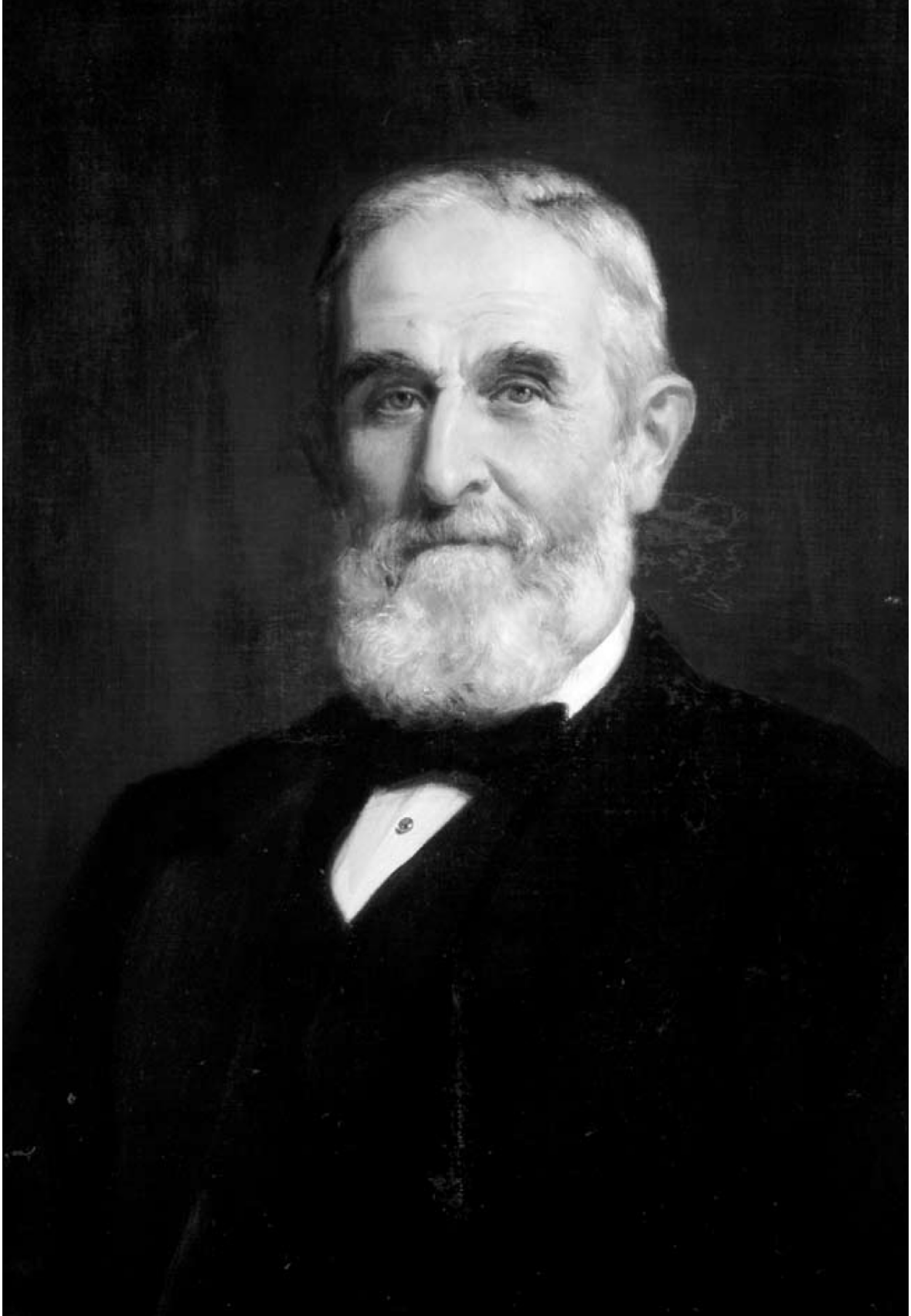
Sir John Evans 1823–1908

ANTIQUITY, COMMERCE AND NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE AGE OF DARWIN

Edited by Arthur MacGregor

Sir John Evans, aged 82, by John Collier, 1905.
Reproduced by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



SIR JOHN EVANS 1823–1908
Antiquity, Commerce and Natural Science in the Age of Darwin

British Library Cataloguing in Publications Data

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

EAN 13: 978-1-85444-237-6 (ISBN: 1 85444 237 6)

Designed and typeset in Eric Gill's
Joanna, by Lindsay Sumner,
Muswell Hill, London

Printed and bound in the UK by
Biddles of Norfolk

The Ashmolean

Contents

Huset Mydtskov

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARGRETHE II OF DENMARK

Not the least of Sir John Evans's contributions to scholarship was the internationalist perspective he brought to his researches. The important European—and especially Scandinavian—dimension permeating his work was eloquently acknowledged when Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark graciously agreed to extend her patronage to the Sir John Evans Centenary Project. It is fitting to acknowledge Her Majesty amongst those who have sought here to honour the memory of an enlightened ambassador for international cooperation—one who established especially close relations between the archaeological communities in Scandinavia and in Britain in a manner that continues to this day to be mutually rewarding.

Contributors to the volume

SUSANNE BANGERT has worked in a variety of capacities at the Ashmolean Museum over the past decade. One of the initiators of the Sir John Evans Centenary Project, she was the Project's researcher dealing with the Evans archive and archaeological collections from 2004 to 2007. In this context she has also catalogued letters and investigated Evans-related material in Scandinavia and elsewhere. She is currently in the process of preparing for publication several articles based on work carried out in the course of the Project.

NICK BARTON is professor of Palaeolithic archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford. His research focuses on the study of human behaviour through the analysis of lithic artefacts and is mainly based in Britain (Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic) and in North Africa (Middle to Upper Palaeolithic). He is currently directing a fieldwork project in Morocco concerning early dispersals of *Homo sapiens* and the manner in which humans may have responded to rapid environmental changes during the recent past. He has published numerous scientific papers and his most recent book is *Ice Age Britain* (2005).

PATRICK BOYLAN has worked for over forty years on the British Quaternary, particularly fossil mammals and their associations, and on related areas of the history of science, with particular reference to the nineteenth century and especially William Buckland (the subject of his Leicester University PhD). Earlier work relating to Evans, Falconer and Prestwich has included his substantial analysis of the controversy surrounding the 'discovery' near Abbeville (Somme) in 1863 of the Moulin-Quignon human jaw, which was quickly exposed by the British scientists as a blatant forgery. Active in national and international museums and in wider heritage affairs since the 1960s, he was a director of Museums and Arts in local government in Exeter, Leicester and Leicestershire for many years. In 1990 he was appointed professor and head of the Department of Arts Policy and Management at City University, London, retiring in 2004 with the title Professor Emeritus in Heritage Policy and Management.

PHILIP DE JERSEY is an archaeologist working for the States of Guernsey, and an Honorary Research Associate of the Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum. Between 1992 and 2007 he ran the Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford. He has published extensively on the Celtic coinage of Britain and north-west Europe and is an editor of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

ASSIMINA KANIARI has been a visiting research scholar at the Art History Department, University of Oxford, since 2006, following completion of her doctoral thesis at the same department on a topic which explored intersections between the idea of archaeological drawing and aesthetic theories of design in nineteenth-century Britain. She made the transition to art history from a background in archaeology at Cambridge; currently she works and publishes more generally on the comparative histories of art and science.

CATHY KING worked in the Heberden Coin Room in the Ashmolean Museum for over thirty years, specializing in Roman coinage of the third to the fifth centuries AD. She has written numerous articles on a wide variety of numismatic subjects including monetary history, coin circulation, and coin finds as well as editing two volumes in the Oxford Symposium series: *Imperial Revenue, Expenditure and Monetary Policy in the Fourth Century AD*, vol. 5 (1980), and *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World*, vol. 13 (1996), co-edited with D. Wigg. Her most recent publication is the volume *Roman Quinarii from the Republic to Diocletian and the Tetrarchy* (2007).

ARTHUR MACGREGOR has been, from 1979 to 2008, a curator in the Department of Antiquities at the Ashmolean, where his responsibilities extended from the Late Roman to the post-medieval periods. As well as publishing several catalogues of areas of the collection under his control, he has written extensively on the history of the Museum and its collections and has directed several archivally-based initiatives, including the Sir John Evans Centenary Project. His most recent work is *Curiosity and Enlightenment. Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (2007).

J. D. MATHER worked for the British Geological Survey from 1966 to 1990, initially as a research hydrogeologist and latterly as an assistant director in charge of the Survey's geochemical and hydrogeological programmes. In 1990 he moved to Royal Holloway, University of London, as Lyell Professor of Geology and currently holds an emeritus chair at the University. He has a long-standing interest in the history of hydrogeology, particularly its development during the nineteenth century. He edited *200 Years of British Hydrogeology*, published by the Geological Society in 2004.

BRENDAN O'CONNOR wrote his DPhil thesis on Bronze Age metalwork in the Ashmolean Library during the 1970s. The thesis was published in 1980, during a career in the civil service in Edinburgh. Since retirement, he has continued to publish on this subject.

JANET OWEN is currently the Arts and Heritage Manager at Southampton City Council. Previously she has been Head of the Curatorial Group at the National Maritime Museum, Manager at Nottingham Castle and Lecturer in Museum Studies at the University of Leicester. Dr Owen has a long-term interest in material culture studies, the history of archaeology and its relationship to the history of science. Her doctoral thesis focused on the collecting activities of Sir John Lubbock, as a case-study of late nineteenth-century Darwinist archaeological collecting and its relationship with the wider socio-cultural evolution debate.

JILL PENWARDEN worked as a librarian in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. On retirement she studied local history through Cambridge University extra mural classes. Since 1998 she has worked as an archivist at the Apsley Paper Trail; she also lectures on paper mills in the Gade valley and on related subjects. In 2004 she published a study of Kings Langley wills (1660–1800) titled *Where there's a Will there's a Story*.

ALISON ROBERTS is collections manager and curator for Prehistoric European collections in the Department of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum. Her research concerns the technology of lithic artefacts, the history of archaeology in Britain, and the Pleistocene Holocene transition in Northern Europe. She has worked on the John Evans British collections since 2004 as part of an AHRC-funded research enhancement project on the Rationalization and Enhancement of the Historic British Archaeology Collection

MICHAEL STANYON pursued his interest in local history full-time after early retirement from the manufacture of telecommunications equipment. He achieved this through the establishment of the Dacorum Museum Store, leading to his appointment as Community Heritage Officer for Dacorum Borough Council. Following his final retirement he has assisted the Apsley Paper Trail as a voluntary archivist. In this role he has researched, written and lectured on the many ways in which the world's first processes for making paper were developed locally. He has taken a leading role in preventing the demolition of Sir John Evans's home at Nash Mills House and has successfully encouraged its inclusion as a central feature in a redevelopment of the site.

LORD STEWARTBY, now retired, was a banker by profession. From 1974 to 1992 he was Member of Parliament for North Hertfordshire and in the 1980s served in the Government as Economic Secretary to the Treasury, Minister of State for the Armed Forces and Deputy Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. With an interest in coinage and money from an early age, he wrote his first book, *The Scottish Coinage*, while at school, and has published extensively on medieval coinage ever since. His latest work, *English Coins 1180–1551*, is currently in press.

List of illustrations

Preface

The centenary of the death of Sir John Evans, falling on 31 May 2008, provides an opportunity to look back at the life of this exceptionally gifted yet modest man, who made a profound impact on many aspects of the Victorian scholarly world and whose archaeological collections, when they came to Oxford through the agency of Sir John's son, Sir Arthur Evans, transformed the range and quality of the Ashmolean Museum's Department of Antiquities.

The present volume has its origins in that Department, which has the good fortune to hold Sir John's archival legacy as well as his antiquities. It would have done a disservice to Evans's memory to adopt a narrow perspective based purely on that material when judging his achievements, however, and the following essays make a sustained attempt to acknowledge the multiplicity of dimensions to his range of achievements, whether in the commercial world which provided the foundation for the considerable fortune he would accumulate, in the fields of geology and archaeology in which he enjoyed equal reputation, in numismatics where he was one of the foremost figures of his generation, or in the wider scientific world. As a leading figure in the Royal Society and in the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Evans found himself with a platform from which his varied interests could be embedded in an over arching context, where the scientific value of his researches (rather than their purely antiquarian significance) could be properly acknowledged. Here we have tried to honour that commitment, although it is striking that a considerable range of specialists, each with comparatively little understanding of the others' fields of interest, has had to be mobilized in order to assess the contributions of this one scholar endowed with so many talents.

This volume represents one of the fruits of the Sir John Evans Centenary Project, which has benefited from the patronage of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, and from the generosity of the Leverhulme Trust. The Project is described in greater detail on pp. 307–10, but it is appropriate to signal at the outset the debt owed by the Ashmolean Museum for this enlightened support. The publication costs have fallen largely to the Museum, but have been supported by a further grant from the Marc Fitch Fund, which is also gratefully acknowledged.

The authors, a number of whom have no formal connection with the Museum, have made their several contributions with no further motive than to celebrate the contributions made to their respective fields of study by one of the outstanding figures of

his age. Widely admired—and, for good reason, almost revered—in his own time, the name of Sir John Evans is to be found scattered through the bibliographies of innumerable works on archaeology, numismatics, geology and other fields published in the century that has elapsed since his death—not merely in terms of historiography but also in the course of the continuing practice of those various disciplines. The present volume aims to consolidate these acknowledgements of Evans's achievements and to contextualize them for new generations of researchers who will continue to find themselves in his debt.

PART I:
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

Sir John Evans, model Victorian, polymath and collector

Arthur MacGregor

An original mind, indefatigable industry, administrative flair and a strong sense of moral and social duty—any one of these virtues has at one time or another served to commend to posterity the memory of a particular individual, but the combination of all of them in one person is a rarity. Sir John Evans (1823–1908) is such an exceptional figure, combining so many sovereign qualities as to appear the very model of an exemplary Victorian. The present volume pays due homage to his contributions to archaeology but also looks beyond these, to the impact made in his mature years on a whole range of disciplines and to the important role he played in bridging these disparate areas of endeavour. The following introductory summary of his life and work[1] may serve to provide a background against which the later essays can be read.

Early life

Nothing in John Evans's background marked him especially for an outstanding career. His father, Arthur Benoni Evans (1781–1854) had taken holy orders in 1805, but although he held a number of curacies in the course of his working life, the need to supplement his modest stipend by teaching proved a constant factor in his life.[2] Early in his career he taught classics and history at the Royal Military College—perhaps the most deeply unrewarding years of his life—before resigning from Sandhurst in 1822 to become rector of Burnham (Buckinghamshire). Three years earlier he had been fortunate to marry Anne Dickinson, third daughter of Captain Thomas Dickinson,[3] and during the couple's seven years in residence at Britwell Court, a pleasing Queen Anne house near Burnham (Fig. 1.1), their third child, John was born on 17 November 1823; two further siblings followed there in 1825 and 1828.

After six years in which he sought to support his family by tutoring a stream of pupils, most of whom boarded at Britwell Court,[4] Arthur Benoni Evans was appointed

Fig. 1.1. Britwell Court, near Burnham (Buckinghamshire). Reproduced from a postcard in the possession of Michael Stanyon.

headmaster of the free grammar school at Market Bosworth (Leicestershire),[5] a modest establishment which he ran under a liberal regime and with moderate success. A sixth child was born there and the family lived in tolerable comfort though not extravagantly.

Arthur Benoni Evans was evidently amiable, kindly and thoughtful by nature: an orthodox churchman and educationalist, he published a number of tracts in both fields as well as producing some small works of poetry; he was also an accomplished draughtsman specializing in landscape drawing and was an enthusiastic plantsman. His modest indulgences extended to books[6] and, in later years, to coins of which he came to possess a cabinet dominated by classical issues; furthermore, he developed a taste for fossils, mostly collected with his own hand and ultimately forming a significant collection.[7]

Blessed with a loving and solicitous mother, an indulgent father of an enquiring and liberal cast of mind and a variety of siblings all of whom showed the spark of originality and enterprise in one way or another,[8] John Evans spent his early years in a sustaining family environment. At the age of six, during the months from January to August 1829 when the household uprooted itself from Britwell Court and relocated to Leicestershire, John and his elder brother Arthur were sent as boarders to Mrs Brown's school at Datchet (Berkshire), following which they were reunited with the family at Market Bosworth, where their education would be completed under the supervision of their father.

In 1839, as John approached his sixteenth birthday, he and Arthur were sent to Germany in order to learn the language.[9] They were to spend the summer there with the family of a Pastor Wilisch, living in Cotta (Saxony), an experience that greatly strengthened John's facility with the German language[10] and would put him at ease with Continental scholarship in later life. Visits were arranged to nearby Dresden and to Prague, undoubtedly making a deep and lasting impression on the boys grown used to country life, enlivened only by occasional opportunities for family visits to London.

On the return journey to Leicestershire they were met by their father and were carried straightaway to Oxford, there to be assessed for places at Brasenose College. Not the least remarkable aspect of John's later success in life, however, was that it was to be achieved without the benefit of a university education, for before he had an opportunity to take up a place his application to Brasenose was withdrawn in favour of an entirely different career. It would be surprising if John had not experienced a pang of regret at not being allowed to accompany his brother to Oxford,[11] but ultimately it is hard to detect in his later life the least sign that he was disadvantaged by his lack of a university training. Innate ability and intelligence would carry him through his professional career, while the myriad interests he pursued in private life cause one to doubt whether the formalities of the Oxford schools would have contributed much to the range of his achievements.

Professional and family life

Joan Evans (1893–1977), John's daughter and biographer, attributes the initiative that resulted in his new career-path to his mother, anxious that her second son should not be condemned in the traditional manner to the impecunious life of a clergyman with little hope of preferment—a role with which her marriage had made her already all too familiar. The opportunity now presented itself at John Dickinson & Co., a papermaking company established by Anne Evans's eldest brother at Nash Mills, near Hemel Hempstead (Hertfordshire). With an exchange of letters in January and February 1840, everything was arranged within a fortnight. John Dickinson (1782–1869) was already familiar with the industrious and methodical character of his young nephew and godson, and perhaps hoped he might find him in some way a stable and dependable substitute for his own son John, who had just dashed all prospect of a natural succession by declaring himself unwilling to continue in the industry.[12]

Arriving at Nash Mills on 29 April 1840, Evans was set to work in the accounts department, from which lowly position he would rise ultimately to manage the entire manufacturing arm of the company and to become its senior partner, a process described in detail in Chapter 2. During these early years, however, little evidence can be found to suggest that he received much in the way of avuncular affection—let alone preferment—from Dickinson and his wife, neither of whom seem to have been blessed with much warmth of personality.[13] Evans was to be paid £10 a year, a sum so small that his parents were obliged to send him money from time to time for subsistence. Accommodation was provided for him away from the Dickinsons' somewhat chilling neo-Gothic house at Abbot's Hill; such invitations as he received from them tended to be in the form of peremptory summonses to make up a fourth at whist after dinner. His normal routine was for a twelve-hour day at the mill, which Joan Evans describes as a pungent, smoke-blackened place of little charm, heaped up with rags and old paper destined for recycling and (from 1845) animated by the thud of a beam-engine running twenty-four hours a day.

Fig. 1.2. Nash Mills House, from a photograph of c.1950. The house is believed to have been built by Griffiths Jones, then owner of the mills, c.1790. For a century after Evans moved out, it remained in use as offices. Reproduced by courtesy of Apsley Paper Trail.

Even less welcome to John Dickinson was the growing fondness that the young Evans began to display for his cousin Harriet Dickinson. Harriet had attended boarding school with one of John's sisters and had been an occasional visitor to Market Bosworth; she and John had known each other since childhood, but it took several years from his arrival at Nash Mills for their relationship to blossom. While he laboured over the Dickinson accounts—his efforts recognized by occasional small increments in salary but still far from generating any substantial reward—she led a life entirely typical for the daughter of a prosperous industrialist, with the romantic whirl of the London season alternating with months of stifling social tedium in rural Hertfordshire. Only very slowly, over afternoon tea or endless hands of whist, did Harriet and John find a growing regard for each other. If she was untroubled by his lack of prospects, her parents certainly thought him a wholly unsuitable match for the daughter who had proved popular at the London balls and on whom so many of their social ambitions must have hung, but no amount of bluster from the irascible Dickinson could deflect Harriet from her choice and eventually, after some two years of courtship, she and John were married on 12 September 1850 at St Lawrence's church, Abbots Langley, with Arthur Benoni Evans officiating.

After honeymooning in Paris (with some energetic sight seeing along the way on Evans's part), the young couple set up home at first in a house named Chambersbury on

the Dickinson estate before moving in to the Red House in Nash Mills, built for them (somewhat against their will) by Harriet's father.[14]

In recognition of his new status, Evans was made a junior partner in the company.[15] In this role he began to travel more extensively, looking after the company's interests in Nottingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Belfast (see Chapter 2). In 1852 he came down with typhoid and the following year suffered a relapse; meanwhile the birth of a child—their second, named Lewis—in 1853 took a heavy toll on Harriet and in September the whole family, in the company of a mutual cousin, Frances Phelps, went to Ramsgate in order to rest and recuperate. At home, and despite their personal tribulations, the couple became deeply involved in the life of their little community (see again Chapter 2).

By 1856, now a little more assertive, the Evanses were able to persuade John Dickinson to allow them to move into Nash Mills House when it was vacated by one of the other partners.[16] The house (Fig. 1.2), characterized by Joan Evans as 'a neat pedimented box of green-shuttered stucco', was much more to their taste: Harriet had a particular attachment to it, having passed her childhood there; now she would enjoy it for the rest of her short life, while John Evans would make it his home for fifty years.

The move came just as Evans found his responsibilities greatly increased: in 1857 Dickinson gave up day-to-day control of the company, leaving Evans in sole charge of the manufacturing side of the operation. At home, a daughter, Alice, was born in 1856 and then on 19 December 1857 a second daughter, named after her mother. The event should have brought the year to a happy conclusion, but in the aftermath of the pregnancy Harriet became ill and died on New Year's morning, 1858.

A year and a half later, on 23 July 1859, John Evans married his cousin Frances Phelps (1826–90), at St George's church, Bloomsbury. Frances (known as Fanny) was a long-term friend of both Evans himself and of Harriet, for whom she had acted as bridesmaid. She was the daughter of a merchant established in Madeira,[17] an accomplished linguist, and a musician sufficiently talented to have contemplated making a career as a performer. Their honeymoon took the form of a demanding two-week tour of cathedrals, monuments, museums, gravel-pits and commercial offices stretching from Colchester to Scarborough.[18]

Evans's routine now required his presence in London on three or four days a week in a complex round of learned society and business meetings, interspersed with a variety of other calls on his time. Weekends at Nash Mills House were frequently enlivened by the presence of guests and a regular round of dinner parties for sixteen to eighteen people took place every three weeks or so.

Far from enjoying a greater freedom from the demands of the paper mill, meanwhile, Evans (Fig. 1.3) found growing demands being made on his time by his duties at Dickinson's. John Dickinson himself died in 1869 aged eighty-six, following which much of the increased burden of administration fell on Evans's shoulders.[19] His partner, Charles Longman, retired and died in 1873, following which directorial responsibilities were

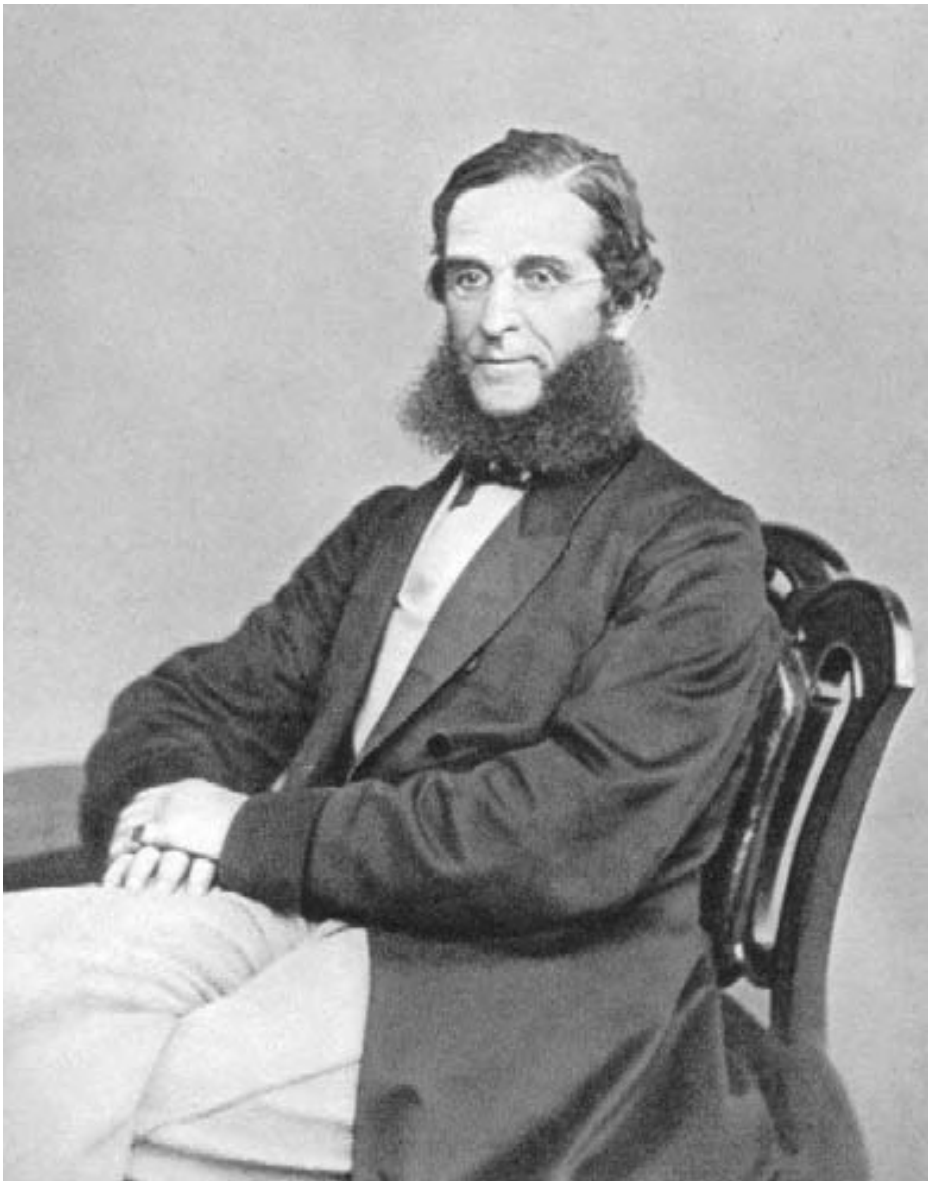


Fig. 1.3. John Evans, from a photograph of *c.* 1865.

shared only with Evans's brother-in-law, Frederick Pratt Barlow, who ran the company's London office in Old Bailey until his death in 1883. Thereafter Evans controlled the company single-handedly. The demanding routine he imposed on himself, involving a regular circuit of business travel within the Midlands, northern England, Scotland and northern Ireland, would in itself have been enough to absorb all the energies of the average man.

None the less, family life was also marked by extended bouts of travel, usually by train and invariably in a second-class carriage in the interests of economy. John and Fanny are recorded as visiting Sweden in 1876, and Austria, Hungary, Moravia and Galicia in 1872. His daughters accompanied them to one International Congress of Anthropology and Archaeology in Stockholm in 1874, to another in 1876 in Budapest, from which they all returned via northern Italy, and to a third in Lisbon in 1880.

The death of Fanny in 1890 dealt a deeply felt blow from which there was to be no rapid recovery for Evans. After a lengthy unsettled period he had the good fortune to meet the woman who would become his third wife and who would share the remainder of his days. Their first encounter took place in the unlikely setting of the Society of Antiquaries, which at the time remained a bastion of exclusively male privilege. In the course of his presidential duties at the Society, on 18 February 1892, Evans was asked to admit to a lecture on 'The dates of some Greek temples as derived from their orientation', a certain Maria Millington Lathbury (1856–1944).[20] A few days later they met again at a dinner party and within five months they were married.

Maria was one of a refreshing new breed of women with whom one might imagine Evans would have been much in sympathy.[21] She had read Greats at Somerville and in the course of her stay in Oxford had studied Greek sculpture and vases in the Ashmolean; she had also made the acquaintance there of John's eldest son, Arthur Evans (1851–1941), then keeper of the Ashmolean, and his wife Margaret. Now she gave public lectures on the Greeks to audiences at the British Museum and elsewhere. Their courtship was a rapid one, with their engagement announced at the end of May. With Evans's retirement from the presidency of the Antiquaries on St George's Day, he was proposed by the Earl of Salisbury for a knighthood and was nominated Knight Commander of the Bath in the following Birthday Honours List. As Sir John he married Maria on 9 July 1892 at St Mary's Church, Wimbledon.

Following a honeymoon that took them in characteristic fashion to the gravel-pits of Saint-Acheul and Amiens, the couple returned to Nash Mills. Maria played a full part in sharing John's archaeological interests and it was, perhaps, under her influence that they took to wintering in Egypt. A daughter, Joan, was born to them at Nash Mills in 1893.

The same year brought fulfilment of a kind for the unfulfilled career in academia that had been snatched away from Evans before his seventeenth birthday: at this time Brasenose College, to which he had come close to matriculating as an undergraduate over half a century earlier, made him an Honorary Fellow.[22]

By the opening years of the twentieth century the ever-expanding industrial buildings and proliferating heavy plant at Nash Mills were beginning to encroach in an unacceptable manner on the household at its centre, leading Evans to resolve to build them a new home in more congenial surroundings.[23] A handsome new residence, named Britwell after his place of birth, took shape on Berkhamsted Common (Fig. 1.4),[24] in which Evans 'at once made himself at home with all his books and collections around him. He seemed to renew his life there, and his friends soon found Britwell was to be to him and them all that Nash Mills had been for so many years.'[25]

What this reminiscence from *The Times* fails to acknowledge is that although the new residence was provided with ample accommodation, Evans had already decided that the time had come to divest himself of the bulk of his archaeological collections. In January 1906, as described below (pp. 30–3), the majority of them were packed off to Oxford,

Fig. 1.4. Britwell, the house built by John Evans in 1906 on Berkhamsted Common (Hertfordshire), high above the town. Reproduced by courtesy of Dacorum Heritage Trust.

so that when the move to Britwell finally came five months later it was primarily the rich coin cabinet that remained and which received his closest attention. Joan Evans describes the scene as her father set off in his landau for the last time from Nash Mills, with his collection of gold coins packed in its cabinets and strapped to the seats opposite him. From here they were transferred to the safety of two large purpose-built strongrooms opening off the library at Britwell.

Only two years remained for John and Maria to enjoy their new home. Old age was beginning to take its toll on Evans, despite his being in generally good spirits. In 1907 he found himself unable to take part in the centenary celebrations of the Geological Society, and soon afterwards resigned his seat on the Society's council. He read with some difficulty two papers to the Society of Antiquaries on 13 February 1908,[26] but was well enough to read another on 2 April and to attend a meeting of the trustees of the British Museum on 23 May; finally, on 31 May 1908, he died.[27]

The funeral was attended by a huge body of mourners, as reported at length in the *Hemel Hempstead Gazette*:

> *The funeral of the late Sir John Evans took place last Thursday afternoon at Abbots Langley Churchyard, where lie other members of the family. The occasion was marked by the presence of what was undoubtedly the most notable and distinguished assembly of men of letters that has ever been seen in the village. The funeral cortege, with two mounted police of the Herts Constabulary at the head, left Britwell, Berkhamstead, and proceeded by way of Hemel Hempstead, Boxmoor, Nash Mills (past Nash House where the deceased lived for fifty years) to Kings Langley railway station, where those who had travelled from London by a special train joined, and then on to Abbots Langley where the streets were lined with people. The vehicles conveying the mourners numbered something like 70 or 80 carriages and 40 motor cars … the procession wended its way into the church, which had already become almost filled with country folk and representatives of*

> *the numerous Societies, Institutions and organisations Sir John had been connected with … Lady Evans received from Sir Arthur Bigge on behalf of the Prince of Wales, a kind letter of sympathy and respect for Sir John's memory.*[28]

This account reminds us that for all the impressive range of scholarly achievements that form the substance of the present volume, it would be an injustice to Evans's memory not to pay due acknowledgement to the immense popularity he enjoyed amongst his Hertfordshire neighbours, to the independently successful career in business that underpinned his other activities and to his many contributions to local life (see further Chapter 2). Here the words of his obituary in *The Times* may serve to make the point:

> *Perhaps few of those who were thus brought into intellectual contact with his extraordinary range of scientific and archaeological interests ever knew him as a paper manufacturer … but the fact remains that he was a business man from first to last, and that his capacity for business, both public and private, was of a very high order indeed … His name would have been a household word throughout the county of Hertford even if it had never been heard of in London, or in the larger world of letters and of science.*[29]

Elsewhere the fulsome obituary refers to him as 'a man who might have worn the ermine with distinction'. A peerage would not have been an inappropriate reward for the myriad contributions to public life that he made over a long and productive life, but for all the other distinctions bestowed upon him[30] the impression he leaves is one of a man essentially fulfilled by life: '… the most delightful of companions, whether as a scholar among scholars, a savant among savants, a sportsman among sportsmen, or a country gentleman among country gentlemen.'[31]

Scholarship and friendship: Evans and the learned societies

The circle of friends who sustained Evans throughout his adult life reads like a *Who's Who* of intellectual society in London during the later 1800s. Many (but not all) shared one or other of his multiple interests and doubtless their paths crossed frequently at committee meetings of the many scholarly bodies with which he was associated or in the congenial surroundings of the Athenæum, to which he was elected in 1865.[32] His frequent visits to London would have provided Evans with opportunities to avail himself on a regular basis of the Club's facilities and the company of its distinguished membership. His likeness is recorded in older age in a drawing of ballot day at the Club in 1892 (Fig. 1.5). He was also elected in 1889 to membership of the Roxburghe Club, whose distinguished membership was largely aristocratic in complexion and literary in taste.[33]

Names from fashionable artistic circles feature casually in his social life,[34] but more commonly he would find himself rubbing shoulders with men of science, as at the Royal Society where the company might include Thomas Henry Huxley, Michael Faraday and Charles Babbage, or in the numerous other societies mentioned below. His strongest

Fig. 1.5. Ballot day at the Athenæum Club, 1892. The image, by J. Walter Wilson, was published in the *Illustrated London News*, 11 March 1893, while the original drawing was presented to the Club by the proprietors. Evans is shown against the right-hand side of the right-hand window at the back of the room.

friendships were undoubtedly with those with a taste for antiquities, numismatics and the geological sciences, but apart from his personal contributions to each of these fields perhaps the most noteworthy feature of Evans's activities is the way in which they easily oversailed conventional disciplinary boundaries and enabled him to bring the procedures and methodologies of one to bear on another.

It should be asserted immediately that Evans's acceptance into these circles and his corresponding ascent of the academic ladder took place entirely on merit and on genuinely substantive contributions to each of the areas of interest in which he became involved. While he was evidently immediately at home in scholarly company, it is true to say that he was always ready to establish relationships too with men from more modest backgrounds, who might teach him the practicalities of flint-knapping, alert him to the presence of an archaeological site ripe for excavation or channel to his collection spectacular objects discovered in the countryside. If he was respected in the halls of the prestigious London societies, he found equal admiration and affection while leading his local natural history society on a field excursion.[35] His ability to operate in both milieux is encapsulated in his printed text on 'Unwritten history and how to read it', which bears the annotation that it was first delivered 'to the working classes' at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Southampton in 1882, while elsewhere, in the same democratic spirit, we find him popularizing the subject of 'London before the Saxons' at a meeting of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching.[36] No doubt there was a direct connection between the courteous and kindly manner that proved so effective in these relationships, whether institutional or personal, and the productive style of management he brought so successfully to bear at John Dickinson & Co.[37]

So many intertwining strands present themselves in a survey of the scholarly side of Evans's life that it is difficult to find a means of presenting them in a coherent manner; indeed their very inter relatedness contributed significantly to his capacity to maximize his contributions on so many fronts. The following discussion is organized around the principal bodies within which he made his various contributions, although Evans's capacity to cross the conventional boundaries between them, as mentioned above, makes any close distinction between them arbitrary in nature and against the nature of his own scholarship.

Numismatists and the Numismatic Society

In chronological terms, an interest in coins gives an early indication of at least one of the directions in which Evans's researches would lead him. If a firm beginning were to be sought for his collecting career in this area it could, perhaps, be placed in the year 1837 when his father presented the fourteen-year-old John with all his copper tokens, with three volumes on numismatic topics and with 10 shillings towards the cost of a cabinet in which to house this small hoard.[38] A decade later, aged twenty-four, the youthful amateur had expanded his cabinet as best he could by careful attention to jewellery dealers and pawnshops and was already striving to shed light on the uncertainties surrounding the existence of a pre-Roman gold coinage in Britain. He delivered a lecture on this topic to the St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society in 1848: evidently it was well received, for within a year he was invited to present it to the Numismatic Society in London, following his election to that Society on 26 April 1849.

The Numismatic Society would provide Evans with his first scholarly association. From 1855 to 1874 he served as one of the its secretaries and from 1861 he took on a share of the editorial responsibility for the *Numismatic Chronicle*, a journal on which he is judged to have wrought significant improvements during his period of tenure.[39] In 1874 he was elected president of the Society, an office that hitherto had changed hands every two years, but the coincidence of an amendment to the rules with Evans's appointment allowed him to make a sustained contribution that would last until his death. During this period the Society's membership was doubled and a more permanent home was found for its activities—developments not wholly due to Evans's influence but certainly enhanced by it. His annual presidential addresses to the Society tended to take the form of a summary of and commentary on the previous year's contributions to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, a difficult exercise but one that put him in command of the whole range of his subject in a manner that wins him continuing admiration.[40] The presidency also brought with it other duties, including acting in an advisory capacity to the Royal Mint on matters affecting the design of the coinage.[41]

Evans personally enriched the *Numismatic Chronicle* during his long association with the Society with a series of papers that were prodigious and wide-ranging in subject matter. His principal contribution to numismatic scholarship developed from his early work

on the iconographic origins of British Iron Age coins, finding ultimate expression in a catalogue *raisonné* with the title *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), followed by a *Supplement* in 1890 (see Chapter 8). With this work he moved his sights definitively from the narrow interests of the collector to the world of broader scholarly research, as asserted in his preface:

> *The want of some systematic arrangement of the coinage of the Ancient Britons has long been felt, not only by collectors of coins, but by students of British history …*
>
> *My object, indeed, has been throughout, not so much to adduce new facts or new theories, as to reduce into a systematic and comprehensive form that which was already known; and, in doing this, to give such references as might enable those who wished to go further into the subject, readily to find what other authors have written on any disputed point, and thus to judge how far my views are likely to be correct.*

As much attention is paid here to the distribution-patterns of the coins as to their individual characteristics, revealing a healthy preoccupation with their value as evidence to be interpreted for broader archaeological ends. (The same tendency is remarked upon elsewhere in this volume by Lord Stewartby (p. 193), who comments on Evans's preoccupation with mints rather than individual coins.) Later reference to 'the science of numismatics' as constituting 'one of the most important handmaids of history', leaves no doubt as to the seriousness of purpose he attributed to this area of interest.[42]

Other indications that he had evolved a long way beyond the mere acquisitiveness of the ordinary collector are contained in the importance attributed here to the role of casts:

> *I have been enabled to obtain casts of nearly all the known types of British coins of which I had not specimens in my collection; so that the whole of the engravings may be considered as from the originals except in the few instances which I have specified …*

A great deal of attention was paid to the engravings themselves, executed by 'my friend Mr Fairholt' directly from the originals or the casts as mentioned. A new standard of accuracy was consciously striven for by Evans and Fairholt—working in concert and with a mutual respect—from the conviction that, as Evans writes, 'many—indeed, I might say most—of the engravings that had been published of them were deficient in that scrupulous accuracy which is so necessary in a study of this kind'.

In 1887 the Numismatic Society celebrated its golden jubilee with the striking of a medal, which the council decided unanimously should be awarded to Evans, 'for his distinguished services to the Science of Numismatics, more especially in connection with the British, Anglo-Saxon, English and Roman series' (Fig. 1.6). Not only was gold substituted for the customary bronze on this occasion, but the president's portrait was substituted for that of the Queen (whose own jubilee fell in 1887, a year after that of the Society, and whom Evans himself had intended should be honoured in this way).[43]

Fig. 1.6. Medal, in silver (obverse and reverse), as presented to John Evans by the Numismatic Society, 1887. Reproduced by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Another medal, in bronze, was awarded to him by the Society in 1899, in recognition of his fifty years of membership and twenty-five years as its president.[44]

A few years later something of a schism developed within the Society, resulting ultimately in the formation of a breakaway body, the British Numismatic Society. While Evans as one of the editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle* had been caught up in the dispute that brought about the rift,[45] he managed to keep the Society on an even keel and consolidated its position by working to secure for it a Royal Charter in the year 1904. To celebrate this distinction he hosted a dinner for the officers, council members and others at the Holborn Restaurant on 20 May 1904, an event captured in a photograph (Fig. 1.7).[46]

Evans was still in office as president at the time of his death and had indeed indicated his willingness to stand for yet another year. His long and distinguished association with the Society is seen as little short of a golden age.

Archaeology and ethnology

By general agreement, the closing decades of the nineteenth century are seen as the period when the essential outlines of the discipline of archaeology as practised today were forged from the more amorphous body of antiquarian research that had been pursued through individual enterprise over the previous two hundred years and more. No one individual can take credit for bringing about these broad perceptual changes, but prominent among them is the figure of John Evans. It is a striking feature of the circle of influential antiquaries in which he may be placed—and here the names of Franks, Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers][47] and Lubbock may be singled out—that they were all essentially generalists, taking a wide view of antiquity and contributing on a broad front to the

Fig. 1.7. Sir John Evans (standing, at the table) surrounded by members of the Royal Numismatic Society, at a dinner in the Holborn Restaurant, 20 May 1904, celebrating the granting of the Society's Royal Charter. Lady Evans is seated opposite her husband. © Trustees of the British Museum.

formulation of the integrated and coherent approach that underpins archaeological research to the present day.

Complementing and enlarging the interests raised by his engagement with numismatics, Evans quickly developed a reputation of equal stature in the antiquarian world. The St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society again provided the starting point for this process when, in April 1851, he read a paper to the Society on excavations he had been undertaking on the site of a Roman villa at Boxmoor (see Chapter 7). The presentation, made with Lord Verulam in the chair, proved highly successful and provided him with appropriate qualification for election to the Society of Antiquaries in the following year.[48]

From the acquisition dates associated with some items in Evans's collection, it is clear that he was already purchasing antiquities as early as 1840.[49] Had his contributions to knowledge been limited to the accumulation of specimens in this way his significance would have been no more than a shadow of what it is, but he quickly developed an appreciation of the important role these objects might play and began to deploy them for purposeful research ends. His personal manifesto was later published as follows:

> *… from the examination of ancient remains, [to] recall into an ideal existence days long since passed away, to trace the conditions of a previous state of things, and, as it were, to repeople the earth with its former inhabitants.*[50]

A conviction that objects merely provide a means of recovering information on ancient peoples remains fundamental to the practice of archaeology today.

Evans's entry into the major league of antiquarianism comes with a visit he made to Abbeville (Somme) in 1859 in the company of Joseph Prestwich to assess the claims of the excavator, Jacques Boucher de Perthes, that he had discovered traces of human activity contemporaneously with long-extinct fauna, in undisturbed geological layers of extraordinarily early date (the episode is further discussed in Chapter 5). Evans reported his findings to the Antiquaries on 2 June 1859[51] and published an account of them in *Archaeologia* the following year,[52] events that would set a pattern for some of his most important work in future years. A second paper in the same journal in 1863 extended the conclusions drawn from his observations on the Somme to similar finds from the British Isles.[53]

It has to be said that notwithstanding his prestigious role in communicating the significance of these finds to the archaeological world, Evans remained comparatively inexperienced in the field of flint implements at this time (he had published nothing on the subject as yet). He was not ashamed to confide these shortcomings to an invited audience some years later and ultimately to commit them to print:

> *At the very time when Mr. Prestwich was anxious to submit those implements which we had brought home from Amiens to some of his friends, I went to the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries for the purpose of inviting some antiquarian friends to come and see what we had brought from France. I had told Mr. Prestwich that the implements which had been discovered in those beds were totally unlike anything known in this country, and that they presented altogether a new appearance. But while I was waiting in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, expecting some friends to come out from the meeting room, I looked at a case in one of the window seats, and was absolutely horror-struck to see in it three or four implements precisely resembling those found at Abbeville and Amiens. I enquired where they came from, but nobody knew, as they were not labelled. On reference, however, it turned out that they had been deposited in the museum of the Society for sixty years, and that an account of them had been published in the Archæologia. I referred to the account which was written by Mr. Frere in 1797, and it appeared … that Mr. Frere, in his account, considered that they belonged to a previously existing world …*[54]

It is salutary to find that Frere's enormously important discoveries, made at Hoxne (Suffolk) and today acknowledged in every history of the progress of archaeology, should have fallen so far from consciousness at the time as to have been totally unknown to the new generation of researchers who were to establish the true significance of the early flint implements for the world at large.

Evans's experiences in the Somme valley were to spark some nine years of intensive acquisition[55] and researches which reached their culmination with the appearance in 1872 of *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain*,[56] the result of assiduous collecting and careful observation while visiting prehistoric sites and museums in Britain and in northern and central Europe. Evans characterizes this work as 'an account of the

various forms of stone implements, weapons, and ornaments of remote antiquity discovered in Great Britain, their probable uses and method of manufacture, and also, in some instances, the circumstances of their discovery'. He also sets the work in a wider context:

> *While reducing the whole series into some sort of classification, as has been done for the stone antiquities of Denmark by Professor Worsaae, and for those of Ireland by Sir William Wilde, I hope to add something to our knowledge of this branch of Archaeology by instituting comparisons, where possible, between the antiquities of England and Scotland and those of other countries in Western Europe.*[57]

The volume met with immediate acclaim from his contemporaries:

> *It at once took its place as the chief authority on the subjects which it treats. The learning displayed in its earlier chapters, the careful arrangement of its material, its detailed yet interesting descriptions, and the importance attached throughout its pages to the stratigraphical position in which the relics had been found showed it to be no mere antiquarian enquiry but a treatise conceived and executed on thoroughly scientific lines. It had an important influence in connecting the pursuits of archaeology and geology, by the way in which it marshalled the evidence for a chronological sequence in the relics of early man, and showed the conclusions derived from a consideration of varieties in types of workmanship were supported by the geological evidence derivable from the positions in which these several types were found.*[58]

Although the terminology has moved on, present-day archaeologists still find much to admire in Evans's treatment of his subject:

> *He touched on issues such as the meaning of variability in handaxe shape, the significance of raw materials, artefact function, chronological variation and reduction strategies. His work therefore remains fresh and modern in its outlook, and his observations laid some of the foundations upon which others have built.*[59]

The undertaking was a very considerable one and quite exceptional for a man largely self-taught in his subject and under pressure from so many other responsibilities; indeed his bibliography shows no sign of thinning out or narrowing in its scope during the compilation of this great work. The accuracy of the illustrations (executed by 'Mr Swain of Bouverie Street' now that Fairholt had died) was again insisted upon as a fundamental characteristic. Later generations of writers have not only endorsed many of Evans's findings but maintain the originality and continuing value of his work.

A second, revised edition of *Ancient Stone Implements* appeared in 1897,[60] but in the meantime in 1881 a new work appeared on a different age and a different material—*The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland*,[61] which cemented Evans's position as the foremost writer on prehistoric artefacts of his day. A review which appeared in the journal *Science* later in the same year, may serve to represent the general reception it received:

Dr. Evans has presented five hundred and fifty superb wood engravings of specimens; thus the archæologist who possesses this work, finds himself, as it were, passing through a museum of Bronze antiquities, aided by the friendly guidance of one who is a master of the subject, and capable of pointing out important details and characteristics, even in the most ordinary implements, which, to cursory observation of a student would appear devoid of meaning …

This work will prove to be of the highest value to archæologists and to all who would trace the course of human progress to its earliest phases. Its general arrangement is most excellent, and adapted for practical work. In addition to a general index, a geographical and topographical index is presented, which greatly adds to the value of the work. The publishers have performed their part of the work most efficiently, and have produced a handsome volume, illustrated in the highest style of the engravers' art, which will in future be held as an authoritative work of reference, and a store-house of facts from which the student and specialist may draw material of the highest value.[62]

Evans's talent for researches of this kind, both scholarly and 'adapted for practical work', led him to the acquaintance and to the firm friendship of a number of fellow-Antiquaries, perhaps most notably with Augustus [later Sir Augustus] Wollaston Franks (1826–97).[63] So close did they become, indeed, that a contemporary recalled the two of them as 'each full of knowledge, and yet differing in character, so that each formed the complement of the other.'[64] A recent biographical study of Franks has highlighted numerous areas in which their interests overlapped:[65] Franks's notebooks are full of drawings he made of objects in the Evans collection on the one hand, and of objects drawn in foreign museums which were communicated to Evans and which helped to fill gaps in his own knowledge —small wonder that Franks is acknowledged in both *Ancient Stone Implements* and *Ancient Bronze Implements* as the copious source of information received. As the first keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities at the British Museum, Franks's own interests lay primarily in later eras and Evans too, from the range of his collections (pp. 27–30) and of his published works (pp. 291–306) proved a spirited rival for him in his catholicity of taste and depth of scholarship.

A search for others who may have influenced Evans in his approach to artefact analysis leads quickly to the person of John Lubbock (1834–1913),[66] to whom he was introduced in 1855 by Prestwich. At twenty-one, Lubbock was eleven years younger than Evans and was just beginning to find his way in the world of banking. His family had been near neighbours of Charles Darwin, who had made an enormous impression on the young Lubbock, and it may have been in turn under Lubbock's influence that Evans too came to adopt a distinctly Darwinist outlook (see Chapter 11) and his cross-disciplinary interests quickly resulted in him applying the procedures of one field of study to the practice of another. In the preface to *Ancient Bronze Implements*, for example, we read:

It may by some be thought that a vast amount of useless trouble has been bestowed in figuring and describing so many varieties of what were after all in most cases the ordinary tools of the artificer, or the common arms

> *of the warrior or huntsman, which differed from each other only in apparently unimportant particulars. But as in biological studies minute anatomy often affords the most trustworthy evidence as to the descent of any given organism from some earlier form of life, so these minor details in the form and character of ordinary implements, which to the cursory observer will be devoid of meaning, may, to a skilful archæologist, afford valuable clues by which the march of the bronze civilisation over Europe may be traced to its original starting-place.*[67]

These convictions had already led him to apply the same principles to the study of numismatics, a process he outlined in a lecture titled 'The coinage of the ancient Britons and natural selection', delivered to the Royal Institution on 14 May 1875.[68] Here, while observing at the outset that 'it is hardly necessary to enter at any length upon the theory of this form of evolution with which the name of Darwin will ever be associated', he briefly outlines the principles involved and continues: 'No doubt this theory of descent with variation holds good with regard to the changes in the types of coins, and in other ornamental devices among people in a low state of culture, that we can trace laws somewhat analogous to those of natural selection.' As well as taking his inspiration here directly from Darwin, he acknowledges too that 'to the evolution of culture Colonel Lane Fox has devoted especial attention', referring to the stimulating influences contributed to his researches from the field of anthropology rather than archaeology.

Lubbock himself is acknowledged in the preface to *Ancient Stone Implements* as follows:

> *Nor, in considering the uses of the various forms and their method of manufacture, must I neglect to avail myself of the illustrations afforded by the practice of modern savages, of which Sir John Lubbock and others have already made such profitable use.*

There was nothing slavish in Evans's adoption of these practices, however, and indeed his use of ethnographic evidence has been contrasted with that of his contemporaries in the way that he focused specifically on the opportunities it offered for understanding the ways in which stone implements were manufactured and used.[69] In the debate surrounding the significance of these same artefacts, the establishment of their human origin depended on a detailed appreciation of the choice of raw materials and an understanding of the relevant methods of manufacture.

In this context Evans was fortunate in having direct access to two dwindling communities close to home where flint was still worked by the techniques of flaking or knapping analogous to those that could be deduced from ancient implements. These were the gunflint manufacturers of Brandon and Ixworth (Suffolk), whom Evans interrogated closely on the working qualities of flint and who demonstrated for him the techniques they utilized in order to achieve the accurate forms demanded of them.[70] Observing them intently, Evans on one occasion gathered up all the flakes struck from a single core in order to reassemble them and to gain a better understanding of the material found

in archaeological contexts (see p. 99 and Fig. 5.1). Although this was an interesting approach to theoretical study Evans went further, taking the trouble to develop flint-knapping skills of his own, giving him an unrivalled advantage in the close understanding of both genuine axes and the many forgeries which were beginning to appear on the collector's market.[71] So skilled did he become in identifying them that Edouard Lartet christened him 'Inspector-general of all forgeries on both sides of the Channel', while Flint Jack, the most infamous English forger of the day, called on Evans in order to make the acquaintance of one of the few men of the day who, as he magnanimously put it, 'was likely to attain an equal degree of eminence with himself'.

On the occasion of his eightieth birthday, Evans received the following testimonial to his contributions to archaeology from William Ridgeway at Cambridge:

> *It is only when one looks back at the condition of Archæology in this country fifty years ago, when you first began to write, and contrasts the present position of such studies in this country both as regards methods and popular esteem, that one realizes what you have done for British Archæology. In the words applied by Aristotle to the first of the ancient philosophers, who brought method into what had been previously but vain babblings, you appeared as* νήφων ἐν μεθύσοις*. May you long continue to stimulate all branches of Archæology and control its methods by your strong common sense criticism.*[72]

Evans and the Society of Antiquaries

From the time of his election to the fellowship in 1852, Evans was active in the affairs of the Society of Antiquaries, initially as an author in the *Archaeologia* and as a contributor of exhibits at the Society's ballots. Later, in 1876, he was elected a vice-president and from 1885 to 1892 served as the Society's president—a position of considerable status and influence in its own right[73] and one that led to further ex-officio appointments.[74]

Perhaps more than any other society, Evans's public persona seems today to have been defined by his association with the Antiquaries, a perception perhaps reinforced by the fact that his biographer, Joan Evans, also compiled the first history of the Society while she was herself its director—an account that has been judged to be not uncoloured by family loyalties.[75] It would be more apposite, however, to see his position at the Antiquaries as essentially complementary with those he occupied in the other major societies discussed here. The degree to which these other associations were of continuing importance, even within the key area of Evans's role in establishing the significance of the 'flint implements in the Drift' has been underlined in a recent essay by Stephen Briggs.[76] Here Briggs detects among 'the old antiquarian guard' a feeling that as a topic 'prehistory should be discussed at societies which represented geologists, anthropologists and ethnologists: in fact anywhere but in their own rooms at Somerset House'.[77] This impression is entirely confirmed by the assiduous way in which Evans went about communicating his discoveries to the remarkably wide range of bodies listed below, where he was at least assured of a sympathetic hearing.

It was, perhaps, in an effort to generate more interest and support from within the Antiquaries that he organized a series of exhibitions at their chambers, the first of them in May 1871 dedicated to Palaeolithic implements; Evans himself gave an address on the exhibits on one occasion, while his friend Franks talked about cave paintings. Other exhibitions followed over the space of the next year, dealing with Neolithic implements and with the products of the Bronze Age respectively.[78]

On a broader front, he chaired the first of a series of meetings held at the Antiquaries at which delegates from all the major antiquarian societies in England and Wales came together to discuss means of organizing more effectively a programme of archaeological research and the preservation of ancient monuments. The Congress of Archaeological Societies continued to meet annually for some years after its launch. At the same time, in a demonstration of his personal support for the conduct of archaeological research, Evans founded with a gift of £500 in John Dickinson & Co.'s preference shares a Research Fund to be administered by the Society. The fund was quickly added to by others, and still today forms a valuable means of support for both individuals and institutions seeking to carry out investigations into a wide range of topics.[79]

As his list of publications makes plain, Evans had no difficulty in engaging the attentions of the Antiquaries with a wide range of topics in which he developed an acknowledged expertise, and his catholicity of taste and ability to comment spontaneously on almost any topic won him wide admiration. In 1904, *The Times* records, 'he gave an entertainment at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries to celebrate the jubilee of his first connexion with the Society he had so long served and adorned,'[80] and at the time of his death the then president, Charles Hercules Read, expressed a sense of loss that evidently was widely shared:

> *In this room perhaps as much as anywhere we shall have occasion to miss him. He was ever a strong supporter of the Society, and he never spared himself when he thought the welfare of the Society demanded his presence or his voice. A ready debater, with a marvellous gift in having his knowledge at his fingers' ends, he was a type of man whose presence in such a body as ours was invaluable, and it will doubtless be long before we find anyone adequately to fill the gap his death has made in our ranks.*[81]

Evans and the Anthropological Institute

The role of Lubbock in raising awareness of the possibilities offered by contemporary primitive societies to the study of peoples of remote antiquity has already been referred to above. The approach was one to which Evans was immediately drawn and he had been himself a member of the Ethnological Society and of the Anthropological Society since 1861. In 1871 the two societies merged to form the Anthropological Institute with Lubbock as president and Evans as one of the vice-presidents. Two years later, when Lubbock resigned his office he had in mind that Evans should succeed him, but in the event another candidate was elected (a divisive move that led Huxley to resign the vice-

presidency of the Institute).[82] Eventually, in 1877, that honour finally fell to Evans and he retained the office for a second year.

He contributed two papers to the Institute's journal in his presidential year,[83] but it was never, perhaps, at the centre of his interests.

Evans and the Egypt Exploration Society

Less widely acknowledged is Evans's interest in Egyptology, exemplified by his long association with the Egypt Exploration Society. He would almost certainly have been one of the Society's founding members, for although his name is absent from the list of office-holders at its first and second general meetings of 1883 and 1884, by the following year he appears on the committee with the designation President of the Society of Antiquaries, his elevation to that office in the same year having perhaps prompted his nomination.[84] His old friend and rival Canon Greenwell had been the Society's treasurer since its inception, and he would have found congenial company too in the presence of fellow council members such as Amelia Edwards, Flinders Petrie and Charles Newton. After the lapse of his term of office at the Antiquaries, Evans continued to be elected annually until in 1899 he assumed the presidency of the Egypt Exploration Society, an office he held until 1905. His valedictory address was characteristically modest: '… during my seven years' apprenticeship I have acquired some slight acquaintance with the antiquities of Egypt, and have, like so many others, felt the fascination that attaches to that early centre of human civilisation.'[85] The incoming president paid tribute to the way Evans 'had filled the chair with great tact and knowledge of his subject', and later the obituary of 'our late revered President' in the record of the Society's general meeting of 10 November 1908 expanded eloquently on his wide abilities:

> *Seldom have we to record the death of a man of such singular ability in so many branches of scientific knowledge in all of which he attained the highest positions, added to which he was an able man of business, an enthusiastic collector, and a charming companion.*[86]

Such first-hand experience of Egypt as Evans could claim had come late in life, after his marriage to Maria in 1892, and was of a different nature to his encounters with European archaeology. As Joan Evans puts it, the couple

> *… fell into the habit of spending the winter in Egypt; twice they made a trip up the White Nile far above Khartoum. Yet his years of discovery were past, and he travelled as an intelligent tourist rather than an archaeologist. Maria enjoyed her new life, and John Evans enjoyed it with her.*[87]

Maria's diaries for this period, recently resurfaced, provide wonderfully detailed accounts of their experiences in Egypt, and the antiquaries and others they encountered there.[88]

Evans and the International Congresses of Anthropology and Archaeology

Evans's regular attendance at the International Congresses of Anthropology and Archaeology formed the principal means by which his reputation was transformed from a British to an international stage, placing him quite literally in the company of scholars of the calibre of J. J. A. Worsaae, Oscar Montelius, Ludwig Lindenschmit and others. That they were professionally engaged in antiquarian matters while his involvement was that of a talented amateur proved no bar to their friendship and mutual respect. Similarly, the fact that Evans continued to make his living from trade and manufacturing, a social distinction that might easily have modified the warmth of his reception into the circle of gentleman-professionals such as Lane Fox and Franks (or indeed Lubbock), proved insignificant in light of the range and quality of his contributions to antiquity and indeed his own rise to genteel respectability.

He played a leading role in organizing the meeting in Norwich and London in 1868 and thereafter was a regular attender, often in the company of his wife and daughters: his name is prominent among the delegates at Stockholm (1874), Budapest (1876),[89] Lisbon (1880), Paris (1889 and 1900) and Monaco (1906). Evans was indeed one of the best equipped of the English antiquaries for operating in an international forum, as one of his contemporaries recalls:

> *At the Society of Antiquaries, when Schliemann read his paper before the Hellenic Society, Dr. Dörpfeld followed upon architectural issues, speaking in German. As soon as he had sat down, Sir John Evans rose and remarking that possibly some present had not been able to follow the German speech, gave a masterly summary of what the doctor had said. On another occasion, in Paris, the president of the meeting, a Frenchman, was suddenly taken ill, and unable to deliver his address; without a moment's hesitation Sir John stepped in and delivered an excellent address in French, much to the delight of his audience, who were principally Frenchmen.*[90]

Few others were so well equipped to act in such a spontaneous and authoritative manner.

Geology and the Geological Society

While Evans had an interest in geology from his early youth,[91] it was probably through his engagement with the hydrological problems that beset John Dickinson & Co. (see Chapter 3) that he was drawn more deeply into the field of geology, in which he was again destined to make a significant professional impact and through which he was to meet another of his closest friends. The name of Joseph [later Sir Joseph] Prestwich crops up regularly and with warmth from the date of their first meeting, which occurred while they were both travelling to give expert evidence for opposing sides in a water dispute (see pp. 83–4).[92] Thereafter, Joan Evans tells us, they frequently 'geologized' together, travelling to Bedford in 1858, for example, to see the fossil bones of elephants discovered

there in large numbers in a railway cutting. The following year they travelled to France in order to assess the validity of claims that human remains had been discovered in the region of Abbeville in association with geological layers that had major implications for the antiquity of man (see Chapter 5). On their return it fell to Evans to present their findings to the Society of Antiquaries while Prestwich addressed the scientific community with a lecture at the Royal Society.[93]

Evans's friendship with Prestwich was to be one of the defining relationships of his life. Equally matched as they were on their memorable visit to Abbeville, it serves only to enhance any assessment of Evans's prowess to recall that while he remained an enthusiastic amateur in the field, Prestwich would go on to become Professor of Geology at Oxford. The whole Abbeville episode, indeed, was perhaps as much of a geological as an archaeological exercise: as well as Prestwich (who returned to the site in 1860 in the company of John Wickham Flower), other Geological Society fellows who came to pass judgment on the authenticity of the relationship between the supposed artefacts and the very early layers in which they were deposited included Hugh Falconer, who preceded Evans and Prestwich's visit by a year, Sir Charles Lyell who came three times between 1859 and 1862, and Leonard Horner in 1860.[94] Evans, who had been elected a Fellow of the Geological Society in 1857, may be said to have been somewhat junior in status at the time to these luminaries, but it was to him that they turned for an interpretation of the 'rude implements' that were to prove vital in confirming the contemporaneity of their manufacturers with the Drift (Pleistocene) deposits in which they were found. Evans's capacity to straddle the boundaries of the two disciplines was much to his advantage here, and similarly, when he relayed to the Antiquaries the evidence of his own eye, there were few (if any) in the fellowship who would have been in a position to dispute his findings from a geological perspective.[95]

Evans's progress within the Geological Society followed what was by now becoming a familiar trajectory. Within nine years of his election he had become honorary secretary, in which office he served from 1866 to 1874, and was president from 1874 to 1876; he was also at times a vice-president. Later in life, he was elected foreign secretary of the Society, from 1895; in 1880 he was awarded the Lyell Medal for distinguished services to geological science—especially to post-Tertiary geology.[96] His interests also extended to more remote antiquity and his exceptional powers of observation led to publication of an early paper on the detailed anatomy of *Archaeopteryx*,[97] a specimen of which he studied in the British Museum (Chapter 3).

Natural history and the Linnean Society

Following what was again a familiar course, Evans's broader interests in natural history were fulfilled in early life by membership of his local East Hertfordshire and Watford natural history societies, with which he maintained a long association after graduating to a metropolitan-based national body, in this case the Linnean Society of London. He

was elected to the fellowship of the Society on 21 March 1878, with Huxley and Flower among his sponsors. His obituary notice in the Society's *Proceedings* makes no mention of any special contribution to its activities, however, and indeed his commitments as a regular office-holder in the plethora of other societies to which he belonged must have left him few opportunities even to attend the Linnean's meetings.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science

The peripatetic meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which he attended regularly from 1861 onwards, provided Evans with a particularly effective platform for propagating his discoveries in the realm of prehistoric archaeology and his contributions accurately reflect the light in which he strove to place his work. Once again his organizational abilities and wide scholarship were quickly recognized: he presided over the anthropology section at the Liverpool meeting of the Association in 1870 and at Leeds in 1890, while he was president of the geology section at Dublin in 1878; when the Association travelled to Toronto in 1897, he presided over the whole meeting. It may be noted that he also addressed the equivalent society in France on at least one occasion.[98]

He clearly saw his own contributions not in terms of antiquarian exercises but rather as innovative research of wide significance, carried out under the rigorous experimental conditions observed by the scientific community at large. In addition to papers on worked flints from Pressigny-le-Grand, delivered to the Birmingham meeting in 1865, and on Palaeolithic implements found in the valley of the Axe given at Plymouth in 1877, he showed something of his breadth of interest with contributions on 'The alphabet and its origin' at Brighton in 1872[99] and on 'A new Code of International Symbols for use on Prehistoric Maps' at Bristol in 1875.[100]

Even more impressive is the range of committees of the Association on which he was called to serve. Some of these were archaeological in nature—on the prehistoric inhabitants of the British Isles; on the exploration of Kent's Cavern; on the relation of Palaeolithic man to the Glacial epoch; on caves in Borneo[101] and in Ireland; on the age of stone circles; on the Glastonbury lake village. Others bridged the fields of archaeology and ethnology—on archaeological and ethnological researches in Crete—while yet others were concerned with the physiology of contemporary man—on 'anthropometric investigations among the native troops of the Egyptian army'. Some were of an economic cast—on the promotion of agriculture—some were purely geological—on earth tremors in the British Isles—while others again were concerned with the operation of the Association—on corresponding societies.[102]

The Society of Arts

Having been elected to the membership in 1860, Evans contributed comparatively little to the functioning of the Society of Arts until he gave a paper at the Congress on National Water Supply in May 1878 and joined in discussions at a conference on National Water

Supply, Sewage and Health the following year.[103] Later in life he served as a vice-president of the Society from 1898 to 1901 and was chairman of the council in 1900-1.[104] His chairman's address was given on the subject of the 'Origin, Development, and Aims of Scientific Societies'.[105]

Evans's broad generalist agenda made him an ideal member of the Society of Arts. In addition to the range of skills and interests alluded to elsewhere, it may be noted that he was on the one hand chairman for a time of the Lawes Agricultural Trust (which administered the Rothamsted Experimental Station) and on the other was a member and in 1892 was president of the Society of Chemical Industry.

The Royal Society

In 1864 Evans achieved the singular distinction of election to the Royal Society[106] and was later elected twice to the Society's council; he was nominated as vice-president in 1876 and served as treasurer for twenty years, from 1878 to 1898, under the presidencies of William Spottiswoode, Thomas Henry Huxley, Sir George Gabriel Stokes, Lord Kelvin and Lord Lister. As treasurer he redrafted the statutes and acted in Huxley's prolonged absences, including delivering in 1884 the anniversary address. Evans's obituary in the Society's *Proceedings* paid tribute to his conduct as chairman, being 'often singularly felicitous in the tact and humour of his remarks'.[107]

One of the most ambitious—though not the most enthusiastically received—of his projects was presented to the Royal Society on 15 March 1866, when Evans expounded on a theory that the geological evidence for climate-change could be explained by postulating that the Earth's crust floated freely on a core of fluid matter and was capable of being acted upon by centrifugal force bearing on the mass of mountain chains, resulting in the crust being dragged from one position to another without changing the axis of rotation. A model was produced (with advice from Francis Galton) in the form of a moving wheel with adjustable weights about its rim. Although the paper was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*[108] and was later presented too to the Geological Society, backed by a mathematical formulation of the forces involved,[109] it found little favour at the time with the earth scientists. It is pleasing that the present exercise has provided an opportunity for some more positive reinterpretation of its significance (see pp. 56–9).

The exceptional regard in which Evans was held by the fellowship is summed up in the opening paragraph to his lengthy obituary in the Society's *Proceedings*:

> *The death of Sir John Evans has removed from the Royal Society one who for forty years has been among its most conspicuous members, who for half of that long period filled the office of Treasurer, and who from first to last has taken an active and useful part in the general business of the Society. His eminent capacity in the conduct of affairs, the unremitting devotion with which he employed that talent in the Society's interest, and the genial courtesy which marked his intercourse with the Fellows have given him a strong claim on their grateful remembrance.*[110]

The Times, while acknowledging that 'the Society benefited greatly by his wide experience of business and his high financial ability', also reveals an unfulfilled ambition:

> *It was one of his strongest ambitions to be chosen president of the Royal Society, and it was a sore disappointment to him when the present Lord Lister was elected to that high office in succession to Lord Kelvin in 1895.*[111]

While we may sympathize with his disappointment, the learned company in which (not unreasonably) he saw himself competing for office is in itself an index of the elevated level at which he gauged his contributions to the foremost scientific society in the land.

Evans as campaigner

Two long-running campaigns benefited at times from Evans's energy and support. In the context of a wider concern for the preservation of antiquities as a whole, he lent his voice to the growing protest at the benign but ultimately destructive practices that saw many early churches in particular being 'restored' in a process that involved the destruction of later (but still historic) modifications to the fabric and the replacement of these 'intrusive' features by constructions that sought to reinstate the building's original appearance. He took a poor view in particular of the role of the ecclesiastical authorities as custodians of the nation's architectural heritage and led a vociferous campaign against them from his position as president of the Society of Antiquaries:

> *The evil against which he protested was the system so commonly pursued by the clergy of the present day, and by many architects, of destroying all traces of post-Reformation work, regardless of the importance of such work when viewed in connection with the history of the English Church. Against this destruction under the specious name of restoration the Society had constantly protested.*[112]

His target on this occasion was Lichfield Cathedral, which had already suffered in this process. On 12 January 1893 we find Evans robustly reasserting the Society's criticisms of work carried out there by the Dean and Chapter which had resulted in the loss of a 'substantial and well-looking' window in the north transept with one that sought to reinstate the appearance of an earlier, thirteenth-century original.[113] This spurious form of antiquarianism was totally misguided, he asserted, and '… even if the window which replaced it were in great part of thirteenth-century materials, and wholly of thirteenth-century design, it was still a nineteenth-century window'.

Even worse were the schemes that simply replaced early work with modern, taking no account of the original. As early as 1878 Evans had led protests against the planned replacement of the roof at St Albans cathedral with a modern, high-pitched structure (see Chapter 2). On that occasion and on several others involving lesser parish churches in the City of London, in York and elsewhere, the protests proved ultimately ineffective, but at

other times, as in the opposition mounted to plans by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln to demolish part of the cathedral cloister and a library designed by Wren, the protesters carried the day.

Although a churchwarden for much of his life, Evans clearly required a high standard of cultural probity from the clergy. In this context, it is hard not to see the bell installed at his expense in the church of St Mary's, Apsley, bearing the inscription 'The irritation of argument is a blot on the church' (see Chapter 2), as a covert shaft aimed at those prelates who failed to live up to his exacting standards.

It was, understandably, a matter for some disappointment that when a draft Bill for the Protection of Ancient Monuments was presented to Parliament in the 1870s it omitted any measures for the protection of ecclesiastical buildings. Evans worked hard for the insertion of some degree of control over the restoration of churches, especially by prescribing that applications to carry out work should be accompanied by a schedule of the monuments, stained glass and furnishings; these, he argued, should then be certified as having been preserved at end of process, unless a special faculty for their alteration had been granted. In the end, the Ancient Monuments Protection Act as it entered the statute-book in 1882 continued to focus on field monuments to the exclusion of churches, but in his role as president and vice-president of the Antiquaries Evans never ceased to lobby for more effective safeguards from what he saw as the unenlightened authority of the Church in this respect.

Evans himself had an informed interest in the workings of Treasure Trove, perhaps dating back to his own experience in 1869 when the Treasury Solicitors had issued a peremptory demand that he should render up two gold bracelets found at Little Chart (Kent) and sold to Evans by Johnson Walker & Tolhurst of Aldersgate Street, London: the experience clearly stung, and lingered long in his mind. Over twenty years later, in a lecture delivered to the Society of Antiquaries on 'The Law of Treasure Trove, illustrated by a recent case',[114] he sought first to establish what the basis of the existing law was, citing Coke and Blackstone and other early authorities in order to demonstrate the critical condition that the objects in question had to have been deliberately secreted in the soil for them to fall under the law and then exposing some recent misinterpretations by the authorities.[115]

Evans as a collector

> *From boyhood he was an enthusiastic collector, and had certainly the finest private collection of antiquities in this country, or perhaps in the world. It is difficult to say whether his collection of coins, of gold ornaments, of bronze objects, or of stone implements was the most interesting, valuable, and illustrative of the subject.*[116]

There was nothing over-generous about John Lubbock's assessment of the importance of his friend Evans's collection, and similar sentiments will be found expressed throughout the present volume. It was also of exceptional value for the period in the degree to which

efforts were made to preserve wherever possible such details as could be found of the provenance of any objects acquired.

Although he patronized a number of dealers (see below) as well as a wide network of antiquarian-minded jewellers and pawnbrokers throughout the country, the bulk of Evans's antiquities reached him not through the trade but through an extensive and carefully cultivated network of correspondents and unofficial agents. The surviving correspondence is full of references to material sent through the post, forwarded by rail to Kings Langley railway station, or left with the porter at the Athenæum for Evans to collect on his next visit to London.

A particularly fruitful source of antiquities was Joseph Warren, clock-maker and postmaster of Ixworth (Suffolk), who kept up a lively and mutually respectful correspondence with Evans over the years. In 1858 Warren writes: 'You would be astonished to see the Number of Coins and personal Ornaments that I have collected in my Humble Station, and the greater proportion of them found near me.' Numbers of these coins (or at times casts in gutta percha of interesting examples that he wished to keep) and other objects found their way piecemeal to Evans while Warren occupied his conveniently central position at the post office, although they declined when he gave up the business.[117] For his part, Evans kept Warren supplied with copies of the *Numismatic Chronicle* and with antiquarian books, and finally, in 1866, he purchased the whole of the Warren collection, including such important pieces as the Ixworth Cross and the Tostock Buckle (see Chapter 7).[118]

Other contributors to the collection were Robert Sadd of Cambridge, who was also a source of flints, bronzes and coins,[119] Henry Prigg of Bury St Edmunds, with whom Evans corresponded over a twenty-year period,[120] and James Morris of Faversham (Kent), who channelled material from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery there from the early 1870s onwards (see p. 139). In Ireland several names crop up over a number of years—William Allen, Robert Day of Cork, J. Graves of Stonyford (Kilkenny), and George Greene and William Arthurs, both of Ballymena (Antrim). The Arthurs correspondence,[121] extending over many years, begins in rather personable (if rambling) fashion, illustrated by pencil sketches of antiquities he has encountered, and descends to pathos as his health declines, leaving him unable to undertake the long expeditions on foot through the countryside which provided his principal means of acquisition; ultimately he dies in poverty, leaving behind a destitute widow, for whom financial aid is sought from Evans (as it had been earlier by Arthurs himself). The name of Captain [later Colonel] C. Abbott also features among the suppliers of antiquities, sometimes from Cirencester (Gloucestershire) and sometimes from Ireland, where he clearly moved about a great deal.[122]

Also important were the personal contacts that Evans established in the course of his travels both in England and in France with roadmen, quarrymen and agricultural labourers whose work occasionally brought them face-to-face with antiquities which, by careful cultivation of the persons concerned (and even of their wives[123]), Evans ensured

came to him. To instruct and to guide them in their searches he had drawn up and engraved a large plate of the most typical forms of flint implements.[124] He seems to have enjoyed visiting these men, examining their finds and occasionally securing from them discoveries of real value. Family holidays and business travel also provided opportunities to scour the pawnshops, jewellers and watchmakers for coins and antiquities that might casually have come into their possession and to arrange with some of them that they would get in touch in between visits if something of interest should come their way.[125]

Of the dealers he did patronize the most important was William Talbot Ready, already well established independently in London before taking over the offices there of the successful Parisian dealers Rollin & Feuardent.[126] From references elsewhere in this volume (Chapter 7) it seems clear that Talbot Ready also undertook the conservation of certain antiquities in the Evans collection that stood in need of it. Another name frequently recorded in association with Evans's acquisitions is that of F. E. Whelan, who also acted for Rollin & Feuardent in London.[127] Some items can be seen to have reached Evans in a very short space of time after being sold at auction to one or other of these intermediaries, perhaps suggesting that they had been bidding either directly on his behalf or with Evans's notoriously 'long pocket' very much in mind. The degree of direct contact with his suppliers is not always clear and no doubt varied from case to case. Although the tensions that currently colour relations between archaeologists and collectors had not yet emerged, it is noteworthy that Evans took considerable care to maintain as far as possible any records relating objects to the circumstances of their discovery. The importance of provenance must have been made all too clear to him during early work in mapping distributions for *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, where he acknowledges a debt to a dealer, 'Mr. Webster, of Russell Street, Covent Garden', for help given 'both in procuring coins for me, and in furnishing me with notes as to the places of discovery of various specimens which came under his notice'.

Perhaps the most ambitious episode in his collecting career came when Evans visited the ancient salt-mining settlement at Hallstatt (Austria) in 1866, in the company of Lubbock. There they purchased a number of finds from the *Bergmeister* of the day, Josef Stapf, 'so that we each have a more characteristic collection'; they also concluded an agreement with him that he would continue to investigate the adjacent cemetery site, which had proved sensationally productive in the recent past,[128] and would supply them both with such interesting discoveries as he might make.[129] The finds from the Hallstatt excavations now define the character of (and have given their name to) the transitional phase from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age; Evans's share of the material recovered by Stapf, comprising over 120 items and acquired between 1866 and 1868, came to the Ashmolean in 1927.[130]

The extensive collection that accumulated by these various means at Nash Mills House was typically purposeful. In 1872 Evans's friend Charles Roach Smith, begetter of the well-known Museum of London Antiquities, wrote to him in the following terms:

> *You … will not be content, I know, as some are, to get things without their having title deeds and history. Coins can stand well by themselves, but how deplorable 'tis to see, as we do see, disintegrated works of art, severed from their birthplaces, to perplex the intelligent in the jumbled collection of some rich indiscriminating gatherer!*

Joan Evans recalls the library at Nash Mills with drawers full of stone and bronze implements and with cabinets of Roman glass and safes crammed with gold and silver coins. Although all this material was made freely available to his wide circle of friends, its position in one of the most intimate rooms of the household meant that it was not generally seen by the public. A lengthy description—not always accurate in detail but unique in its extent—together with a drawing of the whole installation, with its begetter at its centre was prepared for the *Hertfordshire Standard and St Albans Citizen* in 1891: because of its exceptional interest it is reproduced here in extenso together with its accompanying illustration (Appendix 1).[131] Evans was, none the less, liberal in lending items for public displays: a number of antiquarian exhibitions in London which featured items from the collection are mentioned in the following chapters, while a selection of his treasures was placed on loan to the National Exhibition of Works of Art at Leeds in 1868.[132]

Arthur Evans and the transfer of the Evans collection to the Ashmolean

Although Arthur Evans (knighted in 1911) would independently build up a distinguished reputation as an archaeologist (particularly through his excavations at Knossos, published in five volumes from 1921 to 1936 as *The Palace of Minos*),[133] his primary importance in the present context is as the facilitator of the transfer of a major part of his father's collection to the Ashmolean.[134]

From the time of his appointment to the keepership in 1884, Arthur Evans brought to the post formidable energies that had transformed the fortunes of the moribund museum, leading to a major expansion of its holdings in archaeology and the decorative arts and to its transfer to new premises.[135] For financial support in these ventures and for many of the newly acquired objects, Arthur was indebted to C. D. E. Fortnum, by whose generosity the Ashmolean was able to move in 1894 from its original, overcrowded quarters to new premises adjacent to the University Galleries.[136] With the death of his father on 31 May 1908, Arthur Evans found himself moderately well off and financially secure.[137] He had been in Crete when the news first reached him and it was not until July that he arrived back in England and was able to take stock of his inheritance.

By good fortune, the previous March Evans had appointed to an assistant keepership at the Ashmolean an exceptionally able young man with the name of Edward Thurlow Leeds (1877–1955), whose role in the registration of the collection would be crucial. As a first task on his arrival in Oxford, Arthur Evans had suggested that Leeds should occupy himself initially with re-labelling the medieval collections.[138] The task, in which Leeds was assisted from time to time by the youthful T. E. Lawrence, would occupy him well into the

following year, but in the meantime momentous changes overtook the Ashmolean.

Sir John Evans had died two months after Leeds's arrival at the Museum, leaving Arthur Evans already in possession of the bulk of his archaeological collection. With typical foresight and attention to detail, John had previously resolved 'to be his own executor' and to anticipate the transfer of the collection that would inevitably follow his demise. Joan Evans describes the considerable logistical operation involved in effecting the removal in 1906 of the stone and bronze collections in particular from Nash Mills to Arthur's house (named Youlbury) on Boar's Hill on the outskirts of Oxford.

> *The biggest lorry from the mills was borrowed and the boxes of stone implements packed on to it; but the collections weighed four tons, and the bottom of the van dropped out before it reached the end of the Nash Mills drive. On January 13, 1906, however, Arthur was able to write to his father from Youlbury: 'The vans arrived safely yesterday and we succeeded in getting the objects out in a provisional way. Nothing seems to have suffered from the journey … The cabinets fit in very well, but there are more things to find drawers for than I had reckoned on! It is an immense collection. I think, as you suggest, it will be better to dispose soon of a good deal of the pottery. A certain amount will come in usefully in the Ashmolean series. It will be very gradual work getting anything like straight.*
>
> *As I said before, I would rather you had kept the collections, but, as you did not see your way to doing so, it is better that I should keep them, at least for a time. Anyhow, I hope I may learn something from them and I do realize your kind intention.'*[139]

As Joan Evans observes, the material was indeed not of primary interest to Arthur, and most of the boxes were placed in the basement of his house without even being opened.

Some six months after his father's death, a printed letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, dated 10 December 1908 and headed 'Gift by Dr. Arthur Evans of Anglo-Saxon Jewelry to the Ashmolean Museum', made the following declaration:

> *I am handing over as a free gift to the Ashmolean Museum the Collection of Anglo-Saxon Jewelry and other relics bequeathed to me by my father, Sir* JOHN EVANS.
>
> *With it also a Comparative Series illustrating the early Teutonic Art of the Continent, including specimens of Scandinavian, Frankish, Lombard and Gothic work.*
>
> *I venture to believe that some of the specimens of Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths' work will not be found unworthy to set beside King Alfred's Jewel.*
>
> *It is also my wish to provide a large Exhibition Case to hold the Collection.*[140]

Although said to have been 'bequeathed to me by my father', ownership of all this archaeological material evidently had passed to Arthur Evans with its transfer to him in 1906, for no mention of it (or of the Museum) is made in John Evans's will, drawn up on

Fig. 1.8. Sample opening from the Ashmolean's accession register for 1909: records in the hand of E. T. Leeds detailing items from the collection of Sir John Evans, given by Arthur Evans.

30 July 1906 and proved on 28 July 1908.[141] Other than the handsome financial settlement already mentioned and a share of the properties, paintings, furnishings and other household goods, Arthur Evans received the following in his father's bequest:

> *… all my numismatic and antiquarian books and all other books which he may desire to take … and all my collections of coins and medals and the cabinets in which they are contained and also my collection of antiquities including Roman Greek and other ancient glass and my collections of ancient spoons … but with regard to my collection of the coins of the Ancient Britons I express a wish (but not so as to create any obligation or trust) that should he or his representatives wish to part with the last mentioned collection the same or such portion of it as may be required for the National Collection should be in the first instance offered to the British Museum at a fair valuation. I also bequeath to the said Arthur John Evans all my manuscripts copper plates wood blocks copies of any books I may have published and the copy rights thereof and any other literary property of a like nature …*

As far as the antiquities are concerned, John Evans evidently had already acted to ensure that they found the repository for which he had intended them. Much of the glass mentioned in the will was later sold off by Arthur Evans at Sotheby's, on 22 April 1922. The Iron Age coinage in due course was presented to the Ashmolean in 1919 rather than being sold to the British Museum; Roman issues formed part of the Arthur Evans bequest in 1941 while much of the remainder of the coin collection was disposed of (see Chapter 10).

Arthur Evans resigned his keepership of the Ashmolean at the end of 1908 in order to concentrate on the interpretation and publication of the results of his excavations at Knossos, at which point an institutional merger took place with the University Galleries, leading to the establishment of the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology under the keepership of D. G. Hogarth, a specialist in the archaeology of the Near East; Hogarth was also designated keeper of the 'Antiquarium', while Leeds was confirmed as his assistant.

An early and perhaps decisive task that fell to him was the registering of the first part of what is still commonly termed the Sir John Evans's bequest. The Anglo-Saxon and Migration Period artefacts mentioned in Arthur Evans's letter, would occupy Leeds in entering it in the accession registers for much of 1909 (see Fig. 1.8),[142] where the formula accurately adopted to describe the acquisition of the whole collection is generally 'Given by A. J. Evans (Sir John Evans collection)'. Other material would follow later, most notably in 1927 with a huge donation (numbering nearly 3,500 entries in the accession registers) of prehistoric, Roman, medieval and post-medieval artefacts. Lesser gifts arrived at intervals up to 1935.

The Evans collection quite literally transformed the character of the Ashmolean in terms of its holdings of prehistoric, Roman and post-Roman antiquities. What these materials lacked in archaeological context (for despite Evans's care in preserving details of their findspots, few of them had been recovered by scientific means) they made up for in quality and prestige, comprising as they did many items that had gained the status of type-specimens from the fundamental role they had played in Evans's major volumes on stone and bronze implements or in one or other of the shorter scholarly papers that flowed from his pen. At the same time the range of the archaeological exhibits (leaving aside those from the Mediterranean and the Near East) was transformed from an essentially British (and largely local) collection of antiquities to one that occupied a more broadly European stage in a manner that could scarcely be paralleled in any other English museum at this time.

A hundred years later, the premises built to house those collections are currently being replaced by new galleries constructed to twenty-first-century standards, but the character firmly stamped on the archaeological collections from Britain and from northern Europe remains predominantly that which derives from Sir John Evans.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Any summary of Evans's career undertaken today is bound to be heavily dependent on the celebratory biography of the Evans dynasty published by Joan Evans in her *Time and Chance. The Story of Arthur Evans and his Forebears* (London, 1943). In the present essay, a heavy debt to this wonderfully detailed account, compiled with insight and affection by John Evans's youngest daughter, is gladly acknowledged. The following have also been consulted here: 'Eminent living geologists: Sir John Evans', *Geological Magazine* new ser. 5 (1908), pp. 1–10; [Obituary of Sir John Evans], *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 80 (1908), pp. l–lvi; [Obituary of Sir John Evans], *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd ser. 22 (1907–9), pp. 469–71; and Y. Foote, 'Evans, Sir John (1823–1908)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), vol. XVIII, pp. 719–23.

2 G. C. Boase and M. G. Ellis, 'Evans, Arthur Benoni (1781–1854)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), vol. XVIII, p. 663.

3 Captain Dickinson was at this time superintendent of the ordnance transports plying on the Thames between the Tower of London and Woolwich Arsenal. In addition to Anne (1791–1883), his children included George (1793–1843), who married Fanny Phelps of Madeira, mother of John Evans's second wife Frances, and John (1782–1869), founder of John Dickinson & Co., who would become successively John Evans's godfather, employer and father-in-law.

4 The house was big enough to house a dozen boarders, though the numbers of residents were rarely so high.

5 In characteristic fashion, the initiative in securing this appointment had been taken by Arthur Benoni Evans's wife, Anne: her sister Harriet had married John Grover, who rose to become vice-provost of Eton, and it was through his intervention (at Anne's prompting) that both the rectorship of Burnham and the headmastership of Market Bosworth were secured for Arthur Benoni.

6 Arthur Benoni Evans's library would eventually outgrow his needs and capacities, as described in a letter to John of 1 April 1842: 'I have some thousands [of books] to sell, collected by my uncle and myself, as well as a curious and useful mathematical library of your grandfather's. I have also a rare set of Old German Divines, sermons, etc.—part of which came from my uncle and part I accumulated myself. I have too upwards of 100 Grammars of all languages ...' (Evans Archive, JE/A/2/3). Arthur Benoni's uncle (after whom he was named) was headmaster of the College School, Gloucester; his father was Lewis Evans, mathematical master at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

7 Eventually the fossil collection became so numerous that it was given in its entirety to Leicester Museum.

8 See Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), *passim*.

9 Evans's 'Journal' detailing his experiences in Germany is now in the Evans Archive, JE/D/2/1. Arthur Benoni Evans, a gifted linguist who spoke eight languages, naturally set store by this ability. Contact with the boys' chosen tutor had been made in the previous year when another pupil, Wyndham Knight, had been sent to Cotta for language tuition.

10 Despite the attentions of their multilingual father, it seems the boys could scarcely function in German when they first arrived: Joan Evans tells of their having to ask for directions in Latin from a passing priest for their train journey from Hamburg to Dresden.

11 The university career of John's brother Arthur was precarious in the extreme, and there can be little doubt that John must have experienced the feeling from time to time that he would have fulfilled this role with so much more success.

12 John Dickinson and his wife Ann Grover had had two daughters and five sons, four of whom died in childhood; the surviving son, also John, had been educated at Eton before being put into the papermills where it was anticipated that he would follow in his father's footsteps, but in the event he had so hated the life there that he refused to continue. Although not instantly banished from the family home, John, then aged twenty-five, had a difficult relationship with his father thereafter until a major falling-out finally drove him abroad in 1845.

13 A number of letters to the young Evans from Dickinson, as preserved in the Evans archive, are none the less signed 'Your affectionate uncle'.

14 Described as 'small and inconvenient', the Red House was at first a little sparsely furnished, with only John's library, well equipped with books, showing signs of reasonable completeness.

15 Dickinson, in a gesture that Joan Evans judges to have been calculated to deny the exceptional contributions made by his new son-in-law to the fortunes of the company, took the opportunity to extend the same privilege to Frederick Pratt Barlow, the husband of his elder daughter Frances, a man who hitherto had played no part in the business. After this date, however, Barlow began to take on responsibilities at the company's London office at 65 Old Bailey.

16 The occupant hitherto had been Charles Longman, a partner in John Dickinson & Co. and son of the publisher Thomas Longman. Charles Longman had just built himself a new villa on the other side of the valley from Nash Mills.

17 Frances's grandfather had first set up in Madeira in 1784. The Phelpses maintained close relations with the family of Arthur Benoni Evans: he had taken two of their daughters (one of them Frances) on holiday to Belgium in 1844, while George Evans, John's younger brother, was sent to Madeira in the vain hope that the climate might ameliorate his consumption; he died there in 1847, aged twenty-two (Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 41, 54.

18 A surviving list of Fanny's travels in her own hand starts before 1859 ('Wedding trip English cathedrals') and continues up to 1890, the year of her death: Evans Archive, JE/A/4/7.

19 Dickinson's will was so worded that the bulk of his assets were left in trust to his son John and to any grandchildren that might be born to him; thereafter the children of his son-in-law Frederick Pratt Barlow were to be taken care of, and only then was there to be anything for the Evans children. Ultimately the deaths of all the other potential recipients would bring a handsome bequest to Arthur Evans, but in the meantime John Evans struggled to keep the company operating on a budget with inadequate free capital.

20 Miss Lathbury had been given a card requesting her admission to the lecture by the speaker, Dr F. C. Penrose, then director of the British School at Athens. Penrose himself had not at the time been admitted to the Antiquaries and evidently was unaware of the customary ban on women attending the Society's lectures—hence the need for the president's intervention.

21 It may be noted here that Evans seconded a motion before the Geological Society in 1906, 'That the time has now arrived when the Council (and the Society) should again consider the question of admitting ladies to the Society'—a move that would not find success until some years after his death: G. L. Herries Davies, *Whatever is Under the Earth. The Geological Society of London 1807 to 2007* (London, 2007), p. 162. The Evans Archive also includes a number of friendly exchanges with Nina Layard (JE/B/2/57).
22 Arthur Evans had been a Fellow at Brasenose since his appointment to the keepership of the Ashmolean in 1884.
23 Evans had turned Dickinson's into a public limited company in 1885, relinquishing its day-to-day running at the same time. He remained the company's tenant at Nash Mills House for a further nineteen years thereafter.
24 For twenty years Evans had been chairman of the governors of Berkhamsted School (see p. 45–6), so that the area would have been intimately known to him.
25 *The Times*, 1 June 1908.
26 'On some vessels of steatite from Egypt' and 'Notes on a collections of pilgrims' signs or amulets', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd ser. 22 (1907–9), pp. 89–102 and 102–17.
27 Evans's obituary in *The Times* (1 June 1908) observed that, until near his end, 'his apparently unfailing vitality seemed to deny the advance of time. Last summer he began to show some failure of strength, but still continued his manifold and varied activities with scarcely any abatement. A few days ago he underwent an operation which seems to have exhausted his strength. The end came somewhat suddenly … but not unmercifully to a man whose whole life had been one of strenuous activity.'
28 *Hemel Hempstead Gazette*, 6 June 1908.
29 *The Times*, 1 June 1908. In similar vein, the *Hemel Hempstead Gazette* (30 May 1908) judged him 'the foremost public man in Hertfordshire'.
30 The honours bestowed on him at various times include the following (from 'Eminent living geologists', op. cit. (note 1), p. 10): hon. member, Société Royale de Luxembourg (1851); corresponding member, Société d'Emulation, Abbeville (1859); hon. member, Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica di Roma (1865); corresponding member, Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie (1874); DCL Oxford (1877); foreign member, Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (1877); LL D Dublin (1878); hon. member, American Philosophical Society (1881); Knight Commander of the Order of San Thiago [Santiago] of Portugal (1881); Correspondant de l'Institut [Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres] (1887); hon. member, Royal Irish Academy (1883); foreign hon. member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1888); Sc D Cambridge (1890); hon. member, Société Géologique de Belgique (1891); DCL Toronto (1897); LL D Trinity College, Toronto (1897); corresponding member, Accademia delle Scienze, Bologna (1897); hon. fellow, Brasenose College, Oxford (1903); officer of the Order of St Charles of Monaco (1905).

Evans's honorary membership of the Royal Irish Academy has not hitherto been documented very fully: he was elected on 16 March 1883 to the section of 'Polite Literature and Antiquities' (RIA, Academy Minutes, vol. VI, p. 95). His name also appears in the Council minutes of the RIA in the late 1870s in connection with borrowing electrotype blocks of illustrations from Sir William Wilde's catalogue of the RIA Museum for use in his own publications (RIA, Council minutes, XVIII, p. 222, and XIX, pp. 380, 391). I am grateful to Bernadette Cunningham of the RIA for these references.
31 *The Times*, 1 June 1908.
32 Evans was proposed for the Club on 4 November 1862 by John Lubbock (see below) and seconded by William Spottiswoode FRS (1825–83), the mathematician and head of his family's printing firm—hence with links to Evans both in the scholarly and the business world; for further links between Evans and Spottiswoode see Chapter 11. Evans's name came up for election (by now with Spottiswoode as his sponsor) on 14 November 1865, when he was elected under Rule II, covering 'persons of distinguished eminence in science, literature, or the arts, or for public services' (Athenæum Club, Book of Candidates 1858 (MEM 1/9), and General Committee Minutes 1865–8 (COM 4/19). I am grateful to Jennie De Protani, archivist at the Athenæum, for access to these records.
33 It was (and remains) customary for members of the Roxburghe Club to sponsor in turn the publication of some scholarly text for each other's benefit. Evans's contribution was a volume titled *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, ed. I. Gollancz (London, 1897), described as 'an alliterative poem of the XIVth century, now first edited, from manuscripts in the British Museum' (now British Library, Additional MS 31,042, pp. 169–177b). A photograph in the possession of the Club shows Evans in a prominent position at a dinner at the Princes' Restaurant, 12 June 1906. Bernard Nurse kindly drew my attention to this information.
34 In February 1859, for example, Evans describes 'a literary party' attended at the Dickinsons' London residence in Mayfair, including W. M. Thackeray, William Mulready, Baron Marochetti, and Charles Pye the engraver: Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), p. 98.
35 Paying tribute to his memory, one who knew him in this context would later recall '… how delightful it was to be accompanied by him in our field meetings, listening to his lucid explanations of natural phenomena and seeing how keen were his powers of observation.' Obituary notice in *Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society* 14 (1907–11), pp. xxxiv–xxxv.
36 *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* new ser. 1 (1898–9), p. 323.
37 In support of this assertion, Michael Stanyon informs us that Evans was in the habit of making a daily tour of the premises at Nash Mills, stopping at intervals to speak with the workforce as he went: reminiscence from an unpublished manuscript by John Turner, 'Life in Victorian Times in Nash Mills and Apsley', 2 vols., Apsley Paper Trail, APT 2526.
38 Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), p. 41.
39 Hitherto the journal had been edited and privately owned by J. Y. Akerman. Under the Society's ownership a new series was started and responsibility for its production was divided. At first Evans shared the responsibility with W. S. W. Vaux and with Frederic Madden; later Barclay Head and Herbert Grueber would join the team by rotation (all four of them curators at the British Museum), and finally Edward J. Repson. Evans continued to shoulder some of the editorial responsibility throughout the period of his presidency.
40 R. A. G. Carson, *A History of the Royal Numismatic Society 1836–1986* (London, 1986), pp. 8–25.

41 See, for example, an invitation to the Mint from Sir Charles Freemantle, dated 26 April 1890 (Evans Archive, JE/B/1/29): 'I have the Chancellor of the Exchequer's authority to consult you about the designs for the coinage generally, upon which he wishes to have your opinion.'
42 John Evans, 'The progress of archaeology', *Archaeological Journal* 48 (1891), p. 260.
43 See a letter from Barclay Head to John Evans, dated 22 February 1887, Evans Archive JE/B/1/26: 'Grueber and I have been talking over the great medal question and we both feel very strongly that your head on the obverse will be far more appropriate and more welcome to the members of the Society than that of the Queen. The Society in fact owes its present prosperity entirely to you, and to the active part you have always taken both in the Council and in keeping the Chronicle up to the mark. With no other President could we have worked together so well as we have done now for so many years …'
44 A programme for a 'Reception to Commemorate the Completion of the 50th Year of Sir John Evans's Membership of the Society and of the 25th year of his Presidency' is in the Evans Archive, JE/C/2/15.
45 The details are given in Carson, op. cit. (note 40), pp. 20–4.
46 The Evans Archive also contains a programme for a 'Reception to Celebrate the granting of the Royal Charter to the Society', dated 28 June 1904 (JE/C/2/16). It may be noted that around this time Lady Evans contributed a number of papers to the *Numismatic Chronicle* in her own right, one of them on 'Hair-dressing of Roman ladies as illustrated on coins' (*Numismatic Chronicle* 4th ser. 6 (1906), pp. 37–65), and others on post-medieval medals and badges.
47 Colonel [later Lieutenant-General] Augustus Henry Lane Fox adopted additionally the name Pitt Rivers in 1880, in order to fulfil the terms of a bequest.
48 Evans's sponsors on that occasion (that is to say, the signatories to his proposal form) were John Yonge Akerman (secretary of the Society, 1853–60), J. Allies, J. Payne Collier, J. Bergne (treasurer of the Numismatic Society), Henry Ellis (principal librarian of the British Museum), Edward Foss, J. Lee and William Devonshire Saull: Society of Antiquaries, 'Certificates of Candidates for Election 1847–57', no. 113. The election took place on 16 December 1852. I am grateful to Bernard Nurse, librarian at the Society of Antiquaries, for access to these records.
49 A bar-chart in A. MacGregor, *Ashmolean Museum. A Summary Catalogue of the Continental Archaeological Collections (Roman Iron Age, Migration Period, Early Medieval*, BAR International Ser. 674 (Oxford, 1997), fig. 2, shows acquisitions of antiquities of different eras across the span of Evans's life.
50 John Evans, 'On the occurrence of flint implements in undisturbed beds of gravel, sand and clay', *Archaeologia* 38 (1860), pp. 280.
51 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 4 (1856–9), pp. 329–33.
52 John Evans, op. cit. (note 50), pp. 280–307.
53 John Evans, 'Account of some further discoveries of flint implements in the Drift on the Continent and in England', *Archaeologia* 39 (1863), pp. 57–84.
54 John Evans, 'Man and his earliest known works. The Archæolithic period', in *Some Account of the Blackmore Museum* (Devizes, 1868), pp. 93–4.
55 See his obituary notice in *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 80 (1908), p. lii: 'He became one of the most enthusiastic and successful collectors of flint implements … Both at home and abroad he purchased freely every illustrative type which he could procure, until in the end he had amassed such a series of these objects as is probably possessed by no other private collector.'
56 John Evans, *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain* (London, 1872). Evans's manuscript for this work is in the Evans Archive, JE/C/3/1.
57 Ibid., p. v.
58 *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 80 (1908), p. liii.
59 M. J. White, 'Out of Abbeville. Sir John Evans, Palaeolithic patriarch and handaxe pioneer', in *A Very Remote Period Indeed. Papers on the Palaeolithic presented to Derek Roe*, ed. S. Milliken and J. Cook (Oxford, 2001), p. 242.
60 John Evans, *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London, 1897). The new volume included 'all the more important discoveries of stone antiquities made in this country during the last quarter of a century' (p. vii).
61 John Evans, *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1881). Evans's manuscript of this work is in the Evans Archive, JE/C/3/2.
62 *Science* 2 no. 63 (10 September 1881), pp. 435–6.
63 Much on the relationship between Evans and Franks will be found in the various essays in M. Caygill and J. Cherry (eds.), *A.W. Franks. Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* (London, 1997).
64 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 469–71.
65 Caygill and Cherry, op. cit. (note 63).
66 Lubbock succeeded to his father's baronetcy in 1865 and was raised to the peerage as Lord Avebury in 1900.
67 John Evans, op. cit. (note 56), pp. v–vi.
68 John Evans, 'The coinage of the ancient Britons and natural selection', *Notices of the Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 7 (1873–5), pp. 476–87
69 White, op. cit. (note 59), p. 243.
70 Flint-locks had already been superseded on European weapons by cartridges incorporating integral percussion caps. Virtually the whole of the East Anglian output at this time went for export to Africa, South America and elsewhere: see J. Wyatt, 'Manufacture of gun-flints', in E. T. Stevens, *Flint Chips. A Guide to Prehistoric Archaeology* … (London, 1870), p. 587.
71 See John Evans, 'On the forgery of antiquities', *Notices of the Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 4 (1862–6), pp. 356–65
72 Quoted by Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), p. 347.
73 A programme from a presidential reception given at the Antiquaries on 23 June 1886, including details of an extensive exhibition of antiquities mounted for the occasion by Evans and his friends, survives in the Evans Archive, JE/C/1/48.
74 For example, he became an ex-officio trustee of the British Museum by virtue of his presidency, before being later elected a permanent trustee in his own right.
75 Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford, 1956). In truth these remarks were aimed at her account of the presidency of Arthur Evans (1914–19) rather than of John Evans: see Susan Pearce's 'Introduction' to S. Pearce

(ed.), *Visions of Antiquity. The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707–2007* (London, 2007), p. 6.

76 C. Stephen Briggs, 'Prehistory in the nineteenth century', in Pearce, op. cit. (note 75), pp. 227–65, esp. 249–51.

77 In 1874 the Society of Antiquaries was relocated to Burlington House, where it remains today.

78 Briggs, op. cit. (note 76), pp. 249–50.

79 Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 75), pp. 329–30. The fund was to remain 'one of the very few sources of funding in Britain for archaeological fieldwork until the outbreak of the Second World War': see Graeme Barker, 'Changing roles and agendas: the Society of Antiquaries and the professionalization of archaeology, 1950–2000', in Pearce, op. cit. (note 75), pp. 383–413, at p. 397.

80 *The Times*, 1 January 1908.

81 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd ser. 22 (1907–9), p. 471.

82 Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), p. 157.

83 John Evans, 'The present state of the antiquity of man' and 'On a discovery of Palæolithic implements in the valley of the Axe', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 7 (1877), pp. 149–51 and 499–501.

84 *Third General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 28 October 1885.

85 *Twenty-Third General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 13 November 1906.

86 *Twenty-Sixth General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 10 November 1908.

87 Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), p. 326.

88 The diaries now form part of the Evans Archive, JE/A/4/9

89 His contributions to this conference included the printing of a short guide to finds from the British Bronze Age, the *Petite Album de l'Age de Bronze de la Grande Bretagne* (London, 1876). In the introduction (p. iii), he writes: 'I thought it would be a good occasion to place in the hands of foreign scholars a little manual of the types [found in] my country, written in the language by the Congress.'

90 *Twenty-Sixth General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 10 November 1908.

91 An article titled 'Eminent living geologists: Sir John Evans' (op. cit., note 1)—hence written with the benefit of direct knowledge—places his introduction to geology at the age of nine, when he recovered his first fossils from limestone quarries at Dudley (Worcestershire).

92 Joseph [later Sir Joseph] Prestwich (1812–96), son of a wine merchant, had studied chemistry and natural philosophy at University College London before joining and later taking over the family business in the City of London. His private passion was for Tertiary geology, his work attracting the award of the Geological Society's Wollaston Medal in 1849. Later he became especially interested in water supply (particularly in the London area) and served on the Royal Commission on the Water Supply in 1864 (see J. C. Thackray, 'Prestwich, Sir Joseph (1812–1896)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XLV (Oxford, 2004), pp. 276–8.

93 In the event Prestwich mislaid notes contributed by Evans, who was then called upon to deliver his observations extempore from the floor of the meeting.

94 Evans too would make several return visits to the area, in the company of Francis Galton and Hugh Falconer as well as Prestwich.

95 The fact that Evans made his report to the Antiquaries while Prestwich presented the evidence to the scientific community may, perhaps, have cast his role in a narrower light than it deserves.

96 At the presentation of the Geological Society's Lyell Medal to Evans in 1880 (see below), the president paid due tribute to Evans's role in bridging the disciplinary gap: 'I can well remember the time when there appeared to be an almost impassable gulf between antiquaries and geologists; but you and your fellow-workers have so completely bridged over the gulf, that we now can scarcely say where archæology ends and geology begins, nor whether to rank or value you most as an antiquary or a geologist' *Geological Magazine* new ser 7 (1880), p. 180.

97 John Evans, 'On portions of a cranium and of a jaw, in the slab containing the fossil remains of the *Archæopteryx*', *Natural History Review* (1865), pp. 415–21.

98 See the pamphlet (perhaps printed at his own expense), 'Il y a quarante ans', *Mémoire communiqué à la Section de géologie, Association française pour l'avancement des sciences, Congrès de Boulogne-sur-Mer, septembre 1899* (London, 1899).

99 Published as 'On the alphabet and its origin', *Notices of the Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 6 (1870–72), pp. 464–73.

100 Published as a 'Note on a proposed international code of symbols for use on archaeological maps', *Journal of Anthropology and History* 5 (1876), pp. 427–35.

101 On the organization, funding and outcome of the Borneo caves expedition see A. Sherratt, 'Darwin among the archaeologists: the John Evans nexus and the Borneo caves', *Antiquity* 76 (2002), pp. 151–7. The following letter from Charles Darwin to John Evans, dated 29 January 1878, is in the Evans Archive, JE/B/1/17: 'My dear Mr Evans, I think you are doing a very great service to Natural Science by getting the Caves of Borneo explored. I shall be happy to subscribe £20, but I do not send a cheque as if more is necessary I shall be glad to give £30 or £40. I wish someone as energetic as yourself would organise an expedition to the triassic lacustrine beds in S. Africa, where the cliffs are said to be almost composed of bones. Pray believe me yours very sincerely, Ch. Darwin.'

102 Culled from successive volumes of the *Reports of Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*.

103 In addition to his acknowledged expertise on the subject of water supply (on which see Chapter 3), Evans had first-hand knowledge of drainage and sewerage through his recent chairmanship of a committee charged with establishing a drainage system for Hemel Hempstead, to which he had been elected in 1870: see p. 46, and Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), p. 151.

104 Details from Evans's obituary in *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 56 (1907–8), pp. 735–6 (the Society had just received its Royal Charter at this time).

105 Printed in *Journal of the Society of Arts* 49 (1900–1), pp. 8–15.

106 John Dickinson was also an FRS, having been elected in 1845.

107 *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 80 (1908), p. liv.

108 John Evans, 'On a possible geological cause of changes in the position of the axis of the Earth's crust', *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 15 (1866–7), pp. 46–54.

109 *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* 32 (1876), p. 46.

110 *Proceedings of the Royal Society* 80 (1908), pp. l–lvi.
111 *The Times*, 1 June 1908.
112 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd ser. 14 (1891–3), p. 257.
113 Ibid., pp. 256–7.
114 John Evans, 'The Law of Treasure Trove, illustrated by a recent case', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd ser. 14 (1891–3), pp. 217–22.
115 Ibid.
116 Obituary by Lord Avebury [John Lubbock] in *Man* 8 (1908), pp. 97–8.
117 In 1860 Warren would write: '… after 41 years and ¾ I am now retired from the troubles attending the Business of a Country Clock and Watch Maker, and a Country Post Office where the Letters have lately averaged 500 Dayly': Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), p. 96.
118 When Warren died in 1875 he bequeathed his 'Journal' to Evans—a fitting recognition of their long-term and mutually supportive relationship and a move that enhanced the value of many objects in the collection by adding detail to the circumstances of their discovery. See a letter of 22 November 1876 from John C. Ford to John Evans, Evans Archive, JE/B/1/15: 'I send you a line to say that Mr Warren died Nov. 22 and will be buried on Monday next. Mr Warren has left directions for his "Journal" of antiquities to be forwarded to you at his death, and the same will be sent to you after the funeral, together with a catalogue of his Sale, when fixed …'

This item, now forming part of the Evans Archive, JE/D/4/1, has a label in Warren's hand, dated nine years earlier, pasted on the fly-leaf: 'This Journal contain[s] an account of where & when I obtained my Antiquities. And as John Evans Esqr of Hemel Hempsted bought my Collection, I wish it to be sent to Him. Ixworth Septr 6th 1866. J. Warren.' Bound with it are a copy of the sale catalogue of his household goods and a 'Catalogue of a Collection of Coins and Medals, the Property of Mr. Joseph Warren …', Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 22–4 March 1869.
119 Evans Archive. JE/B/2/73.
120 Evans Archive, JE/B/2/69. A manuscript catalogue of the Prigg collection is at JE/D/4/2.
121 Evans Archive, JE/B/1/23 and *passim*.
122 Evans Archive, JE/B/2/1.
123 Joan Evans (op. cit. (note 1), p. 128) records that John took care to remember the wives of his informal suppliers with little presents of needles.
124 No copy of this plate was thought to have survived, but see now pp. 104–5 and Fig. 5.6.
125 Joan Evans (op. cit. (note 1), p. 130), gives a list of those who formed part of his network of correspondents in this role.
126 See MacGregor, op. cit. (note 49), p. 5, and *idem*, 'Earlier antiquarian collections represented in the catalogue', in *Antiquities from Europe and the Near East in the Collection of The Lord McAlpine of West Green*, ed. A. MacGregor (Oxford, 1987), p. 13.
127 MacGregor, op. cit. (note 49), p. 5.
128 The original excavations had been carried out under Georg Ramsauer, director of the mines from 1846 to 1863, who had also kept careful records of his discoveries; Lubbock and Evans were able to meet Ramsauer on their visit to Hallstatt.
129 This arrangement with Stapf would continue for the next three years, until 1869. While they were at Hallstatt Evans and Lubbock themselves took part enthusiastically in the excavations, as described in a letter from Evans to his wife Fanny, dated 19 April 1866 (reproduced in J. Foster, *Life and Death in the Iron Age* (Oxford, 2002), p. 7).
130 Inv. nos. AN1927.886–1009. Lubbock's share of the finds went to the British Museum in 1916. Unfortunately, no documentation relating to either group of objects now survives.
131 Transcript kindly provided by Mr Michael Stanyon, archivist at the Apsley Paper Trail.
132 See F. Barber (ed.), *A Series of Photographs of Objects of Archaeological Interest from the National Exhibition of Works of Art at Leeds, 1868* (London, 1869), *passim*.
133 See Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), chapters XI–XX, and, more recently, J. L. Myres (revised A. M. Snodgrass), 'Evans, Sir Arthur John (1851–1941)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XXVIII (Oxford, 2004), pp. 663–6.
134 Amongst the most important parts of the collection that were sold off after John Evans's death the principal is comprised of the coins, scheduled to be auctioned by Spink's but ultimately sold by private treaty to J. Pierpont Morgan (see below, p. 189).
135 See R. F. Ovenell, *The Ashmolean Museum 1683–1894* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 250–64; A. MacGregor, 'The Ashmolean Museum', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. VI: *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (Oxford, 1997), pp. 598–610.
136 See MacGregor, op. cit. (note 135), pp. 606–10; 'C. D. E. Fortnum and the Collecting and Study of Applied Arts and Sculpture in Victorian England', special issue of the *Journal of the History of Collections* 11 no. 2 (1999), pp. 127–277.
137 Along with his step-mother and his brother Lewis, Arthur was one of the major beneficiaries of his father's will (see note 141). The interests of Lewis, who later provided the founding collection for the Museum of the History of Science, occupying the original building of the Ashmolean in Oxford, are reflected in the possessions reserved for him, including 'the upright clock designed by my grandfather and also my mathematical and philosophical books and instruments'.
138 Introductory commentary by Leeds, published in J. M. Wilson, *T. E. Lawrence: Letters to E. T. Leeds* (Andoversford, 1988), pp. 1–3.
139 Joan Evans, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 352–3.
140 Reproduced in full in MacGregor, op. cit. (note 49), fig. 3.
141 Copy in Probate Department of the Principal Registry of the Family Division. At the granting of probate the gross value of the estate was assessed at £147,347. 7*s*. 9*d*. and the net value of the personal estate at £135,273. 2*s*. 9*d*.
142 The experience was to be a decisive one for Leeds and instrumental in developing his enormously successful career as an Anglo-Saxonist: see A. MacGregor, 'E. T. Leeds and the formulation of an Anglo-Saxon archaeology of England', in *Collectanea Antiqua. Studies in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes*, BAR International Series 1673, ed. M. Henig and T. J. Smith (Oxford, 2007), pp. 27–44.