

From Antiquary to Archaeologist

From Antiquary to Archaeologist:
Frederick Corbin of Lukis of Guernsey

by

Heather Sebire



CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING

From Antiquary to Archaeologist: Frederick Corbin of Lukis of Guernsey, by Heather Sebire

This book first published 2007 by

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

15 Angerton Gardens, Newcastle, NE5 2JA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2007 by Heather Sebire

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN 1-84718-357-3; ISBN 13: 9781847183576



Frederick Corbin Lukis F.S.A. 1788-1871. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	viii
Preface	xi
Acknowledgements	xiv
Note on Referencing, Transcription and Abbreviations	xvii
 Chapter One	
Relics and Reputations	1
 Chapter Two	
Pursuits and Joys	17
 Chapter Three	
The Lukis Family	47
 Chapter Four	
A Pioneer Archaeologist.....	76
 Chapter Five	
Thunderbolts and Pots: Collection of Artefacts.....	110
 Chapter Six	
Home and Abroad.....	126
 Chapter Seven	
A Remarkable Polymath.....	155
 Chapter Eight	
Lukis's Field Work Legacy	167
 Chapter Nine	
Museums and Institutions: The Legacy	184
 Chapter Ten	
Frederick Corbin Lukis: A Remarkable Archaeologist and Polymath	201
 References	214
Index.....	224

LIST OF FIGURES

Frederick Corbin Lukis F.S.A. 1788-1871. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	v
Fig. 1-1. A view of St Peter Port Harbour c. 1740 by John Bastide. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	6
Fig. 1-2. Watercolour painting of the discovery of La Varde, Guernsey by Joshua Gosselin. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	13
Fig. 2-1. Stonehenge in 1838 by R Cunningham. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	29
Fig. 2-2. Illustration of Ole Worm’s Cabinet of Curiosities. Society of Antiquaries of London.....	32
Fig. 2-3. Palaeolithic flint axe presented to F. C. Lukis by Boucher de Perthes. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	36
Fig. 2-4. A watercolour by Mary Anne Lukis of Iron Age pots excavated by her father. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	45
Fig. 3-1. The Lukis family tree.....	49
Fig. 3-2. The Lukis family coat of arms	50
Fig. 3-3. A portrait of F. C. Lukis as a young man by an unknown artist. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	53
Fig. 3-4. Frederick Collings Lukis, 1814-63 © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	55
Fig. 3-5. John Walter Lukis, 1816-94. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	55
Fig. 3-6. William Collings Lukis, 1817-92. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	56
Fig. 3-7. Francis du Bois Lukis, 1826- 1906. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	58
Fig. 3-8. Louisa Elizabeth Lukis 1818-1887. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	59
Fig. 3-9. Mary Anne Mansell Lukis 1822-1906. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	60
Fig. 3-10. The Collings family monument in Candie Gardens, St Peter Port where F. C. Lukis and his family are buried.	74
Fig. 4-1. Map of Guernsey showing the sites of Lukis’s excavations. © GMAG Archaeology Archive	78

Fig. 4-2. Plan of the Cromlech Déhus by F. C. Lukis. © GMAG Lukis Collection.	79
Fig. 4-3. Graves at Le Catioc, now destroyed by quarrying by F. C. Lukis. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	84
Fig. 4-4. An illustration from the publication of the Bircham Barrows. Lukis (1843).	86
Fig. 4-5. Tumulus on the Island of Gavr’Innis recorded by John Walter Lukis. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	89
Fig. 4-6. F. C. Lukis’s detail of the megalithic art at Gavr’Innis, Brittany. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	90
Fig. 4-7. A pre-excavation plan of La Varde, Guernsey drawn in 1837. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	93
Fig. 4-8. Early recording of stratigraphy at La Varde. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	94
Fig. 4-9. The kneeling skeletons from Le Déhus © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	99
Fig. 4-10. Detail of section from Le Déhus. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	99
Fig. 4-11. Carnac, Triumph of Christianity over Druidism. A Sketch from one of F. C. Lukis’s notebooks. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	102
Fig. 4-12. F. C. Lukis’s sketch of Stanton Drew. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	103
Fig. 4-13. F. C. Lukis’s illustration of Guernsey stone hatchets or battle axes. © GMAG Lukis Collection.	108
Fig. 5-1. Illustration of North American stone hatchets by F. C. Lukis. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	111
Fig. 5-2. F. C. Lukis’s watercolour illustration of an axe from the Braye du Valle presented to him by Ferdinand Brock Tupper. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	121
Fig. 5-3. F. C. Lukis’s illustration in watercolour of an urn from La Varde passage grave © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	124
Fig. 6-1. Letter from Thomas Bateman to F. C. Lukis, describing Arbor Low in Derbyshire © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	147
Fig. 6-2. Pottery from Guernsey illustrated in <i>A Manual of British Archaeology</i> . Boutell (1858).	152
Fig. 7-1. Geological Map of Guernsey drawn by F.C. Lukis. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	158
Fig. 7-2. Engraving of Hippocampus supplied by Lukis and published in Yarrell’s <i>History of British Fishes</i> . (Yarrell, 1836).....	162

Fig. 8-1. La Société Guernesiaise visit the excavations at L'Islet in 1912. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	171
Fig. 9-1. The Lukis family home in the Grange, St Peter Port.	187
Fig. 9-2. F. C. Lukis's museum in the family home in The Grange, St Peter Port. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	188
Fig. 9-3. A page from the visitor's book of the Lukis Museum in the Grange. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	188
Fig. 9-4. Candie House, now the Priaulx Library formerly Candie Museum.	194
Fig. 9-5. F. C. Lukis and his daughter Mary Anne portrayed at Guernsey Museum.	200
Fig. 10-1. Lukis's watercolours of bronze axes from Alderney. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries	208
Fig. 10-2. F. C. Lukis examining the passage grave at Le Déhus © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.....	211

Colour Centrefold

Figure 1

The interior of La Varde dolmen by Frederick Corbin Lukis © Guernsey Museums & Galleries

Figure 2

An artist's impression of the Lukis family in their drawing room at the Grange. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.

Figure 3

A painting by Frederick Corbin Lukis of objects from his collection. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.

Figure 4

Lukis's objects on display at the Lukis and Island Museum after his death. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries.

PREFACE

The life and work of Frederick Corbin Lukis, the subject of this book, has been known to me for many years, since arriving to settle in Guernsey in the Channel Islands in 1978, leaving a job in archaeology in England and family in Northern Ireland. I had previously been working as an archaeologist in what is known as the Wessex area of South-west England, the land of Stonehenge, Avebury and other great monuments on the landscape. As a result, I had not had time to research the archaeological record of the Channel Islands and so, mistakenly, had low expectations of finding much of archaeological interest. How misinformed I was! I was shortly to be pleasantly surprised, as I quickly became acquainted with the major archaeological sites on the island. Also, I arrived at the time of the renaissance of field archaeology, which was being carried out in many areas in response to commercial development. This is not controlled in Guernsey or the other Channel Islands by the same legislation as in the United Kingdom or neighbouring France and so many rescue excavations were being undertaken. As it was not possible to pursue a professional career in archaeology on the island at that time, I became secretary of the local archaeological society, La Société Guernesiaise Archaeological Research and Rescue Group, while having a day job as a teacher. For fifteen years or so I took part in the excavation of various sites from the Mesolithic to the modern period, working in conjunction with La Société Guernesiaise and later Guernsey Museum. Throughout this period of relatively new discoveries, I was constantly reminded of a resource that existed at the Guernsey Museum which was referred to as the Lukis archive. This was particularly so during the excavation of a prehistoric burial mound on L'Ancrese Common, known as Les Fouaillages. This major excavation was undertaken by Dr Ian Kinnes, then Assistant Keeper of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities at the British Museum, from 1979-1981.

In order to help assess how the site fitted in to the prehistory of the island, Dr Kinnes examined the Lukis archive to aid his study of the Neolithic period in the Channel Islands. T.D. Kendrick had also examined the material in 1928, when he came to the island to research his work on the Archaeology of the Channel Islands. This was the first part of a published work comprising two volumes, of which the Bailiwick of Guernsey forms Volume 1, (Kendrick 1928), as will be discussed later.

In 1982, I was asked to contribute to the centenary reports of La Société Guernesiaise and through my research for this work it again became apparent that F. C. Lukis had left a very important legacy for the study of the archaeology of Guernsey.

Many years later, in 1995, I was appointed Archaeology Officer at Guernsey Museum when the post became vacant on the retirement of Bob Burns. Burns had been responsible for much of the rescue archaeology that had been carried out since the late 1970s and a tribute was paid to his work in a festschrift (Sebire, 1998). During his time at the museum, Bob Burns had helped to organize an exhibition which drew on the Lukis archive. The exhibition, which celebrated a hundred years of museums in Guernsey, was displayed in 1988, to mark the bicentenary of the birth of Frederick Corbin Lukis.

In the current permanent galleries at Guernsey Museum, the entrance to the 'Story of Guernsey' is portrayed as a scenario of F.C. Lukis in his parlour, with his daughter Mary Anne painting alongside him. In the parlour Lukis is surrounded by many of the artefacts, collected during his lifetime, his veritable 'cabinet of curiosities'.

It was shortly after taking up my post at Guernsey Museum in 1995 that I became more familiar with the extent of the Lukis archive. It was only then that I realized what an incredible resource was contained within it, which was unpublished and therefore largely untapped.

Although some attempts had been made both by Kinnes and visiting French archaeologists to catalogue some of the material, it had not yet been accessioned into the records of Guernsey Museum. This was the first task I undertook in conjunction with my colleagues at the museum, in order that the extent of the archive would be made known. As part of that exercise an audit was undertaken. Alongside the material produced by Frederick Corbin Lukis, there was also a considerable amount of material from other members of the family, in particular his third son William Collings Lukis.

W. C. Lukis took orders and served, first in Wiltshire and later, for many years, at Wath in Yorkshire. He had been an undergraduate at Cambridge in the 1840s with Sir Henry Dryden and in later years between them they surveyed many of the known megalithic monuments both in Britain and France, particularly Brittany. Many originals and copies of their plans form part of the archive.

In my role as Archaeology Officer at Guernsey Museum, therefore, I was being constantly reminded, that in many respects, the information contained within the Lukis archive was the basis of all our current archaeological work, certainly with regard to prehistory. It was thus I

decided that consideration of its worth was long overdue, both in terms of the intrinsic value of the documents themselves, because of their content which is of great importance to Guernsey's archaeology, but also for Lukis's contribution in the development of archaeology, from the 'curiosity' of the antiquarians to the complex discipline that we know today. I therefore embarked on research for a doctoral thesis at the University of Southampton under the careful guidance of Professor Timothy Champion, in order to consider both of these aspects of the 'Lukis archive', and I consider it a privilege to have contributed to its preservation for the future.

Heather Sebire
Guernsey
May 2007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is based on my study for a Doctor of Philosophy which took place on a part-time basis over six years from January 1998 to December 2003.

The project would not have been possible without financial support from the then States of Guernsey Heritage Committee, to whom I am grateful for the opportunity to study the Lukis archive. I also wish to thank the then Director of Guernsey Museums and Galleries, Peter Sarl, for permission and indeed encouragement to study the documents. I was very fortunate to find a supervisor in Professor Timothy Champion, at the University of Southampton, who recognized the value and potential of the Lukis archive and whose extensive knowledge of antiquarianism and the history of archaeology was a constant source of inspiration. Thanks are also due to my original referees, Dr Mike Golby of Exeter University and particularly Dr Ian Kinnes, formerly of The British Museum, whose work on the Neolithic of the Channel Islands made him familiar with the Lukis archive and its unique contents. Dr Jonathan Adams and Dr Stephanie Moser provided stimulating comments on my upgrade paper and gave me much needed encouragement to finish the thesis. The librarians and staff at the University of Southampton, particularly at the Hartley Library, were extremely helpful and compensated for the extensive period of renovations which coincided with my study period. I am also grateful to my Examiners Dr J.D. Hill and Dr Yannis Hamilakis for their encouragement to bring this work to publication.

My colleagues at Guernsey Museum have been very supportive and deserving of thanks also, particularly Lynne Ashton, for help with transcribing letters, Alan Howell for information about the history of the museum collections and records system, Paul Le Tissier for help with images. Jason Newby assisted with photography and Clive Martin helped with the physical storage of the archive. My special thanks go to Wendy Le Tissier who, with great patience, assisted with cataloguing, transcribing, sorting and boxing the archive and helping with the considerable detective work necessary to piece together the Lukis family biography. Debora Novotny and Jane McCausland provided valuable conservation advice regarding the archive.

I am grateful for the assistance and courteous attention of the librarians and staff of La Société Guernesiaise, the Guille Allès and Priaulx Libraries in Guernsey, and the States of Guernsey Archives Service. Dr Darryl Ogier kindly read and commented on my text and supplied information on many points.

My research outside Guernsey took place in many institutions and I am grateful for help from the librarian at the Society of Antiquaries of London, Dr Bernard Nurse, for information from their records. Staff at the British Library, the Public Record Office, the Newspaper division of the British Library at Hendon, The Library of Queen's University Belfast, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Society Library, all helped with finding references.

In Guernsey, my thanks are due to both Richard Hocart, who kindly provided information about Lukis's early life and Bill Hill and members of the Family History section of La Société Guernesiaise who helped with census information.

Dr Corinne Roughley and the late Dr Andrew Sherratt and of Oxford University shared information about their related projects with me, as did Dr Stephen Briggs, who kindly provided information about J. J. A. Worsaae and Lukis documents in Denmark and Ireland. Linda Ebbatson provided information on her work on the Royal Archaeological Institute and Dr Arthur MacGregor kindly sent me a paper in advance of publication.

Dr Jenny Moore kindly read my text and made useful comments as did Gervase Ashton. Alan Griffiths my undergraduate tutor from UCL kindly commented on the Classical references. For general support and discussion both 'home and abroad', I am very grateful to my predecessor at Guernsey Museum, Bob Burns, also Tanya Walls, Dr Gordon Barclay, Tim Schadla-Hall, Dr Marc Lodewijckx, Professor Sir Barry Cunliffe, Poul Otto Nielsen of the National Museum in Denmark and many others.

The members of the Guernsey Museum Archaeology Group have supported me throughout the duration of my research. My special thanks to Wendy Bowen for help with typing when I was temporarily incapacitated. Vivien Ferneyhough helped with information on heraldry. I am indebted to Bob Waite, who assisted with the complexities of the images and printing of my original thesis, with great attention to detail.

Finally to my long-suffering family who have also lived with my Lukis project for many years, from whom I have had constant support, both in practical terms (helping transcribe letters while at the family caravan by Lough Erne) and also for providing moral support and encouragement.

This work is dedicated to them, and particularly dear P. who took me to Guernsey and J. and J. who have kept me there!

NOTE ON REFERENCING, TRANSCRIPTION AND ABBREVIATIONS

Referencing

Book and article references have been included in the body of the text but due to the length of some of the Lukis archive references footnotes have also been used.

At the time of writing there are still quantities of letters and papers in the Lukis archive which have not been fully accessioned and catalogued, but the full references have been included where they exist.

Transcription

Text from Lukis's *Collectanea Antiqua* and also the letters and notes have been transcribed verbatim without any change to punctuation or letter case. This is in the interest of authenticity and hopefully does not detract from the understanding of the writing. The most common version of the family names has been used throughout.

Abbreviations

BAA	British Archaeological Association
DNB	L. Stephen and S. Lee (Eds.), 1885-1901. <i>The Dictionary of National Biography</i> . 63 Vols. London.
GMAG	Guernsey Museums and Galleries
Coll. Ant.	<i>Collectanea Antiqua</i> by Frederick Corbin Lukis
RAI	Royal Archaeological Institute
TSG	<i>Transactions of La Société Guernesiaise</i>

CHAPTER ONE

RELICS AND REPUTATIONS

Many autodidacts and polymaths of the Victorian era were utterly remarkable scholars (Bahn, 1996, xii)

The study of the History of Archaeology, and in particular the work of early pioneer archaeologists, has increasingly interested present-day scholars, not only for the content of the early archives, often in the form of early observations of important sites, but also as indicators of the development of archaeology as a discipline. Histories of archaeology began with those taking the broad historical sweep, such as Glyn Daniel's seminal works *A Hundred Years of Archaeology* (1950) and *The Origins and Growth of Archaeology* (1967). More recently scholars such as Alain Schnapp (1996) have contributed a European dimension, and many individual biographies have been written such as those by Stuart Piggott on William Stukeley (1976, 1985) and Christopher Dyer on William Cunnington (1975). In depth studies of historical aspects of regional archaeologies across Europe have also been examined, in a recently edited volume by Nathan Schlanger (2002). In all such works, apart from one short reference in Daniel (1950, 5) one worthy character is omitted, namely Frederick Corbin Lukis of Guernsey. Lukis was a pioneer archaeologist and polymath and is worthy of remembrance and study, not only for the work he carried out in his native island of Guernsey, but also for his legacy to the wider world of archaeology. His work is also important because he was active at a critical time in the nineteenth century, when archaeology was in a transitional phase between antiquarianism and the complex discipline that we know today.

Frederick Corbin Lukis F. S. A.

Frederick Corbin Lukis was born in Guernsey, the second largest of the Channel Islands, in 1788, and during his long life he became expert in many disciplines. Although a true polymath, he is particularly remembered

for his archaeological work. This he carried out in his native Channel Islands, England and in northern France. His *Collectanea Antiqua*, the main record of his endeavours, in which he documented his excavations and fieldwork, is now held in the collections of Guernsey Museums and Galleries. Lukis's *Collectanea Antiqua* consists of seven bound volumes, at present unpublished, but the archive also contains a number of his letters, notebooks and diaries. This body of work, although compiled without the scientific background that modern day archaeological research would involve, still forms the basis for any serious study of the Channel Islands' prehistoric past. For this fact alone, it is significant in the history of archaeology both for Guernsey and the other Channel Islands alongside parts of Britain and France. Lukis was also ahead of his time in many respects and was influential amongst the intelligentsia of Victorian England.

Lukis's Island Home

Guernsey is the second largest of the Channel Islands, lying just 48 kilometres off the western coast of the Cotentin peninsula of Normandy in France and 128 kilometres from mainland Britain. The islands of Alderney, Sark and Herm are part of its Bailiwick but the larger island of Jersey is independent. Guernsey is 15 kilometres long and 5 kilometres across at its widest point. The south coast is characterized by steep cliffs and the northern and western coast, by low lying sand dunes, punctuated by headlands which jut out into the sea. The large tidal range increases the land mass considerably at low tide. Coastal erosion, particularly on the west coast, is encroaching into the softer rocks, leaving headlands punctuated with wide sweeping bays. The climate is mild and wet in winter and in summer the island enjoys a considerable amount of sunshine.

Guernsey is a dependency of the British Crown otherwise known as a "crown peculiar" and Her Majesty the Queen is represented by a Lieutenant Governor, who stays in the island for a three-year term of office. The island retains its independence to levy taxes however (at an attractive rate for the offshore finance market), and custom duties. It is self-governing and therefore free to elect its own parliament (the States of Deliberation), the leader of which is the Bailiff who also presides as Chief Judge. Guernsey has changed considerably since Lukis's time. The population now numbers some sixty thousand, the consequence of which is that the island is quite densely populated, particularly in St Peter Port and the northern parishes of the Vale and St Sampson's. The economy of the island, during most of the twentieth century, has been based on

horticulture and tourism. A great area is still covered by greenhouses, although the industry is on the decline, with growers having to turn from the cultivation of tomatoes to specialize in flowers and other crops in order to compete with stiff European competition, particularly from Holland, for the UK market. Tourism has suffered from the expense of getting to and from the island both by air and sea. Although Guernsey is still a popular destination for young families, competition from the budget airlines into Europe, with guaranteed good weather at their destinations, has decreased the market for tourism. In the latter years of the twentieth century the finance industry has taken over as the main upholder of the economy, bringing in its wake, among other things, an inflated rise in house prices, and the demand for more and more services, as staff for the industry are brought in from the UK and elsewhere. This has inevitably brought with it a boom in building and redevelopment. The heart of St Peter Port in particular, where new office accommodation is constantly in demand, has changed considerably over the last twenty years. F. C. Lukis would not recognize much of present-day St Peter Port.

Many of the more rural outlying areas have also been used to provide out of town housing, of an executive quality, despite an attempt by the local planning authorities to control development. This has, of course, had great effects on the preservation of archaeology, as sites are being disturbed at an alarming rate, and has necessitated many rescue excavations, in an attempt to record some of what is being destroyed.

However, the tourist industry, which relies heavily on the attraction of “Heritage” sites, continues to be important and in the summer months the population increases considerably.

The island boasts a long and interesting history, from prehistoric times to the present day. One major event in recent memory was the Occupation by German forces during the Second World War, from 1940 to 1945, when the island was fortified as part of Hitler’s Atlantic Wall. During this time, the landscape changed dramatically, as the island was strengthened with bunkers, look-outs and gun batteries, particularly around the coast, many of which were on sites previously fortified in Napoleonic times and earlier.

Islanders now pride themselves on their quality of life and although many people who live in the island are not native born, they appreciate the island’s many traditions and qualities. A recent article in *Country Life* magazine compared Guernsey to the English Arcadia¹.

¹ *Country Life*, May, 2007

Life in Guernsey in the Nineteenth Century

Many of the nineteenth-century developments in Guernsey were similar in many ways to those in mainland Britain. In the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, the island's prosperity had grown around trade, privateering (a privateer was defined as a vessel of war owned and equipped by a private person to seize and plunder enemy shipping) and a certain amount of smuggling. St Peter Port developed as an international entrepôt with many island families acquiring wealth through becoming agents for various commodities such as wine and tobacco (Stevens-Cox, 1999). A. G. Jamieson, in his comprehensive account of Guernsey's relationship with the sea, describes islanders as having one of two relationships (1986, xxviii):

On the one hand islanders can have a passive relationship with the sea using it only for the most local purposes, ready to take the alarm at each strange sail on the horizon, and open to be plundered or exploited by the next raider or trader to reach their shores. On the other hand, islanders can be active users of the sea, taking control of their own trade, building up their own fleets and projecting both economic and military power to the furthest reaches of the wider world.

Certainly the latter is true of the centuries leading up to the Victorian period. Prior to 1689, the island, along with Jersey, had played a part in the growth of the Newfoundland cod industry and the general European maritime expansion into the wider world (Jamieson 1986, xxxiv). This had led to economic growth and a period of relative stability. The years of the English Civil War had caused disruption in the islands and threatened to put an end to their relative prosperity. But later in 1689, at the start of renewed conflict with France, William III decreed an end to Channel Islands neutrality and trade with France was forbidden. Privateering began after this date. These circumstances might have heralded a period of uncertainty, but in effect the Royal Navy shielded the islands from attack by the French and so the islanders were able to exploit the situation as licensed "pirates", carrying letters of marque from the British government.

Due to St Peter Port's good natural harbour, Guernsey tended to be the Channel Island base for the privateers (Fig.1-1). In fact the business was well regulated and the captains would not have thought of themselves as pirates. One, John Tupper, was even awarded a special medal in 1694 for services against French privateers. The trade continued in the peacetimes between the French conflicts and the island's economy became somewhat dependent on the goods involved, as might be expected. The British

government finally brought the arrangement to an end in 1807 and this caused a degree of economic hardship in Guernsey. Frederick Corbin Lukis's father, John Lukis, is described as a "merchant" during the later eighteenth century and it is likely that he was a beneficiary of the situation. He is mentioned, along with other merchants from notable families, as having Zephaniah Job of Polperro in Cornwall as his agent, bringing in brandy, rum and gin, which would have been sold on in the island (Jamieson 1986, 212n).

Many of St Peter Port's fine Georgian town houses, vaults and cellars were built as a result of this period of trade and the Lukis's family home in the Grange is one such example. Those islanders who did not turn outwards to the sea to make their living, worked on the land, concentrating on agriculture among other things. Cattle rearing grew in importance and grapes were grown under glass. These original "vineries" were later used for growing tomatoes and later still many were used for growing flowers.

The proximity of France and the continuing threat of war in the eighteenth century led to a string of defences being constructed around the coast. These took the form of coastal defence towers (built too early to be true Martello towers), barracks and coastal forts, manned by the Royal Guernsey Militia. By the time of Waterloo the islands were well defended, but the feared invasion never actually took place. As a consequence of this defence building, other improvements were made, particularly by Major-General Sir John Doyle, Lt Governor of Guernsey from 1803-1816 (Johnson 1994). Alongside reorganizing the Guernsey Militia and the island's defences, he set about improving the roads on the island and draining the Braye du Valle: Guernsey was in fact two islands, with an area of land to the north (Clos du Valle), cut off by a shallow channel. This flooded at high tide and so Doyle set about draining the Braye in 1807, as he considered the channel made the larger part of Guernsey vulnerable to attack from the French.

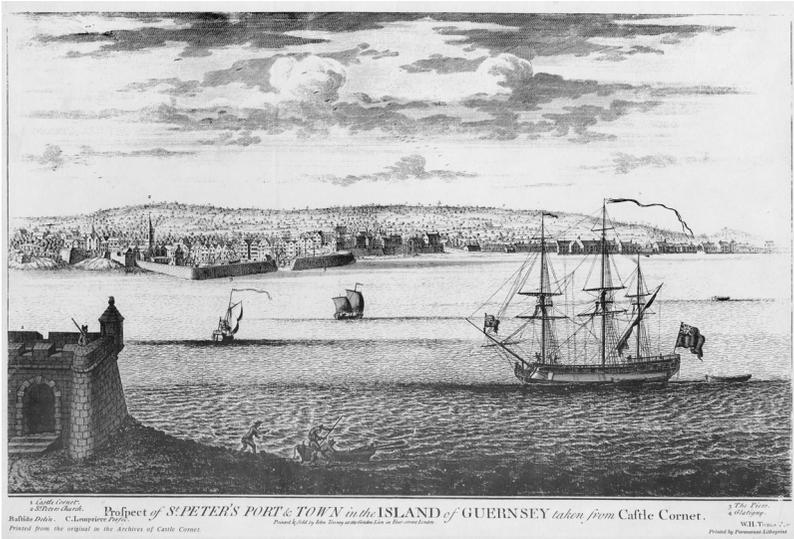


Fig. 1-1. A view of St Peter Port Harbour c. 1740 by John Bastide. © Guernsey Museums & Galleries

As elsewhere in the British Isles at that time, the infrastructure of the island of Guernsey developed rapidly in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first postal service between Guernsey and England began in 1794. Initially the mail was carried on private boats but a regular steamer service to Weymouth was set up in 1823. After this time, visitors began to arrive regularly, to enjoy the slightly warmer climate and greater hours of sunshine than Britain. Alongside road building, many changes took place in the island which altered its physical appearance. Stone quarrying was an important industry and grew in importance throughout the nineteenth century with almost a hundred quarries open at the height of the industry's prosperity. Many of the island's prehistoric monuments suffered, as they were easy targets for the masons to demolish for their stone. Guernsey granite was exported to Britain and was used, among other things, for the building of the steps of St Paul's Cathedral in London. The town of St Peter Port itself also changed, with the conversion of many houses into shops as a new town was built on higher ground to the south west, providing more salubrious living accommodation for those who could afford it. An arcade for shops was hewn out of one of the valley sides near the town centre and a magnificent covered market was built to replace the open fish and vegetable markets near the town church (the parish church

of St Peter Port). A gas manufacturing facility was erected at Les Amballes on the outskirts of St Peter Port in 1830, bringing gas lighting to the shops and private houses of St Peter Port. Connections by sea grew in importance and the tradition of shipbuilding, which had grown up in the eighteenth century along the shore line of St Peter Port, continued. The old harbour was no longer sufficient in facilities or mooring space, so after various schemes were introduced, it was vastly extended by 1870. Queen Victoria visited the island with Prince Albert in 1846 after which a tower was erected in her honour and two roads renamed after her. There was a return visit in 1859, after which time a statue of Albert was erected and the pier they landed on (the south arm of the old harbour) was renamed “Albert Pier”.

Throughout the nineteenth century Guernsey men and women had taken part in the developments that were not only transforming their island, but also the world at large. Among Guernsey’s famous sons of the time were Captain William le Lacheur, who established the coffee trade between London and Costa Rica, and Thomas de la Rue, who established a successful printing works in London. Guernsey men also contributed to international military affairs in the personages of Sir Isaac Brock (1777-1836), Admiral Lord de Sausmarez (1757-1836) and Admiral Sir Thomas Mansell who married Catherine Rabey Lukis, Frederick’s sister.

Cultural life also flourished, alongside all the industrial developments, again with influences from outside but also by local traditions. France’s great literary figure, Victor Hugo, sought refuge in Jersey after the political changes in France in 1851, but after a four year stay he was expelled, for criticizing the Queen’s State Visit to Paris. He then spent his exile in Guernsey from 1855 to 1870, during which time he wrote, among other works, *Les Misérables* and *Toilers of the Sea*. F. C. Lukis and the local romantic poet George Métivier became friends with Hugo.

The Mechanics Institute

Cultural institutions of a philanthropic nature were founded in Guernsey in a similar manner to Britain. The Guernsey Mechanics Institute was founded in 1831 by the well-intentioned of the island, to educate those engaged in manual work, at a time when compulsory education was some way off (Priaulx, 1972, 67). The parish schools were free for all who wanted to attend them, but only fee-paying places were available for older pupils attending private establishments, such as the Elizabeth College for boys, and of course not every child was able to take up one of these options.

The Mechanics Institutes, which sprang up all over Victorian England, were designed to provide further education for artisans and mechanics. Frederick Corbin Lukis was the first president of the Guernsey Mechanics Institute. The minute books for the first two years do not survive, but those of 1833 record Lukis as a regular attendee and his signature is on the minutes of many of the numerous meetings.² The preoccupation in the early days was to find premises, and the minutes record how Lukis and others had looked at various properties in St Peter Port. Lukis's own house was even used for Committee meetings. In April 1833, a librarian was appointed who was paid £14 per annum and Lukis was part of a sub-committee that was to initiate the librarian into his duties. The Institute had weekly meetings and held regular evening lectures, many of which Lukis himself provided. He was president of the Institute until 1850 when he was succeeded by Edgar MacCulloch (who later became Bailiff). In his presidential address in September 1833 Lukis remarks about the institution

“...one may say that the encouragement given by its existence in this island to foster the rising talent of the mechanic has produced much to cheer our hopes....that it might be added to the number of the many praiseworthy and benevolent institutions which this island has to boast of”³.

He was unanimously re-elected President year after year and obviously held in great respect by his fellow committee members. Through the Institute he circulated a letter appealing for funds to establish a museum. In fact Lukis's own collections, which will be discussed later, may have been the inspiration for the letter, as it was always his wish to display them to a wider audience.

In 1862, there was an attempt by the Committee to get the States of Guernsey to help with funding for a museum, to house the various collections of the Mechanics Institute. From its early days, people had presented objects and artefacts to the Institute, which were looked after by the librarian (Howell, 1991). Some time later, in 1862, a meeting was called by one of the committee, Martin Tupper, to discuss the future of the collections which were already being referred to as a “museum”⁴. However it was not until Lukis's death in 1872 (see Chapter 3) that the Mechanics Institute collections were formed into an actual museum.

² Guille-Allès Library Mechanics Institute Minute Books Vii 22 March 1833-22nd March 1842

³ Ibid.

⁴ Circular by Martin Tupper, Lukis Collection, Guernsey Museum

So by the end of the nineteenth century, the great changes that swept across mainland Britain were reflected in life in Guernsey. The growth of local societies, the opening of the first museums and a more scientific approach to all disciplines, not least archaeology, all took place. This backdrop to Lukis's life is very relevant to his scholarship and how he viewed the archaeological remains that he encountered. The geographical location of Guernsey encouraged its inhabitants to naturally look to France rather than Britain for many aspects of their lives and the Lukis family was no exception. In fact an examination of his network of friends and colleagues (see chapter 7) illustrates that Lukis was in contact with fellow antiquaries in Denmark, France, England and even the United States of America. This would not have been possible to the extent it was, if the industrial revolution had not taken place, bringing in its wake better communications in general. Railways, regular sea connections and better roads all contributed to the exchange of information that the nineteenth century antiquaries enjoyed, enabling them to communicate with each other in a way that had not been possible before.

Early Visitors and Observers of Guernsey's Monuments

There is much evidence that our ancestors, as far back as ancient times, were curious about their past and sometimes revered it in much the same way as we do today. In Guernsey, it is quite probable that the dwellers of the Bronze Age village community living at Les Fouaillages, in the Vale, in the lee of the burial mound which dominated their immediate landscape, would have held the monument in awe and reverence. We can only guess at how those people actually regarded the tomb, which even to them would have been of some antiquity. Similarly, those seeking to defend the islands at the beginning of the fourteenth century from an invasion by French forces re-used the prehistoric ramparts at Jerbourg, in the south of the island, as part of their defences. Whether these people were aware or in awe of the earth-moving of a different age we can only speculate. The study of Guernsey's ancient past has been undertaken for many centuries, but as will be demonstrated Frederick Corbin Lukis is the figure most recognized as the main antiquarian contributor to this study. However, those before him were not all so impressed by what they saw around them.

One of the earliest written observations of Guernsey is a description of it and the other Channel Islands included in William Camden's *Britannia* written in 1565 and it is feasible that Lukis would have been able to read Camden's accounts, some three hundred years later, as we can today. Camden describes St Peter Port harbour and the Castles of Cornet and the

Vale, which would have been standing at the time. The remaining comments are mostly historical and a description of the main pursuits of the people at the time, reading more like a guide book than an historical survey (Stevens-Cox 1969).

Peter Heylyn

Peter Heylyn, an English minister, church historian and geographer, who travelled to the Channel Islands in 1629, was seemingly not at all impressed by Guernsey's antiquities. He published an account of his excursion and commented thus:

It was also the last part of my intention, to do something in honour of the islands by committing to memory their Antiquities, by reporting to posterity their Arts of Government, by representing, as in a tablet, the choicest of their beauties; and in a word, by reducing these and the Achievements of the people, as far as the light of Authors could direct me, into the body of an history. But when I had a little made myself acquainted with the place and the people, I found nothing in them which might put me to that trouble (Heylyn, 1656, 280).

One can only assume that Heylyn did not take the time or trouble to get fully acquainted with Guernsey, during his brief sojourn on the island. Also, many of the island's ancient monuments would have been unknown at the time. Guernsey does not boast a monument as prominent on the landscape as La Hougue Bie in Jersey, for example, and so at the time of Heylyn's visit few were known. However, he did make comments about the Priory on Lihou Island, a tidal islet which lies off the west coast, about as far from St Peter Port as one can get, so he must have been able to make his way around the island. It does also imply that perhaps the local people of Guernsey were not acquainted with their own antiquities until much later, as no one seems to have been able to illuminate him on the subject. It is surprising, for instance, that he does not refer to the myth and legend surrounding many of the island's ancient places, which would have been well established in local folklore by the seventeenth century and as the name of one of the local passage graves, Le Creux ès Faïes or cave of the fairies, suggests. It is also possible that his pre-occupation with urging religious reform may have deflected his attention from memorials that he considered "popish" survivals (D. Ogier pers. comm.).

The Eighteenth Century: some monuments are saved by native Guernsey men

Samuel Bonamy 1708-1770

An unpublished document records how a Guernsey man, Samuel Bonamy, who became Bailiff in 1758, was aware of megalithic remains in the island. In 1749 he wrote *A Short Account of the Island of Guernsey*, the manuscript of which is housed in the British Museum. He described three megalithic monuments and at the end of the manuscript he drew a map showing their positions. He had interpreted the tombs as pagan altars:

For it appears that the ancient inhabitants were pagan by their altars; three of which remain at this day, upon which they used to offer sacrifices to the gods of the sea. They consist of flat ragstone, of a vast bulk and weight, supported three or four feet above the ground by three or four lesser stones, on which they are so artfully laid, that they seem hardly to touch them, and where they do touch the diameter is scarce two inches wide; and yet, which is very surprising, they have remained in that position above seven hundred years. Of the three which are yet left in Guernsey, two are in the Vale and one in St Saviour's parish. This last was being destroyed by the owner of the ground, to prevent which I purchased the land (Add. Mss 6523).

Richard Hocart (1998) suggests that the reference to only three surviving monuments is curious as the folklore associated with other monuments seems to have been well known to locals. The area around the monument known as the Creux ès Faïes in the parish of St Pierre du Bois, for example, has a rich folklore associated with it, although it is possible that this is a nineteenth century invention. We can be grateful for Bonamy's foresight in one instance, however. By becoming the land owner of the monument known as Le Trépied, a megalithic tomb, he ensured its preservation to the present day.

John de Havilland (1734-1810)

Another Guernsey man, John de Havilland, followed this precedent of preserving monuments by purchasing the land that they stand on. In 1775, he carried out a similar exercise by buying the "land on which was situated" the chambered tomb at Le Déhus in the Vale parish to the north of Guernsey. He appears to have saved the monument, just before it was to be broken up for building stone. De Havilland may not have been fully aware of the significance of his actions, but there can be no doubt that he recognized the antiquity of the construction. This monument, still one of

the island's finest passage graves, was examined by Joshua Gosselin in 1809 and later, more thoroughly, by Frederick Corbin Lukis and one of his sons in 1839, as is discussed elsewhere.

Joshua Gosselin (1739-1813)

The next eminent Guernsey man known to have influenced the salvage of a monument was Joshua Gosselin, a distant cousin of Lukis, who witnessed the excavation of La Varde, a large chambered tomb at L'Ancrese in the Vale parish. Gosselin is best remembered for his painting and recording of natural history but he also took great interest in archaeology and made the earliest technical sketches of the island's monuments. These were published in *Archaeologia* Volume XVII. Guernsey Museum has recently purchased many of his watercolours and sketches which relate to the island, including many of prehistoric monuments. Gosselin was from an old Guernsey family and, as Lukis after him, was a true polymath. He was commissioned in the Guernsey Militia in 1758 and became Colonel-in-Command of the North Regiment in 1780. He was also appointed Greffier to the Royal Court, a position he held until 1792. Gosselin was of independent means and from the time of his boyhood developed his artistic talent, but was also a competent botanist, conchologist and antiquarian. He compiled the earliest and most comprehensive list of wild flowers found on the island and created a herbarium, which is now in the care of La Société Guernesiaise. He also identified and listed one hundred and fourteen species of shell which along with his list of plants was included in William Berry's masterly *History of the Island of Guernsey* (1815). His interest in "structures" as subjects of his paintings may have led him to take particular notice of ancient buildings and ancient monuments (McClintock, 1976). He painted La Hougue Bie in Jersey in 1775 and the "Druidical Altar", which is now called Le Trépied, at the Catioc in Guernsey from both north and south in 1783. He also examined and sketched Le Déhus in 1809.

In 1811, Gosselin was concerned about the new discovery of what was then called a Druid's Altar, at La Varde "on a height near the shore, on the left of L'Ancrese Bay" (Gosselin 1813). This tomb is situated in an area of dune and heath to the north of the island. As a result of the discovery he wrote to the naturalist Sir Joseph Banks with a description of what had been found. This letter was read to the Society of Antiquaries of London in December 1811 and published in their proceedings (Gosselin 1813). This is the first published reference to the prehistoric remains in Guernsey. More importantly on the day that Joshua Gosselin visited the site at L'Ancrese, he was accompanied by his much younger cousin, Frederick