

# Notes and references for 'Undreamed Shores' by Frances Larson

I have used abbreviated citations for the books and articles listed here (author, title, page number), please refer to the bibliography in the print edition of *Undreamed Shores* for full citations.

## Archives Consulted

AMNH: American Museum of Natural History archives

APS: American Philosophical Society archives

BL: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

CUL: Cambridge University Library

DRO: Durham Record Office

GMA: Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool

LMH: Lady Margaret Hall archives, University of Oxford

LSE: London School of Economics archives

LUSCA: Liverpool University Special Collections and Archives

OUA: Oxford University archives, Bodleian Library

OUP: Oxford University Press archives

PRM: Pitt Rivers Museum manuscript collections, University of Oxford

RGS: Royal Geographical Society archives

SCA: Somerville College archives, University of Oxford

UPMAA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology archives, Philadelphia

WLAM: Wellcome Library archives and manuscripts

## Introduction

'...the men were all men together...', see Larson, F. *An Infinity of Things*, chapter 14.

'At Cambridge...', other women involved in anthropological subjects at Cambridge were: Kathleen Haddon (1888-1961), who trained as a zoologist and accompanied her father, the anthropologist A.C. Haddon, to the Torres Strait in 1914; Alison Hingston Quiggin (1874-1971), who lectured in anthropology and collaborated with the A.C. Haddon before the war, but worked initially in the geography department at Cambridge; and Ethel Sophia Fegan (1877-1975), a librarian who enrolled on the anthropology diploma at Cambridge in 1925. Two of Winifred Hoernle's contemporaries at Cambridge, Eileen Power (1889-1940) and Margaret Reed (1889-1991), initially studied history, but moved towards anthropological research after the war.

'Twenty-seven women...', a full list of students enrolled on the Oxford diploma in anthropology from 1907-1920 is available at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/articles/article-index/341-oxford-diploma-students-1907-1920.html>

'Woman lives for year with savages', untitled press clipping, box 52, compartment Y 2h, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Girl risks life...', *Daily Herald*, 25 Sept 1931, box 52, compartment Y 2h, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Maria Czaplicka's scrapbook', this album of press cuttings is held in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.

'well-to-do people...', 'not endowing science...', A.L. Kroeber to H.E. Gregory, 20 June 1921, quoted in Tilburg p. 206.

## 1. No Civilization between Us: Katherine Routledge in British East Africa, 1906

'once dreamt of marrying a barrister...', Wilson Pease diaries, 1906, D/GP/6, DRO, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 8.

'an impulsive child'... 'tactless', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, pp. 4, 32, and notes p. 263.

'Darlington certainly is not...', Wilson Pease diaries, 15 January 1891, D/GP/16, DRO.

'daughter at home', 'a somewhat monotonous', Wilson Pease diaries, 27 January 1893, D/GP/18, DRO.

'Katherine's family had been concerned...', see Wilson Pease diaries, 1 April, 9 May, 28 July 1906, D/GP/31, DRO.

'much unhappiness', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'an anonymous letter to the *Isis*...', Leonardi, *Dangerous by Degrees*, p. 22.

'Students at Somerville were expected...', Adams, *Somerville for Women*, pp. 105-9.

'The students were more presentable...', Wilson Pease diaries, 30 November 1891, D/GP/17, DRO.

'When women come down...', Wilson Pease diaries, 7 July 1891, D/GP/17, DRO.

'We have discovered that Katie...', Wilson Pease diaries, 20 July 1891, D/GP/17, DRO.

'Katherine was quick to learn but...', Katherine Routledge, Reports of Collections 1891-95, SCA.

'her relationship with her mother...', Wilson Pease diaries, 18 September 1898, D/GP/26, DRO.

'uncommonly well', Wilson Pease diaries, 20 October 1895, D/GP/23, DRO.

'a slight bother...', 'craving for something new...', 'it's in her...', Wilson Pease diaries, 18 September 1898, D/GP/26, DRO.

'South African Colonisation Society...', Knightly, 'Emigration to South Africa'; Pease, 'Some Experiences of South Africa' and 'Experiences of an English Worker in South Africa'; K. Routledge, 'The Emigration of British Teachers'; Chilton, 'A New Class of Women for the Colonies'.

'She marveled at the wild expanse...', Pease, 'Some Experiences of South Africa', p. 97.

'whom she met in London in 1905...', Wilson Pease diaries, 'summer of 1905', D/GP/30, DRO.

'When he first arrived there in 1902...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. ix-xii. See also, Rogers, 'The British and the Kikuyu 1890-1905: A Reassessment'.

'an article about Kikuyu tribes...', Tate, 'Notes on the Kikuyu Tribe of British East Africa', and 'Further Notes on the Kikuyu Tribe of British East Africa'.

'he was elected Fellow...', see *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 34, p. vii.

'they would collect plant samples...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 343.

'six hundred white settlers', Tignor, 'The Colonial Transformation of Kenya', p.13.

'no civilization between us...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 340.

'a rich wife who wanted to travel', quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 54.

'black lines under the eyes', Wilson Pease diaries, 1 April 1906, D/GP/31, DRO.

'at last made up her mind...', Wilson Pease diaries, 9 May 1906, D/GP/31, DRO.

'the wedding...', Wilson Pease diaries, 24 and 28 July 1906, D/GP/31, DRO.

'practised putting up their tents...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, pp. 336-7.

'five day trek...', 'the homestead that greeted them', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, pp. 338-41.

'Even Nairobi...', see Riley 'Taking Land, Breaking Land', pp. 88-92, and Tignor 'The Colonial Transformation of Kenya', pp. 13-16.

'all selling a little of everything...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 336.

'no traces...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 340.

'there is a lion in the way...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 339.

'this gipsy outdoor life', 'There is plenty to do...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 343.

'the lives of the Kikuyu...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*.

'sensation of rest and space...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. xxi.

'I am so wretched...', 'Any husband...', quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 64.

'there is work which...', 'With a Prehistoric People' [book review], *The Guardian*, 7 July 1910.

'the lady anthropologist has this field...', R. R. Marett, 'With a Prehistoric People' [book review], *Somerville Students Association Annual Report*, 1910, p. 60, SCA.

'Only one wife...', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, pp. 133-34; see also a review of the book in the *Yorkshire Post*, 20 July 1910.

'incomparably easier', Routledge and Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, pp. 123.

'Her reports are probably...', book review by 'Y.Y.', *The Bookman*, August 1910.

'epistolary anthropology', the phrase was coined by G. W. Stocking: see his 'The Ethnographer's Magic', 1992; and *After Tylor*, 1995.

'intensive study', the phrase was used by the anthropologist A.C. Haddon in 'A plea for the investigation of biological and anthropological distributions in

Melanesia', 1906, but it quickly became common parlance. It was used, for example, by a reviewer of the Routledge's book in *Saturday Review*, 12 August 1910.

'[One or two academic reviews were critical...](#)', J. Roscoe, *Man*, Vol. 10, pp. 108-110; H. H. Johnston, *Nature*, Vol. 84, No. 2124, 14 July 1910; see also R. H. Lowie, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1911, pp. 130-135.

## **2. There Were No Women: The Oxford University Diploma in Anthropology, 1911**

'[misfortune to be born a woman...](#)', Wilson Pease diaries, 7 August 1892, D/GP/17, DRO.

'[Christmas fancy dress ball...](#)', Wilson Pease diaries, 14 January 1893, D/GP/18, DRO.

'[Katherine registered as a student...](#)', Register of Diploma Students, PRM. (A summary is available at

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/articles/article-index/341-oxford-diploma-students-1907-1920.html>)

'[on the Kent coast...](#)', see Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 82.

'[cramming purposes](#)', '[I hope you will face the music...](#)', Marett to Routledge, 7 June 1912, WSR 4/1/2, RGS.

'[a record number of women](#)', see listing of students at

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/articles/article-index/341-oxford-diploma-students-1907-1920.html>.

'[The men were almost all Oxford graduates](#)', see listing of students at

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/articles/article-index/341-oxford-diploma-students-1907-1920.html>

'[a cluster of diploma courses](#)', see Howarth "'In Oxford but...not of Oxford'", p. 298; Howarth "'Oxford for Arts'", pp. 474, 477, ; Howarth "The Self-Governing

University”, pp. 611-612; and Scargill “The R.G.S. and the Foundations of Geography at Oxford.”.

‘[Martha Fleming and Anna Fischer...](#)’, Register of Diploma Students, PRM.

‘[quite out of the ordinary](#)’, Marett to Penrose, 2 July 1912, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

‘[She is keen almost to a fault...](#)’, Marett, letter of reference, 17 June 1913, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

‘[her peers regarded her...](#)’, see letter from Anna Borenius to Helena Wayne, 16 September 1971, Malinowski papers, 37/17, LSE.

‘[throw her weight about](#)’, ‘[sat holding each others hands...](#)’, Borenius to Wayne, 16 September 1971, Malinowski papers, 37/17, LSE.

‘[This sex apartheid...](#)’, ‘[Fabian Society...](#)’, in Howarth 2000a, p. 276.

‘[Oxford and Cambridge do not generally...](#)’, quoted in Czaplicka and Collins, *The Collected Works of M.A. Czaplicka*, p.xiv.

‘[almost monastic](#)’, ‘[there were no women](#)’, Macmillan, ‘Oxford Remembered’, *The Times*, 18 October 1975.

‘[cloistral simplicity](#)’, a Somerville student quoted in *The Queen* in 1887, see Adams *Somerville for Women*, p.119.

‘[deeply attached to its standards of scholarship...](#)’, Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p.120.

‘[donated a mirror](#)’, Wilson Pease diaries, 12 September 1892, D/GP/18, DRO. Wilson wrote in his diary: ‘Katie has amused us considerably. It seems it is the custom for each student on leaving Somerville Hall to give some present to the foundation, books for the library etc. The worldly K has given hers before she leaves in order that she may have the use of it. It is a long looking glass, which she says the girls’ skirts need.’

‘[struggling to persuade Dorothy Sayers](#)’, Farnell, *A Somervillian Looks Back*, p. 13.

‘[I won’t, I won’t...](#)’, Farnell, *A Somervillian Looks Back*, p. 13.

'We have many privileges, but no rights', quoted in Adams, *Somerville for Women*, p. 116.

'There were nearly a hundred students at Somerville...', for college life see Adams, *Somerville for Women*.

'Swop got a first!', Wilson Pease diaries, 16 June 1893, D/GP/19, DR0. The Somerville archivist and I have tried to identify 'Swop' from amongst Katherine's peers but without success.

'a delightful inmate...entirely her own mistress for several years', MacTaggart to Penrose, 17 October 1911, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'a nice little story about the Polish lady', Sybil M. Ruegg diary, 17 November 1912, SCA.

'accustomed to different and more independent conditions...', Engel, "Immoral Intentions", p.103.

'I was impossibly overworked...', quoted in Kubica, "A Good Lady, Androgynous Angel, and Intrepid Woman", p. 149.

'only a woman can study the condition of women...', Marett, 'With a Prehistoric People' [book review], *Somerville Students Association Annual Report*, October 1910, p. 60, SCA.

'the mere male', Marett, "Presidential Address: Anthropology and University Education", p. 466.

'Myres regularly spoke in public', see notes and press clippings in MS. Myres 120, BL.

'an impressive proportion of females for a small subject', between 1905 and 1914 only 43 women in total had studied natural science courses – including physics, chemistry, zoology, physiology, botany, and geology – at Oxford. Arts subjects, however, particularly modern history and English, were popular with women who regularly outnumbered men on these courses. Evidence is limited for other diploma courses, but there seem to have been a relatively high proportion of women taking the geography diploma before the war: there were



fifteen men and seventeen women enrolled in 1909, and eighteen men and nineteen women in 1910. See Howarth, "Oxford for Arts", p. 463, and Scargill, "The R.G.S. and the Foundations of Geography at Oxford."

'One of Marett's students remembered...', Wallis, "Anthropology in England Early in the Present Century", p. 785.

'ardour', Marett, Somerville College Report for Maria Czaplicka, Hilary Term 1912, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'ingenious and systematic way', Marett to Penrose, 2 July 1912, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'Henry Balfour...who strode between the museum's display cases', Wallis, "Anthropology in England Early in the Present Century", p. 785. For Balfour, see Gosden and Larson, *Knowing Things*, pp. 82-90, 127-8, 132-6.

'This may seem simple to you now...' Wallis, "Anthropology in England Early in the Present Century", p. 786. In his Dictionary of National Biography entry for Thomson, T.B. Heaton remarked that his lectures were 'principally memorable for their magnificent ambidextrous blackboard illustrations'.

'the triumvirate', Beatrice Blackwood, 'R.R.M. as Anthropologist: a paper read to the Lankester Society at Exeter College on June 2nd, 1943', box 29, envelope 3c, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'the syllabus was astonishingly wide', see course syllabi and lecture lists, DC 1/2/3, OUA; also Gosden and Larson, *Knowing Things*, p. 125.

'she taught herself enough Greek in six weeks', Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 27.

'Myres encouraged her to study for the newly created diploma', see correspondence between Freire-Marreco and Myres during 1907, MS. Myres 16 (e.g. fols. 45, 49, 53), BL.

'the only one to achieve a distinction', see Student Register for the Diploma in Anthropology, 1907-1950, PRM. The other candidate in the summer term of 1908 was Francis Howe Seymour Knowles, who went on to work with Arthur

Thomson in the University Museum and then with Henry Balfour at the Pitt Rivers Museum.

'[The Self-Government of the Pueblo Indians...](#)', see Committee for Anthropology, 'Lectures and Other Instruction in Anthropology', Paper 72, Michaelmas Term 1911, DC 1/2/3, OUA.

'[a very dangerous division of labour](#)', 'it was not scientific in any strict sense', Freire-Marreco, 'Anthropology as a Science', p. 7.

'[Freire-Marreco had not planned to go abroad...](#)' Initially a classics student, Freire-Marreco's interests had morphed, under the guidance of John Myres, from the origins of Greek tragedy, to European folklore traditions, to the anthropology of political institutions. Her chosen topic was now, 'the nature and genesis of the authority of chiefs and kings in uncivilized society' (*The Sphere*, on 26 June 1909, noted that this was, 'not a light undertaking for a woman').

'[People have been telling me how wrong it would be...](#)', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 5 July 1909, MS Myres 16, fol. 82, BL.

'[with the encouragement of Haddon, Rivers and Myres](#)': W.H.R. Rivers offered Freire-Marreco general advice and introductions to his contacts in Fiji, but she decided not to study Polynesian society, perhaps because it was too far from home (see Blair, *A Life Well Led*, pp. 55-6 and p. 59). Haddon had supported her research from as early as 1908 (see Freire-Marreco to Myres, 9 September 1908, MS. Myres 16, fol. 70, BL). In late 1909, Haddon put her in touch with Laura Watson Benedict, an experienced anthropologist and graduate from the University of Chicago who lived in New York. Freire-Marreco stayed with Benedict when she arrived in New York and they discussed working together in New Mexico. This would have alleviated Freire-Marreco's parents' concerns for her safety in the field, but the plan proved too expensive (Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 26 June 1910 and 19 August 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA). On her way back to England in February 1911, Freire-Marreco wrote warmly to

Haddon and thanked him for the help he had given her (Freire-Marreco to Haddon, 28 February 1911, Haddon papers, envelope 24(i), CUL).

### **3. A Little More Like Savages: Barbara Freire-Marreco in New Mexico, 1910**

'It seems that this is one of the most difficult fields...', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 19 August 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'You should see the Indian workmen here in camp...', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 31 August 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 92, BL.

'always be in reach of "white people"', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 26 June 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA. She wrote that she must find a pueblo where she could 'be in reach of white people (as stipulated by family!).'

'There they are a little more like "savages"', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 19 August 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'Pueblo communities', for the history of New Mexico and its pueblos, and Edgar Hewett's influence, see Burke, *A Land Apart*, Tobias and Woodhouse, *Santa Fe*, Caffey, *Frank Springer and New Mexico*, Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*, Ebright, *Four Square Leagues*.

'just below the surface', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 31 August 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 92, BL.

'proud and secretive...', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 19 August 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'for some tourist', Barbara Aitken (née Freire-Marreco) to Pablita Velarde, 1952, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 86.

'really you never know what the pleasures of hospitality are...', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 16 September 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'endless needlework', '...next thing I know I shall be teaching Sunday School!', 'by sinking the ethnologist in the polite visitor', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 31 August 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 92, BL.

'she knew that *doing things with people*...', see Freire-Marreco, 'The Somervillian in New Mexico', *Somerville Students' Association Reports*, 1911, p. 51, SCA; and Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 19 August 1910 and 16 September 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

Santiago Naranjo, see Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*, p. 195; Blair, *A Life Well Led*, pp. 83-85; and Ebright, *Four Square Leagues*, p. 164.

'gave Freire-Marreco a lot of help learning Tewa', see Freire-Marreco, 'The Somervillian in New Mexico', *Somerville Students' Association Reports*, 1911, p. 51, SCA.

'Freire-Marreco had a love-hate relationship with Naranjo', see Freire-Marreco to Harrington, 19 June 1910 and 4 November 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM; and Freire-Marreco, 'The Somervillian in New Mexico', *Somerville Students' Association Reports*, 1911, p. 51, SCA.

'Though it is disappointing from the ethnologist's standpoint...', Freire-Marreco to John Harrington, 4 November 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'for if you ask another man, there is always a danger...', Freire-Marreco to John Harrington, 19 June 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'The effect was as if I had said that I was heir to a gold-mine', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 31 August 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 92, BL.

'a village fifty miles away where someone owned a single live bird', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 6 October 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 125, BL.

'She wrote to everyone she could think of...', see Freire-Marreco to Myres, 31 August 1910 and 6 October 1910, MS. Myres 16, BL; Freire-Marreco to F.W. Hodge, 24 September 1910 and F.W. Hodge to Freire-Marreco, December 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM; and Freire-Marreco, 'The Somervillian in New Mexico', *Somerville Students' Association Reports*, 1911, p. 54, SCA.

'that evening, on blankets around the fire', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 6 October 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 125, BL. She wrote: 'I wish you had seen us last night, sitting on blankets around the fire, gloating over a parcel of parrot feathers just received from the London Zoo – the firelight dancing on the plastered wall and on the Indians' warm human coloured faces...'

'I love the Santa Clara people...', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 19 August 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'the job that I am now making a failure of', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 6 October 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 125, BL.

'but I know I must go somewhere where publishable information can be got', Freire-Marreco to John Harrington, 4 November 1910, John P. Harrington papers, Smithsonian Institution, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 114.

'It is hard to think of them as material...', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 31 August 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 92, BL.

'I love the family too well...', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 6 October 1910, MS. Myres 16, fol. 125, BL.

'It has not made an anthropologist of me', Freire-Marreco to Haddon, 28 February 1911, Haddon papers, envelope 24(i), CUL.

'Real anthropologists get thro' twice as much...', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 1 January 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'They really did try to teach me to think Indian', Freire-Marreco to Haddon, 28 February 1911, Haddon papers, envelope 24(i), CUL.

'But O what a time I have had...', Freire-Marreco to 'Dear Somerville', 17 February 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'You have given me the time of my life!', Freire-Marreco to 'Dear Somerville', 17 February 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

#### **4. Miss C: Maria Czaplicka Plans an Expedition, 1913**

'In friendship she was loyal, candid, and delicately kind,' Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 62.

'infectious', 'unresting', Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 62.

'my people', see Freire-Marreco to Myres, 9 September 1907, MS. Myres 16, fol. 45, BL.

'Her mother had little money...', Kubica, *Maria Czaplicka: Płeć, Szamanizm, Rasa*, pp. 59-60.

'make progress in anthropology', 'like a native', Freire-Marreco to F.W. Hodge, 28 June 1912, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'He wrote back to say...', F.W. Hodge to Freire-Marreco, 9 July 1912, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM. This letter also contains copies of letters Hodge wrote to G.B. Gordon at the University of Pennsylvania Museum and C. Wissler at the American Museum of Natural History, dated 31 July 1912.

'Marett wrote to Emily Penrose at Somerville...', Marett to Penrose, 2 July 1912, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'alarmingly suggestive of a tiger about to spring', Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p. 121.

'it had only a hundred students, simply because it could not afford to expand', see Howarth, "'In Oxford but...not of Oxford'", p. 251.

'a small stipend of £30', Kubica, 'Maria Czaplicka and her Siberian Expedition', p. 18, n. 20.

'research student', see Czaplicka's curriculum vitae, dated 1919, file 692, box 52, folder 17, Czaplicka correspondence, AMNH.

'the Reid Trust', Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 60.

'if there is one that could find space', Chapman to Marett, 9 December 1913, OP200/10020, OUP.

'immediately asked Chapman to reconsider', Marett to Chapman, 27 December 1913, OP200/10020, OUP.

'check the lady's use of her authorities', Chapman to Hogarth, 8 January 1914, OP200/10020, OUP.

'with prejudice against her', 'of course, not literature, not even, if you like, a book', Hogarth to Chapman, 4 January 1914, OP200/10020, OUP.

'quite new', 'second-hand', Hogarth to Chapman, 4 January 1914, OP200/10020, OUP.

'it is still considered essential reading...', see Anderson, 'Collins, David (ed.) *The Collected Works of M.A. Czaplicka*' [book review], *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 83 No. 4, 2005, p. 766. (Anderson describes reading the book as a 'rite of passage' for 'any student of Siberia'.) See also Collins, 'Introduction', in *The Collected Works of M.A. Czaplicka*, pp. xii-xiii.

'Relatively little was known about the people...', See Collins, 'Introduction', in *The Collected Works of M.A. Czaplicka*, p. xiv.

'Henry Hall', for details of Hall's travels see his passport application, dated 25 May 1914, and paperwork relating to his naturalization as an American citizen (accessed via findmypast.com, May 2017); and for career information see Hall's undated introductory letter to Gordon, Gordon correspondence, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'Marett believed, mistakenly, that Hall was a professor of mathematics', Marett to Gordon, 16 October 1913, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'He told Hall to apply to...George B. Gordon', Hall to Gordon, no date [autumn 1913], OD 8/10 UPMAA.

'Gordon agreed to give Hall \$1500', Gordon to Hall, 6 April 1914, Letter Book 13, p.330, UPMAA.

'Miss C (who is fairly young and pretty)...', Marett to Gordon, 16 October 1913, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'Maud Haviland was an ornithologist...', see Palmer, 1943, 'Mrs Harold Hulme Brindley [obituary]' *The Auk*, vol 60. no. 1., pp. 133-4.

'most winning address', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 3.

'the life of the party', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 3.

'A better comrade for such a journey...', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 3.

'a most helpful member of the team', Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA. She wrote, 'Miss Curtis has been one of the most helpful members of the party...Miss Haviland has given her time entirely to birds and I believe has made a very good collection.'

'two additional men were originally included in the team', Hall, 'Exploring Unknown Wilds of Siberia', *The Philadelphia Record*, 26 March 1916, (included in Czaplicka's album of press cuttings at UMPAA). Also, Czaplicka to the Honorary Secretary of the Mary Ewart Trustees, 9 May 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'two scientific societies in Moscow', Czaplicka to the Honorary Secretary of the Mary Ewart Trustees, 9 May 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'he had successfully raised nearly £200 for...Diamond Jenness', Marett's letters and printed appeals, DC 1/3/1, OUA. See also Vider, *Marginal Anthropology?*, p. 162.

'the cause of the education of women' Marett to Penrose, 1 September 1912, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'appealed to her alma mater again', Czaplicka to the Honorary Secretary of the Mary Ewart Trustees, 9 May 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'met informally on 18 May, and agreed to grant Czaplicka £200', Mary Ewart Trust Minute Book, 4 June 1914, p. 22, SCA.

'Charlotte Green took it upon herself to personally advance', Mary Ewart Trust Minute Book, 4 June 1914, p. 22, SCA.

'on the boat train from Charing Cross...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 7.



'unspeakably tedious', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 6.

'surely the dustiest town in the world', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 15.

'crawling downstream', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 20.

'It was as if for every day, spring was retarded for one week', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 45.

'talent for strange tongues', Czaplicka to Penrose, 3 July 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'nothing but English', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 9.

'a group of *suffragettski*', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 4, see also p. 32; and Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 34, see also p. 4.

'the boy...the writing woman...the healing woman...the man', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 35.

'the only "mere man" of the party', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 7.

## **5. The Threshold of Infinite Space: Maria Czaplicka in Siberia, 1914**

'Maria and her team were lost in a storm', the description that follows is from Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 119-30.

'with a maddening hail of pin-pricks', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 119.

'Maria was lying in furs', the description of their clothes is from Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 27-34.

'heavy, clumsy, of a particularly evil odour...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 24.

'distract my mind from the struggle...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 119.

'It seemed that the wind blew them flat', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 120.

'accustomed to put unhesitating confidence in our tundra pilots', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 121.

'modelled on those used by Scott in the Antarctic', 'Lady Leader of Scientists', *The Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1914 (included in Czaplicka's album of press cuttings at UMPAA).

'so indecent, so paltry...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 122.

'Happy thought!', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 123.

'I became obsessed with the thought of the warm, reeking flesh...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 125.

'What about the reindeer?...all my thoughts were absorbed...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 126-7.

'a ghastly study in red and yellow...drip with gore', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 128.

'Maria's hosts were astonished by her arrival': their observations are recorded in Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 64-66, and 90-1.

'under difficulties which the skill and resourcefulness...', Hall to Gordon, 6 July 1915, Gordon correspondence, OD 8/10, UPMMA.

'the most difficult ground in the world', 'I have known her walk thirty five versta...', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'the women had woken to find cockroaches...', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, pp. 68-9.

'forgot the world was round...' Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 48.

'veiling her cruelties...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 50.

'Czaplicka became alarmingly ill', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'night and day', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'the boat at last reached a settlement substantial enough...', Haviland wrote that the doctor came on board at Monastir on 15 June, a week after their 8 June departure from Krasnoyarsk, see *A Summer on the Yenesei*, pp. 29-30. Curtis, however, remembered that they spent two weeks looking after Czaplicka on

board before reaching a doctor, see Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[The doctor was reassuring...](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA. Haviland wrote that Czaplicka's illness had taken a turn for the better that day in *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 30.

'[She occasionally had pains again...](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[practical matters](#)', '[I wish you would not be disappointed with me...](#)', Czaplicka to Penrose, 10 June 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[local Titan](#)', Czaplicka to Penrose, 3 July 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[The boat, carrying seven people, was sitting low in the water...](#)', for descriptions of the episode, see Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA; Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, pp. 85-89; and Czaplicka to Penrose, 3 July 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[She was so violently sick...](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[halcyon evening](#)', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 88.

'[to endure more than a normally strung person](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[The four companions spent their last afternoon together...](#)', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 283; see also Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 198.

'[Confused reports of war had reached them on the 26th...](#)', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, pp. 259-60.

'[We could only stare at each other helplessly...](#)', Haviland, *A Summer on the Yenesei*, p. 260.

'[The first letters Czaplicka received from England...](#)', Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[Maria worried for Poland and her family](#)', Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[She considered returning home](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[I find the anxiety and uncertainty almost unbearable](#)', Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[I do not look upon him as a capable person...](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[worried that she would neither eat properly nor rest regularly](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA. Curtis wrote: 'If I could have stayed with her I could have seen she had regular and, as far as possible, good meals, went to rest at a reasonable time, and harboured her strength.'

'[to buy the proper fur garments necessary](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[terrified to think that I may find myself without money](#)', Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[The banks in Siberia had been failing](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 22 October 1914 and 24 October 1914; Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914; and Dawson to Penrose, 22 October 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[Penrose successfully transferred £50 to Maria](#)', Penrose to Russian Bank for Foreign Trade, London, 30 October 1914 (Czaplicka wired receipt on 5 November 1914), Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'[thoroughly immoral old rascal](#)', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 75.

'[my Tungus woman](#)', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 64, 65, 74, 183.

'[my dame de compaignie](#)', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 23, 74, 107, 120, 175.

'[the real Tungus](#)', Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, SCA.

'[column of sparks rising into the sky](#)', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 60.

'[Czaplicka often found herself answering more questions than she asked...](#)', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 64-66, and 90-1.

'[widely separated tundras](#)', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 65.

'Her lack of children was a constant talking point', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 91-2.

'modelled on the one used by Captain Scott at the South Pole', Kubica, 'Maria Czaplicka and her Siberian Expedition, 1914-1915', p. 7.

'safe and well though it was a hard trip...', Czaplicka to Penrose, 2 April 1915, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'capacity for thorough-paced double-dealing', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 74.

'Michikha was plotting against her', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 76.

'The baskets are half-filled with straw', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 234.

'found it hard to stand the heat', Czaplicka to Penrose, 23 June 1915, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'Dens...Hunta...Bokkobushka...Chunga...'A' and 'K'', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 40, 70-82, 197-201, 213-224, 273.

'gamblers, drunkards, thieves, and degenerates', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 252.

'destitute and infirm', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 254.

'As I review my mental portrait gallery of native friends...', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 70.

'voluntary exile', Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 4.

## **6. The Riddle of the Pacific: Katherine Routledge Sails to Easter Island, 1913**

'epoch-making', see Joyce to Scoresby Routledge, 19 July 1910, WSR 4/1/2, RGS.

'you would do more with a spoon...', Joyce to Scoresby Routledge, 19 July 1910, WSR 4/1/2, RGS.

'wretched', see for example Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, p. 335, 342; Corney, *The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe González*, pp. 96-7; Casey, *Easter Island*, p. 23, 231, 251.

'incurable thieves', *Daily Mail*, 'Easter Island', 11 April 1898, p. 7.

'Visitors speculated...', see, for example, 'Mysterious Statues', *Daily Mail*, 20 September 1906; 'Easter Island', *Daily Mail*, 11 April 1898; 'Island of Giant Statues', *Daily Mail*, 3 June 1912; 'Easter Island', *The Times*, 25 December 1912.

'kohau rongorongo...', see *The Times*, 'Easter Island', 25 December 1912; Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 74.

'Mana was built...', see Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, pp.4-6; Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 82.

'Never was a boat equipped...', Crawford to his family, no date, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'very handy', Crawford to his family, no date, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'six professional sailors...', see Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 9, and Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 86.

'utter absence of any courtesy...', Crawford to his family, Cape Verde, 18 May 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'to being sent ashore with a list of things...', Crawford to his family, Las Palmas, 5 May 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'a cook's boy...', Crawford's explanatory note, added 31 September 1952, accompanying ripped-up accounts of expenditure from Las Palmas, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'I hope we shall get along...', Crawford to his family, Las Palmas, 5 May 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'purser...£100 contribution...', see Crawford's 'Notes on Letter Writers', 1952, O.G.S. Crawford papers, box 6, BL. See also, Scoresby Routledge to Crawford, 29 November 1911, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL; and Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 90.

'She had hoped to employ a steward...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, pp. 20-21. See also Green to Crawford, Buenos Aires, 19 August 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'great fun', 'With anyone but the Routledges...', Crawford's 'Notes on Letter Writers', 1952, O.G.S. Crawford papers, box 6, BL.

'Crawford was on night watch...', Crawford's 'Notes on Letter Writers', 1952, O.G.S. Crawford papers, box 6, BL.

'a prepared sermon...', 'words which were...', 'sulking', Crawford's 'Notes on Letter Writers', 1952, O.G.S. Crawford papers, box 6, BL.

'There is not a soul on board...', Crawford to his family, 18 May 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'the Routledges' entire crew had deserted them...', Katherine Routledge to Crawford, 17 December 1912, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'the obvious incompatibility of temperament...', Worthington to Crawford, 19 March 1912, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'promptly sued him for breach of contract...', Worthington to Crawford, 29 March 1912, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL. See also Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 83 and notes p. 277.

'a steward deserted in Buenos Aires; another steward...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, pp. 62, 74; Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, pp. 101-102.

'Stewards worked a long day...', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 88.

'The stories of their habitual disrespect...', 'or we should not have seen a crumb of it', Green to Crawford, 19 August 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'a separate saloon...', Scoresby Routledge to Crawford, 29 November 1911, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL; see also Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 5.

'When Scoresby decided to ration the water...', Green to Crawford, 19 August 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL. See also, Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p.117. Green states that Katherine's water ration 'averaged treble the

proper amount'; while Katherine remembered she was given double for her duties as stewardess.

'She wanted the men to tidy up the boat...', 'pretty', Green to Crawford, 19 August 1913, O.G.S. Crawford papers, BL.

'the stewardess', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. x, and, for example, pp. 9, 20, 41, 50, 74, 75, 100.

'as a cook he held a superior position...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 75.

'It has been made painfully clear to me...', quoted in Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 50.

'the dominant partner in the marriage...', Crawford, 'Notes on Letter Writers', 1952, O.G.S. Crawford papers, box 6, BL. Crawford thought Scoresby Routledge 'a boy-scout who didn't grow up and had too much money'.

'Lightning Willie', 'wasters', 'his morning's work was a very serious offence...', Green to Crawford, 19 August 1913, Crawford papers, BL.

'an article in the *Buenos Aires Herald*...', see Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 100, and notes p. 281.

'Master' of the *Mana*...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 9, and Crawford, 'Notes on Letter Writers', 1952, Crawford papers, box 6, BL.

'Floating Hell', Green to Crawford, 19 August 1913, Crawford papers, BL.

'One of the company declared he had lost all sense of time...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 68.

'Progress has been slower than a snail's funeral...', quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 104.

'I was out certainly for fresh experiences...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 108.

'mad to continue...', When Corry left the boat, Katherine became concerned for the expedition's future. Corry, a geologist, would have helped develop her research on the island, and his friendly personality had been a boost to the



crew's morale. She wrote an anxious letter to Marett in Oxford explaining that they 'urgently' needed a replacement for Corry who could undertake scientific work. But they were in Chile and it was too late for replacements. Before posting the letter, Katherine added a more realistic note acknowledging that there was not enough time for someone new to join them. She resigned herself to doing the academic work alone: 'we shall probably have to do the best we can but are loath to cut ourselves quite loose,' she wrote. Routledge to Marett, 27 February 1914, DC1/4, OUA.

'gazed in almost awed silence', 'the whole looked an alarmingly big land...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 124.

## **7. Before There Is Bloodshed: Katherine Routledge on Easter Island, 1914**

'a group of rowing-boats filled with people came alongside...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 125.

'pilfered every loose article...', Scoresby Routledge to the Comandante of the *Jeneral Baquedano*, 12 August 1914, WSR 4/10, RGS.

'the visitors were greeted by Percy Edmunds...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 125.

'Edmunds regaled them with dramatic stories...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 125-8.

'of events one hardly thought existed outside magazines...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 125.

'The people of Rapa Nui had suffered decades of misfortune...', see Fischer, *Island at the End of the World*, also Hunt and Lipo, *The Statues that Walked*, pp. 165-72; Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, pp. 77-9.

'gathered together in order to secure the safety of the livestock...', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 125.

'two hundred and fifty residents', Routledge, *Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 125.

'They lived in huts...', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 118; see also for example Fischer, *Island at the End of the World*, pp. 162-4; Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 141.

'Countless sacks and crates of food...', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 116.

'almost immediately the stores were broken into...', Scoresby Routledge to the Comandante of the *Jeneral Baquedano*, 12 August 1914, WSR 4/10, RGS.

'The Routledges were irate,' Scoresby Routledge to the Comandante of the *Jeneral Baquedano*, 12 August 1914, WSR 4/10, RGS.

'Scoresby often worked alone', it is clear from Katherine's field journal that the Routledges usually worked separately, WSR 4/9, RGS. See Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 125.

'They started removing small carved stone figures...', The Routledge collections from Easter Island are now held at the British Museum and at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford.

'On 30 June, Edmunds was sitting on his veranda...', Katherine described the events of the next few weeks in *The Mystery of Easter Island*, pp. 141-9. See also her field journal, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'a distinctly attractive and magnetic personality', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 145.

'took this possession of ours...', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 142.

'prepared to shoot say 10 men', Katherine Routledge field journal, 1 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'Most distressed as particularly wanted to establish friendly relations', Katherine Routledge field journal, 1 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'very nice', Katherine Routledge field journal, 19 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'Dreadful so restless', 'It feels for the first time really lonely...', Katherine Routledge field journal, 18 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'Two weeks earlier a passing ship had left them newspapers...', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 144.

'laughed the suggestion out of court', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 144.

'This is a matter requiring tact', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 144.

'face hardened', Katherine Routledge field journal, 20 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS; Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 145.

'We parted the best of friends but having accomplished nothing', Katherine Routledge field journal, 20 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS; Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 145.

'the redoubtable Bailey', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 146.

'discharge the obligation as far as possible', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 146.

'for anything she happened to want', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 147.

'much anxious thought', Katherine Routledge field journal, 19 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'We will probably shoot a boy in a raid...', Katherine Routledge field journal, 28 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'We can only hope and pray and watch daily...' Katherine Routledge field journal, 19 July 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'talked themselves silly', Katherine Routledge field journal, 5 August 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'Of course if it were a stage play...', Katherine Routledge field journal, 5 August 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'Ship! Ship!', Katherine Routledge field journal, 6 August 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS; Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 147.

'I almost broke down with pure joy and relief', Katherine Routledge field journal, 6 August 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'behaved very well not to murder Mr Edmunds', Katherine Routledge field journal, 7 August 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS.

'more feeling against foreigners', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, pp. 148-9; and see Scoresby Routledge to the Comandante of the *Jeneral Baquedano*, 12 August 1914, WSR 4/10, RGS. (See also Scoresby Routledge to *The Times*, WSR 4/13, RGS.)

'They wrote a four-page account of their position', Scoresby Routledge to the Comandante of the *Jeneral Baquedano*, 12 August 1914, WSR 4/10, RGS.

'of a most serious character', Scoresby Routledge to the Comandante of the *Jeneral Baquedano*, 12 August 1914, WSR 4/10, RGS. Katherine added this line to Scoresby's letter in her own hand.

'Their general morality, using the word in its limited sense...', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 140.

'The marvel is not that the Kanakas are troublesome...', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 141.

'my grown-up children', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 160.

'any quantity of mutton', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 151.

'maid servant', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 151.

'singled out Juan Tepano as a focus for their grievances', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 162.

'Tepano and Katherine spent more time together', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 165; see also Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 214.

'elaborate essays on the subject of stone chisels', Katherine Routledge to family and friends, 4 April 1915, WSR/4/10/34, RGS.

'looking for lava tube caves...', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 125 and p. 171.

'every day was prized which the yacht delayed her return', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 161.

'not becoming very anxious', quoted in Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 161.

'the futility of worrying was obvious', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 154.

'she noted the arrival of the *Mana* in her diary...', Katherine Routledge field journal, 15 March 1914, WSR 4/9, RGS. See also Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 179.

'dreams of beauty', Katherine Routledge to family and friends, 4 April 1915, WSR/4/10/34, RGS.

'leaving this stillness for the bustle of life', 'I simply daren't think of it', Katherine Routledge to family and friends, 4 April 1915, WSR/4/10/34, RGS.

'they picked up a year's worth of letters...in two large sacks...', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 190; and Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 317.

'Believe K. Pease is gone', see also Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 317 footnote.

'forever tainted her memory of Tahiti', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 317.

'lonely and in sorrow', quoted in Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'very sad to know how improbable it is...', Katherine Routledge to family and friends, 4 April 1915, WSR/4/10/34, RGS.

'very round and short lady', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'Poor Katherine was always very near to tears', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'finds luxury in self pity', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'furious', 'nice proprietor', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'love, joy, peace...She is...so sure she knows what is just and right...', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

## **8. A Woman Has No Stuff in Her: Oxford at War, 1914–1918**

'most interesting', Wilson Pease diaries, 6 July 1917, D/GP/52, DRO.

'state of nerves', Wilson Pease diaries, 2 June 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'brazen callousness', Wilson Pease diaries, 6 July 1917, D/GP/52, DRO.

'Just fifteen per cent of the undergraduate population remained...', Graham, *Oxford in the Great War*, p. 56.

'incessant drilling and bugling', Graham, *Oxford in the Great War*, p. 56.

'the entire assistant staff now consists of lady teachers', Graham, *Oxford in the Great War*, p. 64.

'her job was created when Leonard Buxton...left to fight in France', Czaplicka and Buxton both worked as assistants to Arthur Thomson in the Human Anatomy department. Czaplicka does not seem to have *officially* replaced Buxton, since Marett (under the auspices of the Committee for Anthropology) lobbied the Mary Ewart Trustees at Somerville to support her post on the basis that she would lecture to women students. However, Marett wrote in 1919 that, 'at the end of 1915, the School [of Anthropology] was without a lecturer in Ethnology, owing to the absence of the University lecturer, Mr. Buxton, on war-service. Miss Czaplicka, fortunately for us, was able to fill the gap, and for the last three years has during each academic term lectured to our students on ethnological subjects' (file 692, box 52, folder 17, Czaplicka correspondence, AMNH). So Czaplicka was *de facto* a replacement for Buxton, and in a letter to Franz Boas, dated 21 March 1919, she herself wrote: 'The lectures on general Ethnology which I have been giving in this University in the absence of my man-

colleagues will end next summer (1919)...’ (Boas papers, APS). The details of Czaplicka’s own position are as follows: On 29 April 1916, the Mary Ewart Trustees decided to allot £60 for the provision of lectures during the academic year 1916-17; and on 20 June 1916, ‘The Trustees heard from Dr Marett that the Committee for Anthropology would be glad to ask Miss Czaplicka to lecture for them to 7 or 8 women students whom they expected to have next term and the two following terms,’ and the Trustees agreed to pay her £20 a term for three terms. See Mary Ewart Trust minute book, SCA; and also, Committee for Anthropology, Paper 120, DC 1/2/3, OUA. Brasenose College later contributed £100 to support Czaplicka’s lectureship for the year 1918-1919, see Thomson to William Gamlen (Secretary of the University Chest), 20 February 1918, Letters of Arthur Thomson, Human Anatomy Department papers, HA 105/3, OUA.

‘[Ethnology \(Europe and Asia\)](#)’, *Oxford University Gazette*, 12 October 1916 (included in Czaplicka’s album of press cuttings at UMPAA).

‘[According to the terms of the general’s gift](#)’, Larson, ‘Anthropological Landscaping’, pp. 88, 92-3.

‘[watchful for confusion among the specimens](#)’, ‘[Oh, Edward dear...](#)’, Myres, *Anthropology at Oxford: the proceedings of the five-hundredth meeting of the Oxford University Anthropological Society*, February 25th, 1953.

‘[as many as thirty women are recorded as having worked at the museum](#)’, Howarth, “Oxford for Arts”, p. 469.

‘[Mary Porter](#)’, Howarth, “Oxford for Arts”, p. 469; Haines, *International Women in Science*, p. 253; Ogilvie, *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science*, p. 1043.

‘[Igernia and Hertha Sollas](#)’, Howarth, “Oxford for Arts”, pp. 469-70; Ogilvie, *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science*, p. 1212.

‘[Florence Buchanan](#)’, Howarth, “Oxford for Arts”, p. 470; Ogilvie, *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science*, p. 200.

'Freire-Marreco, who had catalogued a collection...', see 'Report of the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, 1909', available online at

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/museum-annual-reports.html>

'when her father, a vicar, died suddenly...', see Chapter 9 of *Undreamed Shores* for Winifred Blackman's story.

'he was able to secure £20 from the University Museum's budget', Agenda for the Meeting of 3 May 1913 at 4pm, Minute books of the Delegates of the University Museum, MU 1/2/8, OUA (see also further meeting minutes in this file). Blackman family correspondence, e.g. Elsie ('Airsey') to Aylward ('Ned'), 22 October 1913; Winifred to Aylward, 30 October 1913; Mother to Aylward, 5 November 1913; Winifred to Aylward, 16 November 1913; D84/1/22 and D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'in the summer of 1915 she was awarded her diploma', Register of Diploma Students, PRM. (A summary is available at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/articles/article-index/341-oxford-diploma-students-1907-1920.html>)

'extreme accuracy and grasp of fact', Marett, letter of reference for Miss Blackman, no date, A5/8, FC 12/4, GMA.

'proved as energetic and capable...', Marett, letter of reference for Miss Blackman, 21 September 1933, D.84/1/35, LUSCA.

'I avoided Alice in the anatomy school...', Ryan, 'The Development of Dermatology in the Oxford Region', available online at [www.bad.org.uk](http://www.bad.org.uk).

'Mr Smith, your ignorance does you great credit', Cooke, *My First 75 Years of Medicine*, p. 7.

'Arthur Thomson had insisted on a separate dissecting room...', see Minutes for the meetings of 13 June 1916 and 27 October 1917, Minute Books of the Delegates of the University Museum, MU 1/2/8, OUA; Somerville College Log Book volume 2, Easter and Trinity Term 1917, SCA; Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p. 149; Cooke, *My First 75 Years of Medicine*, p. 7.



'the museum had been commandeered by the War Office', these developments are chronicled in the Minute Books of the Delegates of the University Museum, 1914-19, MU 1/2/8, OUA.

'for the erection of aeroplanes', Minutes for the Meeting of 24 March 1916, Minute Books of the Delegates of the University Museum, 1914-19, MU 1/2/8, OUA.

'welding shop', Minutes for the Meeting of 3 February 1917, Minute Books of the Delegates of the University Museum, 1914-19, MU 1/2/8, OUA.

'She even thought about serving at the front lines', Czaplicka to Penrose, 22 June 1915; see also Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'the War Trade Intelligence Department', Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 61. Helena Deneke remembered being recruited by Davis in her diary, *What I Remember*, (vol. 3., p. 165, MPP 3 A 1/3, LMH): 'One small piece of vacation work was especially interesting. H.W.C. Davis, Historian at Balliol, asked M.G. Skipworth and me to help in correcting a register for the War Trade Intelligence Department...We crept every night into the Department's office in Westminster after it had been closed and in the dark. Soon the edge of our shaded lamp showed ghostly figures of charwomen pursuing their nightly avocations like witches, in strange movements and raucous whispers.'

'a considerable burden of confidential work...', Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 61.

'She also spoke publicly in support of Polish nationalism...', see Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'In all her history, Poland never suffered such wounds...', 'An Unhappy People: Polish Lady Appeals to Sheffield Audience', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 18 February 1916, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'a few hours', 'I never knew Warsaw to be so quiet...', 'A Woman's Travels To Warsaw From The Yenisei', *The Times*, 8 September 1915, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'she managed to get out only with the help of an American journalist...', 'A Woman's Travels To Warsaw From The Yenisei', *The Times*, 8 September 1915, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'Her father, who had been a stationmaster', Kubica, *Maria Czaplicka: Płec, Szamanizm, Rasa*, pp. 59-60; Kubica, 'Maria Czaplicka and Her Siberian Expedition', p. 3; Kubica, 'A Good Lady, Androgynous Angel, and Intrepid Woman', p. 147.

'Maria referred to her mother's ambivalence about her chosen career', Kubica, *Maria Czaplicka: Płec, Szamanizm, Rasa*, pp. 59-60.

'almost unbearable', Czaplicka to Penrose, 6 September 1914, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'she had relatives, including her sister, serving on the Russian front lines', 'A Woman Traveller in Siberia', *Daily News*, 18 July 1916, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'as long as the war lasts...', 'A Woman Traveller in Siberia', *Daily News*, 18 July 1916, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'complete friendliness and fellowship', Helena Clara Deneke memoirs, *What I Remember*, vol. 3., p. 155, MPP 3 A 1/3, LMH.

'slight and graceful...', Helena Clara Deneke memoirs, *What I Remember*, vol. 3., p. 148, MPP 3 A 1/3, LMH.

'Unbeknown to Czaplicka, the cost of her room and board...', Helena Clara Deneke memoirs, *What I Remember*, vol. 3., p. 148, MPP 3 A 1/3, LMH.

'The tutors at LMH shared additional wartime duties...', Helena Clara Deneke memoirs, *What I Remember*, vol. 3., pp. 164-6, MPP 3 A 1/3, LMH. See also Helena's sister's diary: Margaret Deneke diary, Deneke [uncat.] 'War 1914-1918 MD', BL.

'[except afternoon tea](#)', Margaret Deneke diary, 21 January 1918, Deneke [uncat.] 'War 1914-1918 MD', BL.

'[help feed the students in Michaelmas term](#)', Margaret Deneke diary, 25 March 1918, Deneke [uncat.] 'War 1914-1918 MD', BL.

'[I'll think twice before I say again a woman has no stuff in her](#)', Margaret Deneke diary, 16 March 1918, Deneke [uncat.] 'War 1914-1918 MD', BL.

'[a party of Oxford women](#)', 'A Woman Traveller in Siberia', *Daily News*, 18 July 1916, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'[I do not believe that Englishwomen realise...](#)', 'Back to the land for beauty', *Weekly Dispatch*, 22 October 1916, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'[a foot or so deep in hardened muck](#)', Helena Clara Deneke memoirs, *What I Remember*, vol. 3., p. 164, MPP 3 A 1/3, LMH.

'[she confided to friends that she was struggling to write up](#)', see Beatrice Blackwood to Antoni Kuczynskiy, 15 March 1971, box 43, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM. Blackwood remembered meeting Czaplicka in 1916: 'In course of conversation I learned that she was having difficulty in preparing her material for publication. I offered to help...'

'[they met in London to organize Maria's field notes...](#)', Beatrice Blackwood to Antoni Kuczynskiy, 15 March 1971, box 43, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[more than willing](#)', Beatrice Blackwood to Antoni Kuczynskiy, 15 March 1971, box 43, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[some of her lecture notes survive](#)', 'Lectures and Notes – Asiatic Polar Regions, Inuit', box 20, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[Ethnological work for Miss Czaplicka](#)', Somerville College Log Book volume 2, Easter and Trinity Term 1917, SCA. The description is given in the Log Book under the heading 'Appointments': 'B.M. Blackwood – Ethnological work for Miss Czaplicka'.

'It is really splendid – much better as a Hospital...', Brittain, *A Chronicle of Youth: Vera Brittain's Great War Diary 1913-1917*, p. 221 (diary entry for 15 June 1915).

'the immense progress in the way in which women students are regarded', Brittain, *A Chronicle of Youth: Vera Brittain's Great War Diary 1913-1917*, p. 194 (diary entry for 25 April 1915).

'They ate in a small, dark oak-panelled dining-room...', Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p. 139; and Adams, *Somerville for Women*, pp. 91-97.

'She intimated that people were vaguely expecting...', quoted in Adams, *Somerville for Women*, p. 91.

'to make sure that it would be all right for the men to follow', handwritten notes on Blackwood's curriculum vitae (probably by T.K. Penniman), Blackwood papers, SCA; Penniman, "Beatrice Mary Blackwood, 1889-1975", p. 321.

'started working for him at the museum in her spare time...', Human Anatomy Department 1916-1922, Account Book, HA 66/3, OUA.

'she got a distinction in her diploma', Beatrice Blackwood curriculum vitae, Blackwood papers, SCA.

'In the autumn of 1920 Thomson gave her a full-time job', see Human Anatomy Department 1916-1922, Account Book, HA 66/3, OUA, which includes a clipping from the *Oxford University Gazette*, 1 December 1920, announcing the stipend for a female demonstrator in human anatomy for Michaelmas Term 1920. Thomson had effectively been paying Blackwood a monthly salary since the autumn of 1918, for which he received 'Repayment by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research' according to his accounts, but Blackwood did not have an official position until 1920. Her pay was restructured in October 1920 in accordance with the new University funds. (Alice Chance had been on the department's payroll as a demonstrator since 1917.) Blackwood was listed as demonstrator in the department's Annual Report for 1921.

[‘Thomson’s and Balfour’s male assistants left to serve’](#), [‘severely hampered’](#), ‘Report of the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, 1918’, available online at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/museum-annual-reports.html>. Lists of Museum staff absent on military service are included in the Annual Reports of the Delegates of the University Museum. Leonard Buxton, one of Thomson’s demonstrators, served in France from 1914-1918. Balfour himself had a ‘roving commission’ with the Red Cross in France during 1918 (see Balfour to Spencer, 4 August 1920, Balfour papers, PRM).

## **9. Lifted above Myself: Winifred Blackman Moves to Oxford, 1913**

[‘Winifred Blackman received the telegram’](#), Winifred to Aylward, 28 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA. Other letters in this folder and D84/1/22 refer to Winifred routinely traveling to and from Oxford by train.

[‘I shall never forget that awful journey home’](#), Winifred to Aylward, 6 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

[‘beauty and absolute peace’](#), [‘no darkness of farewell’](#), [‘I feel so lifted above myself...’](#), Winifred to Aylward, 28 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

[‘in debt, with only his life insurance...’](#), Winifred to Aylward, 28 October 1913 and 6 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA. Mother to Aylward, 2 November 1913 and 5 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA. Aylward Blackman to Mother, 29 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA. Flora to Aylward, 15 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA. The Rev. Blackman had bequeathed each of his daughters £50, which they put towards housekeeping expenses and paying bills. The Blackmans sold some of their furniture, while their parishioners gave subscriptions to pay off the outstanding debt on the Parish, promising to give any surplus Mrs Blackman, although its not clear whether there was any surplus.

[‘keep it going’](#), Winifred to Aylward, 28 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'an encouraging letter from Marett about the job', Winifred to Aylward, 30 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'like the triumphal progress of a hero', Winifred to Aylward, 30 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'dear saint', 'from those who loved and revered him...', 'all coming without being asked', Mother to Aylward, 30 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'of course the house will be yours as well as ours', Mother to Aylward, 2 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'the girls', 'I am the responsible person now', 'eventually', Aylward to Mother, 29 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'We must discuss money matters...', Winifred to Aylward, 6 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'had better be taken in my name...', Aylward to Mother, 10 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'It would let both me and Mother down...', Aylward to Elsie, 15 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'dear girl do whatever you think right', Aylward to Winifred, 14/15 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'I must do all I can to keep Winnie at Oxford...', Aylward to Mother, 29 October 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'How I do love my life here...', Winifred to Aylward, 23 February 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'Henry Balfour and his wife were unendingly kind...', Winifred to Aylward, 23 February 1913, D84/1/29; see also Elsie to Aylward, 28 January 1913, D84/1/22, LUSCA.

'amiability itself', Winifred to Aylward, 23 February 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'it would be more useful than a dress', Winifred to Elsie and Flora, 11 November 1900, D84/1/16, LUSCA.

'bought himself an Egyptian sarcophagus', 'Why, it's laughing, Miss!', Winifred to Elsie and Flora, 20 December 1900, D84/1/16, LUSCA.

'I only hope the description of everything doesn't jar...', Aylward to his sisters, undated, D84/1/22, LUSCA.

'How I should love to have you with me...', Aylward to Winifred, 21 April 1906, D84/1/22, LUSCA.

'Aylward introduced Winifred to his Oxford tutor, Francis Llewellyn Griffith...', see Agnes Griffith to Aylward, 6 January 1906; Aylward to Winifred, 21 April 1906; Elsie to Aylward, 23 November 1906; Winifred to Aylward, 7 December 1906 (in which Winifred shares her delight at having two dresses made, one for the evening and one for the afternoon, for her next stay with the Griffiths); Barham to Aylward, 9 December 1906 (in which Barham is amused by Winifred's 'great state of excitement at the idea of going to the Griffiths'); Elsie to Aylward, 16 December 1906 (in which Elsie says Winifred's stay with the Griffiths will 'do her no end of good'); Mother to Aylward, 20 December 1906 (in which Mother assures Aylward that Winifred's evening dresses are 'really lovely' and even he 'would be quite satisfied with them'); and Mother to Aylward, 28 December 1906, D84/1/22, LUSCA. The friendship lasted for many years, see for example, Aylward to Mother, 17 March 1910, D84/1/26, LUSCA.

'she read avidly about Egypt', Aylward to Winifred, 17 January 1910; Aylward to Elsie and Winifred, 2 February 1910; Winifred to Aylward, 11 April 1910, D84/1/26, LUSCA.

'How I envy you!', Winifred to Aylward, 7 December 1906, D84/1/22, LUSCA.

'attacks', Winifred to Aylward, 28 March 1912, D84/1/28, LUSCA.

'Don't let her despair about Egypt', Aylward to Mother, 23 April 1910, D84/1/26, LUSCA.

'What is the matter with her?', Aylward to Mother, 14 April 1910, D84/1/26, LUSCA.

'great grief', Aylward to Mother, 27 October 1910, D84/1/26, LUSCA.

'I hope I may be able to let Win have her wish...', Father to Flora, 20 June 1912, D84/1/28, LUSCA.

'Winifred worried that she would have to give Oxford up', Winifred to Aylward, 6 April 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'Balfour had guaranteed a long-term position...', Winifred to Aylward, 16 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'They took a house in North Oxford', the address was Elm Dene, 348 Banbury Road, Oxford.

'We shall never wish our house to be looked upon as a lodging house...', Mother to Aylward, 2 November 1913, D84/1/29.

'they set about moving into their new house', Mother to Aylward, 21 December 1913, 25 December 1913 and 28 December 1913; Elsie to Aylward, 25 December 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'all the Egyptian things', Mother to Aylward, 21 December 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'in a great muddle', Mother to Aylward, 25 December 1913 and 30 December 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'that going backwards and forwards won't be too much for her', Elsie to Aylward, no date, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

## **10. A Different Woman: Winifred Blackman in Egypt, 1920**

'Well, here we are, most comfortable...', 'willing attention', Winifred to Elsie, 25 December 1920, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'Winifred sat in a deck-chair all day...', Winifred to Mother, 30 December 1920, and Winifred to Elsie, 2 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'fairyland', Winifred to Mother, 10 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'perfectly heavenly', Winifred to Mother, 16 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.



'almost slender again', Winifred to Elsie, 6 April 1921, and see also Winifred to Mother, 2 February 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'better and more exciting than my wildest hopes', Winifred to Mother, 10 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'the gift of a locally made amber rosary and a shawl', Winifred to Mother, 16 January 1921, and Winifred to Mother, 10 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'He has a most charming face...', Winifred to Mother, 10 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'Winifred and Hideyb could hardly communicate at first...', for their first weeks working together, see Winifred to Elsie, 29 January 1921; Winifred to Mother, 2 February 1921; and Winifred to Mother, 20 February 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'I could go all over Egypt alone, if I had Hideyb', Winifred to Elsie, 1 April 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'good enough', Winifred to Elsie, 29 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'off his donkey in a twinkling', 'I cannot think where he learnt it...', Winifred to Elsie, 1 April 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'a mine of information', Winifred to Mother, 2 February 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'I can tell you...', Winifred to Elsie, 1 April 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'get a job in Egypt as a government anthropologist', Winifred to Elsie, 6 April 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'I can never express all that this time has been to me...', Winifred to Elsie, 12 April 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'Thank you so much, darling mother...', Winifred to Mother, 1 November 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'Hideyb and his wife Saida had gone to great trouble...', Winifred to Mother, 14 November 1921 and 19 November 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'She could watch people coming and going...', Winifred to Mother, 19 November 1921, and Winifred to Elsie, 25 November 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA; Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 28.

'a book of moderate size', Winifred to Alyward, 2 January 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'She carried English medicines with her...', see Winifred to Mother, 14 November 1921 and 19 November 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA; Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, pp. 214-16.

'she soon had to insist on strict hours...', Winifred to Elsie, 2 March 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'Winifred saw an important humanitarian role for herself...', see for example, Winifred to Elsie, 1 April 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA, in which she wrote, 'I should like to make it my life's work to help the women of this country and make their position a better one by judicious education, and to teach them something of the rules of health and the care of children.' And, Winifred to Elsie, 6 April 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA, in which she wrote, 'All being well, next year I am going to do all I can in this neighbourhood for the women and children, teaching the mothers how to look after their children and to keep their eyes clean.'

'anyone who is very dirty', Winifred to Mother, 19 November 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'She found herself greeted by crowds', see Winifred to Mother, 14 November 1921; see also Winifred to Mother, 7 April 1921, D84/1/32, and numerous examples of crowds greeting her for medical attention in February and March 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'had never seen an Englishwoman before', Winifred to Elsie, 1 April 1921; Winifred to Mother, 7 April 1921; Winifred to Elsie, 10 December 1921; Winifred to Alyward, 16 December 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'a very great one', Winifred to Mother, 22 January 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'Sheikha Shifa', Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 216.

'daughter of the king of England', Winifred to Mother, 22 January 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'Miss Blackman of Fayum', Winifred to Mother, 6 February 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'I cannot tell you how humble all this makes me feel...', Winifred to Mother, 24 March 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'I cannot ever make you understand...', Winifred to Elsie, 14 April 1922, D84/1/33. She listed her expenses in a letter to Elsie, 25 November 1921, D84/1/32, and in another to her Mother, 22 April 1922, D84/1/33. She was particularly worried about money during the first few months of 1922. Early that year she wrote to Elsie, 'I am so afraid you think I have been extravagant but I have not', 25 January 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'Aylward thought she should try harder to get a grant', 'unpleasant', 'undignified', Winifred to Elsie, 9 March 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'out for what they can get for themselves', Winifred to Elsie, 10 March 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'She also felt increasingly responsible for Hideyb and his family', see Winifred to Mother, 19 November 1921, Winifred to Mother, 5 December 1921, Winifred to Elsie, 10 December 1921 (in which she wrote, 'If only I could get a decent grant I would make myself responsible for him'), Winifred to Aylward, 16 December 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'he was overcome with grief and anxiety', Winifred to Mother, 14 November 1921 and 19 November 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'she proposed bringing him back to England', Winifred to Aylward, 2 January 1922, D84/1/33, and subsequent letters in the series, LUSCA.

'The Blackmans now provided lodging and private tuition for around ten teenage boys', see Winifred to Mother, 19 February 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

There are several references to Aylward's work as a private tutor in the

Blackman family correspondence, as well as printed leaflets advertising his services.

'he could help her run the house and look after the boys', see Winifred to Mother, 19 February 1922, and Winifred to Elsie, 9 March 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'a great man in the eyes of all the villagers', Winifred to Elsie, 1 March 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'His chief concern was that she would meet an Englishman', Winifred to Elsie, 19 January 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'the Percy Sladen Memorial Trust', Blackwood was in charge of the Percy Sladen Expedition to Egypt from 1922-1926 (see Blackwood, 'Miss W.S. Blackman', p. 135, and Ikram's introduction to *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. vi.). See also, Winifred to Elsie, 18 February 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA. Balfour wrote that Blackwood had received a total of £800 from the Percy Sladen Trust over the course of four years, Balfour to Myres, 18 April 1928, MS Myres 3, BL. 'and the use of a small *dahabiyeh*', Winifred to Mother, 26 March 1924, D84/1/35; she also mentions the £600 figure in a letter to her mother dated 22 March 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'quite free', Winifred to Elsie, 28 April 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'I have done enough, I think, for the School of Anthropology in Oxford', 'the other "gent" ...', Winifred to Elsie, 28 April 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'I am not going to trouble any more about these Oxford people...', see also Winifred to Mother, 3 May 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'trouble' in the towns', see Winifred to Mother, 14 November 1921, 19 November 1921, 25 November 1921, 5 December 1921, and 10 December 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'Hideyb was charged with taking her to the town of Asyut', Winifred to Elsie, 25 November 1921, D84/1/32, LUSCA.

'exclusiveness' of the English', Winifred to Elsie, 10 March 1922, D84/1/33, LUSCA.

'young roughs', Winifred to Mother, 13 April 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'very seriously injured', 'for a very long time to come', Mother to Winifred, 11 April 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'he had no fear at the end', 'all the happiness he was going to', Winifred to Mother, 13 April 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'managing everything for me so I have no bother at all', Winifred to Mother, 13 April 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'I quite think we should hear he had been killed if I left him behind', Winifred to Elsie, 8 March 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'dodged about trying to get a snapshot', Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p.130.

'far too interested to beat a retreat', Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 130.

'Blood-feuds', see Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 132.

'in a terrible way', Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 24.

'the fun began', Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 131.

'It is not as if I am in any danger for I am not', Winifred to Mother, 13 April 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'Sometimes I cannot believe that he is not here in the flesh...', Winifred to Mother, 13 February 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'always laughing and joking', Winifred to Mother, 13 February 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'took all the sadness away', Winifred to Mother, 22 January 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'Saida saw him sitting on Winifred's bed', Winifred to Mother, 1 February 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'the most extraordinary feeling of his presence', Winifred to Mother, 29 April 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'He said before he died that he should never leave me', , Winifred to Mother, 13 April 1923, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

'I feel as if I were living in a dream', Winifred to Elsie, 25 December 1920, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'no greater authority', F.R.R., 'The Fellahin of Upper Egypt [review]', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 73, no. 2, February 1929, p. 171.

'Miss Blackman of Fayum', Winifred to Mother, 6 February 1924, D84/1/35, LUSCA.

## **11. A Most Adventurous Young Lady: Barbara Freire-Marreco Is Married, 1920**

'the bride's kindness, courtesy and good works had endeared her...', 'Miss B. Freire-Marreco – Mr R. Aitken', *Hawick News and Border Chronicle*, 30 April 1920.

'She was a most adventurous young lady', 'In Town and Out', *The Tatler*, 31 March 1920.

'hadn't much of an audience', Barbara Aitken to John Harrington, 8 December 1924, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'apologized to them for not writing up more of her research', see Barbara Freire-Marreco to John Harrington, 9 February 1920; Barbara Aitken to John Harrington, 16 January 1924, and 5 January 1925, Freire-Marreco Papers, PRM. See also, for example, Barbara Aitken to Edward Gifford, 11 March 1933, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 236: 'I get hardly any time nowadays for writing.'

'great regret', Coote Lake, 'Barbara Freire Marreco (Mrs Robert Aitken)', *Folklore*, vol. 78, 1967, p. 305. The sentence reads: 'It was a great regret to her many

friends when she married Robert Aitken and left her London circle for Hampshire.'

'[pressing](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Myres, 19 May 1906, MS Myres 16, fol. 26, BL: '...my family press my doing everything possible to carry out the wishes of the Somerville Committee...'

'[desiring](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Myres, 14 June 1906, MS Myres 16, fol. 31, BL: 'My Father and Mother desire me to say how very much they appreciate your kindness to me.'

'[hoping](#)', see quotation below, Barbara Freire-Marreco to Myres, 18 February 1908, MS Myres 16, fol. 55, BL.

'[she could never consider teaching in a school...](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Myres, 18 February 1908, MS Myres 16, fol. 55, BL.

'[Thank you for asking my plans...](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Myres, 18 February 1908, MS Myres 16, fol. 55, BL.

'[My mother hopes to meet you and Mrs Myres...](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Myres, 18 February 1908, MS Myres 16, fol. 55, BL.

'[In 1911 Edgar Hewett...suggested she come back later that year](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 27 April 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'[My family are not at all inclined...](#)', quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 161.

'[little inclined](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 4 June 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA. The sentence reads: 'Mother is very little inclined to let me leave her again so soon as this October 1911, and I feel the same.'

Regarding the possibility of going back to the United States in the autumn of 1912, she writes, 'Speaking for myself, and not anticipating Father and Mother's consent before they have considered it seriously, I wish with all my heart to go then – you could do me no kindness I could value more, and I can't sufficiently express my thanks for the generous plan.'

'[Hewett visited Oxford in the spring of 1912](#)', Barbara Freire-Marreco to the Somerville Research Fund Committee, no date, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

Hewett was attending the Eighteenth International Congress of Americanists, which met in London and Oxford in late May and early June 1912. Marett had also invited him to speak to the Oxford Anthropological Society (see Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 163).

'no obvious connection with my own subject', Barbara Freire-Marreco to the Somerville Research Fund Committee, no date, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'He offered to pay her \$200 for a written report', Frederick Hodge to Barbara Freire-Marreco, 26 June 1911, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 166.

'With an additional grant from Somerville College', Mary Ewart Trust Minute Book, 1 July 1911, p. 4, SCA. The Mary Ewart trustees agreed to give Freire-Marreco £200 for one year from June 1912 to continue her work in New Mexico during the academic year 1912-1913. She accepted their offer on 2 July 1911. (See also two letters about a possible further grant, from Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 4 June 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.)

'more susceptible to the wiles of the ethnologist...', Frederick Hodge to Freire-Marreco, 11 October 1911, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 171.

'they claimed she was a witch', Freire-Marreco to Harrington, August 1913, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'hoping that no one would get smallpox', Freire-Marreco to Harrington, August 1913, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'a man named Leslie Agayo', Barbara Aitken, 'A Tewa Craftsman – Leslie Agayo', *El Palacio*, vol. 17, pp. 96-97; Warrior, "'A Small Collection from New Mexico and Arizona'", *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, p. 123.

'Gentle, serious and obliging', Barbara Aitken, 'A Tewa Craftsman – Leslie Agayo', *El Palacio*, vol. 17, p. 96.

'intolerably forward', 'snubbed' Freire-Marreco to Harrington, 8 January 1913, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 175; see also Freire-Marreco to Myres, 10 January 1913, MS Myres 16, fol. 108, BL.



'Things here very pleasant and interesting, but precarious', Freire-Marreco to Hodge, no date, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 183.

'all frowsting indoors, all busy', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 10 January 1913, MS Myres 16, fol. 108, BL.

'If it were not for the pneumonia', Freire-Marreco to Harrington, after 26 February 1913, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 198.

'In May 1913...he offered her a permanent position', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 11 May 1913, MS Myres 16, fol. 113, BL.

'a great advantage to me professionally', Freire-Marreco to Darbshire, 27 April 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'subordinate teaching work for people like myself', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 18 February 1908, MS Myres 16, fol. 55, BL.

'obliged to put it quite out of mind for the present', Freire-Marreco to Harrington, 26 February 1913, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'The School here offers a job at \$1500', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 11 May 1913, MS Myres 16, fol. 113, BL.

'She had planned to make a third trip to the United States in 1915', Freire-Marreco to Hewett, 8 September 1915, quoted in Warrior, "A Small Collection from New Mexico and Arizona", *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, p. 123, n. 46; see also Freire-Marreco to Harrington, 26 May 1914, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM, in which she writes, 'My father is very ill, and it is very unlikely that I shall be able to leave home next year with safety. Maybe my fieldwork chances are over for good...'

'dangerous illness', Freire-Marreco to Hodge, 9 July 1914, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'Maybe my fieldwork chances are over for good', Freire-Marreco to Harrington, 26 May 1914, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'I hope you will bear me in mind when the war is over', Freire-Marreco to Hewett, 8 September 1915, quoted in Warrior, "'A Small Collection from New Mexico and Arizona'", *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, p. 123, n. 46.

'she had become secretary of the Woking War Emergency Committee', 'The Woking War Emergency Committee', *Surrey Advertiser*, 24 October 1914, p.7. See also Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 238.

'a little army of women anxious to be thus employed', 'She established a system for logging requests', 'The Woking War Emergency Committee', *Surrey Advertiser*, 24 October 1914, p.7.

'a new interest in Woking', 'War Emergency Fund: what Woking has done', *Surrey Advertiser*, 27 February 1915.

'War Trade Intelligence Department', Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 238. For the WTID and its work, see Davis, *History of the Blockade*; and McCarthy, *Women of the World*, pp. 55-58. As mentioned in Chapter 8 (see notes above), the WTID was established by H.W.C. Davis, an Oxford historian who recruited several University women to work there.

'My work for the Military Intelligence Department was interesting', Barbara Freire-Marreco to John Harrington, 9 February 1920, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'Barnett House', see Smith, Peretz and Smith, *Social Enquiry, Social Reform and Social Action: One Hundred Years of Barnett House*, University of Oxford Department of Social Policy and Intervention (free download).

'for more immediate service to the war', Freire-Marreco to Sidney Ball, 31 March 1918, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 239.

'Aitken was a tall, thin Scottish mathematics teacher', for biographical details see Crone, 'Robert Aitken', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 132, no. 1, 1966, pp. 172-73; and Houston, 'Robert Aitken', *Geography*, vol. 51, no. 2, 1966, p. 153.

'John Harrington...had offered her a job', Barbara Freire-Marreco to John Harrington, 9 February 1920, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'When she wrote to Harrington early the next year', Barbara Freire-Marreco to John Harrington, 9 February 1920, Freire-Marreco papers, PRM.

'You will no doubt think', Robert Aitken to Myres, 20 July 1924, MS Myres 1, fol. 56, BL.

'S.S. conditions', Robert Aitken to Myres, 20 July 1924, MS Myres 1, fol. 56, BL.

'an infernal breakdown', Robert Aitken to Myres, 25 January 1927, MS Myres 1, fol. 62, BL. Robert wrote, 'at present I seem to be unable to do any work at all...'

'Barbara write to Myres to say how sorry she was', Barbara Aitken to Myres, 21 June 1927, MS Myres 1, fol. 63, BL.

'particularly in the reporting of ploughs', Crone, 'Robert Aitken', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 132, no. 1, 1966, p. 173.

'Kiss me when the spring begins', extract from Barbara Aitken, 'Kissing Time: to an Irish Air', in *Verses, 1886 to 1953*, unpublished poems, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, p. 251.

'How many years' extract from Barbara Aitken, 'Indian Friends Remembered', in *Verses, 1886 to 1953*, unpublished poems, quoted in Blair, *A Life Well Led*, pp. 259-61.

## **12. All Fire: Maria Czaplicka in Bristol, 1921**

'she swallowed five pills of mercuric chloride', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'She had been busy and seemed happy all week...', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'by the study and comparison of national manners...', quoted in Jacobs, 'Eileen Power's Asian Journey, 1920-21', *Women's History Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1998, p. 298.

'gave you £1000 and sent you round the world', quoted in Jacobs, 'Eileen Power's Asian Journey, 1920-21', *Women's History Review*, p. 298.

'...given her to understand that they would extend the deadline', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'official reports stated', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA. Obituaries in *The Times* (30 May 1921) and *The Manchester Guardian* (31 May 1921) did not mention the cause of death.

'It seems particularly desirable', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'By the time the doctors arrived she was bleeding', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'a requiem mass was held', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'universally endeared herself to people here', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'Intrepid Lady Explorer', '3,000 Miles by Sledge in Siberia', 'First White Woman Seen by Natives', *The Daily Chronicle*, 5 September 1915, in Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, p. 17, UMPAA. There are several articles with similar headlines in the album.

'Brains and Beauty at Oxford', *The Daily Sketch*, 1 February 1919, in Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, p. 74, UMPAA.

'Oxford's Only Woman Lecturer', *The Sunday Herald*, 5 May 1919, in Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, p. 74, UMPAA.

'did not settle down and would come back', Helena Clara Deneke memoirs, *What I Remember*, vol. 3., p. 148, MPP 3 A 1/3, LMH.

'They had lived together in London's Torrington Square', Hall used his 58 Torrington Square address for all his correspondence to Gordon between the expedition's return in September 1915 and February 1916: see Gordon Letter Books, vols. 16 and 17, and OD 8/10, UPMMA. While Czaplicka addressed correspondence to Marett from the same address during October and November 1915: see DC1/4, OUA.

'a telegram from Hall asking for another \$500', Hall wrote a letter to Gordon from Krasnoyarsk to explain his request for \$500 on 1 April. He then sent three successive telegrams asking for the money, dated 13 April, 21 June and 27 June 1915, because the bank in Krasnoyarsk would not give it to him and he was unsure whether Gordon had sent it. On 6 July he wrote to apologize, because it transpired the bank had received the money in April after all. OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'slender', 'crippled', Hall to Gordon, 1 April 1915, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'accident money lost', Hall to Gordon, 10 September 1915, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'Gordon wrote in exasperation to Czaplicka' Gordon to Czaplicka, 16 October 1915, Gordon Letter Book vol. 17, UPMAA. (Hall actually wrote to Gordon on the same day, 16 October, to explain the situation; and Czaplicka had already written her own letter of explanation to Gordon on 12 October. Hers was far more reassuring and thorough than any letter Hall wrote. See OD 8/10, UPMAA.)

'Hall had 'lost' his wallet', 'an accident not easily explainable in a letter', 'pressure of work and other anxieties', Hall to Gordon, 12 November 1915, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'Czaplicka also mentioned that she thought it must have been stolen', Czaplicka to Gordon, 2 November 1915, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'he informed Hall that he would send him another \$250', Gordon to Hall, 11 January 1916, OD 8/10, UPMAA. It took four months, after Hall's telegram dated 10 September 1915, for Gordon to confirm he would send the money. Initially he was skeptical, writing on 13 September: 'Your request for another \$250 would have to be laid before the Museum Board for action. I do not see even then how the money could be provided since all available funds have already been appropriated.' His letters to Hall in the interim were businesslike and slightly strained.

'Hall left England on 12 February 1916', Hall to Gordon, 4 February 1916, OD 8/10, UPMAA.

'Hall had joined the army and he was able to visit Oxford', Hall to Gordon, 19 March 1919, OD 8/10, UPMAA. See also Hall to Gordon, 28 April 1918, OD 8/10, UPMAA. Hall may have visited Oxford while on leave from military service in France; the details are not clear from the existing correspondence.

'Her lectureship at Oxford ended that summer, when Leonard Buxton returned', Czaplicka and Buxton both worked as assistants to Arthur Thomson in the Human Anatomy department. She does not seem to have *officially* replaced Buxton, since Marett (under the auspices of the Committee for Anthropology) lobbied the Mary Ewart Trustees at Somerville to support her post on the basis that she would lecture to women students. However, Marett wrote in 1919 that, 'at the end of 1915, the School [of Anthropology] was without a lecturer in Ethnology, owing to the absence of the University lecturer, Mr. Buxton, on war-service. Miss Czaplicka, fortunately for us, was able to fill the gap, and for the last three years has during each academic term lectured to our students on ethnological subjects' (file 692, box 52, folder 17, Czaplicka correspondence, AMNH.) So Czaplicka was *de facto* a replacement for Buxton, and in a letter to Franz Boas, dated 21 March 1919, she herself wrote: 'The lectures on general Ethnology which I have been giving in this University in the absence of my man-colleagues will end next summer (1919)...' (Boas papers, APS).

'profound ignorance', 'which will at least earn bread and butter', Buxton to Myres, 5 December 1918, MS Myres 6, fol. 207, BL.

'one hints at a fellowship...another suggests he join', Buxton to Myres, 19 March 1919, MS Myres 6, fol. 212, BL.

'thinks things over', 'makes suggestions', Buxton to Myres, 1 November 1919, MS Myres 6, fol. 222, BL.

'inclined', 'stick to Oxford', Buxton to Myres, 19 March 1919, MS Myres 6, fol. 212, BL.

'The Mary Ewart Trust had ceased financing teaching posts', see Mary Ewart Trust Minute Book, 28 April 1917, p. 39, and 25 April 1918, p. 43, SCA.

Brasenose College had also contributed £100 to support Czaplicka's lectureship, at least for the year 1918-1919, see Thomson to William Gamlen (Secretary of the University Chest), 20 February 1918, Letters of Arthur Thomson, Human Anatomy Department papers, HA 105/3, OUA.

'Here I am writing to you again', 'I trust that I may not be quite unsuccessful', Czaplicka to Boas, 21 March 1919, Boas papers, APS.

'A clutch of the highest-ranking British anthropologists', file 692, box 52, folder 17, Czaplicka correspondence, AMNH.

'writing up the results of the Jesup expedition', Osborn to Marett, 27 June 1919, and Osborn to Wissler, 27 June 1919, file 692, box 52, folder 17, Czaplicka correspondence, AMNH.

'Miss Czaplicka...is to go to the States in September', *The Sunday Herald*, 5 May 1919, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, p. 74, UMPAA.

'push right up through the tundra', 'She is not well off herself', 'She really is a rather wonderful person', Marett to Osborn, 31 May 1919, file 692, box 52, folder 17, Czaplicka correspondence, AMNH.

'In January 1920 she was in Philadelphia', see press reports in Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, pp.98-9, UMPAA.

'she has such a feminine charm of manner', 'Polish Woman Explorer Here', *The Evening Sun*, New York City, 24 January 1920, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, p. 99, UMPAA.

'a young woman, laughing much', 'A Lady from Oxford Explores Wildest Siberia', *The World Magazine*, New York City, 4 April 1920, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA.

'great fatigue and strain', Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 62.

'She went home to Poland that summer', Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 62.

'pushed her way into the city', knew no fear', this unnamed 'former correspondent in Central Europe' for *The Manchester Guardian* is quoted in 'Miss Czaplicka', *The Manchester Guardian*, 31 May 1921, p. 6.

'the lectureship at Bristol that Thomson may have helped her to get', Kubica, 'Maria Czaplicka and her Siberian Expedition', p. 14.

'I am beginning my life here', Czaplicka to Boas, 28 October 1920, Boas papers, APS.

'always so cheerful and gay', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'She talked about writing more books', Kubica, 'Maria Czaplicka and her Siberian Expedition', p. 15. The archives at OUP hold correspondence regarding a proposed book about Poland; and in early 1919 she told a journalist that her book 'on the commercial future of Siberia' was nearly ready (*The Daily Sketch*, 1 February 1919, Czaplicka's album of press cuttings, UMPAA).

'She toured Scotland again', Kubica, 'Maria Czaplicka and her Siberian Expedition', p. 15. She visited Dundee, Aberdeen and Edinburgh in March 1921.

'They planned to tell her about her pay rise', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'Maria was overdrawn by £110', see the summary of Czaplicka's finances at death, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'I was, of course, deeply grieved', Beatrice Blackwood to Antoni Kuczynski, 7 April 1971, box 43, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'special and most understanding friend', Aitken, 'Marie Antoinette Czaplicka', *Lady Margaret Hall Brown Book*, p. 62.

'terrible surprise', Aitken to Hall, 30 June 1921, Siberian Expedition 1914-1915 – Correspondence 1921-1944, UMPAA.



'I cannot help thinking that if she had been with us', May Staveley to Penrose, 31 May 1921, Czaplicka papers, SCA.

'Her friends...met the costs of her funeral', see list of donations in the Czaplicka file, SCA. A bank account was opened under the name Marie Czaplicka Fund, and Penrose, Jex-Blake and Marett also received cheques and postal orders. The money covered Czaplicka's outstanding debts, her funeral and her headstone. (The doctors who attended at her death made no charge.)

'heart failure', Aitken to Hall, 30 June 1921, Siberian Expedition 1914-1915 – Correspondence 1921-1944, UMPAA.

'He replied saying that he would complete Maria's work', see Aitken to Hall, 19 July 1921, Siberian Expedition 1914-1915 – Correspondence 1921-1944, UMPAA.

'in 1935, he claimed to be still working', Hall to E.J. Lindgren, 12 August 1935, Czaplicka biographical file, UMPAA.

'he was fired...as part of a cost-cutting exercise', University Museum of Pennsylvania meeting of the board, 17 May 1935, board minutes 1934-1941, p. 40; see also Siberian Expedition 1914-1915 Correspondence 1921-1944, UMPAA.

'did not feel in a very amiable state of mind', J. Alden Mason to R.H. Lowie, 18 May 1944, Siberian Expedition 1914-1915 Correspondence 1921-1944, UMPAA.

'He resented the museum...began drinking excessively', J. Alden Mason to R.H. Lowie, 23 December 1943, Siberian Expedition 1914-1915 Correspondence 1921-1944, UMPAA.

'having lost all interest in the world around him', J. Hugh to G. Bruckner, 14 July 1944, Siberian Expedition 1914-1915 Correspondence 1921-1944, UMPAA.

'struck fire out of whatever she touched', Marett, 'Marie A. de Czaplicka', *Man*, vol. 21, p. 106.

### 13. Did He Ever Darn His Stockings?: Beatrice Blackwood Visits Sydney, 1929

'Czaplicka pressed her mentor Robert Marett to help him', Young, *Malinowski*, p. 246.

'Malinowski's writing in *Argonauts*', my main sources for this discussion are Stocking, *After Tylor*, Stocking, 'The Ethnographer's Magic'; Young, *Malinowski*; Young, 'The Careless Collector'; Young, "'The Intensive Study of a Restricted Area'"; and see my own paper on Blackwood and Malinowski: Larson, "'Did He Ever Darn His Stockings?": Beatrice Blackwood and the Ethnographic Authority of Bronislaw Malinowski'.

'essential Trobriander', Stocking, *After Tylor*, p. 276.

'Several other young anthropologists had undertaking fieldwork', Stocking, *After Tylor*, pp. 119-20.

'Landtman lost his field notes in a shipwreck', Stocking, *After Tylor*, p. 120.

'intensive study of a limited area', Haddon, 1906, 'A plea for the investigation of biological and anthropological distributions in Melanesia'.

'advocated longer solitary periods of time in the field', Rivers, 1912, 'A General Account of Method'; see also Larson, "'Did He Ever Darn His Stockings?": Beatrice Blackwood and the Ethnographic Authority of Bronislaw Malinowski', pp. 76-7.

'brilliantly new', see Stocking, *After Tylor*, pp. 294-5; the quotation is from Audrey Richards, 'The Concept of Culture in Malinowski's Work', in Firth (ed.) *Man and Culture*, 1957, p. 18.

'striding along intellectual frontiers', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 37, see also p. 35.

'Sydney is not a place to enter by train', Blackwood, 9 August 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[He felt afraid of the traffic and the crowds](#)', Firth to Malinowski, 2 November 1929, (see also Firth to Malinowski, 14 August 1929), file 7/38, Malinowski papers, LSE.

'[treated herself](#)', Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[made me feel very small in Sydney](#)', Blackwood to Thompson, 24 November 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[Dr Fortune](#)', Blackwood, 12 August 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[R.B. expected silent reverence](#)', see Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, pp. 41-3.

'[morning tea](#)', Blackwood, 16 August 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[triumvirate](#)', Beatrice Blackwood, 'R.R.M. as Anthropologist: a paper read to the Lankester Society at Exeter College on June 2nd, 1943', box 29, envelope 3, Blackwood papers, PRM; in which Blackwood remembered her three tutors as 'the Triumvirate, or, alternatively, the Trinity'.

'[She tried to buy it](#)', '[up to the mark](#)', Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[she toured North America in the mid-1920s](#)', see my article about Beatrice Blackwood's career on the Pitt Rivers Museum 'Relational Museum' website at <https://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/articles/article-index/334-beatrice-blackwood-1889-1975.html>; and also Peers, 'Strands Which Refuse to be Braided'.

'[armed with a bunch of sweet peas](#)', Blackwood, 17 August 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM; and Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'You can just about swing a kitten', Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I suppose I ought to have thought of it', Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Talking with this girl and with Margaret Mead', Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'left one 'slack'', Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Find an island somewhere in the Pacific', Beatrice Blackwood, 'Field Notes in Ethnology', no date, box 45, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'ethnographer's magic', Stocking, 'The Ethnographer's Magic'.

'overshadowed by him all the time', Blackwood to Thompson, 21 June 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'He seems to have a broad grasp of fundamental principles', Blackwood to Thompson, 14 March 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'all sorts of palms, pawpaw and betel nut', Blackwood, 26 August 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'talking shop', Blackwood, 26, 27 and 28 August 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'he was reluctant to give her permission', Blackwood to Thompson, 18 August and 29 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. Blackwood to Haddon, 11 August 1929, box 4, Haddon papers, CUL.

'stuck with anthropology simply because she had liked the people', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 45.

'talked herself hoarse for the first few days', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 83.

'helped Blackwood learn pidgin', Blackwood to Thompson, 2 September 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM; Blackwood, 31 August – 10

September 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM; Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 83.

'I wish I may be as successful', Blackwood to Thompson, 2 September 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'already had 'a people' of their own', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 43.

'Did he ever darn his stockings?' Blackwood to Thompson, 10 March 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'in about twenty years time I might be capable', Blackwood to Thompson, 27 April 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I get dumped at Buka Passage on Wednesday evening', Blackwood to Thompson, 22 September 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

#### **14. I Shall Wish I Could Go Back Again: Beatrice Blackwood in the Solomon Islands 1929-30.**

'Beatrice Blackwood felt as though she was on a film set', Blackwood to Thompson, 20 October 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM; she mentioned a feeling of being 'in the pictures' more than once in her letters.

'white folk', Blackwood to Thompson, 20 October 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Sister Vivian and Sister Elizabeth', Blackwood, 2 October and 7 October 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Mr Cropp', Blackwood to Thompson, 20 October 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM; Blackwood, 29 September 1929 and entries over the following weeks, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Mission e capsize altogether', Blackwood, 8 November 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM: 'Damn the mission!' Blackwood wrote.

'soft, safe place', Blackwood to Thompson, 24 November 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[Kieta] is the sort of place', Blackwood to Thompson, 24 November 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'make a mess of both jobs', Blackwood to Thompson, 14 December 1929 [addition to letter dated 8 December 1929], box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'and make the best of a bad job', Blackwood to Thompson, 24 November 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I realize more and more painfully', Blackwood to Thompson, 14 December 1929 [postscript to letter dated 8 December 1929], box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Kurtachi was on the north coast of Bougainville', for description of the village see Blackwood, 'Report on Field Work in Buka and Bougainville'; and *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, chapter 1.

'almost impenetrable tangle of large trees', Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, p. 4.

'all too green', 'dazzling white', Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, p. 12

'harmless', Blackwood to Thompson, 5 January 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. See also Blackwood, 'My Daily Round', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'full of small but absorbing interests', Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, p. 31.

'lounging about the place', Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, p. 28.

'Everything I have here has been carried', Blackwood to Thomson, 10 March 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'In Rabaul', see Chinnery, *Malaguna Road*, pp. 29-31; Mead, *Letters from the Field*, pp. 62-65; Inglis, *The White Woman's Protection Ordinance*, chapter 1; and Nelson, 'Masters in the Tropics'; Berghoff, Biess and Strasser, *Explorations and Entanglements: Germans in Pacific Worlds from the Early Modern Period to World War 1*, Berghahn, 2019.

'[T]he little boys are called "monkeys"', Blackwood, 26 August 1929, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'New Guineans were treated as innately inferior', see Inglis, *The White Woman's Protection Ordinance*, chapter 1; Berghoff, Biess and Strasser, *Explorations and Entanglements: Germans in Pacific Worlds from the Early Modern Period to World War 1*, Berghahn, 2019.

'One or two minor, isolated, and non-sexual incidents', see Inglis, *The White Woman's Protection Ordinance*, chapter 3; Nelson, 'Masters in the Tropics', p. 429.

'the younger generation of white women', Inglis, *The White Woman's Protection Ordinance*, p. 80, and p. 55. See also Stoler, 1989, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Colonial Cultures', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 634-660; Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire*.

'carefully', Inglis, *The White Woman's Protection Ordinance*, p. 66; and Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable'.

'two popular, and completely unproven, lines of argument', Inglis, *The White Woman's Protection Ordinance*, p. 66.

'professional single women were viewed with particular suspicion', Gosden and Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism*, p. 142. See also references to Mead and Powdermaker in Chinnery, *Malaguna Road*, as well as Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable'; and Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire*.

'...if any more lady anthropologists', Chinnery to Haddon, 25 June 1929, quoted in Gray, 'Ernest William Pearson Chinnery', p. 326.

'it meant that he could keep an eye on her', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 105; Sarah Chinnery, diary entry 19 April 1929, quoted in Chinnery, *Malaguna Road*, p. 35; Gray, 'Ernest William Pearson Chinnery', p. 326.

'which meant commanding', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 55.

'yearned romantically for an "untouched" people', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 66.

'escape from the women's never-ending tales', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p.56.

'to have tea with Mrs Gosse', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, p. 104.

'the white women didn't like the idea', "'yarned" about it with Raymond Firth', Chinnery to Haddon, 30 October 1932, quoted in Gray, 'Ernest William Pearson Chinnery', p. 326.

'great friend', quoted in Gray, 'Ernest William Pearson Chinnery', p. 326.

'I do most heartily wish', Blackwood to Thomson, 27 November 1929 [postscript to letter dated 24 November 1929], box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[T]here is not a single white person', Blackwood, notes 'Observations on Climate', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I regret my misspent youth', Blackwood to Thomson, 21 June 1930 [postscript to letter dated 8 June 1930], box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM. See also Gosden and Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism*, pp. 142-3. She had followed Powdermaker's lead in wearing breeches (see Blackwood to Thomson, 2 September 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM) and both women were frowned upon for their attire. Sarah Chinnery, Ernest's wife, wrote of Powdermaker in her diary: 'I don't know why she should wear shorts and stockings rolled below her knees, and wear a boy-scout knife on a belt around her waist.' (Chinnery, *Malaguna Road*, p. 52)



'She considered wearing a lap-lap', Blackwood to Thomson, 1 June 1930, [postscript to letter dated 4 May 1930], box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'rough, useful clothes', 'didn't seem to care about it', Ken Bridge (the Assistant District Officer), quoted in Simpson, *Adam with Arrows*, p. 67.

'Plan of Fieldwork', Blackwood, notes 'Plan of Fieldwork. Raymond Firth, after Malinowski', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Each morning she breakfasted', Blackwood, 'My Daily Round', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Kurtachi was far from untouched by international trade', Blackwood, notes 'Effects of white contact', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'All anthropologists working in Melanesia had servants', Powdermaker, *Stranger and Friend*, pp. 69-76. Powdermaker explained: 'Servants are a necessity in field situations where living conditions are primitive.' According to Margaret Mead, Powdermaker cooked for herself because 'the natives were not clean enough for her'. Mead disapproved of this, but Sarah Chinnery admired Powdermaker for refusing to eat food that she suspected was 'unclean' (Sarah Chinnery, diary July 1929, quoted in Chinnery, *Malaguna Road*, p.51).

'[T]he child household', Mead to family and friends, 10 January 1929, quoted in Mead, *Letters from the Field*, p. 80.

'enough work to keep Blackwood's cook, Ross, busy', Blackwood, 'My Daily Round', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'surely the starchiest stuff in the world', 'it would soon reduce me', Blackwood, 'My Daily Round', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'most of which taste like spinach', Beatrice Blackwood, 'Field Notes in Ethnology', no date, box 45, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'various verandahs', Blackwood, 'My Daily Round', box 11, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'not to worry about sharks' Blackwood to Thomson, 14 March 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'she did not want a companion', Blackwood to Thomson, 1 February 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Your constant references to the dangers', Blackwood to Thomson, 8 December 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'In July, she convinced some of the Kurtachi men', Blackwood to Thomson, 27 July 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM; see also diary entries for July, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'the first time in my life that my sex has been anything', Blackwood to Thomson, 27 July 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'points I might be missing', Blackwood to Thomson, 18 August 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'plunged into depression', Blackwood to Thomson, 23 January 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. She wrote: 'His 'Sexual Life of Savages' plunges me into fits of the deepest depression – I can't for the life of me see how he got all that stuff out of them – but of course he had 3 years and he is a perfect genius at languages – like all Poles!' This last aside was an affectionate allusion to their mutual friend, Maria Czaplicka. In a later letter she wrote again that after reading the book she was 'plunged into a fit of the deepest depression' (Blackwood to Thomson, 10 March 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM). On reading Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*, she commented in her diary, 'Usual fit of depression resulting therefrom' (30 April 1930, Buka and Bougainville Diary 28 June 1929-24 May 1930, box 8, Blackwood papers, PRM).

'a perfect genius at languages', Blackwood to Thomson, 23 January 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM (see previous note).

'[In her darkest moments](#)', see, for example, Blackwood to Thomson, 4 May 1930 and 21 June 1930 [postscript to letter dated 8 June 1930], box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM. (And see above, 'plunged into depression'.)

'[Personally I disliked the woman intensely](#)', Blackwood to Thomson, 27 April 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. Blackwood added that her antipathy towards Mead was, 'a feeling I discovered to be shared by Dr Powdermaker and others'.

'[In April, she learned that an initiation ceremony](#)', '[She wrote to Oxford](#)', Blackwood to Thomson, 6 April 1930 and 28 May 1930 [postscript to letter dated 4 May 1930], box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[bribing and threatening](#)', Blackwood to Thomson, 10 August 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[If these blighters would only get on](#)', Blackwood to Thomson, 4 September 1930 [postscript to letter dated 28 August 1930], box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[she left Bougainville in October 1930 feeling philosophical](#)', Blackwood to Thomson, 28 August 1930 and 1 December 1930 [postscript to letter dated 19 November 1930], box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[I just want to have tea and cherry cake](#)', Blackwood to Thomson, 27 November 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

## **15. Weighted against Women: Katherine Routledge is Taken to Ticehurst House, 1929.**

'[camping out](#)', Katherine, quoted in 'Woman Locked in Mansion', *The Daily Mail*, 2 June 1928.

'[I am taking this action as a protest](#)', Katherine, quoted in 'Woman Locked in Mansion', *The Daily Mail*, 2 June 1928.

'I gather from my wife', Scoresby Routledge to the RGS, no date, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 198. Before Katherine read her paper to the RGS, Scoresby stood up and said: 'You have lately elected ladies to be Fellows of the Society; and as I think a most worthy lady has most worthily carried out work of a character suitable for a lecture, it seems to me it would be much better for her to give an account rather than that I should do so.' (Routledge, 'Easter Island', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 5, pp. 340-341).

'If any excuse were wanted for admitting ladies', typescript of paper given by Katherine at the Royal Geographical Society, JMS/18/102, RGS; c.f. Routledge, 'Easter Island', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 5, pp. 321-40.

'extraordinary mass of evidence', typescript of paper given by Katherine at the Royal Geographical Society, JMS/18/102, RGS; c.f. Routledge, 'Easter Island', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 5, pp. 321-40.

'I do not think we have ever had a lecture', typescript of paper given by Katherine at the Royal Geographical Society, JMS/18/102, RGS; c.f. Routledge, 'Easter Island', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 5, pp. 321-40.

'Scoresby hired a team of assistants', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 201; and see Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. x.

'popular in tone and only preliminary', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. viii.

'a very complicated subject', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 291.

'colleagues had suggested they embark on another expedition', Mr. Maudsley, 'Easter Island: Discussion', *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 5, p.343.

'They spent the first few months of 1921 in Jamaica', Scoresby had first visited Jamaica on his way back from Easter Island in 1916, after Katherine left Mana to travel home across America. He liked it, and the Routledges went back together in the spring of 1920. Scoresby stayed for longer than Katherine so he could attempt a crossing of the John Crow Mountains, which lay at the far eastern tip of the island. He wanted to publish his exploits, and he thought of

collecting for Kew and the Natural History Museum in London, so the Routledges spent the first few months of 1921 in Jamaica again. Scoresby took photographs, prepared maps, and drafted a paper about his 1920 expedition, while Katherine spent weeks 'boiling it down' to size. (Acting as his secretary, she sent it off to the Royal Geographical Society within minutes of their departure for Tahiti, apologising for its condition and pointing out that, 'The article is his not mine!'. It was never published.) See Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, pp. 203-05; and WSR/6, RGS.

'much more comfortable and not nearly so thrilling', Katherine Routledge to Arthur Hinks, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 212.

'Katherine worried that he might make discoveries', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 212.

'she longed to visit again', 'love's labour lost', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 212.

'You and she were "not two persons at all"', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 212.

'always very near to tears', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'who was no longer here', from the dedication in *The Mystery of Easter Island*.

'Kate Pease had denied her children toys and read them essays', Wilson Pease diaries, 18 January 1891, D/GP/16, DRO; Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, chapter 2. These particular essays were by William Channing Gannett.

'I must give you a kiss, you dear boy!', Wilson Pease diaries, 30 July-16 August 1912, D/GP/44, DRO.

'much unhappiness', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO.

'family feelings', 'terribly insecure about her place in the family', Wilson Pease diaries, 7-11 February 1916, D/GP/51, DRO; Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 17.

'telling journalists about the exciting links', see press cuttings in file WSR 4/13, RGS.

'just started seriously to work on my new book', quoted in *The Daily Graphic*, December 1924, WSR 4/13, RGS.

'Travels in the South Seas', see press cuttings in file WSR 4/13, RGS.

'seriously ill from overwork', 'Court Circular', *The Times*, 31 October 1924.

'as a lodger might', John Pease (quoting Scoresby Routledge) to Lilian Fox, 6 March 1927, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 220. In the pages that follow, I have relied on Jo Anne Van Tilburg's detailed description of Katherine's marital breakdown and mental illness.

'She became interested in spiritualism', see Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 218.

'saw each other only by appointment', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 220.

'Wilson came after I was in bed', quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 219.

'They see through my eyes so to speak', Katherine Routledge to Evelyn Fox, 20 January 1927, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 219.

'Things Unknown told to me by The Spooks', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 224.

'opening his mail', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 220.

'a want of sympathy and assistance', John Pease (quoting Scoresby Routledge) to Lilian Fox, 6 March 1927, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 220.

'In 1927 she threw him out', Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, pp. 220-221.

'would not have been fair', 'Peer's Cousin in Locked Mansion', *Dundee Courier*, 2 June 1928.

'from my point of view', 'Peer's Cousin in Locked Mansion', *Dundee Courier*, 2 June 1928.

'to take up this somewhat startling attitude', 'Society Woman in Barricaded House', *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 2 June 1928.

'Much of the treatment', 'Woman in Locked Mansion', *The Daily Mail*, 2 June 1928

'she has no one to manage now' John Pease to Lilian Fox, 1 March 1928, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 221.

'so far as I can see', 'Gaol Threat to Mrs Routledge', *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 4 July 1928.

'a scandalous condition', 'Mrs. Routledge', *The Daily Mail*, 18 August 1928

'She who lives in this house is the victim', 'Mrs Routledge Again', *The Daily Mail*, 9 January 1929.

'Reports differed in the detail', see 'Mrs Routledge Leaves her Home Prison', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 13 February 1929; 'Woman Hermit Removed', *The Nottingham Journal*, 14 February 1929; 'Mrs Routledge Taken to Nursing Home', *The Daily Mail*, 13 February 1929; 'Woman's Protest Sequel', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 February 1929.

'The Lunatic Asylum', Katherine Routledge to Lilian Fox, 20 February 1929, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 225.

'the Mecca of private asylums', quoted in Turner, *A Diagnostic Analysis of the Casebooks of Ticehurst House Asylum, 1845-1890*, p. 11.

'Scoresby paid more than a thousand pounds', Katherine's rooms were initially 17 guineas a week with an additional 3 guineas a week for nursing, and further expenditure on drives out in the car and sundries. In 1930, her rooms were charged at 20 guineas a week with additional nursing fees. Patients' Bills 1925-1931, 'Katherine Maria Routledge', MS6245/6554/6554/6573, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'an aviary for gold and silver pheasants', Turner, *A Diagnostic Analysis of the Casebooks of Ticehurst House Asylum, 1845-1890*, p. 12.

'Katherine charged for the services of a draper', Patients' Bills 1925-1931, 'Katherine Maria Routledge', MS6245/6554/6554/6573, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'eighty-nine people who were extremely unwell', for number of residents see Annual Statements 1928-1930, MS6245/6554/6730/6730/3; for clinical descriptions of their illnesses see Letters of Application 1929-1930 (numbers 1126-1191), MS6245/6284/6303/6309/2, and Register of Mechanical Restraint and Seclusion 1925-1930, MS6245/6245/6281/6283, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'difficult to manage', 'delusional', the quotations are from application letters regarding other patients at the Hospital, in Letters of Application 1929-1930 (numbers 1126-1191), MS6245/6284/6303/6309/2, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'systemized delusional insanity', Dr Percy Smith to Lilian Fox, 8 March 1929, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p.225.

'parole', 'had done it on principle', Dr Percy Smith to Lilian Fox, 8 March 1929, quoted in Van Tilburg, *Among Stone Giants*, p. 225.

'it is proposed to effect the removal of Mrs Routledge', William Sturges to Dr McDowall, 7 February 1929, Letters of Application 1929-1930, number 1130, MS6245/6284/6303/6309/2, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'financial records, which list her spending', Patients' Bills 1925-1931, 'Katherine Maria Routledge', MS6245/6554/6554/6573, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'additional nursing', Patients' Bills 1925-1931, 'Katherine Maria Routledge', MS6245/6554/6554/6573, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'Register of Restraint and Seclusion', Register of Mechanical Restraint and Seclusion 1925-1930, MS6245/6245/6281/6283, Ticehurst House Hospital papers, WLAM.

'the mighty dead', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 178.

'an indescribable sense of solemnity', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 136.

'the whole air vibrates', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 165.



'ordering them about at her will', 'arose in her wrath', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 182.

'invented', 'entirely satisfies the native mind', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 182.

'They walked, and some fell by the way', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 193.

'Thor Heyerdahl led an expedition', Hunt and Lipo, *The Statues that Walked*, p. 78.

'Pavel Pavel conducted the first experiments', Hunt and Lipo, *The Statues that Walked*, p. 78-80.

'The Easter Island statues are ingeniously designed', Hunt and Lipo, *The Statues that Walked*, p. 84-92.

'image roads', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 194.

'one of the most intensively studied specks of land', Hunt and Lipo, *The Statues that Walked*, p. 12.

'as steep as a house roof', 'Do you mean to tell me', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 198.

'Ten years ago more could have been done', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 211.

'an old woman selling bootlaces at Westminster', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 165.

'Evidence convincingly shows', Hunt and Lipo, *The Statues that Walked*, pp. 3-5.

'loneliest spot on the globe', Katherine Routledge to unnamed recipient 'Your Grace', 3 October 1915, WSR 4/10, RGS.

'Everywhere is the wind of heaven', Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 133.

## **16. A Stone Age Culture: Beatrice Blackwood in New Guinea, 1936**

'tackle another group on similar lines', Blackwood to Chinnery, 29 September 1935, box 5, 'Both Sides of Buka Passage: business papers', Blackwood papers, PRM.

'trying hard', Blackwood, 22 June 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'easy to get at', Blackwood, 22 June 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'an impossibly difficult language', 'dull culture', Blackwood, 22 June 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Leahy's exploration suggested that', Hays, 'A Historical Background to Anthropology in the Papua New Guinea Highlands', p. 10; Epstein, 'The Statesman's Year-Book', p. 428; see also Mclean, 'In the Footprints of Reo Fortune', p. 39.

'Chinnery had found settlements of round bamboo huts', Chinnery, 'Mountain Tribes of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea', 1934; Chinnery, 'The Central Ranges of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea', 1934.

'Balfour and Blackwood had followed the discovery of Mount Hagen', Balfour had hosted the Leahy brothers when they visited England, and later, when they met Blackwood in New Guinea, they remembered his great 'kindness and hospitality' (Blackwood to Balfour, 18 August 1936, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.)

'the Australian government had closed the Mount Hagen area', see Blackwood to Balfour 18 May 1936, and Blackwood to Haddon, 20 August 1936, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. Also, Hays, 'A Historical Background to Anthropology in the Papua New Guinea Highlands'.

'armed truce', Mclean, 'In the Footprints of Reo Fortune', p. 43.

'Reo Fortune', see Mclean, 'In the Footprints of Reo Fortune'.

'his brother, Barter Fortune, felt', Howard, *Margaret Mead: A Life*, p.170.

'Helmuth Baum', Simpson, *Adam with Arrows*, pp. 34-5.

'Mick Leahy was exploring Anga Country', Leahy and Crain, *The Land that Time Forgot*, pp. 116-23.

'In 1933, a government patrol', Simpson, *Adam with Arrows*, pp. 41-5.

'On his next patrol, under orders to burn off the bush', Simpson, *Adam with Arrows*, pp. 47-8.

'Half an hour later, I'm damned', Simpson, *Adam with Arrows*, p. 48.

'Almost everyone Blackwood met', Blackwood, entries for June and July 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[I] had all the disadvantages', Blackwood, 27 June 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I suppose I am several', Blackwood, 22 June 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Otibanda had been opened in 1932', Hallpike, *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, p. 8.

'she was bitterly disappointed', Blackwood, 4 August 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'not at all "belong before"', Blackwood, 4 August 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Blackwood's work would always be limited', she articulated this herself in a letter to H.M.J. Mallard, 10 October 1936, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'ceased to fight', Beatrice Blackwood, letter to unknown recipients, October 1936, box 27, envelope 1, (see also box 17, envelope 6), Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Her only disagreement with me', Ken Bridge, the Assistant District Officer, quoted in Simpson, *Adam with Arrows*, p. 67.

'artificial village', Blackwood, 'Description of the Country', box 17, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM; and, Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, p. 18.

'Fear of government reprisals alone', Blackwood, 'Life on the Upper Watut', p. 16; Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, p. 117.

'There were about 130', Beatrice Blackwood, letter to unknown recipients, October 1936, box 27, envelope 1, (see also box 17, envelope 6), Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Manki lay', Blackwood, 'Life on the Upper Watut'; Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*.

'Blackwood had brought pea', Blackwood, 'Life on the Upper Watut', p. 20.

'bearing an absurd resemblance to corrugated iron', Blackwood, 'Life on the Upper Watut', p. 18.

'anything from babies to sweet potatoes', Blackwood, 'Life on the Upper Watut', p. 17.

'Personal names were secret', Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, p. 9. See also, Blackwood, 31 August 1936, 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM. And, Blackwood to Haddon, 20 August 1939, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM (in which she asked: 'How does one collect genealogies when there are strict taboos on saying the name of anyone who is dead, applying to everyone in the place whether relative or not?'). Blackwood to Balfour, 8 November 1936, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM (in which she wrote: 'To make even a fair study of the social anthropology of these folk would take all the time one could give to it, the language is quite difficult, there are no adequate interpreters, and any quantity of taboos on saying names etc. makes the collection of concrete data a matter of much time and more patience...').

'for a long time she had to rely on interpreters', Beatrice Blackwood, letter to unknown recipients, October 1936, box 27, envelope 1, (see also box 17,

envelope 6), Blackwood papers, PRM. Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, pp. 18-19. And see, for example, Blackwood, 2 September 1936 ('How do I get secret knowledge if the only people who can interpret are youngsters who don't know?'), and 11 March 1937 ('Met some of the villagers and went to the village. My bunch not at all anxious to act as interpreters so work is going to be difficult here although they seem friendly. '), and other diary entries, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM. 'Chinnery's cautionary words', see Blackwood's correspondence to colleagues in box 27, envelopes 1 and 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I have never seen a people', 'so much taken up with', 'two main – and almost only', Blackwood to Haddon, 9 May 1937, box 27, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'nothing especially interesting', Beatrice Blackwood, letter to unknown recipients, October 1936, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'some of the toughest old warriors', Blackwood to Colin Simpson, 16 February 1953, box 49, envelope 4, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Sally the kitten is the only satisfactory thing', Blackwood, 31 August 1936 (see also 3 August and 6 August 1936), 'Diary I April 3 1936 to August 31 1936', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'In November she tried again', Blackwood to Balfour, 8 November 1936, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Don't they know or won't they tell?', Blackwood, 2 December 1936, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Andarora comprised about twenty huts', Blackwood, 'Life on the Upper Watut', p. 18.

'trusts no one', Blackwood, 'Life on the Upper Watut', p. 18.

'justified in coming inland', Blackwood to Balfour, 1 February 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'really is a Stone Age culture', Blackwood to Balfour, 1 February 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'a few bruises and a little blood spilt', 'quite common', Blackwood, 24 December 1936, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'spirit of dead people', 'making trouble', Blackwood, 18 January 1937, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'three planned fights', Blackwood, 9 January 1937, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Blackwood learned that there were different kinds of fights', Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, p. 117.

'more or less harmless', Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, p. 117.

'She heard that they were afraid to fight', Blackwood, 2 January 1937 and 10 January 1937, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Once she went to a place', Blackwood, 2 January 1937, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'She found it hard to sleep', see for example, Blackwood, 5 January 1937, and 4 March 1937, 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM. Hallpike [Blackwood], *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, p. 9.

'Bridge asked her to visit another village', Blackwood to Balfour, 9 March 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'...but oh! how bored I am', Blackwood, 6 March 1937 (see also 13 March 1937), 'Diary II Sept 1 1936 – May 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'She worried that she did not have enough information', Blackwood to Balfour, 8 November 1936; Blackwood to Penniman, 7 January 1937; Blackwood to Chinnery, 15 May 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'does not care about social anthropology', Blackwood to Chinnery, 27 June 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[She radioed Balfour](#)', Blackwood to Balfour, 13 May 1937, box 27, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM. See also Blackwood to M. Leahy, postscript dated 15 May 1937 attached to letter dated 8 May 1937, box 27, envelope 2; Blackwood to F.E. Williams, 27 June 1937, box 27, envelope 1; Blackwood, 10 September 1937, 'Diary Vol. III May 18 1937 – Oct. 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[she set about writing to everyone](#)', see Blackwood's application for a permit, and other correspondence in box 27, envelopes 1 and 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[indefinitely postponed](#)', '[no women](#)', Blackwood to Balfour, 28 June 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[drove Chinnery nearly to cursing point](#)', Blackwood to F.E. Williams, 23 September 1937, box 5, envelope W, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[Scientists had debated the effects](#)', Blackwood and Danby, 'A Study of Artificial Cranial Deformation in New Britain'. See also notes Blackwood made in her diary in May and June 1937 regarding other scientists' studies of head-binding, 'Diary Vol. III May 18 1937 – Oct. 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[She was surprised at how willing](#)', Blackwood and Danby, 'A Study of Artificial Cranial Deformation in New Britain', p. 176; Gosden and Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism*, pp. 58-9; Blackwood to Chinnery, 13 June 1937, box 27, envelope 2; and Blackwood, 10-14 June 1937, 'Diary Vol. III May 18 1937 – Oct. 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[for the benefit of the Pitt Rivers Museum only](#)', Blackwood to F.E. Williams, 27 June 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. See also, for example, on 6 June 1937 she wrote in her diary, 'Can't get up any interest in this place – it's Todd's job and I hate duplicating', and she made similar comments in the days that followed. ('Diary Vol. III May 18 1937 – Oct. 17 1937', box 14, Blackwood papers, PRM.)

'reduced to the semblance', Blackwood to C. Williams, 23 September 1937, box 5, envelope W, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'While I don't want to be', Blackwood to F.E. Williams, 23 September 1937, box 5, envelope W, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'She decided, instead, to go to Madang', Blackwood to Balfour, 14 September 1937, box 16, envelope 4, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'quite untapped', Blackwood, 25 October 1937, 'New Guinea IV [diary] October 18 1937 – December 13 1937', box 15, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Why the hell', Blackwood, 26 October 1937, 'New Guinea IV [diary] October 18 1937 – December 13 1937', box 15, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'She took to wrapping her legs', Blackwood, 25 October 1937, 'New Guinea IV [diary] October 18 1937 – December 13 1937', box 15, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I lay low and let her go', 'Felt absolutely rotten', Blackwood, 21 November 1937, 'New Guinea IV [diary] October 18 1937 – December 13 1937', box 15, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'rubbish...to try and forget', Blackwood, 30 November 1937, 'New Guinea IV [diary] October 18 1937 – December 13 1937', box 15, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'imprisoned', Blackwood, 12 December 1937, 'New Guinea IV [diary] October 18 1937 – December 13 1937', box 15, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Today, three reels of 16mm film survive', the films are available to watch online at <https://vimeo.com/88908952> (their accession numbers at the Pitt Rivers Museum are PRM1938.36.1711–1713).

'In 1953, Colin Simpson', Blackwood's correspondence with Simpson is in box 49, envelope 4, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I must begin by saying', Blackwood to Simpson, 16 February 1953, box 49, envelope 4, Blackwood papers, PRM.



## 17. A Life of Perfect Unselfishness: Winifred Blackman in North Wales, 1950

'Nothing less than a full year's work', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 27 April 1911, Freire-Marreco file, SCA.

'absolutely fatal', 'should never be able to pick it up again', Blackman to Myres, 21 August 1928, MS. Myres 4, fol. 148, BL. She uses the same phrases in other letters, for example, Blackman to Myres, 8 February 1928, MS. Myres 4, fol. 116, and Blackman to Myres, 26 September 1928, MS. Myres 4, fol. 164, BL.

'divine anxiety', Peet, 'The Fellahin of Upper Egypt [book review]', p. 198.

'semi-popular volume', Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, p. 11.

'to review her position', Peet, 'The Fellahin of Upper Egypt [book review]', p. 198.

'I gather that Miss Blackman's idea', Buxton to Myres, 11 January 1927, MS. Myres 6, fol. 236, BL.

'to sit in a suburb', Myres to Buxton, 29 March 1928, MS. Myres 6, fol. 239, BL.

'Henry Balfour...was more measured', Balfour to Myres, 18 April 1928, MS. Myres 3, BL.

'In 1927 she had won some reprieve', see Larson, *An Infinity of Things*, chapter 14.

'She was writing two more books', Blackman to Wellcome, 13 September 1931, WA/HMM/CM/Col/12, WLAM. As early as 1923 Winifred mentioned in letters to her family that she was working on a book about modern Egyptian saints (D84/1/34, LUSCA), and she published popular articles on Muslim and Coptic saints in *Discovery* magazine in 1923 and 1924.

'she lived near the Rod El Farag market', her address was 36, Sharia Madrasset el-Tewfikia [sic], Shubra Street, Cairo.

'I literally had to push them away', Blackman to Wellcome, 8 October 1928, WA/HMM/CM/Col/12, WLAM.

'a servant who cooked lamb cutlets', Winifred to Elsie, 27 January 1939, D84/1/40, LUSCA.

'She wrote him painfully repetitive letters', WA/HMM/CM/Col/12, WLAM.

'If you did work as I am doing here', Blackman to Wellcome, 9 December 1927, WA/HMM/CM/Col/12, WLAM.

'Wellcome's expansive attitude to collecting', see Larson, *An Infinity of Things*, chapter 17. In 1931, Blackman's relationship with Malcolm – and via him, Wellcome himself – had been under strain. They had disagreed over Wellcome's rights to her existing collections from Egypt, specifically in relation to a set of illustrations of tattoo designs which Winifred had purchased with her own money and used in her lectures, and which were exhibited at Wellcome's Museum during a meeting of the British Association that year. Malcolm initially refused to return the illustrations to her on the basis that, according to the terms of her contract, all Egyptian material she owned belonged to Wellcome's museum. When he did eventually return them, after much pressure from Blackman, he reminded her of Wellcome's rights to the entirety of her private collection, which apparently numbered more than two hundred items (see correspondence in WA/HMM/CM/Col/12, WLAM).

'most of my possessions are in that house', Blackman to Wellcome, 28 August 1932, WA/HMM/CM/Col/12, WLAM, and additional correspondence in the same file.

'A. makes such a fuss', 'if there is a great fuss', Winifred to Elsie, 5 July 1937, D84/1/40, LUSCA.

'selfishness', Mother to Aylward, 2 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA. Mrs Blackman acknowledged Barham's concern for the family in the wake of his father's death, but always in the context of a troubled relationship transformed and the need to pull closer together. When he had joined the Territorial Army as a medic, Mrs Blackman thought it a good thing that he would have to be drilled, while also wishing he would, 'sympathise more with other people's

sufferings and sorrows' (Mother to Aylward, 4 February 1912 and 14 April 1912, D84/1/28, LUSCA). The family was terribly concerned when he became engaged to his first wife, Rose Richardson, in April 1912, after knowing her only a short time, and felt he was 'far too good for her in every way' (Mother to Aylward, 17 April 1912, D84/1/28, LUSCA, see also other letters in 1912 and 1913). He failed to write for birthdays or give presents. Winifred and Barham's relationship was particularly strained. In 1910 she wrote to Aylward, 'His attitude to me is, as a rule, so intensely rude and disagreeable that the less said about me to him the better' (11 April 1910, D84/1/26, LUSCA). Two years later she wrote, 'Barham seems very anxious to show me that he does not wish me to be connected in any way with his future life and carefully excludes me from everything. It does not trouble me much and will save me a lot of trouble. Please do not say anything about this to anyone. Elsie and Flora are very disappointed about it. I do not intend to mix myself up with his affairs in any way and shall keep clear of all his friends when possible.' (Winifred to Aylward, 3 April 1912, D84/1/28, LUSCA) Their relationship remained cool: in 1939 she wrote to Elsie, 'I am glad Barham and Monica [his second wife] are so happy, but he has quite forgotten me and never writes me a line' (27 January 1939, D84/1/40, LUSCA).

'not that Elsie or Flora or you or I', Mother to Aylward, 23 November 1913, D84/1/29, LUSCA.

'always serene', 'Rupert' to Aylward, no date [1950, letter of condolence], D84/1/42, LUSCA.

'a perfect dear', [correspondent's name unclear] to Aylward, 22 July 1950, D84/1/42, LUSCA.

'What a life of perfect unselfishness', Winifred to Elsie, 8 July 1938, D84/1/40, LUSCA.

'being worked to death', Winifred to Elsie, 16 February 1939, D84/1/40, LUSCA.

'two short academic papers', 'Some Further Notes on a Harvesting Scene', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. 19, no. 1, May 1933, pp. 31–32; and, with Blackman, A. M., 'An ancient Egyptian symbol as a modern Egyptian amulet', *L'Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*, vol. 3, 1935, pp. 91–95.

'the Blackmans were sad to leave Oxford', Mrs Blackman wrote of Oxford in the autumn of 1938: 'When I picture it I feel like the Jews when they sat by the waters of Babylon and wept' (Mother to Elsie, 19 October 1938, D84/1/40, LUSCA). Meanwhile, a friend, A.R. Rigg, who wrote to Aylward to congratulate him on his professorship at Liverpool teased, 'All the same I am not sure that the University ought not to have selected your brilliant sister Winnie!' (D84/1/39, LUSCA)

'Folk medicine of the modern Egyptian peasants', *Annual report and prospectus of the Institute of Archaeology*, University of Liverpool, no. 34, 1937–8, p. 14.

'The Liverpool Blitz', see

<https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/exhibitions/blitz/index.aspx>;

[https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/collections/social-](https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/collections/social-history/community/blitz/index.aspx)

[history/community/blitz/index.aspx](https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/mol/collections/social-history/community/blitz/index.aspx); <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/the-liverpool-blitz>.

'Winifred and her family lost almost everything', Fairman, 'Aylward Manley Blackman', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 103.

'an estimated seventy thousand people', <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/the-liverpool-blitz>.

'she had never recovered from the shock of losing her home', the Private Secretary to His Imperial Majesty, Addis Ababa, to Aylward, 23 January 1943, D84/1/41, LUSCA. (The correspondent wrote, 'His Imperial Majesty was extremely sorry to hear of the calamities that had befallen you consequent to the destruction of your property as a result of an air raid on Liverpool, and the passing away of your mother owing to the shock which she had received there

from. Their Imperial Majesties sincerely condole with you for the sad and irreparable loss.’ This letter was written more than a year after Anne Blackman’s death in December 1941.)

‘[played bridge and read aloud](#)’, see [correspondent’s name unclear] to Aylward, 27 June 1950, and [correspondent’s name unclear] to Aylward, 26 June 1950, D84/1/42, LUSCA; and Fairman, ‘Aylward Manley Blackman’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 104.

‘[Aylward was on board the British India liner \*Matiana\*](#)’, ‘Hustle by Injured Professor. Plymouth Helps After SOS’, *Western Morning News*, Tuesday 27 June 1950.

‘[300-mile stretcher-borne race](#)’, ‘Professor Too Late. 300-mile Dash to Dying Sister’, *Western Morning News*, Tuesday 28 June 1950.

‘[the largest mental health institution in the region](#)’, Michael, *Care and Treatment of the Mentally Ill in North Wales 1800-2000*, pp. 173-189.

‘[should go away](#)’, Barham to Aylward, 26 June 1950, D84/1/42, LUSCA. Barham described a dramatic turn of events. He had arrived in Abergele the previous Saturday 24 June, in time to talk to Elsie before she slipped into unconsciousness that night. They took her to hospital and he visited her there on Sunday morning, but he then left for home ‘feeling that I could do nothing more’. Meanwhile, he wrote, ‘Winnie, poor dear, was infinitely worse,’ before adding the single devastating line that sealed Winifred’s fate: ‘Elsie agreed that on your return she should go away.’ Barham did not wait until Aylward got home to act, however. He must have committed Winifred to the hospital before returning to his own doctor’s practice in Malvern to write these few lines of explanation, and he acknowledged how awful it must have been for his brother to arrive at an empty house on the morning of Tuesday 27 June. Barham’s wife wrote that he had been ‘ill with worry’ after ‘that nightmare visit to Abergele’.

‘[cardiovascular degeneration](#)’, as described on her death certificate.

'unselfish', several letters from friends (I have counted three from my notes) described Elsie as unselfish, D84/2/42, LUSCA.

'She was so faithful', unsigned letter from a friend to Aylward, 1 July 1950, D84/1/42, LUSCA.

'I can never say what you are to me', Winifred to Elsie, 6 July 1939, D84/1/40, LUSCA.

'My dear, if you get it', Elsie to Winifred, 11 February 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'very much taken up', Elsie to Winifred, 11 February 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'working for all he is worth', Mother to Winifred, 11 February 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'Elsie imagined her sister', Elsie to Winifred, 11 February 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'quite bewildered', 'I begin to feel rather nervous', 'crowds', Winifred to Elsie, 18 February 1923, D84/1/34, LUSCA.

'The opportunity of work in Egypt', Griffith to Aylward, 7 April 1906, D84/1/22, LUSCA.

## **18. First, Last and All the Time: Beatrice Blackwood at the Pitt Rivers Museum, 1975**

'Work there is not exactly in my line of interest', Blackwood to Penniman, 7 January 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'there were only one or two volunteers', see 'Report of the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum' for the years 1935-1940 for details of the inadequate staffing, available online at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/museum-annual-reports.html>

'suggested Blackwood become curator', H.D. Skinner to Blackwood, 27 June 1939, and Blackwood to Skinner, 16 November 1939, box 4, envelope S, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I really prefer my own subordinate job', Blackwood to H.D. Skinner, 16 November 1939, , box 4, envelope S, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'largely derelict', 'Report of the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum for the year ending 31 July 1940', available online at

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/museum-annual-reports.html>

'During the war', Blackwood, 'The Classification of Artefacts in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford', p. 12. See also, 'Report of the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum for the year ending 31 July 1940', available online at

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/museum-annual-reports.html>

'tens of thousands of cards', Penniman, [No title], in 'Anthropology at Oxford: the Proceedings of the Five-Hundredth Meeting of the Oxford University Anthropological Society', 1953, p. 243.

'fire-watching...', Blackwood to R.H. Lowie, 25 September 1943, box 3, envelope L, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'she had ridden a large motorcycle', Schuyler Jones, lecture notes for the Beatrice Blackwood Lecture, 20 May 1998, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Baby Austin nicknamed "Amaryllis"', Blackwood to Thomson, 2 September 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. She also mentions the car's nickname in notes from the North Solomons relating to canoes (she mentioned that a canoe had been named Amaryllis II after her car), in box 9, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'how curiously independent she seemed', Ian Townsend to Felicity Wood, 7 September 1994, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Volunteer drivers during the war', see, for example, the memories of Joan Plumb, one of Blackwood's contemporaries on the Oxford ambulance team, recorded here:

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/60/a3641960.shtml>

'a small petrol allowance', Blackwood to G.G. MacCurdy, 9 September 1943, box 3, envelope M, Blackwood papers, Pitt Rivers Museum.

'Blackwood's letters to Thomson', box 8, envelopes 1 and 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'it would please you', Blackwood to Thomson, 23 January 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'a walking-stick carved from coconut wood', Blackwood to Thomson, 10 March 1930, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'having tea with him at the University Museum', Blackwood to Thomson, 27 November 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'she called Buxton 'Bones'', see letters from Buxton to Blackwood, August 1935, box 10, envelope 10, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Blackwood took on his teaching as well as Balfour's', Blackwood to M.J. Herskovits, 9 May 1939, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'died at the university while waiting for a meeting to begin', 'We miss him constantly', Blackwood to E.A. Hooton, 18 September 1943, box 2, envelope H, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'scientific fame is secure', Marett to Blackwood, 11 October 1935, box 5, envelope marked 'Both Sides of Buka Passage', Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Miss Blackwood isn't big enough', Marett to Penniman, 9 February 1943, box 3, envelope M, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'their friendship flourished in the 1950s', their correspondence is held in box 1, envelope A, and box 18, envelope 8, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'How well we three knew and valued each other!', Freire-Marreco to Blackwood, 6 October [no year], box 42, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'her health was poor and she had little money', A. Richards to Blackwood, 28 February 1967, and Blackwood to A. Richards, 2 March 1967, box 42, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. See also, Blair, *A Life Well Led*.



'told Beatrice to take her Navajo saddlebag', Freire-Marreco to Blackwood, 9 July [no year], box 1, envelope A, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Blackwood saw the merit of Malinowski's 'functionalism'', see Larson, "'Did He Ever Darn His Stockings?''", pp. 87-8.

'All the functionalists will drop on me', Blackwood to Penniman, 7 January 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'I have never ceased to regret', Blackwood to C. Simpson, 20 March 1953, box 49, envelope 4, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'an awful sweat to write', Blackwood to F.E. Williams, 26 October 1939, box 5, envelope W, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'vicious circle', 'glaring gaps', Blackwood to H.D. Skinner, 22 April 1932, box 4, envelope S, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'dragged on', Blackwood to S. Ray, 17 March 1933, box 4, envelope R, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Well, it will save me the trouble', Blackwood to Penniman, 7 January 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Later scholars would recognize the limitations', see Hallpike, *The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut*, Wormsley, 'The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut [book review]'; Mimica, 'The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut [book review]'.  
'As one reviewer put it', Wormsley, 'The Kukukuku of the Upper Watut [book review]', p. 903.

'first class ethnography based on first class fieldwork', Schuyler Jones, lecture notes for the Beatrice Blackwood Lecture, 20 May 1998, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'The museum's annual reports record her organizing', they are available online at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/museum-annual-reports.html>

'to cover the world in one year', Blackwood, lecture notes for Survey Course, Lecture 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[She was our database in the days before computers](#)', Schuyler Jones to Felicity Wood, 10 November 1993, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[ranks with the best](#)', '[Correspondence addressed to her from abroad flows](#)', Schuyler Jones to Barbara Craig, 15 March 1974, Blackwood file, SCA.

'[BB's long and dedicated](#)', Kenneth Kirkwood to Barbara Craig, 14 December 1974, Blackwood file, SCA.

'[Around this time, she crashed her Baby Austin](#)', Catherine Fagg to Felicity Wood, 22 January 1994, and Schuyler Jones to Felicity Wood, 10 November 1993, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[I am a field worker first, last and all the time](#)', Blackwood to Penniman, 7 January 1937, box 27, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[He probably thought I died years ago](#)', Schuyler Jones to Felicity Wood, 10 November 1993, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[Finding out from her what she did](#)', Ian Townsend to Felicity Wood, 7 September 1994, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[fiercely sharp](#)', Schuyler Jones to Felicity Wood, 10 November 1993, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[a wrathful lecture](#)', Schuyler Jones, lecture notes for the Beatrice Blackwood Lecture, 20 May 1998, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[let rip](#)', '[very small indeed](#)', '[in no uncertain terms](#)', Bob Rivers, notes for Felicity Wood, 1993, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'[\[I watched t\]he tiny figure of Beatrice whirling the device](#)', Schuyler Jones, lecture notes for the Beatrice Blackwood Lecture, 20 May 1998, box 46, envelope 6, Blackwood papers, PRM.

## **19. A Woman Ought Not to Know**

'[rapidly coming to feel](#)', Blackwood to Thomson, 19 November 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'in the pictures', Blackwood to Thomson, 22 September 1929, box 8, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'Australia is wet and cold', Blackwood to Thomson, 28 October 1930, box 8, envelope 2, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'watched a woman scream', Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, chapter 4.

'hundreds of men walking single-file', Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, chapter 6.

'ominous roar', Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, p. 244.

'I simply cannot realize how far I am', Barbara Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 16 September 1910, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'scope to live and be a real person', Freire-Marreco to 'Dear Somerville', 17 February 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'simply daren't think', 'knock about clothes', 'I can't think what it will be', Routledge letter to her friends and family, no date, WSR 4/10, RGS.

'I should like to be back there again', 'Coral Strands Preferred', *The Daily Graphic*, 11 December 1924, p. 5.

'in a dream', Winifred to Elsie, 25 December 1920, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'fairyland', Winifred to Mother, 10 January 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'she was afraid of being too happy', Winifred to Elsie, 1 April 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'life's work', Winifred to Elsie, 1 April 1921, D84/1/31-32, LUSCA.

'there are many things a woman ought not to know', Sidney Hartland, quoted in Murray, *My First Hundred Years*, p. 98. Murray vividly described her experience of attending a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Birmingham in 1913. In an overwhelming male environment, where the few other women present were literally hiding in the corner of the room, she remembered the warm support she felt from A.C. Haddon, who jumped up at her request to advocate for the training of women in anthropology, and R.R.

Marett, who began 'pounding the floor with his umbrella' in delight when Haddon spoke. In contrast, Hartland approached her later to express his deep disapproval of the notion of female anthropologists.

'[Robert Marett had advised Katherine Routledge](#)', Marett to Routledge, 31 May 1912, WSR 4/1/2, RGS.

'[she had been warned that no woman could endure](#)', Curtis to Penrose, 20 November 1914, Czaplicka file, SCA.

'[mental perversions](#)', 'Lady Leader of Scientists', *The Daily Chronicle*, 22 May 1914 (included in Czaplicka's album of press cuttings at UMPAA).

'[mental and spiritual hunger](#)', Katherine Routledge to unnamed recipient 'Your Grace', 3 October 1915, WSR 4/10, RGS.

'[imprisoned](#)', Blackwood, 12 December 1937, 'New Guinea IV, October 18 1937 – December 13 1937 (unfinished): Bosman Villages, Volume I', box 15, envelope 1, Blackwood papers, PRM. 'Feel imprisoned – nearly desperate', she wrote.

'[failures](#)', Freire-Marreco to Myres, 6 October 1910, , MS. Myres 16, fol. 125, BL.

'[a better man](#)', Freire-Marreco to Darbishire, 1 January 1911, Freire-Marreco papers, SCA.

'[with immortality in view](#)', Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, p. 128 (entry for 23 November 1917).

'[FRS, CSI](#)', Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, p. 291 (entry for 17-24 June 1918).

'[let yourself go a little more](#)', Marett to Blackwood, 7 March 1934, box 3, envelope M, Blackwood papers, PRM.

'["master" of the village](#)', Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, p. 235 (entry for 25 March 1918).

'[Oxford and Cambridge...first female professorships in anthropology](#)', Wendy James became Professor of Social Anthropology at Oxford in 1996, and

Marilyn Strathern became Professor of Social Anthropology at Cambridge in 1998.

'like great halls', 'I do not think that you have been yet...', KSR to her family, 8 March 1914. This letter is owned by Katherine's great niece, who kindly provided me with a copy.

'had given a copy of Robinson Crusoe...', the book is now owned by Katherine's great niece. Katherine has inscribed it, 'Evelyn Leslie Fox, from her Auntie, Katherine Routledge, Dec. 25, 1909'

'where the shrubs are', 'dear little cave...', 'Can you see Crusoe', KSR to her family, 8 March 1914, see above.