr.", or membership in a professional association, for example, FRCS, as these also tell about training received. The conclusions in these cases are entered separately in each column in the table as "guessed". In some instances a person had more than one indication of education, such as "Dr., MRCP", or "B.A., FRCS". Where this occurred, the most obvious indicator of education was chosen. The other type of data was used in the absence of such direct facts. We should note that the information available is only on post-secondary education, and that not all of it has to do with university attendance. Universities at that time taught only the classics, and liberal arts, while training for the various professions was obtained elsewhere.[8] Hence the division on the table between "university" and "professional" was necessary.

We will look first at what these findings tell us directly, and then at their general significance. The basic division of "university" and "professional" reflects the type of subjects studied, and also has to do with the nature of the education received. As G.K. Clark points out, the professional man was not then necessarily an educated man, but a trained man, usually learning through apprenticeship. University education imparted a more

general knowledge rather than specific skills. This distinction has an evaluative aspect, for education in this sense was typically the possession of gentlemen. University men therefore occupied a somewhat higher social position than those with other types of education.[9]

Within the "university" column, we can see the breakdown into Arts, theology, medicine, and law. In Arts, the B.A. was the usual degree received. An M.A., at Oxford and Cambridge, was obtained after a subsequent period of time by paying a sum of money. It was assumed that the recipient had spent the time in further reading and thought, but the main function of the degree was to let the holder vote in the university senate: it did not really reflect any scholastic achievement.[10] At the University of London, and at Scottish universities, however, the M.A. was actually earned.[11] This degree's main function seems to have been as a licence to teach,[12] and we may consider that at least some of the M.A.'s here were engaged in that profession. Ph.D. degrees were even more rare, given at the time only by German universities.[13] Thus, this degree indicated something about where its holder studied, and again it suggests a teaching or research position. The Professors may not have been Ph.D's, but were probably also involved in teaching.

In a sense, the data on theology could be included in the "professional" column in that the university in this case provided training for the clergy, -- at least

if one were Anglican.[14] Those of dissenting religions attended academies of their own denominations. These academies had a curriculum and approach similar to the universities, and their quality were also comparable.[15] For this reason all the "Rev's" are entered in the "university" column as their education was of the same type, and similarly to be distinguished from professional training. The high clergy mentioned under theology were most likely Anglican,[16] and one may assume that they had at least a first degree.[17]

Law and medicine degrees were relatively rare at this time, and so the men who held these degrees were somewhat a special elite in themselves.[18] These were persons who had added the more general education, that of a gentleman, to training in their particular professions. The rest of the men in these fields, entered in the professional column, would have been trained with those already practising in these areas. Law students read with lawyers at the Inns of Court, their only formal requirement being to eat a given number of meals there in order to ensure contact with their superiors.[19] Doctors were trained in hospitals,[20] as were some surgeons, although the latter more often learned through apprenticeship.[21] Those who are entered as M/FRCS are to be noted as having met the stricter standards that some surgeons were trying to make universal in an attempt to improve their profession's standing.[22] The geologist, unless he had learned his

craft as an amateur enthusiast,[23] might have had either medical training or a Scottish or Non-Conformist education, as these were the only milieus in which he could study scientific techniques.[24]

We can reduce the number in the "no entry" column somewhat by considering those for whom we have information. It turns out that almost all the educational data is on the commoners. We have educational information on only five of the non-commoners, and these are all members of the "intermediate" group discussed above. These five consist of two of the M.D.'s in Table II, two D.C.L.'s, and one Ph.D.. An additional three of the intermediate group are given as LL.D. (There are a total of five LL.D.'s mentioned in the journals.) There is no educational information at all for the "noble" group. We therefore know that they did not receive professional or university training, and it is at the least improbable that they would have had trade or craft apprenticeships.[25]

Upon reflection, this lack of educational information on the nobles in terms of the columns in Table XVII is not surprising. As aristocrats, they would probably have been educated at home[26] or attended a secondary institution such as a public boarding school in the English sense. They they could have gone to university, but not for specific training for their future in a particular field.[27] Any education for adult occupation, such as owning land or participation in government, if indeed any particular

occupation was taken up, would not be acquired from institutionalized education as it then existed. Their aristocracy, therefore, is in itself fair evidence of their education. Thus, we can reasonably substract the 35 nobles from the "no entry" column as accounted for.

Similarly, we can subtract the two women as their situation also explains their education. They would have been educated at home[28] or in special schools for girls.[29] University attendance for women was extremely rare at this time,[30] and, equally, training for the professions was almost non-existent.[31]

We can use officer rank in the armed forces in the same way to establish education. During the period under consideration army commissions, except for the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers, were purchased.[32] These commissions went then to those who could afford them, men of high position,[33] and entrance into the armed services thus furnished an alternative to university education.[34] We can remove the men in this situation, 37 in all, from the total number of blanks on the table. Officers in the Artillery and Engineers were specifically trained, and had to attend a military college to earn their commissions.[35] Those ESL members who were officers in these regiments, 8 in all, can thus be moved from the "no entry" to the "professional" column. A Royal Naval commission also called for training,[36] and so the 9 naval officers in the Society can also be moved to the professional

column.

With these adjustments, the overall picture of the ESL members' education emerges as follows:

Table XVIII: Revised Picture of ESL Members' Education

	#	%
university education	120	20.2
professional (includes R.E., R.A., & R.N. Officers)	82	13.0
non-professional (aristocracy, women, & army officers)	74	12.4
total	276	46.5
no entry	318	53.5
total	594	100.0

Thus, we have information on the education of almost half of the Society's membership. It appears that university education was the most common type here, accounting for 43.8% of those on whom we have information. However, we must also remember that this figure includes men in law, medicine, and theology, and that their education was combined with professional training. Taking these together with those in the "professional" column, we have thus a total of 178 who were prepared for the professions. In effect, then, the predominant focus of the education of the ESL members for whom we have information

was professional. We can get an idea of the significance of this situation when we compare it with that of the whole of England. In 1868, Matthew Arnold stated that England had 3500 matriculated university students out of a population of 20 million[37]-- a percentage of .17. In contrast, the ESL's university-educated men constituted 20.2% of such a group.

The next body of data to consider is that on occupation. In this area, the information breaks down into eight main divisions: religion, medicine, government, military, law, education, museums and libraries, and the miscellaneous category of "other". The findings are presented in Table XIV. For simplicity, the entries in the columns are again listed in order of their relative rank in Victorian society. (The evidence for the order used will become apparent in the explanations that follow below.) Thus, the table also indicates the values of the information given therein. In this, as in Table XVII, guesses are entered separately.

Again, we can begin our analysis by considering the information column by column. The first one, religion, represents 7.5% of the total membership of the ESL. This compares with the national figure of 1.014% engaged in religious occupations;[38] or with .41% of adult males between 20 and 60 years, the actual age group that would be employed in this occupation.[39] Almost all of those

Table XIX: Occupations of the ESL Members.

religion		medicine		government home		government abroad	
Archbishop	1	Dr.	27	Secretary of State for the Colonies	1	Consul	11
Lord Bishop	1	guessed				Other reps to foreign countries	5
Bishop	1	M.D.	35	M.P.	19	in Colonial govts.	6
Archdeacon	1	MRCS	8				
Canon	1	F					
Chaplain	1	Surgeon	3				
Missionary	1						
guessed				civil servants	4	Colonial civil servants	8
Rev.	36						
D.D.	1						
total(7.5%)	44	(12.29%)	73	24		30	
				--54-- (9.0%)			

military		law		education		museums & libraries
officers		Chief Justice	2	Prof	13	5
army	37	Judge	2	Master	1	
R.E.,R.A., R.N.	17	Barrister	1			
		Solicitor	1			
military surgeons	4					
ranks	2					
total	%)60	(1,0%)	6	(2.7%)	14	(.84%) 5

other		no entry	total ESL
publisher	2	317	594
geologist	2		
Borneo Co.	1		
Isle of Man govt	1		
Pasha (English)	1		
Viceroy	1		
Maharajah	2		
total (3.3%)	11	(33.3%) 317	594

entered here appear to have occupied the most common clerical rank of "Rev". What denominations they were is not specified. As their entry under "guessed" suggests, one cannot know for certain from the ESL material alone if they were all practising ministers. The title could also signify a teaching position.[40] The high positions can most probably be identified as Church of England. The number of these seem small but contrasting the .5% that they comprised of the ESL membership with the national figure for such clergy, .004% of the population,[41] this group is very highly represented in the Society.

The next column, medicine, contains the largest single occupation group in the ESL, comprising 12.3% of the membership. This figure compares with the .4% that such men constituted on the total[42] or 1.7% of adult males.[43] Three of the 73 men listed here are distinguished as surgeons, and the 8 M/FRCS may be added to them. We might, for the purposes of this discussion, also note the four military surgeons, making a total of fifteen ESL members thus engaged. The remaining 62 M.D.'s and Dr.'s must have been physicians. None are given as apothecaries or pharmacists.

These labels are important, for they reflect ranks within a profession in which there was a struggle going on for public recognition. There was some distance between physicians and surgeons, the former being the established, respected arm of medicine,[44] the latter occupying a lower

position, still tainted with the "sawbones" image. Surgical techniques were still very crude during this period.[45] Apothecaries and pharmacists were considered almost beyond the pale.[46] The lifetime of the ESL saw the attempts of medicine, especially in its lower branches, to improve and regulate its standards.[47] The establishment of the College of Surgeons in 1800 was one such attempt,[48] and so we may consider those of its members in the ESL as more aware of the profession's status, and, in submitting to the Colleg's standards, of high calibre in their field. These men therefore came close to the high rank of the physicians.[49]

As was the case with the Church, there is a possibility that not all those given as M.D. practised their craft. Just as one with theological training might become a teacher, so could one with medical education do other work. Teaching medicine was an obvious possibility. For some men, such as Huxley, medical training also provided an avenue to the pursuit of scientific studies.[50] However, there were not many actual jobs in science,[51] and few of these paid reasonably. As Huxley said "A man who chooses a life of science chooses not a life of poverty, but, so far as I can see a life of nothing".[52] Those who had medical degrees and did not practise, unless in another occupation, could do so only if they were men of means.[53]

Government is the next heading, involving 9.9% of the membership: it is also the next largest occupation represented in the ESL. This is sub-divided into those who played a part in the British governmental system at home and those whose duties were performed abroad. In the home government, the majority are M.P.'s, -twenty of them including a Secretary of State, or 3.37%. This was a sizeable number considering that there were only 650 M.P.'s, .0019% of the total population,[54] or .007% of the adult males.[55] The Civil Service, moreover, was starting to be an important source of employment for university-educated men in the mid-Victorian period,[56] and from 1853 on, with the institution of exams for the Indian Civil Service, increasingly aware of its professional status.[57] Those mentioned here probably were not very much affected by moves to improve the civil servant's status, as at least three of the four had very high positions: one, "lord", at the War Office, another the Superintendent of H.M. Stationery Office, and another, H.M. Medical Inspector of Factories. The fourth is given only as "the admiralty", with no other information. In the government work abroad, most of the members were involved in the Diplomatic Service, a body with very high prestige.[58] A position in colonial government was also a desirable role the men engaged here providing the colonies with much of their professional class.[59]

The military is next, represented in the same strength in the ESL as the government. The majority were officers, with the distinction shown on the table between those who purchased their commissions, and those who received officer training. The four military surgeons are entered here, and not under medicine, because they were actually employed by the armed forces.

Law, comprising 1.01% of the membership, is of somewhat less importance in the ESL than those discussed to date. In all of Britain, in comparison, lawyers formed .52% of the population,[60] or .109% of the adult males between 20 and 60 years.[61] As with the other professions the labels given here are of significance in terms of ranking. Law, like other professions at the time, was also undergoing changes. It, too, had its lower branch, the solicitors, who were to barristers what surgeons were physicians, and who were similarly trying to improve their position.[62] Thus the justices and barrister in the ESL were of the upper, respected branch of their profession. The lone solicitor, however, had a good claim to be considered with them, in that he was Solicitor to the Post Office, a position that he held for some time, and which paid well above the average salary.[63]

Education was also of much less importance as an occupation in the ESL than most of the others discussed so far, but at 4.7% it was still represented more than law. In comparison, teachers made up .51 of the total

population.[64] This number might be swelled, if some of those given as M.D.'s, M.A.'s and Rev.'s were actually employed as teachers. Again, we must note that most of the data in this column deals with those of high position in their occupation. Professors were very rare at this time.[65] The "Master" listed taught at Harrow, one of the "ancient seven" public schools, and one with a very high reputation.[66]

The staff members of museums and libraries might be included in the education column, although the aim of such institutions was not solely pedagogical.[67] These areas are relatively well represented in the ESL, for they have only one less member than law, although the latter was much the larger as a profession. Two of the men entered here were Keepers at the British Museum, and earned fairly high salaries.[68] A third was Director of the Geology Museum, and a fourth was the Keeper of the Royal Gardens at Kew: both highly paid positions. The last to be mentioned in this category was the Librarian of the Corporation of London, who was also very well paid.[69]

The final column of occupational data on the ESL membership is "other", with the specifics show in the table. The two publishers are those who published the ESL's Transactions and new series of Journal, John Murray and Nicholas Trübner respectively. These are the only two men who could be considered "trade", but they are

also of exceptional positions. Their establishments were highly respected and occupied important places in Victorian culture.[70] Murray's was an old firm, publishing Byron, Jane Austen and Darwin, among others.[71] Trübner's was more restricted to works dealing with anthropology, and he himself was a noted Orientalist and student of religion.[72] The two geologists are the Society's only recognized scientific practitioners, members of a profession just beginning to emerge at the end of the ESL's life.[73] The Borneo Company employee is the only member of the ESL mentioned as having anything to do with business. The rest in the "other" column, except for the Pasha, are members of their own governments; they are not Englishmen in colonial governments but particular people of countries very closely tied to Britain.

We can, moreover, add to the "other" column and diminish the "no entry" column here as we did with the educational information. First, we may take the sex of the two women in the Society as indicative of their occupational situation as it was of their education. It is highly unlikely that any woman in this group would have an occupation outside the home.[74] Then there is again the question of the non-commoners. Of the "intermediate" group, 24 have occupational information and 12 have none. Of the aristocracy only 7 of 38 have any mention of an occupation. This is not surprising, as we mentioned before, in that much of their adult activity, such as

land-owning, would not be formalized into a specific employment. It would seem that being noble, like being female, was an occupation in itself. Thus, our revised overall picture of the ESL's occupations emerges as follows:

Table XX: Adjusted Totals of ESL Members' Occupations

	#	% of total known
religion	44	14.6
medicine	73	24.1
government	54	17.9
military	53	17.5
law	6	1.9
education	14	4.6
museums & libraries	5	1.6
other	11	3.3
& women	2	.6
& nobles	35	11.5
total	302	100.0

We have information, therefore, on over 50% of the Society's members.

Having dealt with the details, we can enlarge upon this overall picture of occupation. Looking first at the type of job, we can note that women and business are under-represented fields, and pass on to the next and more sizeable group, the nobles and those in government positions; that is, M.P.'s, diplomats and members of the colonial governments. These have been considered together because their activities had in common the exercise of power and required no particular training. Burrowing a concept from Lw. J. Reader, this may be labelled

"aristocratic employment".[75] In this category there are 73 men, 78 if one includes those in foreign governments with the same type of position, or about one-third of the ESL members on whom there is occupational information. The remaining two-thirds constitute a group in themselves.

Although the actual jobs are quite diverse, they belong to a relatively narrow range of occupation. All required post-secondary training, and all were considered professions. This larger group were all professional men. And these were not only professional men, but men of high status in the professions. We have noted above that, with the exception of those in the Church, the majority of the ESL's members occupied high positions in their different fields. They were men of prestige there. Furthermore, the particular fields in which they were were also prestigious. In discussing the occupational data, there has been pointed out on different occasions the existence of an upper and lower branch in a profession, especially in medicine and law. Those divisions were based upon the relative age of the profession: the older, more established branch was considered the upper and respected; the younger had to struggle for similar recognition. It has been shown that the ESL members were almost all in the upper branches, and if in the lower, still of high position there.

The distinction between old and new was also made among the different professions, and prestige granted

accordingly. The "esteemed" or "privileged" professions were the Church, law, medicine, university, army and navy, and higher civil service.[76] The "underprivileged" included painters, architects, sculptors, civil engineers, educators, parliamentary agents, and actuaries.[77] Thus all the professionals mentioned in the ESL, except the teachers, museum workers, and entries in "other", were of the respected professions. The position of teachers did rise somewhat, and in 1861 they were first mentioned as a separate group in the Census.[78] Considering the high positions of the particular educators and museum men here, one can assume that they were not totally cast off from their more accepted brothers. Scientists had somewhat farther to climb for recognition. Science was taught only outside the public schools, meaning that scientists, like those of the "lower branches" received only professional training, never the highly valued education of a gentleman.[79] In summary, the ESL professionals on the whole were indeed to be found in high-ranking positions in their fields and in the upper branches and more prestigious professions.

I have introduced comparative figures for the rest of England when dealing with the numbers in a particular profession represented in the ESL. These can now be brought together for a more comprehensive view of the situation. The question here is how the representation of the professions in the ESL compares with the national pattern. Did certain professions have a much stronger,

or weaker, weighting in this Society than in society at large? The figures for Britain used here are those for 1881, the nearest year to the ESL period for which this type of information was available, and they are compared with the population total for that year.[80] These figures are for one year only, to illustrate the picture then in England. The ESL figures, of course, come from thirty years of publications, but as we are interested in general distribution patterns rather than actual numbers, the two sets of data can be compared. It should be remembered that we are now talking of actual numbers employed, and not of the social worth or rank of the different professions.

The findings are summarized in Table XXI, the data in each half of it ordered according to their importance in the particular group in question. The national figures are for only England and Wales, but this does not radically alter the picture. Omitting the Irish and Scottish members for the sake of comparison affects only one person in the Church, and one in education.

Comparing the two sets of figures points out the different importance of the various professions in the country and in the ESL. We can note the flavour of the ESL that results from its particular configuration of the different professions. The third largest profession in the country, medicine, is the largest in the ESL. The largest in England, education, is the fourth largest

Table XXI: Distributions of the Professions in the ESL and in England

profession	England #	%*	ESL #	%	rank in ESL
education	168,920	1.91	14	2.7	4
religion	36,682	.41	44	7.5	3
medicine	15,116	.17	73	12.29	1
law	13,395	.109	6	1.01	6
military			54	8.9	2
Civil Service			(home & 12 abroad)	2.0	5
museums			5	.84	7
science			2	.37	8

* % of total male population between 20 and 60 years.

in the Society. The fact that the professions are not represented in the ESL in the same weights as they occupied in the whole country is significant. It suggests that the ESL contained a certain type of people, and was not just a miniature replica of the larger society. The proportion of doctors and the military in the ESL, for example, are more significant for the fact that they did not form so large a section of the total population. Their stronger representation would thus influence the quality of the ESL, notably in the group's interests and opinions.

Having dealt with the available data on occupation, we can turn to the next area for which we have information: membership in other associations. There are three main types of associations: invitational, ones with membership restricted to those asked to join; professional, those associated with one's occupation; and interest, groups organized around a common topic or area of study. Membership in almost all such associations was limited to men, although ladies could attend meetings of some of the interest groups with varying degrees of freedom, according to the rules of the particular entity.[81] As there were usually membership fees for all these associations, membership was further limited to those who could afford to join.[82]

The findings here are given in Table XXII. The data comes from acronyms following a person's name, indi-

Table XXII: ESL Membership in Other Associations

invitational		professional		interest (includes 146 in executive positions)	
London		MRCP	2	Society of Antiquaries	34
Royal Society	45	F		Royal Geographical Society	33
Atheneum	26	" (London)	1	Geological Society	29
Oriental	5			Royal Society of Literature	14
Indian & Oriental	1	MRCS	13	Linnaean Society	10
East India United Service	1	F		Royal Asiatic Society	7
Army & Navy	1	foreign		Anthropological Society of London	8
Grenadier Guards	1	Imperial Academy of Medicine of France	1	Statistical Society	1
Brooks'	1			Entomological Society	1
New University	1			Zoological Society	1
Drones	0			Royal Irish Academy	1
rest of Great Britain				foreign	
New Club, Edinburgh	1			Paris Ethnological Society	1
foreign				American Ethnological Society	1
Institut de France	1			Mem., Chile University	1
				Musee d'Histoire Naturel,	1
				Paris Statistical Soc., Darmstadt	1
total (15.9%)	95	(11.1%)	27	(25.0%)	151

cating membership in such groups. The invitational and interest groups are ordered primarily by their importance in the ESL, as their social rank in terms of each other was a rather complicated matter. The professional groups are ordered in terms of their social rank.[83] It should be noted that we are dealing with two types of statistics here: the total number of members who belonged to other associations, and the total number of memberships held in such groups by ESL members. These numbers are different because some members belonged to more than one other association. As far as the former total goes, we have information on 133 men who were in other associations, or 22.3% of the ESL members. The total number of known memberships in other associations is that appearing on the table.

In the "invitational" column the associations that appear, with the exception of the Royal Society, and perhaps also the Atheneum, functioned essentially as gentlemen's clubs, and ones of some status.[84] Their fees indicate their exclusiveness. We can refer to Whitaker's Almanack for 1879 to get an idea of these.

Table XXIII: Membership Fees for Certain London Clubs, 1879[85]

club	fees entrance	yearly
Atheneum	£31.10.0	£ 7.7.0
Brooks's	£ 9.9.0	£11.11.0
EIUS	£31.0.0	£ 8.8.0
Guards'	£31.0.0	£10.0.0
New University	£31.0.0	£ 8.7.0
Oriental	£31.0.0	£ 8.8.0

These charges are all very similar and, compared to the proposed 3 guineas entrance fee for the ESL (apparently never implemented) and its two guineas yearly fee, are also quite expensive.[86] The number of members also shows the selectiveness of the associations. Using 1879 figures again, we find that the Royal Geographical Society, for example, had approximately 3400 members[87] in comparison to the Atheneum's 1200 and Brooks's 600.[88]

Some of these clubs had additional qualification for membership besides money and, of couse, election by all of the members.[89] The Oriental and East India United Service clubs, for instance, were restricted to those who had served in the East,[90] while the Army and Navy, and Guards' clubs were only for the members of those particular forces.[91] The New University Club was for those who had attended Oxford and Cambridge[92]-- and membership here also suggested other social facts about a person, particularly religion, for only those professing the Thirty-Nine Articles could take a degree at these universities.[93]

The Atheneum was an institution with a great deal of prestige. It was on the street of genteel clubs, St. James,[94] and, like other clubs, furnished the address for many of its members, when they visited London from the country or abroad. Belonging to the Atheneum also meant more than social position. The club had a select membership of men noted in various fields, particularly literature.[95] For example, Sir William Cubitt, the builder, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, author of Sam Slick, John Ruskin, Anthony Trollope, Sir R. Owen, the naturalist, and Captain Fitzroy, commander of the Beagle, were members.[96]

The Royal Society was equally select, but its primary emphasis was on achievement in one's particular field rather than on income.[97] It was essentially a group of intellectuals, containing as it were, the "aristocracy" or cream of the intelligentsia.[98] It tended to favour scientific rather than literary pursuits.[99] Its members included Sir Humphry Davy and Dr. W.H. Wollaston, the chemist, Sir Roderick I. Murchison, president of the Royal Geographical Society, Darwin, Lyell and Hooker, important in natural history.[100] The ESL members in this and in the Atheneum were thus men of some status.

In the "professional" column, we can note that the entries consist only of those in medical associations. I have discussed already the different branches of medicine and the significance of the Royal Colleges. Membership in these, as has been pointed out, tells us something

about a person's attitude toward his profession and his position as a doctor. The Royal College of Physicians was particularly significant, for its members were an extremely small elite of the doctors. To be accepted, one had to have attended Oxford or Cambridge, which requirement automatically excluded Dissenters[101] and further limited the group to those of high ability or money. The social base of these groups, with membership determined by occupation, was not quite as restricted as that of the invitational associations, although, of course, only certain people could afford to study medicine[102] or qualify to join the Colleges. These Societies also had a different orientation from the invitational, having the more specific intent of advancing the profession in addition to providing a gathering place for men of a particular group.

For the interest groups, it is important to note the number of ESL members on the executive of such bodies, 11% of all those who were in other interest groups. They would appear to be occupying a sizeable number of the possible executive positions available in those various associations. The particular Societies entered here, and the number of memberships held in them by ESL members tell a good deal about these men's concerns in areas outside ethnology. In considering which of these associations were most important, we find that the Society of Antiquaries had the highest participation, followed

closely by the Geographical Society. Next was the Geological Society, then came a jump down to the Royal Society of Literature, to the Linnaean Society, and then the Asiatic and Anthropological Societies.

The figures here tell us more than just the specific areas that received the attention of the ESL members. They also present a certain configuration of that Society's interests. There is an obvious orientation toward natural history, a focus concerned with Man as well as the rest of the world in its physical aspects (Geographical, Geological Societies) and its biological (Linnaean, Zoological Societies) aspects. And the interest in Man is more in his cultural aspect, - what he makes and does (Society of Antiquaries, Literature Society), - than in the sheerly physical, the form and function of his body. One would not summarize the profile thus created as hard or physical science.[103] None of the areas mentioned above proceeded by experimental, laboratory methods, but rather by the more developmental approach typical to natural history. Recalling the discussion in a previous chapter of the ESL's own procedure and concerns, we can note that the outside interests of its members' seem very much in harmony with these.[104]

In terms of the three broad categories used above, we see that interest groups, then invitational, and finally professional associations were joined, in that order of

preference. This is perhaps understandable considering the requirements for membership in these various groups and the resulting restrictions that were placed on would-be members. Naturally, fewer people could join a professional association then an interest group. The number in invitational groups is surprisingly sizeable when one considers that membership in the clubs on Table XXII involved only .02% of the total population.[105] In comparison, 6.80% of the ESL members were associated with the same groups. I have mentioned that membership in professional associations was also relatively rare at this time.[106] The ESL therefore were quite well represented in these prestigious associations. Again, many of the ESL men were on the executives of other groups: thus, they also held high positions in the other bodies of which they were members.

The above analysis has presented most of the social data on the ESL to be garnered from its publications. There is still one more category of material to consider, namely, addresses, but this will be set aside for now, as it is not quite of the same sort as the foregoing. The information exists only for 1863-71, not the whole 30-year period of the ESL. Moreover, it will be used for a more specific purpose in the next chapter. We can pause here, then, to assess what has been established thus far.

We have information on at least one category of the main headings outlined at the beginning of the chapter for 646 of the ESL members, leaving only 2 with no entries at all. There seems to be no one category which alone signifies the ESL's social culture. Neither sex nor title do: this was not just a men's group or a group of people of particular birth. Similarly, it was not a Society of people in a single occupation or of even one type of occupation, for example, professional. Nor was the membership made up entirely of the members of any other association, or again any type of such as association. We cannot explain the social data by any category besides those we have discussed above. The ESL members are for example, not all of the same age or religion.

The categories and their contents that we have been discussing so far are all of a direct nature: such things as age, sex, occupation, education, and so on, are facts that simply need to be stated. We have not found any one of these alone very helpful in explaining the ESL social composition. We must accordingly look for an explanation that involves more abstraction: is there any particular aspect or theme to be found common to these categories that stands out as most important in the social data?

Indeed, one such aspect is readily apparent: social status. I have mentioned status several times in enlarging upon the meaning of the social data. Position has

been of importance in dealing with the data within each category under consideration. I have contrasted the relative status of married women in the ESL as opposed to single, non-commoners to commoners, and I have distinguished between the orders of knighthood and ranks of nobility. In "education" I noted the different social values of university and professional training. In "occupation" I talked of the types of occupations, with their relative status, and the distinctions in the professions of old and new, and upper and lower branches. In "other associations" I also noted the significance of the different types of groups that existed, and the particular positions held in them.

Position was again important in considering the data in terms of the larger society. Comparing the situation in the ESL with the rest of Victorian England, I pointed out the relative prestige of an association which excluded women in contrast to one which allowed them to join. A much higher ratio was found, of non-commoners to commoners in the ESL compared with their proportions in all of Victorian England. Similarly, the high representation of post-secondary education in the ESL was observed in the light of its relative scarcity in the whole nation. The aristocratic and professional employment found in the ESL was contrasted with its occurrence in the total population and noted other occupations, such as business and trade, which did not appear in the Society. Lastly,

the ESL's large membership in other associations was weighed against the ineligibility of the mass of English people to join such groups. These contrasts all revolve around the one question, relative or social status.

It is apparent, then, how largely status figures in the social data on the ESL. It is not just a major aspect of any one category here: it is shared throughout by all. It is the thread which ties together all the information available. As has been shown, position in the various areas discussed above is closely linked to position in the larger society. The basic question that remains is social status.

We can thus concentrate upon this particular aspect as crucial to a proper understanding of the social data. The narrowing of focus provides a convenient place to break off here, to leave the central question of social status in the ESL to the next chapter.

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2. Popular Magazine of Anthropology published by the Anthropological Society of London, April 1866, v.2:81.
Anthropological Review, published by the Anthropological Society of London, 1868, v.6:434.

3. Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, new series, London; N. Trubner, v.1:xiv.

4. The ranking was established from a reading of the literature. The "commoner" column notes the ascendancy of men over women, and married women over single. The "intermediate" column gives the different orders of knighthood according to their relative rank, and "noble" does the same for the levels of nobility. The source for these latter two columns is Whitaker's Almanack for 1879 (London: J. Whitaker, 1879), pp69-76, which gives the correct orders for these. Had the library a larger collection of Almanacks, the source would be closer in date to the years of the ESL. But the limitations posed by this are not that great, since it is unlikely that there would be any change in the order given.

5. The acronyms for the different orders of knighthood stand for the following titles:
KP Knight of St. Patrick
KCB Knight Commander of the Bath
CB Commander of the Bath
KCSI Knight Commander of the Star of India - order instituted in Queen Victoria's reign
CSI Commander of the Star of India
KCMG Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George
KCM Knight Commander of St. Michael

The information here is from Whitaker pp.67-76.

6. "Bart" = Baronet

7. Again, the library situation places limited on the documentation here, 1879 being the earliest Almanack

available. The figure of non-commoners was arrived at by adding the totals of the members of the House of Lords (pp80-7), number of Baronets (pp77-9) and number of Knights (pp69-76) for that year. The resulting breakdown of non-commoners is as follows:

House of Peers		503	+28 Irish 16 Scottish
Baronets		698	+65 Irish 99 Scottish
Knights	KG	53	
	KT	24	
	KP	32	
	KB	1112	
	KSI	113	
	KCMG	109	
total		2841	

This total was compared with the population figure, arrived at by adding the most recent Census total, 31 million in 1871, to the decennial increase of 2 million (Whitaker, p 197). The figures are therefore approximate, but the general trend is what is wanted, and they serve for this purpose.

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16. The Archdeacon is obviously Anglican as this position occurs only in the Church of England. The others can also be checked by means of their positions and sees. The Archbishop is of Dublin, and as he is called "Right Rev" is probably Church of England. The Lord Bishop's seat is in Labuan, and this was also Anglican. The Bishop, of Wellington, could be either Roman Catholic or Anglican. (cf. Whitaker, 154, 157).

17. Green, — op. cit.:192,264.
cf. Reader, — Professional Men 128.

18. Cole, G.D.H. — Studies in Class Structure. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955:66.
Green — op. cit:192.
Reader — op. cit.:16-18, 128.

19. Reader — op. cit.:21-2,46.

20. Ibid.: 60, 136.

21. Ibid.: 34.

22. Ibid.: 21.

23. Ibid.: 7.
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24. cf. Cole, — op. cit.:68.
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Reader, — op. cit.:130-2, 138ff.

25. cf. Reader — op. cit.:48.

26. Best, Geoffrey — Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-1875. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971:160-1.

27. Reader, W.J. — Life in Victorian England. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1964:19ff.

28. Reader, Ibid.:19 — Professional Men:170.

29. cf. Green — op. cit.:127

30. Reader, — Victorian England:166
Professional Men:169
Green — op. cit.:120-1.

31. Reader, — Professional Men:167, 172-3.

32. Ibid.: 75
Clark, — op. cit.:266.

33. Reader — Professional Men:97
Clark, — Making of Victorian England:219-20.

34. Reader, — Victorian England:24.

35. Reader — Professional Men: 96-7.

36. Ibid.:80.

37. Ibid.:130.

38. This percentage is arrived at by comparing Reader's figures on the numbers in the professions, (Professional Men: Appendix I, p 211) with the population of England. The set of Reader's figures nearest to the ESL period is 1881, and the population figure is also for that date, arrived at as explained in footnote 7, above.

39. The figures here are from B.R. Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962:12-17.

40. Reader — Professional Men:12.

41. See footnote 38 above for explanation of the origin of these figures.

42. The figures here are again from Reader, Professional Men, Appendix I, p 211, compared with the population figure from Whitaker, p 197.

43. Mitchell — loc. cit.

44. Reader, Professional Men:16-21, 32-43
Cole — Studies in Class Structure;66.

45. Reader — Professional Men:33.

46. Ibid.:32, 40-3.

47. Ibid.:43, 23-4.

48. Ibid.:34.
Clark, op. cit.:261
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49. Cole — op. cit.:66.

50. Irvine — Apes Angels and Victorians:13-14.
Clark — op. cit.:263
Reader — Professional Men: 134, 136.

51. Irvine — op. cit.:27

52. Quoted in Reader Professional Men, 140, from Margaret Reeks Register .. and History of the Royal School of Mines, Royal School of Mines (old Students' Association) 1920.

53. Reader — Professional Men:6.

54. The figures come from Whitaker's Almanack for 1879, p 91-7 on the House of Commons membership, and on population, p 197, as explained in footnote 7.

55. Mitchell — loc. cit.

56. Briggs, Asa — The Age of Improvement. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1959:442-3.
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57. Reader — Professional Men:85,185.
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59. Briggs op. cit.:411.
Checkland, S.G. The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965:295.

60. The figures on lawyers are from Reader, Professional Men, Appendix I, p 211, arrived at by adding together the barrister and solicitor figures. The total is compared with the population figure for the same year, established in footnote 7 above. For the purpose of this comparison, we are including the justices in the ESL with the barristers for the Society's total.

61. Mitchell loc. cit.

62. Reader Professional Men:21, 25-31.

63. This man was mentioned in this position in the ESL first in 1867, and according to Whitaker's Almanack for 1879, he still held this office and received £1500 per annum (p104). This salary, in terms of Dudley Baxter's assessment of the situation in 1867 (in John Burnett Plenty and Want: a Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966, p 124) places him in the upper class.

64. The figures are again from Appendix I, p 211, Professional Men, compared with the national population (Whitaker, p 197) Cf. footnote 7.

65. Cole op. cit.:68.

66. Clark op. cit.:267
Newsome, David Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal. London: John Murray, 1961:72.

67. Wittlin, Alma The Museum: its History and its Tasks in Education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949:149.

68. Whitaker's Almanack for 1879 gives the salaries for their particular positions, which range from £650 to £800 (p 104). In comparison, Thomas Huxley received £200 for lecturing at the Royal School of Mines and Museum of Practical Geology (p 104).

69. This position in 1879 received £700 per annum (Whitaker's Almanack for 1879, p 207).

70. Whyte, Frederic — William Heinemann. London: Johnathan Cape, 1928:15.

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72. Mumby, Frank — Publishing and Bookselling: a History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. London: J. Cape, 1956:349.
Whyte, — op. cit.:15.

73. Cardwell — The Organisation of Science:80-1
Evans — The Victorians: 48,212.

74. Best — Mid-Victorian Britain; 280-1
Reader — Victorian England:159-61.

75. Reader — Professional Men:73-4.

76. Burn — The Age of Equipoise:254
Checkland — The Rise of Industrial Society:295
Reader — Professional Men:150.

77. Reader — Ibid.
Cole — Studies in Class Structure:66-7.

78. Reader — Professional Men: 147.

79. Cole — op. cit.:68.

80. The figures here are from Reader, Professional Men, Appendix I, p 211 for the professions and Whitaker's Almanack for 1879 for the population, as explained in footnote 7.

81. Best, — Mid-Victorian Britain: 169.
Clark, — The Making of Victorian England:262
Nevill, — London Clubs: 135.
Wey, in Korg, — London in Dickens's Day: 128-9.
Schlesinger, — Saunterings in and about London: 114-116.
Bell, Aldon — London in the Age of Dickens. Norman; University of Oklahoma Press, 1967:105-7.

82. cf. Whitaker, p 76.
Schlesinger, — op. cit.:115.

83. This has been brought out in the discussion of the professions and their branches.

84. Besant, Sir Walter — London in the Nineteenth Century. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1909:20.

85. Whitaker, ;76.

86. cf. chapter 3, p 9.

87. This is arrived at by using the 1830 figure of 460 as a base, and adding sixty new members per year, calculated as the average yearly growth for this period, until the year 1879. The figures are from H. Robert Mill The Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930. London: Royal Geographical Society 1930: p 233. The total given for 1871-92 is 3500, and so the 3400 figure might be reduced somewhat to allow for the number who left through death or resignations. Still, the number in this type of Society was over twice that in the other.

88. Whitaker, p 76.

89. Nevill, op. cit.:157 ff.
Wey in Korg, op. cit.:128.

90. Nevill, op. cit.:212, 215.

91. Ibid.:244, 253.

92. Ibid.: 239
Thornbury, Walter, and Walford, Edward
Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and Its Places. v.1-6. London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1887-93: v. iv:160.

93. Stimson, Dorothy — Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society. New York: Henry Schuman 1948: 202.

94. Schlesinger, op. cit.:113.

95. Nevill, op. cit.:275.

96. Ward, Humphry — History of the Atheneum, 1824-1925. London: Printed for the Club, 1926:118-157.

97. Lyons, Sir Henry — The Royal Society 1660-1940: A History of its Administration

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98. Ibid.: ix.

99. Stimson, Dorothy, Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society. New York: Henry Schuman, 1948:216.

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101. Reader, Professional Men: 16-21.

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103. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. "Social Anthropology Past and Present" in Robert Manners and David Kaplan eds. Theory in Anthropology: a Sourcebook, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, pp46-54: p52-53.
Eggan, Fred "Social Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Comparison" pp 54-66 in Manners & Kaplan:54.
Beck, Lewis "The 'Natural Science Ideal' in the Social Sciences" pp 80-89 in Manners and Kaplan:80-5ff.

104. cf. chapter 2, p 61-64

105. Again, we are using figures for 1879 from Whitaker, p 74, compared with the population of that year (cf. footnote 7).

106. Cole, op. cit.:66.

Chapter 5: The ESL: Social Status

Before discussing the ESL in terms of social status, we must consider the system of social stratification in Victorian England. First, one should consider the terms and concepts used in such an analysis. The usual term is "class" but it should be used with caution for several reasons. For one thing, I think that class is essentially an analytical concept, an observer's category. It is a useful way of separating the various divisions of society and naming them, but I would argue that except for an obviously and rigidly stratified society, such as India, the labels differentiating different levels of class are very hard to apply precisely. To be sure, there are even problems in applying them to India. I agree with Roger Brown's argument that true class is perceivable and identifiable by the members of the group concerned, and by outsiders, with both recognizing the same boundaries and requirements.[1]

In dealing with Victorian England, moreover the problem of class is compounded by the confusion that existed then, and exists still in the minds of historians, as to the application both of the term and of its usual subdivisions into upper, middle, and lower. These labels were used in the Nineteenth Century, and are consequently valid for use today in discussing that period, but their appli-

cation is beset by difficulties. Geoffrey Best describes the situation very well in his preface to Mid-Victorian Britain:

> It is probably in respect of class that I shall be found, by the sociological, most wanting. I have used the language of class more as it was used by mid-Victorians than as it is used by any ancient or modern school of social theorists, i.e. I have used it continuaily and confusedly. Mid-Victorian society, it is hardly too much to say, was obsessed by class and riddled with class-consciousness, and generally not at all clear what it all meant.[2]

We may have to follow his reasoning when dealing with Victorian social stratification. One cannot then ignore class, but it must be carefully approached as a very complicated matter.

A great deal has been said already, and certainly there is more to be said on the Victorian class system. Instead of paraphrasing the literature on the matter, it seems not unreasonable to present here a picture that has been drawn from reading both Nineteenth Century and current sources, bringing out the points that appear to be most significant. The tripartite division of upper, middle, and lower classes is still useful as a basic way of categorizing the people of Victorian England. Further divisions in terms of relative rank within these classes, again of upper, middle, and lower, amy also be applied, although they are more careful perhaps regarding the middle and lower classes. However, I have found that

a dual division, based on the quality or nature of the status occupied one's lifestyle and values rather than on rank alone, mirrors more faithfully the situation within the mid-Victorian classes.

The upper class consisted of the hereditary peers and gentry, of landed and usually wealthy families, and also other persons of great wealth.[3] The position of these latter resulted from their financial success, and was thus achieved and not ascribed. A definite distinction was made between these two groups, although both were considered upper class.[4] The aristocrat's status, by virtue of how it was obtained its hereditary character, was regarded as superior.[5]

Money alone, however, even great amounts of it, would not automatically raise one into this class. Only wealth from certain respectable sources, such as banking, high finance or the leading branches of commerce was recognized.[6] Ownership of a successful factory or mine, for example, would not win entry into this class,[7] although it might provide the potential for such an entry, if the proper channels for achieving higher status were used.[8] Until that was done, men in this position, the Victorian <u>nouveaux riches</u>, were considered middle class.[9]

Within the middle class itself there also seems to have been two division. The lower and larger of these consisted of those most obviously identified as solid,

respectable citizens, the ones who most closely fit the stereotype we have today of the sober, hard-working Victorian.[10] Then there were those who, although actually part of the middle class, were not obviously so from appearances. Among them were the prosperous men in business, the nouveaux riches that I have mentioned, whose financial success gave them the possibility of enjoying higher status, once the passage of time had rubbed off some of the recentness of their achievement.[11] In addition to these there were the professionals and intellectuals who also faced the possibility of an upward change in status. Harold Perkin has called them the "forgotten middle class", partly because they were of a different sort from the mass of that group, and also because, when discussing the Victorian class system, they characteristically neglected to place themselves in it.[12]

These latter people, one may interpret, held the potential of leaving their class for slightly different reasons than those of the businessmen. The distinction again depends upon quality: they had a lifestyle very similar to the upper class. In fact, at their best, it was closest to that of the cream of the upper class, the nobility. For one thing, their income was not based upon tradesmanlike endeavour.[13] Payment in the professions was by fixed fee, not wages, and one received more business in accordance with the high quality of his services.[14] The work of intellectual writers similarly had a relatively

assured audience if the quality of production was acceptable, and thus writers experienced a situation with some sense of cultivated stability rather than of crass competition for money.[15] These circumstances, says Perkin, resulted in the men concerned having a certain degree of self respect, which they expected to be confirmed by the rest of society.[16] Furthermore, standards and quality of work became important consideration. The ethos of meriting success, of earning because of good work done, was strong in this group, and this was very different from the business-man's ethic of maximizing profits.

This group of middle class men was, therefore, similar to the upper class in the way they led their lives and also in having a concept of a particular quality such as merit as a goal of life in which money was secondary. In the upper class, similarly, high position was held by dint of birth or assured wealth, but sheer privileged status was not the essential aspect of this position. Rather, as with the middle class professionals, a particular quality that this status emobdied was what was important. The particular quality of the upper class was gentility.

The literature reveals the difficulties in defining "gentility" and the related label of "gentleman" precisely. Indeed, the Victorians were also confused as to its meaning.[17] Nevertheless, like "class", it was widely used then, and is valid to use now. Such traits as integrity, honour, kindness to and protection of those weaker, especially

women and children, fair fighting, sportsmanlike behaviour, courteous manners, evidence of good taste, considerateness but firmness in following what was right, were among the many features regarded as attributes of a gentleman.[18] Further, this label was not applied merely to a concept. It was the name of an actual, recognizable group of men, as the usage above and in examples like "Burke's Landed Gentry" show. It was another name for the nobility, those of real birth and breeding, and it expressed the type of behaviour associated with their resulting position.[19] Certainly, not all aristocrats acted as gentlemen, and this raises a third connotation in the usage of this term: as the name of the ideal behaviour associated with this group.

The concept of gentility in this last sense had a broader application, providing a norm for the population as a whole. Just as the nobility were at the top of the social ladder, so their ideal behaviour was taken as the model for the rest of the society.[20] Moreover, if one's social position were favourable, behaving like a gentleman could be a means of upward mobility. For example, those already close to the upper class would, by acting like the nobility, be even more similar, and more acceptable, to the class to which they were aspiring.[21] At the same time, they would be more distinguishable from the class from which they had sprung.

Gentlemanly behaviour, was one means of social mobility. Other avenues were hypergamy, and the "right" education, and the character of occupation.[22] The first of these is easily understood, but we can dwell upon the latter two at more length in considering the general question of middle class aspiration to the upper class. Education and occupation figured in this aspiration for the most obvious reason that attendance at a socially approved school and later university, and employment in the right sort of job, notably the professions,[23] imparted prestige to the individual so involved.

Moreover, these places not only provided avenues to the upper class, they also provided access to its members. Middle-class children met their upper-class counterparts at the best schools, particularly public schools,[24] and in university,[25] and as far as possible, the limits being set by upper-class approachability, they all formed one group in such a situation.[26] In the professions, this association continued. The professions were considered acceptable employment for the younger sons of the nobility and gentry who would not inherit the family lands and directly exercise power.[27] The upper branches of more established professions were a particular choice for such men, and these occupations reflected the high prestige of their upper-class members.[28]

Thus, it can be validly argued that a smaller element within the middle class had an affinity with the upper

class, owing to the nature of their source of income, concern with the type or quality of life that they led, and their norm and model of behaviour. They also had the opportunity through various channels, of attaining a high position. Potentially, in fact, they were closer to achieving this than were the businessmen in their own class, and in some ways closer to the nobility than even the wealthy members of the upper class.

In discussing the lower class in Victorian England we are again dealing with two separate groups: the skilled artisans and the labourers, and the fact of a distinction between them was socially recognized in the usual appellation of the "working classes".[29] Their merging into one and its subsequent development within the Victorian period is a topic of historical importance in itself,[30] but it is not necessary to go into that here, for it is quite apparent from the data already presented that the ESL members were not of this social category.

Having established a framework for the Victorian social strata, we can return to a discussion of the ESL. The information on addresses bears most directly on this topic. As was stated before, this material is available only for the last eight years of the ESL's lifetime. It has been further limited to the London addresses for the sake of the analysis that follows. It will become apparent that the other addresses are scattered over too large an area to be useful.

Addresses can tell various things. Most basically, they record the physical fact of location: where a building is situated or a person lives. Taken in comparison, they can also tell about proximity and suggest conclusions about interaction between people living at different places. If they are available in enough detail for a manageable area, however, addresses can also tell about social status. It is to this end that the ESL addresses have been utilized.

People do not just live at a specific address: they live in an area, often with a name and of a certain social composition. Further, these compositions are often generalized into certain configurations which are accorded different social values. There are thus "good" and "bad" addresses in terms of the lifestyle and social status of the particular people. To take an example close to home: people living in Vancouver recognize differences between the areas of Shaughnessy, Kitsilano and East Vancouver. These differences are in more than just in name: they have social implications. Knowing that a doctor, for example, lives in Shaughnessy rather than in Kitsilano gives the perceiver an idea about such aspects as the person's age, income, and type of clientele. The actual facts would have to be verified in each case, but there are generalizations that can be made about the social nature of each area and the type of people living there. The observer refers to these in establishing others in their social

group, and in deciding where he himself wishes to live.

Similarly, there were different areas with specific names in Victorian London, as of course there are in London today. In some cases these had formal definition and boundaries, such as boroughs, - for example Chelsea, - or parishes like St. Giles' or electoral wards, such as Tower Hamlets. Within these political areas were others more expressly social in nature. Here, the name might come from a particular landmark or site(for example, the Tyburn gallows and the Tyburn River which yielded the name Tyburnia);[31] or from an event such as the fair once held locally in May which supplied the name for its area, Mayfair.[32]

Such names would be applied to a general area with folk rather than formal boundaries, and although the site or event might disappear -- Tyburn gallows were moved west and the river dried up;[33] the May fair was discontinued[34]-- the name remained, and with it a social connotation expressive of the type of people living in that area. The boundaries could shift with time, or the connotation change: Notting Hill, once a brand-new, solidly middle-class area, is today of lower-class composition, and the name has the latter meaning to present-day Londoners. Equally, the connotation could persist: thus, Mayfair and Belgravia are still well-reputed areas of London, and their social meaning is so widely understood as to be appropriated for prestigious North American apartments.

This fact of areas with social meaning in Victorian London has been used in analyzing the addresses of the ESL members. The underlying concept was that if one could determine the areas and their meanings in the ESL's period, he could learn more about their social position by locating the membership in terms of these areas. To establish the areas, use was made of available reference material on London at the time under discussion, from both Nineteenth Century and contemporary maps and accounts.

One should not, of course, necessarily take the impressions recorded in these sources, even if there is a high degree of agreement between them, as being all there is to say about the particular areas. We are dealing with generalizations and overall impressions, even stereotypes, and the degree of homogeneity is ultimately something to be established, not assumed. However, this problem can be taken into account. Moreover, when there are particular streets that can be looked up, as with the ESL addresses, not to mention additional social information on the individual members, the findings can be easily checked, and any radical errors would become readily apparent. Thus, we may feel the more secure in this approach.

Appendix II contains the resulting details on the relevant areas of Victorian London, their boundaries and characteristics, with the references to the sources used.

A map of these areas is given in the same Appendix. For the text of the thesis, however, the findings may be summarized in their most simplified and generalized form in Table XXIV. This presents the areas by name, with their social positions as established by the research. Their values have been expressed in the class terms outlined above, and the various areas grouped together according to their similar social nature. The Kensington group, for instance, is located on the table below the upper class and above the middle class. This position best reflects their actual position in English society, and their potential for high status. The areas listed here are only those which figure in the ESL date.

Table XXIV: Areas of Mid-Victorian London with their Social Meanings

social nature		area
upper class		
nobility	-	Mayfair, Belgravia
	-	Atheneum (St. James' St., Pall Mall (clubs)
	-	Westminister
wealth	-	Tyburnia, Pimlico
	-	Marylebone, Paddington (somewhat lower)
middle class		
mobile	-	Kensington, Brompton, Chelsea, Knightsbridge
	-	St. John's Wood, Regent's Park, Bloomsbury (somewhat lower)
	-	Covent Garden, Strand, City (also includes work addresses of upper class)
"solid"	-	Bayswater, Notting Hill
	-	south of the Thames - Wandsworth, Lambeth, Southwark

The next question is where the ESL members fit into these areas. The findings are given in Table XXV. A more detailed presentation of the data, broken down by areas within the larger groupings, is given in Appendix III. Reading down in Table XXV, the areas are ranked in order of social status, as in Table XXIV. Areas of the same social nature are grouped under the mane of their first entry; for example, "Mayfair grouping". Reading across, the different years for which there is address information are given. The total number of London addresses for each year is given in the last column. It should be noted that the figure in this last column does not represent the sum of the preceding columns, but rather the total number of addresses mentioned in the relevant area over the seven years. The figure thus takes into account addresses repeated in consecutive years, and does not count them more than once. At the bottom of the table are mentioned those who lived in London in areas other than the ones on the chart. These were not entered separately by specific area as there were not enough in any one to warrant its inclusion here.

Analyzing the data in this table yields the following trends. We see, first, that the groupings are represented in the ESL in the same order as they were ranked in Victorian society: the order that the groupings follow when ranked by social value is the same order in which we find the ESL members distributed in the various groupings.

Table XXV: Residence of the ESL Members in the Social Areas of London 1863 - 1871

area	1863	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	total # actual addresses
Mayfair grouping - Mayfair, Belgravia, Atheneum, St. James St, Pall Mall, Westminster	65	53	49	38	49	38	106
Tyburnia grouping - Tyburnia, Pimlico, Marylebone, Paddington	18	20	13	17	16	17	44
Kensington grouping - Kensington, Brompton, Chelsea, Knightsbridge, St John's Wood, Regent's Park, Bloomsbury	21	16	16	16	15	14	38
Covent Garden grouping - Covent Garden, Strand, City of London	18	17	14	10	11	15	31
Bayswater grouping - Bayswater, Notting Hill	5	6	6	5	9	9	14
Other London - south of Thames, north London	4	5	5	5	6	6	9
yearly total London addresses	131	117	103	91	106	101	242
total ESL that year	284	297	297	302	302	325	

It is significant that the ESL members resided most in the areas which were of highest social status. The Mayfair grouping is noticeably the largest, in itself almost 45% of all the London addresses. Comparing the number in this grouping with that in the Tyburnia one, we see that the ESL members tended to live in the upper-class areas that contained "quality" rather than just wealth.

The mobile middle-class group, living in the Kensington grouping is significant in its large representation, which is very close in size to the Tyburnia grouping. These two would overlap to an extend, with the noveaux riches members often living in the less prestigious Tyburnia areas. Similarly, the Kensington and Mayfair groupings would overlap, with the upper class professionals also living in the former, especially in Brompton and Knightsbridge.[35]

St. John's Wood at this time would probably contain middle-class people. One member in this area is particularly significant: Thomas Huxley. I have discussed how his orientation and concerns differed from the majority of the ESL members. Now we find that he is also spatially, and hence socially, distinct. The Kensington grouping, it must be remembered, represented those men who had the potential of climbing, but until then they would not necessarily be of high status. Huxley's presence in St. John's Wood is indicative of his still different and lower social position.

The Covent Garden grouping is one which again includes some overlap, for both upper and middle class professionals worked or lived in this area. This was often a second address in the former's case.[36] It is thus of much the same status as the higher-ranked Kensington grouping.

Comparatively few of the true middle class are represented in the London addresses of the ESL members. Bayswater and Notting Hill were almost notorious for their sameness and quasi-genteel placidity.[37] The areas south of the river also consisted of typically middle-class, cheaper dwelling places, and they, too, are quite under represented in the ESL.

The overall picture, consequently, is of the ESL as a group that lived largely in areas of high status of a particular kind. This information, of course, comes from only 41% of the ESL membership. Nevertheless, even if the Society's members did not all live in high-status areas, a sizeable number of them did. Certainly one would not find as large a section of the whole population represented in these same areas.

This finding is highly suggestive about the members' social position in general. One wonders if their status in other areas coincided with that documented by the data on addresses. When we reconsider the different categories of social data presented in the foregoing chapter, this indeed seems to be the case. First, the ESL members were of high status because they were males in Victorian

society, although this is too broad a category to be very significant. Title, is somewhat more precise, and I have noted the percentage of non-commoners in the ESL as much greater than in the total population. Title in itself is a statement of social status, and so the information here tells us directly the number of members of high position as a result of birth or social recognition of achievement.

Next is education, and once more, we have noted the high representation of university and professionally trained men in the ESL in contrast to the rest of the population. As regards occupation, again the ESL had a much larger proportion than the nation as a whole of men with high status in this field. These men are found both in aristocratic employment and in the professions, in which latter they were particularly in the high-ranked branches where, to emphasize the point, a large number of them held high positions. Finally, in terms of other associations, we have pointed out the number of them found in prestigious, exclusive organization, and in executive positions in ones somewhat more easily joined. As the addresses indicate, and as the other social data bears out, the ESL members' status was generally high. The ESL thus was a group with a large representation of men who enjoyed high position in Victorian Society.

We can verify this conclusion by introducing a final set of data, which is secondary rather than primary material,

and not intentionally related to the ESL; that is to say, biographical dictionaries. There are two of these which are relevant to the period of the ESL, the Dictionary of National Biography, and F. Boase's Modern English Biography. They contain, as Boase expressed it, "anyone who has been well known and about whom a question might arise in general conversation", with Boase giving this definition a slightly wider application than the DNB.[38]

Many of the men mentioned in these volumes are not well known today, but that does not discount them as recognized in their own time. The Victorians that we remember have been chosen according to our own current yardsticks and the lasting quality of their work to this day. The dictionaries are the better judges of a person's fame in terms of his contemporaries, and they tell us the worth of a Victorian in his own time. They are thus useful as records of those men who were then considered to be at the top of their society.

Having regard to them in this way, the DNB and Boase have been examined as indicative of the status of the ESL's members, insofar as they were mentioned in these works. The findings are given in Table XXVI.

Table XXVI: Mention of ESL Members
in Victorian Biographical Dictionaries

DNB		Boase		no entry (includes Foreign members)
19th Century, v.1-21	114	1892-1901	55	
19th Century, v.22	25	1908-1921	34	
20th Century, 1901-11	24			
20th Century, 1912-21	7			
	167		89	
total number of mentions of ESL members		256		

The significant finding here is that 43.1% of the ESL members are mentioned in the dictionaries. Obviously, these sources do not include anywhere near that large a section of the total population. This outside data firmly supports our conclusions drawn from the ESL's own material on the high social status of the Society's members. The social data on the ESL, in summary, leads us to recognize status as its most important aspect. We see still further that the particular status of the group's members was high.

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   Best, — op. cit.:238
   Burn, W.L. — The Age of Equipoise: a Study the Mid-Victorian Generation London: Unwin University Books, 1964:255.

4. Best, — op. cit.:239.

5. Ibid.:240-249.
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	Annan, Noel	"The Intellectual Aristocracy" in J.H. Plumb, ed, Studies in Social History: a Tribute to G.M. Trevelyan, pp243-287. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1955:252.
14.	Perkin,	op. cit.:254
15.	Ibid.:255-256	
	Briggs, Asa	The Age of Improvement. London: Longmans, Green & Co.; 1959:411.
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17.	Best,	op. cit.:245:7
	Burn,	op. cit.:255ff
	Clark	op. cit.:253.
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	Best,	op. cit:238ff
	Burn,	op. cit.:225ff
	Clark,	op. cit.:255ff
	Cole,	op. cit.:61ff
	Evans,	op. cit.:75, #83, quoting J.H. Newman Idea of a University, Discourse VIII.
	Reader,	Victorian England:9.
19.	Best,	op. cit.:249-50, 53-4
	Burn,	op. cit.:254-5
	Clark,	op. cit.:253
	Cole,	op. cit.:61.
20.	Best,	op. cit.:247
	Briggs,	op. cit.:441
	Reader,	Victorian England:9.
21.	Best,	op. cit.:246:397
22.	Briggs,	op. cit.:397
	Reader, W.J.	Professional Men: the Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth

		Century England. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966: 73, 126.
23.	Clark,	op. cit.:260
	Cole,	op. cit.:65
	Reader,	Victorian England:116
		Professional Men:132.
24.	Best,	op. cit.:253
	Clark,	op. cit.:252,255
	Cole,	op. cit.:63
	Reader,	Victorian England:116.
25.	Reader, Ibid.:19	
	Clark,	op. cit.:273.
26.	Best,	op. cit.:253
27.	Evan,	op. cit.:47, 49
	Reader,	Victorian England:18ff
		Professional Men:6ff, 73.
28.	Evans,	op. cit.:47
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		Professional Men:6ff, 73.
29.	cf. Perkin,	op. cit.:231
30.	cf,E.P. Thomson,	The Making of the English Working Class. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968.
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33.	Loftie,	op. cit.:204, 205, 219.
34.	Timbs,	loc. cit.
35.	cf. Appendix II.	
36.	Ibid.	

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Chapter 6: The ESL: A Reassessment

With this detailed picture of the ESL before us, it remains to reconsider the totality. We can start by summarizing the main points of the ethnographic material that has been adduced. It must be assessed to see what the effect is on the accepted picture of the ESL. We then can judge which aspect of the group, the intellectual, organizational, or social, stands out as most significant. The next question arises as to what type of explanation is most appropriate to a revised picture of the ESL. Finally, the outcome of the whole study has to be considered in terms of the validity of its methodology.

I.

To assess the thesis's contribution in respect to data, let us recapitulate the main points developed in the various chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 presented the origins, aims and structure of the Society, noting what changes occurred in these over the thirty years of the ESL's life. The changes were seen in both the topics examined by the Society and in its organization. It was argued that these changes were not necessary to the ESL's continued survival and that they were in fact imposed upon the Society by men pursuing their own interests. Huxley in particular was identified as a prime mover in effecting the change, in guiding the ESL towards goals

of his own. His immediate goal, union with the ASL, would serve the larger purposes of Victorian Science in general.

The last two chapters in the body of the thesis detail social information on the ESL, which hitherto has not been examined in any discussion of that Society. They further establish that the most important feature of the ESL's social makeup was the status of the membership, which was both relatively homogeneous and high. A minor but nonetheless important fact to be noted is one status in particular: Huxley's, which shows him to be located socially apart from the ESL, and underlines his intellectual separation from it. Thus his differences with the ESL went byond the matter of the study of Man. In this matter, as in the ASL's relationship with the ESL, social issues were involved.

Also to be noted in these chapters is the endeavour to relate the regions and social status in Victorian London, as a measure of documenting and reconstructing significant factors in the nature of the city of that time. The notion of using regional distribution as a source of information on social position is a further point developed in this thesis. Another contribution, also of a methodological nature, is the use of entries in biographical dictionaries in the same way, as general indicators of status, and not solely for the particular biographical material that they present. Lastly, the social material uncovered here sets forth something of the lifestyle of men of a

particular sector of Victorian society. We look at the nature of their lives as Victorians in various categories, and follow these through to the expression of the man's positions in interests, groups joined, and ideas produced. In so doing, we document a lesser known area of such men's lives: their avocation. Finally, in looking at the ESL in its various facets we are also doing something relatively rare; attempting an ethnographic treatment of a group in our history.

Particular points aside, what new overall picture of the ESL emerges from this study? The intellectual aspect does not seem fully adequate as a means of explication, since stressing only the Society's aims and ideas would not illuminate the character of the group's social composition. In the Introduction, indeed, it was suggested that there might be more than ideas involved in the ESL-ASL split and union, and the material subsequently presented here has established this very point. Besides, it is not a simple matter of there being two Societies studying anthropology in this period, with the choice of which one to join resting only upon the different ideas they held. For with the ESL we have found that membership in one of these Societies corresponds with enjoying a particular social status and this is surely more than coincidence. A study of ideas alone cannot explain this alignment.

Stressing only the structural aspect of the ESL poses the same problem. The internal structural changes within the Society have been traced to the move of Huxley's group to impose its standards and realize its goals for Victorian science. But this was not all that was happening with ESL: there is the further fact that, the healthy small Society that was unnecessarily changed was also composed of men of similar, and notably high status in Victorian society. Emphasizing only the structural aspect would neglect this vital fact, and - considering that the significance of the ESL's social makeup has been brought out for the first time here, and is of such a striking nature,- we are compelled to examine and explain the social aspect of this group, not ignore it.

We have discussed in the Introduction how the ESL would have looked if it had been either an intellectual or a structural phenomenon in essence; a group, that is, upholding a particular set of ideas, or a group representing one side of a structural struggle. But it is now contended instead that the social aspect was predominant in the phenomenon. Developing this argument, I would maintain that social considerations would affect both why one studied ethnology, and also the way in which one did so. First, an interest in ethnology, in the broadest sense, can be seen as directly related to factors in Victorian society. It has been pointed out above how ethnology was an outcome of Britain's circumstances in

this period, both at home and abroad. Domestic and international concerns together brought Englishmen into contact with the issues of ethnology, in the sense that they became more aware of primitive peoples, intrigued by the natives' way of life, interested to account for the origins of this, and concerned about threats to the survival of primitive societies. Further, we have shown that the ESL itself had deep roots in the larger society, and even perceived its role as having something to offer on the issues affecting it.

The second way in which social forces would be notably relevant, that is, the manner in which ethnology was to be done, was also influenced by the Victorian social setting. In that this was preeminently a time of the active formation of men's groups, and a time of increased and active concern with the acquisition of information about the world, an association devoted to ethnological questions was the natural mode in which to organize the science of Man. As association was also about the only way that any such organization was possible at this time. Topics dealing with anthropological questions were to be found in neither school nor university curricula. A scientific association alone could centralize and organize a field of study. It offered a location, a meeting place for men of like interests to gather and exchange their ideas. It functioned as a clearing house for the spread of such ideas, with its publication being virtually the sole means

of disseminating thoughts about the nature of Man. Again, the ESL's justifications for its formation and descriptions of what it could offer showed that it was clearly aware of this situation. Once more, this group represented a response to the social conditions surrounding it.

To considering the specific relationship between ethnology and the social situation in more detail, we can look at the links between specific social features and that study. In other words, we can consider the implications of one's social position for his involvement in ethnology. First, as has been discussed in the body of the thesis, status and occupation are related. The various occupations of the Victorian period were open only to people of particular social positions. For example, only those of high status were eligible for what was identified earlier as the "aristocratic employment" of the more established professions. Similarly, there were occupations limited to lower status people. The consequence of this for ethnology was that the particular job one held determined the possibility of contact with primitive peoples, whether, for example, one worked in the colonies, or was restricted to employment at home. Furthermore, only men of means had the time and money to travel to primitive societies, and so status again was related to one's opportunity of witnessing primitive life.

Since status thus determined the type of employment and the possibility of travel, it also influenced the type of contact one had with primitive peoples. A government administrator, for instance, would be actually exposed to native societies, but he would also be dealing with them in terms of a strictly defined relationship, and the, interacting essentially with their leaders. A trader, a missionary or a sailor, on the other hand, would have different experiences of native societies, and correspondingly different views. Then, were one oriented towards study, direct experience of primitive peoples might shape the approach he would take. Having seen a primitive culture at work, a student of the Science of Man might be more interested in the substance of an actual people's lives rather than with more abstract theory about human descent. Having experienced a different culture, he might be more concerned with what cultures are like and how they differ, rather than with the physical structure of particular individuals. On the other hand, if a person never left England, his only contact with primitives would be with the isolated few examples brought to the country by travellers. He would see little of the natives' culture, having only one representative before him. But he would see obvious and striking physical features, would be understandably drawn to study and reflect upon these. Thus, the extent and nature of one's contact with primitives would affect his interest in them, the way in which he

regarded them, and his understanding of them. This could result in, as has been developed, an ethnographic, ethnological orientation to the Study of Man. And, we have shown the determination of this orientation to be status-based.

Status affected not only the Victorians' concern with the study of Man but also his attitude toward it. With work in other fields taking up most of their time and attention, the men joining an interest group would not regard it as the main focus of their energies. They would regard it as an avocation, a hobby, and this view would affect the output of the group accordingly. Again, those occupying positions of power and prestige would have no need of the social benefits accruing from membership in such a group. There were, indeed, social benefits to be had. The participants in interest groups such as the ESL had the opportunity of enhancing their social prestige somewhat. First, by appending to their names letters indicating membership, they signified their interests and their ability to gain entry into such a group. Then, they also stood to share in any honour accuring to their group achievements in its particular field of study. It should be noted that at this time, the dividends of such achievement were essentially social, because the body of scientific practitioners was itself identified with a particular sector of Victorian society, and not as is the case today, separate community. Science, in

this sense, was much more a lay activity, and was judged by the standards of the lay society. Scientific achievement therefore had strong implications in the social sphere.

Those men with their high status already established and assured had no need of these by-products of group membership. They were not upwardly mobile, and would not join an interest group to achieve any social ends. This situation would affect the group's output, inasmuch as such members felt no need to achieve for the sake of the social dividends. Lacking an urgency to produce, a group composed of men of this type of status would go along at its own, more leisurely pace, its concern would be essentially with the subject itself, and whatever insights might arise would do so without being forced. There would be no need for careful steering of the group towards success, and so questions of methodological rigour, and the definition and significance of the field would accordingly not receive close attention. In this way, status would affect the work produced by an interest group.

The part accordingly played by the social composition of the ESL is the more understandable in the light of this discussion of the elements and processes involved in a group of high status. In terms of one's experience shaping his attitude toward primitive men, we have assuredly noted the number of ESL members who did have actual contact

with native societies, plus the fact that most of the articles in the journals were written from first-hand experience. Thus, following the argument above, the Society's particular concern with cultural aspects of primitive life and emphasis on ethnography can be understood. Then, we find a sizeable number of the ESL members whose occupations involved them with primitive societies, especially in an administrative capacity. This again as argued, would shape the concerns of the members, and thus those of the ESL. Moreover, the ESL's relativism and cautions against ethnocentrism can be traced to their experience in the field, as may also be their support of the unity of the human species, and the equality of the races of Man.

The effect that social status would have upon a Victorian's type of commitment to an interest group further throws light upon the ESL's situation. The fact that the ESL members were of such importance in other fields shows that ethnology was not their main concern but a hobby, a pastime. Achievement in ethnology was not necessary to enhance the work they pursued full-time nor, given their social position, would it heighten their social standing. Accordingly, as the pattern outlined above would lead one to expect, their work was not strictly guided, aimed at achievement. As has been shown, methodology was hardly discussed (one article), and after 1854 the presidential addresses did not deal with the definition

and significance of ethnology.

Finally, the particular problem raised in the Introduction, the paradox of the Society's reputation, given its composition, becomes clear when one considers the implication of this makeup. A group of the ESL's nature would hardly be concerned with impact. Indeed, the ESL by its own admission did not have a specific cause, and was not a political pressure group. Certainly the members, with the power they commanded in their main fields of endeavour, could have been effective politically had they chosen to be. And so, not constantly driven to produce impressive work, the ESL could only offer such when it emerged out of the group's particular pace and procedure. The Society's lack of impact, therefore must be seen not as evidence of its members' ineptness or its contemporaries' neglect: it was the result of a choice made by the members, a choice stemming from social considerations as to the type of group that the ESL was to be.

The ASL's behaviour, in contrast, would suggest that its members' status was not the same as the ESL's. The ASL was particularly preoccupied with its success and prestige. For example, this group pointed out their large membership list, swelled however by canvassing drives and the election of men who had no say at all in the matter.[1] Similarly, they noted their affinity with European and American anthropological Societies, claiming thus

to participate in a study of international stature.[2] The ASL, as would be expected, was much more aware of science, of being scientific and of pursuing scientific discoveries with a rigourous methodology.[3] More seems to have been at stake in this for them than for the ethnologists. In this way, anthropology was not quite the hobby that ethnology was.

A detailed study of the ASL of the sort done here with the other Society would be necessary to establish exactly what was the status of this group's membership, but the cursory glance that we have given would show it to be lower than that of the ESL. The ASL members appear to be more concerned with status, and this trait would make them fall more naturally in the upwardly mobile middle class, discussed in the preceding chapter, than in the upper class with which the ESL seem more comparable. Further evidence of the ASL's lower status is in the smaller number of non-noble members. The ASL in 1865 had 10 nobles, 5 of the intermediate group we identified in chapter 4, and 385 commoners, of a total of 456 names given on the membership list for that year.[4] 4.1% of its membership therefore, as compared with 11.2% of the ESL's, was non-commoner. Furthermore, the ASL was much more represented in interest groups, having 47.2% of its membership in such associations, (the ESL had 25% in the same type of group) while having a representation of only 7.0% to the ESL's 15.9% in the more exclusive invitational groups.

Lastly, we find that while in the ESL 61.9% of the members lived in the upper class areas of London (Mayfair, and Tyburnia groupings), 18.5% in the mobile middle class areas (Kensington, Covent Garden groupings), and 9.4% in the middle class areas (Bayswater, "other" groupings), in the ASL the corresponding distribution in the same areas was 36.4%, 44.0% and 31.0%, respectively.[5]

The question that faces us now is: given the two types of status embodied in each group, with their effects, how was reunion possible? The different statuses themselves are not by nature readily reconcilable: a person can be either high status or mobile. Both represent different, and to that extent, incompatible, levels in a hierarchical structure. Moreover, in that status would affect one's experience and hence world-view, the resulting attitudes towards primitives, and interests and aims in studying them would similarly be different in the two groups. Furthermore, these two embodiments of different status-related outlooks could not easily co-exist in union. One group would likely have to be destroyed, or at least subordinated, with the united body following the pattern of the victorious group.

Thus, given their natures, one may well content that the union of the two Societies could only have been achieved either by the ASL returning to the fold and giving up its interests, or by it triumphing over the ESL and making

its concerns those of the totality. But what would result in either case would not be a true union, nor does one seem to have been logically feasible.

It is unlikely that if one group won, the other in view of its social identity and therefore its interests, would happily remain in being. Either its members would leave, or the group, unable to change its status and thus its orientation in such a union, would be at the least made very uncomfortable. And indeed, why would it join another group on such grounds? At any rate, there is no evidence of such a pattern of events in the case at hand. There is no record of mass exoduses from either group before or after union. The small group of anthropologists that formed the London Anthropological Society was soon recovered by the Institute. A further point is that neither group's topics of interests were abandoned. They were all incorporated in the new study of Man, thus originating the four-fold division within the subject that is still in use today: cultural anthropology, physical anthropology, archaeology and linguistics. The social nature of the two groups must have remained intact, as did their interests. Thus neither group prevailed in union, a finding which explains how students of the argument today, no matter what side they espouse, can claim that their party won. The RAI was an incorporation of the two groups on equal footing.

How, then, was this accomplished if as we have shown, union was impossible between the two incompatible elements concerned? The answer is that there was more involved in the union than the two protagonists. There was a third element, Huxley's group, with their particular set of interests. Specifically what Huxley did, taking him as representative of these interests in general, was to play down the reason for difference between the two groups -- that is, their social nature -- and impose a larger framework into which both of them could fit, and to which each of them was relevant; namely, science.

Reconsidering the changes that Huxley made, one can see that they all contributed to shape the study of Man into a scientific endeavour, adhering, of course, to Huxley's interests. He introduced the methodology of science, the concerns of science and the goal of scientific success to the ESL, thus fitting the Society's work to this larger purpose. Similarly, by effecting union, he turned the ASL away from its questionable pursuits and stands, and harnessed its enthusiasm to the respectability of the ESL, thus setting up a solid foundation for the scientific study of anthropology. In this way, serving the larger purpose of science, neither group need prevail, and each could follow its own kind of research. Together the two Societies would contribute to the science of Man, each covering different aspects, and then to Victorian science. They needed only to remember that they were

ultimately devoted to the goals of science, and must yield their traditional inquiries and procedure if these clashed with scientific concerns.

Thus the only possible way of effecting such a union between the two groups, in essence changing the status of one of them, was obviated by the entry of a third group which took over the situation and solved it to its own advantage.

It may appear that in thus explaining the resolution of the ESL-ASL conflict, we are no longer discussing the social aspect of the ESL, and are in fact returning to the others that we rejected earlier as major factors of explication. Are we then saying, as it may seem, that Huxley solved the socially-based impasse between the two Societies by removing the argument to the realm of the intellectual, concentrating on what issues one would pursue in the study of Man and the types of explanation to which one would refer? But this we cannot say, for the superficially intellectual phenomenon goes farther than that. It has a deeper significance of a structural nature. Huxley was extending more than a view of science: it was the particular view of the group that he was associated with, and the one that they were imposing with increasing success on Victorian science in general. The situation here exemplifies one more instance of such success. It was thus a matter of significance to the structure of science. Huxley was standardizing Victorian science according to his terms.

Further, his treatment of the ESL and ASL was part of a larger structural process: the separation of science from the lay community, and its consolidation in a community of scientific specialists. Shifting the base of a group like the ESL from the social to a scientific one denied the practitioner the right to define his field of study and methodology for himself, and thus had the effect of negating the importance of his particular background to his work. Increasingly at this time this way of organizing scientific studies was spreading, with the result that people were recruited to fields that told them how to proceed. A centralized study was thus emerging to replace the organization of Victorian science as it was then constituted by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Association was a loose union of groups pursuing diverse interests. The new science, that was espoused and worked for by Huxley and his friends, was to be in control of the work done, with practitioners conforming to its canons. In this way a new community of scientific workers was taking shape, one defined by and answerable only to science. Huxley's treatment of the ESL can be seen as part of this larger process in the organization of Victorian science: the closing of the scientific community.

But, just as the processes at work here were not only intellectual, they were also more than structural. There were obviously social forces at play in these alter-

ations. With the change in the way of doing science came a change in the type of people. Science was opened up to those who were qualified to work in it. Thus a larger group than before was eligible, needing only education favourable to scientific pursuits, whether in a new, secular English university, foreign university, or a hospital. The emergence of a profession of science further democratized scientific studies, now that one did not require independent means in order to study. The formation of a separate scientific community also had obvious social consequences, increasingly divorcing scientific work and workers from the influence of the larger society.

Then, too, the work of the men involved in these processes of change had definite social foundations. We have established Huxley's lower status relative to that of the ESL members: his behaviour had very definite social implications. He was not of a third group socially, in relation to the ESL and ASL, as he certainly was intellectually. His status was closer to that typical to the ASL, as has been established here, the upwardly mobile middle-class man, one of the "forgotten middle class". It thus makes sense that he appreciated the ASL's motivation and enthusiasm, while deploring the ends to which these were used. Certainly in regard to the two Societies he had more intellectual affinity with the ASL, finding the ESL totally worthless to his purposes. This affinity was natural, given its social roots.

Huxley was also one of the few professional scientists of the time, and thus was representative of the interests of that group to be more firmly established. The issue here was more than some vague goal for the profession. By denying the importance of social position to the pursuit of scientific questions, and stressing the need for full-time paid scientists, Huxley was in essence advocating that men like himself be granted the opportunity to do the work that they wished to. He never expressed, it is true, his profession's attainment of status as a goal of his work. Still, he believed in the worth of its work enough to seek to extend its influence and recognition, and so he was definitely involved in promoting its interests. Indeed, his concern with the worth of scientific work and attempt to upgrade it, was in itself an expression of his social position: the concern with the merit of one's work. In this sense, then, the changes in the ESL, as an instance of similar ones elsewhere in science at this time, were most definitely of a social nature: the replacement of an upper-class social base of scientific studies by an upwardly mobile middle-class one.

Thus we have returned to consider the social aspect of the ESL, and find that not only is it the most striking feature, but also it offers a central explanation of the events in which the Society was involved. This is not to deny the importance of the other two aspects: the claim is, however, that despite intellectual and structural

features, the processes at work were of a fundamentally social nature. The social composition of the ESL and the implications of the member's status are pivotal to our understanding the Society.

This is also not to argue social determinism, but to demonstrate that intellectual and structural features, at least in the case at hand, have social roots which have been ignored to the detriment of our understanding. The assumption behind this reasoning is that one's social position exposes him to particular experiences. It also exposes him to the particular set of values and attitudes that he receives in socialization. From these antecedents comes the way in which he perceives the world. The argument given here is not a new view: indeed, there are numerous works in the literature both theoretical and empirical on the links between one's group membership and his perception. It is new, however, to introduce this concept to the question of the ESL, and to see the matter at hand in terms of it. In most basic terms, the situation facing us is the replacement of one world view by another. Hence, seeing the significance of the social aspect yields an integrated comprehensible picture that has been lacking until now. Further, to the extent that an explanation stressing the social aspect also takes into account and explains the intellectual and structural elements of the Society, it is of a superior nature to any other sort of explanation.

II.

The above, in sum, is the contribution of this thesis in the area of data - to recall the three areas outlined in the Introduction. The presentation of a new interpretation of the ESL leads us to consider the second area, the type of explanation used, and to decide which of the frameworks discussed previously is best suited to the case in question. It has been pointed out that an explanation focussing upon intellectual elements only misses the very significant feature of the social aspect of the ESL. A further and more fundamental point is that explanations to date that have stressed the ideas involved in the period have not been dealing with intellectual phenomena. One can show that what have been typically regarded as purely intellectual expressions of the group are much more of a social nature, more truly labelled "attitudes" than "ideas".

An attitude goes beyond an idea in that besides having a cognitive aspect, it also has an effective and a conative aspect.[6] Thus, while an idea - for example, that the world is round, - is created and changed by thought, an attitude, - for example, that woman's position should be improved - entails an emotional orientation to an intellectual stand -- the question of commitment to, or rejection of, the object of thought. An attitude also involves a predisposition toward a certain type of activity in keeping with the thought and the valuing of it, - the holder of the attitude intends to and will

act in a certain way, expressive of his particular commitments. Accordingly, while an idea can be studied in terms of what it says and its place among the thoughts of its time, an attitude must be taken not for its substance but as a clue to something else. The social forces producing the attitude rather than its intellectual expression are what need to be examined.

Reconsidering the differences between the ESL and ASL in the light of this distinction shows that we are, in fact, dealing with attitudes. The issues of discussion between the two groups were not merely intellectual. The argument between monogenism and polygenism was more than a rational matter: it involved one's commitment to religion. Similarly, the controversy over the unity of the species had to do with one's acceptance or rejction of Creation. The consequence of this particular argument, racism, had an obviously conative aspect, such as is not found in the pure realm of ideas. The stand on the Irish question, and the admitting of women to the Society also entered into realms other than the intellectual. Lastly, as we have shown, commitment to science meant a great deal more than accepting a particular framework of ideas. We are thus dealing with attitudes, not ideas and are therefore concerned with the social processes involved in the issues, rather than with their substance.

Hence the different stands taken by each Society on the above-mentioned issues are to be explained by

each group's social situation which in each case produced a different perception of Man and of the world. That attitudes rather than ideas were the basis of the differences between the ASL and ESL has been hinted at by Douglas Lorimer's thesis, linking mid-Victorian racism to the social conditions of the time. Here we go further, showing that not only racism but all the issues concerning the two Societies stemmed from differing attitudes. The resulting interpretation explains why inconsistencies arise when one tries to represent the two group as ranged along different sides of an argument. Their stands were not always directly contrary ones, because two different statuses are not phenomena that can be regarded as antithetical. They represent different positions on the same scale, side by side rather than opposed. Therefore, although the members of different statuses sometimes will hold contrary opinion, they may not necessarily do so. Some of their ideas, originating from two completely different experiences of the world, may be non-controversial or even unrelated. In this way, the ESL could be non-racist rather than anti-racist, while the ASL was racist. Similarly, both could ignore Darwin, although for different reasons. Thus, we see that an intellectual framework of explanation is inapplicable, for it has been shown here that the very features which would be labelled "ideas" and used for an intellectual explanation are of an entirely different (and social) nature.

As for the next type of explanation suggested, the structural, the case here does not seem to fit a Kuhnian pattern. In the struggle of the ESL and ASL, neither side emerges victorious, to impose its definition of anthropology and methodology on the whole field. Rather, both are subordinated to a third group, grafted on to the dispute, and not particularly interested in either Society's version of anthropology. In terms of the development of Victorian science in general, we are, as we have shown, dealing with issues that are more of a structural nature. The ESL affords an instance of the processes by which science was standardized and increasingly separated from social influences at this time. The study here also details the way in which the goals for science were achieved by the particular group of people involved in this endeavour. As has been discussed however, examining the structural aspect of this situation necessitates studying the social factor, as the struggles of science at this time centred around the question of its relationship to the larger society. Here then, a true Kuhnian explanation is not appriate, for we are not able to look at the processes within the scientific community separate from their social context.

Hence we must turn to a social explanation as the most useful. The structural processes in science at this time were very much a part of the processes of the total society. These latter processes have to be under-

stood and accounted for. But a social framework of explanation wins here, for reasons other than default. As we have shown, an explanation stressing the social aspect of the ESL is superior for its all-encompassing nature: it includes and explains both intellectual and structural features, and shows how and where they fit into the total picture. Focussing upon the social aspect thus leads to an understanding of the whole group, involved in all its aspects.

III

Finally, we can consider the last of the three main areas of concern in this thesis: methodology. To the extent that the assumptions and techniques argued for in the Introduction have been successful in producing a new and more coherent picture of the Ethnological Society of London, they are validated. Carrying out a complete and detailed social analysis is fruitful and, for changing the usual interpretation of the ESL, is necessary. Similarly, an holistic, ethnographic study yields the details that here have led us to understand the proper weight of the Society's different aspects - and thus the group's true nature. An interpretation of the ESL's behaviour and features in terms of its (and not our) social setting has also been illustrated, and supported here. The methodological technique thus has been shown to have its basis in fact: we have indeed been dealing

with culture different from our own of the mid-Twentieth Century.

The thesis's establishment of the above methodological points has significant implications for the way that anthropologists treat the history of their discipline. It can be seen that this Nineteenth Century period has been wrongly judged, and even neglected. It terms of anthropology today, the work done then remains very relevant and deserving of recognition worthy of the esteem that has been wrongly dispensed, elsewhere. The usual history of anthropology, in giving no indication of the significane of this founding period, has made us the poorer in our understanding of the discipline's development. Therefore, to rectify this misapprehension and prevent similar ones occurring, we must much more widely establish what happened in the past, and then assess it.

In regard to anthropologists dealing with the past in general, it can be seen that here is a fruitful field for their endeavours. Anthropology operates within the realm of history no less than any of man's inquiries into past activity. Practically speaking, anthropology might do well to cultivate historical studies, since primitive societies are fast disappearing, and those that still do exist are increasingly less eager to welcome anthropologists today. But more important, the past is more than a last resort. It is a valid field of study. It takes us out of ourselves, and enables us to reflect

back with new perspectives upon our own social and cultural experience, and upon the nature of Man. Moreover, in view of our lineal relationship with the past, we are examining our origins, and so the anthropological study of the past has a double significance. Anthropologists can start working in this new and virtually untouched field, - and demonstrate that "Anthropology doesn't just mean Indians".

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All the Year Round

The Argosy

The Atheneum

Belgravia

Bentley's Miscellany

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

Chamber's Edinburgh Journal

Cornhill Magazine

Contemporary Review

Country Life

Edinburgh Monthly Review

Family Economist

Foreign Quarterly Review

Fortnightly Review

Fraser's Magazine

Gentleman's Magazine

Good Words

Household Words

Penny Magazine

Macmillan's Magazine

I. PRIMARY SOURCES (Cont'd)

B. Printed Sources (Cont'd)

Nineteenth Century British Periodicals (Cont'd)

Mirror

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National Review

New Monthly Magazine

Poor Man's Guardian

The Press

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Appendix I: The Social Information on the ESL Members

This is the data on all those people mentioned in the 13 volumes of ESL publications. The information consists of all the social facts given with the mention of a person in both the body of the journals, and in the membership lists, which latter exist only for 1863-71. The information in this Appendix has been arranged in numbered categories, corresponding to those categories used in the text of the thesis (chapters 4 & 5). An explanation of the format of the Appendix follows in detail. It should be noted that a category is mentioned following a person's name only if there is actual material to be presented in that category.

(1) source of information

J = body of journals

L = membership list

(2) date of source

The date given is that of the volume in which the person is first mentioned. This may correspond with the actual date of the information, but does not necessarily. The time lag is that between the actual date of the information, and the date of publication.

The volume years are given as follows:

e.g. 1863 = the information is from this volume only
1863-67= the information is for these dates, inclusive
1863 = the information starts in the 1863 volume and continues to the end of the ESL; i.e. 1871 (the 1870 volume)

n.b. 1869J is used because the first year of the publication of the new series Journal was the same as the last year Transactions (1869 - no "J").

(3) title

The standard titles of commoners are used; e.g., Esq, Miss. Non-commoners are mentioned by the name of the title, e.g. Sir Lord. The orders of knighthood are given in their acronyms. For an elaboration of these, please refer to chapter 4, footnote 5.

(4) education

Where given, the degree attained is entered in this category, in the common forms used; e.g. B.C., D.D.
n.b. LDS= Licentiate of Dental Surgery.

Guesses as to education have been made on the basis of other information; e.g. acronyms indicating jobs-Dr, Prof - or indicating membership in professional associations - FRCP. These are entered in brackets giving the basis of the guess.

(5) occupation

Jobs are indicated by standard abbreviations; e.g. Dr, Rev, or by actual job descriptions. Again, guesses have been made, here on the basis of the education received or membership in professional associations. These guesses are again given in brackets.

Some acronyms have been entered to indicate the type of job, generally when dealing with military regiments. These are again ones of standard usage; e.g.:

RE: Royal Engineers
RA: Royal Artillery
RN: Royal Navy
RM: Royal Marines
CE: Civil Engineer

(6) membership in other associations

Clubs are generally mentioned by name
n.b. EIUS= East India United Service Club

Membership in professional associations is given in the standard form; e.g. FRCP, MRCS.
n.b. F = Fellow
M = Member

Membership in interest groups is given by their acronym; i.e.:

RGS = Royal Geographical Society
SA = Society of Antiquaries
GS = Geological Society
RSL = Royal Society of Literature
LS = Linnaean Society
ASL = Anthropological Society of London
RAS = Royal Asiatic Society
ZS = Zoological Society
RIA = Royal Irish Academy

"M" or "F" are used with these, according to the person's type of membership. Executive positions are noted by standard abreviations; e.g. Pres, V-P, Sec.
n.b. CM = Corr Mem = Corresponding Member
HF = Hon Fell = Honorary Fellow

(7) addresses

These are given as on the membership lists. The actual address is followed by a letter indicating the region it is in as follows:

L = London
E = England (everywhere but London)
S = Scotland
I = Ireland
W = Wales
F = Foreign (outside Great Britain)

Moves are noted, "moved to...", as are second addresses. The latter are indicated by "and in ....". This is to point out the addition of another address, rather than a move.

The abbreviations used for the counties are the standard ones.

(8) position held in the ESL

Here any mention of a position is noted, whether simply election as a Fellow or Member, or an executive post. These latter are indicated by standard abbreviations (see (6) above).
n.b. CM = Corresponding Member
HF = Honorary Fellow
Council = held a position on the executive council of the ESL, although not a specific one, cf. Sec.

(9) participation in the ESL

Here the information is entered by initial, with a number to note the number of times this type of participation occured in an entry. The initials are as follows:

N = New member. This notes a person's election to the ESL. There is never any number with this as obviously, it only happened once per person.
D = Discussion
E = Executive position
W = Article written
S = Article submitted - this would not necessarily have been written by the person submitting it.

n.b. "for the British Association" notes that the article in question was not first presented to the ESL, but originally prepared for the Association's Meeting, and repeated or discussed in the ESL.

The actual article titles are to be found in the journals. They are too long to reproduce here.

Lastly, there are entries preceding the different names entered. These are of two sorts. "F" notes that the person concerned was a foreigner, as defined in this thesis in chapter 4, p.123. The other initials, "B" and "D", with numbers following them, refer to the biographical

dictionary material (cf. chapter 5, pp 183-4). These initials are entered beside the names of men who appear in the dictionaries, the initial indicating the work in which the man appears; i.e. D = DNB, and "B" = Boase (Modern English Biography). The numbers following indicate the series of the dictionary concerned, as follows:

D1 = DNB, 19th Century v.1-2 21
D2 = DNB, 19th Century v.22
D3 = DNB, 20th Century, 1901-11
D4 = DNB, 20th Century, 1912-21

B1 = Boase, 1892-1902
B2 = Boase, 1908-21 (cf. chapter 5, p 19, and bibliography re publication dates and series.)

The only thing the ESL data does not tell us, besides certain areas such as religion and age, is relationships between the men involved. Outside biographical information, for example, tells us that J. Crawfurd was O. Crawfurd's father, and that J. Beddoe married A. Lane Fox's daughter. This type of information is not accessible from an analysis of the journals alone. Still, there is plenty to deal with, without this dimension, and there are certainly suggestions of inter-relationships in the data available.

Appendix I

	Acheson, F.	(1) J(2), 1869... (3) Esq. (9) 2 W.
B2	Adams, Wm.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq. (7) 5 Henrietta St., Cavendish Sq.:L.
F	Agassiz, Louis	(1) L (2) 1863... (7) Cambridge, Mass.:F (8) HF.
B2	Ainsworth, W. Francis	(1) J (2) 1861 (9) 1 W.
	Aitken, Alexander M.	(1) L (2) 1861 (6) FSA, FRGS (7) 2 Pump Court, Temple; L; 1870, moved to Calcutta:F.
B	Akerman, J.	(1) J (2) 1856 (6) FSA (9) 1 W.
D1	Albert	(1) J (2) 1856 (3) Prince (9) 1 S.
D2	Alcock, Rutherford	(1)L (2) 1863... (3) Sir, KCB (5) Envoy Extraordinary & Minister Plenipotentiary, China, 1867-70 (7) Japan:F; 1867 moved to China:F.
	Ameneuney, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr. (9) 2 D.
D3	Amhurst, W.A. Tyssen	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq. (6) FRSL (7) Didlington, Brandon, Norfolk:E.
B2	Anderson, C.	(1) J (2) 1856 (3) Sir, Bart. (9) 1 W (for the British Association).
F	Aner, Alvis	(1) L (2) 1863... (7) Vienna:F.
	Anketell, M.J.	(1) L (2) 1863-70 (3) Esq. (7) 9 Ladbroke Sq:L; moved in 1869 to 30 Downshire, Hill, Hampstead, Mx:E; returned to 9 Ladbroke Sq. in 1870.
D1	Antrim	(1) L (2) 1870 (3) Earl (7) Christ Church, Oxford.

	Anstey, Thomas Chisholm	(1) L (2) 1863 (9) 1863.
	Appleyard, W.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (8) CM.
	Armstrong, Wm	(1) L (2) 1867-70 (3) Sir, Bart, KCB (6) FRS, Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club, Pall Mall:L.
D3	Arthur, Wm.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (7) 26, Camden Grove, Kensington: L; moved, 1867 to Glendun, East Acton Cheshire: E; and in 1869 to Methodist College, Belfast:I.
	Ashbury, James	(1) JL (2) 1868-9 (3) Esq (7) 9 Sussex Place, Hyde Park Gardens:L (8) Fellow, 1867 (8) N.
	Ashurst, W.H.	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq. (5) Solicitor to the Post Office (7) 7 Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington Palace, 1868 on: L; 1867, 28, Norfolk Crescent:L.
B1	Ashworth, Henry	(1) JL (2) 1868 (3) Esq. (7) The Oaks, Bolton, Cumberland: E (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Atkins, Charles A.	(1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) Farnham Royal, near Slough, Bucks: E (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Atkinson, G.M.	(1) J (2) 1870 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
D2	Atkinson, J.C.	(1) J (2) 1870 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.
	Atkinson, T.W.	(1) J (2) 1861 (9) 1 W.
	Aulton, A.D.	(1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) Bradford House, Walsall, Staffs: E (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Ayliffe, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr. (7) Cape of Good Hope (9) 1 D.
B2	Babington, J.	(1) J (2) 1869J (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
D1	Backhouse, Edward	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Ashburn, near Sunderland, Sussex:E (8) Member (9) N.

	Backhouse, J.H.	(1) JL (2) 1870 (9) mention of death
D1	Bagehot, Walter	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) 12 Upper Belgrave St: L.
	Bailey, John	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) B.A., Oxon. (5) Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary of Ceylon (9) 1 W.
B1	Baker, John	(1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (5) Member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales (7) Houchin's Hotel, St. James' St:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
D2	Baker, Samuel White	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Sir (5) Pasha (7) Headingham Hall, Bungay, Suffolk:E (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 W.
	Baker, William Bailey	(1) JL (2) 1861... (3) Esq (7) New Zealand: F (9) 1 W.
D2	Balfour, George	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) C.B. (5) Major General (6) Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club:L (8) Council, Fellow, VP (9) N;4 E.
	Barnes, J.W.	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Market Place, Durham:E (8) Member (9) N.
	Bartrum, John Stothert	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (6) FRCS (7) 41 Gay St., Bath Somerset: E (8) Fellow (9) N.
F	Bastian, A.	(1) JL (2) 1869-70 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr. (7) Berlin (8) HF (9) N.
B2	Bate, C. Spence	(1) J (2) 1870 (3) Mr. (6) FRS (9) 1 W.
D1	Baylis, Thomas Henry	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) 3, The Terrace, Kensington Garden Sq.: L (8) Member (9) N.
D3	Beale, Lionel J.	(1) JL (2) 1863-69 (3) Esq (4) (MRCS) (5) (MRCS) (6) MRCS,FRSL (7) 108 Long Acre:L (8) Hon. Librarian (9) 6 E;1 W.

B1	Beamish, Richard	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq. (7) 2 Suffolk Sq., Cheltenham, Gloucestershire:E.
D1	Beattie, Wm.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (4) (M.D.) (5) M.D. (7) 13 Upper Berkeley St:L.
	Beaumont George Baker	(1) J (2) 1854 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
	Beckett, Charles	(1) J (2) 1856 (9) 1W - for the British Association.
D3	Beddoe, John	(1) JL (2) 1861... (4) B.A., M.D. (5) M.D. (7) 4 Wetherell Place, Clifton, Bedfordsh.:E; moved to 2 Lansdowne Place, Clifton:E, 1867 (8) Council 2 E; 2 W.
	Beke, G.T.	(1) J (2) 1850 (4) (Dr.) (5) Dr. (9) 1 W.
	Belcher, Brymer	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 D.
D1	Belcher, Edward	(1) J (2) 1861-7 (3) Sir (5) Capt. R.N., Admiral (9) 2 D; 2 W.
	Bell, A.W.	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) Dr. (6) New University Club (7) New University Club, St. James' St:L moved to c/o Dr. Bird, 18 Hertford St., Mayfair:L, 1870 (8) Member (9) N; 1 W.
F	Bickmore, Albert S.	(1) J (2) 1869 (4) M.A. (7) Cambridge, USA (9) 1 W.
	Bigg, Thomas	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) Esq (7) Cronstadt House, Abbey Wood, Kent:E.
D1	Black, W.H.	(1) J (2) 1869J (3) Esq (9) 3 D;1 W.
B1	Blackmore, William	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Shepley House, Carshalton, Surrey: E; moved to Founder's Court, Lothbury:L, 1870 (8) Fellow, Council (9) N; 5 E; 1 W.

	Blackwell, J.W.	(1) J (2) 1869 J (3) Esq. (8) Member (9) N.
	Blake, Charles Carter	(1) J (2) 1863, 1869J (3) Mr. (5) Lecturer on Zoology at the London Institution (6) Hon. Sec. ASL (9) 4 D; 1 W.
	Blanc, H.	(1) J (2) 1869 (4) M.D. (5) H.M. Indian Medical Staff, lately on Special Duty in Abyssinia (6) MRCSE, FRGS, FASL (9) 1 W.
D1	Bohn, Henry G.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FRSL, FRGS, FRAS (7) York St., Covent Garden:L; moved in 1868 to Henrietta St., Covent Garden:L (8) Council, Hon. Treasurer (9) 5 E.
D1	Boileau, John	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Sir, Bart. (6) FRS, VP-RSL (7) 20 Upper Brook St:L.
B1	Bollaert, W.	(1) JL (2) 1850... (6) FRGS, Corr. Mem. Univ. Chile, C.M. American Ethnological Society (7) 21A Hanover Sq:L (8) CM (9) 1 D;4 W.
F	Bonaparte, Louis Lucien	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) His Highness, Prince (7) 8 Westbourne Grove West, Notting Hill:L; moved in 1867 to 8 Norfolk Terrace:L and Paris as second address.
B2	Bonavia, _____	(1) JL (2) 1870 (4) Dr.) (5) Dr. (7) 9 Northwick Terrace, Maida Hill:L (8) Member (9) N.
D1	Bonham, George	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Sir, Bart, KCB (7) Great Western Hotel:L.
D2	Bonwick, James	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (6) FRGS (7) 13 Alfred Rd. Acton, Ches.:E (8) Member (9) N;1 D; 1 W.
D1	Botfield, Beriah	(1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (6) FRS, FSA, FRSUA (7) 5 Grosvenor Sq:L (8) V-P. (9) 1 E.

F	Boucher de Perthes,	(1) L (2) 1863-68 (3) M. (7) Abbeville, France:F. (8) HF.
F	Boudin, _____	(1) L (2) 1863 (4)(Dr.) (5) Dr. (7) Paris:F (8) HF.
F?	Bourien, _____	(1) J (2) 1865 (4) (the Pere) (5) the Pere (9) 1 W.
D1	Bowring, John	(1) L (2) 1863-68 (3) Sir, KB (4) (LL.D.) (6) Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club:L and Claremont, Exeter: E
	Boyle, Frederick	(1) J (2) 1868 (6) FRGS (9) 1 W.
B1	Bracebridge, Charles Holt	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club: L (8) Council (9) 1 E.
B2	Braddle, Thomas	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (4) (HBM Attorney-General) (5) H.B.M. Attorney-General (7) Singapore (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Bragge, William	(1) L (2) 1870 (3) Esq (6) FRGS, FSA (7) Shirle Halle, Sheffield, York: E.
D1	Brent, J.B.	(1) J (2) 1854 (3) Esq (5) Barrister-at-law (9) 1 W - for British Association Meeting.
D1	Briggs, John	(1) L (2) 1863... (5) Lt.-Gen. (6) Oriental and Atheneum Clubs (7) Oriental and atheneum Clubs:L.
	Brine, Lindsay	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (5) Capt., R.N. (6) Army & Navy Club (7) Army & Navy Club, Pall Mall:L; moved in 1870 to All Saints' Rectory, Axminster, Somerset:E (8) Member (9) N; 1 W.
F	Broca, Paul	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) M. (7) Paris:F (8) HF.
D1	Brodie, B.C.	(1) J (2) 1856 (3) Sir, Bart. (4) D.C.L. (6) FRS, Corr. Mem. of the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of France, Pres in 1854 (8) Pres (9) 1E; 2 W- presidential addresses.

	Brodie, James	(1) J (2) 1866 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.
	Brookes, Henry	(1) JL (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) 12 De Beauvoir Sq:L (8) Member, Sectional Secretary for Comparative Psychology (9) N; 1E.
D1	Brougham & Vaux, Henry	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Rt. Hon. Lord (6) FRS (7) 4 Grafton St:L, and in 1867 Brougham Hall, Westmorland:E.
B1	Buchanan, Walter	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) Glasgow, and Fenton's Hotel, St. James' St.:L.
B1	Buller, James Wentworth	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 109 Jermyn St:L.
	Burke, Luke	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FASL (7) 11 Eaton St., Gloucester Rd:L; moved in 1867 to 5 Albert Terrace, Acton, Ches:E (8) Council (9) 3 E: 9 D.
D2	Burton, Richard F.	(1) JL (2) 1861... (5) Capt, H.M. Consul (6) FSE, FRGS (7) Fernando Po: F; moved in 1867 to Santos, Brazil:F, and in 1869J to Damascus (9) 3 W.
D2	Busk, George	(1) JL (2) 1861... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (6) FRS, FLS, Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club:l, and in 1867 15 Harley St:L; moved in 1869J to 32 Harley St:L (8) V-P, Council, Editor (9) 9 E; 3 D;7 W.
	Caddy, _____	(1) J (2) 1867 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr., Surgeon, Royal Navy (9) 1 W.
B1	Cameron, C.D.	(1) L (2) 1863-69 (5) Capt., H.M. Consul (7) Nassowah, Abyssinia.
	Campbell, Archibald	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (4) (M.D.) (5) Dr., Late Superintendant of Darjeeling, (6) FLS (7) 104 Lansdown Rd., Kensington Partk, Notting Hill:L (8) Fellow, V-P, Council (9) N;6E; 3D; 5 W.

D2	Campbell, George	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (5) Justice, Lt-Gov of Bengal (6) Atheneum, (7) Calcutta; F, and Atheneum Club;L; moved in 1869J to St. George's Sq:L, and in 1870 to Bengal:F (8) Fellow, Council (9) N;1 E;2 D;1W.
D1	Campbell, J.F.	(1) J (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Islay:S (9) 2 W.
	Campbell, Walter	(1) JL (2) 1870 (5) Captain, R.E. (7) Newcastle-upon Tyne, Northumberland:E (8) Member (9) N.
B2?	Camps, William	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) M.D. (5) M.D. (7) 52 Park St., Grosvenor Sq:L, moved in 1869 to #84, same street, and in 1870 to The Hall, Wilburton, Ely, Cambs:E (9) 1 D.
D1?	Carnac, H. Rivett	(1) L (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Simlah, India:F.
	Carpenter, Frederic Stanley	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) 109 Victoria St.:L; moved to 10 Elgin Rd., Dublin: I, in 1869J, and in 1870 c/o Mrs. Trygarn Griffith, Careiglwyd, Holyhead;W (8) Fellow (9) N.
D2	Caulfield, R.	(1) J (2) 1870 (3) Esq (4) (LL.D) (6) FSA (9) 2 W.
	Cavendish, Richard	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) Lord (6) Atheneum (7) Chislehurst, Kent, and Atheneum Club, Pall Mall.
	Chambers, Charles Harcourt	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FASL (7) Chesham Place L; (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Chambers Escott	(1) J (2) 1869J (3) Mr (8) Member (9) N.
	Charlton, Wm	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Hasleyside, Bellingham, Hexham, Northumberland:E.

	Chatfield, F.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 12 Pall Mall, and Atheneum Club:L (6) Atheneum.
	Child, W.D.	(1) L (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) 8 Finsbury Place:L.
B2	Cholmondeley, T.J.	(1) L (2) 1869... (5) Col (7) Abbots Moss, Northwich, Ches:E.
D1	Christy, Henry	(1) JL (2) 1863-65 (3) Mr. (6) FSA, FLS, FGS (7) 103 Victoria St, :L (8) Council (9) 2 E; 1 D; 1 W.
	Churcher, James Graham	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (6) FASL (7) 55 Blessington Rd., Lee, Kent:E.
D1	Clark, James	(1) JL (2) 1863-69J (3) Sir, Bart (4) M.D. (5) M.D. (6) FRS (7) Bushy Park, Mx:E (9) 1 W.
B2	Clarke, Hyde	(1) JL (2) 1866... (3) Esq; KCM (4) M.C. (LL.D.) (5) Dr. (7) 32 St George's Sq, Pimlico:L (8) Fellow, Council, Hon. Foreign Sec, Editor, Sectional Sec for Philology (9) N; 5 E; 10D; 8 w - includes answering "Notes & Queries" (6) F. of Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. Member of the German Oriental Society, the American Oriental Soc, of the Academy of Anatolia, of the Philological Soc of Constantinople.
	Clarke, Robert	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) (Surgeon) (5) Surgeon, last of H.M. Colonial Service, formerly Member of the Executive & Legislative Councils of the Gold Coast, Acting Judicial Assessor (8) CM (9) 1 W.
B1	Clavering, Aloysius William	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir, Bart (6) Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club:L (8) Council (9) 7 E.

D1 Clay, Wm. (1) L (2) 1863-69 (3) Sir, Bart (7) 91 Eaton Sq.:L; moved in 1869 to Cadogan Place:L

Clunchen, James Graham (1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.

Cockings, W.S. (1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 20 University St. Gower St:L (8) Fellow (9) N.

Cole, R.A. (1) J (2) 1869 (3) Esq (5) Capt (9) 1 W.

B2 Colebrooke, Thomas Edward (1) L (2) 1863... (3) Sir, Bart (5) M.P. (6) FRS, FRAS (7) 57 South St. Park Lane:L.

Coleman, J. Sherrard (1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq.

D3 Collingwood, (1) J (2) 1868 (4) (Dr.) (5) Dr. (6) FLS (9) 1 W.

Collins, W.W. (1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 15 Buckingham St:L; moved in 1869 to 2 Hereford, Old Brompton:L (8) Fellow (9) N.

D1 Colonsay. (1) L (2) 1868... (3) Rt Hon Lord (6) New Club, Edinburgh (7) New Club, Edinburgh: S.

D1 Connolly, John (1) JL (2) 1863-67 (4) (Dr.) (5) Dr. (6) FRS (7) Hanwell, Mx:E (8) (Pres) - stated in obituary (9) obituary by Sir James Clark.

Conwell, Eugene Alfred (1) J (2) 1867 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.

Copeland, George Ford (1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) (FRCS) (5) (FRCS) (6) FRCS (7) Bays Hill, Cheltenham, Glouces:E (8) Fellow (9) N.

Cornthwaite, Tullie (1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (7) Walthamstow, Essex E.

D1 Crawfurd, John (1) JL (2) 1848-68 (3) Esq (6) FRS, FRGS, V-P, RGS, Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Soc of Paris, Atheneum (7) 15 William St, Lowndes Sq:L; moved in 1867 to 14 Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, and Atheneum Club:L (8) Pres, V-P (9) 7 E; 11 D; 48 W.

D3 Crawfurd, Oswald J. (1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (5) H.B.M. Consul, (7) Foreign Office: L; from 1868 on, Oporto, Portugal.

Creswick, H.C. (1) J (2) 1868 (3) Esq (9) 2 W.

Crichton, W.J. (1) JL (2) 1863-69 (3) Esq (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (7) 11 Eaton Place: L (8) Fellow (9) N.

Croker, T.F. Dillon (1) JL (2) 1863...(3) Esq (6) FSA (7) 19 Pelham Place, Brompton: L (8) Council (9) 6 E.

Crowley, Johnathan Sparrow (1) JL (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (5) C.E. (7) Lavender Hill L; moved in 1867 to Sudbury, Mx:E (8) Fellow (9) N.

Cull, Richard (1) JL (2) 1850...(6) FSA, (7) 13 Tavistock, Bedford Sq:L (8) Represent ESL at British Association, Fellow, Hon Sec (9) 2 E; 4 D; 10 W.

Cullen,_____ (1) J (2) 1866-68 (4) (Dr.) (5) Dr. (9) 2W.

B1 Cunliffe, R. (1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 21 Carlton Place, Glasgow: S.

B2 Cunningham, Alexander (1) JL (2) 1869J... (5) Major-General (7) 1 Clarendon Rd, Kensington:L; in 1870, c/o Messrs Henry S. King & Co, 65 Cornhill: L (8) Member (9) N.

Cursetjee, Manockjee (1) JL (2) 1867-69 (3) Esq (5) Justice (7) Bombay:F (8) Fellow (9) N.

	Cutler, G.	(1) L (2) 1863...(3) Esq (6) FRSL (7) Broomhill House, Sheffield, York:E; moved in 1869 to Nelson Terrace, Sheffield:E.
F	D'Abbadie, Antoine	(1) J (2) 1854 (3) M (9) 1 W - for the British Association.
F	D'Avezac,_____	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) M. (6) Membre de l'Institut (7) 42 Rue du Bac, Paris.
	Des Barres, M.	(1) L (2) 1863 (5) Judge (7) Nova Scotia (8) HF.
	De Bode, Clement Augustus	(1) J (2) 1848-56 (3) Baron (9) 2 W.
F?	De Fullner, A.	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Monsieur (8) CM.
	De Grey & Ripon,	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Rt Hon, Earl (7) 1 Carlton Gardens:L.
	De Malahide, Talbot	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Lord (6) FRS, FSA Atheneum (7) Atheneum:L, and Malahide Castle near Dublin: I (8) V-P (9) 3 E: 2 D.
	De Tschudi, _____	(1) J (2) 1848 (4) (Dr.) (5) Dr. (9) 1 W.
	Des Ruffieres, C. Robert	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FGS (7) Wilmot Lodge, Rochester Rd., Camden Town:L (8) Council (9) 4 E.
F?	Du Chaillue, M.	(1) JL (2) 1861 (9) 1 W.
	Dadabhal, Naoroji	(1) JL (2) 1867-68 (3) Esq (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) 32 Gt. St. Helen's, Bishopsgate:L (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 W.
	Dale, D.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) West Lodge, Darlington, Durham:E.
	Dalton, E.T.	(1) J (2) 1868 (5) Lieut-Col, Commissioner of Chota-Nagpore (9) 1 W.

	Daniell, G. Wythes	(1) L (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) M.D. (7) 38 Bessborough St. Pimlico:L.
D1	Daniell, W.F.	(1) JL (2) 1848-63 (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) FRGS (7) Sierra Leone, 1863 (8) Fellow (9) 2 W.
	Darbishire, Robert, D.	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (4) B.A. (6) FGS (7) 26 George St, Manchester:E (8) Member (9) N.
D1	Darwin, Charles	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.A. (7) Down, Beckham, Kent: E (8) HF (6) FRS.
	Darwin, E.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 6 Queen Anne St:L.
	Davies, J.F.	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Sir, Bart (8) Fellow (9) N.
D2	Davis, John Francis	(1) JL (2) 1863-69J (3) Sir, Bart, KCB (6) Atheneum (7) Hollywood, Glouces:E; and in 1867 Atheneum Club:L (8) Council (9) 1 E.
D1	Davis, Joseph Barnard	(1) JL (2) 1861... (3) Esq (4) (FRCS), M.D. (5) M.D. (6) FRS, FSA (7) Shelton, Staffs:E (8) Council (9) 1 E; 1 W.
	Daw, George H.	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) Chislehurst, Kent.
	Dawkins, W. Boyd	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (4) M.A. (6) FGS, FRS (7) Chislehurst, Kent:E; moved in 1870 to Birch View, Norman Rd, Rusholme, Manchester: E (8) Council, Sectional Sec for Archaeology (8) 3 E; 1 D; 2 W.
D1	Dendy, Walter	(1) J (2) 1869J (9) 1 W.
D1	Denison, William	(1) J (2) 1869J (3) Sir (9) 1 W.
B2	Dennis, G.	(1) J (2) 1869 (3) Esq (5) Vice-Consul for Bengazi.
D1	Devonshire,	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Duke (6) FRS (7) Devonshire House, Piccadilly (8) Fellow (9) N.

D1	Dickinson, John	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (6) FRS, Atheneum (7) 39 Upper Brook St:L; and in 1869J Atheneum Club: L.
	Dickenson jr, John	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FRS, FGS, Atheneum, (7) Atheneum Club: L (8) Fellow, Council (9) N: 8 E.
	Dickman, Henry	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (4) (Surgeon) (5) Colonial Surgeon, (7) Ceylon (9) 1 W.
	Dickson, Peter	(1) J (2) 1867 (3) Esq (7) 28 Upper Brook St:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Dieffenbach, Ernest	(1) J (2) 1848 (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (9) 1 W.
D1	Dilke, Charles Wentworth	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Sir, Bart (5) M.P. (7) 76 Sloane St:L (8) Member (9) N.
	Dohne, J.R.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (8) HF.
B1?	Donaldson, J.W.	(1) J (2) 1854-56 (4) D.D. (5) Rev (9) 2 W. - one for the British Association.
	Donovan, C.	(1) JL (2) 1863-69J (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) 111 Strand:L; moved 1869J to 106 Strand:L (9) 2 D; 1 W.
B2	Doria, A.	(1) J (2) 1869J (5) Captain, Col (9) 1 W.
	Dublin,	(1) L (2) 1863 (4) (Rev) (5) Rt Rev, Archbishop of St. Stephen's Green (7) Dublin: I.
	Duckworth, William	(1) L (2) 1863-69 (3) Esq (6) FRCS (7) 31 Norfolk St, Strand L; moved in 1867 to 38 Bryanstone Sq;L.
	Duncan, David	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (4) M.A. (5) Prof (7) Presidency College, Madras:F (8) Member (9) N.

D2	Duncan, P.M.	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) Prof (6) FRS, Sec, GS (7) 40 Blessington, Lee, Kent:E (8) Sectional Sec for Biology (9) 1 E.
D1	Dunkin, A.J.	(1) JL (2) 1869... (3) Mr (7) Dartford, Kent:E; moved in 1869J to 44 Bessborough Gardens:L, with Dartford as a second address (9) 1 D.
D1	Dunn, Robert	(1) JL (2) 1856... (4) (FRCS) (5) (FRCS) (6) FRCS (7) 31 Norfolk St. Strand:L (8) Fellow. V-P, Council (9) 9 E; 6W.
D1	Dunraven & Mountearl	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Earl, KP (6) FRS, FRGS, FSA (7) 5 Buckingham Palace Gate, Pimlico:L (8) Member (9) N.
	Earl, George Windser	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (6) MRAS (8)CM (9) 1 W.
	Eastwood, J.W.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) M.D. (5) Dr. (7) Fairford Retreat, Glouces:E; moved in 1869 to Dr. Keeling's, 16 Broomhall St, Sheffield, York: E; moved in 1869J to Dimsdale Park, Darlington, Durham:E.
	Edwards, John	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Hare Court, Temple:L (8) Member (9) N.
	Edwards, H. Milne	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (7) Paris:F (8) HF.
	Edwards, H.W.	(1) J (2) 1869J (9) 1 W.
F	Egypt,	(1) J (2) 1863, (3) Viceroy (8) Hon Member (9) N.
B1	Elliot, Walter	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Sir KCSI (7) Wolfelee, Hawick, New Brunswick (8) Member (9) N; 1 W.
B2	Ellis, A.J.	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr (9) 1 D.

	Ellis, James	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Erle, William	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) Sir (5) Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Please (7) 12 Princes Gardens, Hyde Park:L.
B1	Euing, William	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) 209 West George St. Glasgow:S; and in 1869, Royal Exchange, Glasgow (8) Fellow (9) N.
D3	Evans, John	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Mr (6) FSA, FRS, FGS (7) Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire: E (8) Council (9) 3 E; 4D;2 W.
	Fairbank, Frederick Royston	(1) L (2) 1863-69 (3) Esq (4) FRCP (5) (FRCP, MRCS) (6) FRCP, MRCS (7) St. Mary's Terrace, Hulme, Manchester, Lancs:E.
D1	Fairbairn, W.	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Sir, Bart (6) FRS (7) Manchester: E.
D3	Farrar, A.S.	(1) JL (2) 1870 (4) D.D. (5) Rev (7) The College, Durham:E (8) Member (9) N.
D3	Farrar, Frederic W.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) M.A. (5) Rev, Assistant Classical Master (6) FRS (7) Harrow-on-the-Hill, Mx:E (8) Fellow, Council (9) 4 E; 3 W.
	Fergusson, James	(1) J (2) 1869J... (9) 1 D; 1 W.
	Firm, James	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Jerusalem:F (8) CM.
	Fisher, Anthony Lax	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) M.D.) (7) 14 York Place, Portman Sq:L.
	Fisher, Morton Coates	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (7) 58 Threadneedle St:L (8) Member (9) N; 1 W.

D1	Fitzroy,_____	(1) JL (2) 1861-63 (5) Admiral (6) FRS (7) 38 Onslow SqL: (9) 1 W.
	Fitzwilliam, W.S.	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (5) FSS, Late Member of the Supreme Legislative Council of India (7) 28 Ovington Sq:L.
	Fleming, J.W.	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) (Surgeon) (5) Surgeon, 37th Regt (6) FRCS (9) 1 W - communicated Dickman's paper.
B1	Flower, J.W.	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (6) FGS (7) Park Hill, Croydon, Surrey: E. (8) Member, Council (9) N; 2 E; 3 D.
F	Folsom, George	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (6) Pres, American Ethnological Society (7) New York (8) HF.
D1	Forbes, David	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (6) FRS, FGS (7) 11 York Place, Portman Sq:L (8) Council Member (9) N; 1 E: 1 W.
B1	Fort, Richard	(1) JL (2) 1865-68 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 24 Queen's Gate Gardens L, and Read Hill, Whalley, Lancs:E (8) council (9) 1 E.
	Fosberry, _____	(1) J (2) 1869J (5) Major, V.C. (9) 1 W.
D2	Fowler, R.N.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 30 Cornhill:L.
B2	Fox, Augustus Lane	(1) JL (2) 1863... (5) Col, Grenadier Guards (6) Guards' Club, FSA (7) Guards' Club, Pall Mall:L; in 1869J 10 Upper Phillimore Gdns, Kensington:L (8) Hon Sec, Hon General Sec, Council, Editor (9) 6 E; 8 D; 6 W - and read various papers of others.
	Fox, C.H.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (7) Brislington House, Bristol, Glouces:E; moved in 1869J to The Beeches, Bristol: E. (8) Fellow (9) N.

D2	Franks, Augustus W.	(1) JL (2) 1866... (3) Esq (5) British Museum (6) Dir, SA (7) British Museum and 55 Upper Seymour St. Portman Sq:L; moved in 1869J to 103 Victoria St, Westminster: L (8) Council (9) 3 E.
	Fraser, Thomas	(1) JL (2) 1867... (5) Captain (7) Otago, New Zealand:F (8) Fellow (9) N.
F	Friend, Wm.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) M.A.(LL.D.) (7) Breslau:F (8) CM.
	Freund, William	(1) J (2) 1864-56 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr. (6) FGS (9) 3 W.
B2	Fytche, Albert	(1) JL (2) 1867... (5) Lt-Col, Chief Commissioner of Martaban, and Tenasserim Provinces (6) Reform Club (7) Martaban, Burma:F (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 W.
	Galitzin, Ernest	(1) J (2) 1856 (3) Prince (6) CM of RGS (9) 1 W.
D2	Galton, Douglas	(1) JL (2) 1863... (5) Capt (6) FRS (7) 12 Chester St, Grosvenor Place:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
D3	Galton, Francis	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Mr (6) FRGS, FRS, Atheneum (7) 42 Rutland Gate, Hyde Park, and in 1867 Atheneum Club:L (8) Hon Sec, Council (9) 3 E; 1 D; 2 W.
	Gardner, C.T.	(1) JL (2) 1869J...(3) Esq (5) of H.B.M. Consular Service in China (6) FRGS (7) 3 St. James' Terrace, Paddington:L; and in 1870 Shanghai (8) Member (9) N; 1 W.
	Gardner, E.V.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Sunbury, Mx: E.
	Gardner, Peter	(1) L (2) 1863-70 (3) Esq (7) 41 Inverness Terrace, Bayswater:L.
B2?	Gascoyne, J.B.	(1) JL (2) 1863 (5) Capt (6) Atheneum (8) Fellow (7) Atheneum Club:L (9) N.

D1	Gassiot, John P.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FRS (7) Clapham Common:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
F	Giglioli, _____	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Pavia:F (8) CM, HF.
	Giles, John V.	(1) J (2) 1854 (9) 1 W.
	Gillespie, Wm.	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Torbane Hill, Edinburgh:S.
D1	Glyn, George Grenfell	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 42 South St, Grosvenor Sq:L.
	Gore, Richard, Thomas	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 6 Queen Sq. Bath, Somerset:E.
B2	Grant, _____	(1) J (2) 1865 (5) Captain (9) 1 W.
	Grattan, John	(1) J (2) 1854 (9) 1 W.
	Greenhow, J.M.	(1) J (2) 1861 (4) (MRCS) (5) (MRCS) (6) MRCS (9) 1 W.
	Greenwell, W.	(1) JL (2) 1869... (4) M.A. (5) Rev, Canon of Durham (6) FSA, FASL (7) Durham:E (8) Council (9) 2 E; 1 W.
D1	Grey, Charles Edward	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Sir (7) Marlborough House, Tunbridge Wells, Kent:E.
D1	Grey,	(1) J (2) 1854 (3) Earl (5) Sec of State for the Colonies (9) 1 S.
D1	Grey, George	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir, KCB (5) Governor of New Zealand (6) Atheneum (7) New Zealand:F; and in 1869, Atheneum Club: L (9) 2 W.
	Grey, Henry	(1) L (2) 1863... (5) Lt. R.N. (7) Marlborough House, Tunbridge Wells, Kent:E; in 1867, H.M.S. <u>Irresistible</u>, Southampton, Hamps:E; 1869, H.M.S. <u>Algerine</u>.

D1	Grey, W.R.	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (5) Superintendant of H.M. Stationery Office (7) Princes St, Westminster: L.
	Griffith, R. Trygarn	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) Esq.
	Grout, Lewis	(1) J (2) 1854 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.
B2	Guise, William Vernon	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Sir, Bart (6) FGS, FLS (7) Elmore Court, Glouces: E (8) Member (9) N.
B1	Gurney, John Henry	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 24 Kensington Palace Gardens:1; moved in 1867 to 9 St. James's Sq.:L, with Catton Hall, Norfolk as a second address.
	Guthrie, Alexander	(1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 8 Upper Wimpole St.: (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Guthrie, James	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 8 Upper Wimpole St: L; moved in 1867 to 3 Poynders Rd, Clapham Park:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Haast, Julius	(1) J (2) 1870 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (6) FRS (9) 1 W.
	Haigh, _____	(1) J (2) 1869 (3) Miss (9) 1 W.
	Hamilton, Alexander	(1) L (2) 1869J...(5) Capt, R.E. (7) Portsmouth, Hampshire:E, moved in 1870 to Bermuda:F.
	Hamilton, Archibald	(1) JL (2) 1867...(3) Esq (7) Southborough, Bromley, Kent:E (8) Council (9) 1 E.
	Hamilton, Rowland	(1) L (2) 1863...(3) Esq (7) Calcutta:F; and in 1867 13 Leadenhall St:L; this changed in 1869 to 32 New Broad St:L.
	Hamilton, Rowland	(1) L (2) 1863...(7) Bengal (8) CM.
	Hanson, A.W.	(1) J (2) 1856 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.
	Harrison, Charles	(1) L (2) 1869J...(7) 10 Lancaster Gate, Hyde Park:L.
	Harvey, John	(1) L (2) 1963... (3) Esq (5) Borneo Co. (7) 7 Mincing Lane:L.

	Hay, John	(1) L (2) 1863 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (7) 7 Philip Terrace, Tottenham, Mx:E.
F	Hayden, F.V.	(1) JL (2) 1869J (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Philadelphia:F (8) HF.
	Heathcote,	(1) J (2) 1863 (5) Lt. (9) 1 D.
D3	Hector, James	(1) J (2) 1861 (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (9) 1 W.
F?	Heldmann, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (8) CM.
B2?	Henderson, Alex	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (8) CM.
	Henderson, Robert	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Randall's Park, Surrey:E.
F	Henry, Joseph	(1) JL (2) 1869J (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Smithsonian Institution, Washington:F (8) HF.
	Hepburn, James	(1) JL (2) 1868-69 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Hepburn, Robert	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 8 Davies St, Berkeley Sq: L; moved in 1867 to 70 Portland Place:L.
	Hewitt, Jonas	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (7) Crown Court, Threadneedle St:L (8) Member (9) N.
B2	Heywood, James	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FSA, FRS, Atheneum (7) 26 Kensington Palace Gardens:L; and in 1867, Atheneum Club: L (8) Council (9) 2 E.
D1	Hincks, Edward	(1) J (2) 1854 (4) D.D. (5) Rev (9) 2 W.
	Hindmarsh, F.	(1) JL (2) 1854... (6) FRGS, FGS (7) 17 Bucklersby:L; in 1867 also 4 New Inn, Strand:L, and Townsend House, Barkway, Herts:E (8) Represent ESL at British Association, V-P, Hon Treasurer, Council (9) 8 E.

	Hjaltalin, Jon A.	(1) J (2) 1868... (9) 1 D; 1 W.
D1	Hodgkin, Thomas	(1) JL (2) 1848-63 (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) FRGS (7) 35 Bedford Sq: L (8) V-P, Council (9) 4 E; 3 D; 3 W + obituary notice by Richard King.
B2	Hodgson, B.H.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Bengal:F; moved in 1870 to The Grange, Wooton-under-Edge, nr Alderley, Ches:E.
	Hodgson, Daniel Kirkman	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 36 Brook St: L, and in 1867, Sparrows Herne, Bushy, Herts:E.
	Van der Hoevan,	(1) L (2) 1863-69 (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (8) HF.
D1	Hogg, John	(1) J (2) 1856 (4) M.A. (6) FRS, FLS, RGS, Foreign Sec of RSL (9) 1 W - for the British Association.
	Hollond, Robert	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (7) Gt. Stanmore, Mx:E.
	Hooker, J	(1) JL (2) (4) M.D. (6) FRS (9) 1 D; 2 W. (5) Director of the Royal Gardens, Kew:E (3) CB.
	Horton, W.J.S.	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) Esq (7) Talbot Villa, Rugely, Staffordshire:E.
B1	Hotten, J.C.	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) 174 Piccadilly:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
B2?	Houghton, W.	(1) J (2) 1869 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.
	Howorth, H.H.	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) Castle Hall, Rochdale, Lancs: E: moved in 1869J to Derby House, Eccles, Manchester:E (8) Fellow, Council (9) N; 1 E; 1 D; 8 W.
	Hughes, T McK	(1) JL (2) 1869 J (3) Esq (4) M.A. (6) FGS, FSA (7) 28 Jermyn St.:L (8) Member, Council, Sectional Sec for Archaeology (9) N; 3 E.
	Hume, A.	(1) J (2) 1854 (4) D.C.L., (LL.D.) (5) Rev (6) FSA (9) 1 W - for the British Association.

	Hunt, George Lennox	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (5) H.M. Consul (7) Pernambuco:F; moved in 1867 to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil:F.
	Hunt, John	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) 156 New Bond St:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
B2	Hunter, W.W.	(1) L (2) 1870 (3) Esq (5) Civil Servant (7) Bengal Civil Service (8) HF.
D1	Hunt, James	(1) JL (2) 1863 (4) Ph.D. (6) FSA, FRSL, Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Society of Paris Sec, to Section E, British Association (7) Ore House, nr Hastings, Sussex: E (8) Hon Sec, (9) 1 E; 4 D; 2 W.
	Husband, Frank	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Husband, H.A.	(1) JL (2) 1868-69 (3) Esq (7) City of London Asylum, Stone, Kent:E (8) Fellow (9) N.
B2	Hutchinson, Thomas J.	(1) JL (2) 1861... (5) Consul (6) FRGS, FRSL, FASL, V-P d' honneur de l 'Institut d'Afrique, Paris; Socio Estrangero de la Sociedad Paleontologica, Buenos Ayres (7) Rosario:F (9) 3 W.
D2	Huxley, F.W.	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (8) Council (9) 1 E; 1 W.
	Huxley, T.H.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (LL.D) (6) FRS, FLS, Pres, GS (7) Museum of Practical Geology, 26 Abbey Place, St. John's Wood: L (8) Council, Pres, Editor (9) 9 E; 8 D; 5 W - includes 3 presidential addresses.
	Imrie, Wm.	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (7) 16 Savile Row:L.

	Inglis, John	(1) J (2) 1854... (4) (Rev) (5) Missionary, Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland (8) CM (9) 1 W.
B1	Ingham, Robert	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 13 King's Bench Walk, Temple:L.
	Inman, R.M.	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) FRGS (7) Redbourn, St. Albans, Herts:E; moved in 1870 to Edinborough House, West St, Brighton, Sussex:E (8) Member (9) N.
	Ireland, J.C.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 2 Sion Row, Marsh Gate, Richmond, Surrey:E.
	Isenburg,_____	(1) L (2) 1863-70 (4) (Rev) (5) (8) CM.
	Jackson, Henry	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (7) St. James's Row, Sheffield, York:E.
	Jagor, _____	(1) J (2) 1870 (4) (Dr.) (5) Dr. (9) 1 W.
	Janson, F.H.	(1) L (2) 1863-69 (3) Esq (7) Chislehurst, Kent:E.
D1	Jeffcott, J.M.	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (5) Member of the House of Keys, High Bailiff of Castletown (7) Castletown, Isle of Man:E (8) Member (9) N.
	Jeffries, Edmund	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Kondosalla, Ceylon:F (8) CM.
	Johnson, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr. (9) 2 D.
	Johore,	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Maharajah (7) 22 Manchester Sq:L; moved in 1868 to Singapore.
	Jones, James	(1) J (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) Corr Mem of the Ethnological Soc at Amoy (7), China:F (8) CM (9) 1 W.
D1	Jones, Harry	(1) J (2) 1869J (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.

D1	Jones, W.A.	(1) JL (2) 1869J...(4) (Rev) (5) Rev (6) FGS (7) Taunton, Somerset: (8) Member (9) N.
	Jordan, W.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) Charing Cross:L.
	Kanikoff, M.	(1) J (2) 1866 (9) 1 W.
B1	Kennedy, James	(1) J (2) 1856 (4) LL.B (5) late H.B.M.'s Judge in the mixed court at Havana (9) 1 W.
B1	Kennedy, R. Hartley	(1) L (2) 1863-68 (3) Esq.
	Kernahan,_____	(1) L (2) 1869... (4) (Rev Dr) (5) Rev Dr (6) FRSL, FASL (7) 50 Greenwood Rd, Dalston, Mx:E.
B1	King, David	(1) JL (2) 1863-5 (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (7) Eltham, Kent:E (8) Council (9) 2 E.
D1	King, Richard	(1) JL (2) 1848... (4) M.D. (5) Dr, H.M. Medical Inspector of Factories (6) LSA, FASL, CM. Ethnological Soc of New York, Statistical Soc of Darmstadt, HF, Ethnological Soc of Paris, FRCS (7) 17 Savile Row:L; moved in 1869 to Queen Anne St:L; moved in 1869J to 12 Bulstrode Rd, Cavendish Sq:L (8) Hon Sec, Council (9) 5 E; 2 D;4 W - includes 2 obituaries, and 1 address re Ethnology.
D1	King, S.W.	(1) L (2) 1863 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (6) FGS, FSA, FRGS (7) Saxlingham, Norfolk:E.
D1	Kingsley,_____	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) (Rev Prof) (5)Rev Prof (8) Fellow (9) N,
	Kirwan, Richard	(1) JL (2) 1869... (4) M.A. (5) Rev (7) Gittisham, Honiton, Devonshire:E (8) Member (9) N.
	Knapp, J.L.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (8) CM.

B1	Knox, Robert	(1) J (2) 1861-63 (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) CM of the Imperial Academy of Medicine of France, Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Society of Paris, Foreign Associate of Natural History Soc of Hesse Cassel (8) HF (9) 2 D; 2 W.
	Kolbe, F.N.	(1) J (2) 1854 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.
	Labuan,	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) (Bishop) (5) Lord Bishop (7) Labuan:F (9) 1 W.
D1	Laing, Samuel	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (5) M.P. (6) FGS (7) 6 Kensington Gardens Terrace, Bayswater:L; moved in 1870 to Brighton, Sussex.
	Lamprey, Jones H.	(1) JL (2) 1868-69J (4) M.B., M.D. (5) Surgeon, 67th Regt, (6) Librarian, RGS (7) Portsmouth, Hampshire:E (8) Member, Assistant Sec, Sub-Editor (9) 3 W; 1 S.
D4	Lang, Andrew	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 35 Weymouth St:L; moved in 1867 to 77 Harley St, Cavendish Sq:L,: moved in 1868 to Dunmore Tynemouth (Teignmouth?) :E.
	Langlands, J.	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) Victoria, New South Wales:F (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Latham, R.G.	(1) JL (2) 1848...(4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) Pres, Section E, British Association, FRS, Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club:L (8) HF (9) 11 W.
	Lawford, Edward	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (7) Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire:E.
B2	Lay, H.N.	(1) L (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq.
D3	Layard, Austin H.	(1) (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) D.C.L., M.D. (5) M.P., H.M. Ambassador at the Court of Madrid (7) 130 Piccadilly:L; moved in 1870 to Madrid (8) HF.

	Layard, W.	(1) J (2) 1863-69J (3) Mr. (9) 2 W.
	Layland, _____	(1) J (2) 1869J (9) 1 W.
B1	Lefroy,_____	(1) J (2) 1870 (5) Major-General, R.A. (9) 1 W.
F	Leidy, Joseph	(1) J (2) 1869J (4) (Dr.) (5) Dr (7) Philadelphia:F (8) HF.
B2	Leitner, G.W.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) Ph.D. M.A. (5) Dr, (6) FRAS, FPS (7) 7 Belgrave Rd, Abbey Rd:L; moved in 1867 to Government College, Lahore, India:F (9) 1 W.
	Lennox, Arthur	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) 7 Beaufort Gdns, Brompton Rd:L; in 1870, c/o Lord T. Cecil, Granville Place, Portman Sq:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
F	Lepsius, R.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) Berlin:F. (8) HF.
F	Lueckart,_____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5), Dr, Prof of Anatomy and Zoology (7) University of Giessen (8) HF.
B1	Lewin, Malcolm	(1) JL (2) 1863-68 (3) Esq (7) 31 Gloucester Gdns, Bishop's Rd, Paddington:L (8) Council (9) 2 E.
	Librarian of the Corporation of London	(1) JL (2) 1868... (5) Librarian of the Library of the Corporation of London (8) Fellow (9) N.
D2	Linton, Lynn	(1) J (2) 1868 (3) Mrs (9) 1 W.
	Lloyd, Edmund	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (6) FRCS (8) Fellow (9) N.
B2	Lockhart, William	(1) JL (2) 1861... (3) Esq (6) MRCS (8) CM (9) 1 W.
	Logan, Alexander	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Singapore (8) CM.
D1	Logan, J.R.	(1) L (2) 1863-69J (3) Esq (6) FGS (7) Singapore.

D1	Long, William	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (4) M.A. (7) West Hay, Wrington, Somerset: E (8) Member (9) N.
	Love, Horatio	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Upper Norwood Mx:E.
	Lubbock, Frederick	(1) J (2) 1867 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
D1	Lubbock, John	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir, Bart (5) M.P. (6) FSA, FRS, V-P, LS, Pres, Entomological Soc (7) Chislehurst. Kent:E; moved in 1867 to High Elms, Farnborough, Kent:E (8) Pres, V-P, Editor (9) 3 D; 6 W; 11 E.
F	Lucae, _____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Dr, Prof of Anatomy in the Senckenburg Institute (7) Frankfort-on-the-Main (8) HF.
	Lukis, J.W.	(1) J (2) 1870 (3) Mr (9) 1 D.
B1	McClelland, James	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 103 St Vincent, St, Glasgow: S; moved in 1867 to 73 Kensington Garden Square, Paddington:L; moved in 1869 to 32 Pembridge Sq, Notting Hill:L.
B1	MacDouall, _____	(1) J (2) 1854 (4) M.A. (5) Prof, Queen's College, Belfast (7) Belfast (9) 1 W - for the British Association.
	Macfarlane, John Gray	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Clyde Villa, Annerly Hill, Upper Norwood Mx:E (8) Fellow (9) N.
F	MacGowan, _____	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) 518 Broadway, New York:F (8) CM (9) 1 D.
	Mackie, S.J.	(1) JL (2) 1863-68 (3) Mr. (6) FGS (7) Alma Sq, St John's Wood:L; moved in 1867 to 1 Market Place, Oxford Circus:L (8) Fellow (9) 3 D;1 W.

B1 Mackinnon, Lauchlan (1) L (2) 1863 (7) Bittacy House, Mill Hill, Hendon, Mx:E.

B1 Mackintosh, Daniel (1) JL (2) 1861-69 (6) FGS (7) West St. Chichester, Sussex:E (8) Fellow (9) 1 W.

D1 Macleay, George (1) L (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Pendhill Court, Bletchingley:E.

D1 McLennan, J.F. (1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) 81 Princes St, Edinburgh:S (8) Member, Council (9) N; 1 E; 1 D.

Maclure, Andrew (1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) 14 Ladbroke Sq. Notting Hill:L (8) Fellow (9) N.

D3 M'Nair, John Frederick Aldolphus (1) JL (2) 1867... (5) Capt, Major, R.A., Executive Engineer. (7) Singapore:F (8) Fellow (9) N.

Mackrell, J. (1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 34 Cannon St West:L.

D1 Major, R.H. (1) J (2) 1861 (3) Esq (6) FSA (9) 1 W.

D1 Malcolm, Charles (1) J (2) 1850-54 (3) Sir (5) Rear Admiral, Vice Admiral (8) Pres (9) 2 E; 3 W-presidential addresses.

Malcolm, W.E. (1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Burnfoot, Langholme near Carlisle, Cumberland:E.

Manigear, Simon Casie Chitty (1) J (2) 1865-66 (9) 2 W.

D1 Mann, Robert Jones (1) JL (2) 1867... (4) M.D. (5) Superintendant of Education in Natal (6) FRAS (7) Natal:F moved to Duke St. Strand:L, 1870 (8) Fellow, CM (9) N;2 W.

B1 Mapleton, R.J. (1) J (2) 1870 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 2 W.

D4 Markham, Clements R. (1) JL (2) 1867...(3) Esq (6) Hon Sec, RGS, Oriental Club (7) 21 Eccleston Sq. and Oriental Club:

		L (9) 1 D; 2 W.
	Marsh, Henry	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Marsh, Matthew	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (5) M.P. (6) Atheneum (7) 48 Dover St and Atheneum Club:L; moved in 1867 to 6 Rutland Gate, and Ramridge, Andover Hants:E.
B1	Marshall, William	(1) JL (2) 1867 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 32 St. George's Rd, Pimlico:L, and Patterdale & Halstead Halls, Penrith, Cumberland:E (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Martin, Richard Biddulph	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) Lombard St; L & Clarewood, Bickley, Ches:E.
B1	Mason, James Wood	(1) L (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (7) Government College, Calcutta:F.
F?	Maury, Alfred	(1) L (2) 1863... (6) Member of the Institute, Paris (8) HF.
	Maw, George	(1) JL (2) 1867-68 (3) Esq (6) FSA (7) Benthall Hall, Broseley, Salop:E (8) Fellow (9) N.
D2	Maxwell, P. Benson	(1) L (2) 1868... (3) Sir (5) Chief Justice (7) Singapore.
D1	Mayer, Joseph	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FSA (7) Lord St, Liverpool, Lancs:E (8) Council (9) 3 E.
D1	Mayers, William F.	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (5) H.M. Vice-Consul (7) Canton: F.
	Mayson, John S.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Fallowfield, Manchester:E.
	Meekins,_____	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr (9) 1 D.
F	Meigs, J. Aitken	(1) L (2) 1863... (5) Librarian of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia (8) HF.

	Meryon, Edward	(1) J (2) 1869 (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) FRCP (9) 1 W.
	Miles, W. Augustus	(1) JL (2) 1854... (5) J.P. Commissioner of Police, Sydney (6) CM of Statistical Soc, Musee d'Histoire Naturel, Paris (8) CM (9) 1 W.
	Milligan, Joseph	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Mr (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) FGS, FZS, FLS, MRAS (7) 15 Northumberland St, Strand:L (9) 1 D.
	Millingen, F.	(1) J (2) 1870 (5) Major (6) FRGS (9) 1 W.
	Milnes, Monckton	(1) J (2) 1863 (3)Mr (9) 1 D.
	Milton,	(1) JL (2) 1867... (4) Viscount (5) M.P. (7) 34 Curzon St, and 19 Grosvenor St:L (8) V-P, Council (9) 2 E.
	Mitchell, Albert	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) Elmstead, Kent.
B1	Mitchell, Alexander	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 6 Gt Stanhope St, Mayfair, Carolside, Berwickshire.
	Moggridge, M.	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (6) FGS (7) Monmouthshire:W (8) Member (9) N.
	Monkman, C.	(1) J (2) 1870 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
B1	Montgomerie, Patrick	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) KCB (5) Lt-Gen.
	Montgomery, Robert Mortimer	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 7 Ashley Place, Victoria St, Westminster:L.
	Moody, John	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) St Maurice Villa, Heworth Rd, York:E, and c/o J.D. Neale Esq. 13 South Sq. Gray's Inn:L.
B1	Moore, Joseph	(1) J (2) 1854 (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (8) represent ESL at British Association.

	Morris, Eugene	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (3) Esq (5) R.M. (7) Birchwood, Sydenham Hill Mx:E (8) Member (9) N.
	Morris, E. Rowley	(1) L (2) 1870 (7) Grungrog Cottage, Welshpool:L.
D1	Morris, John	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (7) 28 Avenue, Bennett's Park, Blackheath, Kent: E (8) Member (9) N.
D4	Morrison, Walter	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 21 Bolton St, Piccadilly:L (8) Member (9) N.
B2	Mouat, F.J.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) Inspector of Indian Goals (7) India; F and 45 Arundel St, Notting Hill:L (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 D; 1 W.
D1	Muir, J.	(1) L (2) 1867-69 (3) Esq (6) Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club:L, and 16 Regent's Terrace, Edinburgh:S.
D2	Müller, Max	(1) JL (2) 1867...(4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Oxford:E (8) HF.
	Munton, Francis Kerridge	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (6) FRGS (7) 21 Montague St, Russell Sq:L (8) Member (9) N.
D1	Murchison, Roderick I.	(1) J. (2) 1863... (3) Sir, KCB (6) FRS, Pres of the Geographical Society (4) D.C.L. (5) Director-General of the Museum of Practical Geology (7) 16 Belgrave Sq (8) Council (9) 7 E; 2D.
D1	Murray, John	(1) L (2) 1863-69J (3) Esq (5) publisher) (7) 50 Albemarle St:L; and in 1867, Newstead, Wimbledon Park.
	Napier, William Donald	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 22 George St, Hanover Sq:L; moved in 1879J to Ardmore Lodge, Spring Grove, Isleworth, Mx:E (8) Council (9) 1 E: 1 D.

	Napier, William	(1) L (2) 1863... (7) 4 Portland Place, Great Malvern Worcester:E; moved in 1867 to Burgage Hill, Southwell, Notts: E.
B2	Nash, Davyd W.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FSA, MRSL (7) Cheltenham, Glouces:E (8) Hon Sec (9) 3 E.
	Nash, Robert Lucas	(1) L (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Craven Cottage, Finchley:E (8) Member (9) N.
	Nasmyth, Alexander	(1) J (2) 1848 (9) 1 W.
	Neale, J. Dormer	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) 13 South Sq. Gray's Inn: L.
B1	Newcastle,	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Duke (9) 1 S.
B1	Newell, R.S.	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Ferndene, Gateshead, Durham:E (8) Member (8) N.
D1	Nicholas, Thomas	(1) JL (2) 1869J...(4) M.A. (5) Dr (6) FGS (7) 3 Craven St, Strand:L (8) Member, Council (9) N; 1 E; 3 D; 1 W.
D1	Nicholson, Brinsley	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) 60th Rifles, Surgeon-Major Medical Staff, Auckland (7) Chatham, Kent:E; moved in 1867 to Auckland, New Zealand:F.
D3	Nicholson, Charles	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir, Bart (6) V-P, ASL, FRSL (7) 5 Cleveland Row, St. James's:L; moved in 1867 to 26 Devonshire Place, Marylebone:L (8) Council (9) 6 E.
	Nicol, Dyce	(1) JL (2) 1863-69J (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 5 Hyde Park Terrace: Bayswater:L; moved to 13 Hyde Park Terrace in 1867, with Babentoy, Kincardineshire:S as a second address (8) Fellow (9) N.
B1	Nicoll, Donald	(1) L (2) 1869 (3) Esq (7) Oaklands, West End, Hampstead, Mx:E.

F	Nicolucci, Giustiniano	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) Naples:F (8) HF.
F	Nillsson, S.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Stockholm:F (8) HF (9) 1 W.
	Nixon, Brinsley	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 17 Bury St, St James:L.
F	Nott, J.C.	(1) L (2) 1863-68 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) Mobile, Alabama, U.S.:F (8) HF.
	O'Callaghan, P.	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (4) D.C.L. (LL.D) (6) FSA (7) Leamington, Warwickshire:E (8) Member (9) N.
	O'Riley, Edward	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Burmah:F (8) CM.
	Oldfield, Augustus	(1) J (2) 1865 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
D1	Oldham, T.	(1) J (2) 1854 (5) Geologist to the Indian Survey (6) FGS (9) 1 W.
D1	Oliphant, Lawrence	(1) L (2) 1863-69 (3) Esq (5) M.P. (6) Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club and 35 Half Moon St. Piccadilly: L.
D3	Oliver, S.P.	(1) JL (2) 1870 (5) Lieut, R.A. (6) FRGS (7) 40 Hauteville, Guernsey:E (8) CM (9) 2W.
	Opper, Gustav	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (4) Dr) (5) Dr (7) 5 Adelaide Sq. Windsor, Berkshire:E (8) Member (9) N; 1 D; 1 W.
	Orton, W. Billing	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) Chorlton-on-Medlock, Lancs:E.
D1	Osborne, Sherard	(1) JL (2) 1868... (5) Capt, RN (6) Atheneum (7) 119 Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, and Atheneum Club:L (8) Council (9) 2 E.
F	Otto, _____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Copenhagen:F (8) HF.

D1	Ouvry, Frederic	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) 12 Queen Anne St:L (6) Treasurer, S.A.
D1	Owen, Richard	(1) J (2) 1850-64 (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (6) FRS (9) 3 W.
	Paget, Arthur	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Palgrave, W. Gifford	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) Trebizond (8) HF.
	Palmer, J.L.	(1) J (2) 1869 (5) Capt (9) 1 W.
D1	Parish, Woodbine,	(1) J (2) 1866 (3) KCH (6) FRS (9) 2 W.
D1	Parkes, Harry	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir, KCB (5) Minister Plenipotentiary, Yeddo, Japan (6) Atheneum and Oriental Clubs (7) Atheneum & Oriental Clubs:L; and in 1867, Yeddo, Japan (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 D.
	Patterson, Edmund	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Sydney, New South Wales:F (8) CM.
	Pearse, George Godfrey	(1) JL (2) 1869J (5) Major, RA RA (9) 1 W.
	Pereira, Francisco E.	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) India:F; moved in 1868 to Singapore.
	Perry, Gerald Raoul	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (5) H.B.M. Consul (7) Para, Brazil: F; moved in 1867 to Rio Grande de Sul:F; moved in 1868 to Stockholm:F (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Perry, T. Erskine	(1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Sir, KB (7) 36 Eaton Place:L (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 D.
F	Perty,_____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Berne (8) HF.
D1	Petherick, H.W.	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) 2 Denmark Villas, Waddon New Rd. Croydon, Surrey:E.

	Phair, J.P.	(1) J (2) 1870 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
	Phayre, A.P.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir, CB (5) Lt-Col, Governor of Pegu, (6) EIUS (7) Pegu, British Burmah:F, and EIUS Club, 14 St James' Sq:L (8) Fellow (9) N; 2 W.
F	Phoebus,_____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Dr, Prof of Natural History (7) University of Giessen:F (8) HF.
	Pick, Edward	(1) L (2) 1863 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) 40 Bryanston St:L.
	Pickering, Charles	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (8) CM.
F	Pictet,_____	(1) L (2) 1863...(3) M. (7) Geneva: F (8) HF.
D3	Platts, John	(1) JL (2) 1869J (3) Esq (5) Inspector of Schools (7) Central India:F and 24 Ifield Rd, West Brompton, Mx:E (8) Member (9) N.
D2	Playfair,_____	(1) J (2) 1867 (5) Col, H.M. Consul and Political Agent (7) Zanzibar:F (9) 1 W.
D1	Poole, Reginald Stuart	(1) JL (2) 1863-67 (3) Mr (7) British Museum (8) Fellow (9) 2 D; 1 W.
	Pope, George H.	(1) JL (2) 1869... (3) Esq (6) New University Club, 1 Savile Row: L (8) Member (9) N.
	Pope, W.H.	(1) L (2) 1867-68 (5) Member of Council PEI (7) Prince Edward Island: F.
	Porter, R.F.	(1) J (2) 1870 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (9) 1 W.
	Postans, T.	(1) J (2) 1848 (5) Capt (9) 1 W.
	Postlethwaite, J.L.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 38 Bessborough St, Pimlico:L, and in 1867, Northend Cottage, Hastings, Sussex:E.

	Power, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (9) 2 D. (3) Mr.
D1	Prendergast, Thomas	(1) L (2) 1867-68 (6) East India Club (7) East India Club, St James' Sq, and Grosvenor Hotel:L.
D2	Prestwich, Joseph	(1) JL (2) 1869J...(3) Esq (6) FRS (7) Shoreham, Sevenoaks, Kent:E (8) Member (9) N.
D1	Prichard, James Cowles	(1) J (2) 1848-50 (4) M.D. (8) Pres (6) FRS (9) 2 E; 2 W = obituary notice.
	Price, David S.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) Crystal Palace:L.
	Price, Lorenzo T.	(1) L (2) 1869... (3) Esq (7) 11 Hockley Hill, Birmingham, War: E.
	Prideaux, T.S.	(1) J (2) 1863-65 (3) Mr (9) 1 D; 1 W.
	Pulford, A.	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Broomhill, Hampton Wick, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey:E (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Puller, A. Giles	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Youngsbury, Ware, Herts:E.
	Pusey, S.E.B.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FASL, FRGS (7) 14 Grosvenor Place:L; moved in 1867 to Green St. Grosvenor Sq; L, with Pusey House, Faringdon, Berks:E as a second address (8) Council (9) 1 E.
F	Quatrefages, A. de	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof of Ethnology des Plantes (6) Membre de l'Institut (7) Paris:F (8) HF.
F	Queteld, L.A.J. (or Quetelet)	(1) L (2) 1863... (5) Astronomer Royal (7) Brussels:F (8) HF.
D1	Rae, _____	(1) J (2) 1866 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (9) 1 W.
D1	Raikes, Henry	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) Llwynegrin Hall, Mold:W.

	Ramsay, George Dalhousie	(1) JL (2) 1863-69 (3) Esq (7) War Office, Pall Mall:L (8) Fellow, Council (9) N; I E.
B1	Ramsay, John	(1) JL (2) 1868...(3) Esq (7) Islay, Argyllshire:S; moved in 1869J to 43 Irrners Court, Glasgow: S, and then in 1870 to 49 Dunlop St, Glasgow:S, with Islay as a second address (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Rankin, T.	(1) J (2) 1856 (4) M.A. (5) Rev (9) 1 W - for the British Association.
	Ransford, H. Fowler	(1) JL (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (7) 26 Chancery Lane: L (8) Fellow (9) N.
B1	Ratcliffe, Charles	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FRSL, FRGS, FLS, FSA, FGS (7) Wyddrington, Edgbastion, Birmingham Warwickshire:E.
D1	Rawlinson, Henry	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Sir, KCB (5) Major-General, M.P. (6) FRS (7) 1 Hill St. Berkeley Sq:L; moved in 1870 to 21 Charles St, Berkeley Sq:L.
	Read, W.H.	(1) L (2) 1867-69J (3) Esq (6) Oriental Club (7) Singapore:F and Oriental Club:L.
	Reid, Lestock R.	(1) L (2) 1863...(3) Esq (6) Atheneum (7) 122 Westbourne Terrace.
F?	Renan, N.M.	(1) L (2) 1863... (6) Membre de l'Institut, Paris (8) HF.
	Richardson, Francis	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Park Lodge, Blackheath, Kent: E.
B1	Ridley, Wm.	(1) J (2) 1856 (9) 1 W.
	Rigby, C.P.	(1) J (2) 1867 (9) 1 W.
	Rising, _____	(1) J (2) 1866 (5) Lieut, RN (9) 1 W.
	Rivington, _____	(1) J (2) 1870 (3) Mr (9) 1 D.

	Roberts, A.	(1) L (2) 1869 (3) Esq.
	Robertson, Archibald	(1) J (2) 1868 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Robins, T. Valentine	(1) JL (2) 1867-68 (3) Esq (7) Hale Bank, Ditton, Liverpool; E (9) 1 W.
	Robinson, Edward	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) D.D. (LL.D) (8) HF.
	Robinson, G.A.	(1) L (2) 1867-69 (3) Esq (7) Prahan, Widcombe Hill, Bath, Somerset:E.
	Robinson, G.A.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Paris.
	Rogers, George	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (7) Longwood House, Ashton, Bristol, Glouces:E (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Rolleston, Goerge	(1) JL (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (6) FRS (7) Oxford:E (8) Council (9) 1 E.
	Rome, James	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (4) M.A. (7) Woodlands, Hamilton, New Brunswick:F.
	Ronay, Hyacinthe	(1) JL (2) 1867... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) 162 Gt Portland St, Marylegone:L; moved in 1869J to Pesth:F (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Rosehill,	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Lord (7) Easter Warriston House, Edinburgh:S (8) Member (9) N.
	Ross, J.G.C.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Cocoa Islands, nr Java:F. (8) CM.
F	Roth, _____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Heidelberg:F (8) HF
	Rowcroft, H.C.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (5) Lt, Bengal Engineers (7) 3 Talbot Terrace, Westbourne Park:L and after 1869, forwarding addresses. (8) Fellow (9) N.

	Rudler, F.W.	(1) J (2) 1869J (3) Esq (6) FGS (8) Sub-Editor, Assistant Sect (9) 3 E.
	Russell, A.H.	(1) L (2) 1863 (5) Captain.
	Ruxton, George, A.F.	(1) J (2) 1850 (5) Lieut (9) 1 W + obituary by Dr. King.
B1	Ryan, Edward	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir (7) Garden Lodge, 5 Addison Rd, Kensington:L (8) Council (9) 2 E.
	St. Clair, George	(1) L (2) 1867... (3) Esq (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (6) FGS (7) Banbury, Oxford:E; moved in 1870 to 104 Sussex Rd, Seven Sisters Rd, Holloway, Mx: E 1.
D1	St. John Bayle	(1) J (2) 1848 (9) 1 W.
	St. John, S.A.	(1) J (2) 1867 (5) Lt, H.M. 60th Regt (9) 1 W.
D3	St. John, Spencer	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (5) H.M. Consul-General, Charge des Affaires (7) Hayti:F (8) Fellow (9) N; 1D; 1W.
B1	St. Maur, Edward	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Lord (7) Admiralty, Whitehall:L.
	Sadler, Alfred	(1) L (2) 1868-89 (3) Esq (7) Bayham Villa, Patshull Rd, Kentish Twon, Mx:E.
D1	Salomons, David	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Sir, Bart (5) Alderman, M.P. (6) FRSL (7) 26 Gt Cumberland St:L and Broom Hill, Tunbridge Wells, Kent:E.
	Sanderson, A.M.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 17 Archibald St, Campbell Rd, Bow:E.
	Sanderson, Alfred W.	(1)J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Sanderson, W. Wallbank	(1) JL (2) 1869J...(3) Esq (7) Royal Infirmary, Manchester:E (8) Member (9) N.

D1 Sandwith, Humfrey (1) JL (2) 1863-67 (3) C.B. (7) 6 Onslow, Sq, Brompton:L; moved in 1867 to Llanrhaidr Hall, Denbigh: W (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 D.

D1 Saull, Wm. Devonshire (1) J (2) 1854 (3) Esq (6) FGS (9) 1 W - for the British Association.

Saunders, Trelawny (1) J (2) 1870 (3) Mr (9) 1 D.

F Scherzer, Carl Ritter Von (1) L (2) 1863... (7) Vienna:F (8) HF.

Schetelig,_____ (1) J (2) 1869 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (9) 1 W.

D1 Schomburgk, Robert (1) JL (2) 1854-68 (3) Sir (4) Ph.D (5) H.M. Consul (7) Santo Domingo (9) 2 W.

Schwarz, Julius (1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (8) CM.

Scott, Frederick Henry (1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 9 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park:1 (8) Fellow (9) N.

Scott, John (1) JL (2) 1867-69 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) 22 Manchester Sq:L; moved in 1868 to Singapore:F (8) Fellow (9) N.

Scott, Thomas (1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (7) Singapore:F and Charing Cross Hotel:L (8) Fellow (9) N.

D1 Scouler, John (1) JL (2) 1848... (4) M.D. (5) Prof (6) FLS (7) Glasgow:S (9) 1 W.

D1 Seemann, _____ (1) J (2) 1863 (4) Dr (5) Dr (9) 1 D.

B1 Selwyn, E.J. (1) L (2) 1863 (4)(Rev) (5) Rev (7) Blackhealth, Kent:E.

F Semper, Carl (1) JL (2) 1870 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) Wurzburg (8) HF.

B1? Seymour, Henry Danby (1) L (2) 1867-69 (3) Esq (5)

		M.P. (7) 39 Upper Grosvenor St: L, and Knoyle House, Hindon, Wilts:E
D1	Sharp, W.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) FRS (7) Rugby, War:E.
	Shaw, Norton	(1) JL (2) 1863-68 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (6) FRGS (9) 1 S. (8) HF.
	Shaw, W. Wardrup	(1) L (2) 1867-67 (3) Esq (7) 5 Newman's Court, Cornhill:L.
	Sheffield,	(1) L (2) 1867...(3) Earl (7) 20 Portland Place, and Sheffield Park, Uckfield, Sussex:E.
	Shiel, Justin	(1) JL (2) 1863-69 (3) Sir, KCB (5) Major-General (7) 13 Eaton Place, Eaton Squ:L (8) Council (9) 2 E.
	Shortt, John	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) L.DS M.D. (5) Zillah Surgeon, Surgeon of H.M. Madras Army, General Superintendant of Vaccination (6) FLS, MRCPL, (7) Chingleput, Madras:F (8) Fellow, (9) N; 6 W.
B1	Showers, Charles Lionel	(1) JL (2) 1863...(5) Major (7) India:F (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Shuttleworth, J.K.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Sir, Bart (7) 38 Gloucester Sq:L.
B2	Simpson, James	(1) JL (2) 1870 (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (7) Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland:E (8) Members (9) N.
	Simpson, William Henry	(1) JL (2) 1868 (3) Esq (7) 50 Gower St:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Sinclair,_____	(1) J (2) 1863 (5) Archdeacon (9) 1 D.
	Skene, Henry	(1) J (2) 1850 (9) 1 W.
	Smith, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr (7) Jordan Hill (9) 1 D.

Smart, Bath Charles (1) JL (2) 1863... (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) MRCS (7) Balsham, Luton, Cambs:E; moved in 1867 to Oxford Rd, Manchester:E; moved in 1868 to Greek House, Waterloo Rd, Manchester:E (8) Fellow (9) N; 1 W - for the British Association.

Smith, E. Osborne (1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (6) FRGS (7) 21 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park:L (8) Council (9) 1 E.

Smith, John (1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 8 Tavistock Place, Tavistock Sq:L; moved in 1867 to 1 Gt George St, Westminster:L; moved in 1869 to Stroud Green, Upper Holloway, Mx:E (8) Member (9) N.

Smith, Thomas J. (1) L (2) 1869J...(3) Esq (7) Hessle, Kingston-on-Hull, Yorks:E.

B1 Snow, W. Parker (1) JL (2) 1861-69 (5) Capt (8) Fellow (9) 2 D: 1 W.

D1 Solly, Samuel Reynolds (1) JL (2) 1863-65 (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (6) FRS, FSA (7) 10 Manchester Sq:L (8) Fellow Council (9) N:1 E: 1 D.

Somerville, William (1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Strathaven House, Hendon, Mx:E; and in 1867, Wood St:L (8) Fellow (9) N.

Spence, G.W. (1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) M.C. (7) Alnwick, Northumberland:E (8) Fellow (9) N.

Spencer, W. Henry (1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (6) FASL (7) Church Sq. High Wycombe Bucks:E.

Spottiswoode, William (1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Mr. (4) M.A. (6) FRS (7) 19 Chester St, Belgrave Sq:L; moved to 50 Grosvenor Place in 1867:L (8) Council (9) 3 E; 1 D; 1 W.

Sproat, Gilbert Malcolm (1) J (2) 1867 (3) Esq (9) 2 W.

F	Squier, E.G.	(1) J (2) 1870 (7) New York (9) 1 D.
	Station, J.J.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) Lewisham, Kent:E.
	Stanbridge, W.E.	(1) JL (2) 1863... (7) Wombat, Daylesford, Victoria:F (8) Fellow (9) 1 W.
	Staples, H.I.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) Colombo, Ceylon.
	Steel, E.H.	(1) J (2) 1869 (5) Lieut, R.A. (9) 1 W.
F	Steenstrup, Japetus	(1) J (2) 1867... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Copenhagen:F (8) HF (9) 1 W.
	Steffens, Alfonso	(1) J (2) 1869 (9) 1W.
F	Steinhauer, Carl	(1) L (2) 1867... (5) Director of the Ethnological Museum (7) Copenhagen (8) HF.
	Stepney, William Frederick Cowell	(1) JL (2) 1867 (3) Esq (7) 9 Bolton St, Piccadilly:L; moved in 1868 to 6 Wilton Terrace, Palace Rd, Upper Norwood, Mx:E; moved in 1870 to 8 Bolton St, Piccadilly:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Stevens, N. Henry	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 14 Finsbury Circus:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Stewart, Alexander Patrick	(1) L (2) 1863-69J (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) 74 Grosvenor St, Grosvenor Sq:L.
	Stewart, Charles Edward	(1) L (2) 1870 (5) Captain, 5yh Punjab Infantry (7) 14 Sussex Gdns:L.
D3	Strachy,_____	(1) J (2) 1854 (5) Capt, Bengal Engineers (9) 1 W-for the British Association.

	Strangford,	(1) JL (2) 1863-69 (3) Viscount (7) 58 Cumberland St:L (8) Fellow, Council (9) N: 2 E.
	Stretton, George A.	(1) J (2) 1869-70 (3) Mr (8) Receiver (9) 2 E.
B1	Stretton, H.	(1) L (2) 1863 (4) M.A. (5) Rev (7) Cromwell House, Highgate Mx:E.
	Stuart, Robert	(1) J (2) 1868 (3) CB (5) Major, H.M. Consul (7) Albania (9) 1 W.
	Sutherland, J.P.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (7) Natal, South Africa: F.
	Sutherland, P.C.	(1) J (2) 1856 (4) M.D. (5) Surgeon (9) 1 W.
	Swift, Robert L.	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (5) Consul (7) Oporto, Portugal:F and Levinge Lodge, Richmond:E; moved in 1868 to Barcelona (8) Fellow (9) N.
B1	Swinhoe, Robert	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (8) CM.
	Tagore, G.M.	(1) J (2) 1863 (4) (Prof) (5) Prof of Hindu Law at University College, London (9) 2 W.
	Tamil, native of Ceylon	(1) J (2) 1865 (9) 1 W.
	Tanner, James	(1) L (2) 1868... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev, Junior Chaplain, Madras Ecclesiastical Establishment (7) Bellary, Madras.
D1	Taylor, Thomas Meadows	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) CSI (5) Col (6) MRAS, MRIA (8) CM (9) 1 W.
D3	Temple Richard	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) KCSI (5) Resident at Hyderabad, Minister of Finance, Calcutta (6) Indian and Oriental Club (7) Indian & Oriental Club, Hanover Sq:L; moved in 1868 to Hyderabad:F;

		moved in 1869 to Calcutta:F (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Tennant, John	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) Brooks' Club (7) St Rollax, Glasgow:S, and Brooks' Club:L.
D1	Tennent, J. Emerson	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Sir, KCB (7) 66 Warwick St. Pimlico:L.
F	Thomsen, C.J.	(1) L (2) 1867-68 (3) Esq (7) Copenhagen:F (8) HF.
	Thompson, J.	(1) JL (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) Singapore:F (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Thomson, A.S.	(1) J (2) 1854 (4) M.D. (5) Surgeon, 58th Regt (9) 1 W.
	Thomson, G.	(1) J (2) 1868 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
	Thomson, T.R. Heywood	(1) J (2) 1850-54 (Dr) (5) Dr, Surgeon NR, "Niger Expedition" (9) 3 W. - one for British Association.
	Threlkeld, Sidney	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (8) CM.
B1	Thrupp, John	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FRGS (7) 7 Warwick Sq, Pimlico:L; moved 1867 to Bell Yard, Doctor's Commons:L; moved in 1869J to Sunnyside, Dorking, Surrey:E (8) Council (9) 4 E; 2 W + mention of death.
	Thurlow, Edward	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (6) Atheneum (7) Atheneum Club, Pall Mall:L.
D1	Thurnam, John	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) Wilts Country Asylum (6) FSA (7) Devizes, Wiltshire:E; moved in 1868 to Wilts Country Asylum (8) Council (9) 1 E.
	Tiddeman, Richard Hill	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (4) B.C. (5) of HM Geological Survey (6) FGS (7) 28 Jermyn St:L (8) Member (9) N.
	Timmins, Samuel	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (6) FRSL (7) Elvetham Lodge, Birmingham, War:E (8) Fellow (9) N.

	Tolme, C.D.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 20 Queen Sq:L.
	Townsend, J.P.	(1) J (2) 1854 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.-for British Association.
	Travers, W.	(1) J (2) 1866 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
D1	Trübner, N.	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (5) (publisher) (7) 60 Paternoster Row:L.
B2	Tuke, T. Harrington	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.D. (7) Chiswick, Essex:E; moved in 1867 to 37 Albemarle St:L, with Manor House Chiswick: E, as a second address: Manor House only as 1870 address (8) Council, V-P (9) 3 E.
D1	Tulloch, Alexander	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Sir (5) General (9) 1 D.
	Tumangung,	(1) J (2) 1868 (3) Maharajah (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Turner, _____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (8) CM.
D4	Tylor, Edward Burnet	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Linden, Wellington, Somerset:E (8) Council, V-P (9) 3 E; 2 W.
	Underwood, John	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) (M.D.) (7) Hastings, Sussex:E.
	Ussher, John	(1) JL (2) 1867-69 (3) Esq (7) 54 Belgrave Rd, Pimlico:L (8) Member, Council (9) N: 1 E.
	Vaughan, George	(1) JL (2) 1867-68 (3) Esq (7) Singapore (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Vaughan, J.D.	(1) L (2) 1869... (8) CM.
D1	Vaux, W.S.W.	(1) J (2) 1861 (4) M.A. (9) 1 W.
F	Vogt, Carl	(1) JL (2) 1868J... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Geneva:F (8) HF.
F	Von Baer, _____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) St Petersburg:F (8) HF.

D1	Wade, Thomas Francis	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (5) Sec, HM Legation, Pekin (7) Pekin, China:F (9) 1 W.
F	Waitz,_____	(1) L (2) 1863-68 (4) (Prof) (5) Prof (7) Marbourg:F (8) HF.
	Walcott, P.	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr (9) 1 W.
	Walker, J.S.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) 31 Lombard St:L; moved in 1867 to The Bury, Hunsdon, Ware, Herts:E.
	Walker, T.	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Beulah Rd, Tunbridge, Well, Kent:E
D4	Wallace, Alfred Russell	(1) JL (2) 1865... (3) Esq (7) 9 St Mark's Crescent:L; moved in 1870 to Holly House, Tanner St, Barking Essex:E (8) Fellow, Council (9) N; 1 E; 1 D; 2 W.
F	Walther, Philipp A.	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) Darmstadt:F (8) HF.
	Ward, Samuel J.	(1) JL (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (4) M.D. (5) Dr (7) 28 Finsbury Circus:L (8) Council (9) 1 E; 1 D.
B1	Warner, Edward	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (5) M.P. (7) 49 Grosvenor Place; and in 1867, Higham Hall, Woodford, Essex:E (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Warren, J. (T.P. Bruce?)	(1) L (2) 1868... (3) Esq (7) Mitcham, Surrey:E.
	Watson, Samuel	(1) JL (2) 1863-67 (3) Esq (7) 12 Bouverie St, Fleet St:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Watts, J. King	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) St Ives, Hunts:E.
D1	Waugh, Andrew Scott	(1) JL (2) 1863-69J (3) Sir, KCB (5) Major-General, RE (6) Atheneum, FRS (7) Atheneum Club:L, and in 1867, Petersham Terrace, Queen's Gate Gdns:L (8) Fellow (9) N.

	Webster, John	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) St James' Row, Sheffield, Yorks: E.
	Wellington,	(1) J (2) 1869J (5) Bishop (9) 1 W.
B1	Wells Mordaunt	(1) L (2) 1867 (3) Sir (7) 107 Victoria St, Westminister:L.
D4	West, Reginald Sackville	(1) L (2) 1867-68 (3) (Hon) (4) (Rev) (5) Rev (7) Withyham, Tunbridge Well, Kent:E; and in 1868, Knole Sevenoaks: E.
	Westropp, Hodder M.	(1) JL (2) 1867... (3) Esq (9) 3 W.
	Whishaw, James	(1) L (2) 1863 (3) Esq (6) Oriental Club, FSA (7) 16 York Terrace, Regent's Park:L; and in 1869, Oriental Club, Hanover Sq:L.
	White, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (9) 1 D.
	White, F.	(1) J (2) 1869 (9) 1 W.
	White, James T.	(1) JL (2) 1863 (3) Esq (7) 20 Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Whymper, Frederick	(1) J (2) 1869 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
F	Wienecke,_____	(1) L (2) 1863... (4) (Docteur) (5) Docteur, Officier de Sante de S.M. le Roi des Pays-Bas, Chevalier (7) Batavia: F (8) CM.
	Wildman, Leveson	(1) J (2) 1866 (5) Capt, RN (9) 1 W.
	Wilkins, J.W.	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Esq (8) Fellow (9) N.
D1	Wilkinson, J. Gardner	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Sir (6) FRS (7) 33 York St, Portman Sq:L (8) HF.
	Williamson, G.	(1) L (2) 1863 (4) (Dr) (5) Dr (7) Aldershott, Hamps:E.

D3	Wilson, Charles	(1) J (2) 1866 (5) Capt (9) 1 W.
	Winwood, Henry	(1) JL (2) 1869J... (4) M.A. (5) Rev (6) FGS (7) 4 Cavendish Crescent, Bath:E (8) Member (9) N.
D3	Wolfe, H. Drummond	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Sir, KCMG (5) Sec to Lord High Commissioner, Ionian Is. (7) 15 Rutland Gate:L (8) Fellow (9) N.
	Wood, Samuel	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (6) FSA (7) Shrewsbury, Salop:E (8) Council (9) 1 E.
	Wood, W. Martin	(1) J (2) 1866 (3) Esq (9) 1 W.
	Woods, Robert Carr	(1) L (2) 1863... (3) Esq (7) Singapore:F.
F	Wrangell, Ferdinand Von	(1) L (2) 1863... (5) Admiral (7) St Petersburgh (8) HF
	Wright, F. Beresford	(1) JL (2) 1870 (3) Esq (7) Aldercar Hall, Langley Mills nr Nottingham:E (8) Member (9) N.
D1	Wright, Thomas	(1) JL (2) 1863... (3) Esq (4) M.A. (6) Hon MRSL, FSA Corr Mem Imperial Institute of France (7) 14 Sydney St, Brompton:L (8) Hon Sec, V-P (9) 8 E; 2 D; 3 W.
	Wylie, _____	(1) J (2) 1863 (3) Mr (9) 1 D.
B2?	Young, Robert	(1) J (2) 1854 (3) Esq (4) (MRCS) (5) (MRCS) (6) MRCS (9) 1 W - for the British Association.

Appendix II: The Social Areas of Victorian London

These are the areas of London, as discussed in Chapter 5, that are associated with the ESL addresses. The information has been arranged in table form below giving the details on the areas. The material in the "boundaries" and "nature" columns come from the various sources on Nineteenth Century London. The complete references are in the bibliography following the table.

name	boundaries	nature
Mayfair	-Timbs:39 -Hutchings:696 -Old & New London iv:275-80, (hereafter O&N L.) 345 -Handbook for London, 1849:	-Eades:228,242,247 -Korg:132
Belgravia	-Hutchings:231 -O&N L v:8	-Bell:51
-- re both Mayfair and Belgravia		-Eades:247
St. James	(street)	-Sheppard:49 -Hutchings:709
Pall Mall	(street)	-Sheppard:184,351 -Timbs:298
-- re differences between Mayfair grouping and Tyburnia grouping		-Korg:132 -Loftie:219 -Sheppard:353
Tyburnia	-Eades:207 -Loftie:235 -O&N L:188	-Eades:228,247, 286 -Harrison:178 -Loftie:219

Marylebone	-Bell, map:7 -Loftie:202 -O&N L: v:254	-Ash:150 -Bell:51 -Hibbert:186 -O&N L 1v:428, 446,448,468 -Sheppard:24,362
Paddington	-O&N L v:204	-Ash:150 -Hibbert:186
Kensington	-Bell:52	-Bell:52 -O&N L v:177 -Sheppard:362
Brompton	-O&N L v:110	-O&NL v:110
Chelsea	-O&N L v:50	-Bell:52 -Boynton:264 -Sheppard:362
Knightsbridge	-Hutchings map:24-5 -Loftie:205-6	(included in other areas-cf Chelsea, Kensington)
St. John's Wood	-Hibbert:138 -Hutchings:888 - O&N L v:248 -Sheppard:90-1	-Coppock & Prince: 84,104 -O&N L v:248
Bloomsbury	-Besant:4,6 -Hutchings, map:24-5 -O&NL v:480	-Bell:167 -Besant:4 -Brown:94 -Brown:94 -Loftie:207 -O&N L iv:480

-- re City of Westminster --Bell:44; Eades:227; Hutchings:469; Schlesinger:171 --

Covent Garden	-O&N L iii:238	-Sheppard:24
Strand	(street)	-Bell:44 -Hutchings:604 -Loftie:81
City of London	-Bartholemew's Plan of London -Bell:7 -Hutchings:469, " map:24-5	-Bell:44 -Sheppard

Regent Street	(street)	-Bell:90,173 -Korg:132 -Sheppard:169,355
Charing Cross	(street)	-Hibbert:189 -Timbs:249
Victoria	(street)	-Hibbert:187
Bayswater	-O&N L v:183	-Ash:150 -Harrison:201 -O&N L v:177,183
Notting Hill	-Harrison:192 -O&N L: v:181	-Eades:206 -Harrison:201
south of the Thames		-Bell:53

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Appendix III.

Detailed Table of ESL Members' Residence in Social Areas of London

area	1863	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	total actual adds
Mayfair	18	20	20	15	16	14	37
Belgravia	12	9	8	4	7	8	17
Atheneum							
St James St	21	19	18	15	13	13	32
Pall Mall							
Westminister	14	5	3	4	13	3	20
total Mayfair grouping	65	53	49	38	44	38	[illegible]
Tyburnia	3	3	2	3	1	4	7
Pimlico	4	5	4	6	5	5	12
Marylebone	10	11	6	8	9	8	23
Paddington	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
total Tyburnia grouping	18	20	13	17	16	17	
Kensington	5	5	5	4	4	3	10
Brompton	4	2	3	4	3	3	7
Chelsea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Knightsbridge	1	4	5	5	5	4	5
St John's Wood	1	2	1	1	1	1	3
Regent's Park	4	1	1	0	0	0	4
Bloomsbury	6	2	1	2	2	3	9
total Kensington grouping	21	16	16	16	15	14	
Covent Garden	3	3	3	1	1	1	4
Strand	4	4	4	4	5	6	8
City of London	11	10	7	5	5	8	19
Total Covent Garden grouping	18	17	14	10	11	15	
Bayswater	3	3	3	3	4	5	7
Notting Hill	2	3	3	2	5	4	7
total Bayswater grouping	5	6	6	5	9	9	
south of Thames	3	3	3	3	4	4	6
north London	1	2	2	2	2	2	3
total other London grouping	4	5	5	5	6	6	
total	131	117	103	91	106	101	

Legend

The areas on this map are those established by the documentation in Appendix II. Those areas outlined with a broken line and in capitals are ones with formal boundaries;, e.g. City of London, Borough of Kensington. The rest are the socially defined areas of Mid-Victorian London.

The street map used here is from Geographers' London Atlas, Kent: Geographers' Map Company Ltd., 5th edition, 1964. The scale of the map is given below

scale:

Map of the Social Areas of Victorian London