

# ◆ Prelude to Piltdown

## CHARLES DAWSON'S ORIGINS, CAREER AND ANTIQUARIAN PURSUITS, 1864–1911, AND THEIR REPERCUSSIONS

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*Towards the end of his life Charles Dawson (1864–1916), amateur palaeontologist and antiquary, discovered the remains of Piltdown Man and since 1953 has been heavily implicated in their fabrication. On him in that connection much has been written, but little has been published on his earlier life with adequate documentation. Drawing on sources not previously used, this article describes his family background, upbringing and fossil collecting, and his career as a solicitor, and explores his antiquarian pursuits in Sussex, particularly his association with Hastings Museum and with the Sussex Archaeological Society (including the society's ejection from Castle Lodge), his excavations at Hastings Castle and the Lavant caves, the Beauport Park statuette, the Pevensey Roman bricks, his History of Hastings Castle and his attempt to thwart L. F. Salzman's election to the Society of Antiquaries. The antiquarian phase of Dawson's research career was neatly bracketed by A. S. Woodward's publication in 1891 and 1911 of his successive finds of *Plagiaulax dawsoni*.*

*These antiquarian pursuits show his enormous energy and charm, occasional disingenuous conduct, and the facility with which he moved between West End society and Sussex labourers, an important source of his finds. As a well-known collector he may have accepted, and attempted to exploit, items of doubtful authenticity, but his recording of provenance was reasonable by contemporary amateur standards. He actively used the press, local and London, to boost his reputation. But his failure to conceal the limits of his scholarship in his History of Hastings Castle of 1910 contributed to his reverting to palaeontology.*

*A face-saving account of the 'Castle Lodge episode' of 1903, doubts emerging in 1914 about the finds from the Lavant caves, and Salzman's antipathy for Dawson on account of the Pevensey bricks (1907) and his canvassing the Antiquaries (1911), may all have contributed to Piltdown Man being disregarded by the Sussex Archaeological Society. But they cannot of themselves have outweighed the advocacy by Woodward, Dawson's collaborator at Piltdown, who was active in the society between 1924 and 1943. The implication is that there were doubts expressed locally, but only informally, about the authenticity of Piltdown Man.*

*Five appendices have been placed on the Archaeological Data Service's website.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Charles Dawson (1864–1916) has recently been described as 'arguably the best-known forger of all time'.<sup>1</sup> But for his implication in the forgery of Piltdown Man, *Eoanthropus dawsoni* ('Dawson's Dawn Man'), he would probably be remembered today only as a reputable amateur palaeontologist who formed a valuable collection of fossils from the Wealden formations around Hastings; and as one among a dozen or so active Sussex antiquaries in his time, author of a still serviceable history of Hastings Castle. Other artefacts that required laboratory analysis to expose them as forgeries (the Beauport

Park statuette and the Pevensey Roman bricks) might not have attracted attention, and forgeries more easily exposed might simply have been noted as curiosities of their time. Thanks to his announcement of Piltdown Man in 1912, however, no other lifelong resident of Sussex in the 19th or 20th century has attracted so much posthumous study.

Dawson as collector of fossils of Wealden fauna, as antiquary and as palaeontologist studying human origins, represent three fairly discrete phases in his career as an amateur researcher, the transitions occurring in 1891 and 1909/10. This article offers a fuller account of his family background and early life than has previously

appeared, followed by a close examination of the major episodes in the second, antiquarian, phase.

The published literature relating to Piltdown Man and hence potentially to Charles Dawson is now very extensive.<sup>2</sup> Much of it adds little to the body of evidence, is poorly documented or neglects earlier publications. Five books, three published and two unpublished, are particularly important. The first is *The Piltdown forgery* of 1955. Within a few days of precipitating the scientific investigations which were to confirm the forgery, Joseph Sidney Weiner (1915–82) set about identifying the perpetrator. His chapters on the suspects were criticised for lack of rigour, and would have benefited from checking by some of his informants, thereby avoiding the problems described in §10.3. But Weiner's book was in a race to appear before Francis Vere's *The Piltdown fantasy*. Although Vere's book appeared ten weeks after his, just as a new impression was called for, Weiner did not take the opportunity to respond nor in any significant way to amend his text. With Dawson's antiquarian activities of secondary interest, Weiner was content to sketch a picture which others have been content to copy. Robert Downes (1920–82, for whom see §9) hoped to publish a book reviewing all Dawson's published finds and writings, concluding that Dawson had a long record of suspect discoveries. 'Charles Dawson on trial' did not find a publisher and on his death his papers were given to the Sussex Archaeological Society (SAS).<sup>3</sup> The other unpublished book, by Peter Costello, written in the 1980s, took the contrary view, that Dawson was an honest and diligent worker, in earlier accounts had been badly misrepresented and was the victim of a hoax – and that the real culprits were S. A. Woodhead and J. T. Hewitt. If Downes's and Costello's books had been published, subsequent work would definitely have been better informed and might have taken different directions.<sup>4</sup>

Frank Spencer's two volumes of 1990 provided solid documentation on Piltdown and printed extensive extracts from the only known collection of Dawson's letters, those to Arthur Smith Woodward (1864–1944) held at the Natural History Museum (NHM). It was with Woodward, the museum's keeper of geology, that in 1912 Dawson announced the discovery of Piltdown Man.<sup>5</sup> Finally, Miles Russell, in *Piltdown Man. The secret life of Charles Dawson & the world's greatest archaeological*



Fig. 1. Charles Dawson in court dress, probably for his presentation, on his brother Trevor's introduction, at the royal levee on 28 May 1906 (reproduced by permission of the Geological Society of London; POR/49/17-01).

hoax (2003), has published the only book-length study of Dawson, a valuable summary and review of all his palaeontological and antiquarian enterprises, and one which follows Downes's rather than Costello's tack. The reader is referred to it for detail which cannot be replicated here.<sup>6</sup>

I have used documentary sources in libraries and record offices, some searchable on-line, of types which neither Russell, nor those on whose work he relied, consulted. A consolidated list of cited sources and a list of Dawson's publications are in Appendices 1 and 2 (all appendices are on the ADS website and are listed after the notes). With § indicating a numbered section, this article casts new light on:

- Dawson's family, schooling, professional training and fossil collecting (§§2 and 3)

- his work as a solicitor (§4)
- his membership of and dealings with scholarly bodies (§§5, 6, 9 and 10)
- his relations with fellow antiquaries (§§7 and 13)
- his principal antiquarian projects (§§8, 9, 11 and 12), and
- his return to palaeontology (§14), as well as on
- the circumstances by which some (possibly) fraudulent activities were exposed, and the reactions to those exposures.

I am therefore aiming to review Weiner's picture, to provide for Dawson's main antiquarian activities a depth equal to Spencer's documentation for Piltdown, and to elaborate the picture in Russell's book.

It was on the first of his two visits to Piltdown, Lewes and Ditchling in August 1953 that Weiner searched *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (SAC) for references to Dawson, noting in particular the absence of any mention of Piltdown Man before 1925.<sup>7</sup> These references informed his initial interviews, the first being with L. F. Salzman, whose close and continuous involvement with the SAS dated back to his election to its council in March 1903. He was an active participant in several episodes examined below: the Pevensey bricks, Dawson's *Hastings Castle* and his own election to the Society of Antiquaries (§§11, 12 and 13) and a close witness of the Castle Lodge episode (§10).

The son of a Brighton physician, Louis Francis Salzman (1878–1971) gained a degree in natural sciences at Cambridge but, inheriting a small private fortune, made historical research his life's work and settled in Lewes in 1939. His *History of the parish of Hailsham* (1901) was exemplary in its use of medieval sources. Working as a record searcher, between 1904 and 1912 he was also a sub-editor for the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* (VCH), to which he returned as its general editor from 1935 to 1949. He produced several general texts, such as *English industries in the Middle Ages* (1913), *Henry II* (1914) and *English trade in the Middle Ages* (1931), as well as his fine *Building in England down to 1540* (1952) and numerous articles and editions of records on Sussex. He sat on the council of the SAS from 1903 to 1971, edited SAC from 1909 to 1958 and was literary director of the Sussex Record Society, 1905–20 and 1941–71. Awarded the CBE as Weiner's book was going through the press, Salzman had a solid academic

background to which Weiner could relate and appeared an authoritative link back to the early years of the century.<sup>8</sup>

Weiner said that Dawson's geological abilities were of a high order, but by the time of Piltdown he had also made those contributions on which his reputation as an antiquary rested. He was known as an authority on old iron work and his *History of Hastings Castle* was a standard work. He had not inconsiderable experience of practical fieldwork, at Hastings Castle, the Lavant caves, Pevensey Castle and, on Iron Age skeletons, near Eastbourne. However:

it is common knowledge that Dawson did not command high esteem in the archaeological circle of Lewes. Some local archaeologists, on the basis of their personal feelings about Dawson as well as on their long-held, rather low opinion of his archaeological reliability, came to invest the Piltdown discovery with extreme scepticism from the start.... The deliberate avoidance of the great Piltdown discovery in official local circles is quite undeniable.

How did Dawson acquire his reputation for 'unreliability' (Weiner's quotation marks, following Salzman's use of the word)? The careful recording of the Eastbourne skeletons could be credited to the Hastings lawyer-antiquary J. E. Ray, and in 1916 Hadrian Allcroft deplored the standard of fieldwork at the Lavant caves. Salzman confirmed that 'Dawson's activities had come to be received sceptically, partly on account of his archaeological work (this [Weiner] took to refer to the Lavant caves), partly on account of his historical work on Hastings Castle, which had been not well received locally, but largely because of the "Castle Lodge" episode', in which Dawson had bought for his own use the house occupied by the SAS. Weiner later quoted, without attribution, Salzman's review of *Hastings Castle*. While the book was in the press, Downes alerted him to dubious items of ironwork from Dawson's collection, by then in Hastings Museum (§9), but the appendix he wrote for Weiner's book was not included.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. FAMILY AND UPBRINGING

The affluence of Dawson's childhood was founded on the Lancashire cotton trade. Born in Leyland to a landed family, his grandfather Hugh (1810/11–

63) had built a mill in Preston in 1832 and expanded the business to 47 spinning mules and 708 looms, making it the 6th in spinning and 13th in weaving of the town's 54 cotton firms in 1864. But the affluence brought squalor for others. Nearby in 1861:

Leyland Street and Dawson Street...are back to back with cruelly small yards, all of which have pits and privies; and there are two holes made in the wall at the end of the row, for the overflowings to be carried to the rest of the sewage streamlets, with which this neighbourhood is defiled.

Children made a rough playground where a few inches beneath the surface were buried the blood and guts and offal from a slaughter house. Clearly no benevolent mill owner, Hugh died wealthy with assets (that is, estate excluding freehold land and buildings) of nearly £80,000.

His elder son, Charles's father, also Hugh (1836–84), was working in the business when he married Mary Ann Chaffer (1837–1922), daughter of a Burnley stone merchant, at Ffestiniog in 1858. They set up home on Fishergate Hill, a main thoroughfare in central Preston, where their first three children were born. In spring 1863 they rented, in more salubrious surroundings, Tulketh Hall in Ashton-on-Ribble, just west of Preston, a substantial house much altered in 1860. There Charles was born on 11 July 1864. But by then Hugh senior had died and Hugh junior was realising his inheritance by selling the mill and other family property.<sup>10</sup> Around the end of 1865, the family moved to Richmond, Surrey, where the youngest child was born. Hugh enrolled as a law student in the University of London, was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1869 and called to the bar in 1872, though he probably never practised. By 1869 the family were wintering in Hastings, in April 1871 were enumerated at the same address and by 1876 resided at 7 Warrior Square Terrace, St Leonards-on-Sea, just west of the boundary with Hastings. In 1881, the household included a nurse and five servants. He was to die late in 1884, aged 48, having been 'in failing health for some time past', leaving a personal estate of £21,300 and three farms in Westfield, some 288 acres sold for £8000 in 1891.<sup>11</sup>

Hugh and Mary's first child was Hugh Leyland (1859–1931) who graduated from the University of Cambridge, was ordained as an Anglican

priest and spent most of his career, 1895–1927, as perpetual curate of Clandown, Somerset.<sup>12</sup> The second son, Thomas Chaffer (1861–1933), started an army career but resigned in May 1883, probably having failed to gain a regular commission, and then joined Charles as an articled clerk with a Hastings solicitor and, newly married, passed his final examinations in July 1888. The next year he followed his father-in-law to Guelph, Ontario, Canada, where he completed training as a lawyer followed by practice in New York. Between 1915 and 1926 he described himself as a treasurer.<sup>13</sup> Third was Constance Marian (1862–1947) who in 1896 married (as he became) Major-General Charles L. Gordon.<sup>14</sup> Then came Charles, known in the family as Charley.<sup>15</sup> The youngest child was (Arthur) Trevor (1866–1931) who entered the Royal Navy in 1879, but left the service in 1896 to join the armaments manufacturers Vickers, rising to be managing director from 1906. The Government sent him to New York in 1915 in connection with the munitions crisis and in some way his brother Thomas assisted him. Knighted in 1909, he narrowly missing a barony in 1917, received a baronetcy in 1920 and died a rich man worth £258,000. 'Tall, athletic, and dominant, he worked with ferocious energy; the pace and intensity of his life would have broken most men.'<sup>16</sup>

Hugh's enthusiasm for the Preston (11th Lancs) Rifle Volunteers may have guided his choice of school for all four sons, the Royal Academy in Gosport. Founded in 1791 as Dr Burney's Academy to prepare boys for careers in the Royal Navy, by the Dawsons' time it had a wider scope. Following the introduction in the 1850s of competitive entry to public service, among the 150 pupils were not only boys from age eight in the navy class, but also young men in the militia cramming for the Militia Competitive Examination to enter the regular army; candidates for the military academies at Woolwich and Sandhurst and for the Royal Indian Engineering College; and also boys destined for the universities. The Dawsons well represented the spread: Trevor left to become a naval cadet just aged 13, Hugh was at the school aged 17¾ with a place at Cambridge, as was Thomas aged 19, returning after gaining a militia commission. In seven old Georgian houses, 'it was a rough life, very bad food and no proper sanitation. But it was a happy community as the older boys allowed no bullying.'<sup>17</sup>

Exactly when Charles was at the school is uncertain, but he may have left immediately before being articled in July 1880 to the Hastings solicitor Frederick Adolphus Langham (1836–1913). During the next four years he and more so his brothers Hugh and Thomas were frequently named in press reports of rugby and cricket. For about two years in 1885–7, he was placed with Frederick's cousin, Samuel Frederick Langham, at 10 Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn. While there, in January 1886, he completed the Law Society's examinations and in July 1887 was enrolled as a solicitor. Meanwhile, his mother had given up the Warrior Square house by April 1885 and moved to Kingsand near Devonport, Cornwall, and by January 1887 to Ilfracombe and later to Bath. Returning to Hastings, Charles lodged at 30 Cornwallis Gardens, initially with his brother Thomas. He may have practised independently as a solicitor for some of the time until moving to Uckfield, early in 1890. There he joined in partnership Frederick's brother James George Langham (1822–1907) and James's son Edward Owen (1854–1924), in what became the firm of Langham, Son and Dawson.<sup>18</sup>

So at the age of 25 Dawson was firmly established in what was to be his professional career for the rest of his life. But for 14 years he had been pursuing other interests, and it is for these that he is better remembered.

### 3. THE HASTINGS FOSSIL COLLECTOR

At the age of 12, so Charles told a reporter in 1913, he was spending all his pocket money on buying fossils from quarrymen at Hastings. Six years later, in December 1882, a local paper reported that Charles Dawson 'the local geologist...has, during the past two years, been very actively engaged in investigating the Wealden formation, and in the course of his observations has made many interesting and important discoveries', and was on an excursion to search for Palaeolithic remains in Poole's Cavern, near Buxton, Derbyshire. There he dug through a cave floor for human deposits and published his first contribution to scientific literature.<sup>19</sup>

It may therefore have been in the late 1870s that his collecting attracted the notice of the elderly, distinguished geologist living nearby at 9 Grand Parade. Born in Barbados, Samuel Husbonds Beckles (1814–90) was called to the bar of the

Middle Temple in 1838. Ill-health retirement to St Leonards in about 1845 still left him the energy in 1857 to direct one of the largest ever scientific excavations, for mammalian remains at Durlston Bay near Swanage. That excavation, along with some discreet canvassing, doubtless contributed to, in Charles Darwin's view, his 'very strong claims' to fellowship of the Royal Society of London, which came in 1859. Locally he devoted himself to collecting fossils, the remains of new dinosaurs, and the study of Wealden geology. Beckles was also a trustee of St Thomas's church which served Dawson Street, Preston and which had been built in 1837 at the expense of the Hyndman Bounty, a national charity endowed by a kinswoman to build in populous areas churches to be served by low churchmen. Perhaps dealings with Hugh Dawson, Charles's grandfather, led to Beckles encouraging the younger Hugh in his ambition to be a barrister and, when Hugh too was in ill health, suggesting St Leonards as the place for retirement.<sup>20</sup>

Dawson mentioned Beckles in print only to recall identifying with him the remains of a Dutch ship scuppered in 1690 after the Battle of Beachy Head. It was Woodward who in 1916 recorded their association: by Beckles Dawson was 'helped and encouraged to collect Dinosaurian remains in a systematic manner.' The resulting collection he sold in 1884 to the Natural History Museum, for what it had cost him. Staff spent three days packing it for conveyance to the museum where the Dawson Collection 'now occupies a conspicuous position.' In it Lyddaker identified three new species of *Iguanodon*, named *I. dawsoni*, *I. fittoni* and *I. hollingtoniensis*. With *Iguanodon* remains frequently large, his collection had outgrown any private house. Further, he would soon be working in London, and a move to warmer climes for his father's health may have been anticipated, though forestalled by his death. And the collection may have been worth sacrificing to secure election as a fellow of the Geological Society of London in 1885. Beckles sent the nomination paper to Sir Richard Owen (1804–92), founding father of the NHM in Kensington: 'The candidate is a young friend of mine in whom I take much interest. I have signed it, and have been obliged to sign first, as "personal knowledge" is required for the first signature. He is anxious for some great name, and if you would kindly put yours he would have that he desires, and he and I would be much obliged.' The fellowship



was a signal honour for the 'Wealden geologist' aged 21. After his mentor's death in 1890, the museum also purchased most of Beckles's collection, and Dawson 'gave much help' in labelling them.<sup>21</sup>

Dawson continued to have quarrymen collect for him. In June 1889 he had extended his contacts beyond three quarries close by Hastings to another nine on the Wadhurst clay within a ten mile radius, and in the early 1890s he 'kept two lock-up boxes to be filled by quarrymen at Fairlight and Black Horse with their findings. The boxes were periodically examined. Part of the contents went to London, and part Mr Dawson kept for his own purposes.' Willing to charge only expenses if the keeper of the geology department would 'give an undertaking on the trustees' behalf to have the specimens added to the rest in the Museum and labelled "Dawson Coll" and this generally to apply to any further consignment of specimens until further notice', he sent small instalments of dinosaurian remains to the museum in 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1892, 1894, 1898, 1909 and 1912.<sup>22</sup>

It is unsurprising that, while he was living in lodgings in Hastings, his own collecting (and study) took a new direction: Mesozoic mammalian remains, found principally in the form of tiny teeth. This research could not depend on quarrymen, but required him to sift through weathered debris at the foot of quarry or cliff for breccia fallen from bone beds exposed higher up the face. In the first seven years he searched 'many tons' of debris and retrieved about a hundredweight of material for close examination. He started this work in 1886 and his first published find was highly significant. By comparison with Beckles's finds, of slightly earlier date, of the type species of *Plagiaulax* (so named by Falconer in 1857), in 1891 Woodward identified Dawson's discovery as the only known remains of a Mesozoic mammal from the great area of south-east England and western Europe covered by the sands and clays of the Wealden period. Despite arranging advance publicity in the *Daily Graphic*, *Nature* and *The Athenaeum* ('The long-expected discovery of a Wealden mammal has at last been made by Mr. Charles Dawson, FGS'), he had to miss the meeting of the Zoological Society at which Woodward announced *Plagiaulax dawsoni* and urged him to reveal the find-spot only 'to anyone who would not take a mean advantage of the knowledge.' However for a meeting he attended in March 1893 he prepared a section drawing to

place the bone beds in relation to other strata. Unfortunately, the tooth, measuring only 4mm in its largest dimension, was a month before broken when Woodward exhibited it at a conversazione of the Geologists' Association.<sup>23</sup>

*Plagiaulax dawsoni* is significant in several other respects. Firstly, despite this promising start Dawson's next published contribution to palaeontology was a full twenty years later, when Woodward determined a further two specimens to be of the same species. These two publications neatly bracket his antiquarian career. Secondly, the specimens assigned to *P. dawsoni* are no longer considered to be mammalian, and the name has been dropped from the literature. Thirdly, Russell has argued that the specimens of *P. dawsoni* are forged. These matters are considered in §14 and more fully in Appendix 4.<sup>24</sup>

In 1916 Woodward observed that Dawson 'made few contributions to geological literature – he preferred to hand over his specimens to experts who had made a special study of the groups to which they belonged.'<sup>25</sup> In common with many other collectors, Dawson had no option, for he lacked the leisure and access to collections to make independent contributions to the literature and thereby gain further recognition. In fact the only works of which he was a named author concerned Piltown Man. So he switched his main attention to antiquarianism and archaeology in 1891, as described in §6.

#### 4. THE BACHELOR UCKFIELD SOLICITOR

The firm which Dawson joined in 1890 was founded by a youthful J. G. Langham on moving from Hastings in about 1847. He was Uckfield's first resident solicitor in modern times, setting up home and office at The Wakelyns, a large villa midway between the town centre and where the railway station was to open in 1858. It was the railway – of which Langham was an active promoter – which turned Uckfield from a large village to a small town, and what came to the Langhams was business generated by the town's growth and the Victorian expansion of local government. Effectively the town clerk, Langham was clerk to the Uckfield Local Board of Health from its formation in the late 1850s, to the Urban Sanitary Authority and to the Uckfield petty sessions division.<sup>26</sup>

Local government was reorganised with effect from 1894 and the Langhams may have been unwilling to take on the extra responsibilities entailed. In anticipation of their retirement from the partnership and the sale of *The Wakelyns*, the firm's offices were moved in 1894 to the Public Hall in the town centre, built in 1877 particularly to house the petty sessions. They served as clerks only for the first few months of the Uckfield Urban District Council, with Dawson taking over from April 1895. Already living in Eastbourne by 1891, they continued to practise together there as Langham & Co. Dawson bought them out of the Uckfield partnership and continued the firm as sole principal until 1905. If the £1000 which antiquary J. E. Ray offered in 1901 for a moribund Bexhill practice is a guide, buying the well-established Uckfield firm must have cost Dawson considerably more. His inheritance from his father was no more than £4000, so he may have had little capital left.<sup>27</sup>

In 1899 Dawson listed his official positions as clerk to the Uckfield petty sessional division (sitting on alternate Thursdays), clerk to the Uckfield Urban District Council (meeting on the first Friday each month), solicitor and secretary to the Uckfield Water Co. (formed 1890) and to the Uckfield Cattle & Auction Market Ltd (formed 1898), solicitor to the Uckfield Building Society (formed by 1861) and to the Uckfield Gas Co. Ltd (formed 1859), steward of Barkham, Netherhall and Tarring Camois manors, and honorary secretary to Uckfield Cottage Hospital (built 1881). In 1905 he was also solicitor to the Uckfield Trademen's Association; and from 1891 he was an active manager of the parochial school.<sup>28</sup>

Clerking the district council was probably the most onerous office. The council served a small area, the parish of Uckfield, 1760 acres, though with a growing population (some 2500 in 1891 reaching 3300 in 1911) and paid only three officers, Dawson, the surveyor and the medical officer of health. Dawson received £55 a year initially, rising to £105 the following year and to £125 by 1911. From these fees he had to meet the costs of clerical staff and offices. The council met monthly and, in between, five or six committees convened, usually at Dawson's offices. Agenda items were few, the officers' or committee's recommendations were usually approved and the minutes often written in advance. But nearly every item entailed correspondence and bookkeeping, whether letting

an allotment, allowing a club to use the recreation ground, approving a headstone in the cemetery or ordering a barrel of tar, and council business must have required at least one clerical assistant; so Dawson's own remuneration can be seen as modest. Acting, from 1897, as clerk to the petty sessions demanded a higher level of legal expertise and was more profitable, the annual salary in the mid-1880s being £230, with the administrative duties lighter than for the district council.<sup>29</sup>

Dawson's work was more like that of a public official and a company secretary, than that of a country solicitor. That Dawson listed his three stewardships (which he held by 1898) is proof of his doing little in that line of business, the long-established Lewes firms having a near monopoly. The lord of the manors had an estate office in Maresfield – to which Dawson had to apply in 1911 for the names of the dozen tenants. It was while visiting Barkham manor as steward, or so he claimed, that he chanced to see the gravel pit which would yield the remains of Piltdown Man. But he is unlikely to have been a regular or frequent visitor.<sup>30</sup>

Throughout his residence in Uckfield, 1890–1904, Dawson lived at 1 Aylesford Terrace in 'New Town', now 1 Framfield Road, a modest end-of-terrace house built in about 1880 at the near end of the first road from the old centre and a couple of minutes' walk from the railway station and a few more from his office. He rented three rooms from Owen French, a brick-moulder and later foreman in a brickyard, very probably the one further along the road, and Mrs French kept house for him. Their 15-year-old son was a clerk in Dawson's office by 1901.<sup>31</sup>

As for social life, Dawson was in 1893 the first initiate of the newly founded Loxfield Lodge of Freemasons (named after the hundred, an antiquarian touch), of which he was master in 1909/10; and later he was provincial grand sword bearer. His horizons were not, however, limited to small country town life. Professional business took him to London and occasionally beyond (in October 1900 he missed a meeting in Hastings as he had to attend a sale in Nottingham, for example).<sup>32</sup> His antiquarian interests often took him to Lewes and Hastings, and as already a fellow of the Geological Society and from 1895 of the Society of Antiquaries he may have attended meetings in London. Those fellowships rendered him eligible for membership of the Royal Societies

Club, to which he belonged from 1896 to his death. It was founded in 1894, 'for the association in Membership of Fellows and Members of the principal Learned Societies, Universities, and Institutions of the United Kingdom, India, and the Colonies; Academicians and Associates of the Academies, together with persons distinguished in Literature, Science, and Art.' The club house at 63 St James's Street, London opened in April 1896 and had bedrooms. That he chose this as his London club suggests that he aspired to the scientific and cultural élite, to parallel his brother Trevor as a captain of industry, a position from which he in turn benefited (see, e.g., Fig. 1).<sup>33</sup>

## 5. HASTINGS MUSEUM

Dawson remained much attached to Hastings, and when unable to attend the first meeting, in October 1889, to promote a museum in the town, his enthusiastic and carefully-worded letter was in part read out. The moving spirit, William Vandeleur Crake (1852–1917), had talked to Beckles about earlier attempts and welcomed their failure, for 'the heterogeneous assortment of curiosities and natural history specimens which in those days formed the main exhibits of local museums were of little utility or value.' The new museum was to be founded on a scientific basis. Its first prospectus, in September 1891, specified the fields for which exhibits would be accepted: objects illustrating the history of Hastings and surrounding districts; objects connected with local industries; geological specimens illustrating the Wealden formation and adjacent strata; zoological specimens of the sea and seashore; and specimens representing the fauna and flora of the surrounding districts. Knowledgeable individuals were designated to be responsible for the displays in each field. By 1891 the borough council had granted the use of rooms in the Brassey Institute, the Hastings & St Leonards Museum Association had been formed to manage the museum, Beckles had died and the association had bought items from his geological collections which 'proved to be the real nucleus of the present Museum.'<sup>34</sup>

At this juncture Dawson became actively involved. As someone who had worked with Beckles and already established his own reputation in the field, he marked himself out to assist Philip James Rufford (1852–1902) in arranging the geology

display and especially the flint implements. By the opening in August 1892, Dawson had also provided photographs of the castle dungeons and lent 'ancient bronze axe-heads, arrow tips, etc., fragments of iron knives, keys, arrowheads, etc.' Representing the Natural History Museum, A. S. Woodward noted Beckles and Dawson's valuable work on the Wealden formation, and that the museum 'was to be one of the modern type as opposed to the old idea that a museum should be simply a place for curiosities and amusement.'<sup>35</sup>

Dawson and Rufford were in 1907 described as having been rival collectors and that may have caused friction which led, by 1897, to Rufford being solely responsible on the specimens committee for geology, and Dawson for ethnography.<sup>36</sup> In that year Dawson rearranged the ethnographical specimens to incorporate the 'kitchen midden relics' from the rock shelters at Fairlight, donated by W. J. Lewis Abbott (1853–1933), a prominent and well-respected collector. The latter, however, moved from Tunbridge Wells to Hastings in 1898 and soon eclipsed further Dawson's role. From 1899 Abbott led on tertiary geology, mineralogy and petrology, and ancient and modern anthropology, with Dawson assisting only on the last (and then not between 1903 and 1909). In 1900, when the museum moved to larger accommodation within the Brassey Institute, it was Abbott who sketched out the plan for rearranging the whole of the collections on 'a scientific system', 'with all the objects organised into some sort of order.' Nevertheless, the flint implements, partly Dawson's and partly the museum's, were 'considered the model cases in the building', while '[h]is collection of Sussex iron also gives a true local ring to our archaeological section.'<sup>37</sup>

Thomas Holwell Cole, author of *The antiquities of Hastings and the battlefield* (1867, enlarged edition 1884) had directed the antiquarian section from the outset but he died in 1899, and from 1900 Dawson led on manuscripts, assisted by Crake. The manuscripts section was among the less active for as late as 1911 the museum held only the Pelham documents relating to Hastings Castle and Thomas Ross's notes, besides some printed ephemera. Both those collections Dawson used for the research in which he was deeply engaged from the late 1890s, leading to his *History of Hastings Castle* (1910) (§12). The members of the specimens committee saw their influence



and involvement reduced from 1905 when the borough took over the museum and appointed a full-time curator, W. Ruskin Butterfield. Dawson was rather disparaging of Butterfield: Teilhard de Chardin wrote in 1909 that Dawson 'lets his scorn for Hastings and its museum break through. He declares that the people of Hastings would only ruin the skeletons [of *Iguanodon* found in Old Roar quarry] if they tried to keep them, and I think he's right.' Nevertheless, between 1910 and his death Dawson assisted on local archaeology, meaning mainly 'bygones' for which Butterfield assiduously searched local villages and which aligned well with Dawson's interests in Sussex ironwork and pottery; little excavated material was acquired. And it was probably Butterfield who told a local reporter on Dawson's death that '[a]ll his life he was greatly attached to Hastings, and he was a frequent visitor here, especially on Saturday afternoons, when he came to the Museum to discuss his favourite pursuits – the geology, archaeology and folklore of Sussex', last visiting for a few hours about a month before he died.<sup>38</sup>

## 6. THE SUSSEX ANTIQUARY

Dawson's contributions to the geological displays in Hastings Museum were a swan song to his pupillage with Beckles. The antiquities he loaned reflected an interest which had developed in parallel with geology, but without the focus, guidance and recognition provided by Beckles, and which now came to the fore. In 1882 he had discovered two historic chandeliers in a chest in All Saints Church; in 1883, at the tender age of 18, he submitted to the British Archaeological Association drawings of a dagger found near Hastings Castle and of two bronze celts from Bopeep; in the same year, with Beckles he identified the remains of the Dutch vessel scuppered in 1690. In 1886 he photographed the outer ditch of Hastings Castle exposed by road works; late the following year he sketched a boat found in the sands at Bexhill; and in spring 1890 he identified a seal found in excavations for the lift at Castle Hill, Hastings, as the Abbot of Battle's, already having a collection of finds from the castle. His first historical publication, transcribed in Appendix 3, was an engagingly written piece in a local newspaper in November 1888 about the priory of Black Canons which, its site in Hastings eroded by the sea, moved

to Warbleton. He described his walk from Battle, the ruins and associated legends – and sent a cutting to the Society of Antiquaries of London, an early indication of ambition to be elected a fellow.<sup>39</sup>

So 1891 was not only the year in which Woodward named *Plagiaulax dawsoni* after him and Dawson arranged geological displays at Hastings, but also the point at which he launched a three-pronged campaign to establish himself in the field of archaeology. The prongs were to secure election to the Sussex Archaeological Society, probably in the knowledge that the local secretaryship for Uckfield had fallen vacant; to initiate excavation of the dungeons at Hastings Castle; and to submit the Beauport Park statuette to the British Museum to confirm it as unique proof that the Romans cast iron (§9). The campaign was helped by the collaboration he had formed with John Lewis (§7) and by the happy chance of the opportunity for another excavation, at the Lavant caves (§8). Together these initiatives were sufficient to secure Dawson's election to the Society of Antiquaries in June 1895.

Founded in 1846, the Sussex Archaeological Society (SAS) was one of the oldest county archaeological societies, and with 580 members in 1891 probably among the larger. It employed a custodian for Lewes Castle, which housed the museum, and a part-time clerk to organise meetings, collect subscriptions, etc. and assist in the library (which encompassed the picture collection) in the adjacent Castle Lodge. The society was otherwise entirely reliant on members' voluntary efforts, to run the museum and library, to edit the biennial volume of *Collections* and to organise the two general meetings each year, the summer one being held over two days. It served as a vehicle for encouraging and promoting the activities of individuals and small groups. After 50 years, the museum was still in the 1840s mould and stood in stark contrast to the new Hastings Museum. Only in 1938 was 'a concerted effort [made] to make the Society's collections a medium of systematic education instead of merely a heterogeneous collection of curios.'<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, the scope of its active members' interests remained as defined in the 1840s. The movement that created the county societies appropriated the existing term 'archaeology' for what today would be 'local history': the new discipline sought to undertake studies of the past in

small areas in depth, using all sources of evidence. Such archaeologists had little interest in the pre-Roman, or Celtic, period because written records were entirely lacking and artefacts were few, and because it had been relatively brief, perhaps only centuries, since the advent of mankind in Britain. A new orthodoxy established in the 1860s, that there was a much more distant past in which humans had co-existed with now extinct animal and plant species, was buttressed by innovations in excavation, with careful measurement and recording of layers and finds in three dimensions. 'Prehistoric archaeology', though, was lodged initially within geology. A. H. Lane Fox (1827–1900), who adopted the surname Pitt-Rivers in 1880, used the new techniques on several highly significant excavations on the Sussex Downs in the 1860s and '70s. But even by 1891 these developments had scarcely impacted on the SAS. The cumulative indexes to the first 50 volumes of SAC contain but eight references to 'flint' and the library did not hold the classic Victorian texts on prehistory. The six volumes of SAC appearing between 1886 and 1894 contain 79 main 'research' articles, of which only one was explicitly pre-Romano-British in subject matter, and that was on a Neolithic flint weapon and from the pen of Charles Dawson. An article on the flint mines at Cissbury printed in 1872 stemmed from an evolving interest in prehistoric archaeology within the Brighton and Sussex Natural History Society (B&SNHS), founded in 1854, and Brighton Museum whose purpose-built galleries were then under construction. They remained the local forums for the subject until well into the 20th century.<sup>41</sup>

Dawson was elected a member in September 1891, on the nomination of Henry Griffith (1850/1–1904) and Francis Barchard (1826–1904), the joint honorary secretaries. Griffith was a fellow solicitor, in Brighton (and brother of Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1862–1934), Oxford's first professor of Egyptology). Barchard, a wealthy non-practising barrister, living at Denmark Terrace, Brighton, and at Horsted Place, sat on the Uckfield bench, so knew Dawson as partner to its clerk. In December he nominated Dawson as the local honorary secretary for Uckfield, in succession to Dr Hamilton Hall – who had left to manage his father's stock ranch in Texas.<sup>42</sup> Dawson thereby became a member of the society's managing body, the committee (called the council from 1901),

for under the society's constitution at the time, the committee nominally comprised nearly 60 members: the president, the vice-presidents (the county's nobility and other dignitaries), the local secretaries, the honorary officers and at least 12 members elected at the AGM. No category was precisely defined as to number and all but the last were until 1897 appointed by the committee itself.

In practice those who attended the committee's quarterly meetings were drawn from the honorary officers and the elected members, whose ages ranged from 37 to 74, average 52, when Dawson, aged 27, exceptionally among the local secretaries exercised his membership.<sup>43</sup> The clerk since 1887 (at £25 a year) was John Sawyer (1837–1909), who described himself in 1891 as a general engraver and local preacher. With strong antiquarian interests of his own, a member since 1882 and author of *The churches of Brighton* (1881–2), for another £75 a year by 1893 he also provided clerical assistance to the editor of SAC, Henry Griffith, and indeed had a desk in Griffith's office in Brighton. Sawyer seems to have written the unsigned notes in SAC of archaeological finds based on newspaper reports.<sup>44</sup>

Dawson recruited his friends to the committee. Firstly, in September 1892, W. V. Crake, the moving spirit of Hastings Museum, was both elected a member on Dawson's nomination and appointed to the vacant secretaryship for that town. Then in March 1893 John Lewis (£7) took on the hitherto unrepresented New Shoreham. In December 1895 William M. Alderton (1854–1933), headmaster of Brighton Municipal School of Science and Art, was appointed for Fletching, despite Griffith thinking a local secretary there was 'totally unnecessary' with Dawson at Uckfield. What he was doing did not go unnoticed: the next year Sawyer wrote to the honorary curator, 'Look out for squalls therefore!! Mr Dawson writes proposing (Mr Lewis seconds) a gentleman at Hadlow Down as a member. Another Local Secretary it may be!!! but verb sap once bitten twice shy!!!!' Unsurprisingly, the committee proposed a rule change at the 1897 AGM whereby the local secretaries were to be elected at the AGM.<sup>45</sup>

Dawson rapidly took advantage of his position to promote his own archaeological project. By June 1892, his second meeting on the committee, he had gained permission to explore the galleries beneath Hastings Castle and, starting his long collaboration with John Lewis, had photographed and measured them. Plan and photographs were

shown to the committee and then put on display in the museum in Lewes, as Dawson ensured at least two newspapers should report. An appeal made to members early in 1894 raised the £30 required to complete clearance; with the excavations just completed an additional society meeting was held at the castle that October; and a report appeared in SAC in 1897: an exemplary outcome to a novel initiative for the society.<sup>46</sup> Fortuitously that initiative earned him, by the end of 1892, society officers' recommendation to the Duke of Richmond to undertake another subterranean exploration, at the Lavant caves (§8), which led to a further successful society visit. His loyalty to the society, though, had its limits. In 1892 SAC included an article on the Minnis Rock shelters in Hastings, arguing that they were a very ancient oratory or chapel. Dawson was able to demonstrate that the shelters were only about a hundred years old and that one of the author's sources referred to another location. But he chose to publish his rebuttal of February 1893 in a local newspaper, leaving Sawyer to summarise his corrections for SAC and 'to express regret that a paper so full of mistakes and misleading statements should have found its way into our *Collections*.'<sup>47</sup>

With his profile raised by Hastings Castle and the Lavant caves, Dawson clearly had his sights on election to the Society of Antiquaries, for he made himself known to its president and its secretary, A. W. Franks and C. H. Read, late in 1891 by showing them the Beauport Park statuette (§9). He also secured nomination as an SAS delegate to the annual Congress of Archaeological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries, in 1893, 1894 and 1895. He read a paper on the Battle of Beachy Head to the SAS general meeting in July 1895, 'strung together...from the ordinary English materials,' wrote the naval historian J. K. Naughton who declined to review it, '...certainly wrong in many details.... But it is not worth slaughtering such a trifle'. Since he had secured election to the Antiquaries in the previous month there was some easing of his involvement with SAS. He stood down as local secretary in 1897, but at the AGM nonetheless he exhibited relics from the battle – and had Crake unsuccessfully move a motion for the appointment of a museum committee. As he had written to Crake:

Some beautiful sarcen stones and other objects are going to ruin for want of proper

attention. If you are there will you take charge of the motion for me because you can speak from experience how matters are done at Hastings? I am obliged to attend the Bench that day.<sup>48</sup>

To Dawson's credit is the only special exhibition the society held in its museum in the Barbican. In March 1901 he proposed a display of Sussex ironwork for which he secured loans by the Victoria & Albert Museum and private collectors; he set it up with the clerk's assistance, and prepared a printed catalogue. It opened in December, was enlarged with a display of Sussex pottery a year later (though not also of glass and other objects of Sussex manufacture, as he had proposed) and continued until the summer of 1904. Concurrently he was in 1900–1 on the provisional committee to set up the Sussex Record Society and on its council from 1902 to 1906 when he resigned, though having not attended any council meeting or AGM.<sup>49</sup>

Dawson's nomination paper for the Antiquaries (known as a blue paper) was taken out on 5 December 1894 by Henry Griffith, proposing him for 'Useful work in the Archaeology of Sussex. Local Secretary Sussex Archaeological Society and author of papers in the Collections and elsewhere.' Griffith collected signatures from several fellows and returned the paper the following day. Support from personal knowledge came from two of the three other fellows on the SAS committee, R. Garraway Rice and J. Lewis André, and from Everard Green (Rouge Dragon Pursuivant), and Franks and Read. Supporting from general knowledge were Sir John Evans (immediate past president), Sir Albert Woods (Garter King of Arms), C. H. Athill (Richmond Herald) and Talfourd Ely (a classical scholar). How Dawson came to have support from heralds at the College of Arms is not known. The nomination then went in the queue for balloting. The council determined how many candidates should stand in each of the three ballots held in a year, having regard to the estimated number of vacancies within the ceiling of 700 fellows. Dawson was to go forward on 13 June 1895. The ten candidates were not in competition with each other, and a candidate was elected if 80% of the votes cast in person in his secret ballot were 'ayes'. Blackballing was a real possibility, for in 1892–7, a quarter to a third of candidates each year were rejected. Dawson succeeded, with 46 ayes and 10 noes; the highest ballot for any candidate was 67.<sup>50</sup>

Dawson sought to make his mark by offering to carry forward Sussex in the county archaeological surveys which the Congress of Archaeological Societies had proposed in 1888 and which the Antiquaries was promoting. Sussex had been committed to Francis John Haverfield (1860–1919) who had already, in 1888 while a master at Lancing College, collated references to Roman remains in Sussex, but had since returned to Oxford. He responded that he had ‘been delaying [further work] partly because I thought the Committee were not particularly in a hurry for it, partly because certain Saxon cemeteries &c ought to be included – being important enough to wait for.’ Nothing came of Dawson’s offer.<sup>51</sup>

### 7. COLLABORATING WITH JOHN LEWIS

John Lewis was Dawson’s most consistent collaborator in antiquarian projects. On his election to the SAS in June 1892 and to the Society of Antiquaries in March 1896, Lewis was described as a retired civil engineer, late Public Works Department, East India, and formerly in the service of the Indian Government, qualified by ‘Archaeological research in India and England’. As credentials for excavating the Lavant caves in 1893 (§8), he ‘had much experience in exploring the cave dwellings in Derbyshire’ and to have ‘made important archaeological “finds” in both England and India.’<sup>52</sup>

Lewis was rather economical with the truth. He was born in Brighton in 1835 or ’36 to a coal merchant who soon was keeping the Bedford Hotel but in 1851 moved his coal business and home to near Hassocks railway station. John was then an apprentice, perhaps indentured to an engineer, and may have been in an early cohort of the junior engineers recruited by the India Office through competitive examination. He was certainly appointed as an assistant engineer, 1st class, to the Public Works Department in the North Western Provinces from the start of 1862, and posted to the Rohilkund Imperial roads. He was back in England in July for his marriage to Mary, daughter of Joseph Balfour, a London silk merchant. They returned to Bareilly only briefly, for in October 1863, Lewis joined the East Indian Railway Company as an assistant engineer, working as a resident engineer, 2nd class, on the Allahabad

to Jabalpur line which was opened further down the Ganges valley in 1867. He came home on sick leave in February 1868, initially to London.<sup>53</sup> So his known service in the PWD was about a year and in India less than six years, though in 1898 he claimed to have been there for ten years. He was not mentioned in the PWD archaeological surveyor’s reports for 1861–6. The only evidences of archaeological activity in either India or England before 1891 are his recalling in 1896 that he had persuaded the railway contractor’s engineer, in search of ballast at the Semroul River crossing, to open a large mound that proved to cover a huge quantity of ancient bricks and worked stone and a large piece of wrought iron of undetermined purpose; and his bringing home stone implements from the same district, two of which he presented to Brighton Museum.<sup>54</sup>

By 1871 the family had moved to a substantial house at Upton near Chester. Lewis worked in the silk-spinning town of Macclesfield as agent for his father-in-law who, as a silk merchant, was at the top of the trade, based in London and dealing with the overseas producers. Balfour retired – to Brighton – between 1874 and 1878, and Lewis probably continued as a broker, buying from whichever merchants he could and selling to the throwsters. So Lewis was generous in calling himself a silk merchant in the censuses. His father-in-law died in 1893, with effects valued at the considerable sum of £110,000, so Lewis’s relative affluence may have stemmed from his wife.<sup>55</sup>

By 1887 his wife had moved south, to The Vinery, St Mary’s Road, New Shoreham, presumably to be closer to her father, but Lewis is first found there in 1891. Thereafter he described himself ‘retired civil engineer’ (and routinely put ‘CE’ after his name, a common usage in India). Six years later he moved to Hove and in 1899 to Fairholme, a modern gentleman’s residence in four acres at Fairwarp, north of Maresfield and four miles from Uckfield (TQ 46526), where he became people’s warden on the formation of the parish. In 1911 the household comprised himself, his wife, their youngest, unmarried, daughter, a cook and a housemaid. He resigned from the SAS in 1907/8 and from the Antiquaries in 1915/16, and seems to have left Fairholme early in 1915. He was then about 80. Perhaps he died soon after.<sup>56</sup>

In July 1892, he referred to ‘many a ramble in search of geological lore in Sussex’ with Dawson,

suggesting a friendship cemented before his permanent removal to the county. Nearly 30 years older than Dawson, he may have been a father figure in succession to Beckles. Their first archaeological collaboration must have started around the turn of 1891 when he drew the plan of the dungeons at Hastings Castle which Dawson showed to the SAS committee in June 1892, at the same meeting as Lewis was elected a member (§6). Sitting on the committee from 1893 to 1897 as a local secretary, he made himself unpopular with the officers in seeking access to the society's accounts to examine the deficit incurred in celebrating its jubilee in 1896, objecting to funds 'subscribed for archaeological purposes being used for a picnic unless members so decided.' With Dawson speaking in his absence, he established the right of every committee member to see the books. 'If Mr Lewis is to live happily', Sawyer sourly remarked, 'he must have a grievance.' Nevertheless all the fellows among the elected members of the committee were willing to sign his nomination for election to the Society of Antiquaries in March. Dawson did not sign.<sup>57</sup>

Besides co-authoring the report on the dungeons at Hastings Castle, he assisted on the excavations there c. 1905 and drew a plan for Dawson's *History* (§12); in 1893–4 he supervised the excavations in the Lavant caves (§8); and in 1901 provided line drawings for the catalogue of the ironwork exhibition. With Dawson he led the 1899 excursion of the Museums Association to Lewes, and spoke to the Hastings Natural History Society (and to the sister society in Brighton the following January) on Sussex ironwork, an interest shared with Dawson. Lewis conducted experiments with him in 1897 on the natural gas found at Heathfield and jointly received the Geological Association there in 1900 and at Hastings Castle in 1904. To these published activities may be added stray evidences of their friendship. He passed to Dawson photographs from a friend of a desiccated toad in a flint nodule and accompanied him when he exhibited it to the Linnean Society in 1901 (§9). Dawson secured Lewis's engagement as arbitrator in a dispute between Uckfield UDC and a contractor in 1896, and put his way supervising house building for a private client in 1910. Lewis sounded Dawson out in 1905 about joining a syndicate bidding for a diamond-mining concession in South Africa. More significant is that Lewis was among the half-dozen

friends of the groom at Dawson's wedding in 1905. The dial plate of c. 1820 on which were engraved iron-making scenes after Lewis's drawings may have been his wedding present.<sup>58</sup>

There is no evidence of his complicity in any of the forgeries, etc., attributed to Dawson. However, he was apparently privy to Dawson's attempt in 1911 to thwart L. F. Salzman's election to the Society of Antiquaries (§13). According to Salzman, 'some years' after 1911, Lewis quarrelled with Dawson and, though Salzman did not know him even by sight, wrote suggesting that he might enquire into Dawson's activities in the election. Salzman chose to do nothing then or later. I suggest below that the quarrel may have been in 1914 and related to the Lavant caves (§8). Unaccounted for, then, is the hoax map of Maresfield dated to 1724 in an article by W. V. Crake, but only loosely related to its subject, published in the volume of SAC which went to press shortly after Piltdown Man was announced. Its style points to Lewis as the draftsman, but it was captioned 'Made by C. Dawson F.S.A.' It was full of anachronisms proving its recent composition and, helped by distortion of scale, 'Pilt Down' appeared prominently. Russell has argued persuasively that the map was 'a clever attempt to point the finger of suspicion at Dawson and his latest discovery at Piltdown...a subtle attempt at whistle-blowing.' Although made aware of it, Lewis may have felt that Dawson's attempt to thwart Salzman's election was unreasonable, and may have had some knowledge of what was going on at Piltdown which he shared with Crake. By 1954, Salzman, editor in 1912, may have forgotten about the map.<sup>59</sup>

Lewis cannot have been the intruder on the Piltdown excavation site surprised by the tenant's daughter Mabel Kenward, and nominated by Combridge as a possible perpetrator of, or accomplice in, the forgery. She thought he was wearing an ordinary grey suit and in his forties – Lewis was then in his mid-seventies.<sup>60</sup>

## 8. THE LAVANT CAVES

The honorary secretaries reported to the SAS AGM on 23 March 1893 that 'An account of the discovery at Lavant of some ancient caves has, through some misunderstanding, been communicated to the public journals instead of, in the first instance,' to the society. Lewis found himself at the AGM, in



Dawson's absence, haplessly explaining that they had sent their report to the Duke of Richmond and it was the latter who had furnished particulars to a representative of the press. Having been a member of the SAS for only a few months, Lewis 'did not know the rules' and hoped that 'the Society would absolve him of desiring to do anything out of order or discourteous to the Society.'

Dawson wrote to correct the newspaper report of the meeting. It was a misstatement that the Lavant cave researches had been conducted by the society and that it was entitled to the first report. Dawson had been invited by the duke in a purely personal capacity to report on the advisability of instituting archaeological researches. He had supervised preliminary excavations and on these had reported to Richmond. Although he and Lewis were SAS members, they were in no way bound to report to it, though they intended to offer a full report, with the duke's permission, for publication. He concluded:

It is best, in my opinion, as a rule, to endeavour to assist the Press to set before the public in popular form a truthful account of scientific matters which may be of interest rather than permit them to be victimised by the almost inevitable misstatements which ensue, or that popular interest should wane before the publication of a scientific report at a later and indefinite date.<sup>61</sup>

Dawson's report to the duke is still in the Goodwood archives (see Fig. 2 for a page). It opens with a list of finds illustrated by photographs and continues with a description of the caves as excavated and a discussion of their origin, purpose and later reuse. Slightly amended and reordered, the description and discussion were printed, with an abbreviated finds list, in the *West Sussex Gazette* of 9 March. These were preceded by an account of the caves' discovery by the tenant farmer's shepherd and of John Rusbridger (of Westhampnett, b. 1862) crawling into them.

the Duke..., on being apprised of the discovery, promptly communicated with the Sussex Archaeological Society, and Mr Charles Dawson, of Uckfield, a member of the Society, with the assistance of Mr J. Lewis, CE, set about the exploration of the cave... the expense connected with the work being defrayed by the Duke.<sup>62</sup>

So it seems that on Richmond (or his staff)

contacting the SAS, the officers recommended Dawson and Lewis on the strength of their work on the dungeons at Hastings Castle (§6), and that Dawson, perhaps with the duke's consent, provided the newspaper with a copy of his report, tidied up and amplified for publication. Certainly Dawson's letter following the AGM was disingenuous, and it would have been tactful to have kept the society's officers informed of progress, however strong his argument for newspaper coverage. But reconciliation was readily achieved for mutually beneficial publicity. John Sawyer visited the caves and wrote a brief report for the July issue of *The Antiquary*, a monthly magazine 'devoted to the study of the past', and they were a major feature of the society's two-day meeting in August based at Chichester. At the dinner Griffith claimed that 'no work was ever better done by a local Society' than by the SAS at the Lavant caves. At the conversazione, Dawson showed the main finds and read a paper of which he provided a copy to the *Sussex Daily News* for printing, and the following day led a tour. His paper anticipated a fuller description of the finds in the next SAC – which in the event announced postponement to the volume following, to take account of Dawson's discovery of an earthwork connecting the caves to the entrenchments around Bexley Bushes. No such report ever appeared.<sup>63</sup> The caves as explored extended to almost one acre, there being at least six galleries which were not investigated. They were 4 feet below the surface at the entrance, dipping to some 10 feet below at the south end, and (when in use) mostly 4–5 feet high, but the ground dropped to give 8 feet in the chambers. The galleries were 4–6 feet wide, the largest chamber 18 feet. These measurements accord reasonably well with Dawson's rough plan (Fig. 2), but not with implausibly wide unsupported spaces shown in Lewis's plan (for which see below). The interior view in Fig. 5 falls between.

Two men and two lads started work before 24 January. Over nine days by 11 February 1893 they had sunk a shaft, built a secure entrance (Fig. 3, Fig. 4), and excavated for a little over 100 feet from the new entrance at the north end, down the galleries on the east side, through one chamber to a second which was a dead end. The 2 or so feet of large bits of chalk on the floor was interpreted as fall from the roof since the caves had been abandoned, with beneath nearly 3 feet of fine chalk

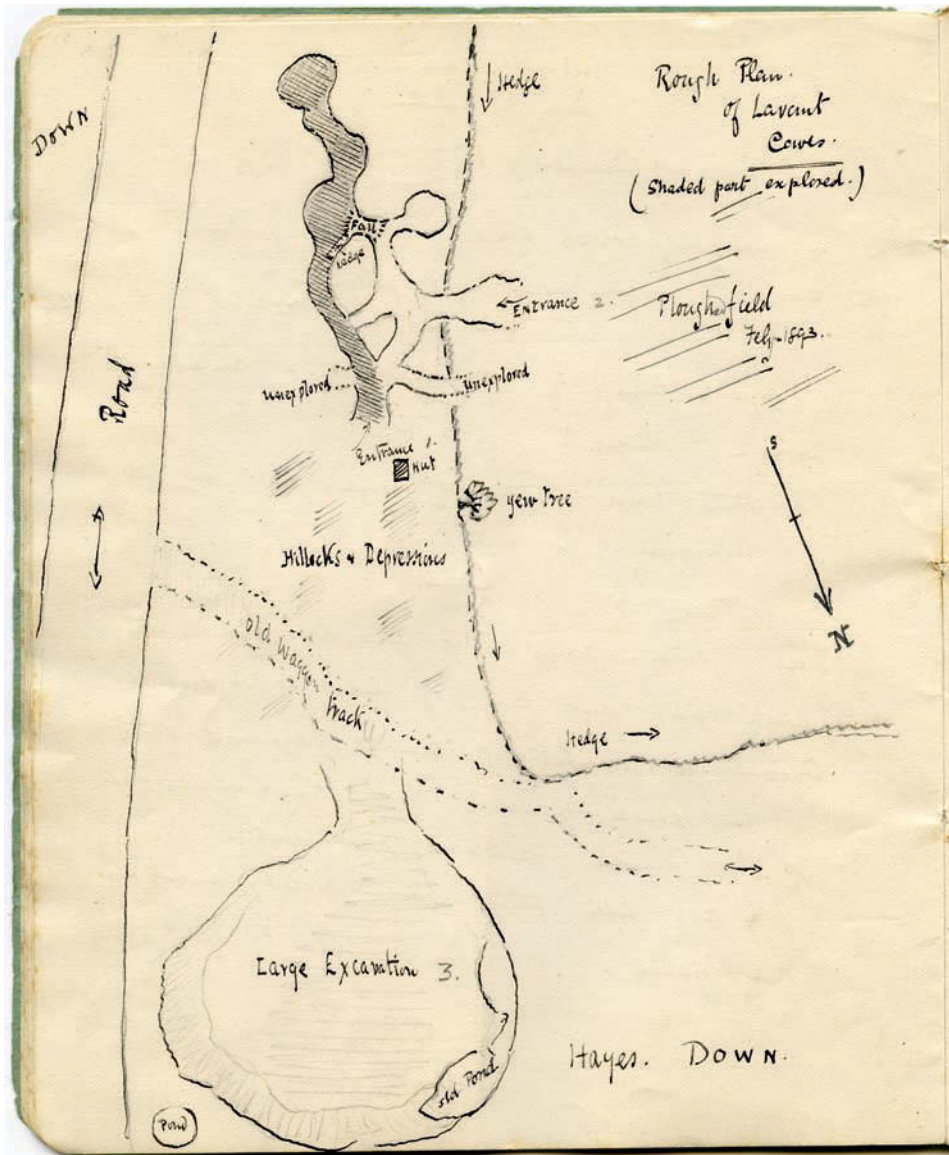


Fig. 2. C. Dawson, 'Rough plan of the Lavant Caves', February 1893 (West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MS.1928, by permission of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collection).

which accumulated before abandonment. As the workmen brought up each barrow load of chalk debris, Dawson or Lewis examined it, but Lewis was on site more often than Dawson and it was he who had made many of the most important discoveries. The finds listed in February were all within 6 inches of the surface of the lower layer, between the entrance and the end of the first

chamber, principally on and around the ledge.<sup>64</sup>

Members of West Sussex County Council, following their March meeting chaired by the duke, visited the caves, as did many others over the Easter holiday, and the duke funded construction of the brick steps which were in place by August (and still visible in 1955). By August too the chamber on the west and the gallery leading to it had been cleared.



Fig. 3. Charles Dawson and labourers at the entrance to the Lavant caves, probably in January or February 1893 and photographed by John Lewis (SAS, Curwen and Gurd, box 2, Lavant).



Fig. 4. 'Examining the debris for relics' [1893], *Daily Graphic*, 6 April 1895.



Fig. 5. 'The interior, showing one of the pillars' [1893], *Daily Graphic*, 6 April 1895.

But heavy rains the following March brought down portions of the roof, and in January 1895 Lewis concluded from a trial shaft that experienced well-sinkers were needed and he was awaiting the duke's decision on the likely cost of £150. That no further work was undertaken is apparent from an illustrated article in the *Daily Graphic* in April 1895 – which Dawson perhaps placed at that late date to support his candidacy for the Society of Antiquaries (§6).<sup>65</sup>

The first independent discussion of the site appeared in 1905, by George Clinch, for the *VCH* – in the chapter which Dawson had originally been commissioned to write (§12). Clinch was helped by Lewis, as he reproduced the large-scale plan which Lewis prepared for display to the SAS in August 1893 and to the B&SNHS in March 1894. The finds, he noted, as indeed Dawson had acknowledged, were a curious mixture of objects, ranging from neolithic implements to 16th-century leaden seals, and while the Roman material pointed to the



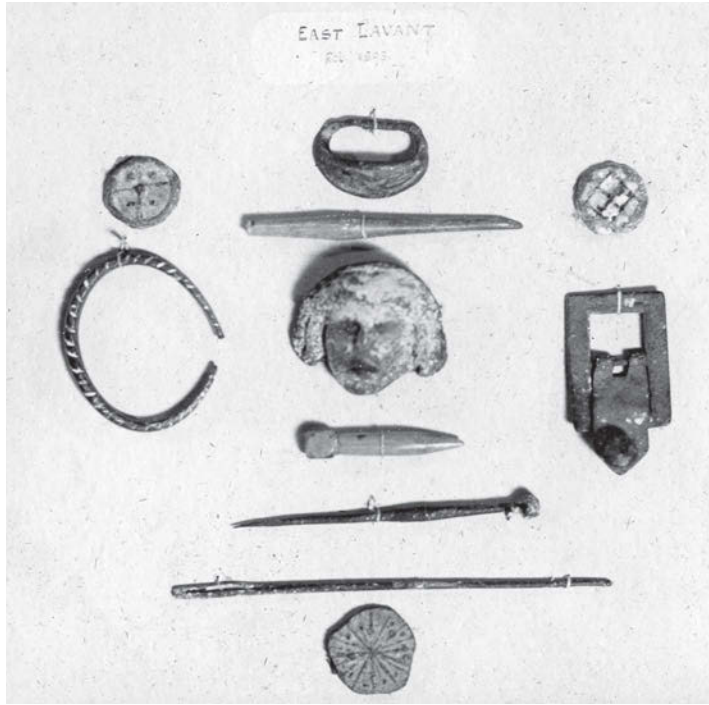


Fig. 6. 'Relics found in the caves – A bronze mask, Roman and Celtic pins, metal and enamel pendants, a bronze needle and three leaden wool-pack seals', caption in *Daily Graphic*, 6 April 1895, to the engraving of this photograph, labelled 'East Lavant Feb. 1893' (SAS, Curwen and Gurd, box 2, Lavant).

caves being as old as Roman times, the evidence so far was not very convincing (Fig. 6).<sup>66</sup> The next published discussion was by Arthur Hadrian Allcroft (1865–1929) in SAC in 1916, following the society's visit to earthworks in the Goodwood area in the summer of 1914. In preparation, Allcroft approached Dawson who replied by summarising the conclusions of his paper and referring him to the *Sussex Daily News* of 11 August 1893, and by pointing to Clinch's article. Instead Allcroft met Lewis, coming away with the large-scale plan, an incomplete cutting from the *Daily Graphic*, five photographs and his own notes which did not in some particulars tally with the newspaper reports.<sup>67</sup>

Allcroft wrote up the SAS outing for the SAC volume for 1916, deploring that 'the promised official Report never appeared, and the writer... found the greatest difficulty in ascertaining something of the facts after the lapse of no more than twenty years.' He had not, it seems, attempted or succeeded in following up the references to

Dawson's report in the *West Sussex Gazette*. What Dawson had published in the newspapers, along with the photographs of finds and the plan, would have fully met SAC's standards in the 1890s for an excavation report. The distinction between newspaper and journal publication was not as clear-cut as it would later become, and from Allcroft's perspective it was the ephemeral nature of a newspaper report that mattered.<sup>68</sup>

Lewis wrote to Dawson at the conclusion of the February 1893 campaign, 'when I can see you, I will hand over the collection of relics brought to light during the time I was in charge of the Lavant caves; one or two of them you have not seen, these I think specially valuable' – not the words of someone in collusion with Dawson. The concentration of the finds in a small area points to Dawson planting them on one visit, fooling Lewis. Certainly it was Dawson who came up with the reason for postponing the promised publication in SAC, while Lewis was the one more ready to assist

Allcroft. Perhaps in conversation with Allcroft he realised he had been duped – and then to have quarrelled with Dawson, as he did do at some date after 1911 (§7). Allcroft in turn may have spoken to his archaeological colleagues of the Lavant finds being planted, and perhaps that lay behind Cecil Curwen's remark to L. V. Grinsell in 1929 or '30 that Dawson 'mixed things' and, though after the Piltdown forgery was exposed, Wilson's comment below. Weiner may therefore have been more correct than he realised to rely on Allcroft's 1916 statement as evidence for the doubts in local circles about Dawson's 'archaeological reliability'.<sup>69</sup>

Early in 1955, too late for *The Piltdown forgery*, K. P. Oakley learnt that a few years previously the duke had handed the Lavant finds over to Chichester Civic Society which had put them on display in the Guildhall, in their own case. He alerted Robert Downes (§9) who embarked on correspondence with people in Chichester. By November 1955, the honorary curator Dr A. E. Wilson had put the case in the corner where not many people would notice and intended to cover it up, for he regarded 'the whole series of specimens as one of Dawson's earlier goes at faking up antiquities.' Downes asked that the British Museum should examine the finds, and Wilson seems to have taken them there – but then got cold feet.

The British Museum are reluctantly 'willing' to make a confidential report to me [as honorary curator].... They do not want any publicity for their views – especially no press campaign like the last one. I have withdrawn the whole collection. It seems to [be a] breach of faith for me to communicate B.M.'s [the keeper, Bruce-Mitford's] views for publication. Also I feel the less said the better now that the situation is accepted.

In his unpublished book Downes suggested that the finds had in common only their small size and that Dawson, concealing them in his pockets, salted the caves with them. The finds could not, in 2008, be located in Chichester Museum's store at Fishbourne.<sup>70</sup>

As to the caves' origin, it is just possible that some of the finds were genuine, but the rapidity with which the caves collapsed after opening in 1892 argues against great age and certainly against their having been opened and reused several times. The recent assessment that the caves 'may be compared with chalk mines elsewhere' offers

as parallels only comparatively small mines in Thetford and more extensive mines in Norwich, the latter being tunnels from open quarry faces and further below ground, to meet demand for building materials in the city from perhaps the late medieval period onwards.<sup>71</sup>

## 9. THE BEAUPORT PARK STATUETTE

On 15 December 1891, Dawson took to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum a statuette from a slag heap at the Roman ironworking site in Beauport Park north of Hastings. There he met A. W. Franks (1826–97) and C. H. Read (1857–1929), respectively keeper and assistant – and also president and secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, so well placed to advance his ambition of election to the society. Dawson contended that the statuette was made of cast iron and therefore evidence, hitherto missing, that the Romans could cast iron. Franks sought an expert opinion from W. C. Roberts-Austen, chemist and assayer to the Royal Mint, and on exhibiting the statuette at the Society of Antiquaries in May 1893 Read reported it as wrought iron. And in the discussion, fellows suggested it might be a modern tourist souvenir from Rome or a modern copy of a genuine Roman original.<sup>72</sup>

Dawson thereupon set about collecting further evidence to support his case. In September, he secured a written statement from the labourer from whom he had acquired the statuette with geological specimens, in 1883. This was James Merritt (1832/3–1908), an agricultural labourer from Wiltshire who had moved by 1871 to Battle and by 1881 to Kent Street, Westfield, close to Hugh Dawson's farms and to Beauport Park. The statement Dawson forwarded to Read who, without comment, returned the statuette. Soon after the May meeting, Dawson had pressed Read to seek a second opinion, but evidently without success. Now, doubtless helped by his brother Trevor who was an experimental officer at the Royal Arsenal between 1892 and 1896, Dawson obtained another opinion from Dr William Kelner (1839–1922), chemist to the War Department at Woolwich, who stated that the statuette was cast iron. It had served to make him known to the officers of the Society of Antiquaries, and only in 1901 did Dawson make public use of these reports, asserting that it



was 'the earliest known example of cast-iron in Europe at least.'<sup>73</sup>

The statuette, however, cast a long shadow. Ernest Straker in *Wealden iron* (1931) thought deception might have been practised as 'a replica in modern cast iron would not be difficult to cast and corrode by burial.' In 1935–6 he sought opinions from the Victoria and Albert Museum ('I do not feel from the general style and method of casting that it can be earlier than the 18th century') and a German scholar, Dr Otto Johannsen (who thought it was genuine).<sup>74</sup>

Straker's comment caught the eye of Robert Leslie Downes (1920–82). Downes went from Stockport Grammar School to Queens' College Cambridge, where, after war service, he graduated in history and also completed the Certificate in Education. His teaching career was entirely at Worcester College for the Blind, interrupted for a year, 1952–3, for full-time postgraduate research at the University of Birmingham under Professor W. H. B. Court, working on the economic history of the iron industry before 1800. In May 1954 he asked Hastings Museum to send the statuette for metallurgical analysis by the British Cast Iron Research Association, Birmingham. The report and subsequent correspondence stated that 'there is no reason why it could not have been made in modern times' and that the significant amount of sulphur might indicate the statuette to have been produced from a furnace using coke as a fuel.<sup>75</sup>

Downes devoted that summer to research on Dawson and particularly on five items of ironwork which Hastings Museum had acquired from Dawson's loan collection (the Uckfield horseshoe, the Lewes prick-spur, the 1515 anvil, the axe from Beauport Park, in addition to the statuette). John Manwaring Baines (1910–2002), the curator, referred to Downes's findings in his address to the AGM of the Hastings Museum Association, and a local reporter passed the intelligence to *The Times* to which Baines gave an interview. Under the headline 'MUSEUM EXHIBITS DISCREDITED / PILTDOWN SKULL MAN'S "FINDS" / PLAGIARISM IN HISTORY', *The Times* on 15 November 1954 reported Baines as saying that 'five of the specimens from the Dawson collection in the museum had now been discredited, and others might also prove to be bogus.' Two paragraphs were devoted to the Beauport Park statuette. Downes was devastated: 'You have thrown away my six months of intensive

work, without me getting any credit for it.' Baines pleaded that he had been unable to contact Downes in a hurry and had given the cue for him to send *The Times* an article. But all the paper printed was a letter in which Downes identified himself as originating investigation of the objects and warned that, if they were fraudulent, there was 'no evidence to prove any particular person responsible.' Baines's sincere regrets, accepted by Downes, rang rather hollow when a few days later *Punch* printed a long piece based on 'some cool detective work by the alertly studios...Curator.' Only the identification of Dawson's debt to William Herbert in the *History of Hastings Castle* (see §12) was actually to Baines's credit.

Downes believed that if his work 'had been revealed in the proper place at the proper time under my name, it might have given me a reputation which would have helped in my advancement from a research student and schoolmaster perhaps to a university post.' If he had concentrated on his thesis and gained a PhD in economic history he might have had a better chance. But he may by then have discovered that M. W. Flinn was working on the same topic, and was thrashing around for an alternative. Although Downes prepared, at the publisher's suggestion, 500 words as an appendix to Weiner's book, only his conclusions on the statuette were briefly reported and acknowledged in the text. His book on Dawson, intended to be scholarly yet popular, did not find a publisher.

*The Times's* report reignited the press's interest in Dawson. The *Sussex Express* ran a series of articles and the US pictorial magazine *Life* sent a reporter and camera crew to Hastings. In the 1970s Baines wrote an account of these events and unfairly referred to Downes as a 'crank' suffering from persecution mania. He clearly had more time for *Life's* black reporter who laddered 'her black nylon (or were they silk?) stockings' on the photographer's equipment and changed them during the lunch break. 'What it must be to have an expense account I pondered.'<sup>76</sup>

In 2003 the fabric of the statuette was analysed for a fourth time, along with another figure recovered from a spoil heap at Beauport Park by Alan Scott in 1976. Craddock and Lang found both figures to be grey cast iron and neither likely to be of any great age. Chromium was found in the corrosion of Dawson's statuette, almost

certainly originating from the application of potassium dichromate, either to induce corrosion or at least to encourage staining. Scott's figure was more heavily corroded and carried traces of soil. Largely from Dawson's implication in other frauds, they concluded that his account of the statuette's provenance was almost certainly spurious ('Dawson's stories...were usually total fabrications'), that in all probability he acquired it in an uncorroded condition and that Scott's figure was much more likely to have been buried. They offered no explanation as to why Scott's figure was found in a Roman context.<sup>77</sup>

An alternative interpretation runs as follows. Unless Dawson bribed Merritt to write a false testimony, he had sound evidence of the statuette's discovery. As a photographer Dawson knew that potassium dichromate was used for stabilising prints, and indeed years later an Uckfield photographer recalled providing Dawson with the chemicals which, as Dawson acknowledged, he used on the Piltdown finds to harden them. Scott's statuette is more corroded because it lay in the ground for a century longer than Dawson's, from which traces of soil may have been removed by its treatment. Both may have been buried when the Beauport Park slag heap first attracted archaeologists' interest. At the same time as he sought out Merritt, Dawson enquired after Mr Rock who around 1877 had recorded the heap being dug for road metal. James Rock (1818/19–97) was a high-class coach builder in Hastings who must have had a forge at his works, or ready access to one. He may have experimented with making castings in iron from bronze replicas of Roman statues and burying them, or to have inadvertently excited his workmen, with the diggers, to do so with intent to retrieve them for sale as antiques.<sup>78</sup> So it is possible that Dawson was an innocent victim of others' forgery, and the timing rather supports that. His deliberate switch to antiquarian pursuits was late in 1891. He then retrieved from his own collection a statuette acquired some years earlier, when his main interest was geology, and deployed it to his new goal – whereas generating the forgery himself would have required a longer lead-time.

Some have doubted all Dawson's accounts of provenance. Granted, he did not help himself in this instance by naming the finder as William rather than James Merritt, in his published account of 1903 – his memory may have failed him a

decade after he had sent Merritt's testimony to Read, and laid up in bed, 'seriously ill' he had had to complete his manuscript for the editor under pressure of time. Another instance where Dawson has been too hastily condemned is the desiccated toad resting in a flint nodule, found and broken open by road menders. Shrinkage of the toad since 1901 suggests that then it was recently deceased and was fraudulently placed in the broken nodule. Russell overlooked Dawson's lengthy and entirely plausible account of how it reached Brighton Museum. Dawson made the valid point: 'the rare and fortuitous nature of most of [such] discoveries renders the probabilities so much in favour of their being made by unscientific persons, that we must, perforce, receive with caution, but with respect, the only *possible* evidence, where it proves to be reasonable and consistent.' All the people named – Joseph Isted and Thomas Nye, the labourers who found it, the Lewes physician Dr John Burbidge to whom Nye took it and who, to Nye's annoyance, fractured part of it, Mrs Burbidge who photographed it, John Lewis who passed on prints of the photographs to Dawson – can be traced in the censuses, and an extremely elaborate hypothesis would be required to put Dawson, rather than Isted and Nye, in the frame as the fraudster.<sup>79</sup>

## 10. MARRIAGE AND THE CASTLE LODGE EPISODE

### 10.1. WHAT THE DOCUMENTS SAY

From 1885 the SAS rented part of Castle Lodge, adjacent to Lewes Castle, for its library and picture collection. Dawson bought it for his own use in 1903 and his terminating the society's tenancy was, in Weiner's judgment, largely the reason why 'Dawson did not command high esteem in the archaeological circle of Lewes' and why his Piltdown discoveries elicited profound scepticism. The council's report for 1903 had recorded its understanding that if the property were to be sold the society would have the option of acquiring it, and in the society's centenary history of 1946, L. F. Salzman added that the vendors 'seem to have believed that [Dawson] was buying on behalf of the society', though fortunately (as it later proved) the society was better served by buying, in 1907, Barbican House.<sup>80</sup> In 1926, Paul Matthewson, a visitor to the museum reported to H. S. Toms

that he found that the palaeoliths were very few and poor, that none had come from Dawson and that the erroneous statement appeared in a display that:

Strepyan or Chellean flints had not been found in Sussex, forgetting altogether Piltdown or, as Dawson was so closely connected with Piltdown, ignoring the finds altogether as a protest not confined to the man but including his works, a human outlook but unscientific. Dawson was not loved in Lewes for reasons connected I think with the purchase of the Museum house.

And Salzman, probably in the 1960s, gave that as the reason for the society ignoring Dawson's most spectacular 'discovery'.<sup>81</sup> The 'Castle Lodge episode' (as Weiner called it) therefore deserves close attention and I start with the written record surviving from the time, then consider some consequences following from the events and the inaccurate accounts Weiner gathered in 1953–4, before drawing conclusions.

The site of Castle Lodge was granted out of the waste of the manor of Lewes Borough in 1724, as a copyhold tenement. In accordance with the custom of the manor, the copyholder was free to sell or bequeath the tenement on payment of customary fees. In about 1857, the former Castle Inn and its outbuildings then standing on the curtilage were demolished, except for some stabling. Castle Lodge was built on the south part of the site, abutting the stabling.<sup>82</sup> Robert Crosskey (1828–88), Lewes's leading draper, bought the copyhold in 1874; he lived immediately opposite in Castlegate House.<sup>83</sup> Having joined the SAS in 1857 and become its honorary curator and librarian in 1879, in 1885 he let Castle Lodge to the society. Its library and the castle's custodian and his wife moved out of the Barbican which was then given over entirely to the museum. Crosskey died in November 1888 and his estate was vested in a solicitor and a jeweller living in London.<sup>84</sup> Except for an interlude in Keymer around 1896–1900, his widow Ada (1841/2–1918) continued to live at Castlegate House until moving to Devon in 1903. The trustees' dealings with tenants of the Lewes properties were conducted through Arthur Harris (1861–1941) who had succeeded to his father Cornelius's business as a house agent in 1881, and also worked as a bank accountant, becoming manager of Lewes Old Bank between 1899 and 1905.<sup>85</sup>

On the society's side, the honorary secretary since 1897 was Henry Michell Whitley (1845–1928) who also edited the *Collections* from 1895. He was a civil engineer, MICE, and his principal employment was as resident land agent, engineer and surveyor of the Sussex estates of Carew Davies Gilbert, the main component of which were houses and ground rents in Eastbourne, one of the largest urban estates in the county. The Davies Gilbert family's other lands and main residence were in Cornwall, where Whitley's father Nicholas (1810–91) had been recruited to develop the Eastbourne estate. Whitley's career started in Cornwall, but he took over from his father in Eastbourne in or about 1888 and was doing work in the town before then. He also had a professional practice in Westminster as a parliamentary agent. He had strong antiquarian interests, and, following his father's 20 years in office, in 1879–93 he was joint honorary secretary of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, in whose *Journal* he published historical articles between 1881 and 1907. In 1883 he completed in manuscript a history of the manor of Eastbourne, from documents in the Public Record Office and the British Museum, and from 1890 was one of the first contributors to SAC to write on prehistoric finds.<sup>86</sup> He was therefore well qualified to manage the society's accommodation. Complaints about Castle Lodge had been recurrent since at least 1889. He himself in 1893 had called attention 'to the cold and draughty condition of the Library' and how it might be remedied, and in 1900 to the defective sanitary arrangements which would be condemned by the local authority and placed all in the house at a serious risk.<sup>87</sup>

In 1897 John Sawyer 'was got rid of' as clerk, the occasion being the decision not to pay extra for assisting the editor of SAC, and in his place Whitley selected Clifton George Turner (1870–1956) who received only £20 a year. At the time aged 27, his principal job was as a clerk in the Lewes Probate Office. However, in 1900 he moved to Uckfield – with the committee agreeing that he might continue as clerk – to join Dawson's office. The two jobs soon intermingled: after the Sussex ironwork exhibition had been set up in December 1901, Dawson recommended Turner for an honorarium 'for many nights' assistance he has lent me in that cold Barbican and to say how well and willingly he has rendered me the assistance.'<sup>88</sup>

Dawson's imperative for buying was his engagement to Hélène Léonie Elizabeth Postlethwaite (1859–1917). She was born in Bordeaux, France. Her father, Barnaby James Gaffney, a general merchant, was of Irish descent, but like his wife French-born; they married in Islington and were living there in 1871. In 1877 Hélène married Francis Edward Postlethwaite (1852–1925), a colonial produce broker in Mincing Lane, City of London, and the son of a Westmorland Anglican minister. They had a daughter and a son, and in 1891–4 were living in a substantial middle-class semi-detached house in Carlton Hill, St John's Wood. For the 1891 census she described herself as a journalist, and I have traced four articles by her. Three are on painters, principally women, in the *Magazine of Art* in 1894 and 1898, based on interviews and uniformly complimentary but showing acquaintance with art criticism. More interesting for her personal history was the article on divorce in 1893. Asserting that 'the proper maintenance of the marriage condition, the giving to the wife her proper place in the family, is the great safeguard of the liberty of women', she argued for divorce by mutual consent and, at the judge's discretion, on any of the grounds on which a separation might already be granted. Following his desertion in October 1894 and subsequent, perhaps contrived, adultery, Hélène and Francis were divorced in 1896.<sup>90</sup>

How Hélène, a divorcée with two children, made this social transition is a mystery. Perhaps her father had died a rich man. Undoubtedly she came to enjoy the friendship and maybe in some way the patronage of Sir James and Lady Marguerite Joicey (1852/3–1911). Sir James (1846–1936), an MP since 1885 and a baronet since 1893, was building up the dominant colliery enterprise in the north-east. Interests in common with Charles's brother Trevor as a director of Vickers may have been the connection by which Charles was introduced to Hélène, and Sir James was to give her away at the wedding. The Dawsons stayed at the Joiceys' country seat, Ford Castle, in September 1913, and it was to Ford Castle that she went to recuperate in October 1916, two months after Charles's death.<sup>92</sup> Hélène must have expected to move with her intended husband to somewhere superior to 1 Aylesford Terrace, Uckfield, and she provided the financial means. Dawson must therefore have made it known to house agents such as Arthur Harris that he was in the market for a gentleman's residence.

Having completed the purchase, on 7 December 1903 Dawson wrote to Whitley requiring possession around Midsummer 1904. Meanwhile, Whitley was making his own enquiries as to how Dawson had purchased Castle Lodge, by interviewing Harris and two members of the council, Aubrey Hillman (1839–1906, retired merchant and farmer) and Reginald Blaker (1850–1927, Lewes solicitor), and reported to the council on 16 December. He understood that Mrs Crosskey had told Hillman that the society should have the first offer of the building; that the vendors had sold to Dawson under the firm impression that they were selling to the society; that in the draft conveyance the society's name was filled in; and that Dawson was addressed as solicitor to the society. He concluded that the vendors had conveyed the property to Dawson 'under the mistaken idea that they were carrying out the arrangement which they understood existed between us', though they had not written to him as secretary to enquire if Dawson was acting for the society, 'neither does it appear that Mr Dawson took any steps to correct any impression the vendors might have been under.' Nevertheless, he did not advise that

counsel's opinion should be sought on whether the sale might be overturned, being averse to a county society engaging in a lawsuit, nor that the society should pay what Dawson had given, £1000 being in his opinion beyond the house's value.<sup>93</sup>

By his silence, Whitley must be admitting that in 1901 he had not followed up the offer of first refusal with the appropriate parties, a conversation between Hillman and Mrs Crosskey not being adequate. He went beyond what Blaker had reported from seeing Harris, namely that both Harris and the trustees 'thought they were selling to the society, and that in the first instance the name of the society was inserted in the draft contract as the purchaser.'<sup>94</sup> If anyone had responsibility for ensuring that the SAS could exercise the first refusal, it was surely Harris, as the vendors' local agent; and it is not credible that he could do so other than by communicating with Whitley or maybe Hillman. As a house agent it was his business to know other townspeople's business, and as Lewes Old Bank's accountant he must have known many people's business. If he had not known of Mrs Crosskey's offer, then surely that would have featured in Whitley's report. It is hard to imagine that Dawson could trick him into believing that he was acting for the society. Harris routinely dealt with Whitley, a highly experienced estate manager, as the society's representative, and would have known that Dawson had long since left the council. If the trustees (one of them a retired solicitor) had signed the conveyance without reading it to confirm the purchaser, they were negligent, and otherwise they could have withdrawn and opened negotiations directly with the society, thereby honouring the offer of first refusal. There is, however, one hint of Harris colluding with Dawson. In the latter's account of expenses incurred in purchasing Castle Lodge appears: 'donation [commission *deleted*] to A. Harris £10 [17 *deleted*] 10[s]'.<sup>95</sup> Any commission was payable by the vendors. Why should Dawson make a 'donation' other than for some special favour?

Furthermore Clifton Turner's two employments may have, intentionally or inadvertently, given Dawson insider information. On 3 December 1903, Whitley complained that Turner had taken home the society's minute books, both current and old: 'It looks to me as if the books are taken to Uckfield to obtain information as to our tenancy.' Conversely, though, Turner wrote to Whitley on 7 November that 'I have heard nothing in respect of

Mr Dawson's intentions in respect of Castle Lodge', which reads like an answer to an enquiry. Certainly the society took no action against Turner, though Whitley noted that, as his wife had recently come into £100 a year, losing his society job would not cripple him.<sup>96</sup>

## 10.2. CONSEQUENCES

The SAS rented temporary accommodation at 35 High Street from November 1904 and Dawson gained vacant possession of Castle Lodge from Christmas. As Salzman said in 1946, it was a blessing in disguise because in 1907 the society took possession of the much larger and more suitable Barbican House. Alternatives rejected between 1904 and 1908 and how Barbican House should be used contributed to a putsch by the 'Malcontents' who forced through a restructuring of the council. Harold Sands's view that the new blood elected in 1907 'will find it a very thankless and unpleasant task to combat the pigheaded stupidity of those members of the late Council who are still with you.... The Society's affairs are a perfect Augean stable' was but the most florid judgment on the old guard expressed in the Malcontents' private correspondence.<sup>97</sup>

The burden of finding temporary accommodation for the society and pursuing options for a long-term solution fell on Whitley and may have contributed to his losing his job. Following inadequate supervision during the construction of the Birling Gap Hotel, in January 1905 his employer Carew Davies Gilbert sent a detailed critique of his management.

You delegate your authority to subordinates, with the result that my interests suffer.... I must add that for a long period (far before this matter cropped up) I have considered your interest in archaeology excessive, and detrimental to my interests. I further consider it has contributed to this disastrous error.

This followed Whitley's attempt in 1899 to dismiss his long-serving chief assistant whose riposte was that Whitley 'is not in the office one half of the year and when he is there is principally engaged on private business of his own with myself to help him'; all the staff were sometimes removed to assist in Whitley's parliamentary work, leaving the estate office in the charge of a stranger. Notwithstanding an anguished plea from Whitley's wife, that he was worrying over his accounts, had



scarcely slept for a week and was too old to apply for another appointment, Whitley was sacked or resigned. In March he also resigned as the SAS's honorary secretary, on grounds of ill health and inability to give the affairs of the society the same amount of attention as he had. He moved to Westminster and continued as a parliamentary agent until retiring to Devon around 1924.<sup>98</sup>

Turner resigned as clerk because the new honorary secretary, a Lewes solicitor, wanted one of his own staff to assist on society business. He became Dawson's managing clerk – and Dawson 'would delight in leading...Cliff Turner up the garden path. After Turner had swallowed the bait Dawson's eyes would twinkle behind his glasses before he gave out a long chuckle.' In 1919, having sold up four cottage properties in Lewes, Turner and family emigrated to Canada, briefly to Toronto and then in 1920 to Trail, British Columbia, where his son Clem (b. 1893) had been living since 1913. With a population of about 3000 and growing rapidly, Trail had developed in the previous 20 years around a plant of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada Limited. In 1941 he recalled that he 'was present with Sir Charles [sic] when the skull of the prehistoric Pittdown [sic] man was discovered', and 'how he and Sir Charles were caught cleaning the skull bones at the office in the tea kettle that the other clerks used for making tea.' A junior clerk confirmed in 1969 that on occasions Dawson boiled specimens in the office kettle. 'On these days I had to delay making the office tea.' Besides using the office gas ring, Dawson may have had other accommodation in Uckfield for his collecting and study.<sup>99</sup>

Fragments of the skull were in fact retrieved from the gravel pit at Piltdown on several separate occasions. The first fragment, Dawson claimed, was passed to him by a workman early in 1908. The second, found by Dawson in the autumn of 1911, has not hitherto had a witness to its discovery but that probably was Turner. A court baron was held at Barkham Manor on 4 August, and even if that was too early for the find, Dawson is likely to have had other reasons to visit the principal tenant and for Turner to accompany him. One wonders whether Turner had a deeper involvement and was the tall and thin stranger with sallow complexion, in his forties, whom Mabel Kenward disturbed at the Piltdown excavation site.<sup>100</sup>

Dawson, of course, acquired a new home. He financed the purchase, for £1000 plus £50 for expenses, by a mortgage for £650 from Richard Isaac Measures of Claremont, Uckfield, and by £400 received from Hélène Postlethwaite, but coming from Lady Joicey.<sup>101</sup> Given its condition as evidenced by the SAS's records, a considerable amount must have been spent on the house over the next decade. In 1908 the garden was greatly enlarged by buying a plot on the north for £370. The ground floor was extended to the north in 1914. The sale particulars in 1917 stressed that 'the sanitation has received special attention, the fittings being of the best modern pattern.' In 1915 the surveyor under the Finance (1909–10) Act 1910 found the house in excellent condition and well maintained and put its market value at £1800. The following year the widowed Hélène rather optimistically hoped to sell for £4000, but there was no buyer before she died in May 1917.<sup>102</sup>

That Charles had married money explains why in 1905 he took George Ernest Hart (1873–1935) into partnership: he could now afford to give less time to legal work and pass more of it to Hart. Dawson had given Hart his articles without charging a premium and paid him wages, a worthwhile investment as it proved, for Hart, unlike Dawson whose real interests lay elsewhere, was a lawyer's lawyer, being author of *The enfranchisement of copyholds and the extinguishment of manorial incidents, under the Property Acts, 1922 and 1924* (1926) and *The Local Government Act, 1933* (1934), and one of the editors of the 1929–47 edition of *Halsbury's Statutes of England*.<sup>103</sup>

Arriving with Sir James Joicey in her electric motor car, Hélène was married to Charles 'very quietly' in January 1905, at Christ Church, Mayfair. As the Church of England then did not perform marriages to which a party was divorced, Hélène declared herself in the register as single and unmarried, a misstatement in which the vicar must have colluded. The newly weds left immediately for Rome on a three-week honeymoon. Castle Lodge may not have been ready for them on their return and Dawson lived there initially only with his stepdaughter.<sup>104</sup> The Dawsons were now neighbours of, indeed bordered on two sides by, the SAS as occupiers of Lewes Castle. There were frictions: whether the path by the house to the Barbican had wrongly been conveyed to him; new windows inserted in the wall adjoining the path and use

of the French window giving onto it; he was not again to erect scaffolding on the society's property without permission; whether he had planted iris clumps on the Castle mound above his garden.<sup>105</sup> But these are not evidence of animus between Dawson and the society, rather the consequence of the properties being in different hands for the first time in 20 years.

More significant is the change in Dawson's engagement as a member of the SAS. Maybe he had hoped from Castle Lodge to fill some prominent role, such as chairman of council. That was not to be, but to allow himself to be frozen out would have been to admit some impropriety, and the council could not prevent him from exercising his rights as a member. Even while the society was under notice to quit, on the very eve of the 1904 AGM, he had the nerve to offer a paper on the Sussex glass industry – and duly read it the next day. Both his future wife and stepdaughter were elected in 1904. He attended AGMs at least until 1908. But he did not publish again in *SAC*; the paper on Sussex glass appeared in *The Antiquary*.<sup>106</sup>

Dawson now had a home at which he could entertain, aided by (in 1911 at least) resident butler and cook, a married couple from Switzerland. There is, though, rather more evidence of a social life outside the home, in male company: he was inducted into the South Saxon Lodge, belonged to the Lewes and County Club and, between 1906 and 1911, the Lewes Musical Fraternity which held smoking concerts at the White Hart. But music making in mixed company is signalled by his four-part setting of 'an old tyme grace'. Quite how Hélène, with her progressive views and moving from the West End, fitted into Lewes society, deserves study. Few Lewesians attended her husband's funeral, but that may have been because it was held only two days after his death and his staff in Uckfield were better able to inform officials and clients than she, herself too ill to attend, was able to in Lewes (see Appendix 5).<sup>107</sup>

### 10.3. WEINER'S ACCOUNT

The Castle Lodge episode featured in the revival of the media's attention to Dawson precipitated by Baines and the discredited items in Hastings Museum (§9). Thus the *Sussex Express* ran the story on 26 November 1954, under the headline: 'Charles Dawson, the Piltdown Scull Mystery Man: 2. When he took the Sussex archaeologists' HQ for his home'.

Meanwhile Oxford University Press had arranged for a *Sunday Times* journalist to work with Weiner on a trailer to appear immediately before *The Piltdown forgery's* publication. The second part, on 16 January, opened by giving Salzman's 'precise account'.

In 1903, the other members of the Society asked Dawson to act on their behalf in negotiating the sale to them of Castle Lodge.... They had been given to understand that the owner was prepared to sell the property to them. A few months later they received a curt intimation that the house had been sold to Dawson himself who forthwith served them with notice to quit. Neither vendors nor would-be buyers had grasped what their intermediary had been up to, and the members of the Society, especially, were flabbergasted.

Salzman's response printed the following Sunday denied any suggestion of the council employing Dawson as their agent. Weiner's reply was appended: he had understood from Salzman that Dawson had used SAS notepaper in his negotiations, but had failed to realise that this use of the notepaper was completely unauthorised. No sooner had he penned that letter, than Salzman received a copy of *The Piltdown forgery* for review in *Sussex Notes & Queries* – in which the same error occurred at greater length, with the added information that 'the Duke of Abergavenny' was the vendor and that Ernest Clarke of Lewes, a man well disposed to Dawson, heard from his close friend, Mr Arthur Huggins, the duke's agent, that he too was taken by surprise.

On 20 January Salzman wrote to Weiner that he had never said or suggested that the society asked Dawson to act on their behalf. 'Any such idea was quite inconceivable, and I really think you ought to have an erratum slip inserted in the volume, as it gives a completely false picture of the position.' OUP was sufficiently concerned that it went further: the leaf in question, pages 173 and 174, was cut out and replaced by an amended leaf which was sent to recipients of advance copies on 28 January and pasted in those copies still awaiting distribution. Echoes of the original text can be found in *The Times's* review, which appeared on the day the book was published and said that Dawson 'played an underhand trick on the Sussex Archaeological Society over a building which he bought for himself'.<sup>108</sup>

What was the origin of the assertion that Dawson used the society's notepaper and which underpins the claim that the vendors were misled as to the identity of the purchaser? In February 1954 Weiner interviewed Ernest Victor Clarke of Swanborough, who claimed that he had been on good terms with Dawson.

He spontaneously told us however that Dawson had certainly perpetrated a 'bit of sharp practice' when he acquired Castle Lodge.... His friend Francis Drake was the solicitor for the Duke of Abergenny and had told him that Dawson had written on SAS notepaper intimating that the society was in the market for Castle Lodge. He, Drake, had persuaded the Duke that the society should be allowed to purchase the house. To their consternation and the Duke's annoyance, it turned out that Dawson bought the house for himself. Clarke regarded this quite cynically as a not unexpected type of commercial behaviour.

Clarke died six days later, on his 86th birthday.<sup>109</sup> Weiner's note of his wife's very reliable memory implies that his was less so. Augustus Fitt Drake (1847/8–1916), of Drake & Lee of Lewes, did indeed act for the Marquess (not Duke) of Abergavenny in estate business in Lewes and also in personal business, as he witnessed the marquess's will. But, although one of the lords of the manor of Lewes Borough, the marquess was not in a position to sell to the SAS, much though, as its president at the time, he may have wished he could. The Clarkes were not first-hand witnesses, and furthermore by the time Weiner published their account, their informant had become Mr Arthur Huggins, the marquess's agent, a change that presumably came from Mrs Clarke. The agent in fact was G. E. Macbean until his death in December 1902 and Ernest Gaisford from at latest December 1903. 'Arthur Huggins' may be an error for Arthur Harris. So Weiner may have attributed Clarke's dubious account to Salzman and then interpreted it to mean that Dawson was instructed by the society. In hope of spoiling the *Sunday Times's* exclusive, the *Daily Mail* sent a reporter to Lewes who spoke to some of the same people as Weiner had, and ran two pieces on the Thursday and Friday before the first part was to appear. Clarke's widow was probably the source of the statement there that Dawson wrote on SAS notepaper to make an offer

for Castle Lodge, leading the vendors to believe that they were selling to the society. Salzman was quoted only on the attempt to sabotage his election to the Society of Antiquaries (on which, see §13).<sup>110</sup>

Dawson was free to offer to buy Castle Lodge, and any fault for the society not having the right of first refusal lay elsewhere. On both the society's and the vendors' parts so many people were involved, that failures of communication there may have been, and the Malcontents a couple of years later had little respect for the competence of those then running the society. Whitley's enquiries may have been self-serving, to exonerate himself, but the most he could find against Dawson was that he had not corrected any mistaken impressions on the vendors' part. A bit of sharp practice there may have been, and Dawson was ungentlemanly to treat his negotiations as a business transaction, perhaps assisted by Harris, but the trustees and their solicitor could have withdrawn before signing the contract. With professional advice to the society against buying, and the purchase of Barbican House so satisfactory, it is hard to see why Dawson should have been demonised in the society's corporate memory.

## 11. THE PEVENSEY ROMAN BRICKS

In April 1907 Dawson exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries finds from the Roman fort at Pevensey. The most significant were fragments of two bricks stamped HON AUG ANDRIA. Subsequently these were widely accepted as evidence that the fortifications were strengthened during the reign of the Emperor Honorius and, indeed, as the sole archaeological evidence of Stilicho's expedition in 395–399 AD, the last attempt by Rome to secure its British province against Saxon attack. They also demonstrated that Pevensey was *Anderida*. One of the bricks, the more complete, Dawson claimed to have found in 1902, beneath the arch of the postern gate in the fort's north wall. The second, in three pieces and to be interpreted only with the help of the first, was found during excavations in 1906–7. R. L. Downes suggested in 1954 that Dawson had planted the second brick to validate the first, and later surmised that, given Dawson's evident interest in the chemistry of pottery and fire-bricks, he had fabricated the bricks. Maybe Downes shared these thoughts with J. M. Baines at Hastings Museum, prompting Baines to outline in early 1973 to D. P.

S. Peacock how Dawson might have schemed to pass off as genuine what were in fact forged bricks. Peacock put in hand thermoluminescence tests which indicated that the bricks had been fired in the early 20th century. These results he published later in the year – and appeared on *News at ten*, the first archaeologist to do so. Dawson had lodged with a brick-moulder from 1890 to 1904, in a road with a brickfield further along, and he continued to work in Uckfield, so had every opportunity to have the bricks made. There can be little doubt that he was the forger.

The first brick Dawson presented to the British Museum in 1908 (registration no: 1908,0613.1), and the second, with other excavated finds, was given by the Duke of Devonshire to the SAS's museum in 1910 (not traced in 2013); made of a grey fabric, they were used for the 1973 tests. In a footnote to his published text, Dawson reported that he had also found, from the eastern part of the wall, portions of a red brick with a mutilated stamp. The illustration in his article is of neither the BM brick nor a mutilated one. So there may have been (at least) four impressions.<sup>111</sup>

Salzman promoted the excavations at Pevensey. His paper of 1906, 'Documents relating to Pevensey Castle' from 1086 to 1591, ended in noting that the walls, no longer quarried for building material, were suffering only from the inroads of ivy and rough weather and the exuberance of trippers, and recommending that, before these influences made the task more difficult, a careful plan of the castle should be made, especially of the keep.<sup>112</sup> A committee was formed to raise funds, comprising William Page (1861–1934, editor of the VCH) as chairman, C. R. Peers (1868–1952, architectural editor of the VCH) and Salzman as honorary secretary, with, in a less active role, F. J. Haverfield, now one of the leading Romanists of his day, shortly to be elected Camden professor of ancient history at Oxford.<sup>113</sup> They were soon joined by John Ernest Ray (1873–1951), a Bexhill solicitor living most of his life in Hastings, and Harold Herrick Lord Sands (1861–1935), a banker's son, erstwhile mechanical engineer turned, in 1893, barrister with a great enthusiasm for medieval castles.<sup>114</sup> The excavations were to be the first in Sussex since Pitt-Rivers's whose conduct approached contemporary good practice.

With the Duke of Devonshire's permission they began in the courtyard in the second week

of October 1906 and continued to March. Most of the funds raised went on the wages of (as described in the next year) 'the excellent and zealous staff of workmen' 'who worked throughout with industry and intelligence.' They numbered up to three and dug without constant supervision, for Salzman and Ray merely 'visit[ed] several times each week', and Sands was later to write of the need for closer supervision. Salzman's surviving field notes are brief and evidence of attendance on perhaps a dozen days down to late November. It was Ray who undertook the recording and prepared the plans and sections that were redrawn for publication.<sup>115</sup>

Ray reported the fragments of a stamped brick to have been found 'in the area about 60 yards from the north wall at a depth of about 2ft 6 ins.' According to his site plan, the only area about 60 yards from the north wall was the southern end of trench VI, where it cut through an area artificially raised by a dump of clay, possibly in preparation for the keep's construction c. 1200. The excavations were concentrated in the lower-lying ground near the north wall because further south 'in many places as much as 4ft or 5ft of clay, containing practically no remains, would have to be penetrated before the level of Roman occupation could be reached, enormously increasing the labour and expense, whereas in the lower ground the difficulty was avoided.'<sup>116</sup>

Downes expressed doubts to Weiner about the Pevensey bricks in November 1954. Salzman's response to Weiner was that '[t]he Honorius tablet [found by Dawson] from Pevensey is quite genuine; we found fragments from the same stamp some years later' and 'Dawson's "activities" at Pevensey simply consisted in going over there, poking around and promising workmen rewards for finds.'<sup>117</sup> The workmen were doubtless least supervised while they were digging through the unrewarding clay dump and were expected to proceed fast, without closely sifting the spoil. Hence, on the one hand, the find-spot of the fragments was not accurately located and, on the other, it may have been easy for Dawson to plant the fragments or to induce a workman with whom he had established dealings to 'find' them. But, by coming from a post-Roman level, their find-spot was of little archaeological significance.

The honour and the glory were Dawson's for finds so significant to the history of the end of Roman rule in Britain. It was he who exhibited

them to the Society of Antiquaries, had his text published in the *Proceedings* and presented one brick to the British Museum. Salzman had the consolation prize of being in his audience at the Antiquaries, introduced as Page's guest – but doubtless was amused by Dawson referring to the fort throughout as 'castra', in error for 'castrum'.<sup>118</sup>

## 12. THE HISTORY OF HASTINGS CASTLE

Dawson's *History of Hastings Castle*, a book of 668 pages in two volumes, was published on 11 July 1910. Salzman's short notice in that year's SAC led Weiner to it, part reading.<sup>119</sup>

The author has displayed much industry in collecting material but little judgment in its selection and arrangement. Apart from errors of translation the misreadings are extremely numerous. It is difficult to say how far these are due to carelessness, inaccuracy and neglect of proof reading, and how far to reliance upon second-hand authorities, as references are frequently omitted or given in an unintelligible form. In many cases when matter is taken, mistakes and all, from earlier writers no acknowledgement of the source is made.

Salzman prompted Weiner to write, as he did in January 1954, to J. M. Baines. Baines had acquired for the museum in 1952 a manuscript volume written in the 1820s by William Herbert, and 'declares that half the material in Dawson's volumes is copied unblushingly from Herbert's manuscript, and describes the rest as gross padding.' Baines elaborated in *The Times* in the same report that so upset Robert Downes (§9).

PLAGIARISM IN HISTORY...A careful examination of [Herbert's] manuscript with Dawson's history showed them to be almost identical, although rearranged and with a lot of extraneous matter added.... There can be little doubt in my mind that Dawson used Herbert's material and, saving his conscience in a few lines in the preface, had passed it off as his own work.<sup>120</sup>

The culmination of Dawson's work as an antiquary and archaeologist, the book had a long gestation. His early interest in the castle and his excavation of the dungeons (see §6) led to a society visit in October 1894, with his lecture printed in

the *East Sussex News* from the text he provided and three years later, substantially amended and augmented, in SAC. To the latter he added a closing footnote:

An immense mass of evidence respecting the Castle, College, Church and Grammar School, about which so little has hitherto been known, has been collected by Mr Dawson from various sources, and we hope some day that they may be properly arranged so as to form a record, both historical and topographical, in great detail. The collection includes upwards of 100 different views and plans of the Castle, before and after its restoration.

Curiously the SAC article refers to 'Bishop's visitations at the Castle, the records of which now lie before us', yet the lecture makes no mention of documents on display – and by the date of the earliest surviving register of a bishop of Chichester, the college at the castle was subject only to royal visitation. The 'mass of evidence' were probably the notes of Thomas Ross (1808/9–81) which his family presented to Hastings Museum in 1896 and which, that July, Dawson was asking to see as soon as they arrived. Indeed in February 1897 Dawson was reported to be editing many of Ross's papers for publication. In the *History* he said he was possession of 'numerous local records' relating to Hastings as a Cinque Port of which he would write separately: these again may have been Ross's notes. The 100 views and plans of the castle found little place in the book. Dawson's 47 loans to an exhibition in 1909 confirm he had a collection, but ranging over the district with only 10 of those displayed being original rather than printed views.<sup>121</sup>

More important was to be Herbert's work. Maybe while an articled clerk in London Dawson had found Herbert's notes and drafts in the Guildhall Library. William Herbert (1772–1851) was engaged by Thomas Thorpe, on behalf of the 2nd Earl of Chichester, to establish the earl's title to the Rape of Hastings and to lands adjoining Hastings Castle. He did a prodigious amount of research in the earl's archives and in the public records, going far beyond his brief and also undertaking excavations at the castle with W. G. Moss; he submitted a fair copy to the earl in 1824. In 1892 the 4th earl gave to the museum documents relating to the castle and rape of Hastings, 1429–1758, and in 1897 to Dawson, to his great good fortune, Herbert's manuscript –



though one wonders whether he intended it for the museum.<sup>122</sup> It was this report which brought production of a history within Dawson's reach and which provided its backbone. Acknowledging the earl's support, he prepared a prospectus, to go out in August 1897 with the SAC containing his article on the dungeons. Cleverly designed, with him his own publisher, it sought at least 100 subscribers paying £1 1s. The plan for a single-volume work of upwards of 300 pages followed the arrangement of Herbert's manuscript, with the history of the castle before that of the college and church.<sup>123</sup>

In December 1899 he signed a contract for Archibald Constable & Co. to publish the book, guaranteeing sales of 150 copies – a deal that would cost him £60 in October 1911, the price having been £1 10s pre-publication and then £2 2s. At the firm his dealings were with Arthur Doubleday (1867–1941), a personal friend inviting him to stay for the weekend, for example. As also the founding father of the Victoria County History, he commissioned Dawson, before August 1901, to write the chapter for the first Sussex volume on 'Early man and Anglo-Saxon remains', as well as sending proofs of other sections for Dawson to read, and asking his advice on a possible contributor and members for the Sussex committee. But despite reminders in March 1902 Dawson failed to deliver his chapter and it was reassigned to George Clinch and Reginald Smith. He also did not complete his chapter on Sussex ironwork for *Memorials of old Sussex* (1909).<sup>124</sup>

Clearly Dawson was giving priority to Hastings Castle, to the petition for the Cinque Ports to be represented at Edward VII's coronation and to the ironwork and pottery exhibition in Lewes. In 1902/3 he was visiting and writing descriptions of at least 16 churches with which the prebends of the collegiate church were endowed, adding notes in the margin of Herbert's manuscript of changes since the drawings of the 1780s by S. H. Grimm, copied for Herbert by Bartholomew Howlett (1767–1827). Around this time he was excavating at the castle to verify Herbert's findings and doubtless to inform models of the castle he made from cork and putty for illustrating the book. In 1906 he had ready for typing a manuscript of nearly the whole of the first volume, the chronological account. Much of the rest, on the buildings and the prebends and prebendal churches, may have been well-advanced in the form of a typed transcript of Herbert's

manuscript with Dawson's amendments.<sup>125</sup> The dating suggests that it was Dawson's marriage in early 1905 which brought him money to pay record searchers, to reduce his legal work and to have time for writing. The book was now to be significantly different from the prospectus of 1897. It was to be a single chronological account and when printed ran to 668 pages of the same dimensions, the additional material being mainly of the translations of documents not included in Herbert's manuscript. That came from five or more searchers who evidently checked Herbert's translations (for the book contains some additional detail), but beyond that were probably left to their own devices to identify other documents, both in printed editions and calendars and among manuscripts in the Public Record Office. Dawson attached their contributions to the left-hand page of a notebook and marked where they should be inserted in his text on the right-hand page (Fig. 7). Well might he bemoan on the eve of publication, 'I am glad to get it off my hands, but the expense of the whole thing is rather trying.'

While the searchers beavered away, Dawson collated the accounts of the Norman invasion in parallel columns under the heads of the main episodes, surmounted by plates of the Bayeux Tapestry. His copies of six translations of medieval texts published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library between 1853 and 1892 show passages marked, sometimes with textual amendments, for the typist. By April 1906, the first three sheets of this section were in proof.<sup>126</sup> Study of the tapestry gave rise to an article in 1907 in *The Antiquary*, 'The Bayeux Tapestry in the hands of "restorers", and how it fared', which he had off-printed. Unless he relied on publications in French, he had examined the tapestry closely, noticing that wool used for repairs in the 18th and 19th centuries had run into the linen and that the arrow killing King Harold in the eye was added by Charles Stothard in his 1818 drawing and was sewn into the tapestry during a later restoration. But he failed to consider that indecent bits which did not appear on the earliest engravings may have been omitted on grounds of good taste, rather than being inventions of later restorers and copyists.<sup>127</sup>

Dawson was overwhelmed by the material supplied by his researchers. That the only translation in his own hand is of the formulaic entries in the printed editions of the pipe rolls

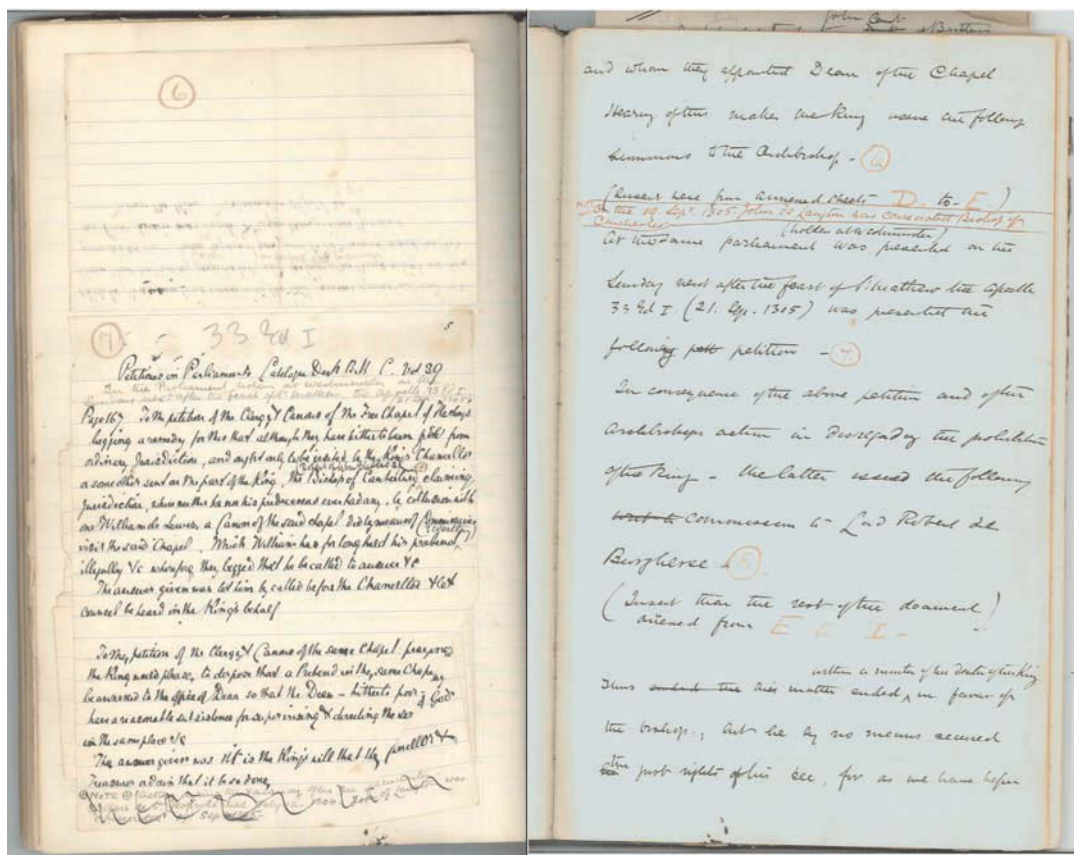


Fig. 7 Facing pages from Charles Dawson's draft of the History of Hastings Castle, part II, chapter IX, 'Edward I', pages 130-5 (ESRO, ACC 10103/3). Insert (7) is a translation from *Rotuli parliamentorum* (1803), 167, read in the British Museum. The text for insert (8) is folded under that for (7). The document, from which the sections marked D to E and E to I were taken, is missing.

suggests a very limited command of medieval Latin. Unable to evaluate the documents and therefore to synthesise them, he put them all in the book, resulting in some strangely structured chapters. For example, Part II, Chapter IX, 'Edward I', runs over 36 pages and comprises about 70% transcripts. On 21 pages are footnotes which are linked to the text by reference numbers. But at the foot of 12 of the pages are abstracts of documents which are not linked to the text, on some pages separated from the footnotes by a rule. On one page, the abstracts are prefaced by 'To this year the following records belong': everything had to be fitted in.

Dawson wanted the book to give the impression of greater scholarship and research than he could

achieve. The key statements in the preface on purpose and method read:<sup>128</sup>

The plan of the present work at the outset was an ambitious one, namely, to take as a type an English Castle and Barony...; to search out its records in the British and foreign depositories, public and private; and finally to arrange them in chronological order, interspersed with extracts from contemporary chronicles, in such a manner that the whole collection may tell its own story....

With respect to the materials made use of by the present author down to the reign of Henry IV [1399-1413], they are almost entirely the result of private researches in

the public depositories of records in England, assisted by reference to the admirable catalogues and extracts compiled by the Royal Historical Commissioners [i.e., the Record Commissions of 1800–37 and the Historical Manuscripts Commission from 1869] and the Public Record Office; some, however, are derived from France, and others from diocesan records in England and from private sources.... From the time when the Pelham family obtained possession of the Castle and Rape, in the year 1424, the documents respecting their title and proceedings had [sic] been preserved in extraordinary volume and completeness.

'Private researches' suggests 'personal researches' rather than heavy reliance on record searchers. No documents directly from French archives are evident in the text. Diocesan records extend only to the episcopal registers at Chichester, for presentations to the prebendal churches, probably searched by the registrar's clerks or already digested by other researchers.<sup>129</sup> As to the early accounts of the Norman invasion, Dawson stated that 'where previous translations have been adopted, care has been taken to check them by the aid of the best evidence available.' The list of 'authorities' cited none of the published editions or translations, but rather 'mention is made of the oldest-known manuscript now extant.'<sup>130</sup> The reader was encouraged to believe that Dawson had consulted the manuscripts, rather than copied from published translations.

His debt to Herbert was fully acknowledged in the 54 pages of Part V on the architecture: Herbert's name appears 54 times. But in the rest of the main text, the best part of 500 pages, Herbert is named only five times, yet the 138 pages of Part IV on the prebends are demonstrably copied from him, while, better hidden by the searchers' extracts, the evidence of copying in the lengthy chronological Part II is inescapable.<sup>131</sup> Dawson acknowledged 'the skilled assistance' of D. T. Baird and G. F. Hill of the British Museum on the sections on the Newcastle papers and the Hastings mint respectively, but there is little doubt that they were the authors. Indeed in the draft a page preceding what became Part II carries the pencilled note 'Account of the Hastings mint' – which appeared as an unnumbered chapter at the end of Part V, otherwise devoted to the castle's architecture, and

shows an expertise which Dawson is not known to have possessed. Surely Hill's contribution did not arrive in time to be inserted at its intended place (plate IX accompanying it is not listed in the contents). One wonders whether 'the able advice' of W. M. Alderton in the description of the architecture of the castle church and most of the prebendal churches meant that Alderton wrote them. In the light of all these instances, his acknowledgements in the preface must be deemed less than was due to those upon whose work he relied, including William Herbert's.

That he was not in command of his material may have contributed to the evident haste in finalising the volumes: he was both fed up and overawed with what he had taken on. The lists of contents refer only to the parts, not to the chapters – rather the chapters with summaries (but not page numbers) are given in the prospectus in circulation in 1910. The plates appear out of their numbered order, and the text refers to plates which are not included. Some running heads appear in the middle of the page. Publication was in the year following that on the title page.

The book was reviewed in four publications. The least significant to establishing its contemporary reception was Salzman's already quoted, a brief notice in a local journal (although it had its own consequences, §13). The other three reviews were in national journals, each the leader in its field: *The Athenaeum*, as a literary periodical, *The Antiquary*, as a popular antiquarian journal, and the *English Historical Review*, as the organ of the historical profession (with the reviewer named, H. H. Edmund Craster (1879–1959)).<sup>132</sup> All three reviewers highlighted the limitations of Dawson's research, skills and method, albeit in some instances unwittingly. Dawson stated that the average reader preferred to read ancient records and chronicles in translation. *The Antiquary* questioned whether the book was for 'average readers', rather than scholars and students, and considered that the records should have been printed in the original, with translations when desirable, by omitting general historical matters. Craster held that the average reader did not need a translator but an interpreter, and that Dawson should have digested his materials into narrative form. *The Athenaeum* found that Dawson stumbled over general historical statements some of which were in any case unnecessarily introduced and,

with other extraneous material, better omitted, and that the best parts were the architectural and topographical details of the castle and chapel – many of which were by Herbert, to whom a long paragraph was devoted. Craster gave several examples of source references which were unclear or out of date (and arose from Dawson's copying of other authors' work as if his own). Both Craster and *The Antiquary* damned with faint praise, in commending certain parts for their value to Sussex archaeologists, true though that has proved to be. Salzman himself said in 1921 that '[i]t contains an immense amount of material and, although disfigured by inaccuracies and misreadings in places, is invaluable to the student.' A review in the 1990s of the castle's history found Dawson's book still rightly considered the authority, and further primary documentary research proved that Herbert and Dawson's searchers had been exceptionally thorough.<sup>133</sup>

Dawson's book did not receive the critical acclaim for which he must have hoped. Maybe he had aspired to secure election to the British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies, formed in 1901. In fact, even before publication, Dawson was turning away from antiquarian research and back to palaeontology (§14). There was, though, one significant repercussion of these reviews.

### 13. SALZMAN'S ELECTION TO THE ANTIQUARIES

The offices of Dawson's publisher in Orchard Street, London also housed the staff of the Victoria County History. Salzman was on that staff from 1904 to 1912, so must have known of Dawson's book as it went through the press and indeed, working in the Public Record Office on medieval Sussex documents, he must have been aware of what the record searchers engaged by Dawson were doing. So in reviewing it he had more knowledge of the book's gestation than Dawson revealed in the text. Although the review ran to only a paragraph in 'Notices of books relating to Sussex' at the very end of *SAC*, it must have galled Dawson, for Salzman had penetrated his defences.

Salzman was elected to the Antiquaries under the same procedure as Dawson 15 years before. His predecessor as editor of *SAC*, the Revd William Hudson, took out a blue paper, collected the

support, from personal knowledge, of the other four fellows on the SAS council, of three VCH colleagues (one of whom, C. H. Peers, was also secretary to the Antiquaries) and of a clerk at the Public Record Office; and, from general knowledge, of an SAS vice-president and F. J. Haverfield, a vice-president of the Antiquaries. Commending Salzman as 'BA, record searcher; Hon. editor of the Sussex Archaeological Society and of the Sussex Record Society, and author of many archaeological articles', he returned the form in June 1910. While his nomination was in the queue for balloting, *SAC* for 1910 appeared. Salzman's name was on the notice of ballot for 2 March 1911.<sup>134</sup>

'That morning, or the previous day,' Salzman wrote to Weiner in February 1954,<sup>135</sup>

many Fellows received a postcard stamped with a rubber stamp – 'Vote for Salzman, Historian and Critic'. One of these came into the hands of the Rev. E. E. Dorling, who was at that time my colleague on the Victoria County Histories. I at once wrote to the President, Hercules Read, stating – (1) that I had nothing to do with these postcards; (2) that I was sure that they were not the work of a misguided friend; (3) that as they had been posted in Bromley, where I was then living, they were clearly intended to prejudice my election.

Canvassing was likely to ensure a candidate was blackballed. After the ballot Harold Sands reported to Salzman that the president had read out his letter with a few very pointed remarks, that the plot had misfired and in more than one instance gained Salzman votes.<sup>136</sup> Salzman was convinced that Dawson was responsible and indeed it must be significant that, by then rarely attending, Dawson was the last fellow to sign the register that evening. John Lewis, another rare attender, was also there and, some years later, invited Salzman to enquire into Dawson's activities in opposing his election (§7). Weiner did not mention the matter in *The Piltdown forgery*, but Salzman spoke to the *Daily Mail*, in the run up to the book's publication: 'Dawson tried to play me a malicious trick which I have never forgotten. If it had succeeded, the consequences for me in the world of archaeology might have been very serious. It all showed his character.' The meaning of Salzman's 1946 footnote to his account of the Castle Lodge episode is now obvious: 'His [Charles Dawson's] name was

later given to the “Pilt Down Man” (*Eoanthropus dawsoni*), the lowest known form of human being, with the discovery of whose remains he was associated.<sup>137</sup>

As the voting numbers were not announced, what Salzman did *not* know was how close he had been to *not* being elected. He received 68 ayes and 17 noes, that is exactly one in five of those voting blackballed him. One fewer aye and he would have been rejected. If Dawson’s ‘fiendish plot’ did gain a vote, then he had secured Salzman’s election. Clearly Salzman was a marginal candidate, maybe not helped by a surname which could be interpreted as Jewish. Most candidates in that ballot sailed through at around 84 to 6, but those readily identified were in reputable career posts, for example, C. H. Jenkinson at the PRO, E. T. Leeds at the Ashmolean, A. H. Thompson at Cambridge – and H. H. E. Craster, fellow of All Souls, author of another, albeit forthcoming, critical review. The Hon. Henry Berkeley Portman, Buxted Park, Uckfield (‘Profession or occupation: none. Qualifications: Attachment to the study of history and antiquities, especially Grecian archaeology’) failed by 61 to 27. At that period some 20% of candidates were rejected.<sup>138</sup> Doubtless Salzman shared with Sands his suspicion of Dawson, and Sands was clearly from his correspondence of a character to pass on a good bit of gossip in the upper echelons of the society. Rather than sabotage Salzman’s future, Dawson sabotaged his own chances of further recognition as an historian.

#### 14. BACK TO FOSSILS

Dawson’s lack of care in finalising the *History of Hastings Castle* shows that he had tired of the project and perhaps was aware that, however much effort he put in, it would not gain him significant recognition. Since 1891, antiquarian pursuits had supplanted, at least in the public domain, his interest in fossils which nevertheless continued at a low level. But there was a distinct change of pace in 1909. For example, the NHM department of geology’s files contain only two letters from Dawson between 1901 when Woodward became keeper and 1908, compared with 10 in 1909 and 16 in 1910 – some of which suggest that Dawson was renewing a lapsed connection. The most recurrent topic in 1909–11 was the recovery from Old Roar quarry in Hastings of *Iguanodon* fossils of known

species, the first letter, of March 1909, giving rise to the lament that ‘I have been waiting for the big “find” which never seems to come along.’ In July he sent Woodward a molar reminiscent of *Plagiaulax dawsoni*. When Woodward reported on it in May 1910, Dawson replied that ‘It is 19 years ago since the last one you described! A very poor average in Wealden mammals! I have been searching a bone bed (Wadhurst Clay) at Uckfield but it is very trying work for the eyes’ – a complaint which recurs. Woodward described it to the Geological Society in March 1911, though, at Dawson’s request, did not give the exact find-spot. Given how laborious the search was and his move to Uckfield in 1890, it is hard to credit that Dawson had persevered for such small reward.<sup>139</sup>

Furthermore it is uncanny that his two recorded finds were of a species reported by nobody else and one associated with Beckles. Russell has claimed that the side-to-side abrasion of the crown of the 1911 tooth occurred through post-mortem rubbing and that comparison of that tooth with the woodcut of the 1891 tooth (only the root having survived the 1893 breakage) and with Woodward’s description, suggested the earlier tooth also was faked. A more recent opinion from Dr Jerry Hooker (NHM) is that neither tooth shows evidence of artificial abrasion but that the preservation of both teeth is not typical of the Wealden, similar teeth occurring in the Eocene deposits of the Hampshire Basin. So there is no conclusive evidence of forgery, nor of Wealden origin, but enough circumstantial evidence to cast doubt on Dawson’s accounts.<sup>140</sup>

In November 1909 his brother Trevor was awarded a knighthood, the investiture being on 13 December. Charles had long gained from his brother’s successful career by introductions to West End society, but this honour must have reminded him of his comparatively limited achievement. His wife now wrote a pair of carefully contrived letters to her friend, wedding guest and since December 1905 home secretary, Herbert Gladstone. She wrote on Boxing Day to congratulate him on appointment as the first governor-general of South Africa, announced in the press four days before, adding a postscript that her son Jack was doing well in the Egyptian army. The second letter, two days later, opened with faux surprise.

How little I thought when I wrote you my good wishes last week that I should write again so soon! and it is on a subject to which



I trust you will give your best consideration.

My husband, as you will see by the enclosed appreciations has for a quarter of a century devoted his spare time to scientific labours and has done a great deal for the National Collections at the British Museum of Natural History. His services had been absolutely unremunerated and I think you will agree with me that he is entitled to some recognition.

If you think well of it will you be so kind as to recommend him for a C.B. [Companionship of the Bath] before the present government leaves office?

You will know what is best to be done and please forgive me for troubling you at such a busy time. I know you will help me and I am so anxious that he should have some recognition and he has never asked anything for himself.

You filled up Jack's nomination paper for Sandhurst some years ago [in 1898] and I am sure my husband will prove as creditable to you as Jack has done.

The authors of the appreciations, clearly of his geological rather than antiquarian research, must have been approached before the first letter was written, but time was not on her side, for, even if, a general election having been called, the Liberal government were returned, Gladstone would be removed from domestic politics and a position of influence. One appreciation was evidently from Woodward whom Dawson was telling in mid-February he was still hopeful, believing the nomination to be receiving influential support, but come early March that hope was dashed, when he thanked Woodward for all his kind trouble. For Charles the way forward proved to be by 'the big "find"'.<sup>141</sup>

## 15. CONCLUSIONS

Dawson had enormous energy and charm, with a remarkable capacity to gain sufficient command of any subject to which he directed his enquiring mind, as to engage on equal terms with acknowledged experts. Despite his legal profession, he was not above disingenuous conduct, for example denying that he had been invited to excavate the Lavant caves through the SAS, taking advantage of the society's ineptness over Castle Lodge and allowing

his bride to lie about her marital status. In these respects he had much in common with his brother Trevor, whose success he benefited from though envied.<sup>142</sup> A consummate networker and social chameleon, Charles moved easily between mixing in West End society and recruiting labourers to gather and report finds, maybe to plant them and to fabricate them (as for Pevensey Castle), 'confident of his ruses being protected by what in general was the gap of communication between classes in late Victorian and Edwardian England.'<sup>143</sup> By instinct a collector, well known locally as such, he hoarded curiosities, some he may have known to be of doubtful authenticity, the toad in a flint for example, by others he may have been fooled, the Beauport Park statuette perhaps. He did document the provenance of these better than his detractors have allowed, similarly *Plagiaulax dawsoni*, with perhaps justifiable concern to protect find-spots from other collectors. He may well have acquired items without appreciating their significance or having an immediate occasion to deploy them to his advantage, the statuette being a possible example. In obituaries Arthur Keith appropriately called Dawson an 'antiquarian'; Woodward referred to Dawson's 'archaeological work', from which he turned to 'prehistoric archaeology', so drawing the distinction established in the 1860s, but obsolete in professional circles a generation later. Dawson was not an 'archaeologist' as understood around 1900.<sup>144</sup>

The local and London press he actively used to promote his interests, from announcing, and reporting on, his 1882 trip to the Peak District, through trailing in London journals the unveiling of *Plagiaulax dawsoni* in 1891 and publicising the Lavant caves in 1895, to providing the *Illustrated London News* with a photograph of the toad in 1901. He argued cogently in 1893 for providing reporters with authoritative accounts of discoveries. Also that his wife must later have brought further connections with London papers, suggests he had a hand in the leaks about Piltdown Man and the popularisation of the discoveries.<sup>145</sup> By the standards of the 1890s, a lecture he delivered which appeared in full in a local paper need not differ greatly from the later article in SAC. But he did not appreciate that standards of research and scholarship were rising markedly in the late 19th century, as relevant disciplines were being defined and professionalized through the universities, the major museums and the Public Record Office.

As to the episodes examined in detail here, Dawson can be exonerated of the charges laid against him in the 1950s concerning his purchase of Castle Lodge, though he probably held back from correcting the other parties' misapprehensions and may have paid the vendors' agent a sweetener. In relation to the *History of Hastings Castle*, he thought he could masquerade his scholarship as deeper than it was, and failed. 'Salting' the Lavant caves was fraudulent and fabricating the bricks from Pevensey Castle more so. The attempted sabotage of Salzman's election to the Society of Antiquaries can just as certainly be attributed to him, seen as a final salvo marking his abandonment of antiquarianism and return to palaeontology. Whether his ambition led him to fabricate Piltdown Man or whether it rendered him vulnerable to someone else's hoax lies beyond this article's scope.

It is relevant, though, to ask whether Dawson's antiquarian activities were a significant cause of Piltdown Man being ignored locally, a question addressed by Weiner in 1953/4 (end of §1). In 1924 Sir Arthur Smith Woodward FRS retired from the NHM and moved to Haywards Heath from where each summer until his sight failed he returned to search, fruitlessly, the site at Piltdown. He joined the SAS and was promptly elected to the council on which he served until 1943, the most distinguished scientist ever to do so. He must have noticed how the society's museum, the nearest to the find spot and within a stone's throw of Dawson's last home, failed to reflect the, by then, accepted view of Piltdown Man as 'the earliest Englishman', as he titled his memoirs. By then the society's interests, as reflected in SAC, extended back at least to the Neolithic, with Eliot Curwen and H. S. Toms now sitting on the council and publishing their cutting-edge work in the *Collections*. Yet the only acknowledgements made were Woodward's address to the society in 1925 on 'Some problems of Piltdown' and Sidney Spokes's donation of a cast and models in 1928. The society took no part in the erection of the memorial to Dawson at Barkham Manor, and at the unveiling in 1938 the chairman of council merely said that the society's trust would consider taking it over if proper arrangements could be made.<sup>146</sup>

It is scarcely credible that Woodward's distinction and advocacy were outweighed solely by a distorted version of the Castle Lodge episode,

criticism of the scholarship of a still serviceable *History of Hastings Castle*, Salzman's antipathy for Dawson on account of the Pevensey bricks and his election to the Antiquaries, and doubts about the finds from the Lavant caves (which did not prevent A. E. Wilson displaying them in Chichester) and maybe about other of Dawson's lesser 'finds'. There must have been some who were expressing doubts about the authenticity of the Piltdown finds, with more of a voice than Harry Morris. Alfred William Oke (1860–1944), a Hove solicitor, did indeed write 'an extremely hostile letter', now not traced, to a Brighton paper in 1926, doubting the finds. The Maresfield map may be tantalisingly elusive evidence from 1912 of 'whistle blowing' by Crake, Lewis and Salzman (§7). In late 1953 – after the exposure – Salzman stated his firm belief that Dawson was the perpetrator and that quite 'apart from the unreliability of Mr Dawson's testimony, he had never seen any reason to think that the jaw had any necessary connection with the skull, and had, therefore, always doubted the reconstruction.' One wonders what difference it would have made to Dawson's posthumous reputation if Salzman had known that Dawson may have *secured* his election to the Antiquaries. And it cannot be ignored that Salzman, the only individual with a personal animus against Dawson, outlived his contemporaries and was far from reticent on the subject.

Further work on the contemporary, local, reception of Piltdown Man is required, but my tentative conclusion, not merely to the benefit of the posthumous reputation of those involved, is that Matthewson's impression in 1926 (§10.1), that the finds were altogether ignored 'as a protest not confined to the man but including his works, a human outlook but unscientific', was unfounded.<sup>147</sup>

#### Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed new information and insights on Dawson, above all Peter Costello, but also Sarah Benson (Trail Museum and Archives), John Bleach (SAS), John Cooper (Booth Museum), Peter Gawm, Francesca Hillier (British Museum), Jerry Hooker (NHM), John Houghton (SAS), Chris Lewis (VCH), Ann Lum (NHM), Tim McCann, Martin Maw (Oxford University Press), David Peacock (University of Southampton), Carolyn Shindler, Liz Somerville, Ron Thorn (Macclesfield Silk Museum) and Christopher Whittick (ESRO). I am most grateful to them all, as also to the institutions allowing reproduction in the figures.

## NOTES

Abbreviations used in the text and, for archive repositories and sources, in the notes.

Ancestry	www.ancestry.co.uk
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office, The Keep, Moulsecoomb, Brighton
GRO	General Register Office, 'England and Wales Civil Registration Indexes', viewed at Ancestry
H&SLO	<i>Hastings &amp; St Leonards Observer</i> , mainly viewed at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk
HASMG	Hastings Museum and Art Gallery
HO 107	Census enumerators' schedules of returns: TNA, HO 107/1-1465 (for 1841) and 1466-2531 (for 1851), viewed at Ancestry
NHM	Natural History Museum, London. Documents with references prefaced DF are to be understood as in the NHM Archives and those prefaced MSS WEI as in the NHM Anthropology Manuscript Collection
ODNB	H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), <i>Oxford dictionary of national biography</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), viewed with later revisions at www.oxforddnb.com, article for person named in text
Probate	Principal Probate Registry, <i>Calendar of the grants of probate and letters of administration made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England</i> , annual lists cited by year and (unless obvious from the text) deceased, viewed at Ancestry
RG 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14	Census enumerators' schedules of returns: TNA, RG 9 (for 1861), 10 (1871), 11 (1881), 12 (1891), 13 (1901), viewed at Ancestry; 14 (1911), viewed at www.1911census.co.uk
SAL	Society of Antiquaries of London
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
SAS	Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes. Working papers held in the library are cited by the author's name.
SAS letters	ESRO, ACC 9048/11/1-3, three books of out-letters kept by the SAS's clerk, 1894-1910
SAS mins	ESRO, SAS/2/1, SAS minute books
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	Victoria History of the Counties of England

Newspaper reports have been cited by paper and date, if known, rather than the archive in which I may have found a cutting. Cuttings relating to the SAS are in the society's minute books and SAS, Acc 3923, and to Hastings Museum in Thomas Parkin's papers in Hastings Library (see Note 34).

References are not always given for birth and death dates, which have usually been taken from GRO, Probate and/or census enumerators' schedules.

<sup>1</sup> P. T. Craddock, *Scientific investigation of copies, fakes and forgeries* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2009), 471, who however has little doubt as to his guilt (see §9).

<sup>2</sup> T. H. Turrittin, 'An annotated bibliography of the Piltdown Man forgery, 1953-2005', *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Northwest Europe* **1** (1) (2006), comprises some 800 items.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Weiner, *The Piltdown forgery*, 1st edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1955). F. H. Edmunds, 'J. S. Weiner, *The Piltdown Forgery* [review]', *Discovery* **16**

(March) (1955), 129. Oxford University Press Archives, OP 1162/8621. C. Blinderman, *The Piltdown inquest* (Buffalo (NY): Prometheus, 1986), 105. F. Vere, *The Piltdown fantasy* (London: Cassell, 1955). *The Piltdown fantasy* was also the working title of Weiner's book until quite a late stage. SAS, Downes, was first used by J. E. Walsh, *Unraveling Piltdown. The science fraud of the century and its solution* (New York: Random House, 1996).

<sup>4</sup> I am greatly indebted to Peter Costello for allowing me copies of P. Costello, 'The missing link. The strange story of the Piltdown Man [version 1]' (unpub. typescript, 1985) and 'The missing link. The strange story of the Piltdown Man [version 2]' (unpub. typescript, 1989) and sight of some working notes, 'Piltdown dossier' (unpub. ms, c. 1980). His arguments are summarised in 'The Piltdown hoax reconsidered', *Antiquity* **59** (227) (1985), 167-73, and 'The Piltdown hoax: beyond the Hewitt connexion', *Antiquity* **60** (229) (1986), 145-7.

<sup>5</sup> F. Spencer, *Piltdown. A scientific forgery* (London: British Museum (Natural History), 1990), and *The Piltdown papers. The correspondence and other documents relating to the Piltdown Forgery* (London: British Museum (Natural History), 1990). Although the British Museum (Natural History) was renamed only in 1992, I have used the title the Natural History Museum.

<sup>6</sup> M. Russell, *Piltdown Man. The secret life of Charles Dawson & the world's greatest archaeological hoax* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003); *The Piltdown Man hoax: Case closed* (Stroud: History Press, 2012) is essentially a shortened version of the earlier book. In the former, in addition to the Piltdown finds and what I discuss here. Russell reviewed, in separate sections, 13 other antiquities which passed through Dawson's hands, and his work on dene holes, the red hills of Essex, natural gas, a sea serpent and the 13th dorsal vertebra.

<sup>7</sup> Costello, 'Piltdown v 1', 254-5. Weiner did not sign the SAS Barbican House visitors' book, but the second visit was before 17 Aug., probably the 13th: ESRO, ACC 9048/2/7/6; Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 216-17.

<sup>8</sup> ODNB. He changed his surname from Salzmann in 1918/19. *The Times*, 6 Apr. 1971. R. B. Pugh, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. General introduction* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 6-10, 31-3. T. P. Hudson, 'Centenary of the Victoria County History' (captions for an exhibition at Michelham Priory, 1989). ESRO, AMS 5992/1-22.

<sup>9</sup> Weiner, *Piltdown*, 85-6, 132, 169-77. Oxford University Press Archives, OP 1162/8621, 17 Nov. 1954. SAS, Downes, 23 Nov. 1954. See §15 for Salzman's use of the word 'unreliability'.

<sup>10</sup> HO 107/498/12, 526/13, 2192/15. RG 9/3116, 9/3129. *Preston Chronicle*, 24 Sep., 8 Oct. 1864, 18 Dec. 1861 (report on Preston from *The Builder*). Probate, 1863, 1922. GRO. Birth certificate. K. Z. Travis, *The story of Tulketh* (2008 [cited 2010]); available from [http://members.multimania.co.uk/ClaireTravis/Kims\\_Pages/Tulketh\\_compilation.pdf](http://members.multimania.co.uk/ClaireTravis/Kims_Pages/Tulketh_compilation.pdf); and pers. comm., 21 Apr. 2013, that Hugh may have rented only part. *Preston Chronicle*, 25 Apr., 10 Oct. 1863, 5 Aug. 7 Oct., 23 Dec. 1865 (Hugh senior's father, Charles's great-grandfather, died in 1862 and the sales included property of his at Leyland; some 64 a. there Hugh junior may still have owned at his death).

- <sup>11</sup> Middle Temple, *Register of admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, 3 vols (London: Butterworth, 1949), 2, 567. RG 10/1030; 11/1027. Pike & Ivimy's *Annual Hastings and St Leonards directory and Sussex court guide* (Hastings: Pike & Ivimy), 1876 edn, 79. *Hastings & St Leonards Observer* (hereafter *H&SLO*), 3 Jan. 1885, 9 May 1885. Probate, 1885. ESRO, VID/2/2/206.
- <sup>12</sup> J. Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922–54), 2 (2), 256.
- <sup>13</sup> War Office, *The monthly Army list* (London), editions between 1880 and 1883. RG 11/1669. *H&SLO*, 23 May 1885. *The Times*, 7 Jul. 1888. TNA, BT 26/612/54; 752/2; 814/41, inwards passenger lists, viewed at Ancestry. *Guelph Mercury*, 6 Jan. 1933. Costello, 'Piltown v1', 39, says that he taught the violin and had a slightly eccentric career.
- <sup>14</sup> Abstract of Census of Scotland 1901, roll CSSCT1901\_171, viewed at Ancestry. GRO.
- <sup>15</sup> ESRO, ACC 6614/12.
- <sup>16</sup> ODNB.
- <sup>17</sup> *Preston Chronicle*, e.g. 4 Jun., 15 Oct. 1859, 8 Sep. 1860, 19 Apr. 1862. *Sussex Express* (hereafter *SE*), 11 Aug. 1916. A. MacDermott, 'Dr Burney's Royal Academy at Gosport', *Mariner's Mirror* 51 (1) (1965), 57–9. N. Hans, *New trends in education in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1951), 107–8. *Times*, 20 Jul. 1857, 14 Jan. 1884, 20 May 1931. W. James, *A great seaman. The life of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry F. Oliver* (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1956), 20 (quoted). Admiralty, *The monthly Navy list* (London, Jul. 1876), 381. *Hampshire Telegraph*, 1 Dec. 1875; sports reports: 9 Jun. 1877 ('H. L. Dawson'), 28 Feb. 1880 ('T. C. Dawson'), 15 May 1880 ('Dawson'), second in quarter-mile for pupils under 5ft 4in., perhaps Charles). *Sussex Daily News* (hereafter *SDN*), 11 Aug. 1916.
- <sup>18</sup> *SE*, 11 Aug. 1916. *Times*, 30 Jan. 1886. ESRO, ACC 9658/14/5; ACC 6614/12. Probate, 1885, Hugh Dawson. Costello, 'Piltown v1', 41; 'Dossier'. C. Langdon, *Square toes and formal. Sketches of some of the people and places who have been associated with Young Coles & Langdon over the past 175 years* (Durham: Roundtuit Publishing, 2006), 36–9. *The law list* (London: Stevens and Sons), editions for 1887–91.
- <sup>19</sup> [Hastings correspondent], 'Wizard of Sussex', *Daily Express*, 4 Jan. 1913. *H&SLO*, 23 Dec. 1882.
- <sup>20</sup> K. Woodhams, 'On the trail of Iguanodon', *Proceedings of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society* 18 (2) (1990), 45–68. HO 107/1635. RG 11/1028. Darwin to W. Sharpey, 9 Apr. 1857, auction Sotheby's London, 17 Dec. 1998 (lot 48). NHM Library, Owen Collection, L OC62, ff. 42–6, Beckles to Richard Owen, n.d. *Preston Chronicle*, 5 Aug. 1837, 6 Aug. 1864, 2 Oct. 1869.
- <sup>21</sup> *East Sussex News* (hereafter *ESN*), 2 Aug 1895. A. S. Woodward, 'Charles Dawson, FSA, FGS', *Geological Magazine* dec. 6, 3 (10) (1916), 477–8. R. Lydekker, 'Note on a new Wealden iguanodont and other dinosaurs', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London* 44 (1888), 46–61. R. Lydekker, 'Notes on new and other dinosaurian remains', *Geological Magazine* dec. 3, 6 (1889), 352–6; *Catalogue of the fossil reptilia and amphibia in the British Museum (Natural History)*, part 1 (London: British Museum (Natural History), 1888), 196–201. *The Morning Post*, 23 Feb. 1891. [Hastings correspondent], 'Wizard'. In Oct. and Nov. 1884, Hugh's farms being now let, stock and underwood were auctioned, suggesting a loosening of local ties: *H&SLO*, 2, 16, 23, 30 Aug., 15, 22, 29 Nov. 1884. NHM Library, L OC62, ff. 38–9, Beckles to Owen, 30 Sep. 1885. Costello, 'Piltown v1', 40–1.
- <sup>22</sup> *H&SLO*, 2 Nov. 1907. NHM, DF100/20/13, 24/10. A. C. L. G. Gunther, *The history of the collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum*, 1 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1904), 236–50, 283; 244, 265 for Beckles. Sandra D. Chapman (NHM), pers. comm., 17 July 2013, for accessions in 1901–12. Weiner, *Piltown*, 83, states that Dawson was an honorary collector of the NHM for 30 years, but K. P. Oakley denied there had ever been such a status: SAS, Downes, 'Correspondence, various', 25 Feb. 1956. For the organisation of palaeontological research at the NHM in the early 20th c., see K. Shindler, *Discovering Dorothea. The life of the pioneering fossil-hunter Dorothea Bate* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), espec. ch. 6.
- <sup>23</sup> R. Lydekker, 'On a mammalian incisor from the Wealden of Hastings', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London* 49 (1893), 283, from which NHM, DF100/108/8 can be dated. A. S. Woodward, 'On a mammalian tooth from the Wealden formation of Hastings', *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* (1891), 585–6. Woodward, 'Dawson', 478. H. Falconer, 'Description of two species of the fossil mammalian genus *Plagiaulax* from Purbeck', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London* 13 (1857), 261–2. NHM, DF100/26/11, 16 Nov. 1891, 28/14, 27 Feb. 1893; A.S. Woodward's note with M13134.
- <sup>24</sup> A. S. Woodward, 'On some mammalian teeth from the Wealden of Hastings', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* 67 (May) (1911), 278–81. Russell, *Piltown Man*, 30, and pers. comm., 2013.
- <sup>25</sup> Woodward, 'Dawson', 478.
- <sup>26</sup> *London Gazette*, 28 Mar. 1848. *Kelly's directory of Sussex* (London: Kelly), 1851 edn, 821. HO 107/1640, 107/724/2, 107/1100/4. *H&SLO*, 8 Dec. 1900. S. A. Pearce, 'The impact of the railway on Uckfield in the 19th century', *SAC* 122 (1984), 193–206.
- <sup>27</sup> *Kelly's Sussex*, 1867 edn, 1991, 2126; 1890 edn, 2365; 1899 edn, 545, 866. ESRO, C/C70/90–98, electoral registers. B. Fuller and B. Turner, *Bygone Uckfield* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988), pl. 87. RG 12/758, 771, 772. Few papers of the firm in Dawson's time have been found, because of wartime salvage: Spencer, *Piltown papers*, 217. ESRO, RAY, headnote. Will of Hugh Dawson.
- <sup>28</sup> *Kelly's Sussex*, 1899 edn, 545; 1905 edn, 591 (resident in Lewes). ESRO, ESC 288/1/3, 4; 3/3.
- <sup>29</sup> ESRO, DW/B/128/1–7 and 129/1–6 (minutes); and ACC 6614/14 (in-letters from 1913), are the only UDC records surviving from Dawson's clerkship. *H&SLO*, 20 Feb. 1897. J. R. S. Vine, ed., *The county companion...for 1887* (London: Waterlow and Sons, 1887), 297.
- <sup>30</sup> ESRO, SRL 22/24. Vere, *Piltown fantasy*, 6. Weiner, *Piltown* 128; the court books, ESRO, AMS 2705, 2708, are illegible due to water damage.
- <sup>31</sup> J. R. Tyhurst, 'A family firm – Tyhurst & Co. of Uckfield', *Hindsight. Journal of the Uckfield and District Preservation Society* 7 (2001), 34. Pearce, 'Impact', 202–3. *Kelly's Sussex*, 1890 edn, 2419. RG 13/900. ESRO, ACC 3801/2/2/4.
- <sup>32</sup> *SE*, 18 Aug. 1916, 10 Dec. 1954. *SDN*, 14 Aug. 1916.



- Costello, 'Piltown v2', 53. HASMG, 2003.35.6.
- <sup>33</sup> Membership list for 1897 transcribed at <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mossvalley/mv1/rsc/rsc-d.html>. Spencer, *Piltown papers*, 67. *Times*, 17 Apr. 1896.
- <sup>34</sup> The following account relies, unless stated, on annual reports of the association from 1898 and of the curator from 1905, and on newspaper cuttings, etc., collected by Thomas Parkin, now in Hastings Library (record numbers: BX144827, 144847, 144849, 150096; and also 144829); and on minutes of committees of Hastings Borough Council in ESRO, DH/B/19/34–41, B/18/10–19 and B/37. There remains however a gap for 1892–7. Only quotations are specifically referenced. W. V. Crake, 'Our local museum. A short narrative of its work since initiation', *H&SLO*, 25 Nov. 1905. A. Belt, 'A retrospect', *Hastings and St Leonards Museum Association Annual Report* (1917), 10–11. A. Belt, 'William Vandeleur Crake [obituary]', *Hastings and East Sussex Naturalist* 2 (1912–17), 254–5.
- <sup>35</sup> *Hastings and St Leonards News*, 19 Aug. 1892.
- <sup>36</sup> *H&SLO*, 2 Nov. 1907.
- <sup>37</sup> *H&SLO*, 20 Oct. 1900
- <sup>38</sup> Belt, 'Retrospect', 18.W. R. Butterfield, *A handbook to the collections contained in the Corporation Museum Hastings* (Hastings: F. J. Parsons, 1911), 19. P. Teilhard de Chardin, *Letters from Hastings 1908–1912*, ed. Henri de Lubac (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 53. *H&SLO*, 12 Aug. 1916.
- <sup>39</sup> C. Dawson, 'Note on the Hastings Corporation relics of coronations of the kings and queens of England', *SAC* 45 (1902), 111. 'Proceedings of the Association, May 16, 1883', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 39 (1883), 207. *ESN*, 2 Aug. 1895. C. Dawson, *History of Hastings Castle, the Castlery, Rape and Battle of Hastings, to which is added a history of the Collegiate Church within the Castle, and its prebends*, 2 vols (London: Constable, 1909 [1910]), 572. C. Dawson, 'Ancient boat found at Bexhill', *SAC* 39 (1894), 161. 'Treasures found at Hastings', *SAC* 38 (1892), 226. *H&SLO*, 24 Nov. 1888, copy at SAL, Tracts 260 (10).
- <sup>40</sup> L. F. Salzman, 'A history of the Sussex Archaeological Society', *SAC* 85 (1946), 84–5, 93.
- <sup>41</sup> For the changing intellectual landscape, see A. B. Van Riper, *Men among the mammoths: Victorian science and the discovery of human prehistory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), and P. Levine, *The amateur and the professional: antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). *SAC* 34 (1886) to 39 (1894). E. M. Somerville, 'Piltown reflections. A mirror for prehistory', *SAC* 134 (1996), 10–11. C. Dawson, 'Neolithic flint weapon in a wooden haft', *SAC* 39 (1894), 97–8. J. Stevens, 'The flint-works at Cissbury', *SAC* 24 (1872), 145–65. 'Report [for 1886]', *SAC* 35 (1887), xv–xvi, for an appeal for Paleoliths and 'Celtic' pottery for the museum. ESRO, AMS 5810, for annual reports of the B&SNHS.
- <sup>42</sup> SAS mins, 24 Sep., 24 Dec. 1891. *SE*, 3 Dec. 1904. RG 12/815; 13/936. Probate, 1905. *ODNB*, for F. L. Griffith. J. H. Farrant, 'Hamilton Hall, indexer of wills', *FESRO News. Newsletter of the Friends of East Sussex Record Office* (Spring) (2010), 12.
- <sup>43</sup> Ages at end of 1891 from obituaries in the *Sussex Express* and from 1881 and 1891 censuses.
- <sup>44</sup> SAS mins, 24 Mar 1887. RG 11/1077; 12/803. SAS letters, 9 Oct 1896.
- <sup>45</sup> SAS mins, 23 Jun. 1892, 23 Mar. 1893, 22 Sep. 1892, 19 Dec. 1895, 18 Mar. 1897. SAS letters, 8 Jan., 15 Sep. 1896, 18 Mar 1897.
- <sup>46</sup> SAS mins, 23 Jun. 1892, 21 Dec. 1893, 27 Sep. 1894. *H&SLO*, 25 Jun. 1892; *SDN*, 24 Jun. 1892. *Brighton Gazette*, 24 Mar. 1894. C. Dawson and J. Lewis, 'Description of and remarks on the dungeon cells at Hastings Castle', *SAC* 40 (1896); see note 123 for the delay in publication.
- <sup>47</sup> G. B. Gattie, 'The Minnis Rock hermitage at Hastings', *SAC* 38 (1892), 129–36. C. Dawson, 'The Minnis Rock', *H&SLO*, 18 Feb. 1893. J. Sawyer, 'The Minnis Rock, Hastings', *SAC* 39 (1894), 222–3.
- <sup>48</sup> SAS mins, 22 Jun., 21 Dec. 1893, 21 Jun. 1894, 20 Jun., 25 Jul. 1895, 18 Mar. 1897. SAS letters, 3 Jul. 1895. C. Dawson, *A description of the Battle of Beachy Head* (Lewes and Eastbourne: Farncombe & Co, 1895). Costello, 'Piltown v1', 48, also 37. HASMG, 2003.35.2.
- <sup>49</sup> ESRO, ACC 9048/1/4, Ironwork exhibition 1901. SAS mins, 18 Dec. 1901, 19 Mar., 17 Dec. 1902, 22 Jun. 1904. ESRO, SRS 1/1, 2/1.
- <sup>50</sup> SAL, Certificates of candidates for election, 1891–5. J. Evans, *A history of the Society of Antiquaries* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1956), 347.
- <sup>51</sup> SAL, Correspondence, 16 Nov. 1895, Dawson to secretary; 26 Nov. 1895, Haverfield to Hope. P. Freeman, *The best training-ground for archaeologists: Francis Haverfield and the invention of Romano-British Studies* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008), 222, 320. F. Haverfield, 'Index notes. 13. Roman remains in Sussex', *Archaeological Review* 1 (6) (1888), 434–40.
- <sup>52</sup> J. H. Combridge, 'BEECHING / Ashburnham. A Georgian dial with Edwardian scenic engravings', *Antiquarian Horology* 10 (1977), 428–38, and 'Charles Dawson and John Lewis', *Antiquity* 55 (215) (1981), 220–2, generally for this section. SAS mins, 23 Jun. 1892. SAL, Certificates of candidates for election, 1896–1906.
- <sup>53</sup> HO 107/1122/7; 107/1642. ESRO, index to Brighton baptisms; SFD 2/3/3, 7. B. Cuddy and T. Mansell, 'Engineers for India: The Royal India Engineering College at Cooper's Hill', *History of Education* 23 (1994), 107–9; *Times*, 11 Apr. 1859 (notice of competition, but he was over the age limit of 22). *Allen's Indian Mail*, 6 Dec. 1861, 7 Feb., 28 July 1862. British Library, IOR/L/AG/46/11/138, East Indian Railway Company, staff lists, 1864–8. *Thacker's Bengal directory* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1866–70).
- <sup>54</sup> *H&SLO*, 2 Apr. 1898. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India. Four reports made during the years 1862–63–64–65*, 2 vols (Simla: Government Central Press, 1871). ASI, *History of the Archaeological Survey of India* [cited 12 Jun. 2013]; available from [http://asi.nic.in/asi\\_aboutus\\_history.asp#1861](http://asi.nic.in/asi_aboutus_history.asp#1861). J. Lewis, 'An Indian puzzle', *Brighton and Sussex Natural History and Philosophical Society. Abstracts of papers...* (1896), 19–21; he was a member between 1893/4 and 1896/7, and spoke on 'Jungle life in India' in 1895.
- <sup>55</sup> RG 10/3668; 11/3487. Joseph Balfour: HO 107/665/6; HO 107/1503; RG 9/153; RG 10/732; RG 11/1088; RG



- 12/811. *Morris & Co.'s commercial directory & gazetteer of Cheshire* (1874), 804, 49, 69. *Kelly's Sussex*, 1878 edn, 2866.
- <sup>56</sup> *Kelly's Sussex*, 1887 and 1891 edns for Mrs Lewis; John Lewis not listed in 1915 edn. RG 12/824; 13/902; 14/4962/87; 14/4852/189 (wife and daughter staying in a Seaford hotel in 1911). ESRO, BMW/A/15/143, for Fairholme in 1924. ESRO, C/C 70/115, 117; PAR 326/14/2/1. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* **28** (1915–16), 207. Hastings Library, BX144827, for his loan in 1913 of 40 pieces of Tunbridge ware to Hastings and Brighton museums.
- <sup>57</sup> H&SLO, 30 Jul. 1892. SAS mins, 24 Sep., 17 Dec. 1896. SAS letters, 15 Sep. 1896. SAL, Certificates of candidates for election, 1896–1906. Costello, 'Piltown v2', 61, says that the wording of his will suggests he was a temperamental man.
- <sup>58</sup> C. Dawson, J. Lewis, and G. de Paris, *Museums Association. Brighton Meeting. Excursion to Lewes, July 6th, 1899* (Brighton: J. G. Bishop, 1899). C. Dawson, 'Natural gas in Sussex', *Proceedings of the South-Eastern Union of Scientific Societies* (1898), 76. ESRO, DW/B/129/1, p. 51; ACC 6614/10, 10 Jan. 1910, 18 Feb. 1905. Combridge, 'BEECHING', 428–38.
- <sup>59</sup> W. V. Crake, 'A note on Maresfield forge in 1608', *SAC* **55** (1912), 279; the list of officers, ix, is dated Dec. 1912. Russell, *Piltown Man*, 141–4, 258–9.
- <sup>60</sup> NHM, MSS WEI/3/17/45–6. Walsh, *Unraveling Piltown*, 155. Combridge, 'Dawson', 222.
- <sup>61</sup> Newspaper cuttings in SAS mins, 23 Mar. 1893. Dawson's letter was in *ESN*, 31 Mar. 1893, and also *Chichester Observer*, 5 Apr. 1893. The next year Dawson and two other committee members successfully moved that the annual report should be approved by the committee before the AGM: SAS mins, 22 Mar. 1894. M. Russell, 'Of flint mines and fossil men: the Lavant Caves deception', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* **19** (1) (2000), 105–8.
- <sup>62</sup> RG 12/844. C. Dawson, 'Interesting discovery near Goodwood. Early British caves in the chalk', *West Sussex Gazette*, 2 Mar. 1893.
- <sup>63</sup> J. Sawyer, 'Discovery of caves at Lavant, Sussex', *Antiquary* **28** (July) (1893), 22. *SDN*, 12 Aug. 1893. 'The Lavant Caves', *SAC* **39** (1894), 227.
- <sup>64</sup> West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MS 1928. *SDN*, 12 Aug. 1893. Sawyer, 'Lavant', 22.
- <sup>65</sup> *Chichester Observer*, 5 Apr. 1893. T. J. McCann, 'The Lavant Caves revisited', *SAC* **135** (1997), 311. SAS mins, 22 Mar., 20 Dec. 1894. SAS letters, 4 Jan. 1895. C. Dawson, 'The Lavant caves', *Daily Graphic*, 6 Apr. 1895.
- <sup>66</sup> *SDN*, 12 Aug. 1893. G. Clinch, 'Early man,' in *Victoria County History of Sussex*, **2** (1905), facing 326, and Russell, *Piltown Man*, 35. George Clinch (1860–1921) was library clerk and then librarian of the Society of Antiquaries, 1895–1921 (Evans, *Society of Antiquaries*, 352, 355, 396) and compiled the index to Dawson's *History of Hastings Castle*.
- <sup>67</sup> SAS, Allcroft, box 1, envelope 'Sussex earthworks', including Dawson's postcard of 11 May 1914 (the date of 11 Aug. 1893 is wrong but was repeated by Allcroft and subsequent writers); Archaeological plans oversize B; Curwen and Gurd, box 2, Lavant. I infer that the last also came to Allcroft, but passed to Eliot Curwen (1865–1951).
- <sup>68</sup> A. H. Allcroft, 'Some earthworks of west Sussex', *SAC* **58** (1916), 69. The record has been further confused by Cecil Curwen (1895–1967) being 'practically certain' in 1928 that the caves were flint-mines, despite Dawson saying (as Allcroft acknowledged) that no workable flints were to be found in the chalk at Lavant: E. C. Curwen, 'The Lavant Caves, Chichester', *Sussex Notes & Queries* **2** (3) (1928), 81. H. S. Toms was publishing downland earthworks in the *Brighton and Hove Herald* in the 1920s.
- <sup>69</sup> Letter loose in West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood MS 1928. 'The Lavant Caves', 227. Spencer, *Piltown papers*, 226.
- <sup>70</sup> SAS, Downes, envelope, 'Correspondence, various'; 'Charles Dawson on trial', 132.
- <sup>71</sup> M. Barber, D. Field, and P. Topping, *The Neolithic flint mines of England* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1999), 78. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'A late-medieval chalk-mine at Thetford', *Norfolk Archaeology* **30** (3) (1951), 220–2. M. Atkin, 'The chalk tunnels of Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology* **38** (3) (1983), 213–20.
- <sup>72</sup> British Museum, Department of Prehistory and Europe library, visitors' book and in-letters, Austen to Franks, 12 Feb. 1892. Russell, *Piltown Man*, 61–70. G. Brodribb and H. Cleere, 'The Classis Britannica bath-house at Beauport Park, East Sussex', *Britannia* **19** (1988), 217–19.
- <sup>73</sup> C. Dawson, 'Sussex ironwork and pottery', *SAC* **46** (1903), 4–5. SAS, Downes, 'Charles Dawson on trial', 197, for Dawson to Crake, 13 Sep. 1893, now missing from HASMG. Costello, 'Piltown v1', 37, 46–7: 'This odd document, in a semi-illiterate hand, still exists in the archives of the Department of British Antiquities in Bloomsbury'; it could not be traced in 2013. Merritt: RG10/1036, 11/1032, 13/877; GRO. Kelner: *Nature*, **110** (1922), 522; *Times*, 13 Feb. 1894.
- <sup>74</sup> E. Straker, *Wealden iron* (London: Bell, 1931), 335–7. HASMG, 2003.35.53–68 (the V&A opinion was sought by Baines on Straker's prompting).
- <sup>75</sup> SAS, Downes, curriculum vitae. R. L. Downes, 'The Stour partnership 1726–36: a note on landed capital in the iron industry', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser., **3** (1950–51), 90–6.
- <sup>76</sup> *Times*, 15, 23 Nov. 1954. C. Cockburn, 'Truth is stranger than Piltown', *Punch*, 1 Dec. 1954. SAS, Downes. M. W. Flinn, *Men of iron: The Crowleys in the early iron industry* (Edinburgh: Nelson & Sons, 1962), vii, ix, 9n1. NHM, MSS WEI, 4/19/271. Weiner, *Piltown*, 182–3. Leeds University Library, MS 713/10, J. M. Baines, 'Uncommon curator', autobiography (n.d.), 282–6.
- <sup>77</sup> P. Craddock and J. Lang, 'Charles Dawson's cast-iron statuette: the authentication of iron antiquities and possible coal-smelting of iron in Roman Britain', *Historical Metallurgy* **39** (1) (2005), 32–44.
- <sup>78</sup> S. Wright, 'Charles Dawson 1864–1916', *Hindsight. Journal of the Uckfield and District Preservation Society* **6** (2000), 16. Dawson recommended silicate of soda to harden alabaster figures in the SAS museum: SAS letters, 6 Jan. 1903. Russell, *Piltown Man*, 64. J. Rock, 'Ancient cinder-heaps in east Sussex', *SAC* **29** (1879), 167–80. *Kelly's Sussex*, 1878 edn, 3023. Abbott exhibited a Roman bronze statuette of a gladiator, 3¼in high, in 1909: *Catalogue of an exhibition of local antiquities held at the corporation museum, Hastings, from 15th March to 15th May 1909*, 2nd edn (Hastings: F. J. Parsons, 1909).

- <sup>79</sup> SAS letters, 18 Apr. 1903. Russell, *Piltdown Man*, 126–8, who follows Weiner, *Piltdown*, 180, in naming Burbidge as Burbridge. C. Dawson, 'Discovery of a mummified toad in a flint nodule found at Lewes, Sussex', *Brighton and Sussex Natural History and Philosophical Society. Abstracts of papers* (1901), 34–9, quote at 35; he also exhibited it to the Linnean Society ('April 18th 1901', *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* **113** (1) (1901), 15–16) and had it reported in *Illustrated London News*, 20 Apr. 1901. J. Cooper, 'Charles Dawson (1864–1916) and the case of the "Toad in Flint"' (in preparation, 2013). RG 12/797 and 798; 13/915; 14/5052. G. Vines, 'Toad in the hole', *New Scientist* **179** (2407) (2003), 50–1. Generally: J. Bondeson, *The Cat Orchestra and the Elephant Butler: The strange history of amazing animals* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2006), 279–305, 311.
- <sup>80</sup> Salzman, 'History', 38. SAS mins, 23 Mar. 1904, printed in SAC **47** (1904), xiv–xv. J. H. Farrant, '100 years at Barbican House', *Sussex Past & Present* **114** (April) (2008), 4–5.
- <sup>81</sup> SAS, Holden, 14/7, F. Paul Matthewson to H. S. Toms, photocopy of original in Brighton Museum. E. W. Holden, 'The Photographic Survey of Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Society Newsletter* **32** (1980), 215.
- <sup>82</sup> J. H. Farrant, "'A garden in a desert place and a palace among the ruins": Lewes Castle transformed, 1600–1850', SAC **134** (1996), fig. 1. Compare plans in ESRO, ACC 5500/2/2/132 and ACC 9401. Some of the buildings demolished, as in 1850, are shown in N. E. S. Norris, 'Miscellaneous researches, 1949–56', SAC **94** (1956), fig. 2.
- <sup>83</sup> For a photograph of Castle Lodge c. 1890, Salzman, 'History', 34. ESRO, ADA 159, pp. 42–3, 50–1 and ACC 364/6/3, pp. 133–4, 403–6, 658–62, 716–18, 728, 790–93, manor court books; detailed history compiled within the office by P. Bye. Crosskey is not recorded as surrendering to the use of his will, but his trustees were allowed to sell as if he had.
- <sup>84</sup> SAC **9** (1857), xv. SAC **30** (1880), xi. Salzman, 'History', 35. SAS minutes, 24 Sep. 1885. SE, 13 Nov. 1888.
- <sup>85</sup> RG 11/1070; 12/798; 13/917. *Kelly's Sussex*, 1899 and 1905 edns.
- <sup>86</sup> 'Nicholas Whitley [obit.]'; 'Henry Michell Whitley [obit.]', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* **9** (1891–3), 206–8; **23** (1929–32), 16. ESRO, GIL/3/170/6; 3/161/1–2.
- <sup>87</sup> SAS mins, 21 Dec. 1893, 19 Dec. 1900. SAS letters, 7 Jan. [1901].
- <sup>88</sup> ESRO, ACC 9048/5/1/10, 3 Dec. 1903. SAS mins, 23 Jun. 1897, 21 Feb. 1900. RG 12/798. ESRO, ACC 9048/1/4.
- <sup>89</sup> SAS mins, 19 Jul. 1901, 23 Sep. 1903. ESRO, ACC 9401.
- <sup>90</sup> RG 10/283; 9/3973; 11/281; 12/105; 13/81. Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 23. H. L. Postlethwaite, 'Some rising artists', *Magazine of Art* **17** (Feb.) (1894), 113–18; 'Some noted women painters', **18** (Nov.) (1894), 17–22; 'More noted women painters', **22** (July) (1898), 480–4; 'The marriage relations: divorce', *Westminster Review* **139** (4) (1893), 394–401. M. L. Shanley, *Feminism, marriage, and the law in Victorian England, 1850–1895* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), ch. 6. TNA, J 77/550/16794 and 565/17278, petitions for divorce. Probate, 1925, for his death. In Appendix 2, I suggest that Hélène may have been the author of C. Dawson, A minister of fate (London: John Long, 1906).
- <sup>91</sup> F. H. W. Sheppard, ed., *Survey of London, 40: The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair. Part 2. The buildings* (London: Athlone Press, 1980), 336–44. *Times*, 27 Nov. 1899, 11 Jan., 5 Feb. 1900, 23 Mar. 1901, 23 Mar. 1903.
- <sup>92</sup> 'Joicey, James, first Baron Joicey (1846–1936)', ODNB. GRO. SDN, 23 Jan. 1905. Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 82–4; also 129. HASMG, 2003.35.12, 14, 15. Costello, 'Piltdown v2', 46, refers to regular summer holidays with the Joiceys at Ford Castle and in Galloway.
- <sup>93</sup> ESRO, ACC 9048/5/1/10, papers of Whitley and Canon J. H. Cooper, chairman of council, for the society's side of the episode, unless stated. I have not been able to consult ESRO, ACC 11400, the recently deposited archive of Blaker, Son and Young, solicitors of Lewes, which probably contains relevant material. RG 13/918; 13/917. SE, 24 Nov. 1906.
- <sup>94</sup> ESRO, ACC 9048/5/1/10, Whitley, 1 Dec. 1903.
- <sup>95</sup> *Kelly's Sussex*, 1905 edn, 486. ESRO, ACC 9401.
- <sup>96</sup> ESRO, ACC 9048/5/1/10, Cooper, 3 Dec. 1903. SAS letters, 7 Nov. 1903.
- <sup>97</sup> SAS mins, 28 Sep. 1904, 22 Mar. 1905. Dawson not listed as Uckfield resident in *Kelly's Sussex*, 1905 edn. Farrant, 'Barbican House', 4–5, from ESRO, ACC 9048/1/5.
- <sup>98</sup> ESRO, GIL/3/170/11, 1 and 10. SAS mins, 22 Mar. 1905. SE, 25 Mar. 1905. SAS membership lists in SAC.
- <sup>99</sup> SAS mins, 21 Jun., 10 Aug. 1905. SE, 10 Dec. 1954. ESRO, AMS 6499. 'Eighty seven years' service. Turner family has fine service record', *Comincon Magazine*, April 1941, 12 with photograph. *Trail Daily Times*, 26 Jul. 1956. Shindler, *Dorothea*, 202. ESRO, C/C 70/90–112, electoral registers, Dawson qualifying by occupying the Public Hall Chambers; down to 1905 his 'abode' was Framfield Road, but from 1906, was not Castle Lodge, but High Street, Uckfield.
- <sup>100</sup> Walsh, *Unraveling Piltdown*, 155. ESRO, ACC 9632/12, J. H. Winslow to M. Kenward, 23 Jan. 1977. Russell, *Piltdown Man*, 149–56. Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 239, for dating the 1908 'find', 23, for Teilhard's statement that Dawson had three pieces of skull before the find on 2 June 1912, and 89, for another instance of his clerks searching the site, 22 Oct. 1913.
- <sup>101</sup> ESRO, ACC 9401.
- <sup>102</sup> TNA, IR 58/12865. ESRO, DL/A/25/445; SAS/PS 220. HASMG, 2003.35.12. Costello, 'Piltdown v1', 197.
- <sup>103</sup> SE, 19 Nov. 1954; 11 Aug. 1916. RG 11/1053: Hart was born in Hastings but by 1881 was living in Uckfield. Probate.
- <sup>104</sup> SDN, 23 Jan. 1905. City of Westminster Archives Centre, CHRIST CHURCH/3/2 m/f. ESRO, DW/B 129/2, p. 241. *Pike's Lewes, Newhaven and Seaford blue book and local directory* (Brighton: Robinson Printing Co.), 1906 edn, 52; 1909–10 edn, 51.
- <sup>105</sup> ESRO, SAS/SAT 88; ACC 9048/1/5, file for 1903–6. SAS mins, 21 Jun. 1905.
- <sup>106</sup> SAS letters, 22 Mar. 1904. SE, 26 Mar. 1904. Their election is not recorded in SAS mins, but they are named in the members' list as at Oct. 1904. C. Dawson, 'Old Sussex glass: its origin and decline', *Antiquary* **41** (Jan.) (1905), 8–11.
- <sup>107</sup> RG 14/5053/219. Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 23, 81, 239–40. SE, 18 Aug. 1916. ESRO, ACC 1034. SAS, Lewes Musical Fraternity programmes. C. Dawson, *An olde tyme*

- grace (London: Novello, 1909).
- <sup>108</sup> Oxford University Press Archives, OP 1162/8621. J. Emerson and J. S. Weiner, 'The Piltown mystery', *Sunday Times*, 9, 16, 23 Jan. 1955. Uncorrected copy of Weiner, *Piltown* in my possession. *Times*, 17 Feb. 1955, 11d. Weiner, *Piltown*, 2nd impression, viii, refers to the correction, by reference to the *Sunday Times* letter.
- <sup>109</sup> *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 20 Dec. 1902. ESRO, ABE/2W, 17L and 20E/1. NHM, MSS WEI, 2/8. SE, 26 Feb. 1954, 9g.
- <sup>110</sup> *Daily Mail*, 6 and 7 Jan. 1955.
- <sup>111</sup> C. Dawson, 'Note on some inscribed bricks and tiles from the Roman *Castra* at Pevensey (Anderida?)', *Sussex*, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* **21** (1907), 410–13. NHM, MSS WEI 4/19/442, 386. SAS, Downes, 'Charles Dawson on trial'. C. Dawson, 'Sussex pottery. A new classification', *Antiquary* **39** (1903), 47–9; 'The "red hills" of the Essex marshes and "saltings"', *Antiquary* **47** (4) (1911), 128–32. Leeds University Library, MS 713/10, pp. 287–9. D. P. S. Peacock, 'Forged brick-stamps from Pevensey', *Antiquity* **47** (1973), 138–40, and pers. comm., July 2013. Russell, *Piltown Man*, 103–7.
- <sup>112</sup> L. F. Salzmann, 'Documents relating to Pevensey Castle', *SAC* **49** (1906), 30.
- <sup>113</sup> All are subjects of articles in ODNB.
- <sup>114</sup> L. F. Salzmann and J. E. Ray, *Excavations on the site of the Roman fortress at Pevensey. First report* (Lewes: Pevensey Excavation Committee, [1907]). SDN, 14 Jan. 1907, 8b, which lists also a Mr Fox. Ray: ESRO, RAY 1/2/4 for evidence of his profession being neglected for archaeology. Sands: records of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, viewed at Ancestry; Middle Temple, *Register* **2**, 677; RG 12/440; 'Obituary. Harold Sands', *Antiquaries Journal* **16** (1936), 370; Probate, 1935, £151,000; GRO.
- <sup>115</sup> Salzmann and Ray, *First report*, 7. L. F. Salzmann, J. E. Ray, and H. Sands, *Excavations at Pevensey. Second report* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1908), 18, 1. SAS, Salzmann, file 126, field notes 1906; Sands to Salzmann, 27 Feb., 20 Apr. 1908. Sands conducted further excavations on the medieval castle in Feb. to June 1910, but these were not published: SAL, MS 75/16.
- <sup>116</sup> J. E. Ray, *Catalogue of a selection of objects discovered during recent excavations in the Roman castrum at Pevensey* (Hastings: Corporation Museum, 1907), 15, cat. 552. L. F. Salzmann, 'Excavations at Pevensey, 1906–7', *SAC* **51** (1908), plates 9 and 12, 107. M. G. Fulford and S. Rippon, *Pevensey Castle, Sussex: excavations in the Roman fort and medieval keep, 1993–95*, Wessex Archaeology report **26** (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 2011), 13, 45, 126, for clay dumped east of the keep.
- <sup>117</sup> NHM, MSS WEI, 4/19/442 and 386; 3/17/42 and 36.
- <sup>118</sup> SAL, Attendance register, 1905–9, 11 Apr. 1907.
- <sup>119</sup> *SAC*, **53** (1910), 282.
- <sup>120</sup> NHM, MSS WEI, 3/17/45–6. HASMG, 2003.35.71, 72. Leeds University Library, MS 713/10, pp. 279–83. Weiner, *Piltown*, 176–7. *Times*, 15 Nov. 1954, 8c. Also: J. M. Baines, *Historic Hastings*, amended and revised edn (St Leonards-on-Sea: Cinque Ports Press, 1986), xii.
- <sup>121</sup> Dawson, *Hastings Castle*, 572, vi. ESN, 12 Oct. 1894. Dawson and Lewis, 'Dungeon cells', 230, 232, 235; Lewis provided the plan dated Oct. 1896 and pp. 226–9. HASMG, 2003.35.240, Dawson's manuscript submitted to the editor, including the footnote. HASMG, 2003.35.1. *H&SLO*, 22 Aug. 1896, 20 Feb. 1897. SAS, Ross, copies of Cinque Port records, given by his daughter-in-law in 1925/6. His assistance with the few corrections is acknowledged in M. Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, new edn, Historic Towns ([London]: Longman, Green, 1903), vi. For Ross's (and later) finds of thick skulls on the East Hill, see R. Lavers, 'The ancient East Cliff cemetery', *Hastings Area Archaeological Research Group Journal* n.s., **1** (1995), 15–19. I cannot substantiate the statement in J. Clements, 'Piltown Man again', *Current Archaeology* **13** (7) (1997), 277, that Dawson acted for Thomas Ross's executors and inherited some of his collection.
- <sup>122</sup> D. Dawe and E. W. Padwick, *William Herbert (1772–1851): actor, antiquary and the first Librarian of Guildhall Library* (London: Guildhall Library, 1997), 64–6. Herbert's drafts are now ESRO, AMS 6113, the fair copy HASMG, 1952.17 and the family documents ESRO, ACC 7010. *Hastings & St Leonards News*, 19 Aug 1892. Dawson, *Hastings Castle*, viii.
- <sup>123</sup> John Bleach has found the prospectus in two copies of *SAC* **40** (1896) of which issue was delayed until August 1897 because of a fire at the binders: 'Report for 1896', *SAC* **41**, xiv–xv and 'Report for 1897', *SAC* **42**, xiv. This and the prospectus at the time of publication are in SAS, Library Acc 2951 and 2835b.
- <sup>124</sup> Costello, 'Piltown v2', 44, 68, from the publisher's archive. University of London, VCH Archives, A25, p. 806 (George H. Cotterill (sub-editor) to Dawson 14 Aug. 1901); A27, pp. 447 (Cotterill to Dawson, 10 Mar. 1902), 591 (Cotterill to Dawson, 22 Mar. 1902); and Chris Lewis, pers. comm., 23 Apr. 2013. *Local antiquities*, 61. P. D. Mundy, *Memorials of old Sussex* (London: George Allen, 1909).
- <sup>125</sup> Coronation: *H&SLO*, e.g., 6, 20 Jul 1901; the Mayor of Hastings, his old master, F. A. Langham, attended the Abbey service. A sketch of Bodiam church loose in HASMG, 1952.17 is dated Nov. 1898. The excavations are mentioned in Dawson, *Hastings Castle*, x–xi, 535, 538, 546, but I have not found a dated reference. Helping him with the models was a future clerk, while still at school, A. V. Eade (1897–1970): SE, 10 Dec. 1954. The draft noted as likely destroyed in Weiner, *Piltown*, 188, survives as ESRO, ACC 10103.
- <sup>126</sup> NHM, DF100/49/249. P. Miles, 'The Piltown Man and the Norman Conquest: working volumes and printer's copy for Charles Dawson's *The history of Hastings Castle*', *Studies in Bibliography* **46** (1993), 357–70. HASMG, 2003.35.244.
- <sup>127</sup> C. Dawson, 'The Bayeux Tapestry in the hands of "restorers," and how it fared', *Antiquary* n.s., **3** (1907), 253–8, 288–92; *The 'restorations' of the Bayeux Tapestry* (London: Elliot Stock, 1907); 'The Bayeux Tapestry in the hands of the restorers', *Antiquary* n.s., **5** (1909), 470 (corrigenda to the 1907 article). C. Hicks, *The Bayeux Tapestry: the life story of a masterpiece* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2006), 292–4.
- <sup>128</sup> Dawson, *Hastings Castle*, v–ix, for this and the following paragraphs.
- <sup>129</sup> Dawson, *Hastings Castle*, 443–6, for West Thurrock, Essex, not drawing on London episcopal registers, but on the parish registers probably searched with local assistance.
- <sup>130</sup> Dawson, *Hastings Castle*, vi, 567.

- <sup>131</sup> SAS, Downes, 'Charles Dawson on trial', 350–67, for more detail.
- <sup>132</sup> 'Review of C. Dawson, *History of Hastings Castle*', *Athenaeum*, 10 Sep. 1910, 286. 'Review of C. Dawson, *History of Hastings Castle*', *Antiquary* n.s., 6 (10) (1910), 396–7. H. H. E. Craster, 'Short notice of C. Dawson, *History of Hastings Castle*', *English Historical Review* 26 (Oct.) (1911), 849–50. There was also 'Notice of C. Dawson, *History of Hastings Castle*', *Times Literary Supplement*, 14 July 1910, 256.
- <sup>133</sup> L. F. Salzman, *The story of the English towns: Hastings* (London: SPCK, 1921), 121. D. Martin, B. Martin, and C. Whittick, 'A re-interpretation of Hastings Castle, Hastings, East Sussex' (London: Archaeology South-East, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 1999), 1, para. 1.3.2. Also proved by T. J. McCann's unpublished research on the clergy of the chapel and collegiate church. HASMG has J. E. Ray's copy with notes showing that he followed up some of Dawson's references.
- <sup>134</sup> SAL, Certificates of candidates for election, 1907–16; Minute book 49; Attendance register, 1909–13 (Dawson signed only in March 1911).
- <sup>135</sup> NHM, MSS WEI, 3/17/45–6.
- <sup>136</sup> SAS, Salzman, file 170. Ironically Sands went on to congratulate Salzman on the recent volume of SAC and asked 'Who is your literary critic? His hand is heavy on Hastings Castle.'
- <sup>137</sup> *Daily Mail*, 9 Jan. 1955. SAS, Holden, 14/7, Holden to Costello, 1 May 1980, adding that Steer was referring obliquely to the affair in his letter in *Times*, 2 Apr. 1974.
- <sup>138</sup> SAL, box file, Elections to Fellowship, 1920–1979, report by the secretary, [1949]: in 1909–13, rejected candidates were as many as 20%.
- <sup>139</sup> NHM, D100/34–51 and specifically DF100/47/224, 231 and 49/246, 250. Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 4–8. A. S. Woodward, 'On some mammalian teeth from the Wealden of Hastings', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* 67 (May) (1911), 280.
- <sup>140</sup> The teeth are NHM, M13134 and M20241. M. Russell, *Piltdown Man*, 30. J. J. Hooker (NHM), pers. comm., July 2013. For fuller discussion, see Appendix 4.
- <sup>141</sup> British Library, Add. MS. 46068, ff. 75–6, 89. NHM, DF100/49/239, 242 (Henry Woodward seems also to have written in support).
- <sup>142</sup> ODNB, for several instances of Trevor's questionable conduct.
- <sup>143</sup> P. Miles, 'Charles Dawson's rare essay on the Hermitage at Buxted', *SAC* 145 (2007), 199. See also the picture of class relations in Hastings c. 1905 in R. Tressell, *The ragged trousered philanthropists*, ed. Peter Miles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- <sup>144</sup> A. Keith, 'The discoverer of the Piltdown skull', *British Medical Journal*, 19 Aug. 1916, 265. Woodward, 'Dawson', 478.
- <sup>145</sup> On popular representations of Piltdown Man, see M. S. Goulden, 'Excavating humanness: palaeoanthropology at the human-animal boundary' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 2009).
- <sup>146</sup> Shindler, *Dorothea*, 216–17, 253. Weiner, *Piltdown*, 170–1. *SDN*, 14 Nov. 1925. Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 179–80. *SE*, 29 July 1938. *Sussex County Herald*, 29 July 1938.
- <sup>147</sup> Weiner, *Piltdown*, 142, 156–8. Spencer, *Piltdown papers*, 245–6, could not find Oke's letter where Weiner saw it, among Woodward's papers at University College London, nor have I found it in Brighton newspapers of the indicated date. *SE*, 27 Nov. 1953; also A. E. Wilson said, 'We thought the jaw was possibly that of an ape, contemporary with the cranium.'

## APPENDICES IN THE ADS SUPPLEMENT

Supplementary information to this article may be found on the website of the Archaeological Data Service, <http://archaeologicaldataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/sac>.

Appendix 1. Consolidated list of primary and secondary sources.

Appendix 2. List of the published works of Charles Dawson.

Appendix 3. Charles Dawson, 'The Priory of Hastings. The old and the new. A pilgrimage', *Hastings & St Leonards Observer*, 24 November 1888.

Appendix 4. *Plagiaulax dawsoni*.

Appendix 5. The mourners at Charles Dawson's funeral, 12 August 1916.