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Marketing the Archaeologist

We ought to have had good accounts in all the dailies + a page of sketches in the Graphic, +c . . . .

In a letter to Amelia Edwards, the young Egyptian Exploration Fund excavator William Matthew Flinders Petrie noted the value of marketing for archaeology. Without building a public profile and constructing a non-specialist audience for their work, archaeologist-authors would have little appeal for commercial publishers. This chapter will investigate the varied routes for marketing archaeology, drawing on evidence of periodical publication and advertisement, and exhibitions as sites of celebrity and identity creation. It will examine how the cycle of archaeological work, as briefly introduced in Chapter 2, fostered a continual renewal of archaeological visibility. This seasonality fed into and enhanced the value of archaeologists’ popular publications. Finally, this chapter will focus on the role of compendiums in drawing upon – and spreading the visibility of – archaeologists and archaeological knowledge. Through newspapers and periodicals ‘serial’ archaeology developed into a potent commercial package for archaeologists, as they maintained and increased a steady flow of ‘copy’ on site and off. Such actions helped to situate archaeology and archaeologists within the context of expanding international and imperial infrastructures, from communication, transport and tourism to knowledge production and publication.

Archaeology in the news

Alan Lee described the nineteenth-century press as ‘the most important single medium of the communication of ideas’. Thus for archaeologists newspapers were a significant platform for promoting disciplinary
identity and sharing knowledge. Archaeological reports had been appearing in newspapers since at least the eighteenth century. However, in the mid-nineteenth century the abolition of stamp duty on newspapers and periodicals, increasing literacy rates and technological innovations affecting printing, communications and travel transformed newspaper and periodical production, circulation and readership in Britain. The range of newspapers and periodicals featuring archaeologists and archaeological research was wide, from cheap daily papers in London and ‘the provinces’ to elite learned or specialist weekly or monthly periodicals to those aimed primarily at women and younger readers or family audiences.

In order to investigate this phenomenon more closely, I used the British Library’s 19th Century Newspapers database to chart how the early career of Flinders Petrie was evident in the newspapers of late nineteenth-century Britain. The 19th Century Newspapers database can be used to pull together digitised articles from regional newspapers across Britain that include the search terms entered. Although this dataset only includes a portion of the papers published in Britain, it serves to indicate the spread of news in both key industrial centres and local communities. I searched for the word ‘Petrie’, and limited my search to the years he was most active in Egypt during the period represented in the database: namely from 1883, when Petrie first began as an excavator for the Egypt Exploration Fund (and the year in which he published *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*) to 1900.

The first graph (Fig. 4.1) represents the geographical distribution and number of articles referencing Flinders Petrie across Britain – including England, Scotland, Wales and the whole of Ireland. London is represented in red, Scotland in blue, Ireland in green and Wales in yellow. Different regions of England are represented in various shades of purple. The data also reveals that there were key cities with papers that included a significant number of articles referencing Petrie. Over 350 articles in my dataset – nearly half – were from London-based newspapers. This fact is reflected in both the number of London papers represented and the number of articles published in these London papers. The *Leeds Mercury* in Yorkshire, *Glasgow Herald* in Scotland, *Birmingham Daily Post* in the West Midlands and *Liverpool Mercury* in the North West have the highest numbers. Andrew Hobbs has argued that these regional papers were critical to the dissemination of news, having larger circulation figures than the London press.

By investigating these numbers more closely a more nuanced picture emerges. The second graph (Fig. 4.2) plots the number of articles...
Fig. 4.1  Total number of references to Petrie (out of 779 articles) in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers database, arranged by paper and region. (Copyright the author)
referencing Petrie by year. In so doing it highlights Petrie’s personal visibility in newspapers as he continued to conduct archaeological research.

There are two main conclusions to highlight. First the numbers gradually increase over time and second there are some obvious peaks and troughs. An analysis of individual years indicates some of the reasons for these trends, and reveals the role of notices and publisher’s announcements in putting archaeologists’ names into the public sphere. In 1886 Petrie published ‘A Digger’s Life’ in the *English Illustrated Magazine*, a ‘shilling monthly’.

This nine-page article introduced Petrie’s view of the value of excavation to building up a picture of the ancient past, and emphasised the importance of ordinary finds over treasure. Beyond that, the article provided a template for the proper way to conduct archaeology – finding a site, hiring, instructing, managing and paying labourers, deciding the main aim of the research and the plan of the work to be done and dividing the finds for further funds. It also noted the fascination of the archaeologist on site: ‘There will be all sorts of strange tales floating about, as to your object, and your personality.’

The article is essentially a skeletal version of Petrie’s 1892 book *Ten Years’ Digging in Egypt*, and his 1904 manual *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*.

The references to Petrie in 1886 (Fig. 4.3) show the effect that the publication of ‘A Digger’s Life’ had on his visibility. The article appeared in the March issue of the magazine, and notices listing contents and

![Graph showing the number of Petrie references in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers database between 1883 and 1900. (Copyright the author)](image)
Fig. 4.3 References to Flinders Petrie in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers database in 1886. (Copyright the author)

referring Petrie began to appear in February. A short extract from the end of the piece subsequently appeared in the *Manchester Times Weekly Supplement*. In June reports began to appear on Petrie’s find of a palace, dubbed ‘The Castle of the Jew’s Daughter’, at Tahpanhes (Tell Defenneh) near Kantara, on the opposite side of the Suez Canal in the eastern Delta. The biblical Book of Jeremiah featured a story about princesses having fled there with other refugees from the Kingdom of Judah. The report was published in *The Times* on 18 June 1886, prefaced by a lengthy editorial statement in the same issue encouraging support of Petrie’s work for the Egypt Exploration Fund. The *Times* article was reprinted in part the following day in the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* and the *Glasgow Herald*. The *Liverpool Mercury* also noted the story on 19 June, providing its own (somewhat ‘sceptical’) commentary on Petrie’s identification of the site. Other newspapers followed suit later in the month, drawing on the *Times* story to publish Petrie’s discovery.

By September Petrie had arranged an exhibition of the season’s discoveries at Oxford Mansions, near Oxford Circus. The Royal Archaeological Institute had rooms in the building, and it was with the RAI Committee’s co-operation that Petrie’s display was arranged in the space. The exhibition was open three days a week between 2 and 21 September 1886, and the Royal Archaeological Institute’s Annual Report for the year noted the exhibition’s public appeal. A lengthy review,
describing key objects and their locations in the space in detail, had been published in *The Times* the day before it opened. It ended with a comment on the exhibition being a space for showcasing the ‘personal influence’ of the excavator in the context of the work.\(^\text{17}\) Reviews also appeared in two London papers, the *Daily News* and the *Morning Post*. Petrie did not necessarily do all his own publicity. In a letter to Amelia Edwards in July 1889 he begged her to ‘describe the collection’ for the papers in advance of the opening of that year’s exhibition on 16 September. As Moon has shown, Edwards had valuable contacts with newspaper editors which would have made her input invaluable, and she was the author of many reports to *The Times* on Petrie’s progress.\(^\text{18}\)

1892 and 1895 were the two years with higher numbers of references to Petrie (Figs 4.4 and 4.5). Petrie had begun publishing a four-part series of articles entitled ‘The Romance of Ancient Literature’ in the Religious Tract Society’s monthly periodical *Leisure Hour* in late 1891; these continued into early 1892, and announcements for the publication appeared in several papers.\(^\text{19}\) Petrie’s article revealed the story of papyri manuscripts, ‘the mass of miscellaneous papers’ found during his excavations. It framed these ancient textual fragments as both new sources of the literature of the ancient world and evidence of daily life in the past – wills, mortgages, domestic expenses, even correspondence from servants to employers. Amelia Edwards’ book *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* had been published in late 1891, and reviews of her work, which explicitly named Petrie and featured his excavations in the Delta, were still appearing.\(^\text{20}\) The text was an enhanced version of the

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Fig. 4.4 References to Flinders Petrie in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers database in 1892. (Copyright the author)
speeches she had given in support of the Egypt Exploration Fund during a successful tour in the United States, and it helped to establish Petrie as a pre-eminent explorer of Egypt in the public imagination in both Britain and America. She drew upon a public conception of ‘the excavator’ to define key elements of the experience of spadework – seasonal travel, discovery, tent life, linguistic and diplomatic skills and physical health – referencing Petrie both directly and indirectly:

Few, very few probably, of those who ‘sit at home at ease’ have any clear notion of the qualifications which go to make an explorer of the right sort – still less of the kind of life he is wont to lead when engaged in the work of excavation. They know that he goes to Egypt just as our November fogs are coming on, and that he thereby escapes the miserable English winter. They also know that he lives in a tent, and that he spends his time in ‘discovering things’.

Edwards continues to list the various intellectual abilities necessary for the ideal excavator – a knowledge of ancient history, ancient Greek and ancient Egyptian, a facility in trigonometry (for surveying) and the possession of ‘all-round’ archaeological knowledge, which she defined as a ‘science’ of registration and classification of the remnants of human progress towards ‘civilization’.

Petrie’s memoir Ten Years’ Digging in Egypt appeared in the spring of 1892. It was his own attempt to define his way of working and to acquaint audiences with his work in the field. The Religious Tract Society, which also published Leisure Hour and Sunday at Home, was his publisher for

Fig. 4.5 References to Flinders Petrie in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers database in 1895. (Copyright the author)
Ten Years’ – obviously the RTS considered Petrie a worthwhile investment. Reviews of the work again increased references to him. In the summer Petrie’s article ‘Rahotep and Nefert. The Oldest Sculpture in the World’ appeared in *Sunday at Home* and notices appeared in the press. A significant increase in references to Petrie came in September 1892. They consisted of reporting on Petrie’s paper at the Oriental Congress in London on his work on the site of Tell el-Amarna, nearly 200 miles south of Cairo, his exhibition of objects from his excavations there at the Oxford Mansions and a deposit of mummies at the Royal College of Surgeons from his excavations. The numbers started to increase again at the end of the year when Petrie’s appointment as Edwards Professor of Egyptian Archaeology at UCL was announced.

A few years later, in 1895, an increase in references in April was due to the announcement of Petrie’s discovery of a ‘New Race’ in Egypt at his lecture to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In presenting this he drew on the discovery of prehistoric human remains in a cemetery during his excavations at Ballas and Naqada, north of Luxor. Numerous papers used a review of the lecture in *The Times* as the basis for their reports on the event. The origin of the bodies Petrie presumed at that time to be outside of Egypt, and the pottery discovered with them, red at the base and topped with black, was dubbed particularly fine. Ironically, despite the fact that Petrie declared the bodies and their goods had to belong to non-Egyptian invaders, these finds helped to draw Petrie ever closer to Egypt in the public imagination. The *Middlesbrough North-Eastern Gazette*, reporting on the lecture, noted the discoveries caused a ‘sensation’ even as Petrie, his tanned skin equated with foreign-ness, was identified with the Egyptians among whom he spent so much time.

Another sharp increase in references, in September of 1895, was the result of publicity around the British Association’s annual meeting, at which Petrie discussed his ‘New Race’ findings. That year he had been nominated president of Section H (Anthropology) and, as Debbie Challis charts, he used the opportunity of his Presidential address to lay out his theories about race and empire more broadly, inviting personal contributions on the topic from imperial administrators. Reports on this speech circulated through the newspapers, drawing attention to Petrie’s role as a public intellectual who used the strength of his archaeological identity and his intimate knowledge of Egyptian cultural life to justify his expertise in matters of imperial politics.

Events ensured that archaeologists who worked abroad remained visible at home, and annual exhibitions of archaeological material
helped to enhance this visibility. Petrie’s exhibition of objects from Hawara, a site in Egypt’s Fayum oasis, including strikingly realistic and well-preserved Roman mummy portraits, gave him the most references in 1888. His name was mentioned in exhibition reviews in the London Daily News and the Glasgow Herald, as well as The Times, under the headline ‘Mr Flinders Petrie’s Egyptian Antiquities’. A listing with his name appeared twice in the events section of the Morning Post. The exhibition was held at Egyptian Hall on Piccadilly, well known by that point as an entertainment venue with a long history of performances and displays. Although at this stage Petrie had broken away from the Egypt Exploration Fund to establish himself as an independent excavator, with financing from two industrialists (Jesse Haworth and Martyn Kennard), he kept in touch with Amelia Edwards, who continued her association with the Fund. His letters to Edwards during the course of the exhibition reveal the importance Petrie placed on newspaper coverage during its run at Egyptian Hall – not merely for his own visibility, but also for the financial success of the venture in recouping the expense laid out and raising money for further excavations. Articles appeared two weeks into the exhibition in the Illustrated London News and the Lady’s Pictorial. Both papers had sent their own artists to the display, and the articles featured sketches of objects and the Egyptian Hall space. Petrie wrote to Amelia Edwards that

The Illustrated L. N. sketches will give a great lift I hope, + may save us from loss perhaps. The Ladies Pictorial will have drawings also, + the Sat. Rev. + Daily T. will have articles. We have advertised moderately about 20 times in all.

It was particularly important to Petrie at this stage to distance himself from the Fund. In 1889 he confided in Amelia Edwards that ‘I find that many people do not at all realise that my work is independent of the Fund. So please do not relax in proclaiming that neither party has aught to do with the other’. This confusion affected Petrie’s own scholarly publications, as some EEF members expected to have copies of Petrie’s volumes, produced at his own expense, for free on subscription to the Fund. After a lecture in Manchester in 1891 Petrie fumed that two members of the audience were ‘both claiming attention for the Fund on the ground of my work!’

The locations and timing of these exhibitions contributed to generating publicity for excavations and excavators. Petrie’s correspondence reveals that he chose the sites carefully. Although he had exhibited
objects from his excavations annually, his earlier exhibitions had been in
the autumn, after the end of the London Season – a time when the pol-
tical, financial and social elite gathered in the capital to visit, network,
entertain and debut. Post-Season was not a particularly suitable time for
capturing public attention as many from the higher social echelons left
London in early August. As Charles Pascoe put it, ‘The people with the
money have gone away’. 38

In 1889 Petrie could not finish up his excavations in time to hit
the London Season. However, he reasoned that the discoveries of his
archaeological season would only be of interest to specialists, who
would make the effort to view them regardless. Egyptian Hall was out –
too expensive for featuring finds of only specialist interest. The South
Kensington Museum was similarly rejected as that season’s finds were
considered ‘too antiquarian + unartistic’, while the Burlington Fine Arts
Club, open only to members and their guests, was dismissed as ‘too pri-
vate’. In the end Petrie returned to Oxford Mansion, which had a ‘good
position, not dear (10 gs a month on the ground floor?) + people know
the way from going to exhibits at the Institute’, demonstrating the value
of a consistent location for encouraging visitors. 39 Once arranged, Petrie
remained in the space to insert his presence into the display, his personal
visibility being an important factor. During his first exhibition at Oxford
Mansions in 1884, he wrote to Amelia Edwards that responding to vis-
itor interest was a demanding task, but necessary as ‘it is just a scrap of
personal attention to each who comes which may keep them in better
humour’. 40

Petrie’s presence in the space also meant that he was aware of his
audience, and of how many visitors there were to the displays – some
known to him, some not. In 1884 he observed ‘The numbers run up rap-
idly 16th [September] 5, 18th– 9, 23rd– 14, 25th, 30 . . .’. 41 As the exhib-
ition continued, he reported ‘We have lots of people (say 30 a day average
coming to see the things). I am sure 200 or 300 have been’. 42 A week and
a half into the 1888 exhibition he wrote that ‘The show draws fairly well,
quite as well as I expected; 30 to 50 on rainy days + 40 to 50 in fine wea-
thor’. 43 By the final week he concluded that

Things are going on very fairly at the hall, in spite of the miserable
weather we have had all the time. I expect we shall take about
£100 (2000) people . . . So that is far better than I had hoped for.
Several solid folks have been . . . all more than once. We have got
hold of the right vein of folks, + not had any nasty boors or ‘arrys
about. 44
Attracting these audiences as readers was a crucial factor in the commercial appeal of archaeology. The market for news changed radically in the nineteenth century as the government released control over publishers and their products. Alan Lee declared that ‘the Victorian newspaper . . . was for those who ran it first and foremost as a business . . .’. Tied into this were improvements in circulation – international telegraphy systems played a crucial role in the ability to relay news quickly, and an exclusive contract between news associations helped to spread international news across Britain. Bob Nicholson has presented reprinted and modified newspaper articles as elements of ‘cultural transfer’, erasing ‘national boundaries’. This erasure, drawing home and abroad closer together, is particularly relevant for publicising in Britain archaeological research conducted overseas. Newspapers and the circulation and dissemination of news enabled archaeologists to present themselves and their work in transnational terms, and brought the foreign field of research much closer to readers at home.

In this system of circulation and dissemination, communication between archaeologist and newspaper editor was of paramount importance. News of excavations and discoveries was an important part of archaeological publicity; reports from the field relied on an international system of telegraphs and a good postal service, enabling news of discoveries to be communicated quickly. The London-based company Reuters was one of the most important companies in this history of communications. Established in 1851, it has been dubbed ‘the news agency of the British Empire’. Reuters sent and received reports via an increasingly integral and broad-ranging telegraph system, feeding international news to British newspapers subscribing to its service. It opened an office in Alexandria, Egypt (the first beyond Europe) in 1865; by 1879 Reuters’ base in Egypt had been moved to Cairo. From the 1880s news from abroad could be received in London in a day.

The archive of archaeologist John Garstang offers a valuable insight into how archaeological news was sought and created, and the relationship between the press and archaeologists. Garstang, who had trained under Flinders Petrie in Egypt, was an experienced excavator by the time he began working at Meroe, an important ancient city on the Nile in what was then British-administered Sudan. He had just started his second season at Meroe in December 1910 when a well-preserved bronze statue head was uncovered, buried outside the entrance to a chamber in the Royal City. A news report on the discovery was telegraphed from Reuters agents in Khartoum on 21 December. The Reuters report announced Garstang’s return to the Sudan to continue
his excavations, and listed his discoveries: the head and the remains of a city water-front and royal dwelling mapped in the sparse words of the article. This report appeared, only slightly modified, in newspapers from 22 December in England, Scotland and Ireland. Headlines included ‘Excavation Work in the Sudan’ (The Times), ‘Discoveries in Egypt’ (Daily News), ‘Buried Nile City Unearthed’ (Gloucestershire Echo), ‘Buried City of Meroe. Important Discoveries’ (Dublin Daily Express) and ‘Exhuming a City’ (Dundee Courier). On the day that the Reuters report was printed, the Illustrated London News offices on the Strand sent a telegram to Liverpool asking for photographs of all the discoveries mentioned in the report. The immediacy of their request highlights the importance of visual evidence of the finds, critical for an illustrated newspaper, and the need to be the first to obtain that evidence. Further Reuters telegraph reports followed in January, when Lord Kitchener, soon to be Consul General in Cairo, visited the excavation site in person on a tour of Sudan in the company of Sudan Governor General Reginald Wingate and his wife Catherine. Garstang arrived back in England in May and promptly replied to the ILN’s request, supplying photographs and text to inform the article that appeared in the paper on 10 June. The article explicitly referred to the role Reuters telegrams had played in notifying the public (and the press) about the discoveries made during the season, and in reinforcing the value of communication technology.

The ILN had been drawing on Garstang and his team’s expertise, experiences, artwork and photographs for illustrations since at least 1904, when a full-page montage of images was published to promote Garstang’s exhibition of objects from his excavations of Beni Hasan on behalf of Liverpool University’s newly established Institute of Archaeology. Alongside the sketches of artefacts featured, this article included a sketch of Garstang’s foreman Saleh abd el Nebi, who had had the unenviable responsibility of lowering Queen Victoria’s daughter Princess Beatrice (Princess Henry of Battenburg) down a shaft to see one of the tombs during her visit to the site.

Garstang’s relationship with the ILN was thus well developed by the time of the Meroe publicity campaign. On the request of ILN chief editor Bruce Ingram, the ILN featured Garstang’s images of the bronze Head of Augustus in August 1911, following the British Museum’s acquisition of the artefact. Liverpool’s Sudan Excavations Committee, which was financing Garstang’s work, was then selling sets of three reproduced photographs of the Head, and it was these three images Ingram wanted to feature. One of these images was included in John
Stobart’s *The Grandeur that was Rome*, published by Sidgwick & Jackson the following year, so demonstrating the object’s translation into different commodities – from news item to reproduced photograph to book.\(^{59}\) The head became the signature object – an unofficial trademark – for Garstang’s excavations that year and in subsequent years at Meroe.

Garstang also corresponded with the editorial staff of a number of other papers about the discoveries on his return from Meroe in May 1911. His letter to the Editor of *The Times* referred to the Reuters telegrams on Meroe published in *The Times* as evidence of the value of a longer report on the excavation, encapsulating Garstang’s desire to strengthen the relationship between archaeologist and newspaper editor. It also promoted his forthcoming exhibition of the objects discovered there, due to be opened at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House the following month. The next week he sent a letter from Kitchener supporting the exhibition, which was fully reproduced in *The Times*. On 13 June Garstang’s article, a draft of which is in his archive, appeared in *The Times*. The actual article as printed in the newspaper appeared without an author, but the draft indicates that Garstang’s words were only very slightly changed in the final piece, revealing information taken directly from the source without much alteration.\(^{60}\)

Other papers were keen to follow suit. The *Evening Standard*, eager to promote Garstang explicitly, wrote to arrange an interview about the Meroe discoveries.\(^{61}\) The correspondence relating to this Special Interview, printed in the *Standard* on 3 June 1911, highlights the specific interest taken by the press in archaeology overseas. The Editor, G. Westgarth Heslam, sent a list of questions for Garstang to answer that Heslam felt addressed in more detail themes brought to light in the initial reporting. The questions reveal something of the Editor’s (one might say the public’s) assumptions about archaeology and archaeologists working in a place such as Sudan, and particularly in the potential desecration of the dead that excavation involved. They included how the Meroe excavations contributed to Egyptology, clarification on ceremonial and religious activity at Meroe and whether workers found opening tombs problematic. To the last question Garstang replied his workforce only objected when the excavation plan went too close to a cemetery in use, but he included his own misgivings about opening tombs. Significantly, information omitted from the final printed version of the interview relates to the excavation’s organisation and number of workers employed, along with an explicit mention of Garstang’s chief foreman Saleh Abd el Nebi. While this omission suggests that such details were not editorial
priorities, they were nevertheless part of Garstang’s original narrative of his archaeological experience.62

The Garstang archive reveals the opportunities for further publishing and visibility that resulted from the broader exposure of Garstang’s excavations at Meroe. The Editor of *Nature* invited Garstang to submit an article on the excavations, indicating the sizable, science-focused audience who would be interested in reading such a piece.63 It also reflects Garstang’s impact in Sudan and the commercial appeal of Garstang’s discoveries for marketing tourism. Arthur Bull, Chief Passenger Agent for the Sudan Government Railways, was eager to enter into a negotiation with Garstang to promote tourism to the Sudan, harnessing the excavations as an additional attraction for visitors to the country. Bull organised ‘Combined Circular Tours’, offering tourists all-inclusive travel from Cairo to Khartoum, with an overnight stay at a camp at Kabushia railway station. He hoped to advertise the tours at Garstang’s 1911 exhibition in London, and eventually produced a leaflet for circulation at the display.

Garstang had already submitted text on Meroe and Kabushia with photographs to Bull for the Government Railway handbook, and Bull was interested in offering a special guidebook to Meroe. This bespoke guidebook Garstang offered to write and illustrate, suggesting that it could be sold at between 10 and 20 piastres, the local currency in Sudan. Bull’s interest in incorporating archaeological elements into the Government Railways material extended to menu design for both the Port Sudan Hotel on the Red Sea coast and Railway dining cars on which he sought Garstang’s opinion, enquiring whether the drawing drafted was suitably representative.64 Bull’s request brings the railway and the site together as part of the same imperial context, two elements of imperial display. To capture this tourist market further, Garstang contributed a special article on the site for the *African World*’s ‘Egypt and Sudan Annual’ for 1914; the site had also been briefly highlighted in *Fascinating Egypt and Sudan* for the 1913–14 season.65 Garstang’s excavations closed after the end of the 1914 season and were not renewed after the war, though Meroe itself remained visible in imperial tourist ephemera.66

Photographs in the Garstang archive show a dig building clearly marked ‘Meroe Camp’ in large letters, which would be visible from the passing railway carriages. Garstang’s catalogue for the 1911 exhibition in Burlington House credits the government for investing in the site, noting that trains bringing supplies already stopped at the camp en route to Khartoum. Plans to build a special station at Meroe to help visitors access the site were also promoted.67 In fact, the excavations and
camp were noted in travelogues on Sudan, demonstrating the efficacy of Garstang/Meroe marketing and Arthur Bull’s efforts to incorporate the site into Railway ephemera. At the beginning of *My Sudan Year* (Mills & Boon, 1912), the journalist Ethel Stefana Stevens travelled to Khartoum by train and saw both Garstang’s camp and the Meroe pyramids from her carriage window. Similarly, in her 1914 book *A White Woman in a Black Man’s Country*, American tourist Nettie Fowler Dietz noted that en route to Khartoum on the train, ‘In passing Kabushiyeh we could plainly see the pyramids and the excavating camp of Meroe where some recent interesting finds have been made’.

The discovery of the Meroe Head had brought a new visibility and commercial standing to Garstang’s excavations. Publishers responded to this – in June 1912, Sidgwick & Jackson urged Garstang to consider submitting a ‘popular’ book detailing his Meroe excavations and findings. Flinders Petrie had a similar visibility in Egypt, although this manifested itself in a slightly different way. In 1891 the Minister of Education in Egypt, Yacoub Artin, asked him to write ‘an elementary geography for the fellah boys!’ – an idea that Petrie himself had suggested. Petrie hoped to address a lack of educational texts written in accessible language and phrasing that would be familiar to them, a skill for which he thought himself uniquely qualified. He boasted to his friend Flaxman Spurrell that ‘I doubt if there are any English here who know the fellah understandings more than I do…’.

Archaeologists gained a valuable visual organ for reporting the results of their research to British readers and a platform for being profiled as experts when the *Illustrated London News* was established in 1842. The first illustrated archaeological article appeared in that paper on 11 February 1843, reporting a British Museum exhibition of so-called ‘Xanthian marbles’ shipped from Turkey by the traveller Charles Fellowes. Regular contributions to the paper, as highlighted above, helped to maintain archaeological visibility. This was achieved not only through individual articles publicising key discoveries or exhibitions, but also in themed serials.

In 1911, while Garstang was actively promoting his Meroe excavations, David George Hogarth was contributing a regular series on active excavations and sites of interest to the *ILN*. Amounting to 20 articles published between February 1911 and November 1913, Hogarth’s series ‘The Remodelling of History and the Realisation of Legend’ highlighted previous, ongoing and new work of British and international archaeological teams and excavators across the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East – Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Turkey, Mesopotamia,
Libya. The first article in the ‘Remodelling of History’ series included at its centre a circular profile portrait photograph of Hogarth from the renowned ‘society’ photographic firm Elliot & Fry, noted for commercial reproductions of its photographs of famous figures. The image marks Hogarth’s piece as emanating from his personal brand.74

Through the series he was able to expose his knowledge of work stretching across thousands of miles, directly and indirectly emphasising his own experience as an explorer and excavator and drawing on an extensive network of contacts to obtain illustrative material for each article.75 Hogarth’s narrative of these sites establishes him as the ILN’s archaeological reporter. He weaves a story of international imperial expansion (both ancient and modern) through literal and metaphorical ‘snapshots’, offering an overview of the key teams and sites undergoing excavation in the years just before the outbreak of the First World War. The value placed on visual evidence for archaeological work was high; illustrations were copyrighted to the excavators and societies providing them to the paper. Thus, when Hogarth’s ‘Remodelling of History’ article on the Hittite Empire featured photographs from John Garstang’s explorations of Hittite sites in Asia Minor without crediting him, Garstang immediately contacted his publisher Constable & Co – who had produced his book *The Land of the Hittites* – and wrote a stern note to the Illustrated London News Editor on the damage this negligence had caused to his friendly relationship with the paper.76 The ILN printed an apologetic note in the following issue.77

The ILN published a double-page spread in March 1923 (following Howard Carter’s sensational and well publicised discovery of Tutankhamun’s tomb), acknowledging the strength of archaeologists’ relationship to the ILN. It proclaimed its role in increasing general interest in the discipline and featured photographic portraits of the ‘famous British archaeologists’ who regularly contributed articles and information.78 Among the 15 archaeologists included were Petrie, Garstang, Leonard Woolley, Howard Carter, A. H. Sayce and David George Hogarth.

Over a decade later, in 1935, a special ‘Record Number’ of the ILN was produced to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of George V and Queen Mary. A series of articles outlined ‘twenty-five years’ of achievements in imperial politics, military prowess, exploration, science, literature, aviation, art and archaeology. The double columns ofarchaeologist Alan J. B. Wace’s text ‘Twenty-Five Years of Archaeology’ were lined with the images of ‘Prominent Persons in Archaeology and Anthropology’; the Record Number’s ‘Explanatory Index’ gave brief details of their achievements.
Arthur Evans, Leonard Woolley, Flinders Petrie, John Garstang, D. G. Hogarth and A. H. Sayce, as well as Gertrude Bell and Dorothy Garrod, were all visible as thumbnail photographs, while the portraits of Howard Carter and his patron Lord Carnarvon sat in the middle of the first page. Both the 1923 and 1935 articles reflect the value of scripting spade-work for news outlets during the early twentieth century in promoting archaeologists’ visibility.

**Archaeology as a serial**

Serialised compendiums, a halfway house between periodicals and books, helped to raise archaeologists’ public profiles still further. These works provided archaeologists with the opportunity to define – and in some cases lavishly illustrate – their expertise, dividing the world and its human history into easily digestible chunks, with the potential for incremental acquisition through subscription. Compendiums broke knowledge down while packaging it into bound volumes, heavy with authority and based on lived experience.

Between 1910 and 1911 the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica (EB11)* was published. This edition has recently been assessed as a publication reflecting the zenith of prewar imperialism, yet it continues to have relevance today as the foundation for many Wikipedia articles. Gillian Thomas has noted that the Encyclopaedia’s ‘cultural authority’ was due in large part to its contributors’ ‘prestige and celebrity’. *EB11* presented information in a new format from previous editions, providing shorter, more specific articles rather than ‘the comprehensive general, or “omnibus” articles, so characteristic of the earlier editions’. Its ‘Prefatory Note’ identified *The Times*’s republication of the ninth edition in 1898 (a strategy masterminded by its future owner, Horace Hooper) and subsequent publication of a supplemented ninth edition as the tenth edition in 1902–3 as being the point when ‘The great possibilities of popularity for the Encyclopaedia Britannica in Great Britain were . . . realized’. The Editor of the eleventh edition promised ‘a fresh survey of the whole field of human thought and achievement’, drawing on over a thousand international experts – each contributing articles that represented the latest knowledge.

The Editor of *EB11* claimed it was the most modern general survey available. It was made possible through improvements in the production process, financial investment and management strategies which enabled all the volumes of the encyclopaedia to be published simultaneously;
formerly, volumes had been issued consecutively in alphabetical order. Published by Cambridge University Press, the latest of a number of different publishers to produce the work, it was now owned by American businessman Horace Hooper and edited in both London and New York, ensuring both a British and American market. Its editorial team included Janet Hogarth, sister of D. G. Hogarth. \(^{85}\) \(EB11\) introduced changes to make the text more accessible, such as listing famous individuals by names recognisable to a wider public – giving the example of listing the author George Eliot by her pseudonym instead of her given name Mary Ann Evans Cross. Members of the peerage were mainly listed by their titles rather than family names as titles had wider recognition – peers featured in newspapers, for example, would have been called by their titles. Its introduction outlined the innovations and characteristics that set \(EB11\) apart from competitors. In incorporating biographies of notable figures in the text, the \(Encyclopaedia Britannica\) claimed to outstrip the \(Dictionary of National Biography\), a compendium providing brief profiles of deceased Britons, in two senses: first in including notable people alive in 1910, among whom were a number of archaeologists, and second in including eminent non-Britons. The Introduction also specifically referred to the progress made in the late nineteenth century by ‘modern archaeology’, which enabled knowledge of human history to be ‘thrown farther and farther back’. It vowed that the contributions it included represented the most current information available as a permanent record of the ‘triumphs’ achieved up to autumn 1910.\(^{86}\)

The eleventh edition and its index provide a unique insight into the arrangement and authorship of this important compendium, and the visibility of the scholars who contributed to it as authors and editors. General Editor Hugh Chisholm’s approach to contributors emphasised what Thomas describes as ‘direct participants’ – he sought those actively engaged in a practice rather than ‘objective’ academics, at a time when universities were not necessarily the centre of the intellectual sector.\(^{87}\) Hogarth, Percy and Ernest Gardner and Petrie were among the archaeological contributors to \(EB11\), authoring articles on geographical locations (ancient and modern) as well as thematic overviews. Gertrude Bell was one of a few female contributors included in the ‘List of Contributors’, writing an article on ‘Druses’ which drew on her personal explorations and experience.\(^{88}\) Among the articles that Hogarth contributed was ‘Aegean Civilization’, which alongside his text featured numerous illustrations from the Hellenic Society.\(^{89}\) Percy Gardner contributed a lengthy illustrated outline of
‘Greek Art’ incorporating brief histories of excavations and excavators for sites mentioned in the overview.90

The entry on Egypt contained a substantial section on ‘Ancient Egypt’ with contributions from several Egyptologists, including Flinders Petrie on ‘Art and Archaeology’. The ‘Ancient Egypt’ section began with ‘Exploration and Research’, outlining the work of generations of explorers and excavators and placing Western scholars front and centre in the elucidation of this ancient civilisation. The work of the Egypt Exploration Fund – especially the papyri excavators Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt and Petrie’s Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt – were also directly referenced in this section. Petrie was credited with instigating ‘The era of scientific excavation’, during which ‘the general level of research has gradually risen’.91

Contributors were further credited in each volume in which their pieces appeared as a list of initials identifying individual authors, with a short biographical article (where one was not already included in the Encyclopaedia) and the entries credited to them in that volume forming part of the opening section. Thus Gertrude Bell (‘G. Be.’) is listed in Vol.8 as ‘Author of Desert and the Sown &c.’ for her work on the ‘Druses’ entry.92 In addition to authoring articles, D. G. Hogarth and Ernest Gardner were both credited for advising the editors on ‘Hellenic Archaeology’, while other archaeologists or former students of the British Schools at Athens and Rome advised on classical archaeology and art.93

The organisation of the new edition featured a new scheme of classification for articles, outlined in great detail in the Editorial Introduction and the Introduction to the Index. Janet Hogarth was in charge of a team of women indexers who arranged EB11 articles into clear topics and subtopics to provide better access to the information within, as well as fact checking and cross-checking entries for inconsistency.94 Beyond an alphabetical list of all the eleventh edition articles, the index also featured a ‘Classified Table of Contents’. In this Table disciplines provided the overarching structure and biographies of key individuals within each discipline were included in the classification. Therefore, its editors proposed, the index comprised ‘what we believe to be the first attempt in any general work of reference at a systematic subject catalogue or analysis of the material contained in it’.95

‘Archaeology and Antiquities’ was one of the disciplinary categories. Subjects listed included ancient civilisations such as ‘Hittites’ and ‘Mound Builders’, archaeological features such as ‘cist’ and ‘cliff dwellings’, periods such as ‘Mousterian’ and ‘Neolithic’ and objects such
as ‘chariot’ and ‘scarab’. Individual sites were listed under the discipline ‘Geography’, while elements of ancient culture were listed under the disciplinary categories ‘Art’, ‘Philology’ or ‘Religion’. A list of biographical entries within the Archaeology and Antiquities categories comprised a roster of past and current contributors to the discipline. As *EB11* claimed to reach beyond the remit of the *Dictionary of National Biography* in its inclusion of biographies of living scholars, these biographies represent a list of some of the best known intellectuals of the day. Petrie, Percy Gardner and Ernest Gardner and the archaeologist and explorer William Mitchell Ramsay were included among them.\(^9^6\)

Each biographical entry provided an outline of educational and professional status, as well as a list of important publications and the years in which these appeared. Petrie’s biographical entry defined him as an ‘English egyptologist’ [sic] whose reputation had been established since 1891. Alongside referencing key sites Petrie had excavated, the entry noted his work in establishing the Egyptian Research Account and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. His memoir *Ten Years’ Digging* is referred to twice in the context of the entry, evidence of its popular appeal.\(^9^7\)

When *EB11* was published in January 1911, it was hailed as a ‘work of the greatest magnitude’, and the decrease in weight and shelf space in comparison to previous editions was noted and praised.\(^9^8\) Horace Hooper’s forceful marketing and sales strategies had caused consternation in the British press when *The Times EB* had appeared in 1898. But, as Thomas notes, Hooper’s commitment to making knowledge accessible to the widest number of people possible, and explicitly targeting middle- and lower middle-class self-improvers, underpinned these techniques. By 1911 the qualms over Hooper’s marketing drives largely disappeared – helped, Thomas suggests, by the collaboration with Cambridge University Press as publisher.\(^9^9\)

Hooper’s marketing strategies appeared in full force in newspapers. One advertisement in the London *Daily News* a few months following the eleventh edition’s publication released the names of 160 eminent purchasers of the work out of a total of 20,000, bishops, peers and MPs, men and women. Early subscribers to *EB11* were offered a discount, and payment could also be made after delivery in instalments.\(^1^0^0\) It was offered in both leathers and hard paper bindings, and the availability of India paper printing ensured that each volume could be as light as possible. There were also other options for purchasing the work. By 1912 the London *Daily News* offered potential purchasers the opportunity to acquire the work in parts, priced at 3 shillings and sixpence, issued fortnightly.
Coupons were included in newspapers for use at vendors from whom the 3/6 parts could be purchased; these coupons also enabled purchasers of part 1 to obtain subsequent parts fortnightly thereafter.\textsuperscript{101}

Expert author visibility was incorporated into this marketing. Contributors were named in advertising, drawing on the public awareness of, and thereby increasing, their public presence – a strategy that stemmed from the previous edition.\textsuperscript{102} One London \textit{Daily News} article listing ‘100 among 1,500’ contributors had a section on ‘Greece and Rome’ that highlighted Percy and Ernest Gardner and D. G. Hogarth.\textsuperscript{103} Advertising for the fortnightly 3/6 \textit{EB11} parts appearing in the London \textit{Daily News} in 1912 took this concept further: it included reproduced photograph portraits of key contributors with their positions featured. Hogarth and Petrie’s portraits appeared in an \textit{EB} advertisement for the first serialised part in February 1912. Within it were articles on archaeological topics from Petrie, Hogarth, Ernest Gardner, Francis Llewellyn Griffith, Robert Alexander Stuart Macalister (a Palestine Exploration Fund excavator) and William Ridgeway (a former Disney Professor of Archaeology).\textsuperscript{104}

Subject-specific serialised compendiums were also published in the early part of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{105} Pictorial history compendiums created for general readership placed ‘modern’ archaeological work in the context of the history of the world, its regions, civilisations and peoples. Like the \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica}, these compendiums could be purchased in parts for a lower price, spreading out the total cost of the volume. They featured archaeological authors alongside scholars and others with regional and subject expertise, complementing the periodical press in the market for archaeological knowledge and visibility of archaeologists.

The newspaper baron Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe) played a critical role in facilitating the production of these cheap, accessible serial publications, dubbed ‘fortnightlies’.\textsuperscript{106} Harmsworth employed John Alexander Hammerton, an experienced newspaperman, to edit these works under a specific imprint, the Amalgamated Press’s Educational Book Company.\textsuperscript{107} Parts were published every two weeks at a cost of six or seven pence per part; these could then be bound into large, encyclopaedic volumes when all the parts had been acquired. Each part was generally split in such a way as to encourage continued reading. ‘Chapters’ (articles) could end almost mid-sentence, leaving readers poised on a veritable cliff-edge – a serial much like archaeology itself, with its lingering, unanswered questions at the end of a season. In the 1920s Hammerton explained this design method to a complaining reader. His response was
The single Part must be regarded as a divisor of the whole, and not as a complete unto itself, so that it will often happen that articles are broken . . . I have urged upon my readers to remember that the fortnightly issue should be regarded merely as a contribution to a concerted whole . . .

Harmsworth’s *History of the World* first appeared in 40 fortnightly parts from October 1907. Based on Hans Helmolt’s *History of the World*, a scholarly German compendium, it bore the hallmarks of Harmsworthian ‘popular journalism’, including a significant number of illustrations, and drew on ‘eminent English writers’ to contribute bespoke pieces for the work. These authors included archaeologists Flinders Petrie, Archibald Henry Sayce, Harry Hall and Leonard King. Hammerton was particularly surprised at the ‘tradesmen’-like manner of attaché-case carrying Hall and King, Assistant Keepers under Wallis Budge at the British Museum. On arrival at the Harmsworth offices of Carmelite House, they immediately began negotiating ‘the money value’ of their contributions with unexpected savviness.

Hammerton, along with Arthur Mee, the editor of Harmsworth’s *Self-Educator*, and A. D. Innes were the Harmsworth *History’s* general editors. With its chronological and anthropological framework, contributors to *History of the World* used geography and racial theories to underpin the formation of the text. Its expanded version, *The Book of History: A History of All Nations*, was co-published with the American Grolier Society from 1915. According to Hammerton, the ‘immense circulation’ of this kind of serialised publication took book publishers completely by surprise.

The intellectual prowess, ‘scientific’ methods and personal involvement of the contributing authors in ‘the field’, rather than the academy alone, were front and centre in the first volume of Harmsworth’s *History of the World*. It began with lists of Contributing Authors and Editorial and Contributing Staff, who were mainly British, American and German. In their introduction to the work, its editors declared it to be ‘the product of experience . . . a book of history by writers and makers of history; it is a book of action by men of action; it is a book, that is, by men who know intimately the real life of the world’ (original emphasis). Petrie, as one of the key contributors, was valuable not only for his knowledge.
of ancient Egypt through study, but also for his *lived experience* in the country.

Each of the volumes had a specific plan, adding up to eight ‘Grand Divisions’. The first division, ‘Man and the Universe’, contained an outline of geological and human history from the beginning of the universe to modern times. The following divisions were geographical: The Far East, the Middle East, the Near East, Africa, Europe (a history in seven parts) and America. To ‘Man and the Universe’ Petrie contributed two significant chapters on the emergence of ‘civilization’ in Egypt and Mesopotamia, while D. G. Hogarth contributed a chapter on the same theme in Europe. The Near East division included contributions from Archibald Henry Sayce on ‘Ancient Civilizations and their Vanished Glories’ and Hall and King on the history of ‘Western Asia’ to the modern period. Petrie returned to explore ‘The Continuity of Civilization’ at the beginning of the Sixth Division (European History), pontificating on Europe’s role in leading the investigation into the history of ancient civilisations through archaeological research. As with the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, advertising for the serial included the names of key contributors, including Petrie and Sayce.

Hutchinson & Co’s lavishly illustrated *History of the Nations* (Fig. 4.6) was a rival to Harmsworth’s *History*. First published in January 1914, it totalled 50 seven pence parts issued fortnightly, available for purchase from newsagents and booksellers. It featured narratives of the history of various countries and civilisations, from the earliest times to the modern era, and claimed to feature all the latest research. In his introduction to the work, general editor Walter Hutchinson described how progress in historical research had moved beyond classical and oral historical sources, stating ‘...there are older and more reliable historical records which, though not literary, are not the less eloquent. The geologist and the archaeologist are the chief coadjutors of the modern history of early man’. As in Harmsworth’s *History*, Hutchinson’s compendium featured imaginative reconstructions of key scenes and sites referred to in the text. In addition to these, reproductions of works in museums and galleries and photographs credited to archaeologists or archaeological societies of cleared sites and excavations in progress made up the over 2,000 images included in the series. The combination of reconstruction, excavation and artefact reinforced the connection between past and present in archaeological life.

Advertisements emphasised the expense laid out to bring this ‘sumptuous work’ and its ‘popular, concise, pictorial, and authoritative’
articles to the hands of a general readership. The first part began with Egypt, and featured Flinders Petrie’s contribution on its ancient history, which the Daily Mirror announced had never been published before. His words were further enhanced by the reconstruction drawings of scenes in ancient Egyptian life, some of which were the work of artist Winifred Newberry Brunton. She had studied Egyptology with Petrie and worked on archaeological sites with her husband Guy Brunton.

Within a month Hutchinson & Co’s advertising declared History of the Nations a success, with a single firm purchasing 40,000 copies of the first instalment. The names of ‘celebrity’ contributors were used to
boost advertising and were seen as a guarantee for the quality of the publication as a whole – a celebration, indeed, of British scholarship at a ‘high point’ in imperial history.\textsuperscript{120}

In the early 1920s Harmsworth’s Amalgamated Press released the illustrated \textit{Peoples of All Nations}, a Hammerton-edited weekly in 60 parts, available for purchase for 1 shilling and threepence (later reduced to sixpence) per part. It was a global survey of the world’s inhabitants, released in alphabetical order. Like Harmsworth’s \textit{History of the World, Peoples of All Nations} offered the British public a carefully constructed image of countries and peoples that most readers would never see in the flesh, while emphasising the need, since the First World War, for a new recognition of a ‘global’ rather than ‘nationalistic’ civilisation. Therefore it drew on the knowledge of those people (mainly though not exclusively men) who had personal experience of a world beyond Britain’s borders – particularly regular travel writers.\textsuperscript{121} Proclaiming it ‘a condition of our plan’ that only writers with the proper authority could be contributors, a number of now-familiar archaeologists were included. A ‘representative group’ of ‘explorers, travellers and historians’, with photographs and short notes on their expertise, were featured in a Gallery of Contributors.\textsuperscript{122} D. G. Hogarth was among the contributors profiled. Fresh from his war service running the Arab Bureau (a Cairo-based intelligence network) and playing a role in the Arab Revolt alongside T. E. Lawrence, he wrote about the history of Hejaz and Arabia. Petrie contributed an analysis of the history of Egypt, while Arthur Weigall, an Antiquities Inspector in Egypt for over a decade, wrote about the ‘life of Egypt’ – modern Egyptians and their culture, religion, costumes and practices.

Reflecting on the work years later, Hammerton judged it to be one of his ‘winners’.\textsuperscript{123} Although acknowledging the potential detrimental effect the Harmsworth brand might have on the scholarly reception of its educational publications, Hammerton thought it worthwhile because of the vast readership, ‘boldness of publishing’ and generosity in remuneration for contributors a Harmsworth imprint brought with it.\textsuperscript{124} His list of eminent contributors, which he figured to be in the hundreds, obviously felt the same way.\textsuperscript{125} Harmsworth’s \textit{Universal History of the World} was published soon afterwards (Fig. 4.7). Each part was less than 100 pages with 200 illustrations and four colour plates. The front cover of each paperback part advertised the brand; for Part 3, Harmsworth boldly declared: ‘You need a History – this is the History You Need.’

Hammerton noted that although the \textit{Universal History} represented ‘a new and elaborate (and extremely costly) method of illustrating
It showcased the work of younger scholars alongside older ones, signalling a fresh start at the beginning of a new era of peace. Photographs now dominated the illustrations featured, showing artefacts from a range of museums and collections alongside excavators’ own photographs and illustrations taken from publications, with captions providing reference information. On the inside back cover of each part brief biographical profiles accompanied thumbnail photographs of the authors included.

Chasing the popularity of archaeology after Tut, in 1923–4 Harmsworth issued *Wonders of the Past*, a fortnightly devoted exclusively to the results of archaeological work. With *Wonders*, Hammerton produced what he considered to be ‘the first attempt’ to bring the insular and specialist discipline to a ‘general reading public’. He drew on longstanding friendships with archaeologists William Mitchell Ramsay and Archibald Henry Sayce in the initial stages of the work. In his introduction to the series, Hammerton emphasised the recent shift in public awareness of archaeology, and the move away from a view of archaeology as a dull, dusty, museum-bound study to an innovative, romantic science. Framing the postwar period as an age of renewed

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**Fig. 4.7** Parts 3, 6 and 8 of Harmsworth’s *Universal History of the World*. (Author’s collection)
support for archaeological expeditions (and international Anglo-American collaborations), Hammerton declared it was the time of the ‘new archaeologist’.129

When put together, the serialised parts of *Wonders of the Past* explored archaeology through a series of eight key topics: ancient cities, tombs, palaces, monuments, temples, construction, arts and crafts and the seven wonders of the ancient world.130 In arranging the parts in this way, actively breaking down the systematised, scholarly, chronological approach, Hammerton sought to make the work accessible and ‘popular’ while retaining the value of the contributor’s expertise. While contributors were a mix of archaeologists and writers, the majority were archaeologists, a fact that meant the work won favour with the scholarly community.131

As an extra enticement for prospective purchasers, the Amalgamated Press offered a ‘free gift’ with all officially bound volumes (done through the company, not with an unauthorised binder): large photographs of three key contributors, bound into the front of each volume. The first three-volume edition of the compendium features Petrie, artefact in hand, leaning almost seductively against a case full of ancient objects in the museum he established at UCL, showing it off to the camera. The caption under the photograph begins ‘Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie: Doyen of British Archaeologists’.132 Among the contributors were some, such as Petrie and Arthur Weigall, who had written for Harmsworth’s previous publications. However, *Wonders* also included many other active archaeologists, a number of whom, such as Leonard Woolley, Rex Engelbach and John Garstang, had been Petrie’s students. It also included women among the contributors, specifically Margaret Murray, Eugénie Sellers (under her married name Mrs Arthur Strong) and Jessie Mothersole. Murray was among the most prolific contributors to the series, while Mothersole was an artist who had worked with Murray copying tomb paintings at Saqqara 20 years earlier.133 At the time of publication Mothersole had just produced her own illustrated travel guide to Hadrian’s Wall; it was this monument of the Roman era that formed her *Wonders* contribution.

*Wonders* was also published in the United States and sold widely there. In the 1930s it was reissued, the chapters revised and a new topic, ‘The Study of the Past’, added to the eight originally included. In all Hammerton assessed the work’s popularity to be slightly below that of his other serialised works, but nonetheless a ‘substantial success’.134 *Wonders of the Past* reached Britain’s imperial outposts too – parts were available through Amalgamated Press agents in Canada, South Africa
and ‘Australasia’, as well as G. P. Putnam’s Sons in New York. In his editorial commentary of 13 November 1923 Hammerton was pleased to announce the possibility of an Arabic edition on receipt of a letter from ‘the Education Department of a Government in the distant East’.135

In 1933 Flinders Petrie took his first flight, leaving London’s Croydon airport on Imperial Airways liner Horatius for a short jaunt to the ‘Riviera’ of Northern France, in advance of Imperial Airways’ launch of a special weekend service to the bright lights of Le Touquet’s casinos.136 On alighting from the plane in London on his return, he gave an interview on the experience to an Associated Press journalist. The story of Petrie’s flight, taken in his eightieth year, circulated round the country the following day.137 Petrie was by this point a famous travelling excavator, and his interview effectively endorsed commercial air travel as the latest development in modern technology and convenience. Gaza was now a stop on the Imperial Airways route – another line on the map for imperial travel and travellers. This incident emphasises the celebrity that Petrie had built up over the decades, facilitated by a good relationship with the newspapers, additional promotion in serial publications and compendiums and his own efforts to market himself as a regular traveller and expert on foreign cultures. Petrie, in his way, had helped to kick-start serial (imperial) archaeology in the 1880s – how fitting that by the end of his career he was syndicated.