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The ‘House of Macmillan’ began with Daniel and Alexander Macmillan, brothers who came from Arran, an island off the west coast of Scotland. Daniel Macmillan, the eldest, had joined a Cambridge publishing house and built up contacts there before moving to another in London in the early 1830s. His brother joined him there and subsequently they set up their own bookshop and publishing house. From the beginning the brothers were committed to educational publishing, but with a commercial eye. London proved expensive and the brothers relocated to Cambridge, where they were able once more to lock into the intellectual and cultural networks of the University. The location of their Cambridge bookshop made it an informal salon. They began to cultivate authors from the university to provide them with marketable nonfiction.

Daniel Macmillan died in 1857, and Alexander Macmillan opened an outpost of the Cambridge bookshop and publishing house in London’s Henrietta Street in Covent Garden. Here, as in Cambridge, an informal salon developed, drawing in writers, artists and scholars. The business expanded during the 1860s and 1870s, identified as a key period in the development of Macmillan & Co, as new periodicals Macmillan’s Magazine and Nature were established. Educational publishing remained a priority, providing a steady stream of income, particularly after the 1870 Education Act. Expansion continued abroad as branch offices were set up in India and the United States. The New York branch, discussed in more detail below, was to prove a particularly fruitful relationship for archaeology, bringing the work of British archaeologists to the attention of students and universities across the Atlantic. Formed in 1869 under the helm of Englishman George Brett, it was the result of Alexander Macmillan’s deep interest in the United States and the North American market.
In the 1870s and 1880s control of the company was transferred from the first to the second generation of Macmillans – the children of Alexander and Daniel. Three second-generation Macmillans, Frederick Orridge and Maurice Crawford Macmillan (sons of Daniel) and George Augustin Macmillan (son of Alexander), began working for the firm at this time. John Kajinski has shown that the Macmillan firm of the 1870s and 1880s believed it more important that their nonfiction authors should be publicly visible intellectuals than academics attached to a particular institution or discipline, with the publisher, rather than any other scholarly body, serving as the authoritative mediator between a respectable, middle-class reading public and their authors. Charles Morgan noted that this new generation placed more emphasis on readers’ reports, rather than resting the decision-making powers entirely on the shoulders of the Macmillans themselves. However, the incoming manuscript books and correspondence held in the Macmillan archive show that the Macmillan family remained actively engaged in the process of accepting and producing books and facilitating relationships with authors.

George Macmillan helped to found the Hellenic Society in the 1870s and served as its Honorary Secretary for decades. He also had a long association with the British School at Athens, serving as its Honorary Secretary for over a decade in the 1880s and 1890s. These two roles brought him a strong network of classicists and classical archaeologists to draw on for publishing, and he is credited with overseeing and strengthening the company’s archaeology list. Macmillan & Co’s strong relationship with classical archaeologists and commitment to education resulted in the production of the *Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities* series, with Percy Gardner as its English editor. These works, written by known scholars, helped to define the field in setting out key themes, principles and specialisms in archaeology, and were destined for use in teaching. The archaeologists Macmillan cultivated through the series were committed to expanding both archaeological education in general and the authority and identity of archaeologists in particular. Macmillan’s guidebook to Greece drew on and highlighted the experiences of Ernest and Mary Gardner in the country, while D. G. Hogarth, a long-term friend of George Macmillan, contributed his second memoir, *Accidents of an Antiquary’s Life*, to the Macmillan lists at an important stage in his professional life.

The correspondence of archaeological ‘men of letters’ – as Kajinski has termed professional (male) authors of “‘serious” writing to … a general, middle-class readership’ – has been gathered together and classified in the Macmillan archive at the British Library. Thus under
'K: Archaeologists’ can be found correspondence from D. G. Hogarth and Percy, Ernest and Mary Gardner (among others) with George or Maurice Macmillan. In practical terms, initial stamps (for example, ‘GAM’) on some of the Macmillan correspondence occasionally indicates which Macmillan received the letters referenced in this chapter, but the universal formality of addressing letters to ‘Dear Macmillan’ often makes it difficult to distinguish between the three Macmillans working for the firm at the time. Relevant material related to archaeological publications is also found in the ‘U: Letter Books’ containing delicate triplicate copies of correspondence from Macmillan & Co in London to Macmillan & Co in New York.

The value of this particular part of the archive lies in its insight into the nature of Anglo-American scholarship and publishing. This relationship was particularly productive for the compilation of Macmillan’s Handbooks on Archaeology and Antiquities, co-edited in the 1890s by Percy Gardner and Francis Kelsey, the American classical archaeologist of the University of Michigan. Many of the books and authors discussed throughout this book were published in both Britain and America, but through the Macmillan archive letter books this relationship can be examined in detail, allowing an image of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American and British educational nonfiction markets to emerge.

The Gardners and the House of Macmillan

In the early 1890s Percy Gardner was Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology at Oxford, working towards developing the classical collection at the Ashmolean Museum. He was also editing the Hellenic Society’s Journal of Hellenic Studies – a core part of his involvement with Macmillan – and acting as a reader advising on the potential for publication of archaeological works. One of these works was the ‘projected primer’ on ancient Greek dress by the archaeologist and classicist Maria Millington Lathbury. Having completed examinations in the ‘Literae Humaniores’ course at Somerville College in the late 1880s, Lathbury was subsequently appointed an Extension Lecturer for Oxford University – an appointment, her daughter later noted, that enabled her to concentrate on ‘making herself a recognised intellectual personality’. As noted in Chapter 3, Lathbury was one of the British Museum’s cohort of ‘lady lecturers’; her classes there focused on ancient Greek costume and daily life. Her lectures included demonstrations of Greek dress,
using a wooden artist’s lay model and pieces of fabric, expertly pinned to create draping effects.

Gardner was generally in favour of publication, recognising and promoting to Macmillan the book’s value to various strata of society. In his vision, amateur and professional theatrical companies and country house parties, enthusiastic during the 1890s for plays and tableaux vivants set or containing scenes in ancient Greece, would turn to the primer for hints. Artists such as Frederick Leighton, renowned for painting classical scenes, would be able to represent these scenes correctly in dress terms with such a reference work to guide them. Macmillan & Co subsequently published Maria Millington Lathbury Evans’s illustrated Chapters on Greek Dress, priced at 5 shillings, in 1893, the year after her marriage to antiquary John Evans. Dedicated to the Oxford University Dramatic Society, reflecting the book’s value (as Gardner had predicted) to similar theatrical productions, Evans echoed the book’s relevance for theatrical and artistic pursuits in her brief introduction:

...having noticed in pictures of classical scenes and in Greek costume when exhibited on the stage, some ignorance of the elements of the subject, I venture to make public the following pages in the hope that they may be of service to those who, from archaeological or artistic causes, wish to obtain a correct insight into the character of the Greek dress in classical times.

She also thanked ‘Professor Gardner’ for reading the proofs.

In another 1892 letter Percy Gardner presented Macmillan with his own prospective archaeological publication – a general ‘handbook of Greek Antiquities’ that he was in the process of planning. Two years later he offered a work on ‘Greek sculptural reliefs’, promoting the ‘wider public’ who he proposed would use them as the inspiration for tombstones. The publication resulting from this suggestion, Gardner’s Sculptured Tombs of Hellas (Macmillan, 1896), priced at 25 shillings, was certainly aimed at wealthier mourners. Gardner’s expertise was called upon again in the following year for a project that ended up consuming a good deal of his time – the ‘Handbooks on Archaeology and Antiquities’ series.

Francis Kelsey’s suggestion that a series of handbooks on ‘Roman life’ be compiled first landed on Frederick Macmillan’s desk in early 1895, via George Brett in Macmillan’s New York office. A more detailed outline of the scheme was called for, and Macmillan questioned whether the series should include both Greek and Roman topics. Asked for his
advice on the details of the scheme, Gardner replied favourably but urged caution, particularly on the selection of authors. For him the quality and visible expertise of the authors was paramount, and in his opinion Kelsey’s projected contributors were not internationally significant.

Percy Gardner’s comments on the value of the scheme reveal both his unexpected astuteness and his willingness to encroach on Macmillan’s knowledge of the market. He advised that the most important points in evaluating the success of the scheme would be the careful selection of topics, the quality of the illustrations and the price. In fact, he was talking himself into a job. Frederick Macmillan took Gardner’s advice wholly on board, a step that reflected his value as an advisor and his role as knowledge broker for the company. Macmillan wrote to George Brett that as Kelsey was not a well known figure in either America or Britain, it would be difficult to obtain the public experts that the series required to be financially viable. On the other hand, having suggested the scheme, it would be discourteous to disconnect Kelsey and replace him with a better known scholar. He also suggested an amended scope for the scheme, with works focused on the classical world featuring ‘new’ illustrations at an affordable price. The series would cover themes including domestic and public life, architecture, theatre, religion and money. Authors, he proposed, should be offered a substantial lump sum (£100) for the copyright of their work outright, or a smaller £20 advance and 10 per cent royalty. Overseeing the series would be two editors, one responsible for organising the American collaborators (Kelsey) and the other responsible for the British ones. It would be an Anglo-American production, through the London and New York branches of the firm. Macmillan of London, however, reserved the right to reject authors or titles from those Kelsey identified. Further, some topics were kept for British authors.

The Macmillans wanted to secure Percy Gardner as British editor of the series. He was approached with the proposal and sent a prospectus outlining further details. Initially he demurred on account of a heavy workload, offering instead to write ‘a volume or two’ and act as ‘amicus curiae’ (impartial advisor) for the series, suggesting a few other potential contributors from among his network. On the prospectus to be sent out to prospective authors, he advised that its phrasing be ‘toned down’ in order not to repel English scholars; in his opinion they would be put off by its slightly more aggressive marketing.

By August 1895, however, Gardner was beginning to change his mind. Kelsey had been actively recruiting authors in America, and in response to news of Kelsey’s progress Gardner’s patriotic instincts kicked
in. His letter to the firm communicates his belief that the organisation of the English volumes lacked energy: ‘We ought to do our share of the work in England, and we should do it better than the Americans.’ Therefore in October 1895 he accepted the role of English editor of the series, for a salary of £20 for each book he worked on, and immediately set about formalising his role and recruiting authors. He aimed for a wide and comprehensive scope, proposing works on ‘Jewish Private Life’, ‘Ancient Slaves’ and ‘Ancient Commerce’, enabling his prospective authors to set out their literary and intellectual wares in an Anglo-American marketplace. Although the series was primarily focused on the Greco-Roman world, there were initial proposals to widen the scheme to other ancient civilisations. In one letter Frederick Macmillan indicated that an ‘agreement’ with Flinders Petrie had existed since 1893 for an Egyptology Handbook.

The scheme was beginning to take shape over the summer of 1895. Discussions over what it was to be called signalled the growing importance and visibility of archaeology as a discipline. A clear and meaningful title was crucial to ensuring sales, and while Frederick Macmillan was not opposed to the proposed title ‘Ancient Life and Art’, he was worried that it might not adequately reflect the themes and mission of the series. Instead he proposed ‘Archaeological Handbooks’, archaeology being, in his opinion, ‘an accepted subject . . . understood to embrace both art + antiquities’. The word ‘Handbooks’, for Macmillan, conveyed the twin ideals of commerce and academic rigour that Macmillan & Co (in London) wanted the scheme to embody. Kelsey meanwhile was pushing for ‘Archaeology and Antiquities’ to be part of the title. When asked for advice on the matter, Gardner wrote to George Macmillan that he agreed with Kelsey, as the two words together signified the breadth of the subject and would be meaningful in an international context. Without archaeology attached, antiquities sounded too specialist; yet without antiquities, archaeology might be understood only as ‘the treatment of existing remains’.

The series title was eventually settled as ‘Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities’. Volumes, varying in length and price (from 5 shillings upwards), were advertised as ‘the work of a thoroughly competent author’, covering different themes in the ancient world in a way that would interest both students and ‘the educated general reader’. As a whole, the scheme offered its readers a ‘handy encyclopaedia’. Percy Gardner and Francis Kelsey (in that order) were jointly named as editors in the advertising; in Macmillan’s opinion, the use of two editors to represent both England and America meant that there would be no
opportunity for ‘prejudice’ from readers of either nation to compromise book sales.\textsuperscript{30}

The first volume, \textit{A Handbook of Greek Sculpture}, was published in January 1896. Its author was Ernest Gardner, brother of Percy. He had been working on a manuscript on the subject while in Athens as Director of the British School in the autumn of 1894, by which point he was already receiving enquiries from teachers on both sides of the Atlantic on the publication status of his book.\textsuperscript{31} It was published in two parts; Gardner's progress on finishing the manuscript was slow, but he was anxious not to hold up publication. He proposed to Macmillan that the first part of the manuscript, which was then finished, be published so that he could ‘at once [occupy] the field’ and satisfy the need for a handbook on sculpture that he saw reflected in teachers' letters. This proposal was accepted, and Gardner was given a 10 per cent royalty on the price of the book in Britain and America.\textsuperscript{32}

Gardner’s \textit{Greek Sculpture} Part 1 was favourably reviewed; Macmillan’s advertisement for the series included a quote from the \textit{Guardian} that ‘confidently recommended’ Gardner’s handbook.\textsuperscript{33} While finishing Part 2, Gardner wrote to Macmillan with a new idea for marketing and reported on the audience for his book. According to Gardner, the Teacher's Guild of Great Britain and Ireland, who were assembling ‘an extensive series of slides for lecturing purposes’, proposed to create a special sequence of slides on ‘Greek sculpture’, using his book as a basis for their selection. Gardner wanted to write a special notice in the Preface for Part 2, publicly tying his books to the scheme and providing further marketing for the title among teachers. He would also provide the Teacher’s Guild with an advance copy of the Part II illustrations.\textsuperscript{34} Gardner’s amended Preface was duly published, and the illustrations in his \textit{Handbook} corresponded with the Teacher’s Guild slides. Readers were referred to the collection held in the Teacher’s Guild’s ‘Educational Museum’ on Gower Street – close to Gardner’s new office at University College London, where he had just begun his tenure as Yates Professor.\textsuperscript{35}

The \textit{Handbook to Sculpture} remained one of the most popular of Ernest Gardner’s many books, particularly drawing readers in the United States. It was reprinted several times and Gardner received regular statements on its progress from Macmillan’s. These revealed what Gardner considered to be his ‘practical monopoly’ over the subject in both Britain and America.\textsuperscript{36} A revised edition combining the two volumes was issued in 1915, enabling Gardner to bring the artworks considered into
chronological order, something previously impossible to address. With the rapid pace of archaeological discovery in Greece during the early twentieth century, a new edition bringing the text thoroughly up to date with current excavations and interpretations was a priority.37

Over 10 *Handbooks* eventually appeared in the series, but Percy Gardner began to struggle to find contributors who could finish the works they had promised. He wrote an anxious letter to George Macmillan in November 1899, asking for information on the fate of the English volumes in the series.38 Sales were steady in America, but by the end of the century in England they were beginning to stagnate. In 1902 George Macmillan wrote to Brett in New York that he was considering ceasing to commission new English volumes, stating: ‘the series has so far proved very disappointing, and our English sales have been considerably below those on your side’.39

Despite his gloomy outlook, two years later he included Percy Gardner’s *Grammar of Greek Art* as a new volume in the series. In the intervening period Gardner and fellow Oxford archaeologist John Linton Myres had published a short pamphlet, ‘Classical Archaeology in Schools’, with the Clarendon Press; it had inspired teachers in the United States to seek further resources for their classrooms.40 One reader, a Massachusetts teacher called Anna Boynton Thompson, spent six weeks studying Greek art with Gardner in Oxford. Her goal was to promote the study of the subject in America. It was working directly with Thompson that inspired Gardner to construct his ‘rationale of sculpture vases +c.’ in the *Grammar*.41 He later credited Thompson and her enthusiasm for Greek art and its value to education, noting the *Grammar’s* ‘larger circulation in the United States than in Britain’.42

Both Percy and Ernest Gardner saw teachers and schools as a productive market for their work, and focused from the mid-late 1890s on developing their personal relationships with them. Following an ‘Archaeological Conference’ for ‘schoolmasters + others’ organised by the Gardner brothers at University College London in January 1898, Percy Gardner notified Macmillan of teachers’ positive responses to the presentations he and his brother had made during the day. He also noted their suggestion for the publication of a cheap edition of selected plates from the *Atlas of Classical antiquities*, which provided descriptive text to accompany illustrations of classical art.43 Although Macmillan chose not to embark on such a scheme, the episode reveals the Gardners’ dedication to providing up-to-date archaeological information for secondary-school students and teachers, as well as their active engagement in curricula frameworks and willingness to pursue opportunities for this market.
Touring Greece

While Percy Gardner’s correspondence is mainly focused on the editing of the *Handbooks* series, Ernest Gardner’s correspondence with Macmillan highlights his role in London- and Athens-based networks. He served as the Director of the British School at Athens for seven years (1887–95) before becoming Yates Professor of Classical Archaeology at UCL in 1896. While at UCL he maintained his link with Greece by conducting bespoke tours there on a regular basis; Mary Gardner often accompanied him on these trips. Educational yachting cruises in the Aegean were a relatively new phenomenon; in 1892 a group of Athens-based dragomen organised a 10-day cruise for 14 passengers to the islands, including Ernest Gardner. During the steamer *Aegina*’s maiden voyage Thomas Jex-Blake, Dean of Wells, wrote a letter published in *The Times* outlining the benefits of the new scheme and naming Gardner, then British School Director, as one of the passengers on board. Jex-Blake celebrated the opportunity to engage with ancient and modern Greece, noting among the tour activities visits to sites well-known through Greek myths and legends, and those undergoing excavation. Modern Greece was sampled too, as the tourists took part in the annual Festival of the Annunciation – doubly significant as the date of Greek independence from Ottoman Turkey.

An editorial in *The Times*, published the day after Jex-Blake’s letter, promoted Gardner’s presence as a symbol of the cruise’s intellectual legitimacy. It hailed the enterprise of ‘courriers’ (dragomen) John Weale, Apostolos Apostolis and Angelos Melissinos in offering the experience of a privately conducted tour at a moderate price, opening up the Aegean islands to tourist traffic. After Gardner became Yates Professor, bringing what the College promoted as a ‘European’ reputation, he offered the possibility of lectures on site in Greece during the final term of the session. By 1902 these Greece-based lectures were given annually, attracting not only students, but also history and classics teachers, university lecturers and others. Among those who joined the Gardners on board was Robert Carr Bosanquet during his tenure as Director of the British School at Athens. Gardner was later hailed as a ‘pioneer’ of archaeological tourism to Greece during this period.

One of the works that helped draw out the potential for tourism in Athens in particular was Gardner’s *Ancient Athens*. Macmillan’s New York office published *Ancient Athens* in 1902 as an accompanying volume to the work of August Mau, whose *Pompeii: its Life and Art* had been published in 1899. *Ancient Athens* was a thorough guide to the city’s sites and monuments, generously illustrated with photographs and plans.
intended to serve a broad readership of both travellers and students. In this work Gardner combined current scholarship and ancient sources to produce a chronological and topographical survey. The illustrations were carefully inserted into the text in positions where they might be easily found in relation to the description and analysis Gardner intended them to illustrate. He had drawn on contacts both in Athens and London for his illustrations; his Preface acknowledged the debt he owed to local photographers. Macmillan New York revealed and promoted Gardner’s expertise and personal experience of the city, on publication declaring the book to be among its ‘New Books of Importance’. A lengthy illustrated review appeared in the *New York Tribune* in December 1902, praising the work as ‘clear, practical and vivid, and altogether a sound guide’.

As the twentieth century dawned, Ernest Gardner became more heavily involved in tourists’ intellectual and physical access to Greece and the Aegean through his work on the revision of Macmillan’s guide to Greece. As noted in Chapter 2, Macmillan & Co had instigated a series of handy ‘Guides’ for tourists to the Mediterranean and Near East from 1901. The *Guide to the Eastern Mediterranean* originally covered the area between Italy and the western part of Asia Minor, and went through two editions in its original format. By 1908, however, Macmillan had decided to cover Greece and Asia Minor in a separate guidebook. The third edition guide was renamed *Guide to Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor etc.*, and entirely ‘revised and re-arranged’. Macmillan’s Mediterranean guides included scholarly essays on thematic topics of relevance to the tourist, and George Macmillan approached Ernest Gardner to write a short article on ‘Greek Art’ for the new edition. Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* had incorporated a much earlier work of Gardner’s, but, as Gardner told Macmillan, by that point the information was very out of date. He began to draft the article using Macmillan’s *Guide to Italy* for reference, writing to Macmillan to ascertain the projected scope of the piece and whether (as in the Italy guide) he should include architecture as well as sculpture and other artworks. He modelled his final draft on Roger Fry’s article on ‘Italian Art’ in Macmillan’s *Guide to Italy*, including guiding headings to make the text easier for readers to follow.

The Macmillan *Guide to Greece* offered specific yachting notes alongside essays on archaeology, history and art garnered from experts. When he received the proofs of his Greek Art article back from Macmillan, Gardner noticed a portion of the yachting notes had been included. In his acknowledgement letter for the proofs he told Macmillan that the information for yachts ‘seem[s] to me curiously selected + scrappy’, leaving out many of the spots relevant to ancient
history that (in his opinion) would be of interest to tourists in Greece. Drawing on his own experience touring sites of archaeological significance on small steamers, Gardner offered his own emendations to the yachting notes in which he would detail the best landing spots for some key ancient important sites: Miletus, Troy and Pergamum on the eastern coast of Asia Minor, and the Aegean islands – Naxos, Melos, Ios, Paros, among others.

In setting this information out, Gardner highlighted his own contacts in Greece’s evolving tourist industry – the Greek sailors responsible for tourist access to ancient sites with whom he would have dealt both as a traveller and as an archaeologist based in Athens. It is clear that Macmillan was interested in the information that Gardner was offering, and asked him to send notes. A ‘practical sailor’ had originally contributed the yachting notes, and Gardner was anxious that his suggestions should not be taken without due care being given to precise directions for sailing. Rather, Gardner’s knowledge would enhance these practical details – he was interested in enabling access to sites omitted from the original list of landings that would be popular among those tourists interested in ancient Greek history and archaeology. It was this personal experience of sailing in small, 500-tonne vessels (rather than large steamships), of going to ports that were off the beaten track and of having personal contacts with local sailors that he promoted to Macmillan.

When it was published, the Macmillan Guide to Greece acknowledged the debt owed to Ernest Gardner for his work on ‘Greek Art’. The Preface to the volume also highlighted the contributions of Mary Gardner, David Hogarth and Arthur Evans, the excavator of Knossos (who revised the guidebook’s coverage of the site). Mary Gardner had been involved in contributing to the guide since 1904, when one of the Macmillans had contacted her about revisions. Having accumulated knowledge of Greece through her personal studies and experiences there, she wrote confidently in response, suggesting that new regional maps and site plans should be added. She also noted that a newly opened Museum at Delphi might be worth highlighting in the text. For the 1908 edition, she was credited with revising the sections on Greece and the Greek islands.

Alongside her work on tourism, the relationship with the Macmillan family was one Mary Gardner sought to cultivate. The letters in the Macmillan archive show both her regular submission of manuscript short stories for publication in Temple Bar and her desire to include the Macmillans in social gatherings she organised. She was not always successful in her publishing efforts, but the range of her submissions
illustrates her desire to use and record her archaeological experiences to the greatest extent possible.

Hogarth and the House of Macmillan

David George Hogarth’s relationship with Macmillan & Co, and particularly with George Macmillan, was an important part of his writing career. It was to Macmillan he turned with the original manuscript of A Wandering Scholar (later published by John Murray as described in the previous chapter). For Hogarth as an emerging archaeologist in the 1890s, George Macmillan’s position as Secretary to the Hellenic Society and the British School at Athens made him an important figure in the support for archaeological research in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East.

George Macmillan’s first serious engagement with Greece came in 1877 when, aged 22, he accompanied the classical scholar John Pentland Mahaffy and Oscar Wilde on an extended trip to the country. His letters to his family from this trip, preserved in the Hellenic Society archives, show his enthusiasm for the country and its people, and what he saw as the melding of ancient and modern Greek culture in the interactions he had. His first trip to the Acropolis was a particular highlight. This experience led him to become one of the founding members of the Hellenic Society in 1879, a role that he used to make studies of the Greek world more visible and to encourage financial support for research. Among the list of initial members was his father, Alexander Macmillan, and Percy Gardner, whom he had met in Greece.56

By 1894, the date of the first letter from Hogarth in the Macmillan archive, George Macmillan had been Hellenic Society Secretary for 15 years. He sat on a council that was directly responsible for financing excavations, employing archaeologists such as Hogarth. This first letter concerns Hogarth’s explorations in Alexandria, partly supported by Hellenic Society funds. The submission of five draft chapters of ‘A Wandering Scholar’ came in May 1895.59 At this early stage in the development of the manuscript Hogarth already aimed for the five ‘essay sketches’ submitted to be ‘more than mere narrative’ – suggesting that his goal was, in a sense, to set out his personal scope for the archaeological identity. The draft was still taking shape, however. Having originally suggested chapters on ‘The Scholar’s Calling’, his experiences in Egypt, seeing the Euphrates River and observations of ‘The Anatolian’ and ‘The Modern Greek’, he quickly added a new chapter,
and took one away, observing to Macmillan that his thoughts on the people of Greece should not be published if he intended to have any further dealings in the country. As he was to do later with Murray, he promoted his own visibility as a scholar to Macmillan as proof that the manuscript, if published, would draw purchasers. The sketches were officially submitted in July, under the title ‘The Great River Euphrates, +c’.60

Macmillan sent the manuscript to readers, and offered Hogarth terms. Readers’ reports were sent to Hogarth, and his response to Macmillan illustrates his confidence in the manuscript and in his projected audience. The readers objected to Hogarth’s use of ‘foreign words’ in the manuscript; Hogarth was mildly affronted, inferring that with the popularity of Eastern travel and Eastern travel narratives among certain sections of English society some terms – tell (for hill), khan (for market or resting place) and pasha (an Ottoman title) – were so familiar that they did not need translation.61 It was these seasoned transnational tourists, whether armchair or not, to whom Hogarth wished to appeal. Hogarth was also unhappy about the terms Macmillan offered. Judging from Hogarth’s response to the contract, the terms were designed to minimise the risk of publishing a relatively untested author (a fact that he later recognised himself). Despite his novice status, Hogarth outlined his views in no uncertain terms: royalties of 10 per cent on the book’s price (which he suggested should be set at 6 shillings), beginning after a certain number had already been sold (he suggested 250 copies) and rising to 15 per cent after the sale of 1,500 copies, would be a more appropriate deal.62

In his opinion, the essays he presented for publication would be just as financially valuable as individual magazine articles for which he could expect more satisfactory remuneration. In addition, and more relevant to Macmillan as a book publisher, Hogarth believed that the public who already knew him as a scholar and writer would be eager to purchase his work.63 It seems, however, that Macmillan was not quite as enthusiastic in his response to Hogarth’s letter as Hogarth had hoped. In his next letter Hogarth’s sensitivities became apparent. Viewing Macmillan’s hesitancy over the shape of the book (particularly in his reliance on readers’ reports) as a sign that he was only accepting the manuscript because of their prior friendship, Hogarth decided to withdraw the manuscript altogether. He again complained about the readers’ aversion to non-English terms – in Hogarth’s view it was these words that set his manuscript apart, a signal ‘to the very large public’ with a growing interest in the East that the book was written for them.
by someone with experience. Such terms belonged in a book about the East; no English words would convey the same meaning.64

Despite the difficulties over the *Wandering Scholar* manuscript, Macmillan and Hogarth kept up their correspondence. As British School at Athens Director, Hogarth began working with Arthur Evans at Knossos on Crete in 1900 under the auspices of the Cretan Exploration Fund. His personal visibility increased with the post and with the spectacular finds made during the excavation, which laid bare the Mycenaean palace of King Minos – he of the Labyrinth where the princess Ariadne helped hero Theseus pursue and defeat the Minotaur. Hogarth gave up the post of BSA Director to devote more time to the Cretan Exploration Fund excavations, and George Macmillan was the Fund’s treasurer, making personal appeals in the press to gather money to continue excavations.65 In 1903 a room full of three seasons’ worth of Knossos finds was arranged as part of the Royal Academy’s annual Winter Exhibition. A note indicating Macmillan’s role as treasurer receiving subscriptions was included at the end of the ‘Short Account of the Excavations’ in the Winter Exhibition catalogue. Hogarth was briefly profiled for the contributions he made to the display from his own excavations on Crete.66

As noted in Chapter 6, in the following years Hogarth began publishing with a focus on his geographical knowledge of the ‘Near East’, while at the same time gaining further excavation experience. He collaborated with Macmillan on an article on the excavations in Crete that appeared in *the Illustrated London News* in September 1906. Macmillan provided the images on behalf of the Cretan Exploration Fund, while Hogarth wrote the accompanying text.67 At the same time he had returned to his earlier focus on Asia Minor, conducting excavations on behalf of the British Museum at the coastal site of Ephesus, where the remains of a large ancient city were located. With the new knowledge and insights into ancient Greek culture and life gained from the dig, and fresh experience of the landscape, Macmillan asked Hogarth to contribute to the revision of the Asia Minor section of Macmillan’s *Guide to Greece* in 1907.

Asia Minor was increasingly connected by railway, and at Macmillan’s request Hogarth added information on sites accessible by railway from Smyrna (Izmir) – an important, populous port and commercial centre with links to other key ports in the Mediterranean and beyond: from Marseilles, Brindisi, Genoa, Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria and Tripoli to London and Liverpool.68 These sites had visible ancient remains, and Hogarth’s brief historical and topographical descriptions were meant to give prospective tourists an idea of the
importance of the archaeology as well as highlighting accessibility by rail. His suggestion that the section title be changed further reflected this opening of Asia Minor to more conventional tourist traffic: the original title of ‘Smyrna and Ephesus’ became ‘Smyrna and District’. Ephesus, Hogarth’s particular area of expertise, was revised, and a new plan of the site included with Hogarth’s emendations. Unlike the previous plan, it included the area immediately surrounding the site.

This additional information gave readers a visual representation of the ancient city within its modern context – both the nearest railway station at Ayasoluk (which also offered hotel accommodation) and the main road were shown. Hogarth was explicit in his instructions that the railway line should be shown continuing on past the station, suggesting that he was keen to show Ephesus not as an end point, but rather a stop en route: there was more of Asia Minor to see. The information on Ephesus was brought up to date, with a section including Hogarth’s own excavations at the Artemesium, site of successive temples, during which ivory objects, jewellery and coins had been discovered.

In the autumn of 1907 Hogarth travelled across the Atlantic to embark on a lecture tour in North America. His work was already available there, the American publishers Charles Scribner and Sons having acquired the rights from John Murray to publish A Wandering Scholar and Philip and Alexander. His invitation came from the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), which had branches in many states. The focus of Hogarth’s tour was on the West Coast, beginning in Washington State and moving south, then east. His trip was financially supported with a $1,000 honorarium from the philanthropist and classical studies enthusiast James Loeb, who established the Loeb Classical Library series a few years later. Hogarth delivered dozens of lectures, covering all three of the AIA’s ‘circuits’ (Western, Eastern and Central). His lectures featured the results of excavations in Crete and Asia Minor, and he was advertised in the American press as a noted expert in the field, and the author of A Wandering Scholar.

The events were mainly open to the public without charge and featured Hogarth’s own specially selected photographs, illuminated on a projection screen. Hogarth clearly sought to appeal to his US audience and simultaneously to highlight his archaeological connections by expressing his opinion, the San Francisco Call reported, that the Ottoman Sultan would look on new American excavations in Asia Minor with approval. By early January Hogarth was in the nation’s capital as the keynote speaker at the eighth anniversary celebrations of the George Washington University’s Classical Club, established to promote the study
of the classical world both at the University and to Washington DC's ‘cultured’ set. He moved on to Chicago for the AIA Annual Meeting. Here, The Salt Lake Herald noted, Hogarth, as ‘one of the most able students of archaeology and history engaged in the active work of exploration today’, discussed the results of the British Museum’s excavations at Ephesus, keeping his audience rapt ‘from start to finish’.

On his return to England in early 1908 Hogarth embarked for the East once more. He began an initial survey of the ancient city of Carchemish, on a hill overlooking the Euphrates river near the village of Jerablus on the border between what is now Turkey and Syria. This site allowed him to continue working on his interest in the Hittite civilisation, about which there were brief references in the Bible and ancient inscriptions. Carchemish had been one of the Hittites’ chief capital cities, and Jerablus was also then on the route of the Baghdad Railway line, still under construction. The vision for the railway was to provide a new overland route between Europe and the East, opening up traffic to parts of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia that were at that time considered remote except for the most hardened and experienced travellers. The plans advanced over the first few years of the twentieth century – the cities of Constantinople, Aleppo, Mosul, Baghdad and Basra were to be joined in a projected railway route, under the control of the German-owned Baghdad Railway Company.

When Hogarth was surveying the area the railway had not yet reached Jerablus, but a station was due to be constructed as a stop en route to Mosul; eventually tourists would follow. Therefore, Carchemish/Jerablus was a key site for Hogarth’s visibility both as an excavator and a geographical expert, in a region of increasing political importance. This importance Hogarth himself emphasised a few years later in his article on the plans for the Baghdad Railway for the Illustrated London News, juxtaposing his archaeological expertise with political astuteness. His professional life turned in a new direction at the end of 1908, when he was appointed to a prominent (and salaried) university position – Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, nominated by the Trustees as the successor to his friend and colleague Arthur Evans. He wrote to Macmillan to acknowledge his note of congratulations, expressing some relief at being given the job. Although Hogarth did not have the same freedom as Evans had enjoyed in the role, he declared to Macmillan that it still put him in a better position than would be possible in a similar role at the British Museum. He also suggested that Macmillan consider publishing a book on the Hittites, as ‘The importance of the subject is expanding vastly’.
In early 1909 Hogarth submitted another manuscript to Macmillan. Originally entitled ‘Diversions of an Antiquary’, it was a continuation of the narrative of his adventures in the field begun in *A Wandering Scholar*. The Scholar of youth, with another decade of experience under his belt, had grown into the Antiquary of middle-age in *Accidents of an Antiquary’s Life*. Hogarth had already published parts of the main text in other venues, such as *Macmillan’s*, *Cornhill* and *Monthly* magazines, but, he promised Macmillan, the published text had been edited in such a way ‘that these chapters are well nigh new’. With an introductory chapter prefacing his experiences up to becoming Director of the British School at Athens in 1896, he began his book recounting his role as *The Times* correspondent during conflict in Crete – then managed by international representatives of the Great Powers, but still officially under Ottoman rule. Hogarth had journeyed to the island as hostilities were commencing. On being asked to cover the role of correspondent, he recalled later in *Accidents* that he agreed almost without hesitation: ‘I had never been in Crete and a scholar may rarely watch a war.’ With this statement Hogarth put himself directly in the heart of the action. Continuing chronologically, he discussed his explorations in the southern part of Asia Minor (ancient Lycia) in the late 1890s, his work on Crete with Arthur Evans at Knossos and his own excavations in the eastern part of the island, at a cave where Greek god Zeus, ‘the Father God of Crete’, was thought to have been born. One part of the cave was deep and dark; Hogarth described a dank archaeological underworld where centuries’ worth of religious offerings and other items had accumulated. It was probed and (eventually) laid bare by the nimble fingers of the men and women in his employ.

The final chapters of *Accidents* cover his work at Ephesus, Assuit in Egypt and Carchemish, bringing the book in line with the latest events in his life. He began ‘Digging’ (the Ephesus/Assuit chapter) with a note on the excitement his excavating life elicited, particularly from women. While he implies the digging life is a relatively remote prospect for them (though, as evident in this book, not unknown), he indirectly also signals a female audience for his work. In ‘Digging’ Hogarth chronicled the practicalities and monotonies of excavation, deliberately removing the rose-tinted spectacles of romantic adventure so firmly attached to the perception of archaeological life. He charted the rewards of patience – when, after two months of unproductive work, a decision to dig below the altar of the ‘earliest temple’ yielded a hoard of jewellery and coins. The excitement attached to the discovery was severely tested when winter storms flooded the site, resulting in a programme of
emergency pumping and channelling, while Hogarth and many of his men came down with fevers. In Hogarth’s memory, ‘I have never struck such a vein of luck, and never liked my luck less’.  

He moved from the overwhelming plethora of treasure at Ephesus to Assuit, where he dealt with two other factors in archaeological life: antiquities dealers and the perils of excavating human remains. Having led readers down into an ancient burial pit, crawling through mummified bodies to reach the bottom of what turned out to be a ‘thrice plundered charnel house’, Hogarth-as-Digger ‘crawled back by the same grisly path to the sunlight, choked with mummy dust’. With the grime of that image still fresh in readers’ minds, he appealed to a hypothetical (female) enthusiast: ‘Partner of the scented dinner table, is that the trade you desire?’ 

_Accidents_ ends at Carchemish with Hogarth’s exploration of the land surrounding the site. He details his quest for the remnants of the Hittites that still lingered there, both in the ground and in the daily life of the locals – women used Hittite cylinders and seals as talismans against the dangers of childbirth. The Hittite language had not yet been deciphered, and in his explorations of the area Hogarth found yet more evidence of Hittite life. It is no wonder, then, that he ended the book with a description of a fever-induced dream in which, floating on the Euphrates, he kept ‘a strange company of mitred men with square, curled beards, and stunt, long-nosed folk with tiptilted shoes’, subsequently passing ‘between winged lions scanning elusive shifting symbols’. This, for Hogarth, was the digger’s lot: caught between past and present, far away in a foreign land, finding evidence that only generates further questions in a never-ending search for truth.

Four days after its submission, Macmillan provisionally accepted Hogarth’s manuscript and offered him a contract for the book. Hogarth was generally happy with the terms, but would not sign the contract unless Macmillan increased his royalty offer to 25 per cent on the sale of 2,000 books. He assured Macmillan, ‘I rather think that, in your hands, and for other reasons, the “Diversions” will sell better’. Hogarth’s American tour had also added value to his status as an author. Part of Hogarth’s confidence in his potential sales stemmed from the fact that, as he told Macmillan ‘I have become known in America’. Aside from the manuscript itself, Hogarth wanted to shape how _Accidents_ would look and feel to readers, offering suggestions on the number and size of illustrations to be included and the book’s binding, page weight and price. This time Macmillan accepted his royalty increase request, a sign
of his confidence in Hogarth as an author. The final manuscript was submitted in September 1909, as Hogarth was preparing to embark on his second North American tour.

Francis Kelsey, who had worked with Percy Gardner on Macmillan’s *Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities*, was now President of the Archaeological Institute of America. Using James Loeb’s $20,000 endowment fund to create a lecture series bringing eminent European scholars to America, Kelsey had arranged for Hogarth to be the first recipient of this new funding. Hogarth’s tour began in Nova Scotia, Canada and continued on to several major US cities: Buffalo, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland; and Washington DC. George Macmillan wrote to George Brett in the New York office about the publication of *Accidents* and Hogarth’s imminent arrival in North America, describing the work as ‘scattered papers of a popular kind’. He arranged to send the proofs to Brett in New York, as Hogarth planned to correct them on the journey back to England. There was one final change to the book: its title. Just before he sailed, Hogarth wrote to Macmillan that he had begun to dislike the ‘Diversions’ he had originally proposed. ‘Accidents’, he felt, would ‘describe the whole book better’ – perfectly summing up the unexpected nature of archaeological life.

At less than 200 pages, the published volume arrived on the bookshop shelves in March of 1910, containing over 40 reproduced photographs on individual plates; it sold in Britain for 7 shillings and sixpence. Through Macmillan New York the book reached American readers, and in an advance notice of *Accidents*’ imminent publication the *New York Tribune* emphasised Hogarth’s renown. A longer review of *Accidents*, published in the same paper in May 1910, noted his ‘enkindling ardor’ for archaeology and his success in communicating ‘the romantic appeal made by the soil of antiquity’. Hogarth’s *Accidents* leads readers behind the curtains of archaeology, exposing some of the adventure that the public found so appealing.

Hogarth attained further acclaim (and much added inscrutability) during the First World War, serving as an Intelligence Officer in the Royal Naval Reserve. His sister Janet recalled that he declared, ‘I can’t sit here in Oxford writing about Hittite Seals … with all the world in upheaval’. Based in Cairo from 1915, he was tasked with organising the Arab Bureau, bringing in fellow archaeologists and explorers T. E. Lawrence and Gertrude Bell to work there; Hogarth and Lawrence took part in negotiations for the the Arab Revolt. However, the success of his prewar publications was fading; his postwar correspondence with Macmillan
indicates that the firm were ready to close the account on *Accidents* in 1922. Hogarth wanted to negotiate the purchase of all remaining stock and Macmillan’s rights over the title.\textsuperscript{101} Canny to the end, and ensuring his legacy in capturing the romance of archaeological life in print, elements of *A Wandering Scholar* and *Accidents of an Antiquary’s Life* were combined and reissued by Oxford University Press in 1925. Hogarth died two years later, aged 66.