Archaeologists in Print
Thornton, Amara

Published by University College London

Thornton, Amara.
Archaeologists in Print: Publishing for the People.
University College London, 2018.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/81921.

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Notes

Chapter 1


7. For a late twentieth-century overview of the popular appeal of archaeology and archaeologists see Cornelius Holtorf, Archaeology is a Brand! (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007).


18. See Debbie Challis, From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus (London: Duckworth, 2008).


22. On the amateur contributions to archaeology today see Barker et al., Reflections. Chris Naunton, President of the International Association of Egyptologists, has recently reflected on defining the Egyptologist – see ‘How should we define “Egyptologist”?’ Last modified 1 December 2017: https://chrisnaunton.com/2017/05/25/how-should-we-define-egyptologist/.


32. ‘Lines to Professor Budge’, Punch Historical Archive, 21 December 1910, 446; ‘Mr Punch’s Supplement. VII. – The British Museum’, Punch Historical Archive, 31 May 1911, 412.

33. ‘At the Flinders’, Punch Historical Archive, 20 July 1904, 46.


51. Donald M. Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums & the Struggle for Identities from World War 1 to Nasser* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press), Ch. 2.


55. See, for example, the volumes of Manchester University Press’s ‘Studies in Imperialism series’. A good overview can be found in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ‘Introduction: Being at home with the empire’, in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2. On daily experience of Empire see in addition, for example, John Mackenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986). Whitaker’s *Almanack* uses the term ‘Greater Britain’ to refer to the Empire. Published annually, the *Almanack* provides a chronological assessment of Britain’s imperial holdings.


58. A useful overview of nineteenth-century Egyptian and Anglo-Egyptian history can be found in Donald Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?: archaeology, museums, and Egyptian national identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).


66. On Britain as the domestic empire or empire ‘at home’ see Hall and Rose ‘Introduction’.


70. Nechtmann, ‘Mr Hickey’, 182.

71. This has been discussed in relation to mid-nineteenth-century archaeologists in Gunning, *Consular Service* and Challis, *Harpy Tomb*.


73. See Berny Sèbe, ‘Exhibiting the Empire in print: The press, the publishing world and the promotion of ‘Greater Britain’, in *Exhibiting the Empire*, 168–93.


79. A devastating bombing raid in 1940 on Paternoster Row and the subsequent fires destroyed many valuable archives in London’s publishing district – see Rose and Anderson, *Dictionary*, ix.

**Chapter 2**


2. Ernest Benn Ltd., *The Autumn List Being A Choice of Books to be Published During the Later Months of the Year 1928* (London: Benn, 1928), 31–3.


4. On archaeologist-diplomats of the mid-Victorian period see Challis, *Harpy Tomb*; Gunning, *Consular Service*. ‘Dryasdust’ (meaning ‘learned scholar’) was a description from which some archaeologists sought to disassociate themselves and their discipline – see, for example, Arthur Weigall, *The Treasury of Ancient Egypt: Miscellaneous Chapters on Ancient Egyptian History and Archaeology* (London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1911), 56; John Guisborough, *A Mirage of Sheba* (London: Mills & Boon, 1923), 10; Godfrey R. Driver, ‘Reginald Campbell Thompson,
1876–1941', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 30 (1944) 460; Hammerton, ‘Editors Desk’ (December 1933).


27. See Negley Harte, The University of London 1836–1986: an illustrated history (London: Athlone Press, 1986), 64. The closer association between University College and the University of London meant that any students studying at Colleges within the University of London's aegis could be admitted as internal students to UCL, see University College London, Calendar. Session MDCCCCVII–MDCCCCVIII (London: Taylor and Francis, 1906), cxix. This association is particularly relevant for the students attending Gardner's Archaeology classes, which from the 1905/1906 session included students from Bedford College, Westfield College, King's College and King's College's Women's Department and East London College. Bedford College and Westfield College were both women's colleges. See John Whitaker, An Almanack for the year of our Lord 1911 (London: Whitaker, 1911), 270–1.


29. The University of London was responsible for examinations leading to the awarding of degrees, as Harte discusses in University of London.

30. See, for example, University College London, Calendar. Session MDCCCCVII–MDCCCLII (London: Taylor and Francis, 1897), 52; University College London, Calendar. Session MDCCCCVIII–MDCCCLIII (London: Taylor and Francis, 1902), 119; 'Dr. E. A. Gardner. Classical Archaeology at London', The Times Digital Archive. 29 November 1939, 4.


32. 'British School of Archaeology in Egypt', The Times Digital Archive, 14 June 1905, 10; see also Rachel Sparks, PUBLICISING PETRIE: Financing Fieldwork in British Mandate Palestine (1926–1938), Present Pasts 5 (1) (2013).

33. Amara Thornton, British Archaeologists; University of Liverpool, Redbrick University: A Portrait of University College, Liverpool and the University of Liverpool 1881–1981 (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1981). Liverpool had been a constituent college of the Victoria University (examining body for Owens College Manchester, Yorkshire College Leeds and University College Liverpool). In the early to mid-nineteenth century, university examining boards and university colleges were established outside of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London in the Midlands and North of England (Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Yorkshire, Durham and Newcastle), as well as in Wales. By the early twentieth century these institutions were expanding significantly, and university colleges were becoming fully fledged universities. In Scotland the Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen had been operating since the fifteenth century and Edinburgh since the sixteenth century – see John Whitaker, Whitaker’s Almanack 1900 [Facsimile Edition] (London: The Stationery Office 1900); Whitaker, Almanack 1911.

34. Thornton, British Archaeologists; see also Philip Freeman, The Best Training Ground for Archaeologists: Francis Haverfield and the Invention of Romano-British Archaeology (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007).

35. Thornton, British Archaeologists; University of Liverpool, Redbrick.


42. For example Whitaker, Almanack 1900, 247–54.

43. Sayce, Reminiscences, 133, 280.


46. See Beard, ‘Invention’.

47. Budge, Nile and Tigris, 15–6, 68.


49. See for example Whitaker, Almanack 1911, 192.

50. See Sheppard, Margaret Murray, 96–7. Some of these women collectors have been profiled in the digital exhibition ‘Gold and Grime’, http://www.goldandgrime.co.uk/, last modified 30 November 2017, and the Beyond Beauty exhibition – see Beyond Beauty: Transforming the Body in Ancient Egypt (London: Two Temple Place, 2016). More generally museums were seen as a potential career path for women – The Englishwoman’s Year Book listed ‘Women Curators and Assistants’ in their chapter on ‘Science’, Year Book 1909, 157. For a recent analysis of this see Kate Hill, Women and Museums 1850–1916: Modernity and the Gendering of Knowledge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).


52. Gardner, Autobiographica, 58–9; Boardman, ‘100 Years’.

53. Gertrude Bell was the only woman to hold a post in Antiquities, serving as Honorary Director of Antiquities in Iraq in the early 1920s. See Bernhardsson’s Plundered Past for a history of the Iraq Antiquities Department. The formation of the Palestine and Transjordan Antiquities Departments are discussed in Gibson, ‘British archaeological institutions’ and Thornton, British Archaeologists, Amara Thornton, ‘Tents, Tours and Treks: Archaeologists, Antiquities Services and Tourism in British Mandate Palestine and Transjordan’, Public Archaeology 11 (4) (2012), Thornton, ‘Social Networks’. The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history of the Egyptian Antiquities Service is presented in Reid’s Whose Pharaohs? and Conflicted Antiquities; that of the Sudan Antiquities Section is charted in Thornton, British Archaeologists.


55. Thornton, British Archaeologists.

56. For a history of the Palestine Exploration Fund see John J. Moscrop, Measuring Jerusalem: the Palestine Exploration Fund and British interests in the Holy Land (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); for Amelia Edwards’ role in setting up the EEF see Barbara Moon, More Usefully


58. See Annual Reports of Accounts 1880s and 1890s in the EES Library.


60. For a brief introduction to this phenomenon see, for example, Norma Dever, 'They Also Dug! Archaeologists' Wives and Their Stories', Near Eastern Archaeology 67 (3) (2004).


66. John Mackenzie in ‘Empires of Travel’ has referenced the role of antiquarian and archaeological knowledge in the construction of British guidebooks to imperial destinations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.


68. Anderson, 'British tourism'; Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, Ch. 2.


70. Gretton ‘Introduction’, xix–xx; see also Churnjeet Mahn, British women's travel to Greece, 1840–1914: travels in the Palimpsest (Farnham: Ashgate 2012), Ch 1.

71. Gretton, 'Introduction', xxv. See also Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 69–86.


73. ‘Murray's Handbooks English and Foreign’ [pamphlet advertising], MS 42615, John Murray archive, National Library of Scotland.

74. See [unsigned notes] 20, 26 May 1896; William Kingdon to Hallam Murray, 8 January 1895. ‘Letters of various correspondents to John Murray, publishers’, MS 42613, John Murray archive.


See Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 81.

He also published city guides to Rome and Jerusalem and served as editor of *Travel and Exploration* magazine. See 'Obituary. Mr. Reynolds-Ball', *The Times Digital Archive*, 13 April 1928, 16.


See Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 years of popular tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), Ch. 7; Felicity Cobbing, *Thomas Cook and the Palestine Exploration Fund*, *Public Archaeology* 11 (4) (2012). Although Cook's company is now famous in the history of tourism, during the mid- to late nineteenth century his competitor Henry Gaze was also a popular tourism provider. See also Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, Ch. 2 for an overview of tourism to Egypt.


Budge, *Nile 1906*.


Budge, *Handbook 1905*. This book was previously titled *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Egypt, the Nile and the Desert*, with editions published in 1876, 1888, 1892 and 1897.


Brendon, *Thomas Cook*, Ch. 7.


See, for example, *Macmillan Guide to Italy* (1901).

101. Pemble, Mediterranean, 1.


104. Eustace Reynolds-Ball, Cairo of To-Day (fifth edn) (London: A. & C. Black, 1907), 35–43.


106. Ethel S. Stevens, My Sudan Year (London: Mills & Boon Ltd, 1912), 32.


111. Whitaker, Almanack 1900, 552. See also Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 301 for a table of foreign residents in Egypt by nationality. For memoirs of Anglo-Egyptian families in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Patricia Napier, A Late Beginner (London: Slightly Foxed Ltd, 2013); Mary Rowlatt, A Family in Egypt (London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1956) and Whidden, Expatriates.


113. See, for example, Petrie Diary 1894, Petrie Museum collection transcribed via Micropasts; on division see Alice Stevenson et al., ‘selection’.

114. William M. F. Petrie, Seventy Years in Archaeology (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co Ltd, 1931), 38; Storrs, Orientations.

115. Whitaker, Almanack 1900, 552. See also Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 301 for a table of foreign residents in Egypt by nationality. For memoirs of Anglo-Egyptian families in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Patricia Napier, A Late Beginner (London: Slightly Foxed Ltd, 2013); Mary Rowlatt, A Family in Egypt (London: Robert Hale Ltd, 1956) and Whidden, Expatriates.

116. see ‘Cook’s Nile Service’, Egyptian Gazette, 9 January 1895; ‘Visitors’ List’, Egyptian Gazette, 13 January 1900. A December 1895 article in the Gazette noted the increase in numbers of tourists between November 1894 (844) and November 1895 (900). See ‘The Day’s News’, Egyptian Gazette, 9 December 1895.

117. Gunning, Consular Service.


119. The background to the 1926 International Archaeological Congress, and the Archaeological Congresses that preceded it, are discussed in Thornton, ‘Tents’.


122. A sketch plan of this map was included in the 1929 edition.


125. Reginald Campbell Thompson, A Small Handbook to the History and Antiquities of Mesopotamia (Bombay: Times Press, 1918); Dorothy Mackay, The Ancient Cities of Iraq (Baghdad: Kenneth Mackenzie, 1926).

Chapter 3

3. See Dr Mary Brodrick, PhD, FRGS, Dame of Grace of St John of Jerusalem… a small tribute, 1933 (pamphlet). CH8/5/5: College Hall Archive, University of London Special Collections.
5. On this wider context see Lady Correspondent, ‘Lady Guides and Lecturers’, Sheffield Daily Telegraph [British Newspaper Archive], 23 August 1889, 4; Janes, Year-Book 1899, 57–8; Mitton, Year Book 1909, 72. The Lady Guide Association was founded in 1888.
6. Sheppard, Murray, 82.


9. See Baigent, ‘Poole’; Sophia Lane Poole, *The Englishwoman in Egypt: Letters from Cairo, written during a residence there in 1842, 3, & 4…* (London: Charles Knight & Co, 1844) and *Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem and the pyramids of Egypt* (London: James Virtue, 1860/61).


11. Imperial Airways, Ltd. *Through Africa By the Empire Flying Boat* [c.1938?] CAS/7/83/3/19 Croydon Airport Archives. Thanks to Debbie Challis for bringing these pamphlets to my attention.


13. Amelia Edwards’ will transcribed by her friend and secretary Kate Bradbury (later married to Petrie’s student Francis Llewellyn Griffiths), 5/BRD/23, Petrie Museum Archives.


16. UCL, *Calendar 1892*.

17. See ‘Marriages’, *John Bull* [British Periodicals: New Readerships], 18 April 1885, 259; ‘Notes on Art and Archaeology’, *The Academy* [British Newspaper Archive], 16 May 1885, 355; A17728/6293. Helen Mary Beloe, Reading Room Admissions Register 1880 to 1888 (A to D), British Museum Central Archive. At this time there were no official guide-lecturers at the British Museum, although lecturers were guiding tours through the collections by 1881, including one woman who only guided women. Jane Harrison is that first woman giving tours at the British Museum, see ‘A Peripatetic Lecturer at the British Museum’, *The Graphic* [19th Century British Periodicals], 5 November 1881, 462. A proposal for ‘official guides’ was put forward in 1910, and the idea was trialled successfully in 1911. Official tours began in 1912, see Jamie Larkin, *Trading on the Past: an examination of the cultural and economic roles of shops at museums and heritage sites* (unpublished PhD thesis: University College London, 2016). Thanks to Jamie Larkin for this information.

18. ‘Notes on Art and Archaeology’, *Academy* [British Periodicals], 20 June 1885, 445.

19. ‘Notes on Art and Archaeology’, *Academy* [British Periodicals], 30 April 1887, 314.

20. ‘Notes on Art and Archaeology’, *Academy* [British Periodicals], 31 March 1888, 228. In these advertisements, various women are listed as main contact and collectors of fees for these courses, indicating a female-centred economy in lectures.

21. ‘Notes on Art and Archaeology’, *Academy* [British Periodicals], 5 October 1889, 227.


residue of her estate, including royalties on her Dictionary of Egyptian Archaeology. This legacy ensured the Hall would continue to provide a residence for women, and in 1934 the Mary Brodrick Wing was opened in the Hall. The Brodrick Wing was demolished in renovations to the Hall in the 2000s (see CH6/1/34, CH6/1/2, College Hall Archives; pers. comm. Alice Coote-Cowling).


27. Tirard, Sketches, 41–2. Interestingly, Hatshepsut’s role as a figurehead for women’s suffrage is emphasised in Daisy Pryce’s Love’s Mirage, 223 (referenced in the preceding chapter). Miss Tankerville forces a small party to look at a granite obelisk that ‘recorded the doings of the first known exponent of Women’s Rights’ who had had ‘herself depicted in Rational Dress’.


32. Brodrick to Murray, 12 July 1891, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

33. Copies Ledger H: 191, MS 42733, John Murray archive, NLS.


35. Brodrick to Murray, 29 July 1891, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

36. Brodrick to Murray, 21 August 1891, 25 September 1891, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

37. Brodrick to Murray, 6 August 1891, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS. In the Copies Ledger for Brugsch’s Outlines, the sum paid to Brodrick was £105. Copies Ledger H: 191, MS 42733, John Murray archive, NLS.


39. Brodrick to Murray, 19 June 1892, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

40. Brodrick to Murray, 14, 24, 31 August 1892, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

41. Brodrick to Murray, 31 August 1892, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

42. Brodrick to Murray, 15 August 1893, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

43. Brodrick to Murray, 2 February 1893, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

44. Brodrick to Murray, 24 August 1893, 1 September 1893, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
45. Brodrick to Murray, 8 November 1894, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
46. Brodrick to Murray, 27 August 1897 and printed circular, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
47. See, for example, ‘Social and Personal’, Glasgow Herald [British Newspaper Archive], 12 August 1899, Janes, Year-Book 1899, 113.
48. Brodrick to Murray, 17 November 1898, MS 40142, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
50. ‘From Our Lady Correspondent’, Sheffield Daily Telegraph [British Newspaper Archive], 10 October 1891, 5.
51. Jane Harrison, Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature (London: Rivingtons, 1882), xii–xiv; see also Robinson, Life, Ch. 3. Her mentor at the British Museum was Keeper (and UCL Yates Professor) Charles Newton. Jane Harrison, Introductory Studies in Greek Art (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1885), vi. On Harrison’s time in London and relationship with Eugénie Sellers in publicising Harrison’s lectures, see Beard, Invention, Ch. 5. Harrison was a University Extension Lecturer; the University Extension movement offered lectures, courses and examinations outside of the formal universities. These were organised locally by committees across the UK (Whitaker, Almanack 1900, 249, 268). The appointment was offered to her British Museum associate Reginald Stuart Poole. Penelope, ‘Our Ladies’ Column’, Western Daily Times [British Newspaper Archive], 10 December 1888, 4. On Harrison’s experience in Greece see Robinson, Life, Ch. 4.
55. Beckett, Second, 3 suggests she attended Newnham College, but there is no evidence of her attendance at Newnham (pers. comm. A Thomson). However, a poem in a volume of Ernest Gardner’s diaries written ‘To Mary’ dates from Gardner’s time at Cambridge. See MS Add 82/1, Gardner Papers, UCL Special Collections.
56. See Gill, Students for a list of the students admitted under Gardner’s Directorship. These included novelists M. R. James and E. F. Benson, the noted anthropologist James G. Frazer; the classicist Eugénie Sellers (the first woman to be admitted to the School) and a number of men who became noted archaeologists, including John Linton Myres and Robert Carr Bosanquet.
57. See Gardner Papers, MS 82/8, UCL Special Collections.

68. A student residence (for men) was built in 1895 at the end of Gardner’s time at the BSA. Women students did not have their own residence and were expected to live in hostels, as Agnes Conway charts in her book A Ride Through the Balkans – see Gill, ‘Passion’, 501–2.

69. Gardner, ‘Sketches’.

70. Session Fees Books 1904–5, 1909–10, UCL Special Collections. See ‘The Greek Play at University College’, The Times Digital Archive, 11 June 1897, 6; ‘University Intelligence’, The Times Digital Archive, 24 December 1904, 8; ‘University Intelligence’, The Times Digital Archive, 27 March 1907, 12. Mary Gardner describes Iphigenia in Aulis, the first Greek play the Gardners produced at UCL, in some detail in her memoir. She took the role of Clytemnestra.

71. Clogg, ‘Koraes Chair’, 7. Clogg’s research on the history of the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King’s (with funding from Anglo-Greek families) briefly discusses the origins of Mary Gardner’s lectureship there. Mary Gardner also taught Modern Greek at UCL in the spring of 1916. See ‘Law Society Lectures’, The Times Digital Archive, 1 May 1916, 13.

72. See Ernest Gardner’s letters to his daughter Delphis, in Add MS 89076/1/2, Gardner Papers: British Library.


74. Before her marriage she studied Modern Greek with a tutor in Liverpool. See Bosanquet, Harvest, 54.


76. Bosanquet, Harvest, 57, 58. See Whitakers Almanack 1900, 564 for details of British Consuls; for a history of the relationship between the British consular service in the Aegean and archaeology see Gunning, Consular Service.


78. Bosanquet, Days, Ch. 12.

79. Bosanquet, Days, 23.


83. See, for example, ‘Books to Read and Books to Use’, Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer [British Newspaper Archive], 10 June 1914, 4. On developments in the Balkans see Hupchick, Balkans, Chs. 13–14.

84. Bosanquet, Days, viii.


86. ‘Popular Books. What the Public Are Reading’, Liverpool Daily Post [British Newspaper Archive], 1 April 1914, 11.


88. Although Martin Conway is listed as a co-author, Agnes Conway’s diary shows that most of the work on the book – designing the structure, choosing the pictures to be included and writing the text – was hers. Agnes Conway, Diary, 4 February 1908, MSS Add 7676/Z10; William, Lord Conway of Allington and family: Letters and Papers, Cambridge University Library. A bibliography of Agnes Conway’s work can be found in Thornton 2011 (Appendix A).

90. See, for example, Hammond, Memoirs; John B. Alcock and Antonia Young, eds, Black Lambs & Gray Falcons: Women Travellers in the Balkans (second edn) (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000). As her trip through the Balkans was coming to a close, Agnes Conway was reading British traveller Edith Durham's books on Albania. See Agnes Conway, Diary, 29 May 1914, Ms Add. 7676/Z16, Conway Letters and Papers, Cambridge University Library. On Durham see John Hodges, 'Edith Durham: Traveller and Publicist', in Alcock and Young, Lambs.


92. Agnes Conway, Diary, 7 March 1914, MS Add 7676/Z16, Conway Letters and Papers, Cambridge University Library.


95. Conway, A Ride, 162–3. The excavation was a collaboration between the Greek Archaeological Society and the German Archaeological Institute. See 'Excavations in Corfu. Interesting Discoveries', Northern Whig [British Newspaper Archive], 24 May 1913, 12.

96. Agnes Conway, Diary, 28 June, 29 July; 4, 5 August 1914, MS Add 7676/Z16, 2 August 1916, MS Add 7676/Z18, Conway Letters and Papers, Cambridge University Library.


98. Conway, A Ride, 204.


100. 'A Ride Through the Balkans', Gloucester Journal [British Newspaper Archive], 23 June 1917, 3; 'A Ride Through the Balkans', The Times Literary Supplement Historical Archive, 15 March 1917, 130.


102. See Lee Young, 'Annie Abernethie Quibell', Ancient Egypt 14 (4) for a summary of Annie Quibell's life and work. While resident in Egypt the Quibells were also responsible for organising and installing the Egyptian government's archaeology displays at the 1904 Worlds Fair. See Amara Thornton, 'I'll Meet You in St. Louis'. Last modified 30 November 2017; http://www.readingroomnotes.com/home/ill-meet-you-in-st-louis.


105. Annie Quibell, A Wayfarer in Egypt (London: Methuen, 1925), v.

106. See Melman, Women's Orient, 16.


110. 'New Books', The Age [Trove], 6 February 1926, 6.


113. Mackay, Ancient Cities, v. Mackay deliberately set her focus in this short guide on pre-Islamic Iraq.
115. Mackay, Ancient Cities, 1.
116. ‘Local News and Notes – Distinguished Bristolian', Western Daily Press [British Newspaper Archive], 9 August 1929, 5. Dorothy Mackay, Mohenjo-daro (Indian State Railways Publicity Department, 1929). A copy of this short pamphlet, given by the author herself, is held in the Society of Antiquaries Library. It includes hotel and railway station information.
118. See UCL Session Fees Book 1892–3, UCL Special Collections; Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay, Temple of Mut in Asher; an account of the excavation of the temple and of the religious representations and objects found therein… (London: John Murray, 1898), viii.
119. Brodrick to Murray, 14 October 1897, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, National Library of Scotland.
120. Benson to Murray, 16 December 1897, MS 40087, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, National Library of Scotland.
122. See UCL Session Fees book 1896–7; Eckenstein is listed as a student of Egyptology almost every year between 1896 and 1914. For further detail on Eckenstein and her membership of the sex and sexuality discussion group 'Men and Women's Club', see Walkowitz, City, Ch. 5.
125. UCL Session Fees Book 1893–4, University College London Special Collections.
127. Sheppard, Murray, Ch. 8; Sheppard, ‘Training’.
129. Agnes Conway and George Horsfield, the Chief Curator of Antiquities in Transjordan, carried out this excavation with a team of locally recruited workers. American archaeologist William Foxwell Albright directed the brief 1934 excavation.
130. Murray, Petra, 30.
132. Murray, Petra, Ch. 8.
134. Lavers illustrated Nefertiti.
135. Chubb, Nefertiti, 54–5. This important weekly ritual was also represented in excavation films, including the film made by Waddington of the Amarna dig. On the EES film see Naunton 2010.
137. Chubb, Nefertiti, 68.
139. Chubb, Nefertiti, 88.
143. See Wheeler, Walls, 95–6.
Chapter 4

1. Petrie to Edwards, 7 October 1884, 3/1/PEN/13, Petrie Museum archives.
3. See, for example, a letter from Abbe Winklemann on excavations at Herculaneum, published in June 1765 in the *Public Ledger*, a London newspaper; see for example Henrik Ellegard, *The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Goteborg: Goteborgs Universitets arsskrift 63 (3) (1957)); Lee, *Origins*.
4. These include specialist periodicals such as *British Architect* and *The Builder*, the *Women's Penny Paper*, *Girls Own Paper* and *Chums*.
5. The 19th Century Newspapers database does not include intellectual cultural review periodicals such as *The Academy, The Athenaeum* and the *Saturday Review*, which regularly featured articles on archaeological research. For a detailed discussion of archaeology as presented in these periodicals, see Gange, *Dialogues*. For example there were no paper(s) from Cambridge represented in the database at all at the time of research. The range of papers available also changes over time – there are no Edinburgh papers, for instance, available in the database after 1867. Nor does it include a number of significant newspapers, i.e. *The Times, The Daily Telegraph, The Daily Mail* or *The Manchester Guardian*. The end date of my search was dictated by the availability of articles in the database at the time of research. Using ‘Petrie’ for a search term meant I needed to discount unrelated hits; in total, I ended with a list of 779 articles relating to the archaeologist Flinders Petrie. I did this search without enhancing the optical character recognition (OCR) in the database search function.
6. These geographical delineations are based on those given in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers database ‘Publications by Location’ section.
7. 362/779 (46.6 per cent).
17. ‘Egyptian Antiquities at Oxford Mansion’, *The Times Digital Archive*, 1 September 1886, 13; see also Thornton, ‘Exhibition Season’.
19. William M. F. Petrie, ‘The Romance of Ancient Literature I’ (November 1891); ‘The Romance of Ancient Literature II’ (December 1891); ‘The Romance of Ancient Literature III’ (January 1892); ‘The Romance of Ancient Literature IV’ (February 1892), *The Leisure Hour* [19th Century British Periodicals].
28. Formally known as the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the British Association hosted annual meetings outside of London.
30. As found in the 19th Century British Library database.
34. Petrie to Edwards, 1 August 1889, 3/1/PEN/45, Petrie Museum archives.
35. Petrie to Edwards, 1 August 1889, 3/1/PEN/45, Petrie Museum archives.
37. See Thornton, ‘Exhibition Season’.
40. Petrie to Edwards, 26 September 1884: 3/1/PEN/11, Petrie Museum archives.
41. Petrie to Edwards, 26 September 1884: 3/1/PEN/11, Petrie Museum archives.
42. Petrie to Edwards, 7 October 1884: 3/1/PEN/13, Petrie Museum archives.
44. Petrie to Edwards, 12 July 1888: 3/1/PEN/35, Petrie Museum archives. Later on he was less concerned with the ‘sort’ of visitors who came to his displays; he recorded in Seventy Years in Archaeology that by the turn of the century workmen would visit his exhibitions during their lunch break (79). See also Challis, Race, 112–3.
46. Lee, Origins, 49.
53. ‘Buried Nile City Unearthed’, Gloucestershire Echo [British Newspaper Archive], 22 December 1910, 2; ‘Discoveries in Egypt, Khartum’, London Daily News [British Newspaper Archive],
54. Telegram *ILN* to Garstang, 22 December 1910, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool. TGB3431 JG/7.

55. ‘Professor John Garstang’s Discoveries at Meroe’, *ILN Historical Archive*, 10 June 1911, 892.

56. Artist A. Hugh Fisher’s sketch of Salah was based on a painting by Garstang’s artist-assistant Harold Jones. See ‘Gifts from the Grave: Burial Relics Discovered in Upper Egypt’, *ILN Historical Archive*, 16 July 1904, 89.

57. Ingram to Garstang [telegram], 27 June 1911, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool.

58. ‘At the Sign of St. Paul’s’, *ILN Historical Archive*, 12 August 1911, 272.


60. Garstang to Editor of *The Times*, 15 May 1911; Article to *The Times* [draft], 22 May 1911, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool; ‘The Meroe Exhibition. Professor Garstang’s Discoveries’, *The Times Digital Archive*, 13 June 1911, 4.

61. Heslam to Garstang, 24 May 1911, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool.


63. Editor of *Nature* to Garstang, 18 June 1911, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool.

64. See, for example [Advertisement for Combined Circular Tours], *The Scotsman* [British Newspaper Archive], 13 October 1911, 10; Arthur Bull to Garstang, 1, 6, 9 June 1911; Garstang to Bull, 15, 25 May 1911; Arthur Bull to Garstang, 20 July 1911. A draft outline of the guidebook is included in Garstang’s Meroe papers, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool.

65. ‘Queen Candace’s Ancient Capital. The Royal City of Meroe to be Excavated’, *Nottingham Journal* [British Newspaper Archive], 9 January 1914, 4; Weinhalt, *Fascinating*, 246–7.


70. F. Sidgwick to Garstang, 12 June 1912, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool.

71. Petrie to Spurrell, 21 February 1891, 2/1/SPU/176, Petrie Museum archive.

72. Former ILN archaeology editor Edward Bacon’s 1976 book *The Great Archaeologists and their discoveries as originally reported in the pages of the Illustrated London News* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976) charts the history of *ILN* archaeology reporting. Austen Henry Layard’s explorations in Mesopotamia were frequently reported in the *ILN* during the 1840s and 1850s, see Bacon, *Great*, 17. See also Challis, *Harpy Tomb* for analysis of the *Illustrated London News*’ role in promoting archaeology in the mid-Victorian period.

73. Along with other Section Presidents of the 1907 British Association conference, Hogarth had first been profiled in the paper a few years before. See ‘Portraits and the World’s News’, *ILN Historical Archive*, 3 August 1907, 157.

74. For details on portraiture and celebrity creation see Janet Browne’s discussion of Elliot & Fry’s photographs of Charles Darwin: ‘Looking at Darwin Portraits and the Making of an Icon’, *Isis* 100 (3) (2009).

75. See, for example, Hogarth to Macmillan, 18 October 1911, Macmillan Archive, BL.
76. David Hogarth, ‘The Remodelling of History & the Realisation of Legend IV: The Empire of the Hatti’, *ILN Historical Archive*, 3 June 1911; Garstang to ILN Editor, 3 June 1911; Garstang to W. M. Meredith, 3 June 1911; Bruce Ingram, *ILN* to Garstang, 6 June 1911, Meroe records, Garstang Museum archive, University of Liverpool.

77. ‘The Empire of the Hatti’, *ILN Historical Archive*, 10 June 1911, 886.


87. Thomas, *Position*, 6–7; see 16–17 for a discussion of the difference in British and American expectations for the scholarship of the *Encyclopedia*.

88. ‘List of Contributors’ in *EB11*, Vol. 29. See also Thomas, *Position* for the role of women in the *EB11*. She notes that many more than were included in the List of Contributors wrote uncredited articles for the compendium and played a critical role in creating the index.


93. Ramsay had recently collaborated with Gertrude Bell on the production of a book on early Christian sites, *The Thousand and One Churches*.


100. [Advertisements], *London Daily News* [British Newspaper Archive], 25 April, 4 May 1911.
103. [Advertisements], *London Daily News* [British Newspaper Archive], 1 February 1911, 7.
105. See Bowler, *Science*, Ch. 8 for a discussion of science compendiums and serial publications.
116. Harmsworth’s *History* featured the work of French illustrator Andre Castaigne.
117. See for example ‘£30,000 History’.
118. ‘£30,000 History’; on Winifred Brunton see Alice Stevenson, *Winifred Brunton: Hard Working Winnie!* Last modified 1 December 2017: http://trowelblazers.com/winifred-brunton/; Session Fees Book 1900–1, University College London Special Collections.
119. [Advertisement], *Birmingham Mail* [British Newspaper Archive], 17 February 1914, 2.
120. For example ‘Reviews of New Books’, *Birmingham Daily Post* [British Newspaper Archive], 18 February 1914, 4; [Advertisement for *History of the Nations*], *Evening Dispatch* [British Newspaper Archive], 10 March 1914, 3.
130. The original fortnightlies were bound and offered in three volumes in this first British edition and four volumes in the first US edition – which, according to Hammerton, was reprinted several times. The second edition of *Wonders* was serialised in the 1930s and eventually made into a two-volume work. See Hammerton, *Books*, 307.
Chapter 5

1. Petrie to Spurrell, 23 April 1890 2/1/SPU/173, Petrie Museum archives.
2. Petrie to Spurrell, 23 April 1890, 2/1/SPU/173, Petrie Museum archives.
3. Petrie to Spurrell, 23 April 1890, 2/1/SPU/173, Petrie Museum archives.
9. Aileen Fyfe, Periodicals and Book Series: Complementary Aspects of a Publisher’s Mission, in Culture and Science in the Nineteenth Century Media, ed. Louise Henson et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 72. For an overview of publishers’ series related to popular science see Bowler, Science, Ch. 7.
13. Fyfe, Science, Ch. 2. As Fyfe charts, the Monthly Series ceased publication in the 1850s, but was retained in the RTS catalogue until the 1880s. Science, 72–3; Budge, Cleopatra’s, vi. The RTS eventually began to change this policy for some better-known writers. See Fyfe, Science, 170.
14. Budge, Cleopatra’s, vi–ix.
16. Budge, Cleopatra’s, vii.
17. Fyfe, Science, Ch. 4.
18. Executive Committee and Copyright Sub-Committee members appointed in May 1883, around the time of the publication of the first ‘By-Paths’ book, appear as readers listed in Copyright Committee reports in Executive Committee minutes. Executive Committee
Minutes, 8 May 1883, USCL/RTS FBN 9, Religious Tract Society (RTS) archive, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).


22. Later advertisements renumbered the works, removing, among others, Harkness’s volumes. See for example Religious Tract Society, 1905, ‘By-Paths of Bible Knowledge’, in The Bible and Babylon: Their Relationship in the History of Culture. Last modified 1 December 2017: https://archive.org/stream/thethebileeandbabylon00koniuoft/#page/n145/mode/2up. Challis has analysed Sayce’s ‘By-Paths’ book Races of the Old Testament and Sayce’s racism as communicated to readers of the series. The legacy of racism in Sayce’s work, she notes, continues today. The book, out of print for decades, is now available online. See Race, 138–44.


25. The Egyptian and Assyrian Department’s scholarly works, comprising transliteration, translation and analysis of ancient texts, appeared in the Semitic Series of Luzac & Co, located close to the British Museum on Great Russell Street in Bloomsbury.


28. ‘Forthcoming Books’, London Daily News [British Newspaper Archive], 31 July 1901, 6. Budge and Charles Kegan Paul were acquainted through mutual membership of the Savile Club, see Ismaïl, Budge, 183–4. It is perhaps the reason why Kegan Paul published the series which featured Budge so prominently.


30. Eugénie Strong, Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine, 2 vols (London: Duckworth, 1907); Ernest Gardner, Six Greek Sculptors (London: Duckworth, 1910); ‘Library of Art’,


38. For the story of British Museum mummy no.22522, also known as the ‘Unlucky Mummy’, see Luckhurst, *Mummy*, Ch.2; Murray, *Legends*, 7–8.

Poetry in detail (Ch 6). In 1926 Murray published Egyptian Poems, a slim volume of ancient Egyptian poetry translated into English, with the London publisher Arthur Stockwell.


44. See Harry R. Hall, Days Before History (London: Harrap, 1927); see ‘Fiction: Days Before History’, Dundee Courier [British Newspaper Archive], 12 January 1907, 6. The first edition of Days was reprinted in 1907, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1917, 1919 and twice in 1920. It was enlarged and revised, first in 1908 and second in 1927; see Hall, Threshold (1918 edn), 6–7; Hall Threshold (1914 edn).

45. See Wheeler to O. G. S. Crawford, 10 June 1956. MS Crawford 57/156–7. Papers of O. G. S. Crawford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. I am grateful to Martyn Barber for alerting me to this valuable correspondence.


47. ‘Cassell & Company [Advertisement]’, The Times Literary Supplement Historical Archive, 16 August 1957, 500.


49. Wheeler to Crawford, 10 June 1956, MS Crawford 57:156–7, Bodleian Libraries.


52. ‘Mr Geoffrey Bles’, The Times Digital Archive, 8 April 1957, 14.


59. On Gowan’s International Library see ‘Recent Publications’, *Edinburgh Evening News* [British Newspaper Archive], 30 June 1906, 4.


63. Copy of Memorandum of Agreement between Professor J. A. K. Thomson and Ernest Benn, 27 January 1928; Copy of Memorandum of Agreement between Stanley Casson and Ernest Benn, 27 March 1930, ACB/B/5/1/4, A. & C. Black archive: Reading University.


67. Through the Keystone Library, Thornton Butterworth offered readers reprinted books in a variety of genres: history, travel, belles lettres and memoirs. These are listed on the dust jacket for the Keystone Library edition of Weigall’s *Glory of the Pharaohs* (1936).


72. Hankey, *Passion*, 139. The magazines were: Blackwood’s, *Century* and *Quarterly Review*.


79. See Mudie’s Select Library Ltd, *Catalogue of the Principal Books in Circulation at Mudie’s Select Library* [January] (London: Mudie’s Select Library Ltd, 1892) and *Catalogues 1893, 1910, 1914*.


85. Wilson, ‘Boots’.


88. See ‘York Public Library’, *Yorkshire Gazette* [British Newspaper Archive], 18 March 1899, 1; ‘Beveridge Libraries’, *Fife Free Press & Kirkaldy Guardian* [British Newspaper Archive], 16 October 1926, 6; ‘Library Additions’, *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette* [British Newspaper Archive], 3 October 1939, 3.


92. Annie Quibell, *The Pyramids of Giza* (Cairo: The C. M. S. Bookshop, 1910); Annie Quibell, *The Tombs of Sakkara* (second edn) (Cairo: Church Missionary Society, 1912 [1925]).


95. Gertrude Bell to Florence Bell, 7 November 1923. Gertrude Bell archive, Newcastle University [online].
96. See Mackay, *Ancient*.
97. See, for example, the Annotated Books Online project. Digitisation of these manuscripts has facilitated detailed study of these annotations.
98. Sarjeant to Near East Programme Organiser, 17 April 1942, Dr Margaret A. Murray, Speaker File 1 1942–62, BBC Written Archive Centre. Thanks are due to Debbie Challis for sharing her notes with me. For evidence of Murray on the radio see BBC Genome.

Chapter 6

7. A. S. Murray to Mr Murray, 23 January 1891, MS 40862, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
8. See A. S. Murray to Mr Murray, 23 January 1891, MS 40862, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
9. Brodrick to Murray, 21 October 1891, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
10. Brodrick to Murray, 7 October 1892, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
11. See, for example, Brodrick to Murray 7, 9 September 1893, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
12. Robinson, *Egypt*, xv
13. Advertisements for ‘The Tourist’ in the *Egyptian Gazette* show that the shop, established in 1869, offered a number of items useful for tourists, from drawing equipment and stationery to Tauchnitz editions of English literature (for example [Advertisements], *Egyptian Gazette*, 6 January 1900, 2). In his memoirs Ronald Storrs (*Orientations*, 131) discusses Livadas and other Cairo booksellers during the First World War.
14. Brodrick to Murray, 1 September 1893, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
15. Brodrick to Murray, 24 November 1894, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS. The New Hotel went through changes in this period – by 1900 it was put under new management and renamed the Grand Continental Hotel (Brodrick, *Handbook to Egypt*, 989).
16. Brodrick to Murray, 22 January 1896; 1 February 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
17. Brodrick to Murray, 12 March 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
18. Brodrick to Murray, 16 December 1897, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
19. Brodrick to Murray [undated 1894], MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
20. See Brodrick to Murray 26 July 1895, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS; *Handbook to Egypt*, MS 42734/329–30, Copies Ledger I, John Murray archive, NLS.
22. Brodrick to Murray, 21 and 23 August 1895, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
23. Brodrick to Murray, 15 November 1895, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
25. Brodrick to Murray, 24–8 December 1895; Brodrick to Murray, 22 January 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS; On the ubiquity and usefulness of dragomen for Western tourists to Egypt see Mairs and Muratov, *Archaeologists*.
26. Brodrick to Murray, 22 January 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
29. Brodrick to Murray, 1 February 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
31. Brodrick to Murray, 24–8 December 1895; 1 February 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
32. Brodrick to Murray, 13 February 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
34. Brodrick to Murray, 12 March, 2 April 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
35. Brodrick to Murray, 2 April 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
40. Brodrick to Murray, 23 April 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
41. Brodrick to Murray, 4 July 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS; *Handbook to Egypt*, Copies Ledger I: 329–30, MS 43734, John Murray archive, NLS.
42. Brodrick to Murray, undated [Jan 1897?], MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS; ‘Books of the Week’, *The Times Digital Archive*, 1 January 1897, 5.
43. See, for example, ‘The ninth edition…’, *Morning Post* [British Newspaper Archive], 18 February 1897, 3.
44. ‘New Tourist Publications’, *The Times Digital Archive*, 26 July 1897, 13. Brodrick to Murray, 5 August 1897, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
45. Brodrick to Murray, 14 September 1897, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
48. Brodrick to Murray, 28 January 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
49. Brodrick to Murray, 16 December 1897, 28 January 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
50. Brodrick to Murray, 24–8 December 1895, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
51. Brodrick to Murray, 28 January 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS. Brodrick’s views on Britain in Egypt were related in the British press as well. See, for example, ‘London Correspondence’, *Monmouthshire Beacon* [British Newspaper Archive], 16 December 1898, 7.
52. Brodrick to Murray, 28 January 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
53. Brodrick to Murray, 28 January 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
54. Brodrick to Murray, 26 February 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS. The plans for the dam were approved, and building begun in 1898. The first phase of the project was completed in 1902.
56. See Brodrick to Murray, 24 December 1895, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
57. Brodrick to Murray, 1 February, 13 February 12 March, 2 April 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
59. Brodrick to Murray, 13 February 1896, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
60. On Cook’s difficulties see Brendon, *Cook*, 234–5; Brodrick to Murray, 28 January 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
61. Brodrick to Murray, 26 February 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
62. Brodrick to Murray, 17 November 1898; Brodrick to Murray, 14 July 1900, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
63. Brodrick to Murray, 10 March 1898, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
65. See Gretton, ‘Introduction’, xlii–xlv for the history of Murray’s *Handbooks* after the sale in 1901. See also Charles Johnoth to John Murray, 19 April 1901, MS 42613, Papers concerning the sale by John Murray IV to Edward Stanford…, Murray archive, NLS.
66. Brodrick to Murray, 21 December 1903, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
68. Brodrick to Murray, 23 December 1902, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
69. Brodrick to Murray, 23 December 1902, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
70. Brodrick to Murray, 3 May 1903; 26 June 1910, A. Llewellyn Roberts to Murray, 29 June 1910, MS 40152, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
On the British School at Athens's engagements in Asia Minor see David Gill, ‘The British School at Athens and Archaeological Research in the Late Ottoman Empire’, in Archaeology, Anthropology.


74. See Gill, Sifting, Ch.10; Hogarth, Wandering (second edition); Lock, ‘Hogarth’.


77. Hogarth to John Murray, 13 November 1889, MS 40563, John Murray archive, NLS.


79. Hogarth to John Murray, 17 July 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

80. Hogarth to John Murray, 4 August 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

81. Hogarth to John Murray, 4 August 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS. See, for example, ‘Literary Notes and Gossip’, Glasgow Herald [British Newspaper Archive], 17 August 1895, 10; ‘Literature and Art’, Nottinghamshire Guardian [British Newspaper Archive], 30 November 1895, 5.

82. Hogarth to John Murray, 17 July 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS. The book eventually sold for 7 shillings and sixpence. Presumably the slightly higher price accounted for the added expense of illustrations.

83. Hogarth to John Murray, 24 July 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

84. Hogarth to John Murray, 17 July 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

85. Hogarth to John Murray, 4 August, 2 and 8 October 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

86. Hogarth to John Murray, 5 November 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

87. Hogarth to John Murray, 5 November 1895, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.


89. Hogarth, Wandering, 7. See also Satia, Spies, 35.

90. Hogarth, Wandering Scholar in the Levant, Copies Ledger J: 4, MS 42735, John Murray archive, NLS.

91. Impressions of Turkey was published by Hodder & Stoughton. Ramsay's wife Agnes Dick Ramsay also published books based on her experiences travelling with Ramsay. Her book Everyday life in Turkey appeared in the same year as Impressions in 1897. See Hogarth to Murray, 13 June 1897, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.


93. See Hogarth’s Wandering Scholar in the Levant, Copies Ledger J: 4, MS 42735, John Murray archive, NLS.

94. See, for example, ‘Literary Notes’, San Francisco Call [Library of Congress Chronicling America], 14 March 1897, 23.

95. Hogarth to John Murray, 5 April 1896, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

96. Hogarth to Murray, 30 April 1896, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS. On Newnes' Library see ‘Literary Jottings’, Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald [British Newspaper Archive], 8 December 1894, 2.

97. Hogarth to Murray, 30 April 1896, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

98. Hogarth to Murray, 30 April 1896, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

99. Hogarth to Murray, 2 September 1896, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.

100. Hogarth to Murray, 2 September 1896, MS 40563, Incoming Correspondence, John Murray archive, NLS.
Chapter 7


3. Leslie Howsam, Past, Ch.2 has discussed Alexander Macmillan’s role in fostering popular history authors from the 1860s.

4. See James, Macmillan.


10. Including the American publishing houses Scribners and Putnams.


13. ‘Our Domestic Circle’, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire Advertiser* [British Newspaper Archive], 3 October 1891: Supplement; ‘Gossip of the Day’, *Inverness Courier* [British Newspaper Archive], 13 October 1891, 6. Maria Millington Lathbury’s daughter, Joan Evans, noted that Jane Harrison’s support was crucial to Lathbury’s success as a lecturer. Harrison even offered Lathbury the addresses of her regular audience members so that Lathbury could send her prospectuses to them (Evans, *Prelude*, 21–3).

14. Percy Gardner to George Macmillan, 25 March 1892. Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Percy Gardner, Add MS 55128, Macmillan archive, BL. One of Leighton’s best known paintings, *Flaming June*, showing a sleeping woman in a flowing Grecian dress, was finished in 1895. Mary Beard (*Invention*, Ch.4) chronicles Jane Harrison and Eugénie Sellers’ participation in an 1883 ‘society theatrical’, *The Tale of Troy*, which was held over two nights in London. Among the members of the play’s large cast were Bram Stoker’s wife Florence Balcombe and theatrical impresario Herbert Beerbohm Tree. Pat Easterling has chronicled the history of Cambridge’s Greek plays, Pat Easterling, ‘The Early Years of the Cambridge Greek Play: 1882–1912’, in *Stray, Classics . . . Cambridge*. While at UCL Ernest and Mary Gardner also organised (and took part in) Greek plays from 1897.


18. Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 2 January 1895, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55285, Macmillan archive, BL.


20. Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 29 January, 21 February 1895, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Percy Gardner, Add MS 55128, Macmillan archive, BL.

21. Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 21, 24 May 1895, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55285, Macmillan archive, BL.

22. Percy Gardner to [George A?] Macmillan, 1 February, 17 May 1895, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Percy Gardner, Add MS 55128, Macmillan archive, BL.


24. Percy Gardner to George Macmillan, 11 October 1895, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Percy Gardner, Add MS 55128, Macmillan archive, BL.

25. Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 17 October 1895, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55285, Macmillan archive, BL. This never materialised, but what came eventually in 1904 was *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, published by Macmillan.

26. Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 24 May, 24 August 1895, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55285, Macmillan archive, BL.

27. Percy Gardner to George Macmillan, 11 October 1895, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Percy Gardner, Add MS 55128, Macmillan archive, BL.

28. Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 17 October 1895, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55285, Macmillan archive, BL.


30. Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 23 January 1896, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55285, Macmillan archive, BL; see also *Handbooks* Advertisement.


33. *Handbooks* advertisement.

34. Ernest Gardner to [George?] Macmillan, 16 September 1896, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Ernest Arthur Gardner, Mary Gardner, Add MS 55130, Macmillan archive, BL. Founded in the 1880s, the Teacher’s Guild of Great Britain and Ireland provided a forum for teachers of all levels of education and all genders, whether from public or private schools,
to discuss issues relevant to their profession. See ‘Mr Mundella and the Teacher’s Guild’, Morning Post [British Newspaper Archive], 25 February 1884, 5.


36. Ernest Gardner to George Macmillan, 30 September 1904, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Ernest Arthur Gardner, Mary Gardner, Add MS 55130, Macmillan archive, BL. The first edition of Part 1 of the Handbook was reprinted eight times before the second edition was issued, although it was amended and corrected for a few of the reprintings. The first edition of Part 2 was reprinted seven times. See Ernest Gardner, Handbook, 1915 edn.


39. George Macmillan to H. P. Brett, 30 October 1902, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55287, Macmillan archive, BL. Manuscript proposals were still coming in well into the first decade of the twentieth century. One of these was from Egyptologist Caroline Ransom, who proposed a book on ‘Egyptian Art’. Her proposal was rejected, in part because Frederick Macmillan considered her to be a relatively invisible scholar despite her University of Chicago PhD. A year after the rejection, Ransom was appointed Assistant Curator in the Egyptian Art Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Frederick Macmillan to George Brett, 23 November 1909, Macmillan archive, Add MS 44289). For a brief biography of Ransom see Barbara Lesko, ‘Caroline Louise Ransom Williams (1872–1952)’, Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology. Last modified 3 December 2017: http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/search.php.

40. George Macmillan to George Brett, 16 June 1904, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55287, Macmillan archive, BL.

41. Percy Gardner to George Macmillan, 3 June 1904, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Percy Gardner, Add MS 55128, Macmillan archive, BL.

42. Gardner, Autobiographica, 66–7.

43. Percy Gardner to [George?] Macmillan, 17 January 1898, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Percy Gardner, Add MS 55128, Macmillan archive, BL.

44. ‘Steam Cruise in the Aegean’, The Times Digital Archive, 12 April 1892, 10.

45. ‘Editorial’, The Times Digital Archive, 13 April 1892, 9. At this time some of the Aegean islands (including Crete) were still under the jurisdiction of Ottoman Turkey; the 1892 cruise focused on the Cycladic islands, which were part of Greece. See Murray, Handbook of Greece, 948 for list of chief curriers/dragomen in Athens.

46. UCL, Calendar 1896, xlv; UCL, Calendar 1897, 52.

47. UCL, Calendar 1902, 118–9.


55. Ernest Gardner to G. A. Macmillan, 8 March 1908, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Ernest Arthur Gardner and Mary Gardner, Add MS 11530, Macmillan archive, BL.

56. Ernest Gardner to G. A. Macmillan, 12 March 1908, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – Ernest Arthur Gardner and Mary Gardner, Add MS 11530, Macmillan archive, BL.

57. Mary Gardner to Mr Macmillan, 1 January 1904, Records of Macmillan & Co, fonds MAC, University of Reading.


60. See Courtney, *Oxford*, 21 for a candid discussion of Hogarth’s personal feelings towards Greeks; Hogarth to G. A. Macmillan, 27 June 1895, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL; No.9616, Add MS 56018, Record of Manuscripts, Macmillan archive, BL.

61. Hogarth to G.A. Macmillan, 10 July 1895, Add MS 55133, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.

62. By this point, beyond academic articles, Hogarth had only published a short book called *Devia Cypria*, an account of his travels and explorations in Cyprus as part of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, and the report on Alexandria mentioned in the previous chapter.

63. Hogarth to [George?] Macmillan, 15 July 1895, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.

64. Hogarth to [George] Macmillan, 21 July 1895, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.


70. Hogarth to G. A. Macmillan, 12 July 1907; 29 August 1907. Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.

71. Macmillan, *Greece 1908*, 193. John Turtle Wood had excavated at Ephesus on behalf of the British Museum in the mid-nineteenth century. For further details on the history of excavation at the site see Challis, *Harpy Tomb and Ledger Lomas, ‘Ephesus’*.  


73. See, for example, ‘Noted Lecturer to Speak Here’, *Evening Statesman* [Library of Congress Chronicling America], 12 November 1907, 3; ‘Prof. Hogarth Lectures’, *Washington Herald* [Library of Congress Chronicling America], 5 January 1908, 11.


75. ‘Eighth Anniversary. Classical Club to Meet in Celebration January 4’, *Evening Star* [Library of Congress Chronicling America], 29 December 1907, 8.

76. ‘Utah’s Archaeological Fields are to be Further Explored’, *Salt Lake Herald* [Library of Congress Chronicling America], 6 January 1908, 10.

78. This railway line, and the survey involved, was also an important intelligence gathering operation for Germany. The British archaeologists working at the site in the years that followed Hogarth’s initial survey – Hogarth, T. E. Lawrence, Leonard Woolley and Reginald Campbell Thompson – were all involved in key roles in British intelligence during the First World War.


81. Hogarth to G. A. Macmillan, 29 November 1908, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.

82. Hogarth to G. A. Macmillan, 20 July 1909, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.


92. Hogarth to G. A. Macmillan, 14 September 1909, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.


94. Hogarth’s tour was announced in several papers across the United States. See for example [News], *Dillon Herald* [Library of Congress Chronicling America], 9 December 1909, 2.

95. G. A. Macmillan to G.P. Brett, 23 November 1909, U: Letterbooks, Add MS 55289, Macmillan archive, BL.

96. Hogarth to G. A. Macmillan, 18 November 1909, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.


100. See Satia, *Spies*.

101. D. G. Hogarth to Macmillan & Co, 2, 4 October 1922, Correspondence K: Archaeologists – D. G. Hogarth, Add MS 55133, Macmillan archive, BL.

**Chapter 8**


3. Lane quoted in Hare, *Penguin*, 3.


6. Beyond publication and republication of her letters in the years following her death, Bell has been the subject of several biographies over the past 90 years. See for example M. R. Ridley, Gertrude Bell (London: Blackie & Son, 1941); Anne Tibble, Gertrude Bell (London: A. & C. Black, 1958); Hugo Winstone, Gertrude Bell (London: Constable, 1978); Georgina Howell, Daughter of the Desert: the remarkable life of Gertrude Bell (London: Pan Macmillan, 2006); Lisa Cooper, In Search of Kings and Conquerors: Gertrude Bell and the Archaeology of the Middle East (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016). Werner Herzog’s feature film Queen of the Desert and a documentary, Letters from Baghdad, both chronicling Bell’s experiences in the East, were released in 2016. Newcastle University, where Bell’s archive is now located, has developed a comic book and teachers’ resources for schools based on Bell’s life and archive. See ‘The extraordinary Gertrude Bell: Teaching Packs’. Last modified 3 December 2017: https://research.ncl.ac.uk/gertrudebell/schools/teachingpacks/; Newcastle University/Applied Comics etc, 2016, ‘Gertrude Bell Comics: archaeologist, writer, explorer’. Last modified 3 November 2017: https://research.ncl.ac.uk/gertrudecomics/.

7. In 1928 Benn issued a “gift” format edition of Bell’s Persian Pictures, with Bell publicly named as author and a new introduction by Sir Edward Denison Ross, then head of the School of Oriental Studies (now SOAS), as a companion to Bell’s Letters (Benn, Autumn List, 10–11).


9. See ‘Benn’s Sampler’, Aberdeen Journal [British Newspaper Archive], 4 September 1930, 2; ‘Benn’s Sampler’, Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer [British Newspaper Archive], 17 September 1930, 6.

10. Benn Ltd, Benn’s Sampler … (London: Ernest Benn Ltd, 1930), 5–6, voucher.


17. Penguins Progress, May 1937: 4, DM 1294/4/1/4. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

18. Morpurgo, Lane, 117.


22. Morpurgo, Lane, 127, 135.

23. Hare, Penguin, 50–6; Morpurgo, Lane, 119–26. Menon is credited with instigating Pelicans, providing valuable contacts in the intellectual world and recommending Williams and Beale as editors. Eventually Williams replaced Menon as head of Pelican editorial. The scientist Peter Chalmers-Mitchell also replaced Hogben.


25. Kenneth Day to Valerie Willey, 21 February 1967, Digging Up the Past (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A02/0004. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.


28. Hare, Penguin, 90–1; Morpurgo, Lane, 156–65.

30. Frost to Woolley, 23 November 1942; Woolley to Frost, 24 November 1942, *Digging Up the Past* (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File DM1107/A02/0004. With the Permission of the Penguin Archive, UBSC.


33. Frances Passmore to ASB Glover, 8 July 1955, *Digging Up the Past* (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File DM1107/A02/0004. With the Permission of the Penguin Archive, UBSC.

34. A.S.B. Glover to C. J. Hayes, 9 October 1956, *Digging Up the Past* (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A02/0004. With the Permission of the Penguin Archive, UBSC.

35. Helen Macadam to Ernest Benn [copy], 9 April 1959, *Digging Up the Past* (Leonard Woolley) Editorial File, DM1107/A02/0004. With the Permission of the Penguin Archive, UBSC.


39. *Penguins Progress*, 1948 (No.6), 7, DM1294/4/1. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.


41. *Penguins Progress*, 1948 [No 6 – July], 5–6, DM1294/4/1. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

42. Allen Lane to Oliver Gurney, 26 November 1952, *The Hittites* (O. R. Gurney), Editorial File, DM1107/A259. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.


49. Gurney to Lane, 24 November 1952, DM1107/A259, *The Hittites* (O. R. Gurney), Editorial File, DM1107/A259. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC. By the 1950s most Pelican books were sold for between 1 shilling and 3 shillings and sixpence. Gurney’s book was at the top end of the purchase price, partly because of the number of illustrations included. See Glover to Gurney, 1 October 1952, *The Hittites* (O. R. Gurney), Editorial File, DM1107/A259. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

50. See Michaels to Penguin, 30 December 1952; Glover to Bar David Literary Agency, 17 December 1953; Gurney to Penguin, 21 July 1955, Penguin archive, Bristol. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

51. Mallowan to Lane, 26 October 1948; Lane to Mallowan, 27 October 1948; Benn to Lane, 9 November 1948; Lane to Benn, 17 November 1948, DM1107/A46, Editorial File for Letters of Gertrude Bell (Elsa Richmond). With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

53. Woolley to Lane, 1 October 1951, A Forgotten Kingdom (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A261. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

54. Woolley to Lane, 1 October 1951. A Forgotten Kingdom (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A261. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

55. Woolley to Lane, 10 October 1951, A Forgotten Kingdom (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A261. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

56. Woolley to Lane, 12 October 1951, A Forgotten Kingdom (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A261. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

57. Glover note [undated], A Forgotten Kingdom (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A261. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.


60. Note [undated], A Forgotten Kingdom (Leonard Woolley), Editorial File, DM1107/A261. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.


63. Wheeler to Frost, 2 July 1953; Bell to Wheeler, 7 August 1953, Rome Beyond Imperial Frontiers (R. E. M. Wheeler), Editorial File, DM1107/A335. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

64. Wheeler to Frost, 11 August 1953, Rome Beyond Imperial Frontiers (R. E. M. Wheeler), Editorial File, DM1107/A335. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.


70. See correspondence in Rome Beyond Imperial Frontiers (R. E. M. Wheeler), Editorial File, DM1107/A335. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

71. See Lloyd’s autobiography The Interval (Faringdon: Lloyd Collon, 1986) for his presentation of his own life and work.


74. Allen Lane to Seton Lloyd, 10 August 1953, Early Anatolia (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A354. Glover to Geoffrey Cumberledge, 2 September 1953; Glover to Lloyd, 1 October 1953, Foundations in the Dust (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A336. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

75. See Mallowan, Memoirs, 241–91.


77. Lloyd, Foundations.
78. Mary Rich’s journal is published as Appendix 1 in Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan… Vol. 1. Her introductory essay to Babylon’s history appears in Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811…

79. When the book came up for reprinting in 1965, Lloyd asked whether the illustrations could be included in a revised edition. See Lloyd to James Cochrane, 3 October 1965, DM1107/A336. Foundations in the Dust (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A336. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

80. See Drafts in Foundations in the Dust (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A336. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

81. Letter from Allen Lane to Max Mallowan, 1 June 1953. Early Anatolia (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A354. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

82. Memo from Glover to Allen Lane, 14 July 1953. Early Anatolia (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A354. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

83. Memo from Glover to Allen Lane, 16 July 1953. Early Anatolia (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A354. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

84. Daniel, Harvest, 224–5. Daniel was particularly displeased with the quality of some of the earlier Pelican archaeology books, namely amateur archaeologist S. E. Winbolt’s Britain B.C. and anthropologist W. J. Perry’s Growth of Civilisation. This attitude, however, implies Daniel’s dismissal of earlier approaches to archaeology more generally.


87. Lloyd to Allen Lane, 7 February 1956; Lloyd to Glover, 27 August 1956. Early Anatolia (Seton Lloyd), Editorial File, DM1107/A354. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

88. The percentages are as follows: 64 per cent of fiction appearing as a Penguin paperback in 1957 sold below 750 copies per month on average, with the remaining 36 per cent selling above 751 copies per month. See [Draft figures on sales], Frost Papers, DM1843/36. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

89. [Draft figures on sales], Frost Papers, DM1843/36. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

90. [Draft figures on sales], Frost Papers, DM1843/36. With the Permission of the Penguin Archive, UBSC.

91. Penguins Progress, 6 July 1948, 3. Penguin archive, Bristol. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, University of Bristol Special Collections.


93. Death average monthly rate listed as 2,500 per month; Murder as 3,000. [Draft figures on sales], Frost Papers, DM1843/36. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

94. See Daniel, Harvest, Ch.7.

95. Daniel to Godwin, 4 March 1964; 22 June 1964, Glyn Daniel, General File, DM1952/A02/Archaeology. With the Permission of the Penguin archive, UBSC.

96. See Glyn Daniel General File, DM1952/614. With the Permission of the Penguin Archive, UBSC.


Chapter 9


3. Thompson, Digger’s, 14, 22–3.

4. Thompson, Digger’s, 22–3.

5. Thompson, Digger’s, 25, 30–8.

6. For a discussion of these campaigns see Satia, Spies, Ch.7; Thompson, Digger’s, 42.

7. Thompson, Digger’s, 48.


10. Ismail, Budge, Ch.22.


12. Chronicled in his 1915 memoir, A Pilgrim’s Scrip.


15. Thompson, Pilgrim’s, 5.


17. Reginald Campbell Thompson, A List of Words and Phrases in the Basrah Dialect of Arabic (Simla: Government Central Branch, 1915); Florence Bell, ed., The Letters of Gertrude Bell, vol. 2 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1939): 353, 364, 371; Driver, ‘Thompson’, 463. Among the categories included in Thompson’s Arabic grammar were transliterations of questions relevant to ascertaining troop movements from Arabic speakers, including ‘Did you see any troops there?’ (Thompson, List, 15).


22. McAleer, Passion’s, 14.

23. McAleer, Passion’s, 29, 38–42, 46–52.


27. On the element of disguise in travel narratives see Keighren et al., Travels, 15; Satia, Spies, 77–8, 112–15.

28. The number of romance fiction novels published by Mills & Boon increased in the 1920s. Popular and successful Mills & Boon authors Louise Gerard and Joan Sutherland produced romance adventure fiction set in ‘exotic’ locations during the early to mid-1920s. McAleer notes that Charles Boon gave 1930 as the date at which Mills & Boon began to specialise wholly in romance fiction (McAleer, Passion’s, 6, 46–8).

29. Guisborough, Song, Ch.19.


34. Notable examples of these documentaries include the Egypt Exploration Society’s film of John Pendlebury’s excavations at Tell el Amarna, shown in conjunction with the EES’s exhibitions, and the Wellcome Marston Archaeological Expedition to the Near East film of excavations at Tell ed Duweir (biblical Lachish) – see Thornton, ‘Exhibition’. See also the website of the Filming Antiquity project: www.filmingantiquity.com.

35. See, for example, M. Isabel Santaula’ria i Capdevila, “‘He comes back badder and bigger than ever!’ Readapting the masculine and negotiating the feminine in treasure-hunting adventure fiction’, Journal of Gender Studies 12 (3) (2010) for analysis of masculinity and femininity in adventure film and literature. Mark Hall also explores the idea of the archaeological romantic adventure specifically through popular films via themes – colonialism, treasure hunting, gender and sexuality and politics: see ‘Romancing the Stones: Archaeology in Popular Cinema’, European Journal of Archaeology 7 (2) (2004). See also David Day, A Treasure Hard to Attain: Images of Archaeology in Popular Film, with a Filmography (Langham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1997) for an overview of archaeology-based feature films.


37. Margaret Murray, My First Hundred Years (London: William Kimber, 1963), 175.

38. See Moshenska, ‘M. R. James’, 1199. See also Hall, ‘Romancing’.

39. Holtorf, Archaeology, 84–91 documents late twentieth-century archaeologists’ views on this aspect of archaeological work, in the context of the role of the archaeologist in ‘making profound revelations’.


41. See Brian Stableford, Historical Dictionary of Fantasy Literature (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press Inc, 2005), 79–80; 118–9; 292–4; 337; 406–7. For an overview of Murray’s interest in and work on the occult see Sheppard, Murray, Ch.7.

42. An overview of the origins and definitions of fantasy as a fiction genre can be found in Stableford, Dictionary.


45. This story was first published in Blackwood’s Incredible Adventures and subsequently republished in Strange Stories (1929); Algernon Blackwood, ‘A Descent into Egypt’, Strange Stories (London: Heinemann, 1929), see also Luckhurst, Mummy, 180–1.


Macmillan, 2016), 132. See advertisement for the Mystery-Story Magazine in March 1925 issue of Hutchinson’s Adventure Story Magazine.


50. See advertisement for the Mystery-Story Magazine in September 1923 issue of Hutchinson’s Adventure Story Magazine.


52. Margery Lawrence, Nights of the Round Table (London: Hutchinson, 1926).

53. See Margery Lawrence, Ferry Over Jordan (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1945). Richard Dalby draws on this for his introductions to Kindle editions of Lawrence’s short story compilations Nights of the Round Table and Terraces of Night.

54. Lawrence, Ferry, 17–18.


58. One of Conway’s best friends from Newnham was the classical scholar and (later) Editor of the SPR’s Journal and Proceedings and Honorary Research Officer Helen Verrall. Her mother, Margaret Merrifield, had been a lecturer in classics at Newnham and co-authored Mythology and Monuments with Harrison. Margaret Merrifield Verrall was considered one of the SPR’s most talented mediums. Though there is no evidence that Conway was officially an SPR member, she attended SPR lectures and maintained her friendship with Helen Verrall. See Thornton, ‘Allure’; see also Salter, Psychical.

59. A. Conway, 6 April 1929, Diary Entry, MSS Add 7676/ Z31; A. Conway and G. Horsfield, Petra Excavation Fund Diary, p.25, Box 8, Horsfield Archive, UCL Special Collections.


61. See C. Drayton Thomas to Helen Salter, 7 January, 11 April 1924. Salter Papers, SPRMS 50/ B19, B22, SPR Archive, Cambridge University Library. From the date of the letters it is possible that the unnamed tomb was Tutankhamun’s. In Drayton’s interpretation of the sitting Leonard’s spirits were able to access the tomb more readily because it was being actively excavated and there was a human presence in the space.


64. ‘The Rent in the Veil’, Dundee Courier [British Newspaper Archive], 5 August 1952, 4.

65. Lawrence, Rent, 271.


69. Mallowan, Memoirs, 211.


77. The house is purportedly based on the Mallowans’ house at Chagar Bazar in Syria. Christie and Mallowan collaborated with the Chagar Bazar architect, Robin Macartney, on the plans for the dig house at Chagar. Macartney designed the original dust jacket for *Murder in Mesopotamia* and three other Christie mysteries (see Mallowan, *Memoirs*); Morgan, *Christie*, 210.


83. See Peters, *Crocodile*, ‘Author’s Note’.


85. Peters, *Thunder*. Having grown up in a remote Egyptian site before being adopted into the Emerson family, Nefret is an initiated priestess of an ancient temple and thus has her own Anglo-Egyptian identity.


**Epilogue**


4. This exact chronology is different in various countries, but generally began before the Second World War. See Goode, *Negotiating*, Ch.1 for a brief overview.
5. Hartmann, ‘Tourism’; importantly Hartmann also notes that seasonality and tourism patterns are different in different countries.


9. On the birth of Romano–British archaeology see Freeman, *Training*; Myres, ‘Archaeology’. Wartime damage also increased the visibility of British archaeological heritage in the public eye, and rebuilding efforts led to new discoveries. For a brief overview of the early history of the Council for British Archaeology and its efforts in engaging the public see Suzie Thomas, ‘Brian Hope-Taylor, the Council for British Archaeology, and “the Need for Archaeological Propaganda”’, *Public Archaeology* 12 (2) (2013): 101–16.


11. Fyfe et al., *Untangling*.

12. See, for example, the Academic Book of the Week project.


Appendix


6. Thanks to Samira Ahmed, Simon Guerrier and Michael McCluskey for a lively discussion on Twitter about radio terminology.