

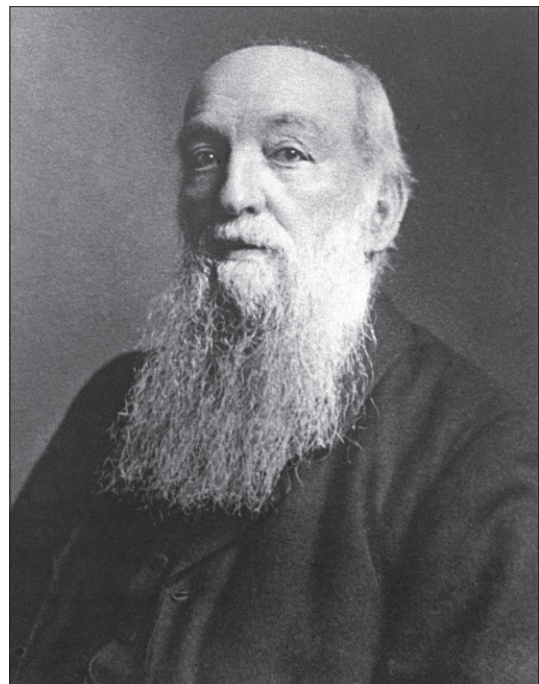
II. Papers

A Local Hero: John Robert Mortimer and the Birth of Archaeology in East Yorkshire

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John Robert Mortimer (1825–1911) dominated archaeological activity in the East Riding of Yorkshire during the second half of the nineteenth century, devoting much of his adult life to the systematic and careful examination of large numbers of prehistoric barrows on the chalklands of the Yorkshire Wolds (Harrison 1996a). So thoroughly was this objective pursued that he was later able to write that it would not be possible ‘to make another collection from the barrows of this district ... as they are practically exhausted’ (Mortimer 1898:141). He can, with justification, be described as the last of the great barrow-diggers.



John Robert Mortimer, 1825–1911. (Stephen Harrison Collection)

While his overall contribution to the development of modern British archaeology is well established, he is, paradoxically, the least understood of all those figures associated with the discipline’s birth. Vulnerable, volatile and insecure, Mortimer’s personality and life was a web of contradictions, confusions, frustrations and unresolved, and ultimately un-resolvable, tensions. From whatever perspective, whether personal or professional, he was an outsider, prevented by the

circumstances of his birth and education from transcending the rigid boundaries, which structured nineteenth century English society. Throughout his life, he inhabited a ‘border country’ within the social, economic and cultural framework of nineteenth century England. And yet, in other ways, he was a typical, if not very successful, product of Victorian capitalism.

To trace out the life and work of Mortimer is to understand better the roots of contemporary British archaeology. Indeed, any appreciation of the value of modern archaeology is impossible without looking back at figures such as Mortimer. As Ashbee has written:

For an archaeologist the need to understand the development of his discipline is an imperative ... All too often shallow and simplistic assertions have done considerable injustice to earlier scholars and have trivialised the complicated issues (Ashbee 1988:4).

Seen as an introduction to his later self-defined career, Mortimer’s early life seems fraught with improbabilities. His humble birth, upbringing and education were not an obvious preparation for his adult life as one of those seminal figures responsible for the birth of modern British archaeology.

Gaining the acceptance of, and recognition from, that small group of upper and upper-middle class professionals who formed the national archaeological elite of the time was to become a central concern throughout much of Mortimer's adult life, albeit an ambition doomed to failure. Despite his undoubted talent, achievements and unrivalled local knowledge, he was accused of 'not knowing his place' in the grand scheme of things, held at arms length, and marginalized – on occasion described as deceitful, distrusting, conniving and secretive. This antagonism, largely the result of his ambiguous class position, would later spill over into a very public altercation, involving Canon William Greenwell, leaving Mortimer further alienated from the interest group to which he so desperately sought affiliation. In large measure, Mortimer himself was responsible for this situation, his exclusion self-created, deriving from many of his own actions, and proceeding in turn from his whole personality.

John Robert Mortimer was born on 15 June 1825 at Fimber, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the eldest child of James and Hannah Mortimer. Although born into a farming family, he was of peasant ancestry, his parents only one generation removed from the rural poor. Both James' and Hannah's parents had, as a result of small legacies, managed to enter the lower ranks of the local farming community. Hannah's father, John Welburn, had bought a 120-acre farm at Fimber in 1801, whilst James' father, Robert, became a respected tenant farmer at Mount Ferrant, on the Birdsall estate of Lord Middleton, some half a dozen miles west of Fimber. James was eventually to take over the 60-acre Mount Ferrant tenancy in 1828.

John, his sister Mary (1827–1891) and brother Robert (1829–1892) were all born and grew up on the Fimber farm of their maternal grandparents. From his memoirs, written in 1903 but not published until 1978, he appears to have had an unremarkable childhood, with nothing to indicate an interest in archaeology.

His education was confined to attending schools in Fimber and nearby Fridaythorpe, where he received nothing more than 'the crude and scanty instruction afforded by these primitive seats of learning' (Mortimer 1905:ix). And even this was disrupted by frequent asthma attacks and having to work on the family farm at busy times in the agricultural cycle. Largely uneducated, then, his later achievements are all the more remarkable.



The birthplace of John Robert Mortimer. (Stephen Harrison Collection, ex-John Hicks archive)

John left school in 1843 and began working on the Fimber farm, which had, following the death of his grandfather, eventually been taken over by James Mortimer. It was expected that, as the elder son, he would follow in his father's footsteps and become a farmer. It was a sound, commonsense action plan, ensuring that the ageing father would have an assistant and eventually someone to take over the farm, providing John with a full, rounded experience of mixed farming.

By and large he passively followed the course his parents had plotted for him. By dint of spending years working in the fields under the supervision of experienced farmers, he acquired a full knowledge of every aspect of the agricultural cycle. His later recollections of his youth were dominated by the agrarian setting, by 'fustian jackets and long frock-smocks', by 'driving sheep to various grass fields', and by 'carting manure and thrashing corn with a flail', as much as by the 'plain' bread, cheese, bacon and salted beef which formed the staple country diet of the time. Like other country boys, he graduated from the general routine of farm work, from hoeing and acting as a living scarecrow, to 'the advanced labours, such as stacking the corn in harvest time, following the corn and turnip drills during seed-time, and serving the horse thrashing-machine' (Mortimer 1978:25–26). By his late teens, there was no branch of farming he had not tried his hand at, from delivering calves and foals to clearing the matted straw from the drains and driving livestock to market at Malton or Driffild. In particular, he responded to the one-to-one tuition offered by the owners of small, subsistence farms who worked alongside him and enlivened instruction and backbreaking toil by passing on local lore, stories and gossip.

Unlike his workaholic father, who seldom left home except for business reasons, John was always on the look out for whatever entertainment the village and surrounding countryside had to offer. He spent much time outdoors in exploration, becoming very knowledgeable about, and intimate with, his part of the Yorkshire Wolds. His particular passions were wildlife and geology, in part laying the unconscious foundations for his later life in archaeology.

If the long view is taken, the development of Mortimer's career as an archaeologist evolved through a number of clearly defined, but overlapping, incremental stages. The last phase, that of excavation, was the culmination of a progression of activities, each building on and consolidating previously accumulated knowledge and experience, which began in 1851. This is not to imply any predetermined conscious course. His archaeological career developed organically, each stage representing the logical, but, at the time, unintended extension of his widening interests.

Although John had occasionally come into contact with antiquities during his early years, it was not until 1851 that his interest in archaeology was first seriously aroused. In that year, during a two-week stay in London, he visited the Great Exhibition and the British Museum, both of which proved formative:

The marvellous treasures in the Exhibition [Crystal Palace], and the unrivalled geological and archaeological collections in the British Museum, were of the greatest pleasure and interest to me, and I can truly say originated and stimulated my future scientific tastes through life ... I can truly say that my visits ... were a great stimulus to me, affording advanced ideas and additional pleasure in the pursuit of knowledge (Mortimer 1978:28–29).

The cumulative outcome was the diversion of his 'scientific tastes from astronomy to geology and archaeology' (Mortimer 1978:28). Thus began a journey in search of the past, which, from the early 1850s onwards, came to all but take over his life. His commitment was total and all consuming. Archaeology gave him an identity, liberating him from his class.

Following the London visit, his new-found enthusiasm was clearly infectious and, before long, both he and his brother Robert were combing the fields around their home village for geological specimens and prehistoric artefacts. This work proceeded fairly systematically over the next few years, and involved the training of local farmworkers 'to distinguish and keep for us any geological and archaeological specimens they could find' (Mortimer 1898:135). Of these years, Thomas Sheppard, first curator of

FLINT AXES AND ARROW HEADS

J. R. & R. MORTIMER,

Beg to inform the Finders and Sellers of Antiquities that they are purchasers of all kinds of Genuine Flint, Stone, and Bronze Articles, found within a distance of 10 miles round Fimber; and that they give prices not to be surpassed by any other Collectors.

J. R. & R. MORTIMER also desire to state that the person who will supply them with the greatest number of Arrow Heads and Spear Heads, up to the end of July, will receive a gift of £1 and be treated to the LEEDS ART EXHIBITION. A similar Prize will be given to the Person who furnishes them with the greatest number of Stone and Flint Axes. Second and Third Class Prizes will also be given.

The Articles to be sent to Fimber, at any time, or to J. R. Mortimer's Office, opposite the low end of Saville Street, Malton, every Saturday, where they will be paid for, and a Ticket given of the number of Articles received.

Fimber, April, 1868.

Printed by T. Holderness, at the "Driffield Observer" Office, Middle Street, Driffield.

A handbill issued by the Mortimer brothers in 1868 advertising for antiquities. (Stephen Harrison Collection)

Hull City Museums, was later to write: 'in those days many farm servants spent their evenings and Sundays in walking up and down the fields, finding flints. Basket fulls [sic] were often brought to their office at Fimber' (Sheppard 1911:186-187).

Their activities in the fields around Fimber began a trend, attracting others, and, before long, John was to complain that these other collectors, or 'competitors' as he preferred to call them, were:

Constantly visit[ing] the district, and, not infrequently, bought from the very field labourers whom we had trained to distinguish these specimens, by overbidding us, and so running up the prices.

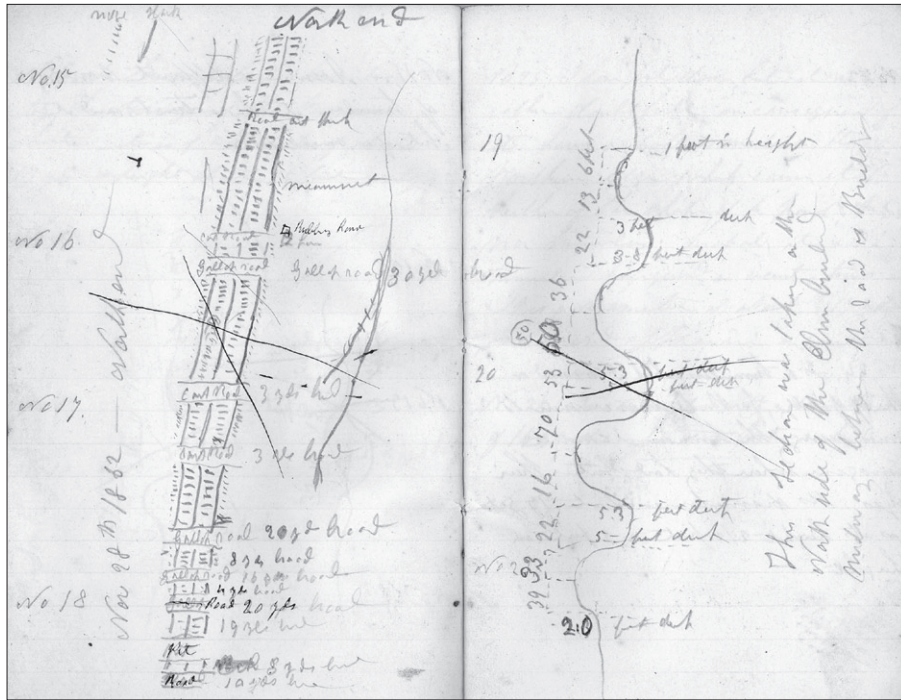
And he went on to say:

So keen was this competition at one time, that, to retain our hold of the market, we distributed handbills, offering rewards, consisting of money and a free pass to the Leeds Exhibition in 1866, to those who would supply us with the greatest number of articles of various kinds (Mortimer 1898:137-138).

Upwards of ten thousand objects were acquired by the brothers during the years 1851-1863, and displayed in purpose-built cabinets in the office attached to their Fimber farmhouse. This formed the nucleus of what was later described as 'a collection which can only be matched with that in the British Museum' (Cole 1891:12).

These activities saw the beginning of a partnership between John and Robert, which was to endure until the latter's death in 1892. One of the more surprising conclusions to emerge from the papers in the Mortimer Archive, Hull Museums, is the hitherto largely unacknowledged role of Robert. From the very beginning, he was of crucial importance and played a key role in all aspects of the developing work, a fact that John, in the later public presentation of that work, deliberately and massively understated.

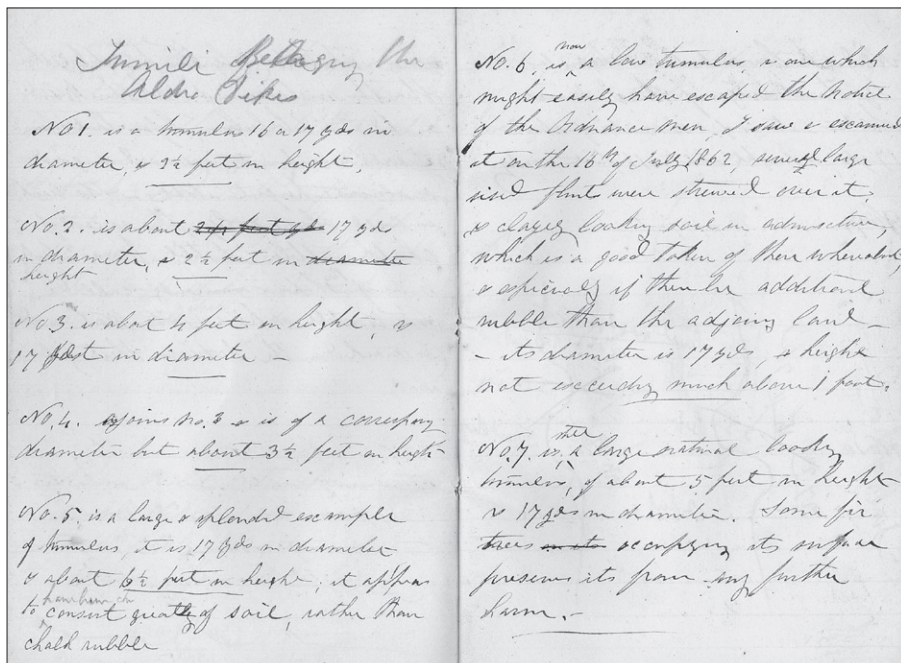
Beginning in the late 1850s, and running parallel to their ongoing collection of surface finds but becoming increasingly prominent, a second phase of activity began: the surveying and describing of upstanding field monuments. This shift of emphasis reflected a deepening interest in the subject, as well as a reaction to the increasing numbers of 'competitors' operating in the neighbourhood of



Mortimer field notes recording the surveying of linear earthworks at Aldro in November 1862. (Stephen Harrison Collection, ex-Mortimer family archive)

Fimber. There was also a desire to move beyond the collection of surface finds to a consideration of the actual monuments with which they were associated; and this, in the process, offered an opportunity to occupy what was relatively uncontested space.

This work progressed in two chronologically distinct phases (Harrison 1996b): first, during the late 1850s, the recording, describing and mapping of large sections of prehistoric linear earthworks that crisscrossed the northern Yorkshire Wolds, and which formed such prominent landscape features



Mortimer field notes recording barrows at Aldro in the 1860s. (Stephen Harrison Collection, ex-Mortimer family archive)

at the time; and then, from about 1860, attention shifted to the systematic recording of prehistoric funerary monuments, both those marked on the newly-published 1:10,560 Ordnance Survey sheets as well as those identified by their own endeavours. Importantly, and as an indication of their future intentions, this also involved the active identification of potential excavation sites.

The wealth of surviving archive material from this period of activity clearly indicates that both brothers were acute field observers, with their notes often containing details of crop marks and, after ploughing, soil marks. For example, when at work on Garrowby Wold, the following was observed and recorded:

Tumulus 19 is not marked on the Ordnance Sheet and therefore unobserved. It is 22yds in diameter, but only a very little raised above the adjoining group, say 1 or 3 feet ... I first recognised this hill as a tumulus on 28th June 1862 by a very visible appearance of the colour of the corn – a circle of green or grassy looking oats surrounding the mound that had formerly stood (Mortimer Archive, Hull Museums, Box 10).



Going digging: J. R. Mortimer seated front, facing the camera, with Robert Mortimer immediately behind. Undated photograph, probably 1860s. (Stephen Harrison Collection, ex-Mortimer family archive)

Although both Aubrey (1626–1697) and Stukeley (1687–1765) can be credited with discovering that prehistoric features such as ditches and pits could be detected from surface vegetation, the work of the Mortimers was, perhaps, the first widespread and systematic recognition of such archaeological evidence in Britain.

By the early 1860s, John, taking advantage of the prevailing agricultural prosperity and high cereal prices, had established himself as a corn, seed and manure merchant, operating, first, out of the Fimber farm and then, after 1869, from Driffield, the regional agricultural centre. This business venture would, he hoped, allow him sufficient time and wealth to pursue his archaeological investigations, particularly in respect of excavation. Meanwhile, Robert ran the family farm at Fimber.

As the survey work proceeded, John became aware of the opportunities that existed for increasing the growing collection of cultural objects through excavation. This realisation, marking a defining

moment in the development of his career, can be precisely dated to the summer of 1860, when an early Bronze Age round barrow in Pudsey Plantation, Uncelby Wold, a couple of miles north-east of Kirby Underdale, came to his attention. 'It was', John later wrote, 'the first one to excite [my] curiosity, and to produce a desire to gain some knowledge of the contents of these ancient monuments' (Mortimer 1905:113). Although he was not to excavate this particular barrow until 1870, he did, between 1860–1862, systematically recover artefacts and other material from that section of the mound that was being destroyed by intermittent chalk quarrying.

The actual transition to barrow digging occurred on 4 May 1863, when a mound at High Towthorpe, within sight of Fimber, was excavated (Mortimer 1905:1–3). This event marked the logical progression of John's activities over the previous twelve years, and was to provide the focus for the rest of his life. Between that date and 1911, with exceptional diligence and enthusiasm, John and, until his death in 1892, Robert were responsible for the excavation of two hundred and ninety-six Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows, over sixty Iron Age barrows and a number of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Ninety per cent of this work was undertaken within a ten-mile radius of Fimber, with the remaining sites widely distributed over adjoining areas.

Interestingly, seventy-five per cent of these diggings took place between 1863–1879, and reflect the relative success of John's business ventures. It is important to stress that Mortimer's archaeological work was dependent on the continued success of his business activities. It is clear that he was using a not inconsiderable amount of his business profits to defray the costs associated with his archaeological work. Unfortunately for him, the late 1870s and early 1880s saw the onset of a severe agricultural depression, which had been in the making since the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. Cereal producing areas such as the East Riding saw the price of grain collapse. Not having the financial reserves to cushion the effects of this agricultural downturn, the business went into severe and sustained decline. This culminated in 1887 with John being declared bankrupt, owing around £1,800 to his creditors. Mortimer's utter self-absorption, inflexibility and self-indulgent attitude towards his archaeology brought about this financial collapse, from which he never fully recovered. The bankruptcy effectively ended his career as an independent barrow-digger; of the seventy-four excavations undertaken between 1880–1911 at least half of these were financed by others, with Mortimer only superintending the work on their behalf.

Despite an absence of recognition from the archaeological elite, Mortimer was fortunate in attracting the patronage of some of the East Riding's most prominent landed families, especially that of the Sykes family of Sledmere. His marriage to the daughter of a local clergyman, together with his agricultural business interests, gave him access to parts of society that would normally have remained inaccessible to him. In pursuing his archaeology, Mortimer used these connections ruthlessly and to great advantage.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Mortimer's work was carefully and properly organised. Although many different techniques were used, an indication of his general approach to excavation may be obtained from a letter he wrote in September 1910 to antiquarian William Hornsby of Saltburn, Tees-side.

They [the barrows] should be carefully examined by turning over the greater portion of each mound, and carefully testing the ground below, by trenching it to find a grave, which often exists some feet below the base of the barrow.

The primary interment is mostly found in a grave some feet under the barrow:

In digging below the mound, you must learn to distinguish the natural surface from the disturbed ground where a grave has been made. This is important, otherwise you will pass over the chief burial (Cleveland County Council, Archive Section, Accession 99).

Again, unlike many of his contemporary practitioners, he left detailed notes about each of his

excavations. He recorded stratigraphic relationships, described structures within and under the barrows, and commented on mound composition and structure. Modern re-excavation of some of John's sites has demonstrated the erroneous nature of some of his observations, and emphasises the necessary exercise of caution when attempting to analyse the results of any nineteenth century excavation.

Mortimer's methodology was far in advance of his day. He was also, from the 1860s onwards, probably the first British field archaeologist to introduce innovatory practices on a regular basis into his work: to have soil and other samples scientifically analysed, to take plaster casts of postholes, and to photograph aspects of his sites openings.

All this work – from surface collection, through survey work to excavation – needs to be viewed against the backdrop of a dramatically changing Wolds landscape. By the mid-nineteenth century, some 109,000 hectares of the Yorkshire Wolds had been enclosed by act of parliament, transforming the area from essentially open country, much of it sheep-walks, rabbit warrens and pasture, to an ordered, arable landscape in which large fields were 'divided from each other by well planted and neatly trimmed hedges' containing 'large and numerous corn ricks [which] gave an air of warmth and plenty, whilst the turnip fields, crowded with sheep, make up a cheerful and animated picture' (Caird 1852:71).

Archaeologically, this conversion to arable cultivation had two consequences. The first of these was that intensive ploughing brought vast quantities of artefacts to the surface, that were quickly seized by individuals, either for their own collections or for sale, in towns such as Bridlington, Scarborough, Malton and York, to the emerging middle classes. The second consequence of intensive ploughing was the beginning of, and the still continuing process of, the active destruction of upstanding field monuments. Such were the effects of repeated ploughing that many of the barrows were so far reduced, even in Mortimer's day, so that 'except to the trained eye' they were 'hardly observable on the surface at all' (Mortimer 1905:73).

That this destruction gave cause for concern, and provided some degree of motivation for the work, is evident from a letter that John wrote to a Mr Broadley in October 1866:

These mounds are the transient works of a people we know but little of from history and they and their contents are so fast secumbing [sic] to the plough and the harrow that in less than a quarter of a century not one half of them will remain ...

The letter continues, giving an indication of the significance of the barrow excavations:

... It is almost a duty for those who have a love for ancient history to give some little assistance in preserving any knowledge of the ancient inhabitants by whom they were constructed so that it may be handed down to posterity (Hull Museums, Mortimer Archive, Box 5).

In this context, John can be regarded as one of the earliest rescue archaeologists, retrieving with relative care and reference to stratigraphy and artefactual relationships, the contents of barrows that would otherwise have disappeared without trace.

During these years an important, provenanced, collection of cultural remains was assembled, and from 1878 until John's death in 1911, was publicly displayed, in the East Riding's only purpose-built museum at 25 Lockwood Street, Driffield. The building and equipping of the museum was entirely financed by Mortimer, expenditure that in no small measure was responsible for his bankruptcy. Following his death and much uncertainty as to its future, the collection was eventually bought in 1913 by Colonel G. H. Clarke of Kirkella and presented to the City of Hull, where it now forms the nucleus of the East Riding Museum of Archaeology. As the collection has survived intact, it provides a fundamentally important corpus of material relating to the interpretation of British prehistory, particularly with regards to the Bronze Age (Harrison 2001:47–61).



The Drifffield Museum of Antiquities and Geological Specimens, Lockwood Street, Drifffield, c.1900. (Stephen Harrison Collection)

The results of the barrow explorations were published in 1905 as *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, a work which has received, justly so, many accolades over the years. The text, a series of individual site reports, is supported by a magnificent series of over a thousand scaled illustrations of cultural objects, prepared by John's eldest daughter Agnes, 'who from the time she was thirteen years of age until she was nineteen, devoted many of her leisure hours to the compilation of this, which at her age, must have been a tedious and irksome task' (Mortimer 1905:xi). Quite simply, *Forty Years' Researches* – monumental in both weight and content – is an indispensable textual archive and catalogue of the archaeology of East Yorkshire.



John Robert Mortimer in the gallery of the Drifffield Museum. (Stephen Harrison Collection, ex-John Hicks archive)

Throughout his life, Mortimer, no matter what personal sacrifices he had to make, remained passionately committed to the twin notions that his collection should remain intact, and in the East Riding. Writing in 1898, he cogently justified, not without some oblique reference to the loss of William Greenwell's East Riding collection to the British Museum, what has become his own lasting – and unique – legacy to the district in which he spent his life, and to which he devoted, with passionate intensity, all his energies in the recovery of its archaeological record:

These valuable remains are almost the only reliable records of the customs and mode of living of our remote ancestors. They are the fossil history of the district, and they must always be of the greatest interest to the neighbourhood in which they have been found. It is, therefore, our bounden duty to provide as far as possible, for their safe keeping in the district ... Unfortunately during the last thirty-five years this district has been immensely impoverished of its archaeological treasures. And it is much to be regretted that even at the present time the tendency is to favour the removal to distant collections any relics which are found in this neighbourhood, rather than assist to retain them in the district to which they belong by inheritance (Mortimer 1898:141).

Brought together during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Mortimer Collection – comprising around sixty-six thousand well-provenanced and well-documented items from barrow excavations, together with several tens of thousands of surface artefacts with little or no provenance – is an expression of the predominantly acquisitive culture in which it was accumulated. Furthermore, it represents and affirms the significant role of provincial culture in a society that was becoming increasingly centralised. John and, through him, the museum, were concerned with the protection and promulgation of a local identity. Belonging to a locality was to be in possession of an identity and a genealogy, and to explore and uncover the past from a clearly defined geographical area was to enrich that genealogy. Mortimer, a self-proclaimed guardian of part of England's heritage, perceived the reconstitution of the past as a means of consolidating and realising both place and identity in a landscape which, during his lifetime and in keeping with the accelerating momentum of civilisation, was becoming increasingly unfamiliar. His collection and its public display offered a sense of provincial dignity and of distinctiveness, and provided a crucial link between the past and the present.

John Robert Mortimer was no mere dilettante collector of antiquities. Entirely self-taught, he was, when compared with many of his fellow archaeologists, a thorough and competent excavator, who, almost single-handedly, succeeded in bringing together, preserving and documenting a vast body of primary data relating to the early history of East Yorkshire. His archaeology declared itself as being based on the recording of facts; his analysis, on scientific principles, for the drawing of inferences – this marked a significant shift from a *priori* deduction to inductive analysis; and the organisation of knowledge in an orderly fashion. For him, as for other serious practitioners, artefacts came to represent something more than mere antiquities; they assumed a new and significant role as *documents* of the past. The central thread running through Mortimer's archaeological work – excavation as well as collection – was the reconstruction of a prehistoric past for Britain. In doing this, he, along with other leading prehistorians of the time, such as Evans, Greenwell, Lubbock and Pitt Rivers, helped to move archaeology into the mainstream of intellectual life. Thus, as a constructive and creative figure in archaeology's formative phase, he is of immense importance. Without doubt, he can take his place alongside such better-known individuals as Canon William Greenwell, Heywood Sumner and Augustus Pitt Rivers as one of the fathers of twenty-first century British archaeology.

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III. Notes

An Appreciation of R. G. Collingwood as an Archaeologist

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In his short and busy life Collingwood found time to pursue two quite separate careers: as a philosopher and as an archaeologist. In the latter career he followed in the footsteps of his father, William Gershom Collingwood (1854–1932), who as well as being an artist, an historical novelist, and secretary to (and biographer of) John Ruskin, was also an accomplished amateur archaeologist, and a stalwart of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (Johnstone 1967). Collingwood writes in *An Autobiography* of growing up in ‘a gradually thickening archaeological atmosphere’ (Collingwood 1939a:80).

Robin George Collingwood (1889–1943) is the author of four major archaeological works: *Roman Britain* (1923); *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* (1930); *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (with J. N. L. Myers, 1936); and *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (edited by R. V. P. Wright, and published posthumously in 1965).

Roman Britain (1923) ‘was a short book; I wrote it in two days; it was designed to be elementary, and it was full of faults . . . it gave me a first opportunity of finding out, more clearly than was possible within the limits of a short article, how my conception of historical research was developing’ (Collingwood 1939:120–121). It was substantially revised in 1932 and revised again in 1934.

The Archaeology of Roman Britain (1930a) was intended as a work of synthesis, as a summary of the growing number of archaeological papers that had addressed specific problems relating to particular sites and particular problems of chronology. As such it was written primarily for fellow archaeologists. (The 1969 edition was revised by Collingwood’s pupil, I. A. Richmond, and credited to R. G. Collingwood and I. A. Richmond.)

Roman Britain and the English Settlements (1936) was written with J. N. L. Myers. However, Collingwood emphasized that: ‘this work is not a work of collaboration. It consists of two independent studies of two distinct, though interlocking subjects’ (Collingwood and Myers 1936, Preface:v). Collingwood