THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND: 1865-1914

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

John James Moscrop

Department of History

1996

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346


LEICESTER UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND: 1865-1914

submitted by
John James Moscrop

ABSTRACT

Founded in 1865, the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was for the first 20 years of its existence both the principal British exploration society in the Holy Land and a surveying organisation which was heavily dependent upon the work of and support of the Royal Engineers. From 1865 to 1886 PEF functioned as an independent organisation dependent for its work and existence upon the intelligence department of the War Office. Employing Royal Engineers, men and officers, the Fund surveyed western and eastern Palestine, Sinai, and completed a geographical survey around the Dead Sea. Its surveyors included Charles Wilson (later Sir Charles Wilson), Charles Warren (later Sir Charles Warren), Claude Conder and H. H. Kitchener (later Lord Kitchener), and its supporters and organisers included many notable men of the day. The survey operation linked closely with the need for a full map of the Holy Land area in order to protect and police the eastern hinterland to the Suez Canal. After 1890 the PEF became an archaeological organisation employing William Flinders Petrie (1891), Frederick Jones Bliss (1891-1900), R. A. Macalister (1900-09) and lastly Duncan Mackenzie (1910-1912). From 1913 to 1914 the PEF reverted to its former role of intelligence gathering for the War Office and employed Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence as archaeologists and as a cover for Royal Engineers under Captain Newcombe who surveyed the Wilderness of Zin area. After 1918 the British Mandate in Palestine rendered such uses of the PEF obsolete.

This thesis examines the composition of the PEF, its foundation, the involvement of the military intelligence departments with PEF, its financial basis and its relationship to the British involvement in the Middle East. It does not examine the PEF's role in archaeological history, but concentrates upon its work as a Victorian imperial institution.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

APES	American Palestine Exploration Society
DVEP	Deutsche Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas
The Fund	The Palestine Exploration Fund
PEF	The Palestine Exploration Fund
PEFQS	The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

On 8 February 1989 I attended a conference at University College, London organised by the Institute of Jewish Studies and co-sponsored by the Jewish Historical Society. The topic was 'Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914' and at that conference the late Dr Vivian Lipman spoke about the need for further research into the Palestine Exploration Fund. I had vaguely heard of the Fund, but had assumed that the worthy institution was now defunct. To my surprise it was not; it was alive and well, and living at 2 Hinde Mews, the house bought for it in 1911 by Walter Morrison. The more I examined what little was written about the PEF, the more I realised that Dr Lipman was correct in his assessment. The publication in 1989 of Dr Lipman's last book, Americans in the Holy Land through British Eyes: 1820-1917, finally confirmed my view that the Fund was a suitable topic for research. Once I had decided to look at the Fund's history, I had to decide what I would not include in this thesis. The PEF has extensive site reports, maps and archaeological records relating to excavations that have taken place under its auspices of joint sponsorship. I did not intend to write a history of Victorian archaeological work, and accordingly I have only referred to that work as is necessary to illustrate the history of the Fund. What I have concentrated upon has been a history of the institution itself and I have attempted to show how it linked into Victorian imperial endeavour and Victorian British interest in the Holy Land.

As an institution PEF is unique. It was founded in 1865 by a group of men who emerged from the collapse of the Syrian Improvement Fund when that fund appears to have been taken over by evangelical Christians and from the work of the Jerusalem Water Improvement fund. Going back even further, it would seem that its origins could lie in the Prince of Wales' 1862 visit to the Holy Land and the work of John Irwin Whitty. The nominal founders of the PEF include George Grove and Walter Morrison who acted as the Fund's public face alongside James Fergusson and William Thomson, Archbishop of York. From its earliest days the PEF had involved the Royal Engineers who, for its first 20 years, acted as its 'explorers' and who, for much of that time, also worked on the maps of Sinai, western and eastern Palestine, and as intelligence gatherers for the War Office. The list of engineering officers employed by the PEF was illustrious. It included H. H. Kitchener (later Lord Kitchener), Charles Wilson (later a Major General), Conder (later a Colonel) and Charles' Warren (a General and Metropolitan Police Commissioner). Its later employees were to include T. E. Lawrence and Charles Woolley. Its civilian members were no less grand, including Morrison, a member of parliament and millionaire, Lazard, several peers and parliamentary men and its patron was none other than Queen Victoria. Yet PEF was a small, poorly-funded organisation that, superficially at least, received no government help.

It is argued that during the period 1865 to 1886 the Fund doubled as an intelligence-gathering body for the War Office. It was because of that role that it attracted a 'quality' membership and more particularly that it obtained the services of the Engineers. Its finances were poor, it spent 50 years on the brink of collapse, and at least three times (1867-8, 1875-6 and 1904-5) very nearly collapsed financially. It was only because of its usefulness in surveying in the area adjacent to the Suez Canal in 1867 and 1875 that it survived two of these crises, and the generosity of Morrison in 1906 that it lived through a third. I shall illustrate the Fund's value to the British Empire and the British interests in Palestine by reference to the Western Survey, the Eastern Survey, the Geographical Survey and the Sinai Survey. That value was discovered during Wilson's first Jerusalem Survey. The Fund's work during the period 1865-1914 falls into two parts - cartographic and archaeological. From 1865 to 1886 its work was cartography. It returned to this in 1913-14. From 1889 to 1912 the PEF concentrated upon archaeology. The archaeological work illustrates the decline in status and influence of both PEF and the British Empire in the Middle East.

I have depended heavily upon the PEF archives in this work. Those archives consist of letters and reports sent to the Fund by its explorers and employees often returning two letters, one for the Fund and a private one to the Secretary, usually Besant prior to 1886. The archive includes the PEF account books, the books of the Jerusalem Literary Society and the Syrian Improvement Fund, together with letters from early members. The archive was weeded by George Armstrong in 1906 under Wilson's direction. What, however, has never been available before are the Minute Books of the Fund. Minutes were kept in full, and copies of incoming correspondence from other organisations, Fund members, and the War Office, were often recopied at the end of minutes. As far as I am aware, they were kept closed until I was allowed access in 1989.

Wilson and Morrison left no papers or had them destroyed on death. Conder and Warren likewise left little. Grove's son wrote his biography, but destroyed papers relating to the PEF. Dean Stanley was not active in the Fund after its foundation. The PEF has no records in the Royal Engineers' archives, but does have a small section in the Public Records Office archive. I have traced what can be found under the Ordnance Survey archive, but undoubtedly there are other items elsewhere. Intelligence records tend to be scattered throughout the P.R.O. archive and not usually flagged up as such. I can only assume future researchers will find other items.

Four histories have been written for the PEF, all of them before 1916. Besant was probably the author of the first three, written in 1873, 1886 and 1895 to mark the eighth, twenty-first and thirtieth years of the Fund. All were written to raise money and to attract members; none were objective and all concentrated upon the Fund's contribution to Biblical

history. They did not dwell on the workings of the Fund. In 1915 C. M. Watson, then Chairman, wrote a Golden Jubilee history which is probably the most objective of all but even so concentrates mainly upon the Fund's contribution to Bible history. Nothing has been written since then.

The PEF Quarterly Statement and the later Palestine Exploration Quarterly, its successor, have proved useful sources of information especially when the accounting records of the Fund have been deficient or the reminiscences of earlier Fund subscribers were needed. They supplement the Minutes of the Fund, but do not replace them.

Finally, I must thank Dr Rupert Chapman and Dr Shimon Gibson of the PEF for their valuable assistance to me during my work. The John Rylands University Library at Manchester University, the British Museum, the Library of the United Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of England, the Lambeth Palace Library, the Portico Library, Manchester, the library at Giggleswick School, the Public Records Office, Kew, and the Manchester City public libraries all deserve thanks. I would also like to thank Mrs Gillian Austen for her help during the typing of this thesis. I must also give my special thanks to two people who have laboured on this thesis with me for the last six years - Professor Aubrey Newman of Leicester University, my supervisor, and the long-suffering Winifred Moscrop, my mother, who has borne the brunt of the problems that this type of part-time work involves and to whom this thesis is dedicated.

CHAPTER 1
ORIGINS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

The rediscovery of the Holy Land in the nineteenth century was the start of a process whereby '... the Holy Land began to shed the timeless quality that had characterised it for hundreds of years, and the approach which treated the Country as if it was a Unique Entity in all the World'.[1] For the West Europeans in general and the British in particular it was to become a story of the discovery of biblical history and its extraction from the 'timeless quality' referred to above. But for Britain it was to be more than that. The Holy Land or Palestine (the two terms were used interchangeably) was to remain a British obsession for the hundred years or so from 1800 to 1914 and beyond. It was to carry military, religious, and political significance far beyond its historical and scriptural interest. Although the Holy Land was not taken into British imperial possession until after 1917, British involvement in the area prior to 1917 reflected not only British imperial military and naval interests but also British efforts to define the nature of and the justification for the existence of an Empire on a truly global scale.

One of the central organisations in the story of the British involvement with the Holy Land is the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) which, as we shall see, came into existence from 1865 onwards during a period when Britain was struggling to define its imperial purpose and secure its imperial frontiers. The PEF came into being at a period which marked a turning point in imperial history. The Crimean War had concluded in 1856 to be succeeded in 1857 by arguably the most traumatic event in the history of the British Empire - the Indian Mutiny - or the Sepoy War as the Victorians called it.[2] The Mutiny marked the change of imperial styles in both India and the rest of the Empire.

Already evangelical clergy had commenced attempting to remould many of the British Possessions into an English evangelical Christian mould. Nowhere had this been clearer than in Palestine and India: Palestine through the Jerusalem bishopric, established in the 1840s, but which after 1846 had slipped into Prussian hands; and India, with the onset of the missionary activity against the better judgement of the East India Company. Although the British Empire had no religion, the Mother Country, so to speak, did. It had a Protestant state church. As the Empire began to unfold, and to weave Anglican Christian principles and practices into the fabric of imperial awareness, as bishops began to be appointed to dioceses outside England, and as the missionaries began to follow the flag, it became important to show that the nation that ruled a considerable amount of the world's landmass controlled the land of its religious origins.

---

1 Y. Ben-Arieh, 'The geographical exploration of the Holy Land', P.E.Q., 1971, 81.
2 R. Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century, 1815-1914, pp.134-44.

The loss of the Jerusalem bishopric to a Prussian nominee in 1846 had been a blow to British pride. The appearance of the PEF in 1865 allowed Britain again to capture the high ground of imperial religious control. The Victorians were great believers. They believed in their service, their destiny, their religion and themselves. They believed in their Empire and many in their imperial mission. What could better sum up that mission than the scientific exploration of the Holy Land, its reduction to maps and photographs, its exploration and archaeological excavation, and the identification of its sacred sites?

The sacred sites the PEF strove to identify were not those of the Christian New Testament but those of the Old Testament, the sites of the Hebrew Bible. There were practical reasons for this. The only known New Testament sites were already occupied by non-Protestant religious groups, mainly Orthodox and Roman Christians. Sites such as the Holy Sepulchre, the Grotto at Bethlehem, and the Mount of Transfiguration were not available to the Protestants to press into their service or for the British Protestants to commandeer. The Hebrew Bible sites which PEF and its precursors identified were also older, giving the PEF, and through them the British nation, the ownership of site groups that were superior in age to those of the non-Protestants. They also linked the English Protestants, and through them the British Empire, to the Israelites of old and the concept of a chosen people. The parallel was clear and simple. The Chosen People of old, the Israelites, had been succeeded by the new Chosen People, the English.

The work of the fund in Palestine was carried out for its first thirty years by the Royal Engineers and a small group of archaeologists. Many on the PEF's Executive Committee also had military backgrounds. The appearance of a group of military Christian heroes fighting for and working for God, the Empire and the commercial and military prosperity of Britain matched well the mood of an age that almost saw Britain, her Empire and her armies as divinely blessed. It was an age that tottered dangerously on the fringe of war-worship, an age that produced Baring-Gould's hymn 'Onward Christian soldiers' and Spring-Rice's imperial anthem 'I vow to thee my country'. To link military endeavour, the Promised Land, the Church of England and British identity and scientific and investigative progress together was a powerful combination.[3]

It was a combination that came together in the PEF and which acted to form it and justify it. The Fund was important for what it said about Britain and the British, and England and the English, as much as for its scientific finds and discoveries. To some extent it also represented a part of the imperial ideal. PEF did not exclude people of any religion, or none, but like the Empire it was run by an Anglican, English ascendancy. It defined out non-

3 J. Morris, Heaven's Command, chapter 13.

Christians by its very nature until after 1900. Its rulers, the executive, were virtually all members of the Church of England, from the middle classes, and both monied and privileged. The PEF did have some Jewish members but they mostly played no significant role in the Fund's management. It effectively made the British role in Palestine in the later nineteenth century the work of a tight knit group of English Christians working and searching for the good of the Protestant religion and the British Empire. Its activities coincided with the end of the Anglican/Prussian bishopric and mission in Jerusalem.[4] The Fund provided part of the religious justification for the Empire, a reconciliation of imperial imagery with a link to the Promised Land for the Chosen People, the English imperial servants. As Cecil Spring-Rice demonstrated in his hymn, referred to above,

> And there's another country I've heard of long ago
> Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know;
> We may not count her armies, we may not see her king;
> Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering.
> And soul by soul and silently her shining bounds increase,
> And her ways are ways of gentleness, and all her paths are peace.[5]

How far the explorers and originators of the PEF were aware of the underlying imperial rationale for the foundation of the Fund is another matter. The period 1850 to 1870 was one where the value of Britain's growing Empire was questioned by many. Politically the Tory party tended to be the party of Empire but many within it doubted the value of overseas possessions. The Whigs tended to be rather more sceptical of the imperial dream but again many favoured it. We can see the period up to 1870 as one where the imperial ideal was still being debated but where some were increasingly willing to elevate Empire to the level of a faith.[6] That faith was given its most compelling voice in 1870 when John Ruskin made his inaugural lecture as the Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford:

> ... Will you youth of England make your country again a royal throne of kings, a sceptred isle, for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace; mistress of learning and of the arts, faithful guardian of time-honoured principles? This is what England must either do or perish; she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men; seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and teaching there her colonists that their chief virtue is

---

4 A. L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901, pp.183-205.
5 Songs of Praise, Hymn 319.
6 B. Porter, The Lion's Share: A short history of British imperialism 1850-1983, pp.64-8.

to be fidelity to their country, and their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea ...[7]

Ruskin was not advancing a novel view, he was simply vocalising views that already existed. When in 1865 the PEF was founded those views were already in existence, the Empire was being gradually expanded and augmented, and the battle for the Empire's soul was already in being. In 1865 Livingstone was in Bath reporting his African travels to the British Association, Burton had already been to Mecca, and white British settlers were already in Australasia and Africa, not to count India, Canada and the Pacific. Although not yet officially backed by the government, the imperial idea was well established in 1865 as was the accompanying concept of a world-wide missionary Church of England.

Nothing, however, should be allowed to obscure the very real religious faith of many of the early PEF members. They would have seen little or no distinction between their beliefs and the expansion of British interests that followed inexorably upon the work of the Fund. For its first twenty-five years of existence the PEF doubled up as a research body and learned society, a tool for extending British imperial influence and as a cover for obtaining strategic information to support British military interests. From 1865 to 1890 the PEF filled all three roles and for the period 1865-1884 it directly employed Royal Engineering officers as surveyors of Western, and later Eastern, Palestine. The Fund's managing executive would have seen little or no contradiction between allowing its employees to indulge in espionage for Britain and the expansion of British imperial influence and in researching the Holy Land.

The period is one of great colonial significance. It commenced with the start of the building of the Suez Canal in 1865 and its opening in 1869, a period when Britain saw France as its potential colonial rival. Although France became less of a colonial threat after 1870 when her Middle Eastern activities were curtailed by the Franco-Prussian War, France still remained a potential colonial rival up to the First World War and there were periodic crises in British/French relations. Russia, too, was a colonial rival threatening to partition the decaying Ottoman Empire and to obtain a warm water part in either the Mediterranean or in the Indian Ocean/Persian Gulf area, a threat which continued into the early twentieth century. Whilst Britain's colonial ideas were wedded to her religious ones and to her national ethos, there was no problem in the minds of the PEF's executive in wedding its various functions to the national interest.

From 1890 onwards the PEF altered in activity. No longer was it necessary for it to provide the War Office with a base to survey the Holy Land, nor was it necessary to provide a

---

7 J. Morris, Heaven's Command, pp.379-80.

beacon of British imperial presence. It still, however, provided a symbolic marker of the mission of Britain and her Empire but it was only one such marker. By 1890 the Holy Land itself was changing. Jewish immigration into the land was growing and Turkish control was improving. No longer was Britain reclaiming Ruskin's 'fruitful waste' and marking out the ancient Promised Land as her own for her own Chosen People. No longer was there any query over the religion of the Empire; that was settled. The Empire was not set to promulgate Christianity around the world. The Foreign Office was losing interest in the PEF.

From 1890 to 1912 the PEF lived in the shadow of its former glory with declining influence both at home and in Palestine. It turned from a surveying organisation to an archaeological one, employing a succession of archaeologists to dig on its behalf. It had to contend with growing German influence in the Holy Land and an increasing number of nations working to excavate through their own national exploration societies. Still controlled by a now out of touch, elderly Anglican upper-middle class oligarchy and with a waning influence on the imperial idea and the British political establishment, the Fund was pressed into government service once more in 1912-1914.

The period 1912-1914 saw the Fund used as a cover for intelligence work. The Wilderness of Zin Survey, conducted by T. E. Lawrence and Charles L. Woolley was nothing but a cover for the mapping work conducted by Captain Newcombe in the same area. This was not part of the high ideals of Empire, nor part of the great imperial dream, but rather an opportunistic exercise, using the Fund as a cover for military work. The Fund served a purpose, but so would any other organisation. Its symbolic idea had vanished and its part in the imperial tableau had diminished with the departure of most of its founders between 1899 and 1912.

In 1800, the land of Palestine had been thinly populated and had become a virtually neglected province of the Ottoman Empire. It had no carriage roads. Its towns did not exceed their medieval walls, and sanitation and a good pure clean water supply were virtually non-existent. Law and order were badly administered and in places absent. The attention of the world turned to Palestine in the year 1800 with Napoleon's invasion and the battle of Acre. When the French left the attention of the world followed until 1830 when Muhammed Ali, the ruler of Egypt, invaded the land and strategic interest in the land was awakened. The European powers intervened and in 1840 the Holy Land returned to Turkish rule and was to remain an Ottoman possession until 1917 when it was occupied by Britain.[8]

---

8 A. L. Tibawi, Britain's Interests in Palestine ..., chapter 1.

Increasingly weakened by European intervention and European policy, Turkey began to lose its stronghold over day-to-day matters in the Holy Land. Gradually power slipped into the hands of the foreign consuls and the hands of voluntary European organisations. This process was accelerated as the whole of the Middle Eastern area became more and more strategically significant. A sign of that significance came in 1853 when a quarrel between churches over the maintenance of the 'Holy Places' (in this case the Holy Sepulchre and the church at Bethlehem), spilled over into the Crimean War. European interest in the country increased after 1850 with the proposal to dig a canal across the isthmus of Suez. The digging of the Suez Canal continued until 1863 when the British (belatedly) recognised the importance of the Canal for British interests.[9] In 1882 Britain occupied Egypt, having purchased the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal in 1875. The Canal, Britain realised, was a back door to India, and both Egypt and the Canal were important to the imperial effort. Palestine held a similar interest for Britain.

Up to 1800 the only maps of the area that existed were very inaccurate and fanciful medieval documents. In 1800 General Jacotin drew up and later published an atlas of maps. The maps, known as Jacotin's Atlas, were published in 1815 and as Jacotin was an engineer in Napoleon's army of occupation, they represented an enormous advance on the existing cartography of the area.[10] The maps were checked and corrected from the point of marine navigation when Captain Gauthier surveyed the coast Gaza to Haifa in 1816-1820. Jacotin's maps were not replaced until 1870/80 with the publications of PEF's ordinance survey, although Berghaus recognised Jacotin's deficiencies in mapping as early as 1835 and made an inaccurate attempt to remedy them. Mapping of specific areas took place in the 1830s, areas such as the Dead Sea which Costigan attempted to map in 1835. The salt water he drank on the banks of the Dead Sea cost him his life.[11]

Russinger, an Austrian engineer, mapped Jerusalem in 1836, measuring the walls and surveying the city. Frederick Catherwood, a Briton, a Royal Academician and a student of architecture, sketched Jerusalem in the mid-1830s (around 1833) and, with the connivance of the Turkish governor, he produced a plan of the Temple area specifically and the city in general showing the position of the Mosques in the Haram. He made three maps of Jerusalem and a large number of sketches. Sadly little of his work survives as he lent most of his drawings to the historian of architecture, James Fergusson. The drawings were lost. Catherwood's plans did survive and were the basic map of Jerusalem up to 1849.

---

9 Dean F. Bradshaw, A Decade of British Opposition to the Suez Canal Project, 1854-1864, chapter 1.

10 P.E.Q., 1972, 83.

11 Yehoushua ben-Ariah, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century, p.78.

From 1840 onwards, the British became increasingly prominent in mapping and recording the country. It was British military involvement that helped in 1840 to restore Ottoman rule to the Holy Land and as the importance of the area was being gradually realised, the British expedition that helped defeat Ibrahim Pasha in 1840 took the opportunity to survey the area. In 1840 a team under Major Scott used a theodolyte to survey the area Jaffa to Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, Ras el Abied, Safed and Lake Kinneret. In this Scott was assisted by Lieutenant J.F.A. Simmons. The results were published in 1844. The military factor in such work was to become increasingly important and significantly when this survey was published as part of a larger work; the editor was a Royal Engineer, R. C. Alderson.[12]

Britain was not the only country interested in such mapping. In 1842-1846 Ludwig von Wildenbruch surveyed around Galilee and noted the levels of the Red Sea, Suez and the Mediterranean. The work was towards the Suez Canal Project. J. van de Cote published a Holy Land map in Brussels in the 1840s and from 1847 C.W.M. van de Velde worked on mapping in the area. Van de Velde was a Dutchman and he produced cartography of a high quality. His maps were published in 1854 and 1857 and, prior to the ordinance survey by PEF, were some of the best maps of the area.

British military interest in the country was not just linked to mapping. Connected to terrestrial mapping was the work of men such as Lieutenant Molyneaux of the Royal Navy who not only mapped but who, in 1847, sounded the Sea of Galilee and found it to be 48 metres deep. An American expedition under William F. Lynch of the USA Navy sailed two iron boats, the Fanny Mason and the Fanny Skinner, from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea in 1847-1848 sketch mapping and taking soundings as they went. The team produced an official report of great detail, but unfortunately the maps produced were inaccurate.

Part of the reason for the interest of the early cartographers and explorers in the area was the strategic significance of the country in which they operated. Not only was the building of the Suez Canal mooted from the 1840s onwards, and actually commenced in the 1850s; the whole area was seen as a possible Russian invasion route to the Indian Ocean which if taken would result in Russia having a warm water port in the southern part of Asia.[13] In addition to these very real concerns other, and rather more fanciful, military schemes existed for the area. Thus in 1850 Captain William Allen RN proposed, in his book The Dead Sea - New route to India, that the Jordan Rift should be flooded to provide a sea route to India. Other similar proposals existed, but were never seriously attempted or acted upon.[14]

---

12 Ibid., pp.122-4.
13 Dean F. Bradshaw, A Decade of British Opposition ..., pp.33-42.
14 Yehoushua ben-Arieh, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land ..., pp.125-45.

If one man must stand out from all other travellers and visitors to Palestine in the nineteenth century, that man is Edward Robinson. By birth Robinson was an American citizen. He came from New England, being born in Connecticut in 1794. He attended Hamilton College and later Andover College, studying the Bible in the conservative heartlands of New England. Andover was a Congregationalist college, and there his tutor was Moses Stuart, a conservative biblical historian but also an admirer of many of the contemporary German scholars. Robinson, influenced by Stuart, studied under the German thinkers of the time, in particular under Carl Ritter and Gesenuis, returning from Germany in 1835 to teach Hebrew at Andover. In 1837 Robinson became Professor of Biblical Literature at the Union Theological Seminary, New York. He accepted the Chair on the basis that he be allowed to visit and travel in the Holy Land. He made two visits, in 1838 and 1852. Both were brief (five months in all), but their results were immense. Robinson studied both the physical geography and the historical geography of the Holy Land. He used a philological and linguistic theory to decipher Arabic place names and claimed that they contained within them the root of the original Hebrew name of those places.[15]

Robinson's theory was based on a number of assumptions: firstly, that the Hebrew place names were contained in the Arabic place names; secondly, an assumption of a continuity of settlement; thirdly, a belief that the population of the area of the Holy Land had remained static and had a continuity from biblical times. Whatever the shortfalls of his theory, it was expounded in his work Biblical Researches in 1841 and again in his Later Biblical Researches, 1856. He died in 1863 and his last work, Physical Geography of the Holy Land, appeared in 1865. He was awarded the Royal Geographical Society's Gold Medal in 1842. His companion in travel and research was his pupil from Andover, Eli Smith, a fluent Arabic speaker.

Robinson's work was to influence the thought of nineteenth and many twentieth-century Protestant scholars. In turn Robinson acknowledged a debt to his German teachers, in particular to Carl Ritter to whom he dedicated his first book. To some extent Robinson was as guilty as anyone of seeing the Holy Land as a place where time had stood still. On first seeing Jerusalem he was struck by the desolate landscape but then commented from his presuppositions and his biblical knowledge: 'Yet it must be a fine grazing country as is proved by the fact of the sleek condition of the herds and flocks and by its having been from the days of Abraham onward a place of resort of nomadic herdsmen.'[16]

Indeed Robinson, like so many travellers, went to the Holy Land expecting to find a time capsule of the lands of the Bible. He felt little would have changed and expected the

15 V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land through British Eyes, p.24.
16 E. Robinson & E. Smith, Biblical Researches in Palestine ..., Vol.1, p.312.

ethos, geography and even the population, its customs and its habits to be as they had been in Bible times. We find him comparing the land and its missionaries (i.e. the Protestant missionaries) with the Hebrew people of old, saying the missionaries were like: '... the Hebrews of old, at the time of the Passover, [who] came to worship in this place, and to consult on the best measurers for promoting the great work in which they were engaged.'[17]

The identification of the Protestants with the Jewish people is a constant theme throughout the work of Robinson and of many other nineteenth century biblical writers and Bible historians. Sometimes the reference is clear, as in the above passage, sometimes it is not spelt out with such clarity, and for many it was assumed. Robinson, like many who were to come after him, made it clear that he considered that for a Protestant coming to the Holy Land, it was a coming home. He identified the 'Hebrews of old' with Protestant Christians and the 'Great Works' of the Bible with the task of the missionaries.

Of course Robinson referred to the traditional sites of the Christian church in the Holy Land. Most of these sites had been established by the Christian churches prior to the Crusades and were in the control of the Orthodox Christians (Greek, Russian and Armenian) and the Roman Catholic Church. None had any Protestant groups attached to them. Robinson was scathing. He rejected the priests as 'ruffians and often illiterate'[18] and condemned the 'shrines' such as the Holy Sepulchre as 'revolting to a Protestant', as false[19] and as inferior to the Moslem and Jewish holy sites. Robinson accepted the Jewish holy sites as genuine and was much impressed by the 'Wailing Place' when he attended there with Lanneau[20]

When Robinson came to describe the Christian holy sites he commenced his description by referring to '... the lapse of more than fifteen centuries Jerusalem has been the abode not only of mistaken piety but also of credulous superstition, not unmingled with pious fraud' and then continues to emphasise: '... all ecclesiastical tradition respecting the ancient places in an around Jerusalem and throughout Palestine is of no value, except so far as it is supported by circumstances known to us from the Scriptures or from other contemporary testimony.'[21]

For Robinson the verifying factors that made a site clearly genuine included scripture, ancient texts, and linguistic verification. The latter was attained by the 'preservation of the ancient names and places among the common people'. A native tendency to reuse and preserve names amid place identification through the:

---

17 Ibid., pp.326-7.
18 Ibid., p.330.
19 Ibid., p.331.
20 Ibid., pp.349-53.
21 Ibid., pp.371-5.

> deep seated ... genius of the Semitic language. The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramean form long after the New Testament; and maintain themselves in the mouths of the common people in spite of the efforts made by Greeks and Romans to surplant them ... Aramean ... gave place to the kindred Arabic, the proper names of places ... found a ready entrance and have thus lived on the lips of the ... Arabs.[22]

By this method Robinson sought to identify a considerable number of sites. He did no archaeological excavations but by language alone reflected the traditional Christian identifications and made his own identifications. From a Protestant perspective this was indeed valuable. It meant that English and American travellers in particular were no longer bound to sites which were in Catholic or Orthodox control but, using the newly identified site, could claim their own portion in the lands of the Bible.

The impact made by Robinson was enormous. Within a few years of publication in 1841 virtually all Western European travellers referred to the work, and most English and American travellers used Robinson's book as a commentary. Robinson's texts became standard texts in theological colleges and universities, and by the 1860s most biblical students had access to, and used, them.

After 1840 a large number of books on the Holy Land were produced. Many attempted to emulate Robinson; most failed to reach his standard. Perhaps the best summary of the then existing information was published in 1841 by John Kitto. When Kitto wrote, the geography of the Holy Land was still not clear. Many areas remained to be explored and documented, and errors therefore crept into Kitto's text, but even so Kitto managed to make a number of geographical conclusions which are still valid today. Kitto concluded that Palestine was an example of a landscape changed by man's intervention and realised that the geography of a country could be altered by human intervention. The land had therefore altered over centuries and not stood still. Kitto also defined the natural boundaries of the land, boundaries later adopted by PEF.[23]

If Robinson produced the nineteenth century's historical geography of the Holy Land, it fell to a Scottish painter, David Roberts, to illustrate it. Roberts was born in 1796 at Stocksbridge near Edinburgh and was a house painter. He later became a theatrical scene painter and moved from Edinburgh to London. He first exhibited as an oil colour painter in 1824 and by 1832 was well established as an artist and illustrator of books. In 1838 he was elected to the Royal Academy, following which he went to Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. In

---

22 Ibid., pp.375-6.
23 Yehoushua ben Ariah, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land ..., pp.118-21.

1838 Roberts landed in Egypt but by 1839 he had left Egypt to travel via Sinai to Damascus. On route he travelled to Jerusalem and the Holy Land. He returned to England in 1839. His Holy Land pictures were unique; nothing like them had ever been seen before, and their uniqueness was realised. Published by F. G. Moon and lithographed by Louise Hague, they took eight years to publish. Roberts died 25 November 1864.[24]

Many illustrators who came after Roberts were influenced by both his style and his drawing which were copied and re-copied throughout the nineteenth century. Roberts' work gave a visual reality to the Holy Land and, as luck would have it, a visual and selective picture which complemented the work of the historians who wrote about the land, men such as Robinson whose work benefited enormously from Roberts' work. Roberts was the last great Holy Land illustrator. Though others such as David Wilkie, Adrian Dauzati and Thomas Horne came after him, much of the work of illustrating generally was taken over by photography in the 1850s and 1860s.

British interest in Palestine had been clear since the early years of the nineteenth century. By 1860 these interests were physically represented in the area by three bodies - the London Society for the Promoting of Christianity amongst the Jews, the Church Missionary Society, and the British Consul in Jerusalem. This Society, (known as the London Society), was founded in 1808 by evangelical Protestant Christians led by Joseph Samuel Frederick Frey, himself a Jewish convert to Christianity. By 1815 the London Society had distanced itself from its original non-denominational roots and the Society was a totally Church of England organisation. The London Society attracted eminent sponsors and, in its early years, royal patronage. From 1848 up to his death the president of the Society was the Earl of Shaftesbury who endowed the London Society generously and acted as its patron and adviser.

The London Society drew a great deal of money and support from Church of England congregations attracting some of its funding from evangelical congregations who subscribed some £135,000 to the Society in sixteen years. In many ways the London Society was the product of evangelical speculation and polemic. From the last quarter of the eighteenth century there had been much Protestant speculation about the coming of the millennium and much eschatological thinking. By the 1820s this had reached a peak and in 1826 Henry Drummond, a scion of the banking family, called a conference at his estate at Albury Park in Surrey to discuss various matters linked to the current eschatological speculation including the conversion of the Jews, the return of the Jews to the Holy Land, and the starting of the

24 Nachman Ran ed., The Holy Land by David Roberts, Repr. 1989.

Millennium.[25] Drummond was an evangelical, a wealthy man, and one who funded numerous evangelical Christian events. He funded three conferences at Albury Park, one of the outcomes of which was increased interest in Christian missionary activity involving British Jews and attempts to assess the restoring of the Jewish people to the Holy Land. It seems that at the Albury conferences interest increased in the ten 'Lost Tribes' and in fringe evangelical movements. After the third Albury Park conference in 1829 the movement split and the radicals moved out, some into non-Anglican churches such as the Catholic Apostolic Church founded by Drummond in 1832 and others to movements run by Edward Irving.[26]

Within the more orthodox Christian churches interest remained in the Jewish people in general and in their restoration to the Holy Land in particular. Edward Bickersteth, a second generation evangelical clergyman, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, and an enthusiast for Christian mission to the Jews, became the main exponent of Jewish restoration and conversion within the established church. As well as editing a number of works, Bickersteth worked for and preached for the London Society and both he and John Nicholayson were friends of Michael Solomon Alexander, the first Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem. He, like many of his contemporaries, was both anti-Catholic and pro-conversion of the Jewish people as a means of ending the Roman Church and bringing the Millennium into being.

The high points of the London Jews Society's involvement with the Holy Land came in the 1840s with the establishment of an Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem and the passage of legislation to allow such an appointment to take place. Several previous attempts had been made to establish a mission in Palestine, but none had been successful. A mission for the London Society in 1819 failed when Joseph Wolf, a Jewish convert, had to abandon work in the Holy Land. The Society sent a Dr G. Dalton to the Holy Land in 1825. Dalton died and was not replaced. In 1826 a further missionary was sent, John Nicolayson, a Dane from Schleswig. Nicolayson was to become one of the most important Protestant missionary influences in the Holy Land from 1826 until his death. It was to be Nicolayson who was to commence laying the foundations of the London Jews Society's church at Jerusalem just inside the Jaffa Gate. It was Nicholayson who was to guide the new Bishop after 1840, maintain the London Jews Society's presence after 1846, and later guide early PEF explorers.[27]

---

25 S. Kochav, 'Biblical prophecy, the evangelical movement, and the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, 1790-1860' in Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914, conference at UCL, 8 February 1989.

26 Ibid., pp.7-10.

27 A. L. Tibawi, Britain's Interests in Palestine ..., pp.10-5.

The Turkish system of government allowed the protection of certain Ottoman citizens and all foreign citizens by foreign powers. Non-Muslim Ottoman subjects were organised into autonomous communities or millets, a system of Byzantine origin. The Greeks, Latins (i.e. the Roman Catholics), and the Armenians all formed millets. The Protestants did not. Additionally a system of capitulations applied to all non-Ottoman subjects. It was a system whereby certain countries were granted the power to exercise extra-territorial jurisdiction through their ambassadors and consuls in relation to their own citizens in Turkey. By the mid-nineteenth century such privileges had become rights and various countries claimed the rights to protect communities within Turkey and its Empire. Thus France claimed the right to protect Catholics and Unate church members whilst Russia claimed the protection of the Greek and Orthodox Christians.[28]

Pressure from various influential people in Britain, coupled with a British desire to have a greater influence in the Palestine area, led in 1842 to the appointment of an Anglican Bishop for Jerusalem, Michael Solomon Alexander, a Jewish convert to Christianity. Alexander was a member of the London Society and had for some time been its employee. At the time of his appointment to the See of Jerusalem he was Professor of Hebrew at King's College London. The London Society put him forward as their candidate, and he assumed the bishopric, only to die in 1846.[29] The bishopric to which Alexander had been appointed was no ordinary Anglican bishopric; it was a joint bishopric shared by both the Church of England and the Evangelical Protestant Church of Prussia. The negotiators and prime movers for the foundation of the joint bishopric had included Lord Shaftesbury, Chevallier Bunsen and the Prussian King Frederick William IV. On the English side the bishopric was established by Act of Parliament and the Bishops ordained by the Church of England authorities. On the Prussian side the Bishop was commissioned by the Prussian church and subscribed to the Augsburg Confession.[30] The two churches had major theological differences, and the establishment of the Jerusalem Bishopric was to cause major problems within the Church of England with Newman blaming it for his move to Rome.[31]

Following Alexander's death a Prussian successor was appointed under the terms of the bishopric agreement. He was Samuel Gobet and he was to remain as Bishop until 1879. With Gobet's appointment British influence on the bishopric declined.

---

28 Ibid., pp.30-1.

29 Amongst those consulted was Lord Shaftesbury. See Edwin Hodder, Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, vol.1, pp.365-73.

30 A. L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine ..., pp.30-1; Michael Hannam, 'The Jerusalem Bishopric' in Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914, conference at UCL, 8 February 1989.

31 R. W. Greaves, 'The Jerusalem Bishopric 1842', English Historical Review, 64 (1949).

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was founded on 12 April 1799 by members of the Clapham Sect and held its first meetings under John Venn. Its object was to propagate the Christian gospel and unlike the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and other organisations it was not limited as to where the propagation could take place. By the 1820s the CMS Council included the future Lord Shaftesbury, William Wilberforce, and Charles Simeon. Its funds amounted to £30,000 and it was by now interested in the Holy Land. Initially missions to the Holy Land had already taken place. In 1815 William Jowett had failed in a mission and ended up in Malta. Even earlier Melchior Renner and Peter Hartig had taken a Levant mission which failed and an attempt to take a mission to the Moslems of the Holy Land in around 1811 under Cleardo Naudi failed. CMS had as its main area of interest converting Moslems (never a real possibility in any Moslem country) and making Protestants out of the local Catholic Christians. Missions to the Jewish people did not generally interest the CMS.

In the 1820s missionaries began to be recruited from Germany and the main interests of the missionaries centred on work in Egypt, Malta and Abyssinia. The CMS literature has in it only passing references to missions to the Jews and the Holy Land area was left free for the London Jews Society through to the mid-1840s. The Malta base of the CMS was the organisation's main depot for East Africa and a watching post for Asian missions. The Malta depot was run by, amongst others, Samuel Gobat in the 1840s.[32] CMS by now realised the impracticalities of missions to Levantine Moslems; both missions and converts risked death if a Moslem converted.

Under the 1841 Anglo/Prussian Agreement the successor to Bishop Alexander was to be chosen by Prussia. Their choice was the CMS mission station leader in Malta, Samuel Gobat. Gobat was an experienced missionary of French-Swiss origins with a command of Arabic, a Lutheran background, and a CMS training. Gobat had already undergone Anglican training and had been ordained as a deacon in the Church of England in 1845. He was ordained priest and bishop at Fulham Palace in 1846 and took up his see of Jerusalem that year. Gobat set to work systematically dismantling the institutions opened by Alexander in the Holy Land. In 1847 the Jewish School for converts' families was turned into a general mission school. The 'enquirers' house for converts was shut and Alexander's 'Hebrew College', 'House of Industry' and dispensary were all closed down. Despite the London Jews Society's protests, by 1850 the whole nature of the mission had changed to a mission to the Eastern Orthodox Christians. The Moslem authorities indicated that provided no attempt was made to convert Moslems, a mission to convert non-Protestant Christians to Protestant Christianity would not be stopped. The Jewish mission was sidelined, and when the London Jews Society and the new consul, James Finn, protested it had no effect. The CMS mission

32 A. L. Tibawi, Britain's Interests in Palestine ..., pp.17-27.

was to Palestine's Christian Arabs and the London Jews Society's only representative left in the Holy Land was the long-serving missionary Nicolayson whose work was increasingly overlooked by Gobat. Gobat was to remain Bishop until 1879 when he died in office.[33]

Until 1825 Levant consuls and Constantinople ambassadors were appointed from the Levant Company. Consuls existed in the more important Turkish and Levantine ports and in Palestine they were stationed in Acre, Jaffa, Beirut and Sidon. The first full-time, non-native consul to be appointed to Palestine was William Tanner Young who, unlike the earlier part-time consults noted above, was appointed to Jerusalem. The city was of virtually no commercial importance. It had a very small population and an even smaller number of foreign residents. There were virtually no Protestants in the city, only a handful of Englishmen, and the city was of very little strategic value. It is hard to see why a consul was appointed to such a backwater. According to Lord Shaftesbury the plan to appoint a consul to Jerusalem was an act of divine providence.[34] The general view, however, has always been that pressure was exerted on Palmerston by Shaftesbury to secure the appointment of a consul for missionary purposes.[35] The area was, however, of great strategic and military significance especially after the Egyptian occupation of Palestine in the 1830s. The Russians had military ambitions in Palestine and the West European powers were becoming interested in it. The British Consul-General in Syria had recommended in 1834 that more attention be paid to the Levant and his recommendations referred to the increasing tourist interest in the area. The Consul-General of Egypt was consulted by both Wellington and Palmerston about a possible Palestine consul. In short, the missionary interest was probably a side issue, and strategic and other considerations led to a consular appointment.[36]

For whatever reason, a consul was selected and William Tanner Young took up office in 1839 remaining until 1845. Young was sponsored by the London Jews Society, but on taking office he was strictly enjoined to act according to Foreign Office guidance. His terms of appointment included 'affording protection to the Jews generally',[37] but not acting as a missionary. Young had no obvious group of people to protect. Most Palestine Jews of the time were Russian or Turkish subjects, the Russians being effectively refugees from Czarist Russian. What Young had to do was to establish a British client group which, under the Mellet system and the capitulations, would give him a chance to intervene in Turkish affairs in Jerusalem. Young established his client group amongst the Russian refugees. It was to be

---

33 Ibid., pp.86-100.
34 Edwin Hodder, Life and Work of ... Shaftesbury, vol.1, p.233.
35 A. L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine ..., pp.33-4 and also N. Soklow, A History of Zionism, chapter 23.
36 M. Verete, 'Why was a British consulate established in Jerusalem?', English Historical Review, April 1970, 317 et seq.
37 For a fuller account see Albert Hyamson, The British Consulate in Jerusalem in relation to the Jews of Palestine 1838-1914, vol.1, pp.xv-xi, and also PRO/FO/78/368.

Finn, his successor, who would extend and expand that group to include a much larger number.

Young's relationship with the bishop was stormy. The London Jews Society made demands that he found incompatible with his diplomatic status and his Foreign office orders. Between 1842 and 1846 consul and bishop often found themselves in opposition. Young left Palestine in 1845 and was followed into office by another who, like Young, was a London Jews Society nominee - James Finn. Finn was a keen Hebrew student and had a good knowledge of Jewish history. He was married to Elizabeth Ann, the daughter of Alexander McCaul, the best known and most prominent of the London Jews Society missionaries. Finn had had a long association with the Society and had been in their employment. He not only fulfilled his consular duties, but also worked on conversionist and welfare projects for the Jewish population of Jerusalem. He eventually became financially embarrassed and in 1862 relinquished his post - under Foreign Office pressure.

Finn was replaced by Noel Temple-Moore who remained as consul from 1862 to 1890. Temple-Moore was a professional diplomat. He had served in Beirut and was to serve in Tripoli from 1890 to 1894. He distanced himself from the missionaries, the bishopric and the London Jews Society and, like his successors, fulfilled a purely diplomatic role. With the appointment of Temple-Moore the London Jews Society lost its influence over the consulate and it had already lost influence over the bishopric. The British government's short flirtation with the religious conversionists was at an end and a new era had dawned.

The biggest losers in the new British interest in the Holy Land were the Russians and the French. Traditionally they had held the duty to protect Christians in the Holy Land, Russia (the Orthodox) and France (the Latins). Britain's intervention shook their hegemony.[38] For France Britain's 'scientific interest' in the Holy Land, and particularly the adoption of Robinson's views by many British Protestants, threatened to undermine the credibility of the holy sites at Jerusalem and Bethlehem. American and British visitors clamoured for 'authentic' archaeological sites based on Robinson and consequently there was a loss of both political power and revenue to the new sites from the old. The most striking example of the Anglo-Saxon attempt to re-discover an authentic past for the Holy Land was the founding in 1849 of the Jerusalem Literary Society by Consul Finn, dedicated to extending knowledge about Palestine's historical and archaeological past. English and German scholars wrote commentaries and histories of the country from 1830 onwards, and they, with Robinson, dominated Holy Land scholarship.

---

38 Neil Asher Silberman, Digging for God and Country, pp.63-5.

France, in particular, could see power slipping away from her. Her representatives were a few religious monks at traditional sites. When in 1850 Louis-Felicien Caignart de Saulcy went to the Holy Land as a chaperon for several young French noblemen, France saw him as a way of rebutting Robinson who had so badly damaged their religious interests. De Saulcy had a rudimentary archaeological knowledge. By training he was a military man, in history he was an amateur. He supported traditional sites and had French government support. His finds were often misidentifications or clear errors (as, for instance, was his identification of the tomb and coffin of King David). His finds were, however, important to France and he received the Empress Eugenié's support.[39]

De Saulcy's work was interrupted by the Crimean War. When he resumed work in the 1860s his naive theories conflicted with those of the French scholars, particularly Renan. By 1863 De Saulcy had dug for a season in Egypt and returned to Jerusalem to dig the Kedron Valley. His work was beginning to be doubted, and in Britain it was subject to open criticism. National pride had become involved. Russia had little interest in this controversy, but Britain had a great deal and disputes began to erupt between Britain and France.

Whilst the Franco-British controversy raged over the truth of archaeological finds, a second broke out within the British theological establishment over the identity of the true Holy Sepulchre. The Holy Sepulchre in the centre of Jerusalem had long been identified as Jesus' burial place. There was no rival site. Robinson had doubted its authenticity in his work, although he never entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in all his time in Jerusalem. Robinson also popularised the identity of the Temple site within the Haram as the authentic site of the Temple. In Britain church politics came to be involved in the two identifications. No-one seriously questioned the Haram as the Temple site, but the emerging high church party were very keen to defend the traditional identity of the Sepulchre, not least because it provided all Christianity with a common root and that root was in the possession of traditional churches with traditional rituals.

In 1845 George Williams published a defence of the traditional site[40] and took Robinson to task for his radical views. He also attacked the German radical thinkers.[41] Williams was a Church of England cleric and a Cambridge don. He had been strongly influenced by Orthodox Christianity whilst chaplain to Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, and the British consulate and again as a chaplain to the Embassy in St Petersburg. His work was a reaction to Robinson and in turn produced a defence from James Fergusson,[42] a gentleman

---

39 Ibid., p.65 et seq.
40 George Williams, The Holy City, London 1845.
41 Frederick Jones Bliss, The Development of Palestine Exploration, p.232.
42 James Fergusson, An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, London 1847.

scholar who published a criticism of both Robinson and Williams advancing a theory that the tomb of Jesus had been sited on the Temple mount. Fergusson never went to Jerusalem and produced his theory from textual sources. He had many supporters and his views were adopted widely and included in the early editions of Smith's Bible Dictionary.

The controversy was marked by invective, Williams accusing Robinson of 'unwittingly arraying himself with the disciplies of the Koran and the Crescent, the avowed enemies not of the Sepulchre alone, but of the Holy Church Catholic'.[43] Williams later withdrew the allegation. Fergusson was equally strong in his invective.[44] The reason for the strong feeling was, as noted above, the ritualism and theological controversy then raging in the Church of England. Newman had published Tract 90 and by 1845 left the Church of England. He saw Rome as 'substantially unchanged, in a line of tradition leading back to the Apostles'.[45] The rejection of traditional sites and the critical and radical approaches of Robinson and Fergusson were contrary to his, and many of his supporters', views. In normal circumstances Fergusson would probably not have been heeded, but the climate of the times meant that he was, not least because his radical views were seen as a convenient counterblast to those of the Newmanites and ritualists. Because of this Fergusson's views gained wide acceptance, especially amongst the early members of the PEF.

A great conflict of interests therefore existed both within and without the British religious establishment generally, and the Church of England in particular. At the same time national interests in Britain, France and Russia served to complicate issues. Politics on an international scale, British Franco-phobia, and military interests tended to dictate British Palestine policy. At the same time within Britain controversy within the English church played its part. A site such as the Temple site of the Sepulchre identified by Fergusson served the dual purpose of devaluing a French site and also extolling a Protestant viewpoint as against the Anglo-Catholic; the one for foreign consumption, the other for home use. At the same time the military value of the Holy Land became increasingly clear.

All this was compounded by the state of the Turkish Empire. The revolt by Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt in 1831/2, leading to an occupation by Egypt of Palestine, had threatened to destabilise the Ottoman Empire. A Druze revolt of 1839 caused Ibrahim Pasha to march north to the Tarsus Mountains and caused the intervention of the Allied powers - Austria, Britain and Egypt, 1839-40 - to push the Egyptians out of Turkish territory and from Syria.[46] They also caused the Allies to look to Turkey who had been saved by Allied action to make some sort of

---

43 George Williams, The Holy City, p.viii.
44 James Fergusson, An Essay on ... Jerusalem, p.77.
45 John Henry Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, chapter III.
46 Jehoushua ben-Arieh, The Rediscovery of the Holy Lane in the Nineteenth Century, pp.65-70.

reforms to the Turkish Empire. The reforms or Tanzimat commenced in 1839 with the publication of the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane and continued in 1856 following British/French help for Turkey in the Crimean War. In 1856 the Sultan published a further rescript, the Hatti-Humayun. Both the 1839 and 1856 reforms improved the lot of minorities in the Turkish Empire and in Palestine improved the position of both Jews and Christians. The administration, the army, tax collection, and education were all modernised and western, particularly British, influence grew in the period of the Tanzimat.[47] From the point of view of the British scholars in the Holy Land, the Tanzimat improved their position greatly and eased their position which was interrupted only temporarily by the Crimean War.

Travel and excavation within the Levant area in general was temporarily halted between 1852 and 1856 by the Crimean War. At the conclusion of the War Britain and France not only emerged as victors, but also as powers with a new role in the Levant. The two had supported and protected Turkey against Russia and by 1856 their prestige was high. In 1856 neither British nor French status or power could be ignored and for some years thereafter, through to 1870, both countries' power within Turkey helped promote their interests and their clients, a situation that continued for Britain until she was eclipsed by Germany in the 1890s.

The traditional Holy Land travellers from the west had been Christian pilgrims to the holy sites, and later explorers and scholars visiting the country. Until the 1850s travel to Palestine was hazardous and, although by the 1840s the country was on the Grand Tour itinerary, it was still reckoned to be dangerous. No carriage roads existed, all travel was by animal, there were few horses to be had, and pack animals and donkeys formed the bulk of the methods of transport. Few hotels existed until the 1850s and even after 1856 hotels tended to only be in Jerusalem and possibly Jaffa. When Lord Lindsay visited in 1837 he described the Valley of Amman as being 'filled with the stench of dead camels'.[48] In 1844 Eliot Warburton found the area one of 'utter desolation'[49] and other writers bear out the same view. Most tourists camped outside the walls of the principal cities and took what precautions they could against malaria and poor water supplies and water borne infections.

Tourism from the west was, however, increasing. Guidebooks to the Holy Land began to appear, led by Murray in the 1850s. These were popular guides and handbooks. For the middle class, British traveller in the 1850s and 1860s there was no substitute, however, for the guidebook that became the indispensable companion of all British travellers, a book to rank alongside Robinson's Recent Research. That book was A. P. Stanley's work Sinai and Palestine, first published in 1856.

---

47 V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land through British Eyes, 1820-1917, p.15.
48 A. Lindsay, Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land, Vol.ii, p.110.
49 A. Warburton, The Crescent and the Cross, Vol.ii, p.142.

Born Arthur Penryn Stanley in Alderly Rectory in 1815, Dean Stanley was the second son of a future Bishop of Norwich. Stanley was educated at Rugby School and had there fallen under the influence of Doctor Arnold. In later years Stanley was to admit his debt to Arnold and his admiration for him. Stanley entered Balliol in 1833 and in the high church controversy then raging he remained staunch to the views imparted to him at Rugby. In 1838 he became a Fellow of University College, and in 1839 took Anglican Holy Orders. 1840 saw Stanley tour Switzerland, Italy, Greece and Sicily; 1841 saw his old friend and mentor, Arnold, made Professor of Modern History, and Stanley become a college tutor. Arnold died in 1844.

Stanley became a select preacher at Oxford in 1845 and preached sermons which were later published in book form as Sermons on the Apostolic Age. Stanley, like Arnold before him, championed the cause of free inquiry into biblical subjects rejecting both the evangelical and high church viewpoints. Following the death of both his brothers and his father in 1847 Stanley accepted the deanery of Carlisle in 1850 and left Oxford to become a canon of Canterbury in 1851. He was Secretary to the Oxford University Commission of 1851-52, following which he made his first journey to the Holy Land in 1852.[50] In the Holy Land during this period Stanley collected the material which was to form the basis of Sinai and Palestine. The book was based on letters Stanley wrote during his journeys in 1853. Stanley commenced writing up his letters and notes as a book and, indeed, writing a number of theological works. In 1856 he was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford and commenced other work.

Stanley's work on Sinai and Palestine had three important consequences. Firstly it established him as the foremost authority on the Holy Land in Britain. That in turn led to his selection in 1862 to be the guide to the Prince of Wales when he toured the Holy Land Secondly, it placed him in contact with George Grove who had similar interests to Stanley and who later became Stanley's literary executor. Stanley's heavy workload did not allow him to complete Sinai and Palestine properly, and in 1854 Stanley obtained Grove's help in indexing the work. Lastly, Grove and Stanley were to become two of the founders of the PEF.[51]

In 1863 Stanley married Lady Augusta Bruce, a daughter of the Earl of Elgin, and in 1863 he became Dean of Westminster. Lady Augusta Bruce was a lady-in-waiting to the Queen and her family were well connected with the royal household, so much so that in 1874 it was Stanley who went to Russia to take part in the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh to Grand Duchess Marie of Russia, Lady Augusta representing the Queen. Stanley died on 18

50 DNB, vol.18.
51 Hector Bolitho, A Victorian Dean, p.579.

July 1881, and was buried at Westminster next to his wife who had died some seven years earlier, shortly after her trip to Russia.

Stanley's work on Sinai and Palestine tended to be far more objective than the usual run of Protestant travel books. He suggested that those seeking confirmation of scripture were often 'tempted to mislead themselves and others by involuntary exaggeration or invention'.[52] Although he tried to separate fancy and feeling from truth and fact, Stanley was not, however, averse to seeing the East as unchanging and fixed. Like many of his contemporaries he suggested that what he saw and observed was in fact the world of Abraham and the patriarchs.

> Not many years ago much offence was given by one, now a high dignitary in the English church, who ventured to suggest the original likeness of Abraham by calling him a Bedouin Sheykh. It is one advantage, flowing from the multiplication of eastern travels that such offence could now no longer be taken. Every English pilgrim to the Holy Land, even the most reverential ... is delighted to trace and record the likeness of patriarchal manners and costumes in the Arabian chiefs. To refuse to do so would be to decline the use of what we may almost call a singular gift of Providence. The unchanging habits of the east render it in this respect a kind of living Pompeii.[53]

This not only shows the perception, common in Victorian England, that the Holy Land was a place that never changed was a perception shared by Stanley and many of his contemporaries, but also another current perception, namely that the land itself bore some sort of divinely ordained sacredness. Even the name, Holy Land, was of Victorian origin.[54] Stanley perpetuated and expounded the myth of the unchanging east after 1856.

Part of the reason why Stanley's views were so widely accepted by the middle classes was linked to his status as a high-ranking Anglican clergyman. Partly the reason for his influence must also be the fact that he was the foremost English authority and writer on the subject. Much, however, must rest on the fact that he was the guide to the Prince of Wales during the Prince's Holy Land visit of 1862. The Prince Consort died at Windsor in October 1861. In 1862 it was arranged that the Prince of Wales should visit the Holy Land, Egypt, Turkey, Syria and other parts of the Levant. The journey was said to have taken place in accordance with the wishes of Prince Albert. Whether or not that was the case, it was arranged and through his wife's connections and his writings, A. P. Stanley was asked to go with the

---

52 Quoted in John Pemble, The Mediterranean Passion. Victorians and Edwardians in the South, p.189.
53 A. P. Stanley, Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, p.11.
54 Yehoushua ben Arieh, 'Holy Land views in nineteenth-century western travel literature' in Eyes towards Zion III, ed. Moshe Davies, p.10.

young prince as a scientific and religious/historical adviser and tutor.[55] The Prince's party also included Francis Bedford who photographed the expedition, eventually producing an album of 182 plates showing the early and original nineteenth century layout of Jerusalem.[56] Although the bulk of the Prince's visit was centred on Egypt, some time was spent in Palestine during which the Prince viewed Jerusalem and actually entered the tomb of the patriarchs at Hebron, until then not open to non-Moslems. Yehoushua Ben-Arieh has commented that the visit set a standard for others to copy up to and after World War I.[57] Following the visit Stanley re-wrote and revised his Syria and Palestine.

The Prince of Wales' visit marked the start of a greater influx of tourists into the Holy Land area. A number of factors favoured this. Firstly, the Holy Land had been on the tourist itinerary since the 1830s, the first of Murray's handbooks being published in 1835. The relatively settled state of the country after 1856 also served to make tourism more attractive. Secondly, British prestige was high in the area and after the Crimean War the Turks were particularly pro-British and pro-French. Tourist numbers and facilities had steadily improved, and by 1853 up to fifty British tourists a year were going to the Holy Land.[58] The Prince of Wales' visit did spur many middle class English men and women to go to the Holy Land, but there were other reasons too why they went. It was not just a matter of following a royal visit or pursuing the religious sights of Palestine. Popular tourism had already started when the Prince of Wales visited Jerusalem.

The most important factor in bringing people to the Holy Land after 1856 was ease of travel. There were no railways and few roads in Palestine, but a reasonable cross-European rail system coupled with steam ships reduced the dangerous 40-day journey of the 1840s and early 1850s to a much shorter and safer one. After 1869 the opening of the Mont Cenis railway made the journey even easier.[59] After 1869 Thomas Cook set up a regular arranged tourist package through the area and to Jerusalem where tourists were guided by hired Dragomen and housed in pre-arranged camp sites.

Journeying to the Holy Land was also popularised by the advent of photography and through the work of pre-Raphelite painters. From 1842 Holy Land photographs were available. Joseph Philibet Girault de Prangey published photographs from a journey that year in Monuments Arabes d'Egypte et Syrie et d'Asie Miniure in 1846. In that book 1,000 daguerreotypes were reproduced as etchings. In 1844 Dr George Skene Keith took 30

---

55 Hector Bolitho, A Victorian Dean, pp.90-1.
56 Dan Kyram, The Pioneers of Photography in the Holy Land, 1840-1930, p.236.
57 Yehoushua ben Arieh, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land ..., pp.175-6.
58 Piers Brandon, Thomas Cook. 150 Years of Popular Tourism, pp.57-8.
59 Ibid., pp.120-3.

daguerreotypes which appeared in his father's book Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion published in 1859. This book attacked A. P. Stanley's interpretation and had immense authority in evangelical circles. The work was polemical and used photographs to reinforce its arguments. It went through 40 editions by 1873. By 1856 C. G. Wheelhouse had published photographs (taken 1849-50), Maxime du Comp (1822-1894) published photographs from 1849, and Auguste Salzmann (1824-74) had accompanied De Saulcy to Jerusalem publishing his work through Blanquert-Eurad in 1856. Most importantly from an English perspective Francis Frith published his Holy Land pictures in 1860. Frith was the first professional photographer to go to the Holy Land.[60]

Clearly the Victorian public were familiar with the sites and scenes of the Holy Land. The work of the camera was reinforced by the work of artists such as David Wilkie and Holman Hunt, both of whom went to the Holy Land to paint, Hunt visiting three times between 1854 and 1873 to copy the scenery for The Scapegoat. Photographs and pictorial descriptions came to be harnessed into the arguments thus raging in the 1850s and 1860s between the biblical scholars.

Voluntary societies dedicated to extending British interests in the Holy Land had long existed. The London Jews Society, a missionary body, existed from the early nineteenth century but the organisations that came into existence after 1860 were different. They were largely non-missionary and were largely either humanitarian or set up to advance both scholarship or British military and political interests. Most covered more than one of these areas of activity.

The conditions were right for the emergence of such societies. British political and military interest favoured them. The status of Britain in the Holy Land was high, and British power could sustain and assist them without being seen to overtly support them. There was a strong middle class interest in the Holy Land, and middle class support was forthcoming. The middle classes were also becoming better off and had started to increase the amount of leisure time and money they had available for such activity. Such societies had no link with the government and in their foundation they received no guidance or funding. They were self-regulating and usually organised by an elected or, more often, a self-appointed committee. The Syrian Improvement Fund, the PEF and the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund are examples of such organisations. In the Holy Land they often operated without, or with a minimum of, local Turkish assistance. British consular help was restricted.

---

60 Dan Kyram, The Pioneers of Photography ..., pp.236-42.

It was a feature of these societies that they were often controlled by the upper middle classes and the middle classes formed their membership. Subscriptions precluded the working men from joining and membership overlapped between them. Class links can be seen between them. Some of these voluntary societies preceded PEF, and to some extent served as its model. The PEF did not develop in a vacuum, but in the context of other such societies. PEF came to fill a role that other organisations did not fill. A classic example of an immediate precursor of and a model for PEF was the Syrian Improvement Fund.

Founded on 10 January 1861, the Syrian Improvement Fund aimed at working with the British and Turkish governments for the commercial exploitation of the Syrian area. Its membership consisted of the commercially interested and its committee included one peer (Marquis of Clanricorde), seven members of parliament (including H. A. Layard, Sir James Fergusson and David Solomons), Anglo-Jewish notables including Sir Moses Montefiore, and Col. (later General) Walker RA.[61] Its stated aim was to investigate the natural and mineral resources of Syria together with its cotton-growing potential.[62] The Fund employed a geologist and by mid-1861 had determined to investigate the water supply of Jerusalem. The aim was to supply pure water to Jerusalem and the Fund retained the services of John Irwine Whitty, a civil engineer, to do that work.[63] Whitty was retained at a fee of £105, a hopeless underfunding, and he was dispatched to Jerusalem. Whitty was a member of the Improvement Fund.

The Improvement Fund ran into problems shortly after its foundation. Founded for clearly commercial ends, the Fund consisted of a cross-section of Christian and Jewish members covering a spread of political and religious views. The problem came in 1861 with the massacre of Christians in Syria. Meetings were held up and down Britain to protest at the Turkish indifference to the incident and on 30 August 1862 a large meeting was held at the home of Sir Culling Eardley at Bedwell Park to protest at the treatment of the Syrian Christians and raise money for the Massacre survivors. The vehicle for distributing the relief money was to be the Syrian Asylums Committee and an ad hoc committee set up following the Bedwell Park meeting. Formed to make distributions to Syrian Christians, the ad hoc committee had Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (sometime ambassador at the Porte) as its president and Sir James Fergusson and Sir Culling Eardley as joint-secretaries.[64]

Approaches were made to churches and synagogues for assistance. The Evangelical Alliance was also approached, and the Improvement Fund became linked to the ad hoc relief

---

61 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 10.1.1861.
62 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 18.7.1861 and 22.7.1861.
63 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 22.4.1863.
64 John Irwine Whitty, A Proposed Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem. pp.xvi-xvii.

fund and to the Syrian Asylums Committee. The personnel running all three committees had a substantial overlap and the three appear to have co-operated happily until the Improvement Fund received a donation of £1,200 from the Swedish Ambassador 'accompanied by a request that money might be applied in such a way as permanently to aid constitutions in the Holy Land under Christian auspices'.[65] More money followed from Sweden and later £1,000 from Denmark, £500 from French Protestants, and £500 from Swiss Protestants.[66] Clearly the nature of the Improvement Fund was changing by mid-1862.[67]

It was this change, from a non-religious and non-partisan improvement fund to an openly Christian relief fund aiding Christian institutions, including missionary institutions, that caused disquiet amongst some Improvement Fund members who were unhappy at the linkage of their work to evangelical endeavour:

> ... [it] created some difficulty; for the aid given by their committee was based upon philanthropy and the funds were administered by Jews and Christians under these circumstances ... their treasurer - Sir Moses Montefiore ... Baron Rothschild and Mr Salomons and other Israelites on the committee, [said] "This is for a Christian object, and we cannot have it!"[68]

Accordingly it seems that the decision was made to end the work of the Syrian Improvement Fund and pass the administration over to a Protestant Christian committee. This was completed by April 1863. In a lengthy minute by the Improvement Committee on 16 March 1863 we have:

> The Syrian Asylums Committee was one result of the Syrian Relief Fund, the Syrian Improvement Committee was another. To the Asylums Committee was made over, at the winding up of the Relief Fund, a sum of about £1,000 given by contributors in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, France, Switzerland and elsewhere. The contributions are given to ... [establish] ... Christian asylums for destitute women ... the remaining balance of the Syrian Relief Fund ... amounted to about £3,000.[69]

In short, evangelical Christian organisations had been placed in a position whereby they had to try to administer a religious relief fund under the aegis of a secular improvement fund. It is an account that neatly illustrates the dilemma faced by organisations wishing to remain fully secular within the British Empire and organisations that found themselves being used as an

---

65 Ibid., p.xviii.
66 For full accounts see PEF/SYR/243 Account Books.
67 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 18.7.1862.
68 John Irwine Whitty, A Proposed Water Supply ..., pp.xviii-xix.
69 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 16.3.1863.

instrument for defining imperial identity by reference to religion. The Asylums Committee was avowedly religious, the Improvement Committee was not. The prime movers of the attempt to use the Improvement Committee as a missionary vehicle appear to have been the Evangelical Alliance. At their 1862 Geneva Conference they resolved: 'They rejoice at the plan proposed by British Christians to make the London Syrian Committee a central committee.'[70] In short they wished to take it over. The break that Montefiore engineered allowed the aim of the missionaries to become clear and for them to separate themselves from the work of exploration. The Syrian Asylum Committee itself carried on for many years but the Syrian Relief Fund broke up, redistributing its assets.

The collapse left some £3,000 in the Improvement Fund, some of which was to go to PEF about 15 years later. The Improvement Fund did receive and publish a report from Whitty regarding Jerusalem Water Supply and the possibility of artesian wells. Whitty ruled them out as did Van de Velde on behalf of the Syrian Asylums Committee. By 1863 therefore a full water supply survey of the Jerusalem area existed prior to the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund being established.

Founded in 1864, the Water Relief Fund included on its committee James Finn, one-time Jerusalem Consul, Alexander McCaul of the London Jews Society and Lord Shaftesbury. It was founded for the purpose of ensuring that Jerusalem received a pure supply of water. Its foundation was assisted by Angela Burdett-Coutts, the heiress of the Coutts banking family, who donated £500 to the project and used her influence to secure War Office approval for the use of the Royal Engineers as surveyors. The Earl de Gray and Rippon gave permission for engineering officers to be approached and on 12 September 1864 a party of Royal Engineers, under Captain Charles Wilson, set sail from Southampton, arriving in Jerusalem on 3 October. The survey party returned to England 10 July 1865, having completed a full survey of Jerusalem and commenced a photographic record of the city. Their results were published by the Ordinance Survey under Sir Henry James. The cost of the work was £519.10s.10d.

Given the overlap in membership between the Water Relief Fund and the Improvement Fund (Layard, Stanley and Fergusson were members of both and Montefiore was influential in both), why did the Water Improvement Fund resolve to repeat Whitty's work? It is inconceivable that the Water Relief Fund did not know of Whitty's work, especially as the Improvement Fund published it in 1863 voting Whitty £50 towards publication in July that year.[71] Indeed the Improvement Fund had by July 1863 commissioned a costing exercise to be performed by Sir John McNeile to see what improvements could be made to Jerusalem's water supply. These costings were never done, and when the committee met in July 1865 it

70 John Irwine Whitty, A Proposed Water Supply ..., p.xxi.
71 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 22.7.1863.

received a letter from Sir Henry James at the Ordinance Survey office explaining that Wilson was now in the Holy Land and that the Improvement Fund could take advantage of his (Wilson's) work.[72]

The Improvement Fund immediately granted £100[73] to Sir Henry James towards Wilson's expedition. By February 1865 Sir John McNeile had drafted water supply plans for the city of Jerusalem and sent them to Sir Henry James on behalf of the Improvement Committee, rendering a survey of Salomon's Pool unnecessary and suggesting that Wilson could use the time thereby saved on topographical survey work on behalf of the Improvement Fund.[74] Significantly also at the same meeting, Captain House of the Royal Engineers was introduced to the meeting by Col. Walker, a committee member. The captain spoke to the committee regarding water supply reports he had received.

All this indicates that the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund was not solely sponsored by Burdett-Coutts but also by the Syrian Improvement Fund led by Montefiore, Layard and others. From the outset military interest in Jerusalem was enough to engage the attention of the Royal Engineers. Many of the objects of the Water Improvement Fund had been fulfilled by Whitty's survey, and all involved knew it. Whitty's work was accepted and not in need of supplementation. The Improvement Committee were also in a position to receive plans from the Water Relief Survey, in August 1865, from Wilson, together with geographical and historical reports from Wilson assisted by Conrad Shick, a Swiss national resident in Jerusalem. It also implies that Wilson was surveying for more than one organisation and that his work was not confined to the Jerusalem map. The fact that the information was in the possession of the War Office and could be supplied to the Improvement Fund means that Wilson and others were probably supplying information directly to the War Office in any event. Exploration, Empire, religion and trade all went hand in hand. The opening up and exploiting of Palestine was the aim of the Improvement fund; the expansion of British imperial endeavour and the protection and security of the Empire was the aim of the War Office; the control of the land was an aim of strategists. Wilson was a deeply religious man, but also a good soldier and a reformer of the topographical statistical departments at the War Office.

Wilson would have seen no difficulty in attempting to bring the Holy Land within the control of his country. From his point of view the situation held no contradictions. Using the Water Relief Fund and the Improvement Fund was a means to an end, an end that justified the result.

---

72 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 15.2.1865.
73 Ibid. Details are also given in Biblical Archeologist, 1985, vo,.48, 186-189.
74 PEF/SYR/1, Minute of 24.2.1865.

Charles Wilson was an experienced and capable officer who was to rise to the rank of major-general in the Royal Engineers and retired with a knighthood. He came from Liverpool but owned property in Pembrokeshire and had spent time at Bonn University. Commissioned in 1855 into the Royal Engineers, he was instructed at Chatham and in 1858 was made Secretary to the Commission set up to delineate the British Columbian/United States boundary, a task that took until 1862. In 1864 Wilson volunteered for work with the Jerusalem Survey on the understanding that his work in Palestine should not put the government to expense.[75] Writing in The Recovery of Jerusalem in 1871 Wilson said of his work in 1864: 'I was not to receive any remuneration for my services and was to bear the cost of my own travelling and personal expenses which amounted eventually to between 300L and 400L.'[76] Wilson was an experienced mapper and one of the rising stars of the Topographical Department of the War Office.

From its inception in 1784 the Topographical Department had been part of the Ordinance Survey under the direct control of the War Office. The Crimean War had shown British deficiencies in maps available to the Army causing reforms in topography. At the end of the Crimean War in 1857 Sir Henry James of the Royal Engineers had taken over control of a topographical and statistical department set up as a result of the Roebuck Committee. Maps and intelligence went well together; they always had, and James of the Ordinance Survey was happy to combine that with military statistics. Unfortunately James' main interest was reproducing maps by photography and the production of maps by other means. Art work was also an interest. By 1869 the Topographical Department had been reduced to an insignificant backwater, just as it had been prior to Crimea, doing no intelligence work and illustrating army dress regulations.

In truth the Victorian Britons were not good at military intelligence work. They generally ignored it after Waterloo and before the 1870s. Spying was seen as ungentlemanly, and even reconnaissance work as work of a low order. By 1870 the very existence of the topographic and statistical department was in doubt. The Siege of Paris in 1870 made the War Office realise the importance of intelligence and the importance of the Prussian army. The War Office had, however, no tradition of intelligence work and no experience of such matters. It was Charles Wilson in 1869 who submitted a two-page report on the department, and a complaint that the Roebuck Committee's Report had not been acted upon. Wilson submitted his report to Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for War and as a result, in 1869, Wilson drafted a report on the department for Lord Northbrook recommending that:

1. The Ordinance Survey should be split from the Topographical and Statistical Section and should be charged to the civil and not the military vote.

75 DNB, Vol.1901-1911.
76 Walter Morrison ed., The Recovery of Jerusalem, p.4.

2. Topography and Statistics should form two separate sections of the same department.
3. Topography should collect maps and photographs of all foreign lands.
4. Statistical section should be divided into three sub-sections:
   a. Section A: Austria, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Turkey, Greece
   b. Section B: Prussia, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Spain and Denmark
   c. Section C: France, Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, America
5. Literature should be collected and £250 a year spent on foreign newspapers and books.
6. All War Office printed orders, circulars, and reports were to pass through the section.
7. All military attaché reports should come to the Topographical Department.

Officers were to be encouraged to travel. The Report was accepted by Lord Northbrook in its entirety and in January 1871 military intelligence was reorganised to fit with Wilson's scheme which was based on a Prussian model. Wilson became head of the topographical and statistical section being called Director, and had three junior officers to assist him.

Although Captain Wilson ran the Department for only a year before submitting a further Report in 1873 suggesting intelligence should be under a General to ensure the proper representation of intelligence interests. On 24 February 1873 Cardwell announced to the House of Commons that all intelligence matters would be dealt with by a Deputy Adjutant General and that Wilson would continue to control topography and statistics. Major General Sir Patrick McDougall took control on 1 April 1873.

By 1874 the Department had been removed to the Quartermaster-General's Department and relocated near the War office in Pall Mall. It had previously been in Adair House, St James's Square. Later (1884) the Department removed to Queen Ann's Gate. In 1878 Sir Patrick McDougall was replaced by Major-General Sir Archibald Alison who, with four Majors, ran the Department. The four majors were all sent to Egypt in 1882 during the El Urabi revolt and to Sudan in 1885. After 1887 the Department was reorganised by Lieutenant-General Brackenberry but even by 1901 retained Wilson's basic structure. Wilson's basic system and divisions persisted up to 1965.[77]

Wilson's impact on the intelligence services was fundamental. Throughout his career in the army he remained interested and active in intelligence work. Wilson was never a spy as such; he would have shuddered at the idea. He was, however, an intelligence-gatherer who made reconnaissances at areas of military interest, but went in openly often in uniform and

77 Peter Gudgin, Military Intelligence. The British Story, chapter 2.

always making his military background clear. When he went to Jerusalem in 1864-65 and again in 1865-66 he did so openly as a serving officer of the British Army.

On reaching Jerusalem in 1864 with a group of sappers, Wilson was disappointed. The first thing he saw was the Russian buildings at the north-western angle of the walls, but he soon found work was possible and worked for ten months surveying the city, using local labour, and with virtually no interruption. He paid tribute to the help he received from both the British and Prussian consul, from Dr Rosen, Dr Chaplain and Mr Schick and 'two kind friends in England, who supplied me with the funds necessary to make those tentative excavations'.[78] The two friends are not named.

As well as excavating and surveying the area and attempting the answers to questions relating to the position of the Temple, Wilson set up a base line of levels by way of Jerusalem to Jericho and from Jerusalem by El Jeb to Lydda and to Jaffa. The base line showed the difference between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. It was also useful when survey work later commenced in the Holy Land. He also explored the Dome of the Rock area, identifying Temple remains and tracing water courses. He also traced a passageway through cisterns and underground conduits under the city. He also mapped the city on plans published by the Ordinance Survey and described as 'drawn on the same scale and with the same care as the cadastral or parish plans of England'.[79] Publication of the plans was courtesy of the Ordinance Survey. 'On our return to England, the cost of publication was defrayed by a grant of 500L from the Treasury, a sum which has been more than repaid by the large sale of plans, photographs, etc.'[80]

The plans did indeed sell well; by 1870 it had made a £156 profit over production costs and 4,000 photographs had been sold.[81]

The issue of water supplies seems to have been sidelined. A short report was produced in 1866 but by the time of its publication the issue of water supply to Jerusalem was no longer of interest, nor was the committee requesting the report in existence. Nothing was done regarding water supply until the end of the nineteenth century. The issue just vanishes. The importance of the Water Survey is the accurate mapping of the city and the setting of a 3,875 foot base line together with some sketching of Sinai. The quality of the work was of such a type that it was not exceeded for another 70 years.[82]

---

78 Walter Morrison ed., The Recovery of Jerusalem, p.5.
79 Ibid., pp.31-2.
80 Ibid., p.4.
81 House of Commons Command Papers 1870, vol.XLIII, p.623.
82 J. H. Mankin, 'The survey of the old city of Jerusalem, 1865-1935' in P.E.Q., 1969, 37.

Wilson's work laid the foundations for the PEF and was part of the impetus for its formation. When the PEF came into existence Wilson was already surveying for the Water Relief Fund, the Syrian Improvement Fund and the War Office (unofficially). He was still a Royal Engineers officer and not formally connected to the Topographical Department. Nowhere does Wilson directly reveal his motives or why he threw in his lot with PEF when it was founded. We are left to speculate why PEF took over Wilson's work in 1865 and immediately returned him to the Holy Land. The reason could be that by late 1865 the Improvement Committee was again in a state of disarray, disputing the way in which it used its money. By 1866 its objectives had become limited and although it was the body that received the Water Improvement Report, its limited view and aims did not suit the ideas of Sir Henry James for imperial expansion.[83]

The PEF had a bigger membership base and its objectives were not as limited as those of the Improvement Fund. By 1869 the Improvement Fund was interested only in water supply, philanthropy, and was again bogged down in quasi-religious disputes. With Montefiore involved it did prove a useful source of funding for PEF making grants of £250 in 1867, 1868 and 1869.[84] PEF had bigger objectives. Mapping was part of its original objectives. The PEF contained (officially) no religious control, had flexibility and imperial vision. It also possessed a far greater array of scholarship and establishment figures than did the Improvement Fund. It received Oxford and Cambridge backing, episcopal approval and was led by a committee of English Protestants. it was very different to the small committee of both Christians and non-Christians who led the Improvement Fund. The exclusion of the Jewish members from positions of real power, the position of Anglican clergy and their sympathisers, and the establishment nature of the Fund made it far more in tune with the emerging governing class of white middle class Protestants who were to manage the Empire. The PEF was to become the vehicle for symbolising the divine approval of the imperial ideal. As such it was seized and used by the proponents of Empire within the establishment as a way of linking Britain to the Holy Land without the inconvenience of overt missionary endeavour of philanthropy directed at the native inhabitants.

---

83 PEF/SYR/1, Minutes of 12.2.1866.

84 PEF/SYR/1. Grants were given of £100 on 12.2.1866, £250 on 27.6.1867, £250 on 21.7.1868, and $250 on 8.6.1869, all to PEF.

CHAPTER 2
FOUNDING THE FUND

The foundation of the Fund was ostensibly the work of a group of like-minded biblical scholars and archaeologists. Beneath that exterior lay a complex group of social, academic, and strategic reasons. The Royal Engineers, the Temple and Tomb controversy, and archaeological endeavour all played a part alongside wider national, international, and imperial interests.

Strategically, and from a military perspective, the Royal Engineers found themselves interested in the Fund as a cover for mapping work in a sensitive area. Archaeologically the academic world found that Perotti, a French adventurer, was attempting to gain a pre-eminence that opposed British interests in particular. Academically, within the British establishment, Fergusson and Williams opposed each other, but were willing to unite to press Perotti out of the academic picture.

If one single incident had shaken the British faith and hope in its colonies in the nineteenth century it was the Indian Mutiny. Commencing at Barrackpore in 1857 the Mutiny was finally suppressed in 1858 but it brought home to Britain the fragile nature of the Empire and the need for good communications. Control of India rested on good sea routes and on a few British officers and men who commanded a large native army.[1] When the Mutiny broke out the British in India needed reinforcements. Initially these were sent by sea via South Africa until the British press pressurised the War Office to use the trans-Suez route, a route usable only with Ottoman support.

In 1857 the Sinai was being regularly crossed by travellers. In 1836 Thomas Waghorn, an entrepreneur, Indian Army officer, and adventurer had set up a transhipment route over the Suez isthmus. His route used camels and coaches.[2] Soon after, the Egyptian and British governments proposed a railway from Alexandria to Cairo and across the isthmus to facilitate traffic to the Red Sea from the Mediterranean. The railway was proposed in the 1840s and, not surprisingly, received the support of Robert Stephenson. At the same time talk commenced of a possible canal.

The railway project was in fact brought to fruition in 1858 at the cost of £55,000 and it covered 204 miles. When in 1854 Ferdinand de Lesseps suggested a canal, the British establishment, both in civil engineering and politics, objected. The opposition was led by

---

1 Llewellyn Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, pp.440-44.

2 Dean F. Bradshaw, A Decade of Opposition to the Suez Canal Project, 1854-1864, pp.9-12.

Stephenson who declared the project unsafe and a threat to Egypt. Vast floods were forecast if a canal was built, and the dangers of Red Sea shipping were emphasised.[3] It had to fall to James Fergusson to point out the stupidity of the arguments and the viability of the waterway project.[4]

In the meantime de Lesseps had attempted to raise British funding for the project. He failed but he did obtain French support. He still experienced official British Foreign Office opposition until 1862 when his digging teams, founded largely on Corvée labour, reached Lake Timsah and it was obvious that the canal would be a reality.[5] By then Suez Canal shares in the Compagnie Universalle du Canal Maritime de Suez had been issued with French backing and a substantial proportion of the shares being in French hands.

Britain's opposition had been based on a combination of opposition to French ambitious and worries over British strategic and military power. Britain controlled Gibraltar and hence much of the Mediterranean. The opening of a French controlled canal out of the Mediterranean was a breach in British power. Britain had long recognised the need for a faster route to India.

In the 1850s the need for a sea route had been seen by Allen who proposed a radical plan of making a sea way over the Judean hills by way of the Dead Sea to the Persian Gulf.[6] The project came to nothing, but reflected current military interests. The middle rank War Office staff were very aware of the French interests in the area and the need for surveys. In the 1850s surveys had been done of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, in particular the survey carried out by the Corvette Tartarus in 1856 and the plans that existed in military circles for the laying of telegraph cables to Alexandria.[7] Military interest was therefore intense. The Holy Land area and Sinai were the area of most interest to the War Office in the years leading up to 1865.

When in 1864 it became clear that the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund would provide a way of surveying a part of the Sinai, Wilson appears to have been dispatched to survey, using the Fund as a cover. This continued into the PEF when it was founded. The importance of survey work appears to have been well understood at the War Office. When the Archbishop of York applied to the Earl de Gray and Rippon in 1865 for the loan of engineering officers and sappers for PEF it was Edward Layard who annexed copies of Wilson's reports to the letter to

---

3 Ibid, pp.18-32.
4 Edinburgh Review, 103 (January 1856), p.265.
5 Arnold T. Wilson, The Suez Canal, its Past, its Present, and Future, pp.24-27.
6 William Allen, The Dead Sea, a New Route to India, vol.1, pp.340-56.
7 Bradshaw, A Decade of Opposition ..., pp.37-40.

obtain ministerial support. Layard was an antiquary, a diplomat, and one of the Fund's early supporters. The reports were annexed because they were able to show the military value of the water supply survey and, by implication, the proposed PEF.

Wilson had in fact done little water survey work. He had concentrated on mapping Jerusalem and setting up a base line for further map work. The area was not only strategically significant; it was an area of French penetration and its value was clear. In the 1864-65 Wilson had completed a preliminary Sinai survey whilst working on the Burdett Coutts Water Survey. He had produced a rough sketch of Sinai dated 1865 which was originally described as a sketch of the Temple.[8] Moreover, Wilson's men produced two gutta-percha models and a mould, one of Jerusalem, and one of Sinai.[9] The Jerusalem and Sinai maps were later published at government expense using a Treasury grant.[10] During this period the Suez Canal was being excavated. The advantage of a model of the area is clear, and so too is the advantage of Wilson's sketch maps, for despite Wilson's published protestations in relation to the water survey, it is clear that his interests were strategic. The survey of the city covered the Russian presence in Jerusalem; the Sinai survey covered French work at Suez. In addition the equipment used by Wilson was borrowed from the Ordnance Survey and although Wilson's equipment was limited during the survey for the Water Improvement Fund he was able to produce maps and sketches of consistent high quality.[11] Wilson's published account of his nocturnal journeys through Jerusalem's sewers, whilst possibly true, was a distraction from his real task of mapping Sinai. British and French rivalry therefore favoured the establishing of a Fund such as PEF to explore the Holy Land.

Ermele Pierotti appeared in Jerusalem just before the Crimean War claiming to be a Sardinian army engineering officer looking for an outlet for his talents. For some time he worked as architect on the Austrian Hospice and the Church of Saint Anne, following which the Jerusalem Pasha requested him to attempt to repair Jerusalem's water supply. This put Pierotti in a unique position. He had full access to all areas of Jerusalem in order to effect repairs and full access to the Temple mount. Under this cover he could enter, sketch, dig, and photograph parts of the mount. It was a position envied by most Europeans in the land.

Pierotti had a working archaeological knowledge of the Holy Land. He had in fact been Renan's interpreter and mapped parts of the Temple mount. He had also left the Sardinian Army in disgrace, and had in the Holy Land been able to assume a new identity.

---

8 PRO/O.S. 3/11 and PRO/O.S. 3/32. Reprinted in 1869 as the 12-sheet Sinai Survey

9 PRO/O.S. 1 17/2. Correspondence from Wilson to Board of Agriculture regarding models of Sinai.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

During the late 1850s and early 1860s he worked alongside the French scholars, de Saulcy in particular, and developed an interest in current archaeological and antiquarian matters. By 1864 Pierotti wanted status.[12] He wanted to write, and he thought he had French patronage. In 1864 he published Jerusalem Explored, a descriptive work dedicated to the Emperor Napoleon III and describing the Jerusalem area and Pierotti's finds.

Amongst other matters the work dealt with the issue of the Holy Places and having considered them Pierotti came down firmly in favour of the traditional identifications. The identification was supported by excavations by Pierotti and plates and drawings of both the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre. Immediate controversy arose and when Williams heard of the work he examined the plates. He recognised them as copied from his Holy City - Fergusson found a similar use of his plates. Grove, Smith and others were much influenced by Fergusson and supported him. A cry of plagiarism went up; British scholarship was under threat by France, and British Holy Land interests were at risk from the French Government Holy Land interests. An arbitration offer was refused by those concerned and Grove revealed that Pierotti was a cashiered Sardinian army officer. Pierotti was ruined and vanished from the scene.

Grove claimed in later years that Pierotti had been the final incident that had persuaded him to found the PEF. This is probably not the case. The PEF was founded for a variety of reasons. When the Pierotti matter came into the open Whitty would already have done his water survey and Wilson would have been beginning to prepare for his survey. Pierotti had caused British Bible scholars to act as they did because he attacked Fergusson's widely held theory and represented France taking a predominant role in digging in Jerusalem. It not only represented an attack on those who held Fergusson's theories, but also on much of the Protestant work in Palestine and the work of Robinson. British interests were also affected. Britain felt it was her duty to map and chart the Holy Land; it was part of her destiny. As Morrison later commented, 'The Ordnance Survey of Palestine was so obviously a duty for the English nation to undertake that it is needless to dwell on its importance.'[13]

Pierotti had trespassed on English interests and had to be rebuffed. Britain had belatedly begun to interest herself in the Canal, Sinai and its hinterland, including Palestine. There was an academic interest in the Holy Land and, by 1864-65, it was clear that someone should represent Britain's interest in the emerging science of archaeology, in the military need for intelligence, and in the scholarly need for study of the area. The body that arose to do that was PEF. But who founded it, and when, and how?

---

12 Neil Asher Silberman, Digging for God and Country, pp.63-7.
13 Walter Morrison, ed, The Recovery of Jerusalem, p.xxii.

It is not clear who founded the PEF. It is equally unclear when the Fund was founded. There are three possibilities: that the PEF originated from a meeting between John Irwine Whitty, Dean Stanley and the Prince of Wales during the 1862 Royal Visit to Jerusalem; that it came about from a meeting of Whitty, George Grove and others at Crystal Palace in 1864; or that it was the product of a separate meeting at Crystal Palace in 1864 between George Grove, Walter Morrison, A. D. Stanley and possibly James Fergusson and David Roberts.

Writing in 1895 Whitty claimed the credit for founding the Fund. Whitty, who by 1895 was rather eccentric, made his claims in a pamphlet, Discovery of 'Whitty's Wall' at Jerusalem, a pamphlet written in the style of a pseudo-legal argument. If it were not for Whitty's earlier work it would not be possible to take him seriously, but the fact remains that Whitty did a water survey in 1863 and published his results.[14] In his survey report Whitty also published a foreword to the Report by Stanley, then Dean of Windsor. In his 1895 pamphlet Whitty claimed that the idea of founding the Fund came from a meeting between himself, Dean Stanley, and the Prince of Wales during the 1862 Royal Tour. Writing in a poor poetic doggerel he states:

> Since he who scribes - Johannez Irwine Whitty
> Explored Jerusalem, the Holy City,
> Have two and thirty age worn years fled by:-
> See present date below - marked '
> Anno Domini'.
>
> There - at the epoch indirectly shown -
> Three Britons sat - Not strictly, quite alone -
> Conversing in a tent, and where they sate,
> Within a bowshot-lay of the Damascus Gate.
>
> The Prince of Wales - heir to dominion high
> And Britain's throne - of said Triumviri
> Was one; Dean Stanley - potent in each word -Another: I - not then ordained - the needful third.
> 1895[15]

14 John Irwine Whitty, A Proposed Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem, 1863/
15 John Irwine Whitty, The Discovery of 'Whitty's Wall' at Jerusalem, 1895.

Whitty goes on to say that George Grove, then manager of the Crystal Palace Company, was approached by Whitty and others and took over the idea of an exploration fund as his own. The meeting at Crystal Palace was in early 1864 and Whitty states involved himself, Rev. John Mills, the Fund's first Secretary, and 'Our Delegation'. Grove, Whitty says, altered the Society's name from the Palestine Exploration Committee to the PEF.[16]

According to Grove four people took the initiative to found the Fund. Grove states that those four were A. Stanley, David Roberts, himself and, he suggests, James Fergusson. According to Grove's biography written by his son, Charles L. Grove, in 1903, Grove had corresponded with leading writers and scholars such as Milman and Lushington and Davidson before commencing the Fund. There is no note of this anywhere, and Grove's personal papers relating to the PEF have not survived.[17] Rowlands died in 1864 in any event, and would have been at the end of his life; he had only visited the Holy Land once and then had travelled only a little. Whilst his pictures were of immense importance he had not travelled to major cities such as Jerusalem when he painted it. Fergusson was an early member of the Fund but did not adopt a prominent role within it after its initial foundation. There is no mention either of Walter Morrison in the list of founders despite his assertion in 1919 in a letter to Colonel Mills, in private correspondence, that 'I was one of the four founders of the Palestine Exploration Fund'.[18]

Some 40 years after the foundation of the Fund Walter Morrison ascribed its foundation to George Grove alone when in discussion with the Fund's Committee. By then Grove, Stanley, Rowlands, and Fergusson were all dead and Whitty discredited and doubted. There is, however, perhaps truth in Whitty's story about the Fund's foundation. The coincidence of Whitty's work, the royal visit to the Holy Land, and the highpoint of the work of the Syrian Improvement Fund is too great. Stanley was certainly in Jerusalem at the time - he was tutor/guide to the Prince of Wales - and Whitty would have been engaged on his water survey. The reason for the proposal to found PEF did probably come from the 1862 Royal Visit. It was not, however, the only reason, nor was it the reason why the Fund flourished and survived where others had failed.

A previous attempt to found a Palestine Exploration Fund had taken place in the early 1800s. That Fund had failed and was wound up by the membership. Its assets went to the Royal Geographical Society in the mid-1830s and its only visible contribution to research was the publication of one volume of Burkhardt's travels. Why, therefore, did the PEF survive and

16 Ibid. pp.14-6.
17 Charles L. Grove, The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove, pp.110-14.
18 PEF/1919/60/2 Letter Morrison to Col. Mills, 3 January 1979 and also Grove, Life and Letters..., p.119.

succeed? The answer must be partly in the people who founded it and partly in the circumstances surrounding its foundation.

Whichever version of the Fund's foundation is adopted, George Grove played an important part. He was the son of Thomas Grove, born in 1820 at Clapham and educated at the local Clapham School. Thomas Grove had been an evangelical and, though a congregationalist, on the fringe of the group surrounding the Clapham Sect, George was sent to Mr Elwell's School when he was aged 8 years[19] and there he was to meet George Granville who was later to be both his brother-in-law and Dean of Westminster. Elwell taught his boys Hebrew, scripture and 'sacred geography' as part of their basic education and when George Grove reached the Revd. Charles Prichard's school at Stockwell he continued his Hebrew studies and added to them millenial thought.[20]

On leaving school Grove joined Alexander Goden as an engineering apprentice for three years, after which he had one year of European travel returning to work on engineering projects culminating in the Menai Bridge (1849). In that year he became Secretary of the Society of Arts and Organiser of the Great Exhibition.[21] Working on the Exhibition altered the course of Grove's life. When the Exhibition finished he was not only acquainted with the great and famous; he was also to become Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company when the Palace was moved to Sydenham. He married in 1851 to Harriet Bradley.

Religiously he expressed himself as being an evangelical, Church of England, and scholastically interested in the Bible: 'What was it that started me with the study of the Bible? I had been brought up to know the Bible well and much of it by heart ... My dear old friend, James Fergusson [complained] that there was no index of the proper names of the Bible.'[22] Grove and Fergusson compiled an index of Bible names as a joint project, and as a result Grove met A. P. Stanley in 1853-4 whilst Stanley was a Canon at Windsor. Stanley was completing his work on Sinai and Palestine and the work needed a Hebrew index. The work needed to be edited by someone with a good Hebrew knowledge, topographical insights and German language ability. Grove had all three.

Through his work for Stanley Grove met William Smith, then editing a Bible dictionary. Stanley's work also introduced Grove to the publisher John Murray and the Archbishop of York. The editing took from 1857 to 1863 for the dictionary, and during that period he visited the Holy Land (1857 and 1861) and became acquainted with other Palestine

19 Grove, Life and Letters ..., ch.1
20 Ibid, pp.7-17.
21 DNB, vol.22 (supplement).
22 Grove, Life and Letters ..., p.47 et seq.

travellers such as Lear, Holman-Hunt and Burton as well as John Murray, the publisher. He corresponded with Canon Tristram.[23] In 1864 he became enmeshed in the storm over the Pierotti Scandal.

Another man who appears to have played an important part in the founding of PEF was Walter Morrison. Born 1836, the son of James Morrison of London, Walter was wealthy on a large scale. The family owned lands on a grand scale in England and in Scotland. Morrison's wealth was from manufacturing and from factories in Leeds. He was educated at Eton and Balliol, Oxford, and his preferred residence (he had several) was at Malham in Craven, Yorkshire. Morrison was given Malham, Craven and much of Skipton and Giggleswick as a twenty-first birthday present. Between 1853 and 1874 Morrison represented Plymouth in parliament. He represented Skipton from 1880 to 1895. He was described as 'patriotic ... and believed intensely in the future of the British race and Empire'.[24]

Morrison became more patriotic as the years went by. A fervent imperialist, he dedicated a chapel at Giggleswick School to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. It cost over £50,000 as he imported the construction materials from overseas. The stone of dedication records Victoria as 'successor of Alfred King of England',[25] a curious dedication unless taken in the context of a Victorian belief in the cultural and racial superiority of Englishmen over the world. Morrison's patriotic generosity did not stop there.

In 1897 he set up a fund to entertain colonial troops at the Jubilee celebrations. During the Boer War he gave to the war effort paying towards the expenses of the Natal Volunteers and during the First World War he set up a Belgian Relief Fund and published a war memorial volume for Craven at the end of it.[26] His imperialist credentials were clear and his patriotic views known. In 1886 he had no hesitation in opposing Gladstone's Egyptian and Irish policies. Home Rule was anathema and he financially backed the dispossessed Irish landlords during the Fienian struggle.[27]

Morrison had many acquaintances, but few friends. 'His notion of company was rather that of audience than of a circle of close friends ... aloof and self-centred [and] quite incapable of adapting himself to his society.'[28] Imperialism and colonies suited his financial needs. By the 1860s his wealth centred less and less on his Leeds arms factory and more on

---

23 Ibid., ch.4.
24 Geoffrey Dawson, 'Walter Morrison', National Review, February 1922.
25 Foundation slate, Giggleswick School Chapel.
26 Dawson, 'Morrison', p.13
27 Ibid., pp.6-8.
28 DNB, 1912-21, entry under 'Morrison'.

his Argentine holdings of beef cattle and ranches. By the 1880s Morrison held a substantial proportion of the stock of the Argentine railways. Freezer transport had just begun, and his ownership of railways, boats and cattle turned his millions into multi-millions. Dying in 1921 he was the longest lived of the Fund's founders. He acted as Treasurer of the PEF for over 50 years.

Less clear is the role played by James Fergusson in founding the Fund. Born in 1807, Conder acknowledged him as a founder member of PEF in his obituary in 1886: 'Will you allow me to say with what regret I notice the death of a valuable original member of the ... Fund, Mr J. Fergusson?'[29]

Fergusson's first works on Jerusalem had appeared in 1847 when he first advanced his theory that the south-western corner of the Haram was the site of the Temple and that the Dome of the Rock was not a Byzantine structure but the original church erected by Constantine the Great over the site of the Holy Sepulchre. In short, Fergusson wanted to place both the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre on the site of the Haran. Fergusson was essentially an architectural historian, and much of his work hung on his understanding of architectural styles and architectural history. For a short time he held a post in the Office of Works, but largely he wrote on architectural history arguing that eastern styles were responsible for the development of those in the west.[30]

Fergusson was influential enough and known well enough for his ideas to be enshrined in the entries in Smith's Bible Dictionary and adopted by both Grove and Wilson. It was to be Warren who challenged Fergusson's views and his challenge was later adopted by Conder. By the time of his death even Fergusson had had to modify his views. The modification came after the 1870s, and for most of his academic life George Grove supported Fergusson's views which were based to some extent on an evangelical background and a wish to promote non-traditional Christian sites over the traditional ones, very much in the way Robinson rejected the traditional sites. In any event, linking the Temple with the Holy Sepulchre had a religious appeal that was hard for Protestant Christians to resist and also effectively gave Protestant Christians a site on the Temple Mount, a link into the history of Israel, and a foothold into the Temple of Solomon and the city of David.

A number of factors came together, therefore, to bring about the founding of the Fund. Some of these were social and religious, some were political, some were military and strategic. No one factor was wholly responsible for the Fund coming into existence. A combination of

29 PEF QS 1886 p.71.
30 Ibid., p.74.

Protestant thought, religious doubt and general religious interest brought about the general curiosity regarding the Holy Land. The PEF was founded during the ten years following the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species and the publication of Essays and Reviews. It covers also a period when there was great political interest in the Middle East and international rivalry in the area. Above all the international political and military interest can be summed up in two words, Suez Canal. It was in this climate that the PEF was founded.

The PEF was, to some extent, a continuation of the Jerusalem Water Relief Fund, and to some extent a new entity. As a continuation of the Relief Fund PEF contained within it some of the membership of the Relief Fund, people such as Henry Layard, MP, friend of Burdett Coutts, and prominant assyriologist, Grove, and Sir Henry James, but it lacked, however, some of the more important members of the Relief Fund, people such as Montefiore, who took much cajoling before he would join PEF (Grove approached Montefiore twice before he would join), and others who had to be pressed to join the Fund. The Water Relief Fund had contained amongst others Lord Shaftesbury, James Finn (sometime Jerusalem Consul) and a tight knit group of people from a mixture of religious backgrounds and from the upper middle classes. PEF attracted subscribers from a wider group, and that wider group included other sections of the middle classes.

One thing that the PEF inherited from the Water Relief Fund was the assistance of Sir Henry James, Director of the Ordnance Survey, and the services of Charles Wilson as the Fund's Explorer.[31] Whilst the Fund was forming Wilson was in Palestine. He returned to England shortly after the inaugural meeting in Willis's Rooms in 1865, to return again to Palestine in late 1865. In truth there was virtually no break between the ending of the Water Relief Fund and the formation of the PEF. Writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, Grove's biographer appears to have seen no discernible break between the two organisations, and to some extent accepts 1864 as being the starting date for the PEF. Burdet Coutts' £500 gift to the Water Improvement Fund does appear in the early accounts of the Exploration Fund as part of its assets, pointing to the fact that PEF's finances even were not to be seen as independent from those of its predecessor organisation. However, when in 1866 the Water Relief Fund finally published a paper edited by Wilson, that paper did appear under the auspices of the Water Relief Fund even though by then for most practical purposes that organisation had been absorbed into PEF.[32]

Grove tried to attract a high calibre of membership and supporters for the Fund. Again we have a similarity with the Water Relief Fund. The Foundation Committee of PEF had

---

31 Gillian Webster, 'Angela Burdett Coutts', Biblical Archaeology 48 (1985).
32 See PEF Accounts Ledger 1865-67, un-numbered.

within its membership well known public figures as well as ordinary individuals, drawn largely from the middle classes and forming the core membership. Grove realised the need to work hard at establishing the Fund with high profile membership and as early as 1864, and certainly throughout the first months of 1865, he spent his time writing letters to persons likely to join and who were likely to have some influence. For a Secretary for the PEF Grove approached Stanley, now Dean of Westminster, with a view to recruiting him. That approach was made in early March of 1865 and declined by Stanley on 21 March of the same year. Stanley declined: 'through pressure of business',[33] though in truth Stanley's rejection of the office of Secretary was brought about principally because he realised that as one of the leading liberal churchmen he, by his very presence, might deter others from joining the Fund. He appears to have said as much to Grove.

On 27 April 1865 Lord Shaftesbury was recruited to the Fund as a subscriber, though not as a committee member. As a leading evangelical he would have been someone who, had he joined the Executive Committee, would have aroused sectarian opposition. Robert Hanbury MP was recruited as Treasurer to the Fund on 8 April 1865[34] and was to hold the office of Treasurer until his death in 1867 when both he and his co-Treasurer, Abel Smith MP, were to be succeeded by Walter Morrison and J. A. Smith. Morrison became sole Treasurer soon after. Sir Morton Petro and Antonio Panzzini were recruited as Fund members by Grove in April 1865[35] and by the end of April 1865 a small number of bishops had consented to join including the Bishop of Ely, the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,[36] and William Thompson, Archbishop of York.[37]

By the time of the Fund's first meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey in May 1865, a meeting that preceded the Foundation meeting at Willis's Rooms, Grove had recruited a cross section of the Bench of Bishops, a cross section of public figures, and a representative group of people from both academic and religious life.

It is to Grove's credit that he managed to persuade both Pusey and Shaftesbury, Williams and Fergusson, to share a common membership of the same organisation. When, for instance, Pusey was recruited as a subscriber to the Fund by George Williams, he undertook to join the Fund but, being reticent about joining an organisation which included both Grove, Shaftesbury and Stanley, he wrote to Grove agreeing to join with the caveat 'That our objective

33 BL 35226, p.76.
34 PEF/1865/1/7, Grove to Peto, 8 April 1865.
35 PEF/1865/1/10, Panzzini to Grove, 11 April 1865.
36 PEF/1865/1/11, Hawkins to Grove, 11 April 1865.
37 PEF/1865/1/1, Reply from Archbishop of York.

is to collect and publish facts, and not to propagate theory'.[38] Pusey must initially have received assurances about the nature of the Fund, for he joined, although he took virtually no active part in its work. Neither Williams nor Fergusson took an active part in the Fund after the initial meetings of 1865 and 1866. It must have become clear by then that the Fund was not only taking a non-traditional line regarding biblical history but that it was dominated by a combination of critical theorists and increasingly by military men with an interest in mapping. By its very nature the Fund was forced to propagate theories which the traditionalists could not espouse and over the first three to four years of the Fund's existence people such as Pusey and Williams were seldom active.

The thinking of the Fund in the first two or three years of its existence was dominated by scholars who were moulded in the critical schools of scholarship dating back to Robinson and virtually all those scholars were Christians, and virtually all Protestants. This might explain, to some extent, why people such as Montefiore were initially reluctant to join the Fund and, when they did, appear to have had strong reservations. Montefiore did join the Fund in late 1865 after initially excusing himself from joining on health grounds, but he never took any active part in the Fund's work.[39] The PEF quickly became an organ of Liberal Protestant thought for the first two or three years of its existence, and after about 1867 became increasingly an organisation dominated by those interested in cartography and the military mapping of the Holy Land.

Not everyone who was approached joined the Fund despite Grove's wish to see PEF represent a cross section of opinion both within and without the established church. Grove's efforts to recruit people as diverse as Gladstone and Lord John Russell[40] were not successful, both twice refusing to join. His biggest achievement was, however, to persuade Queen Victoria to become the Fund's patron and later to even contribute to the Fund. The Prince of Wales did not join, rather surprisingly, considering his visit to the Holy Land in 1862 and his alleged conversation with Whitty and Stanley in the tent outside Jerusalem.

By 1865 therefore Grove had recruited a spread of membership to the Fund and out of that had recruited an appropriate Executive Committee. The Fund was to appoint a General Committee of Management chosen by the nomination of the Executive of the Fund from amongst those who cared to subscribe. From that Committee of Management was recruited an Executive Committee. The procedure was therefore circular; favoured subscribers were recruited to the General Committee out of which an Executive was formed, and the Executive

38 PEF/1865/1/29, Williams to Grove, 24 April 1865.
39 PEF/1865/1/20, and PEF/1865/1/47, Correspondence with Gladstone.
40 Gladstone's two refusals are at PEF/1865/1/6 and PEF/1865/1/8.

in turn elected, as necessary, the General Committee. Effectively the Fund was self-perpetuating. The first General Committee was appointed by Grove and his provisional executive and therefore reflected a tightly controlled group of people all of whom knew each other. At this stage the Fund was administered solely by Grove who combined the job of Fund administration with his position as a writer of biblical subjects and his daytime job as Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company at Sydenham.

When on 12 May 1865 a preliminary meeting for the Fund was held with the Archbishop of York, the Dean of Westminster, Professor Owen, and other prospective members of the General Committee in attendance the meeting, at the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, ratified that which was already decided. The meeting in turn set up a sub-committee of the General Committee to consider a declaration of the aims and objectives of the Fund. Notice of this committee meeting was placed in The Times, Telegraph, Post, and other leading London papers. Shortly after the initial meeting Grove made another coup, Baron Lionel de Rothschild joined the Fund.[41] From then on until 22 June 1865 more replies were received, more people joined the Fund and indeed some subscriptions began to come in. By early June 1865 Grove had achieved and obtained what he sought. He had obtained a cross section of Christian churchmanship ranging from evangelicals through to broad churchmen through to the Anglo-Catholics. By careful manipulation of that group he was able to obtain the impossible - Stanley and Pusey had joined the same organisation only one year after Pusey had refused to preach in Westminster Abbey despite being invited to do so by Stanley. George Williams had never joined any organisation of which Fergusson was a leading member, save the church; again both joined.[42]

One important feature of the meeting at the Jerusalem Chamber on 12 May 1865, the meeting which effectively started the Fund, was the official appointment of both John Abel Smith and Robert Hanbury as Treasurers. Both men were bankers and both accepted the positions offered. Grove was appointed Secretary and an outline Prospectus for the Fund had been drawn up.[43] By 22 May Grove was able to start printing and sending out notices calling for attendance at a public meeting on 22 June with a report on the back of the notice of a meeting of 12 May. All was therefore set in place for the first public meeting of the Fund.

The inaugural meeting of the Fund on 22 June 1865 at Willis's Rooms in St. James's was more of a public relations and a subscription-raising exercise than a genuine attempt to interest the public in joining the Fund's committee. The Fund by then was in being and all else

41 PEF/1865/1/49, for copies.
42 V. D. Lipman, 'The Origins of the Palestine Exploration Fund', PEQ, vol.120 (1988), p.48.
43 Ibid., p.47 et seq.

was a fait accompli. The meeting was addressed by the Archbishop of York, William Thompson, and the proceedings were opened by the Bishop of London who, ironically for a non-religious organisation, commenced with a prayer. It was a curious opening for a society which had pledged itself to a non-sectarian and non-religious exploration of the Holy Land. Looking back on the events of that inaugural meeting Sir Charles Watson wrote in 1915 'that Wilson's success in his survey work 1864 to 1865 had led Charles Grove to decide that it was time to scientifically explore the Holy Land and he ascribed all the credit for the success of the first meeting to a combination of George Grove and A. P. Stanley.'[44] The committee which was to act as the Fund's executive for its first year of life consisted of, among others, Walter Morrison, Roderick Murchison, Professor Owen, James Fergusson together with Grove as Honorary Secretary and the two Treasurers. The Archbishop of York was to be President of the Fund and Stanley was included on the early executive.

At the public meeting in Willis's Rooms the objectives of the Fund were laid out and approved by the subscribers. The Fund appealed to the public for financial support but in exchange the public got very little for their money for it was not proposed to issue a Journal but only to raise money to dig and survey Palestine. The Fund's objectives were set out in the form of general principles which committed the Fund to 'exploring Jerusalem, and other Holy Land sites, for archaeological purposes; surveying the land; and investigating flora, fauna, and the natural resources of Palestine'. The pious hope was also expressed that 'biblical scholars may yet receive assistance in illustrating the sacred texts from the careful observations of the manners and people of the Holy Land'.[45]

That last point was expanded by the Archbishop of York in his opening remarks. Clearly the Fund could not be separated from religion, for religion was what it was about, but considering the breadth of the membership and churchmanship, the non-denominational nature of the Fund needed to be emphasised, and the emphasis was on denomination, despite the use of the word 'religion'. The Archbishop said: 'We are not a religious society, we are not about to launch into any controversy, we are about to apply the rules of science ... in investigation by the Fund concerning the Holy Land.'[46]

The Archbishop emphasised two points in this address. The first was the scientific nature of the investigation that the Fund had to undertake, and the second was the shunning of controversy between Anglo-Catholics, broad churchmen, and evangelicals. In truth the very word 'scientific' put the Fund into the broad church camp and into the school of liberal thinking. The Anglo-Catholics would have none of the scientific doubting of Holy Land sites

44 Charles M. Watson, Fifty Years Work in the Holy Land, p.17.
45 PEF/MINS, 22.6.1865.
46 Report of the first meeting at Willis's Rooms, 22 June 1865, p.3.

and the evangelicals would have none of the critical methods implied in the word 'scientific'. Despite the Archbishop's fine words it was unlikely that within the group of scholars who formed the management of the Fund could bridge the deep gaps of Victorian religious disagreement.

At the close of his address the Archbishop appealed to English patriotism and the English Protestant sense of destiny:

> This country of Palestine belongs to you and to me. It is essentially ours. It was given to the Father of Israel in the words 'Walk the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto thee.'
>
> We mean to walk through Palestine in the length and in the breadth of it because that land has been given unto us. It is the land from which comes the news of our redemption. It is the land towards which we turn as the fountain of all our hopes ... it is the land to which we may look with as true a patriotism as we do to this dear old England, which we love so much.[47]

Given allowances for Victorian hyperbole this is a remarkable statement and a remarkable claim and one which the Archbishop almost certainly meant. Whose land was Palestine? The Archbishop appears to have been referring to the English-speaking Protestant peoples and the English-speaking scholars of the 1860s. His claim must be read against the other comments which were made at that meeting in 1865, comments which point to the colonial importance to England of obtaining a foothold in Palestine and an overwhelming feeling that England, with its scientific knowledge, and world lead, could establish the history of the Bible. From the comments of A. H. Layard it is clear that Anglo-French rivalry was also involved. Referring to the Louvre's recent acquisition of the supposed coffins of the Jewish kings, Layard remarked 'They are debased with Roman art, which has no connection with Jewish art.'[48]

It was a clear reference to de Saulcey's wrong identification of the sarcophagus of Helene of Adiebines and indirectly to Pierotti and his championing of the traditional sites. It is, however, more than that. The references to the Jewish people both in Layard's speech and in Murchison's and in the Archbishop's address stress the correctness and truthfulness of the Protestant site identifications and their long historic link into Bible history.

---

47 Ibid., p.4.
48 Ibid., p.6.

It was left to Stanley to make the connection between the Land, the Fund that was being set up to explore it, the people, and the Bible. In some way the exploring of the Land, the mapping of it and the acquisition and discovery of its antiquities fulfilled a mission and a destiny thrust upon the British nation. By entering the Land and taking it over, by exploring it and walking through it the British were to become as much a 'Chosen People' as the patriarchs had become four thousand years before.

It was a common misconception of the period to see the Holy Land as being an ossified land of living biblical history, a land where nothing had changed, and where history had stood still. Even the very name 'Holy Land' was a name of Victorian origins.[49] Britain was to seize possession of a land where nothing had changed since the days of Abraham and in the minds of those present at the inaugural meeting in June 1865 it was a near divine vindication of Britain's place in the world. This, to some extent, was underlined and emphasised by the fact that as the meeting took place a Royal Engineer's officer, Wilson, together with non-commissioned officers, were travelling back to England following excavations through the subterranean passages of the city of Jerusalem. It was almost as if the British had already laid claim to a land which they regarded as being their inheritance. Needless to say, the meeting knew nothing of the map work that had taken place in Sinai, nor of the security interest of the War Office. If they had they would probably have seen such as further proof of England's destiny.

After the excitement of the first public meeting of the Fund, Grove and his committee and executive had to start to deal with the day to day problems of running such a high profile organisation as PEF without any permanent staff, office, or clear objective. The problem of finance, the issue of publicity and the nature of the Fund's work all had to be determined. Publicity was not a problem. Grove had wide newspaper contacts and could always get letters published in The Times or the Manchester Guardian (as he did in June and July 1865). A host of papers were willing to publish near-verbatim meeting reports. Finance was a little more tricky.

The Fund initially depended on public subscriptions given on a voluntary basis and resting on public generosity. Before the Willis's Room meeting on 22 June the only money collected and actually in the PEF's possession amounted to £231.[50] A boost was given at the public meeting by the announcement that Queen Victoria had pledged £100 and the British Association a similar amount. Large donors were hard to come by. Walter Morrison, Thomas Brassey, Samuel Morley and Robert Hanbury gave generously but for the rest the average

---

49 Yehoshua ben Arieh, 'Holy Land views in nineteenth century western travel literature', in M. Davies & Y. ben Arieh (eds), Eyes Towards Zion, vol.III, ch.1.

50 PEF Account Ledgers 1865-67, vol.1.

subscription was between one guinea (£1.05) and £10. By the end of 1865 the fund had raised £1,012-5s-0d (£1,012.25). That was the sum of its assets. It had no offices, no paid employees and no-one with experience of organising a major survey expedition. Moreover the Fund had no explorer or Surveyor.

In late July 1865 Wilson and his men returned to the Holy Land. Wilson's 1864/65 expedition had been remarkably successful. As he was later to claim in Recovery of Jerusalem, Wilson's first expedition was the only one run by PEF or its predecessors nearly to meet its financial target. The expedition was around £20 over budget. It fell to the Archbishop of York to write to the Earl de Gray and Rippon requesting that Wilson, together with a subaltern, a NCO, a sapper and photographer be made available to PEF.[51] The Fund's assets were optimistically stated to be £2,000. Permission was secured, and payment arranged. PEF were to pay only Wilson's overseas pay allowance, for his servant and travel.[52] Presumably the willingness to lend Wilson to the PEF on such reasonable terms reflects the importance of the work he was doing for the military authorities. If further proof was needed the Ordnance Survey Department agreed to lend PEF a full set of survey equipment, including spirit levels, artificial horizons, sextants and theodolites, together with camera equipment, all of which had been used to survey the Canada-USA border some years previously, a survey to which Wilson had been Secretary.[53] Such co-operation could not stem from an upsurge of religious awareness in the Royal Engineers, but from a desire for accurate maps of a militarily sensitive area. It is clear that no firmans were obtained to do the work (a firman was a permission from the Porte itself); the work was done with the acquiescence of Izzet Pacha, the Jerusalem Governor.[54] Wilson had only returned from the water survey in late June 1865. By 21 October 1865 he was returning to Palestine. Time must have been of the essence so far as obtaining maps was concerned. To what extent the Executive Committee of the Fund would have been aware of Wilson's work is unclear. The Archbishop's letter was dated 25 September 1865, but as early as 3 August 1865 the sub-committee of PEF had met and ordered that Wilson should be instructed to return to the Holy Land with an assistant, men and a photographer. Quite possibly most active Fund members realised that the self-evident need for the Holy Land to be investigated by British officials for the good of the Empire and the Protestant religion would have been only too clear.

---

51 PRO/O.S.1.17/1 Archbishop of York to Earl de Grey and Rippon, 25 September 1865.

52 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Letter of J. Mill to Cox & Co, 23 October 1865.

53 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Letter to Layard, 16 October 1865 together with instrument list and misc. correspondence of 2 October, 13 October and 29 December 1865.

54 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Wilson to Sir Henry James, 6 December 1865 requesting Foreign Office thanks to be sent to Izzet Pasha.

The Committee assigned Wilson a formidable itinerary, one which coincided with military interests. He was to land at Beirut and make his way to Damascus by way of Bannias, and then go to Tel Hum on Lake Galilee. He was to visit a number of towns and finally finish up in Jerusalem. His general mandate was to conduct a feasibility study of exploring each of those places together with estimates of time and labour that it would cost to carry out a full and proper investigation. It would seem that quite frankly the Committee had very little idea as to the cost of such exploration work. The Ordnance Survey did know the cost and the value of researching Galilee, an area near the Lebanon and where French and Russian influence were thought to abound. The Russians were also active in Jerusalem, building a new hospice, whilst the French had commenced some survey work in the area.

The Fund's Committee now consisted of Grove, Fergusson, Vaux, Murray (the publisher), Hanbury, and Abel Smith. It had no overheads and just over £1,000 in the form of donations. Wilson was given a £2,000 budget, presumably in the hope that money would come into the PEF. They were fortunate, for the very real material help provided by the Ordnance Survey, help acknowledged by Grove in 1866 in correspondence with Sir Henry James, saved the Fund from an early end.[55] It was also as if the PEF had not had an estimate. Wilson estimated £660 as his survey costs in October 1865. Unlike the Water Supply Fund survey, passage was not free (P&O had given passage free to that expedition), and an additional cost of £50 per man and £80 per officer had to be met. Funds became tighter and the PEF began to struggle.

During the expedition Wilson was able to go to Jerusalem and to commence doing some survey work.[56] He realised the scale of the work and he realised the cost of the work, and when at the close of his preliminary survey in 1866 he submitted his accounts he reckoned the cost of his expedition at £1,550. Part of the high expenditure had been caused by an outbreak of plague in Palestine which delayed his departure but, generally speaking, Wilson's survey had been very disappointing from the Fund's point of view. A much hoped for breakthrough and the expected great discoveries did not flow from it. It is true that Wilson made some useful discoveries and certainly laid down very good ground work for any subsequent survey expedition, but even Wilson had failed to realise the cost of archaeological digging and proper survey work in Palestine. He had done no such work in the land, and his amateur investigations had been relatively cheap. It was left to Warren to make that discovery and carry the consequences of it.

---

55 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Grove to Sir Henry James, 1 August 1866.
56 Watson, Fifty Years Work ..., pp.31-35.

Wilson returned in August 1866 from his second Jerusalem survey and after he had drawn up his report on the 1864 water survey (later printed), he finished his Jerusalem map and returned to his regiment. Final accounts were submitted, a report given, and by November the Fund and Wilson were to part company. Some specimens were deposited in the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert), a particularly appropriate venue as the Museum was dedicated to science and the arts. The War Office had by now acquired its gutta percha models of Sinai and its Sinai and Jerusalem maps. The French and the Russians had been observed. What did the Fund do now?

The truth was that after its initial enthusiastic start the Fund had become moribund. It still had no proper accommodation, limited voluntary staffing, and little money. To complicate matters, both its treasurers were to die in quick succession. It seemed that it was on the verge of its demise. During 1866 only three committee meetings were held, and the celebrities who had sat on the PEF's Committee in 1865 started to desert.[57] Grove could not cope and by April 1866 the Fund had moved out of its Crystal Palace accommodation into rented offices at the Royal Asiatic Society and engaged one clerk.[58] Membership was also falling. In October/November 1865 membership had reached 194. Subscribers had put up varying amounts of money as 'one off' subscriptions. By November 1866 the Fund could only raise subscriptions from some 119 individuals. More worrying, only £794-15s-0d (£794.75) could be raised. Apart from the sale of photographs (originals supplied courtesy of the Ordnance Survey)[59] the Fund had little to sell to raise money. Meanwhile subscribers were starting to expect more for their donations. So far all they had received was one public lecture in Oxford in 1866.

Even Grove's letters to The Times in 1865 and 1866 were failing to raise money. Writing to The Times early in 1866 Grove commented, 'The subscriptions hitherto promised amount to over £3,000 of which £500 has already been expended on a survey of Jerusalem.' This neatly sums up his difficulty. He had been promised £3,000, he had not received it, and the £500 of which he spoke was Burdett Coutts' water survey money. In truth PEF's funds were around £300-400, cash in hand, when the outstanding circular notes given to Wilson were accounted for and paid.[60]

Within the PEF troubles were starting. The supporters of Fergusson's theories were becoming less tolerant of those supporting people such as Williams. Thus Williams' offer to lecture to the Fund resulted in '... read letters from the Dean of Westminster, Dr Hawson and

57 Meeting 23 April, 11 June and 5 Novcember 1866, and one public meeting.
58 PEF/MINS, 23.4.1866.
59 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Grove to Sir Henry James, 15 October 1855.
60 PEF Account Ledgers 1865-67.

the Reverend G. Williams the last of which was ordered to be declined with thanks.'[61] The Fund aligned itself more clearly with the critical scholars of the time by co-operating with the Institute of Archaeology and the more obviously 'protestant' view by forming a formal link with Chaplin, the London Jews Society missionary doctor in Jerusalem. The significance was that both Chaplin and the archaeologists, for different reasons, embraced views which led them to reject the traditional holy sites. Williams had supported them. The Fund was firmly in the modernist protestant camp.

The PEF must have been on the verge of splitting and collapsing, and would have done so but for a new direction imposed on it by Charles Wilson who returned to Britain in mid-1866. When Wilson returned from the east in June of 1866 he was at once elected a member of the Executive of the Fund and thus began a life-long involvement with PEF. On returning to the United Kingdom Wilson was ordered to join the Ordnance Survey Office at Southampton where he left for Inverness in October 1866. Wilson was to remain in Inverness until August 1867 when he was appointed an Assistant Commissioner for the Boundary Commission in the West Midlands. Wilson returned to Scotland in August 1868, but his interest continued to grow in military intelligence.[62] Realising the poor quality work in such a vital area of British interest as Palestine, he persisted with his Holy Land interests. Wilson was a convinced imperialist and could see nothing wrong in combining his strong religious beliefs and the military and imperial interests. Wilson also had an academic interest in Fergusson's work.

The PEF needed to undergo a change and with Wilson in the Midlands some sort of reform seems to have started, but not quickly enough. The Ordnance Survey were desperate to remain in the Palestine area to complete their map work and the PEF were equally keen to commence work again in the hope of producing a find which was startling enough to revive their fortunes. The only problem was that the PEF had little money, and certainly not the £1,500 Wilson reckoned was needed for surveying the area, and the Ordnance Survey could not get Treasury funding.[63]

As early as 14 January 1867, within six months of the return of Wilson's second survey, Sir Henry James was again in correspondence with Grove and the War Office to arrange for another expedition to Palestine, 'that they should proceed to the Holy Land during the current month, for the purpose of making some excavations at Jerusalem and obtaining a

---

61 PEF/MINS, 11.6.1866.

62 Charles M. Watson, The Life of Major General Sir Charles William Wilson, pp.60-64.

63 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, marginal notes 1865-1875 show Treasury reluctance to fund survey work.

map in the style of a military reconnaissance of some districts in the vicinity of the city.'[64] A photographer and an NCO and sappers would be needed, and the expedition was sanctioned by HRH the Duke of Clarence, Field Marshall and Commander in Chief. The wording is significant - mapping and reconnaissance were to be a priority, tunnelling and excavation secondary. By 15 January 1867 Col. Browne of the Engineers had told Sir Henry James that suitable men existed[65] and correspondence then flowed between Grove and James. The PEF Committee had not at this stage sanctioned another excavation, nor did it do so until 21 May 1867 when its next formal meeting was held to discuss the situation and agree to some £300 being given to Warren for the cost of his expedition. The Fund was virtually penniless by the end of May 1867.

The Royal Engineers officer sent was Charles Warren. Warren was born in 1840, the second son of Captain Charles Warren, a serving military officer. The other part of Warren's family had been connected with the Church of England. His grandfather had been Dean of Bangor and his mother was of Irish extraction. Educated at Bridgenorth School in Shropshire and Wem Grammar School, Warren had eventually joined the Royal Engineers. According to his biographer, Warren and three corporals of the Royal Engineers volunteered in 1867 to go to the Holy Land and carry out excavations.

The despatch of Warren was arranged without the authorisation of the fund's Executive and it seems Warren was paid £300 in February when he left London. Writing some years later in Underground Jerusalem, Warren commented:

> I had not enquired into the solvency of the Palestine Exploration Fund before embarking on my enterprise; with its goodly array of names on the General Committee, I had not thought of checking as to its organisation and was not aware that it was practically in the hand of one man, a very busy man, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary. I turned a deaf ear to the remarks of my friends that the whole undertaking was chimerical, that I should never get paid, and that before I had been out six months the Fund would have broken up. And yet it was quite true; for during the first ten months of my sojourn in the country, I had not only to do the work but also to advance more than half the money until by November there was a debt due to me of nearly a thousand pounds sterling. Had I known that there was the least prospect of this occurring, I should not have been desirous of trying the experiment.[66]

---

64 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, memorandum of Sir Henry James to Royal Engineers, 14 January 1867.

65 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Col. Browne to Sir Henry James, 15 January 1867.

66 Charles Warren, Underground Jerusalem, pp.2-4.

Whilst some of his account is true, his volunteering is probably not. Col. Browne volunteered Warren[67] and notified his name to James. Whilst passage money and overseas allowances were not paid Warren never protested to Sir Henry James about the absence of general payment of salary.

The objectives set by the Ordnance Survey were 'to explore at Jerusalem, and to continue the map to the south and south west of Jerusalem'[68] According to the PEF Warren was to survey the Temple site, the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and the gates of the city, the Antonian Fortress, the Tyropean Valley, the Tower of Hippicus, and the courses of the first, second and third walls of the ancient city. Royal Engineers stores were made available for Warren as the Fund possessed no surveying equipment.[69] It would seem that the Ordnance Survey had a different set of priorities from the Fund; they wanted to complete a map whilst the Fund wanted archaeological finds. Warren's men travelled by sea on a P&O steamer. Warren journeyed to Palestine via Mont Cenis.

Like Wilson, Warren appears to have secured no firman prior to journeying out to the Holy Land. Unlike Wilson, he had later to obtain one. He met and liaised with the British Consul and the Governor of the City. The Governor of the City at that time was one Izzet Pasha who, despite the absence of a Vizierial letter, was willing to give Warren authority to dig anywhere except in the interior of the Noble Sanctuary. Izzet Pasha soon stepped back from that position. Warren's early announcement that he intended to dig against the walls of the Noble Sanctuary disturbed many, including the Moslem clerics, and his digging was restricted. Eventually permission from the Porte was acquired by the British consular authorities giving him permission to 'make useful scientific enquiries' and giving him 'every possible facility to dig and inspect places, after satisfying the owners, with the exception of the Noble Sanctuary and various Moslem and Christian shrines'.[70]

Warren's instructions from the Committee of the Fund told him, among other things, to dig in the Haran or Noble Sanctuary area of Jerusalem. This was the one spot that the Turkish authorities would not let him dig. His second commission had been to dig at the sites of the Christian shrines. Again, the Turkish authorities would not let him dig next to, or against, or inside the Holy Sepulchre, nor were those controlling the Holy Sepulchre happy that Warren should dig within its walls.

---

67 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Col. Browne to Sir Henry James, 15 January 1867.
68 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Grove to Sir Henry James, 23 January 1867.
69 PEF/MINS, 21.5.1867.
70 Watkins Williams, The Life of General Sir Charles Warren, pp.40-42.

What then was Warren to do with what effectively became a period of idleness? He was in fact busy the whole time. When his attempts to dig at the Temple Mount failed, he immediately requested a copy of Wilson's survey notes and went on a tour of the country.[71] Birtles, the corporal, and Phillips, the photographer with Warren, went to survey in Jericho whilst Warren surveyed elsewhere in Palestine. In a letter of 20 August 1867 Sir Henry James was able to tell Grove that the surveying of Jerusalem was not complete and that mapping was going well. Plans were reaching James at Ordnance Survey.[72] By November the NCOs on the expedition had provided a full-scale model of Jerusalem, updated and improved.[73]

Writing to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in later 1867, James commented:

> The survey of Jerusalem was finished and the party had left Palestine before the formation of the PEF ... I made the survey independent of Mr Grove or we should have the absurdities of Mr Fergusson engraved on our plans had either of these gentlemen had anything to do with our survey.[74]

Indeed, all the maps of Jerusalem had been produced by the Ordnance Survey independently of the Fund and of Grove. The Fund was serving as a convenient vehicle to mask the Ordnance Survey and War Office interest in Palestine. Izzet Pasha's time as Governor of Jerusalem was ending and PEF provided a cover for this particular venture into imperial expansion. Grove, on the other hand, seems to have been very much aware of the needs of the military but tolerated it in order to get his own way in relation to the work done.

Grove was not in a strong negotiating position. He had handed Warren £300 at the Charing Cross Hotel when the latter left for Palestine in 1867.[75] This represented the Fund's entire assets at the time, or so Warren was later to assert. In truth that was not the case. In May 1867 Warren received £500 from the Fund. 1867 was PEF's best year for raising donations. By the end of the year some 656 members had joined, including institutions, and subscriptions over the year came to £2,750-1s-3d (£2,750.06).[76] During the period March-November 1867 Warren appears to have toured Palestine mapping for the Ordnance Survey and War Office and significantly the Ordnance Survey file contains no protestations from Warren that either he or his men were penniless and abandoned.

---

71 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Col. Cameron to Cooke 22 March 1867 and Wilson to Sir Henry James, 20 March 1867.
72 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Sir Henry James to Grove, 20 August 1867.
73 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Sir Henry James to Grove, 14 November 1867.
74 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Sir Henry James to Yorkshire Philosophical Society, 9 December 1867.
75 Warren, Underground Jerusalem, pp.4-5.
76 PEF Account Ledgers 1865-67.

By mid-1867 it was clear to all concerned that the Fund's accounts were not satisfactory and its assets were low. Warren later protested in Underground Jerusalem that for part of his time in the Holy Land he drew on his own money, especially during the early months of his dig. Whilst not denying that Warren suffered from poor cash flow the Fund had assets. It received £250 from the Syrian Improvement Fund, £300 from Cambridge University, record subscriptions and £500 from Oxford University, all in 1867.[77] In 1868 the PEF held £2,373-3s-0d (£2,373.15) in its accounts.[78]

The problem appears to have been a combination of bad management by the Fund, the death of the Treasurer, and the erratic nature of funding. PEF depended upon donations and these came into the Fund in an erratic fashion. There was no subscription. The Fund was in crisis in 1867 with no proper management and also seems to have still not possessed any proper staff and only a rudimentary system to account for donations. We are obliged to accept Warren's assertion that at one stage the PEF left him financially embarrassed and that for the rest of his time with the PEF they always owed him money,[79] but from late 1868 onwards Warren received late but regular payments. By then Morrison had become Treasurer. Sometimes Morrison himself had to find the money to pay Warren. Warren's work cost £250 a month, in itself a considerable expense.

Warren appears to have combined his work for the War Office with that of the Fund. During periods of slackness in the Fund's work he toured the Holy Land extensively from Mount Nebo to the Dead Sea, over to the east of Jordan and north to Galilee. He made extensive native contacts and met the Arab population.[80] When he was not journeying, Warren spent much of his time in Jerusalem, when possible digging for antiquities. How he divided his time is not clear. His work was affected by two factors - one was the flow of money from London. We have already noted that this was erratic. The second was the appointment of Charles Wilson to the Fund's Executive. From 1868 onwards Wilson was in the Midlands of England. He had been a member of the PEF General Committee since 1866 and on the Executive since 1867. Wilson was Warren's senior in the Royal Engineers. Two events seem to have occurred in close proximity and to have become inter-linked. Wilson became active on the PEF Committee and the Sinai Survey began to become a reality. Whilst both these events were taking place Warren was still in Jerusalem where he was instructed by PEF to commence excavations. The Pasha of Jerusalem changed mid-1867 and was replaced by a conservative and devout man, Nazif Pasha. Warren had the intention of tunnelling near

77 PEF/MINS. June to December 1867 and Accounts Ledgers 1865-67.
78 PEF/MINS, February 1868.
79 Williams, Life of ... Warren, ch.IV.
80 Ibid., p.40 et seq.

the walls of the Haram to find out what lay besides and beneath them. The area was sacred to both Jews and Moslems and when Warren had initially attempted to dig protests had followed. A firman became necessary and under Nazif Pasha it was interpreted strictly. The authorities in Constantinople would not let Warren dig within 40 feet of the walls or near to any religiously sensitive buildings.

Warren determined to dig by the Temple walls and commenced digging some distance away. He was a military engineer and mining was in his training. He therefore dug a series of shafts and tunnels to bedrock and up to the walls. By the close of 1867 he had sunk at least one shaft and when more were proposed he ran into consular, religious and local difficulties. The PEF found the scheme financially very expensive, costing around £250 a month. Warren had no materials in the Holy Land. Mining cases were needed to prop up the work and timber was necessary for shoring. The area was geologically unstable and at a depth of 180 feet collapse was always near. Native workmen had no mining skills and local politicians and leaders were upset by the work. Warren had to stop. PEF were appalled at the financial expense. He was not allowed to recommence mining. When he tried to do so in 1869 the Fund quickly stopped him from so doing.[81]

During 1867 the Fund had been near moribund, the reasons being not just the management failures at home but also a struggle for control. The Reverend Piece Butler of Ulcombe Rectory had proposed a survey of Sinai to trace the route of the Exodus. The survey was to be paid for by subscriptions from 'gentlemen and noblemen'. Who those persons were we know not, but Piece Butler did have the Secretary of State's permission to use the officers of the Royal Engineers, and Sir Henry James' Ordnance Survey. Sir Henry James was to be co-organiser of the work. When Piece Butler died in 1867 Sir Henry James, Sir John Herschel and Sir Roderick Murchison became trustees of the Sinai Fund.[82] The Suez Canal was very near completion. The PEF was near collapse but PEF represented a body of distinguished academic opinion and views on the Holy Land. Suddenly by early 1868 PEF had £2,373-3s-0d (£2,373.15)[83] in its account and some of its Executive Committee, together with Wilson, were on their way to Sinai. It was to be an expedition with mixed religious, archaeological and strategic value.

Wilson had produced a sketch map of Sinai and a gutta percha model of the peninsula in 1865. By 1868 time was short and a cadastral map of Sinai was needed to allow British

---

81 A full account can be read in Charles Warren, Underground Jerusalem, ..., London 1876.

82 Report of progress of the Ordnance Survey and Topographical Depôt to 31 December 1867. H of C papers 1867-8, vol.XLII, p.727.

83 PEF/MINS, February 1868.

interests to be protected if need arose. The party was led by Wilson and included Revd. F. W. Holland, the PEF Joint Secretary since 1868, E. H. Palmer, the Orientalist and PEF supporter, Lieutenant Palmer and at the end, George Grove. Though not a PEF expedition, it virtually functioned as such. The party sailed on 21 October from Southampton to go to Egypt. Its funding appears to have passed through PEF's accounts and as if to support this, Warren was kept deliberately short of money in Jerusalem. It would seem that Warren and Wilson liaised during the Sinai Survey.[84] The Sinai Survey was certainly a success. 'I hear on all sides how successful the expedition to Sinai has been. I am very glad to hear that Wilson got a good appointment in London.'[85] Warren concludes his above letter to Cameron at the War Office noting little of his work would attract public attention. He does not make it clear which public he refers to, and if he wanted attention. Wilson's work earned him a job in the Topographical Department.

The survey was a full trigonometric survey of the peninsula and paid attention to water supply, meteorology, geology, and natural history together with the inscriptions on the monuments, and the Arab population. The area to be covered by the survey was 3,000 square miles and was mapped on the scale of six inches to the mile. Special surveys were to be made round the area of Jebel Serbal and Jebal Musa.[86] The survey was accompanied by photographs. The survey party worked at speed, completing their survey by May 1869, at the conclusion of which Wilson received a letter from Sir Henry James asking whether he would like to be 'recommended for the appointment of Executive Officer of the Topographical Department of the War Office'.[87] At a meeting of the Fund's Executive Committee in December 1868 the Fund expressly asked Wilson not to go to Jerusalem at the Fund's expense and to contact Warren who by now had re-commenced his shaft digging in November 1868, despite the Fund's increasing reservations regarding his work.[88] By now Warren was tunnelling along the side of the south east angle of the Noble Sanctuary and had reached the footings of the Temple outer wall and bedrock. Warren himself was elated to find what he concluded to be Phoenician masons' and quarrymen's marks on the stone of the south east corner to the Haran.

The Executive of the Palestine Exploration Fund met on 9 March 1869. At that meeting the possibility of co-operation between the Sinai Survey Fund and the Palestine Exploration Fund was raised. Holland was present at the meeting and undertook to correspond with Sir Henry James on the subject together with ascertaining what plans had been made for the

84 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Warren to Sir Henry James, 14 June 1868.
85 PRO/O.S. 1.17/1, Warren to Cameron, July 1869.
86 Watson, Fifty Years ..., pp.63-73.
87 Ibid., p.71.
88 Williams, Life of ... Warren, p.65.

publication of the geographical work that had been undertaken by the Sinai Survey Fund. By now the assets of the PEF stood at some £223 in the Current Account with £103 in the Deposit Account. By 6 April 1869 the funds available to the PEF had fallen to £186-12s-0d. (£186.60) in total and cash was again in short supply. This is confirmed by a note to the same Minute to the effect that an Overdraft of some £3-15s-0d (£3.75) existed in the Current Account fund. By 20 April 1869 when the Executive Committee met the funds had improved temporarily, but after outgoings to Warren things were as bad as ever so that by 1 June 1869 when the Executive of the Fund met once more, correspondence between the Fund and Warren, still out in Jerusalem, had become acrimonious. Warren once more was sending in estimates for the cost of excavational work. This was running at about £350 per month and the Committee noted that that exceeded the amount that they were able to spend.

Funds at this stage had barely topped £460 cash in bank, and the Secretary of the Fund was instructed to 'convey to Lieut. Warren the instructions of the Committee that no mining was to be carried out'.[89] Indeed, the Committee was so concerned about the expense incurred by the mining excavations that it resolved to approach the Turkish Ambassador and consult him as to the possibility of the Turkish government bearing some of the expenses of the survey of Palestine. Warren's work was effectively suspended. In June 1869 Warren received notification that the Sultan at Constantinople had signed a firman forbidding work to be carried out on, or near to, any sites of religious importance, and particularly naming the Haram as a site where Warren was forbidden to carry out archaeological research. That effectively prevented Warren from researching further. At the end of June 1869 Warren left Jerusalem and made for the hill country of the Lebanon with his family, who by now had joined him. Effectively an end had been put to Warren's scheme of digging shafts and tunnels. For the remainder of his time in the Holy Land Warren concentrated upon map work.

Generally speaking, Wilson's expedition was better funded than Warren's and far more successful. Not only did it produce a map, it also produced intelligence results. By being sent to Jerusalem Warren had effectively been sidelined. He was short of money. In real terms he achieved little; he was kept as a back-up to Wilson. His support role probably explains why he was kept out in the east when it must have been clear that PEF was virtually without funds and Warren was without support. The results left Warren bitter, not just because of the conditions in which he was abandoned but because of Wilson's part in his treatment. Wilson was on the Committee and must have known of PEF's poverty. The bitterness can be seen in the introduction to Underground Jerusalem, yet for all the problems he had with the fund in 1867-69 Warren remained a staunch supporter to his death in the 1920s. Warren seems to have

89 PEF/MINS, 1.6.1869.

believed in the Fund and its work and worked for it long after he needed to do so. Similarly Wilson worked for the Fund up to his death in the early 1900s.

We see therefore in both men a rivalry coupled with a shared interest in the Fund and its work, an interest in the British Empire and its advancement (both were major participants in colonial conflicts), and a real desire to investigate the biblical background of Protestant Christianity. Their aim was not just imperial expansion but also to root the faith and religion that they held, that they felt had made Britain, and was making the Empire, in the soil of the Holy Land. The high point of British imperial endeavour was dawning, an Empire with its Protestant ethic and its English Bible which was to be rooted physically in the soil of Palestine by the work of Warren and Wilson and their successors.

By 1870 both Wilson and Warren had returned to Britain and both attended the Fund's Committee. 1870 was to mark a watershed in the Fund's activity as exploration moved into a new phase of activity, concentrating mainly on mapping out the Holy Land.

CHAPTER 3
MANAGING THE FUND

The idea of founding a fund entirely dedicated to researching the Holy Land was not a new idea. In 1804 a Palestine Exploration Society had been founded, but it attracted few people and issued only one work based on the journeys of Seetzen. A Palestine map was also produced and two Palestine travellers were sent out by the Committee, although they got no further than Malta.[1] The Society lasted 26 years and ended on 28 January 1834 when it dissolved and handed its papers to the Royal Geographical Society together with surplus funds. In 1840 a second attempt to found an association took place, and after issuing a few pamphlets it merged with the Syro-Egyptian Society, and that in turn with the Biblical Archaeological Society. It had no successor body until PEF came into existence in 1865.

The inaugural meeting of the Fund which was held on 12 May 1865 had set up the basic structure of the Fund, and formally constituted it under the title of 'The Palestine Exploration Fund'. The original committee was formed by self-election. It consisted of those invited to attend the meeting. It appointed Culling Hanbury and J. Able Smith as treasurers and George Grove as secretary, and set up a three-tier structure of an Executive Committee, a General Committee, and subscribers, the last of whom were represented on neither and only joined the General Committee by invitation. The model appears to have been the Joint Stock Company with the General Committee standing as shareholders and the Executive of the Fund as directors. In reality the General Committee met only once a year to receive an annual report and accounts, day to day work being in the Executive's hands. A prospectus was issued and Professor Owen and Dean Stanley, together with the Archbishop of York, were detailed on 24 May 1865 to draw up the PEF's prospectus which was later published in October 1865.[2]

Most of those who were later to administer the Fund were at the 1865 meetings, although they did not initially become part of the group originally coming forward to control the Fund. A sub-committee was originally selected from the meetings consisting of Murray (the publisher), Fergusson, Grove, Vaux and Cyril Graham. It was they who in August sent Wilson back to the Holy Land.[3] The next time the sub-committee met its composition had altered, consisting of Gibbs, Fergusson, Smith, Murray, Graham and Grove.[4] Wilson reported to the committee and no further meeting was held for eight months,[5] after Wilson and Anderson returned from Jerusalem. The sub-committee called a meeting of the General

---

1 C. R. Conder & H. H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine, pp.1-3.
2 Ibid., pp.3-6.
3 PEF/MINS, 3.8.1865.
4 PEF/MINS, 23.10.1865.
5 PEF/MINS, 11.6.1866.

Committee for 21 June 1866. It would seem that at that stage the Fund was in danger of becoming moribund and that it had neither kept in touch with its original supporters nor sought to do more than generate a little publicity and await Wilson's report of progress during his survey 1865-66. The Fund held a meeting on 23 July 1866 at the Archaeological Institute, London to report on progress.

At that meeting it became clear that more exploration work was needed in the Holy Land, and the Royal Engineers were to do it. The Chairman of the meeting, Graham, pointed out that the Fund came about due to the "munificence [of] Miss Burdett Coutts"[6] and her water supply scheme. This was not strictly true but linked the PEF historically into the work of its predecessor. Secondly the link between the PEF and Sir Henry James began to emerge: "With regard to the plans of Jerusalem, those, I have already said, belong to an earlier date - a sort of pre-historic stage of our PEF. Properly speaking they are in Sir Henry James' department."[7]

At some time between the two meetings the sub-committee of the Fund ended and an Executive consisting of Vaux, MacGregor, Grove and Revd. Holland came into existence meeting for the first time on 5 November 1866. The Fund had now realised that its aims would not be achieved speedily and that it had to be organised properly.[8]

Grove could no longer cope with the post of Fund Secretary alone and Revd. Holland, a south of England clergyman, became the joint Honorary Secretary. Local committees were also set up at Edinburgh and Liverpool, whilst contact was established with the newly-formed South Kensington Museum.[9]

The Committee had been forced to re-form. Up to late 1866 all administration seems to have been done by Grove, after which it was shared with Holland. When the Executive Committee met again in May 1867 to sanction Warren's work in Jerusalem, membership had stabilised as Dixon, Gibbs, Holland, Grove, Vaux, MacGregor and Smith,[10] a group who would remain in charge until 1869. November 1867 saw the addition of Wilson and Lieut. Anderson to the group,[11] following the problems Warren experienced over payments during the first months of his expedition. The Executive Committee appears to have been properly constituted for the first time on 10 July 1867 following the General Committee's meeting.

---

6 Report of the paper read and observations made at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute, Monday, 23 July 1866 ..., p.9.
7 Ibid., p.19.
8 PEF/MINS, 5.11.1866.
9 Ibid.
10 PEF/MINS, 21.5.1867.
11 PEF/MINS, 4.11.1867.

The joint Treasurers appointed after that meeting were Able Smith and Walter Morrison. Morrison succeeded Culling Hanbury who had died earlier in the year. Morrison had previously been the Fund's Auditor. Grove and Holland remained joint Secretaries.[12] By July 1867 the Fund had been re-formed. In July Wilson joined the Executive and the new Executive with the Archbishop of York as Chairman, Morrison as joint Treasurer and Grove as joint Secretary had come into being. A system of local associations had been set up, and by February 1868 local lecturing and local speakers were being authorised by the Fund. The Archbishop of York rarely attended meetings and chairmen seem to have been appointed on an ad hoc basis. The appointment of a permanent paid Secretary to the Fund was approved[13] and Walter Besant was the favoured candidate.

With the charges forced on the Fund in 1867-69 the Fund became more efficient. Stores were obtained from Malta to provide for Warren and a threat by Warren to cease excavation and come home was stopped. The Fund now began to correspond with other agencies - the Foreign Office and Horse Guards,[14] and the Executive held regular meetings. In June 1868 a letter from Warren, who was not a Fund member, was considered by the Executive. In it Warren suggested how the Fund could best operate. He proposed dividing the work into three categories - meteorology, surveying, and excavation. He suggested surveying should become a prime activity for the Fund and that it should seek to raise money to conduct a proper survey of Palestine. Warren's restructuring scheme was put forward by MacGregor, Morrison, Grove and Graham and was accepted.[15]

The Royal Engineers were by now clearly aware of the shortcomings of the Fund. They were forcing some reforms on PEF and through Wilson had a considerable influence on the way the Fund worked. It was, after all, their men who were digging and surveying, and their men who were making the Fund's results possible. The reforms were set by December 1868 when two final charges were passed by the Executive - a subscription was fixed as opposed to ad hoc funding, and a statement of progress was to be sent to all subscribers, updating the last such statement in 1866. Local societies existed in eleven place in Britain from Edinburgh to Falmouth by 1869.

The Fund that entered 1869 was vastly different to the one that had existed in 1865. Gone were the ad hoc committees of the great and good who met only occasionally. From March 1869 onwards regular meetings were held by the Executive and regular project reports

12 PEF/MINS, 10. 7.1867.
13 PEF/MINS, 25.2.1868.
14 PEF/MINS, 2.4.1868.
15 PEF/MINS, 29.12.1868.

were to be issued.[16] There were to be local associations and firm control. The Royal Engineering officers and Morrison were probably responsible for this as much as anyone. Even more significantly at the General Committee meeting in May 1869 the whole executive was to be put up for re-election. In the event no election took place, but the new executive came to consist of Morrison, Hepworth Dixon, MacGregor, Grove, Holland, Wilson, Frieland and the chairman was the Archbishop of York.[17] This would be the basic group who would see the PEF through to the end of the 1880s and beyond. Others would be added, men such as Vaux, Owen and Anderson. Others would leave, but the nucleus remained.

There were notable absences from the group. Stanley was to take little active part in running the Fund; Pusey, Montefiore and Fergusson were all absent from the list. Apart from the Archbishop the only clergyman on the executive was Holland. The Fund was effectively 'lay' run. During the whole of the period to 1880 singly few clergy took part in the Fund's management, but throughout this period there was continuous representation given to the Royal Engineers and Ordnance Survey. Grove was to remain the joint Honorary Secretary to PEF up to 1878, but after that he severed his links with the Fund. In reality, from 1868 onwards Grove had little power and little influence over the PEF, and like his power, his interest declined. By the time Grove gave up being Secretary to the Fund he hardly attended meetings.

Power was passing to Besant, now the full-time Permanent Secretary to the Fund and employed on a salary of £200 per annum.[18] Besant was authorised to receive subscriptions, read correspondence and clerk Executive meetings.[19] Holland held a parish in Worcestershire and this made his attendance at meetings variable. Combined with Grove's lack of interest, Besant effectively became the Secretary to the PEF. It was a position of power Besant would later use to great effect. Others were co-opted to the Fund Executive Committee and the executive effectively controlled membership of the general committee. The Count de Vogué was co-opted to the general committee in 1869.[20] Others were to follow leaving the committee filled with the nominees of the executive.

Wilson took an enormous interest in the work of the executive. From 1869 he attended most meetings through to 1874. It was rare for Wilson, Morrison or Holland to miss meetings during this period. During the period 1869-78 Wilson and Holland were the two usual chairmen of executive meetings with Morrison as an occasional chairman. Holland took the greater burden of responsibility for conduct of meetings. Frieland was gradually replaced by

16 PEF/MINS, 9.3.1869.
17 PEF/MINS, 1.6.1869.
18 PEF/MINS, 9.3.1869.
19 PEF/MINS, 1.6.1871.
20 PEF/MINS, 22.3.1869.

Vaux and by late 1872 MacGregor had been replaced by Crace. No elections were ever held. The committee rarely recorded the removal or resignation of a member or his replacement by another. No elections were ever held at the Annual Meeting of the Fund. Members of the executive committee appear to have been effectively self-perpetuating, replacing retiring or dying members at any stage during the year without the need to go to the annual meeting. Virtually all committee members were members of the general committee, but as that body consisted of powerless nominees it did little.

From the point of view of the military officers and military interested involved this was ideal. The institution was closed and within that closed institution a small group on the executive - Morrison, Holland, Wilson, Hepworth, Dixon and Besant - the regular attenders at executive meetings, made all decisions sometimes with the help of Vaux and Crace. That group appear to have taken over the PEF during and after the 1867 crisis. By 1869 they had neutralised all opposition. They favoured mapping, as opposed to archaeology; they pressed for the Western Survey and dealt with the Royal Engineers. Many had military links. Morrison captained and later was colonel of a territorial division. Wilson served in the Engineers and Besant had been a colonial professor and was a journalist. Holland worked on the 1868 Sinai Survey. All would have been sympathetic to the military. Even Grove, now frozen out, had a son commissioned into the Royal Engineers. The General Committee never asked questions. The Fund was not incorporated until 1879, and then as a private limited company. Financial and other links with the government would not need to become public knowledge, except where matters were published with committee approval, in the Fund's quarterly statement.

The committee was also flexible. When in 1871 the committee were deciding upon an officer to lead the Western Survey, Lieut. Anderson, Wilson's sometime assistant in Holy Land surveying, was made a member of the committee for one meeting only.[21] Anderson was to return in 1872 for three meetings whilst Stewart's successor was chosen.[22] No co-option was needed. From 1873 onwards Donaldson and Eaton joined the executive. The executive had no fixed constitution and so the size could be expanded to meet appropriate situations. Thus in 1873 Glaisher joined[23] and in later 1873 Warren was made a member.[24] By late 1875 Captain Anderson was again attending meetings effectively as a military representative.[25] Throughout the period 1868-1879 there is virtually no meeting of the Fund executive where there was not a member of the Royal Engineers present for either. Anderson, Wilson,

21 PEF/MINS, 26.7.1871.
22 PEF/MINS, 18.4.1872, 2.5.1872, 4.6.1872.
23 PEF/MINS, 9.9.1873.
24 PEF/MINS, 11.11.1873.
25 PEF/MINS, 23.11.1873.

Kitchener, or Warren always attended any meeting of significance. Towards the end of 1878 with the preparation of the Western Survey for publication, military attendance fell away. From January 1879 military attendance at executive meetings largely ended. Wilson and Warren could not attend, their postings prevented them, and the Royal Engineers did not feel constrained to send replacement officers.

Alongside the falling away of military interest was the proposal to found a limited company[26] which eventually took place on 24 June 1879.[27] By now George Grove had left the Fund and ceased to be an officer of it. His son, Captain Grove, was in military intelligence and acted as a link man during the publication of the Western Survey reports. That ended 'official' military involvement with the PEF for a short time, but it is fair to note that in 1880 Anderson and Conder were both put on the executive committee in their own right. Conder especially retained a long association with the Fund. He wrote and published through the Fund because he was interested in biblical research. The same can be said of Wilson, and of Warren, they both returned to the Fund later because they were genuinely interested in its work. It is also worth noting that the same group of people who had from time to time sat on the executive and left it often returned to it. MacGregor, who left in the 1872 period, returned in 1876 onwards. Wilson left the executive in 1875 but returned later, as did Warren and Anderson. By 1880 new people were being recruited, men such as Professor Hayter Lewis and Major Anderson in his non-military capacity.

By 1880 the chairmanship of the executive had passed to Glaisher. Military contact remained on an unofficial level through Warren and Anderson, and they maintained contact throughout the period of the unsuccessful Eastern Survey. In 1881 Anderson died[28] and was replaced on the committee by Rev. Dr Christian Ginzburg of the British Museum. By 1882 Cannon Tristram was a member of the committee. None of these members were 'new' men; all had been connected with PEF for many years, all knew each other and all were old friends. Military membership returned to the executive in 1883[29] when Colonel Locock was placed on the committee during Conder's work in Palestine. Warren retained membership in his own right. After 1886 Locock's membership ceased. He had no apparent interest in the Fund, only in the intelligence aspects of its work.

Save for the membership of the executive of Dr Chaplin, another old friend of the Fund, and the recruitment of Professor Sayce, the Fund's Executive Committee remained static in membership Chaplin had been the London Jews' Society medical missionary in Jerusalem

26 PEF/MINS, 7.1.1879.
27 PEF/MINS, 24.6.1879.
28 PEF/MINS, 4.10.1879.
29 PEF/MINS, 2.5.1883.

up to his retirement. Upon retirement he worked for the PEF. By 1893 the committee was still static, having recruited only Col. Watson (an old friend of Wilson's), William Simpson and Basil Wood-Smith.[30] They were becoming increasingly old. When James Glaisher then 90, attended his last committee meeting in 1898[31] five of his fellow committee members had sat on the executive for over 30 years, and only three of them would live beyond 1914. Even Armstrong, by now the acting secretary, would have died. An increasingly ageing group resulted in fewer attending meetings. After Glaisher's death Wilson assumed the chairmanship of the Fund and he, with Morris, Crace who was now the Secretary of the Fund, and Watson, his old friend, formed an inner group. It was not until after Wilson's death that the Fund realised that it was necessary to widen the membership of the Executive.

Some of the PEF's principal members and officers are dealt with elsewhere, but some who were administrators or long-standing committee members who did not involve themselves in the Fund's external activities but who nevertheless illustrate the social composition of the Fund's Executive are not so covered. Perhaps the most important of these men was Walter Besant, not least because he acted as both Secretary to the Fund and Honorary Secretary for over thirty years. Born in Portsea in 1836, he was educated at Stockwell Grammar School and Christ's College, Cambridge. Besant originally intended to enter Holy Orders but rejected the idea in 1861, going instead to the Royal College Mauritius as the College's senior professor. In 1867 he returned to London having given up academic life and became a freelance writer for both newspapers and books. In 1868 Besant was offered the secretaryship of the PEF when the Fund was reformed and placed upon a firmer and permanent footing. Besant was not the Honorary Secretary of the Fund until 1886. From 1868 to 1886 he carried the title of Secretary and was the Fund's main permanent employee at a salary of £200 p.a., rising later to £300 p.a. The work at the Fund did not prevent his journalism and writing continuing, and he was provided with assistance in the shape of a clerk to do the day to day work. Although Holland and Grove continued as joint Honorary Secretaries up to 1879, when Grove resigned and though after 1881, following Holland's death there was no Honorary Secretary, it was Besant who in reality was the PEF's Manager.[32] Besant handled all correspondence and he was in personal touch with most of the Fund's explorers . Warren corresponded with Besant independently of the committee during his fieldwork in Palestine, but it was Conder who corresponded extensively with Besant during his days in the Holy Land. Condor's letters to Besant show the extent to which Besant and the rest of the inner group of the Fund could manipulate the Executive Committee. From 1881 onwards Besant acted as both paid and Honorary Secretary to the PEF. After 1886 he left the Fund's employment but became the Honorary Secretary with George Armstrong taking over Besant's post. He was author of the

30 PEF/MINS, 7.2.1893.
31 PEF/MINS, 19.7.1898.
32 D.N.B., 1901-11 and C. M. Watson, Fifty Year's Work in the Holy Land (1915).

Fund's first two official histories - Our Work in Palestine and 21 Year's Work in the Holy Land. He died in 1901. Besant's work for the Fund took place whilst George Grove and Rev. F. W. Holland were Honorary Secretaries.

F. W. Holland first joined the PEF Committee in 1866 when curate at Quebec Chapel in London. Holland was recruited to join in November 1866 and was probably taken into the Fund at the outset of the reforms initiated by Wilson and Anderson. Holland's link with Wilson was close as is witnessed by the fact that Holland accompanied Wilson on the Sinai Survey and was partly responsible for raising the party. Holland became Vicar of Evesham, but continued as Secretary until his death in 1881.[33]

Besant was followed as Secretary to the Fund by George Armstrong. Armstrong was a totally different type of man, socially and educationally. He never acquired the power that Besant had taken to himself and very much operated under both Wilson's and Besant's shadow. Born in 1843 in Newcastleton, Roxburghshire, Armstrong joined the Royal Engineers in 1860 and was posted to Chatham. By the age of 19 he was in the Glasgow Ordnance Office and went to Arran to work on the Ordnance Survey. Later he was to take part in the Survey of the Highlands. Renewing his service in 1868 he was promoted second corporal in 1870 and in 1871 joined Stewart's party for the Western Survey. Stewart fell ill and Armstrong and Sergeant Black commanded the party until Conder arrived in 1872. Promoted sergeant in 1875 and colour sergeant major in 1879 he was discharged in 1881. As a civilian he accompanied Conder on the 1881 Eastern Survey, and from 1877 was engaged on drafting the Great Map. After 1882 Armstrong was appointed to assist Besant in the Fund's office.

When Besant resigned in 1886 Armstrong was appointed to succeed him from 1887 onwards. Armstrong was responsible for the production of 'raised maps', relief maps made of gutta persha and sold to raise funds. Ill health struck in 1907 and he died in office in 1910.[34] Armstrong belonged to a different class and a different social group to Besant. He did not challenge Besant's role as Secretary to the Fund but rather complemented it. Even his title, 'Acting Secretary', pointed out the social divide between himself and the rest of the Executive. After Besant's death Wilson was very much in charge having assumed the chairmanship on James Glaisher's death, Crace, having become Secretary. Armstrong never challenged any of them and never seems to have disrupted their power politics, but then Wilson was the general and Armstrong only the sergeant.

---

33 PEFQS, 1881, p.244.
34 Ibid., 1910, p.97.

Armstrong's replacement was very different; he was Archibald Campbell Dickie. Born 1868 in Dundee and trained as an architect, he joined the PEF expedition under Bliss in 1894 and worked on it until 1897 when he suffered an injury in an attack and left Palestine. Dickie practised as an architect in London 1898-1912, becoming Master in Design at the Architectural Association School, London (1910-12). He joined the Executive Committee of PEF in 1906 and for two years (1910-12) acted as Secretary to the Fund with the title 'Assistant Secretary'. In 1912 he became Professor of Architecture at Manchester University, retiring in 1933. He remained a member of the Executive Committee until 1936 and died in 1942.[35] Dickie's association with the Fund was not long enough for him to make any great changes to the Fund. He acted in a part-time capacity, and filled the gap left by the death of Armstrong. His successor was J.G.H. Overdon, the Fund's Chief Clerk since 1902. Overdon became Acting Secretary in 1912 but in 1916 was given notice that he was required to join the army for military service. He returned to act as Secretary to the Fund until his retirement in the 1950s.[36]

From 1901 onwards the Honorary Secretary to the Fund was John Diblee Crace. From 1900 onwards the Fund was dominated by an old guard consisting of Wilson (died 1906), Crace (died 1920) and Morrison (died 1921) under the assistant secretaryship of Armstrong. J. D. Crace was born in 1835 and joined PEF in 1873. He was by training a decorator and artist, descended from a line of decorators and stainers. Both he and his father before him were Masters of the Painter Strainer's Company and his father had decorated the new Houses of Parliament in 1862. Having served in the Old Volunteer Force and attained the rank of major, Crace dedicated himself to the family business writing about art. He was a good friend of Warren and of Dickie.[37] Crace acted very much as a foil to Wilson's ambition. A combination of Crace and Armstrong from 1901 onwards was no match for Wilson's Chairmanship.

Throughout the first fifty years of its existence, the Fund had only five different chairmen. They varied in forcefulness and importance throughout that period. From 1865 to 1875 the Chairman of the Executive Committee was William Thompson, Archbishop of York. Born in 1815, educated at Queen's College, Oxford; a tutor there and later Bampton lecturer, Thompson was a 'broad churchman' and an associate of Jowett, but rejected Jowett after the publication of Essays and Reviews. He was Bishop of Gloucester, 1861-62, and Archbishop of York, 1862 to his death in 1875.[38] Thompson was the absentee chairman of PEF. He

---

35 Ibid., 1942, pp.5-7.
36 Watson, Fifty Year's Work ...., p.166 et seq.
37 PEFQS, 1920, pp.12-15.
38 V. D. Lipman, 'The origins of the Palestine Exploration Fund', in PEQ, vol.198, p.45 et seq.

attended less than 10 Executive Committee meetings and sub-committee meetings from 1865 to 1875. During his period of office Wilson and Morrison chaired the bulk of committee meetings making virtually no reference to the archbishop. Thompson's main activity was to attend Annual Meetings as a useful 'public front' for the Fund. He was succeeded by William Hepworth-Dixon, 1875-79 who really did act as a Chairman to the Fund.

Hepworth-Dixon was born in 1821 in Ancoats, Manchester and spent his youth in Darwen with a tutor. Forsaking the mercantile life he commenced writing. A friend of Mayhew and of other journalists, he became a Deputy Commissioner for the Great Exhibition. The Secretary to the Commission was Grove. A writer and editor of historical works, he travelled widely writing about, amongst other places, the Holy Land.[39] He was one of the original founders of the Fund, present at its first meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, 12 May 1865 and from 1866 a member of the sub-committee and later the Executive of the Fund.[40] He was one of the few of the founders to remain so closely connected with the Fund. In 1875 he became Chairman. He died suddenly in 1879. Hepworth-Dixon was the last of the original members present on 12 May 1865 to be elected to office within the Fund. Grove left the Fund shortly after his death, leaving only Morrison as one of the original founders.

His successor was James Glaisher, who was not a young man when he assumed the chairmanship of PEF. Glaisher was born in 1809 and had worked on the scientific side of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich and Cambridge Observatory. A scientist specialising in meteorology, he had in his youth, in the 1830s and 1840s, served with Sir Henry James on the Irish Ordinance Survey. Glaisher joined the Fund in 1867 when changes were afoot. His initial interest was surveying and meteorology, although he did diversify into other fields. Chairman from 1879 to 1900, he resigned due to failing eyes and deafness. He died in 1903.[41]

His successor was Charles Wilson who was Chairman 1900-05. Wilson knew the Fund well. He had conducted its first and second exploration, and had been responsible for PEF's links to the military intelligence system and for its reform in 1867. By now few of the old men remained. Morrison and Warren were to go on beyond the first war; Ganneau lived until 1923. Armstrong was ailing after 1907; Vaux, a long-serving committee member had died in 1885; Palmer was dead, as was Anderson who had surveyed with Wilson; he died in 1881. Conder and Kitchener were still alive but they never joined the Executive Committee, they were general committee members only. Wilson took over. It was not an easy

---

39 D.N.B., Entry under Dickie in Supplement.
40 Conder & Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, p.3.
41 D.N.B., 1901-11 Supplement, entry under Hepworth-Dixon, and PEFQS, 1903, p.105.

chairmanship and with few to reign him in Wilson attempted to stamp his authority on the PEF. Nowhere was this clearer than in his dealings with J. F. Bliss, the PEF's archaeologist for Wilson continued to promulgate his outdated and disproved views on the Temple Mount. That, coupled with the Fund's inability to comprehend new archaeological methods and a goodly dose of imperial philosophy, led to Bliss being removed from the Fund's service.

On Wilson's sudden death in 1905 Colonel Sir Charles Moore Watson became Chairman. A Dublin educated engineer, he graduated from Trinity Dublin and Woolwich. He was born in 1844 and by 1871 he had been appointed a submarine engineer and saw action in the great imperial adventures of the day, namely Ashanti and the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir. He was not a Fund member of long-standing, but had been in the Fund only from the 1890s and had been a committee member.[42] Watson was at once a member of the old school of exploration and a member of the new school, coming as he did from a period after the Fund had come into being. After Watson's death control of the Fund was passing in the hands of new men, Warren and Crace acting as the linkmen.

At first the Fund had no fixed offices. At its inception in 1865 Grove managed the Fund from Crystal Palace, and the first committee meetings took place at 20 Langham Place.[43] The Fund quickly realised permanent rooms were needed and meetings took place in the Asiatic Society - in a hired room.[44] Fergusson moved to make that arrangement permanent, and the Council Room of the Asiatic Society was hired at the cost of £50 for a year. A clerk was hired from Dr Rost of the Asiatic Society for £50 a year to 'see applicants', and £25 gratuity was given to Rost.[45] The arrangement was expensive and did not work. By 1867 the Fund was to leave the Asiatic Society[46] and become homeless for a time, meeting at 5 New Burlington Street as a temporary measure. Throughout 1868 the Fund's meetings moved between New Burlington Street, 4 St Martin's Place[47] and Morrison's home at 21 Bolton Street, Piccadilly. It was at the end of 1868 that the Fund settled at 9 Pall Mall East.[48] The stabilising of the address probably signifies the stabilising of the Fund. The PEF occupied 9 Pall Mall East from 1868 to 1877 when its lease expired.[49] The move came at a fortunate time; the Fund was at the height of one of its financial crises, it had only £26.19s.7d (£26.98) in the bank and Hepworth-Dixon found accommodation at 11 Charing Cross at Mr Wyld's geographical establishment. The PEF remained there until 1880 when it went around the corner to 1 Adelphi

42 PEFQS, 1916, pp.60-63.
43 PEF/MINS, 3.8.1865.
44 PEF/MINS, 23.4.1866.
45 PEF/MINS, 21.5.1867.
46 PEF/MINS, 2.4.1868.
47 PEF/MINS, 3.7.1868.
48 PEF/MINS, 29.12.1868.
49 PEF/MINS, 6.11.1877.

Street. 1 Adelphi Street was leased whilst the Fund was rather more prosperous. The premises were reported 'fit for the purposes of the society' - and the Society accordingly moved.[50] The lease lasted until 1891 when new premises were needed. This time a nod from the Chairman was not enough, and several sites were investigated, the Fund settling on 24 Hanover Square at a rent of £225 p.a. subject to survey.[51] The offices were not satisfactory and in 1898 a move again took place, to 38 Conduit Street. In 1911 the Fund received its single biggest gift - 2 Hinde Mews, Manchester Square was purchased for the PEF by Walter Morrison. The Conduit Street lease expired in December 1911 and Gillows, the owners of the property, wanted it back. The Fund was homeless when Dickie, on Morrison's instructions, surveyed 2 Hinde Mews which Morrison then purchased for £5,000.[52] An announcement of the purchase was made at the Annual Meeting of the Fund that year. Parts of the building, namely the upper floors and cellars, were leased to tenants providing the Fund with an income.

Why did Morrison do it? He was known for generous gifts and had made the second biggest donation to Oxford University after Thomas Bodley. He was now 75 years old and by 1911 had seen most of his friends fall away. Morrison was, however, a lonely and a friendless man and extremely secretive.[53] He made many endowments after 1895, including extending Giggleswick School Chapel, contributing to King Edward's Hospital Fund, sponsoring the Carchemish dig by the British Museum, and making gifts to Oxford University. Contrary to what was said in his official obituaries,[54] he rather seems to have relished some of the fame that went with his gifts. Certainly he did not hide his gift to the Fund; it was publicly announced.[55] Morrison was the Fund's Treasurer for fifty years and retired following his first stroke. Morrison's motives were therefore complex but the result was a secure financial base for the Fund for the future.

From an early stage PEF attempted to establish relationship with other academic and religious bodies. These bodies can be grouped as academic, museums, and religious. In all cases PEF's purpose appears to have been to obtain mutual support and to attract members. There was obviously an overlap between the academic bodies and the religious ones. There was little overlap with the museums.

From the outset the Fund attempted to attract donations from bodies as diverse as the British Association and Oxford University The University had a theological interest in the

---

50 PEF/MINS, 1.6.1880.
51 PEF/MINS, 3.3.1871.
52 PEF/MINS, 23.5.1911.
53 D.N.B. Supplement 1912-21, entry under Walter Morrison.
54 Geoffrey Dawson, 'Walter Morrison' in The National Review, February 1922.
55 Watson, Fifty Year's Work ..., p.165.

Fund's work; the British Association had a scientific one. Substantial donations were made by both.[56] Other learned societies were approached, but without success.[57] A substantial donation for £250 was eventually received from the Syrian Improvement Committee.

Serious academic links took time to develop. From its earliest days PEF had had relationships with non-British scholars. Count de Vogué was at the inaugural meeting and later became a member of the General Committee.[58] Whilst Ganneau was an early employee, as were Shick and Chaplain who represented English and European work in Palestine. The foreign nationals who worked for or through PEF often worked on both PEF projects and on projects of their own, funded often through their own countries. They published their results through the fund for two reasons. Firstly, because PEF was the only academic body working in the Holy Land and, secondly, because Britain's pre-eminence in the area secured both research sites for PEF and a certain degree of diplomatic protection. Connection with PEF meant connection to the dominant power in the Middle East and protection and help for the excavators. Other than with these individuals, the Fund had virtually no contact from 1865 to 1914 with any continental university or American seat of academic learning. The Fund's academic contacts were with individual researchers, Oxford and Cambridge, and a select number of British universities.

The German Palestine Society was founded in 1878 but international rivalries meant that the PEF had little to do with it. PEF's only foreign contact of any significance was with the American Palestine Exploration Fund (APES). APES was founded in 1870/71. Its foundation was first reported to PEF by the Rev. Henry Allen and it was established in New York. Dr Budington became President of the APES and a first statement was issued in July 1871 recycling much that PEF had already published.[59] By March 1871 the two bodies were discussing joint co-operation in surveying.[60] The committee of PEF emphasised the need for speed in completing the Palestine Survey and emphasising that PEF was already considering a survey west of Jordan and had that plan well in hand, Wilson, Anderson and Warren, the Royal Engineers in the PEF, requested that the Americans drew up an action plan. PEF had commenced surveying west of the Jordan by 1871 and it was agreed that America should take the east. It took APES time to find a suitable engineer until eventually Edgar Z. Steever of West Point was retained.[61] By 1871 he had met Wilson and the Executive of the Fund resolved that following an interview with Wilson, PEF should co-operate with Steever.

---

56 PEF accounts ledgers 1865-67.
57 PEF/MINS, 22.6.1869.
58 For details see V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land through British Eyes, 1820-1917: a documentary History (1989).
59 PEF/MINS, 14.3.1871.
60 Lipman, Americans ..., p.172.
61 PEF/MINS, 11.12.1872.

Conder was instructed to meet him at Beirut.[62] Conder had by now been instructed to take charge of the Western Survey.

By February 1875 Kitchener was doubtful about the Fund's ability to manage its English and American commitments and though Conder gave all the help he could,[63] he did not interfere too closely with the American work.[64] The American Eastern Survey proceeded largely under its own direction. When in 1878 the APES offered their survey to PEF Kitchener was dismissive of it[65] and of its accuracy. The Americans only undertook the one survey.

PEF did not want American involvement on the ground. Wilson had been clearly careful to screen Steever. America had little interest in Palestine, and it is likely Steever got little help from his government, hence it was necessary to see if PEF would publish their findings which they did with reluctance. The APES and the PEF remained in touch, but only on an individual level; there was little formal contact. After 1880 PEF became increasingly inward-looking drawing its manpower from Britain alone.

From its outset PEF had decided to open a museum or, in the very least, to exhibit their finds. In the early days suggestion was made that the South Kensington Museum would be suitable. By 1870 a permanent exhibition was in being at South Kensington and this was maintained until the 1880s when it was returned to the Fund. Additional museum exhibitions were held from time to time at Dulwich Gallery. The accommodation at 38 Conduit Street and 2 Hinde Mews both incorporated small museums.

A museum was an educational and financial exercise from the Fund's early years, and helped to create the sale of photographs, copy rubbings and after 1880 copies of the raised map. These, together with the sale of books, constituted a significant income source and a justification for the Fund's work.

Despite the protestations of the Archbishop of York at the inaugural meeting of the Fund, and despite the very firm comments made by the Prospectus of the Fund, PEF was not in practice neutral in the matters of religion. It was a fund founded by middle class laymen. Its bias was to protestantism of the broad church variety. It numbered in its membership few Roman Catholics and only four or five Jews. It had no Mohamedan members. As the Fund approached the year 1900 this did change, but it changed slowly. The controversies rejected

62 PEF/MINS, 12.2.1873.
63 PEF/WS/CON 34-36.
64 PEF/WS/KIT/68
65 PEF/MINS, 11.6.1866.

by its founders were controversies within English Protestant thought, between high and low church, between Methodist and Church of England.

From its earliest days PEF was linked to the London Jews' Society. This is not surprising; the Society was the longest established British institution in Palestine and in any event it was a Church of England body. The Fund took no part in the London Jews' Society work,[66] but it did use Chaplain, its missionary doctor, as both a local secretary and as the Fund's medical attendant. The use of Chaplain is not surprising in a way - he was British; he was there. Nor is it surprising that a good number of Anglican bishops subscribed to the Fund. What is surprising is the speed at which a nominally non-religious society became involved in religious activity. In 1869 the Fund was sending delegates to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference.[67] Even more surprising is the appointment of clerical lecturers to raise money for the Fund. In 1869 three out of five lecturers appointed were clergymen.[68] Not very long afterwards the Revd George St Clair had started preaching for the Fund.[69] Whilst charity sermons were not uncommon, the London Jews' Society used them to raise money, their use by a nominally religiously neutral body does seem odd. The PEF even paid preachers to preach and lecture on the basis that the Fund kept the collection.[70] By 1873 Chaplain was a member of the PEF Executive and the General Committee, a position he kept for many years.[71] When in the late 1880s Chaplain retired, he became the editor of the Quarterly Statement of the Fund. Chaplain also became Secretary of the Jerusalem group of PEF. As virtually the only representative of the London Jews' Society in Jerusalem, and as a missionary, Chaplain found it hard to write neutrally or act scientifically towards his material, let alone accept the views of non-Protestant Christians.

By 1873 the PEF's financial crises had led to it making an appeal to 'every parish in the United Kingdom'[72] for funds, through the clergy. By late 1873 a leading evangelical, Shaftesbury, was campaigning for funds for PEF[73] and was campaigning openly. Shaftesbury was an Anglican layman and his involvement shows very much the increasing involvement of the Fund with the Church of England. This appearance of belonging to the Church of England was reinforced by not only the presidency of the Fund by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but also the chairmanship of the Executive by the Archbishop of York and of

---

66 PEF/MINS, 22.6.1869, 5.7.1869.
67 PEF/MINS, 3.8.1869.
68 PEF/MINS, 4.1.1870.
69 PEF/MINS, 4.1.1870, 10.2.1870.
70 PEF/MINS, 30.4.1873.
71 PEF/MINS, 9.9.1873.
72 PEF/MINS, 11.11.1873
73 Many examples exist of this. See for instance, PEF/MINS, 13.1.1875, but others abound.

many of the Society's local and branch meetings by Anglican clerics.[74] Throughout this period, 1865-1914, the PEF had regular contact with all Anglican dioceses and a representative (on a voluntary basis, of course) in all dioceses. By the mid-1870s the fund-raising sermons had ceased, but local lectures continued, the bulk by Anglican ministers. As the Fund entered the 1880s the Church of England link became less obvious, but still persisted.

It was hardly surprising that it did so persist. The age, social background and religion of the governing committees meant that the link was inevitable. What is surprising is the exclusiveness of the link in a nominally non-religious organisation. The Executive, to a man, was Anglican; we can see this is so much as they were all buried in Anglican graveyards. Few, if any, of these connected with the government of the Fund were non-conformists. This reflects rather the fact that the PEF was part of the great imperial ideal, English by foundation, and representing an English/Anglican imperial view of the world where the Christian Empire of Britain fulfilled its mission to the world and seized control of the Promised Land and made it hers:

> It was given to the Father of Israel in the words: 'Walk through the land, in the length of it, and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto thee'. We mean to walk through Palestine in the length and in the breadth of it, because that land has been given unto us.[75]

As we have noted above, local groups of the Fund first appear in PEF's early years. As early as 1866 lectures were contemplated in Oxford and Cambridge, and local committees were contemplated in Manchester, Dublin, Edinburgh, Oxford, Liverpool, Leeds, Glasgow, Bristol and Cheltenham.[76] From around 1867 such local committees did exist and by 1870 lecturers had been appointed to them. In 1869 the Palestine Quarterly Statement came into being, partly to keep and attract members, and partly to give something back to the country members.[77] By 1871 some 23 local societies existed; all were self-supporting and all contributed to PEF's funds. Nine of the local societies appear to have been led by a clergyman, and for eight of them only the secretary's name is recorded; presumably other members were not Fund members.[78] Membership of local societies did not confirm membership of or subscription to the main Fund. At least one local society was outside the

---

74 Report of the proceedings at a public meeting, 22 June 1865, p.4. The words are those of the Archbishop of York.
75 PEF/MINS, 22.4.1866.
76 PEF/MINS, 28.12.1868.
77 PEFQS, 1871, p.196.
78 Nova Scotia.

United Kingdom.[79] By 1880 some nine of the local groups mentioned in 1871 had ceased to function.

By 1880 the Fund had set up a network of some 71 agents authorised by local secretaries to receive and distribute PEF's publications and to sell them to the public. Many such agents were booksellers and newsagents; others were individuals.[80] By 1881 some 118 local societies were listed in the Quarterly Statement; 63 of them were either chaired by, or had, a clergyman as one of their main officers; four were not functioning. Some such as Edinburgh were large with over 100 members; others had only two or three members although 10 members was about average. By 1881 only three local societies were based overseas.

1891 reveals roughly the same number of local agents as in 1881, but fewer local societies. Only 109 now existed, around 51 with a clergyman as their main officer and only four overseas branches. All overseas branches had changed. The 1881 branches had all shut down, and a number of the British branches had closed and new ones opened. Many local societies had a finite life and many were probably linked to the personality of one clergyman or one layman. By 1902 only 57 local societies were left, 24 of them being organised by clergymen. Six of them were situated overseas. The largest society was the Edinburgh one and the American local society in America under Theodore F. Wright, a leading Protestant scholar. By 1914 even the American local society had declined in number, but the Edinburgh society had declined to around 45 members. In 1914 some 51 local societies existed of which 13 were abroad. About 22 local societies were led by clergymen, the rest by lay people.

Clergy rarely featured on the Fund Executive. Including the Archbishop of York, only four clergymen sat on the Executive from 1865 to 1914, yet clergy seem to have made up around 50 per cent of local secretaries from 1870 to 1914. Clerical penetration of the Executive was never possible as the closed nature of the Executive prevented it. Local groups were different; they had little power and only existed to raise money to support the main fund and to publicise PEF's work. They had no say in the main general committee, unless individual members were General Committee members, which was rare. Some local group members were not even subscribers to the main fund. The interest in the Holy Land in late Victorian England cannot be over-estimated. The Protestant Anglo-Saxons were vastly interested; it became a real place, a place people went to, photographed and a place where discoveries were made. The Mediterranean became a middle class Victorian passion and with British eyes towards Suez, British religious conscience followed to Palestine which increasingly became seen as Britain's religious home while the Empire's imperial ancestors were seen as Rome.

---

79 Subscription lists appear at the rear of all pre-1914 PEFQS.
80 Subscription listed dated 1885.

Britain was the European country where religion had largely been divorced from national identity. Middle classes and upper middle classes largely under the influence of evangelical Protestant thought, identified themselves with their middle class Jewish neighbours from the 1870s to the 1900s. The British, ever willing to see themselves as a people of the book, chosen by history, linked themselves with the historic people of the Bible and the Holy Land and the Jewish people. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century bibles and books were re-illustrated to show actual Holy Land scenes, Bedouin dress and to refer to recent finds and the maps of PEF. Church windows, church carving and theological thinking all referred to the land as it then was and not the land as it was conceived by eighteenth and seventeenth century artists. In short, the interest of the day played its part in making local associations work and that interest was a very real interest in the Holy Land from a religious viewpoint.

The initial group of people attracted to the Fund were wealthy, titled and well known. As we have seen Grove was at pains to attract such people. When a subscription was introduced in 1869 the donations of substantial sums fell away. From 1870 onwards, PEF had to work on a subscriber membership.

Prior to the Fund's first meeting in June 1865 there were only five fully paid up members. After the meeting George Grove circulated a list of 79 subscribers who had promised money and named the Queen as the Patron.[81] By the end of 1865 some 194 subscribers had donated to the Fund, of which 103 were London based, four overseas, and some 75 based outside London. Twelve were of unknown place of residence. From descriptions given and addresses, at least 44 were clergymen.[82]

By the end of 1866 donations had fallen to 119 subscribers, nearly all individuals with only one institutional member. Forty-six were London based, 60 county based, 11 of unknown residence, and two outside England. The fall in subscriptions reflects the lack of activity that year. Using residence and names/titles, at least 32 appear to be clergy.[83] It was 1867 that saw subscriptions rise. About 656 members joined and subscribed, 225 appearing to be clergy and 203 London based, 327 county based, and 103 with unknown residences. Some 23 were abroad.

Percentages of lay to clergy, and London to county, appear to remain surprisingly consistent. This was the period when Warren commenced his work and Wilson and Anderson appear to have reformed PEF's administration. The famous names had begun to fall away

---

81 Privately circulated subscriber list dated 10 July 1865.
82 Subscriptions ledger dated 1865-67.
83 Ibid.

leaving a solid middle class support willing to pay one guinea, £1.1.0 (£1.05) a year. It was not for the working man, given that level of subscription.[84]

1869 figures are not available, but the next surviving ledger 1870 produced 917 members. Using a rough yardstick of names, titles and addresses, 295 are clergy, although there could be more. At least 560 subscribers had London addresses. The following year was the year in which the Moabite Stone was found, and that possibly explains greater interest. In the year 1871 the ledgers show about 879 subscribers, of whom 251 at least seem to be clergy. The last reliable figures are for 1872, and show around 810, 235 being clergy of the Church of England.[85]

We can conclude, therefore, that for the first part of our period, 1870-85, membership ran at around that level through to the 1880s (about 700 in total in 1882 with around 260 clergy) until 1902 when membership lists reveal that the roll of around 600-700 members is swollen by institutional members, principally colleges and libraries.[86] The Fund did have strong links with the church of England, but it also was lay dominated. The work of mapping and surveying did not generally appeal to clergy and for the first 20 years of its existence that was the Fund's only activity. By concentrating on excavation and survey work PEF allied itself to the critical schools of bible study and textual criticism. The of itself must have repelled some clergy. The lack of clergy in the Fund's governing structure must have repelled others. Lastly the links with the intelligence services must also have been clear to some and could have reduced PEF's appeal. In short the Fund did have a considerable clerical presence within it, but it was essentially lay managed and lay run.

---

84 Ibid.
85 Subscriptions ledger dated 1870-75.
86 Membership lists at rear of PEFQS, 1870-1914.

CHAPTER 4
THE WESTERN SURVEY: 1869-1880

During the period 1869 to 1880 the Fund concentrated its major effort on the Western Survey. This was to be a comprehensive survey of the Holy Land from the ante Lebanon down to below Beer Sheba. The eastern border of the Survey was the River Jordan. The land beyond Jordan was not, at this stage, to be surveyed by PEF but by the APES. The east of Jordan did have both biblical and strategic value, but was a much wilder and unsettled country than that to the east. Strategically and historically the west had the greater value to PEF and its sponsors. The Survey was carried out by the Royal Engineers on behalf of PEF, commencing 1872 and, with one interruption, the Safed Incident, lasted up to 1878. The map of Western Palestine was similarly drafted by the Engineers under the direction of Lieutenant Claude Conder and Sergeant George Armstrong in London. When the Western Survey reports, maps, and history were finally ready for publication the international situation in 1879/80 demanded a delay until Russian and Turkish hostilities ceased.

From the PEF's point of view the period can be divided into three parts. Firstly, the work of Warren, 1869-1870; secondly, the origins of and start of the Western Survey, 1872-1875; and the Western Survey, 1875-1880. During the period 1872-1875 Conder was largely responsible for the conduct of the Survey. From 1875 onwards, responsibility passed largely to Kitchener. The period 1869-1870 is one in which we can see increasing international competition in the Holy Land. The two main competitors in this period are Britain and France. The international rivalry spilled over into archaeology, as will be illustrated by the Moabite Stone controversy and will also be seen in the field of cartography with the French attempts to map the Holy Land. From 1871 onwards French rivalry was not an issue for Britain. Following the Franco-Prussian War, a war in which Britain was neutral, British interests and French interests were not as diametrically opposed. From 1872 until 1875 Britain had a more or less free hand in Turkey and exploration of the Holy Land was not impeded by other European powers. During this period we see the PEF co-operating with Ganneau, the French diplomat and archaeologist. 1875 onwards to 1880 marks a period in which Britain's military interests become more overt, and it is necessary for the map of Western Palestine to be completed with speed. Russia was by now taking a greater interest in the area and the onset of the Russia-Turkish War marked out Russia as a potential rival in Palestine.

The period is also notable for the increased involvement of the Royal Engineers in the PEF. This was caused by firstly the need to obtain a good map of the area, a need that grew as the importance of the Suez Canal grew. Secondly, the strategic significance of Western Palestine caused greater military involvement. Thirdly, greater involvement was needed because of the state of the Fund. During the period 1869-1880 the PEF staggered from

financial crisis to financial crisis. By 1875 it was all but bankrupt and at some point after 1874 its imminent demise seemed likely. The Royal Engineers and the War Office were forced to step in on a number of occasions and save it from financial collapse. Eventually PEF could not afford to draw up the Western map and had to be subsidised by the War Office to the extent of being given free draughtsmen to draw up the Western map. War Office involvement can finally be seen in the agreement not to publish until the military considered it right to do so.

1870 marked an important shift in emphasis in the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. When in 1869 Warren and his wife returned from their stay in the Lebanon, Warren was most firmly directed to cease excavating by the walls of Jerusalem. There were a number of reasons for this change in emphasis. Firstly, the cost of the tunnelling work had become prohibitive. The cost was still running at about £300 per calendar month and the Fund's assets for any one month throughout this whole period - 1867-1872 - never totalled much more than £400. Effectively, the Fund's assets were being eaten away as quickly as they accumulated. Secondly, the change of Pasha in Jerusalem had meant that tunnelling was no longer possible for political reasons. The new Pasha was an observant Moslem and was not prepared to allow any excavations next to the Haram area. Thirdly, even if the Pasha had been willing to allow tunnelling the religious authorities were not willing to countenance it. Both the Jewish and the Moslem religious authorities protested most strongly about the excavations that they realised were going on under the guise of archaeological endeavour. Lastly, other Western archaeological parties were beginning to get resentful of the type of work which was being carried out by the British.

The tunnelling work had yielded very little. Apart from some mason markings on the corner stones of the Haram curtain wall, there had been but one major find, the tablet marking the boundary of permitted Gentile penetration within the inner Courts of the Temple. Apart from a few seals and one or two pieces of pottery and artefacts, little else had emerged. Whilst the work was heroic military stuff, it had hardly proved archaeologically valuable, a point which had been realised by Fergusson amongst others. More to the point, the work had not produced the expected answers to the archaeological questions raised by Williams and Fergusson - possibly this latter point, as well as the financial consideration, meant that people such as Fergusson and Grove started to lose interest in the archaeological aspects of the digging.

The PEF was by now a predominantly lay body. It had only one clergyman active on its committee, Revd. Holland its Joint Secretary, and its interests were moving away from Biblical archaeology and towards other matters, namely mapping. Importantly it was becoming a body mapping under the direction of the Ordnance Survey and the Royal Engineers, rather than being a Biblical exploration Fund. When on 22 June 1869 the

Committee ordered Warren to close his shafts and proceed to Lebanon, it closed down the Jerusalem excavations.[1] No further excavations would be undertaken by the Fund until 1890-91. For the next 20 years mapping was to be the Fund's main activity. The small amount of archaeology the Fund would do was destined to be carried out for it by a group of continental scholars during the years 1870-1890. One of these was the French consular official, Ganneau; the other was a German/Swiss national, Schick.

From its foundation, the Fund had links with continental archaeologists working in the Holy Land. Some of these were established people such as the Count de Vogue who spoke at the inaugural meeting of PEF in 1865. Others were less well known. Sometimes the link was simply that the person in question was European, in the Holy Land, and with an interest in archaeology. Europeans tended to stay together in such places. The Europeans with whom the PEF formed close links were largely French or German. Schick, for instance, was a German-speaking Swiss who became a personal friend of Wilson, but it was with the French that the closest links were forged. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly the French, like the British, had a strong interest in the area. Some of that was archaeological; some was religious; some was strategic. The French had been mapping the area since 1860 and digging since the 1850s. They, like the British, had dug the Temple fringes. They had a Mediterranean naval presence that was rivalled only by Britain. They had also a scholarly interest in the area. From 1865 to 1869 co-operation between France and Britain had been possible.

A change, however, took place in 1870 when the French government despatched a survey expedition from French Military Headquarters with the purpose of mapping Palestine.[2] The party was headed by Captains Mieulet and Derien, but the length of time they had for survey work was limited. They managed to map only Galilee. Mieulet and Derien had been instructed by their military authorities to extend the French Holy Land and Lebanese Survey of 1860 because the French military authorities wanted new maps that would stretch the length of the River Jordan to the Dead Sea. The work, however, foundered largely because of the 1870 declaration of war by the French on Prussia. Between 10 May 1870 and 10 August 1870 the French team had surveyed 2,000 sq km of the Galilee area. With the outbreak of war in 1870 the French survey team left the area.[3] If the French work had not come to an end, and if the French had not been defeated at Sedan, then the French may have returned and completed their mapping project, but that was not to be. The French maps were published in 1873, their departure left map work in the area entirely in British hands which effectively meant PEF.

---

1 PEF/MINS, 22.6.1869.
2 PEF/MINS, 3.8.1869.
3 Dov Gavish, 'French cartography of the Holy Land in the nineteenth century', PEQ, 1994, p.24.

Britain was effectively the only imperial power of any size and with the resources to do the map work.

Wilson was well acquainted with the French work. The map published in France in 1873 was certainly known by Wilson and lectured upon by him in 1876 at the Royal Geographical Society in London. The map is also mentioned in Besant's history of the fund in 1886.[4] It is almost certainly the case that Wilson knew that the French work was in progress, firstly because by 1870 Wilson would have been the Executive Officer in the Topographical Department of the Intelligence Department of the War Office (he took up that position in 1870), and secondly because Wilson himself had been out in the field in Palestine completing the survey of Sinai between 1868 and 1869. By the time Warren was closing his work down in Jerusalem, Wilson would have been sufficiently aware of the French work to know of the need to act to recover the military lead. Warren spent time in the areas where the French were working, in particular in the Galilee and Jerusalem. Singularly little of his time was spent on digging, but a great deal was spent touring and observing. The discovery of the Moabite Stone is a good example of information that came to Warren during his journeys in the general area of Jerusalem. The Moabite Stone also shows the importance to and influence on the Fund of one man - Clermont-Ganneau.

During the Fund's long connection with France probably the most important person was Clermont-Ganneau. Charles Clermont-Ganneau was born in 1846 and in 1867 entered the Consular Service of France, joining the Consulate at Jerusalem. Prior to joining the Consular Service Ganneau had taken Oriental Studies under Renan. Almost immediately upon Ganneau reaching Jerusalem he became involved in the Moabite Stone controversy. Ganneau himself was an amateur archaeologist and appears to have combined his archaeological interest with his diplomatic duties. In 1871 the Fund obtained the assistance of Ganneau at some of its Jerusalem archaeological works, and Ganneau became officially retained by the Fund and paid as a Fund employee. Sometimes his role in the Fund's work was questionable, and very often his archaeological work was opportunistic and motivated by a desire to obtain artefacts, either for French museums or for himself. Often his exportation of artefacts was frankly illegal and totally against the Turkish authorities' wishes, such as his exportation of the discoveries at Gaza.

Bilingual in both Greek and Hebrew, Ganneau was one of the principal participants in the Shaphira Affair and played a major part in 'exposing' Shaphira. Ganneau was also long-lived and continued as a major influence in the Fund and in the Levantine archaeological scene until his death in February 1923. He was linked to the Fund for 50 years. Politically shrewd,

---

4 Walter Besant, Twenty-one years' work in the Holy Land, p.75.

he linked France's imperial interests to those of the Fund. France had no obvious major representation in the politically and strategically important Palestine area. France was, however, the acknowledged guardian of the Latin Church and such power as France possessed stemmed from that. With the rise of the Third Republic France's relationship with the Catholic Church underwent a great change and France's influence in Rome and the Holy Land moved away from protecting Latin interests to protecting military and colonial ones. Ganneau was appointed to his diplomatic position during the Second Empire and retained his position after the rise of the republican government. He appears to have worked through the Fund to promote both his own interests in archaeology and the French national prestige where appropriate. After 1871, when for 20 years the Holy Land became a British sphere of influence, it was Ganneau who attempted to keep the French cultural and religious presence visible in Palestine.[5] In the year 1868 he was a relatively young diplomat in Jerusalem when he became involved in an attempt to promote French interests and France's symbolic cultural position in Jerusalem. The incident that brought about the clash was the discovery of the Moabite Stone.

On 9 August 1868 the Revd. Klein, a German from Strasbourg, but employed by the Church Missionary Society in Jerusalem, made a journey to the eastern side of the Dead Sea and arrived in a town called Diban, a few miles north of the Arnon River, now called Wady Mujeb. Klein was a missionary and whilst talking with the aid of his native servants to a local sheikh he was told of a strange stone bearing an equally strange inscription some ten minutes walk from where he lodged. Klein decided to visit the stone. Klein was the first recorded Western traveller to see the Moabite Stone and he immediately recognised that it was of value. The stone lay among the ruins of Diban, exposed to view, with the inscription uppermost and tantalisingly written in a language which Klein could not decipher. Klein did not copy the stone, but instead decided to communicate the secret of the stone to Dr Petermann, the Prussian Consul at Jerusalem. Klein chose not to mention his find either to Warren or the PEF, or to Clermont-Ganneau. The Arabs at the time did not know the value of the stone to Westerners in the area, nor the significance of Western interest in it. Petermann decided the stone should be acquired for Prussia and sent forward a number of native agents to negotiate on behalf of the Prussian government. The result was that the Arab Bedouin who owned the stone quickly realised its value to the Westerners.[6]

By Autumn of 1868 it certainly seems that Warren had been informed by the Arabs themselves about the stone that had been discovered near Diban, and the rumour spread that Klein and the Prussians were moving in the matter to acquire the stone and transport it to

---

5 See his obituary in PEFQS, 1923, P.137.

6 Watkins Williams, The life of General Sir Charles Warren, Ch.VI.

Berlin. Warren did not at this stage attempt to acquire the stone, firstly because the Fund had already made it clear in its Minutes of 1867/68 that it did not wish Warren to acquire any artefacts or inscriptions or coins other than on his own account or such as he discovered by excavation. Secondly, the diplomatic protocol was that as the Prussians had effectively discovered the stone, then the Prussians should have the stone. In any event, the Fund was struggling for money, indebted to Warren financially, and at the time effectively mounting the Sinai Surveying Expedition. It may also have been that the importance of the stone was not recognised at that stage.

In 1869, some nine months after its discovery, a chance meeting of Joseph Barclay (later Bishop of Jerusalem), Warren, and Ganneau resulted in the three discussing the Moabite Stone. By then it had become clear to Warren that the stone and story attached to it was no longer able to be contained and the secret was out. When in July 1869 Warren left Jerusalem for the Lebanon there was no sign that the Prussians had obtained possession of the stone, and consequently Warren wrote to the Fund and disclosed the stone's existence. Warren wrote again during the next month to the Fund explaining that he understood that Dr Petermann had obtained a firman for removal of the stone to Berlin and suggesting action. The Fund's Executive was not impressed, they never even discussed the subject of the stone. By November 1869 the Moabite Stone was still at Diban and by November 1869 news had reached Ganneau about the stone.

Ganneau sent an Arab servant to Diban with instructions to make a paper squeeze of the stone. Unfortunately he did not understand the tribal politics of the area. As the squeeze was being made a tribal conflict arose between Ganneau's Bedouins and the native Bedouins in whose territory the stone stood. Ganneau's Bedouins were worsted and had to make off with a rather tattered and torn squeeze of the stone. By November 1869 Warren had heard nothing from the Fund Executive regarding the stone. In the meantime, local Arabs, becoming worried about European interest in the stone, lit a fire under it and when the stone was red hot they threw water over it. The result was the stone shattered and the pieces were distributed around local granaries. The first news which Warren received about the fate of the stone was given to him when he returned south from Lebanon at the end of November 1869.

To Warren the silence of PEF must have been strange. The truth was that PEF was undergoing one of its periodic financial crises and was existing on a hand to mouth basis. The Fund had in its account some £300 for most of this time, but every time it obtained any significant cash income it had to pay that money out to Warren. By January 1870 the Fund was in serious financial difficulties once more. On 4 January 1870 the Executive of the Fund

resolved that a fund-raising article should be written to be published in The Times.[7] The Fund also set up a series of charity sermons and a series of local PEF branches were being urged to collect in money in order to supplement the Fund's income. What spare money the Fund did have was being given to the Sinai Survey. For instance, in November 1869 the Committee of the Fund voted some £300 to be granted to the Sinai Expedition.[8] Although Wilson returned from the Sinai Survey in 1869, the survey team remained in place under Professor Palmer for another year. Palmer's party, though never officially PEF sponsored, remained a charge on the Fund's finances until well into 1870. Money was therefore not available for the purchase of the stone.

Money was probably the key to the PEF's lack of interest in the stone and its near insistence that Warren took no part in the clamour surrounding its discovery. The committee were probably also aware that the Turks had granted Prussia a firman to remove the stone.[9] Warren came to hear of the destruction of the stone, and, despite the Fund's lack of interest, he purchased seven pieces of it from local Arabs. Ganneau purchased as much as he could from the same source. Warren wanted the monument for the British Museum, or at least for England. It was the oldest known monument referring to a Jewish king (Omri) and possession would have been symbolically important for Britain and the British imperial ideal. It would have been a tangible link between England and the Hebrew kings. For France the stone was significant; it was claimed by Prussia, and Franco-Prussian rivalry was leading into the Franco-Prussian War.

A reasonable copy of the squeeze was sent to PEF and acquisition of both the fragments and the squeeze was announced by Grove in The Times, the whole matter becoming public and a matter of national pride. In The Times Grove publicly criticised Warren for not obtaining the stone for England, and vitriolic correspondence erupted between the two, spilling over into the public domain, and Anglo-French rivalry became obvious. A copy of the squeeze was acquired and an independent translation of it was compiled by E. Deutch, the Orientalist and Fund member. The Fund Executive was slow to realise the significance of the find. They had not done so despite Warren's correspondence, but by 29 March 1870 Warren was being telegraphed and instructed to "[G]et if possible a perfect copy of the inscription. The stone itself is of less importance."[10] The truth is that PEF could not have afforded to buy the stone, and the British government had no intention of funding the purchase. By 29 March 1870 PEF had received two more tracings and a squeeze of the stone from Warren giving further details of the Moabite Stone.

---

7 See PEF/MINS, 4.1.1870 for an example.
8 PEF/MINS, 10.11.1869.
9 Neil Asher Silberman, Digging for God and Country, pp.105-08.
10 PEF/MINS, 29.3.1870.

Wilson was mandated by the committee to obtain photographs of the squeeze for sale to subscribers to the Fund. The importance of the stone was fully realised by now. In a letter to The Times dated 28 February 1870 Deutsch had announced a partial translation of the stone and had in fact been supplied with additional squeezes and tracings of the stone made by both Warren and the Count de Vogue.[11] The one squeeze or tracing that was not forthcoming to Deutsch to assist him in his translation for the PEF work was that which had been made on behalf of Ganneau.

By early March 1870 Ganneau was writing to The Times to state that Warren was not the discoverer of the Moabite Stone but that it had been discovered by Klein and that he, Ganneau, had been the first to obtain his squeeze of the stone. At this stage at the end of March 1870 Grove was willing to support Warren in the argument which as now developing between himself and Clermont-Ganneau. On 11 March Warren felt impelled to write back to the Fund giving an extended account of the discovery of the stone and his acquisition of two fragments of the monument. Warren claimed that in the acquisition of parts of the monument he had co-operated, as far as he could, with Ganneau and defended his decision to purchase, with his own money, parts of the now broken monument on the basis that not to do so would have meant that the stone would have been lost to the world. A major disagreement had developed as to whether the stone should finish up in Berlin, London or Paris.[12] National interests and pride had now taken over and the disagreement concerned the rightful ownership of the stone. Warren felt that by discovery the stone belonged to Prussia. 1870 was a year of tension and later of war between France and Prussia and the French Consul in Jerusalem would certainly not have been willing to concede anything to Prussia, least of all a valuable monument which could, from the outbreak of peace grace the Louvre Museum. For his part Warren handed over both his squeezes and his stone fragments to the PEF. The Fund considered that those fragments and squeezes were in any event their property as they had been discovered by Warren whilst he was in their employment despite Warren purchasing them with his own money.

No sooner had the fragments of the Moabite Stone been presented to the PEF than the Fund received a letter from Deutsch recommending that the fragments of the stone be presented to the Louvre on certain conditions, a suggestion put forward not only by Deutsch but also by George Grove. The committee deliberated the matter on 31 May 1870, roughly a month and a half after the fragments had been presented to them by Warren in April 1870.[13] The decision

---

11 PEFQS, 1869/70 contains a number of examples of correspondence regarding the Stone.

12 Ibid, p.169 et seq.

13 PEF/MINS, 31.5.1870.

was made 'To refer the matter to the General Committee and instructed the Secretary to make casts of the fragments and initially to present them to the Count de Vogue.'

The generous act by the committee was probably not totally selfless. It is reported in the same set of Minutes that Captain Wilson informed the committee that the French government had sent out an expedition to survey the Holy Land, and what was more, the Fund gave Wilson authority to contact the director of the expedition from France and full power to negotiate with it. The French expedition commenced work in 1870 on 10 May. The work stopped on 10 August 1870 after about 2,000 sq km had been surveyed. The reason for the cessation of work was almost certainly the declaration of war on Prussia on 19 July 1870. The German state defeated France bringing about the fall of Louis Napoleon in January 1871. A map based on that survey was not published until 1873 and the survey itself was never resumed.[14]

After Warren's return the controversy over the Moabite Stone gradually died down and all the participants remained connected with PEF. In 1872 the Fund appointed Ganneau as an archaeologist, obtained a firman for him to dig in June 1872, and gave him money towards his excavations. The Fund did not retain the fragments of the Moabite Stone for very long. On 9 December 1873 the Secretary, Grove, was instructed to place a note into the Quarterly Statement to the effect that a General Committee Meeting would be called in February 1874 to consider a proposal to hand over the fragments of the Moabite Stone to the Louvre. The fragments were handed over to France, following a General Committee Meeting. The handover of the fragments was proposed by Professor Donaldson and seconded by Lord Alfred Churchill, presumably acting on behalf of the committee, but the reason for them being handed over is not completely clear.

Warren was certainly never consulted about the disposal of the fragments to the Louvre. When he was told he was not happy and wrote furious letters to PEF protesting about what had happened. The Fund was not, at the time, desperately short of money; it had been early in 1871 and again in 1872, when it had tried to sell the fragments to the Louvre Museum, but could find no purchaser. Was the handing over of the fragments of stone a small price to pay for the cessation of French mapping work in the area? The British interest in the area was now all too clear and Britain was the dominant power, France having suffered the severe humiliation of the defeat at the hands of the Prussians in 1870/71. By late 1873 the Siege of Paris had been lifted and there was no danger of the stones being looted and taken to Germany, something the Fund must have had in mind in the period 1870 through to 1871/72. In late 1870 onwards it was obvious that Grove in particular considered that the Moabite Stone

14 Gavish, 'French Cartography', p.24 et seq.

fragments should go to France and should be reunited with the entire monument in the Louvre Museum, and he worked towards this end until 1874.

On the other hand Ganneau had never shown the PEF the generosity shown to him. He regarded the fragments as his personal possession acquired by him in business and his to sell. He had earlier offered to sell his parts of the Moabite Stone to the Fund, an offer that was communicated through Charles Tyrwhitt Drake. Nor did he intend to part with his portion of the stone for a small price. He demanded 26,000 French francs. 25,000 were for himself and 1,000 for the Arabs to whom the stone had originally belonged. For a short time it looked as though purchase was likely and PEF negotiated. The Fund offered 15-20,000 francs.[15] However, by 26 July 1871 it had become apparent that the Fund would not be able to buy the original pieces of the stone. Eaton had not been able to negotiate successfully with Ganneau and Grove was instructed to write to him and state that the Fund would like the first refusal of the sale of the stone fragments. The refusal never came, and in 1874 the remaining fragments were given to Ganneau free of charge.

Ganneau remained in the Fund's pay for the whole of the time that he was Consul in Jerusalem. In later years he was to play an important part in the rejection of the Shapira fragments by the British Museum and also in the discoveries at Gaza. A regular contributor to the PEFQS he wrote and published through the Fund until just before the First World War. Throughout his connection with the PEF Ganneau combined diplomatic work with archaeology and probably a link into Wilson's intelligence work. Although the French and the British had very different interests in many parts of the world, in Palestine they were the same. Both owned shares in the Suez Canal, both wanted to preserve stability in the area, and both wanted to ward off Russian and German interests. It is also fair to the individuals concerned to note that Ganneau, Wilson, Grove and the rest all had a deep reverence for the Holy Land, its people, and its history.

What we can see in the affair of the Moabite Stone is the intense rivalry that existed between the Western European nations, a rivalry that extended to archaeology and to scholarship. We also see a union between France and Britain over the destination of finds and a unity between the two to squeeze out other competitors such as Prussia. If indeed the Moabite Stone was given to the Louvre to encourage the cessation of French mapping, we also see an international co-operation at work to facilitate British mapping of Western Palestine.

From 1 April 1870 Wilson was the Director of the Topographical and Statistical Department of the War Office. His immediate superior was Sir Henry James, then Director

15 PEF/MINS, 9.5.1871.

General of the Ordinance Survey, who was already aware of Wilson's ability.[16] The Secretary of State for War was Edward Cardwell and at his request in 1870 Wilson prepared a careful report showing the defects of the departments of the Intelligence Service and in particular the Topographical Department and making recommendations as to how those defects could be remedied. As a result of that report Cardwell appointed a committee to examine the recommendations and Wilson headed that committee.

The report of the committee divided the Department into two sections: (1) the Topographical Section, and (2) the Statistical Section. The Statistical Section was to collect information regarding military matters in foreign countries and to issue such information, not only to the Secretary of State at the War Office but also to the whole of the Army. The Topographical Section was to be charged with the duty of collecting maps and plans illustrative of past and likely to be useful in future military operations, and of producing the maps required for military expeditions. Wilson was appointed to head the Topographical Section and also to complete his scheme for the classification of information so collected and make it available when required.[17] In the words of Wilson's biographer, Charles Watson, 'These proposals formed the basis of the Intelligence Department as it now exists and of which Wilson may be regarded as the originator.'[18]

By 1872 Wilson had made great steps in organising the Topographical Department/Section, but felt that there was still much to do. In 1872 at the request of Cardwell, the then Secretary of State for War, Wilson submitted a new scheme proposing an extension of the Department/Section, emphasising the importance of its work, and placing it under the control of an officer of higher rank than himself.

It was on 24 February 1873 in the House of Commons Committee Debate on the Army Estimates that Edward Cardwell announced the establishment of an Intelligence Department with a Deputy Adjutant-General as Chief, with the Topographical Department/Section remaining under the control of Wilson. Sir Patrick Macdougal was later appointed as Chief of the Intelligence Department and given the rank of Deputy Adjutant-General with Wilson continuing to hold the appointment of Director under him. Wilson's enlarged department was given a clear mandate:

1. The collection of all statistical and topographical information which would be useful to possess in the event of invasion or foreign war.

---

16 Christopher Andrews, Secret Service. The making of the British intelligence community, pp.10-13.

17 Watson, The Life of ... Wilson, pp.78-9.

18 Ibid, p.80.

2. The application of such information in respect to the measures, considered and determined on during peace, that should be adopted in war, so that no delay might arise from uncertainty and hesitation.[19]

In May 1873 Wilson was appointed to the rank of Major and continued to work in the Intelligence Department, moving the department closer to the War Office in Pall Mall. Wilson maintained his services at the Intelligence Department and by the end of 1875 he had become an Assistant Quartermaster-General. Wilson's position at the Intelligence Department was the subject of a six year term of staff service. That term came to an end on 31 March 1876; and for his services at the War Office Wilson was created a Companion of the Bath. Prior to leaving the War Office Wilson had, on behalf of the India Office and Secretary of State for India, compiled a map of Afghanistan and indeed was engaged in the compilation of that map after he left the War Office until August 1876. Clearly there were carry-over duties at the end of his period at the War Office. Wilson's next posting was as Director of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland.

It seems more than a coincidence that it was during Wilson's period at the Intelligence Department that the map of Western Palestine was compiled. Clearly, somewhere as strategically important to British interests as the Holy Land would be an area worth mapping, mapping properly, and mapping for future reference considering the area's importance. Wilson had succeeded in mapping a large part of the west of Palestine by the time that Disraeli purchased the shares from the Khedive of Egypt that gave Britain such an important interest in the Suez Canal Company.

It would, however, be unfair to see Wilson as nothing more than a Machievellian and opportunistic intelligence officer who attempted to steer an archaeological and Biblical Investigation Association in the direction that he found to be professionally useful. Wilson had a very genuine interest in archaeology and biblical history. From 1869 onwards Wilson was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, he was elected to the Council of that Society in 1872, and lectured to the Society on a number of occasions. He also became a member of the Council of the Biblical Archaeological Society in 1872 and in 1874 a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1874 Wilson became the President of the Geographical Section of the British Association at Belfast when, of course, from 1866 he had been a member of the Executive Committee of the PEF. In truth, Wilson probably saw little contradiction between his interest in biblical history, mapping and archaeology, and his professional interest in obtaining intelligence of value to the British armed forces. For Wilson the interest of biblical history and

19 Ibid, p.82.

biblical archaeology were probably one with the interest of the British Empire, for as early as 1866

> Wilson was anxious that a careful trigonometric survey of Palestine should be made in the first instance, as his experience had proved that this would not be a difficult undertaking, and he considered that a really accurate map of the country would form the best basis for a scientific investigation of its topography, archaeology, etc.[20]

The experience referred to was the experience of the Burdett-Coutts Water Survey and the exploratory expedition mounted by Wilson in 1865/66. Indeed it had been Wilson who organised along with Holland and Sir Henry James the expedition to map the Desert of Sinai and the Desert of Tih between 1868 and 1869. Wilson had drawn up the plans for that expedition, commanded it, and instructed and taught those who went on it.[21] It was Wilson who, in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Fund had instructed Warren to come home from Palestine and fill in the shafts which were being dug and leave the field clear in Jerusalem for the new British Expedition in 1870/71. Warren and Wilson were in communication, direct reference is made to correspondence between the two in the PEF Committee Minutes for 1870.[22]

As a result of what were effectively Wilson's orders to Warren, Warren had returned back to England by 3 May 1870.[23] The arrival back of the bulk of the party commanded by Warren marked the end of Warren's archaeological work for the PEF. Warren returned and he effectively reported back to a sub-committee of the Fund Executive, a committee composed of Wilson, Holland and Walter Morrison.[24] It was also Wilson who put forward to the Executive Committee the proposal of going back to the Holy Land in 1871 to commence the Western Survey.[25]

By March 1871 Charles Tyrwhitt-Drake, a PEF member, was at Damascus on an expedition to the east of Jordan. He was reporting regularly to the Fund. Captain Richard Burton, explorer and sometime consul, was also in the area and was acting as an intermediary between the Turks and the Fund.[26] Tyrwhitt-Drake's reports to the Fund were encouraging, and on the basis of them a new expedition was planned.

---

20 Ibid, p.87.
21 PRO/OS.3.32-36 Wilson's Sinai plans were republished throughout the century and extensively used. They were the standard map of Sinai.
22 PEF/MINS, 2.3.1870.
23 PEF/MINS, 23.5.1870.
24 Ibid.
25 PEF/MINS, 14.3.1871.
26 PEF/MINS, 14.3.1871.

Charles Tyrwhitt-Drake was to lead the new expedition. He was the youngest son of Colonel William Tyrwhitt-Drake of the Horse Guards, born at Amersham in 1846, schooled at Rugby and Wellington College and later at Trinity, Cambridge, leaving due to ill health. Tyrwhitt-Drake was a keen ornithologist and had worked in Morocco and north-west Africa on bird species and their identification. It was there that he met E. H. Palmer and both Burton and Conder. By 1868 Tyrwhitt-Drake lived in Egypt and had acquired a good knowledge of Arabic.[27] In 1869 he went to Sinai and 'This journey proved a turning-point in his life. He met there the officers of the Sinai Survey consisting of Major Wilson and Captain Palmer RE, Rev. F. W. Holland, and Professor E. H. Palmer.'[28]

Drake fell in with Palmer and agreed to accompany him on a reconnaissance of the desert of Tih in Sinai. For this he received a Cambridge University grant and the results of the wanderings appeared in Palmer's Desert of the Exodus and other works. The year was 1870 and the pair unsuccessfully searched for a new stela find of the type found at Dibhan - a new Moabite Stone - but none was found. The pair did eventually meet up with Burton, then Consul at Damascus. In 1870 the party went to Hamah in Syria and toured Homs and the Hauran. By 1871 the Fund had started the work of assembling a party to go to the Holy Land and to map it. Tyrwhitt-Drake volunteered his services to the Fund through W.S.W. Vaux, a committee member. In 1872, Tyrwhitt-Drake, Captain Stewart RE and two NCOs went to Jaffa to commence survey work. Tyrwhitt-Drake had to take charge of the party (in name at least) when Stewart became ill. Stewart was replaced by Claude Conder. Conder and Drake worked together until Tyrwhitt-Drake's poor health gave way and he died in 1874.

A sub-committee of the executive of the Fund was set up to study the possibility of Holy Land mapping. Its remit was to cost out and draft a plan for the work and its members were Wilson, Warren and Anderson, all officers in the Royal Engineers. They were supported in their establishment by Grove, Holland and Morrison who had proposed the sub-committee's establishment and in early 1871 had encouraged the military to form a working party within the Fund's executive.

The Royal Engineers took control of the arrangements for the new expedition, and Wilson acted as their spokesman. Wilson was head of the sub-committee, set up to organise the new survey. It was Wilson who controlled the expedition and Wilson who costed out the provisioning of the work. The committee gave the task of organizing the whole matter into Wilson's control:

---

27 Walter Besant, The literary remains of Charles Tyrwhitt-Drake, ch.1.
28 Ibid, p.9.

> 'Captain Wilson is requested to draw up a report showing the probable cost and land work of conducting such a survey [as the Western Survey], with a view to recommending a plan of action to the General Committee, if possible, in combination with the participation of the American Association.'[29]

The American Association referred to by the minute is the APES. The APES had been founded in 1870 by a group of New York churchmen and laymen. It was by 1871 under the presidency of Dr Thompson and included Dr Budington in its membership and had already established links with PEF through Rev Henry Allen. It published its first reports in July 1871 using largely material supplied by PEF. When PEF began corresponding with APES in 1871, the need for quick action was stressed by the sub-committee of the PEF, a committee consisting of Warren, Wilson and Anderson. The APES could not act quickly. They were offered the Survey of Eastern Palestine by the PEF and asked to provide engineers, cartographers and men to survey east of the Jordan in a survey designed to complement the Western Survey which was to be undertaken by the Fund.[30]

The APES were new, they had not got the contacts PEF had, nor had they the military connections that PEF had to hand. It was to take the APES until November 1872 to obtain Edgar Z. Steever, a recent West Point graduate, to do their surveying, but Steever was not a man of the calibre or experience of the PEF surveyors and he was not able to even reach the Holy Land until January 1873.[31] The APES lack of experience is hardly surprising considering their recent foundation and that probably suited PEF's purposes. PEF had the experience and the contacts to allow them to take part in a survey that was to be to Britain's advantage and to take command of the overall survey, including American work in the East. Britain, through PEF, had taken over the Western Survey which was of far more importance and by giving the Eastern Survey to America effectively stopped the work being acquired by any other country, particularly France or Prussia. The War Office needed the survey urgently, and Wilson had to act at speed, such a speed that he even surprised the British authorities. The Americans acted as a block in the east to any other state interfering in Wilson's project.

Wilson's speed of action was great, and by late April the Ordnance Survey had been requested, by Holland, to supply PEF with sappers and materials for work in the Holy Land.[32] By the beginning of May 1871 Wilson had compiled estimates for the Western

---

29 PEF/MINS, 14.3.1871.
30 Ibid. and also V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land through British eyes 1820-1917, pp.172-80.
31 PEF/AEC/1, 11.12.1872.
32 PRO/OS.1.17/1 letters Stewart to James 2.3.1871 and Holland to Stewart 29.4.1871.

Survey work, drawn up circulars and laid draft proposals before the Executive Committee. Wilson's proposals were that a circular should go to every paid up PEF member explaining the scheme for the western mapping and appealing for funds. An appeal was also to appear in The Times. An appeal would certainly have been necessary as the Fund's assets were only £385 by May 1871, nothing like enough to cover the cost of starting the Western Survey, let alone completing it. Survey work was not the priority of all PEF members. Some saw archaeology as a priority. The internal arguments within the PEF over the propriety of archaeology over map work seem to have come to a head at this point. The March 1871 meeting of the executive that decided upon the principle of a Western Survey also discussed the future of the Moabite Stone. The Stone was being offered for sale and those who favoured the acquisition of archaeological work over mapping appear to have taken issue at this point.[33] They lost, not surprisingly, for the PEF had not enough money to buy the rest of the Stone.

On 26 July 1871 the victory of those who favoured map work was sealed when Stewart was employed to survey west of the Jordan.[34] The Executive Committee accepted the recommendations of the sub-committee and working group of army men and Lieutenant Stewart RE, a surveyor and a nominee of Wilson was to be sent to Palestine.[35] On 26 July 1871 the Royal Engineers officers on the PEF Executive formally reported to the Executive the nature and type of work required. Clearly the work was now in military hands within the Fund and the military, together with their supporters - Morrison, Grove and Holland - favoured map work taking priority. Grove, Morrison and Holland had all been linked to the Western Survey working party.

When the Executive Committee of the Fund met on 30 January 1872 the Fund had some £500 in its account, and Captain Stewart had been despatched to the Holy Land. Stewart had in fact left England in October 1871[36] taking with him survey equipment loaned to the Fund by the Ordnance Survey.[37] Sadly for Stewart his health did not stand more than two or three months in Western Palestine. Stewart's illness began soon after he landed in Western Palestine at Jaffa and where he at once commenced surveying the country. He was joined later by Tyrwhitt-Drake and by E. H. Palmer, the Orientalist, Tyrwhitt-Drake and Palmer having to take command of the expedition virtually immediately because of Stewart's health. By 30 January 1872 Stewart's health was so bad that the Fund resolved 'That Captain Wilson be

33 PEF/MINS, 14.3.1871.
34 PEF/MINS, 26.7.1871.
35 Ibid.
36 Watson, The Life of ... Wilson, p.90.
37 PRO/OS.1.17/1, Commissioners of works sanctioned this 7.10.1871.

deputed to make private enquiries for a suitable and available officer for Captain Stewart's successor.'[38]

During the period of Stewart's indisposition Tyrwhitt-Drake was appointed to take control of the survey party, and the survey work continued under his direction. Tyrwhitt-Drake's salary for his work on the survey was raised to £250 and he was appointed the official representative of the Society on the survey team and effectively given the powers of the Society's Executive Committee in relation to the survey work. In Stewart's absence the military men continued to take orders from Sergeant Black under whose command were Corporal Armstrong and three other NCOs.[39]

By April 1872 Stewart had been brought back to the United Kingdom and put on half pay where he was to work for the Fund for a few months after which he was to return to his military unit. Wilson and Lt. Anderson were still in the process of securing a successor to Stewart in April 1872, though no successor was announced at that month's committee meeting, possibly due to the unusual presence of the Archbishop of York as chairman at that meeting.[40] At the committee meeting on 2 May 1872 the question of the successor to Stewart was again considered and it was agreed to approach the War Office 'For a successor ... without specifying any name.'[41] In fact, the Fund Committee knew who they wished to appoint. It was Claude Conder.

Claude Reignier Conder was born in 1848 in Cheltenham. He studied initially at the University of London and then entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich where he distinguished himself as both a draughtsman and a surveyor. In 1870 he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. One of Conder's contemporaries at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich was Horatio Herbert Kitchener, two years his junior and with whom Conder had become firm friends during his two years at Woolwich. Both Kitchener and Conder had originally met at the Reverend George Frost's London house, 28 Kensington Square, in about 1848, both seeking solace and friendship, and both men with intense religious feelings and an interest in the Bible.

At Woolwich Conder had specialised in surveying and draughtsmanship together with military engineering. He later attended the Military Academy of Engineering at Cheltenham

38 PEF/MINS, 30.1.1872.
39 PEF/MINS, 22.2.1872.
40 PEF/MINS, 18.4.1872.
41 PEF/MINS, 2.5.1872.

after his initial Woolwich course.[42] His name appears to have been passed on to the PEF as a possible leader of the Western Survey party and in May 1872 the Fund extended an invitation to Conder to meet Morrison and Grove with a view to Conder being recruited to succeed Stewart as a the leader of the PEF Expedition. Both Wilson and Warren were present at the meeting when the decision was made to approach Conder with a view to him succeeding Stewart and the War Office finally confirmed on 9 July 1872 that Lt Conder RE was seconded to the Fund as from 11 July 1872.[43]

From July 1872 Conder was effectively to be in charge of the survey work initially in the area of Nablus, Samaria and Ramleh. It was Conder who was to set up the base line of four miles in length from which the survey of Western Palestine would operate and Conder was to remain in the Holy Land and in sole charge of the military side of the Fund's mapping operation until 1874 when he was joined by Kitchener, his friend from Woolwich days. Conder and Kitchener were to leave Western Palestine finally in July 1875 for Kitchener alone to return in late 1876 in order to complete the mapping work. Conder himself did not return to the Western Survey for as a result of the time he spent on the Plains of Samaria he had, by October 1875, become seriously ill with malaria. The malaria attack put his life in doubt and for years after his health was damaged. It was so severe that his fiancee broke their engagement under family pressure. After his illness Conder remained in the employment of the PEF completing the memoirs of the Western Survey. That work took him through to April 1878, after which he returned to regimental duties for some years. Conder was not to return to the Holy Land until 1881 but he continued his association with the Fund and his interest in biblical topics for the rest of his life. In 1878 he published his first book, Tent Work in Palestine, illustrated with his own drawings. By 1879 he had published Judas Maccabaeus and the Jewish War of Independence and, in collaboration with his father, a civil engineer and writer, for the Edinburgh Review, he published a Handbook to the Bible.

When Conder did return to the Holy Land in 1881 he returned as part of a survey of the east of Jordan and Lake Homs. This was again a survey conducted by PEF. He returned from that work in 1881 and in January 1882 he received promotion to the rank of Captain, and in March and April of that year he conducted Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales on a tour of the Holy Land, and later filed the official report of the tour. Conder was next to return to the area of the southern Mediterranean in June 1882 when he joined Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition to suppress the rebellion of Urabi Pasha. A fluent Arabic speaker, Conder acted as Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster-General on the staff of the Intelligence Department and was present in action at Kassassin, the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and the advance

42 Eliahu Eluth, 'Claude Reignier Conder (in the light of letters to his mother', PEQ 1965, p.21 et seq.

43 PEF/MINS, 9.7.1872.

on Cairo. He continued writing on biblical topics for the rest of his life, publishing much through the Fund. He was never a member of the Fund's Executive Committee although some of his career was spent in intelligence work. He retired as a brevet Colonel in 1904 and died in 1910.[44]

Conder was seconded to PEF by the War Office on 11 June 1872 and was despatched to Palestine immediately.[45] One month before the despatch of Conder the committee had also appointed Clermont-Ganneau as their representative in Palestine and commissioned him to complete archaeological work for them. Ganneau's work was to be carried out in Jerusalem and at fees agreed by the committee with him.[46] There was only one problem, that the PEF was again desperately short of money and it was embarking upon two projects - funding Ganneau and conducting the Western Survey, both costly and the survey in particular far beyond their means. By 1872 the Executive was acutely aware of the plight to the extent that Holland raised the matter in the October meeting.[47] The PEF could not afford even to buy equipment for the party under Conder and when asked by him for additional men, theodolites and survey instruments, they had to refuse. Conder did not receive regular funding. Like Warren he had to depend on funds trickling through on time or near to time. Ganneau was more fortunate. He received his 200FF a month to cover contingencies and 100FF a month for an assistant. Ganneau was in a different position to Conder. He was a French national and a consul. He would not have worked for nothing, for the PEF owed him little and he owed them nothing. Conder was a serving army officer, a man under Wilson's command. Wilson must have known of his problems but chose to pass them by because of the need for the map. Conder's work was vital to the topographical department, to which he was attached.

The committee were anxious to keep control of the cost of the work being carried out by Conder and also of the channels of communication used by him. In fact Conder wrote regularly to Besant, now Acting Secretary to the Fund, updating him on news and politics in the east and criticising the Committee's handling of matters. These letters were not for official use. Separate correspondence covered that. The Minute of November 1872 restricting those to whom Conder wrote was ignored by him and by Besant. Conder also reported directly to Wilson. Conder's work had commenced without a firman. One was later sought, but not acquired until 11 December 1872,[48] and then only 'For the protection of the Survey Party'. The firman never covered excavations, despite Ganneau being retained to do some at the same

---

44 DNB 1901-11 (supplement) entry under Conder.
45 PEF/MINS, 9.7.1872.
46 PEF/MINS, 11.6.1872.
47 PEF/MINS, 11.10.1872.
48 PEF/MINS, 12.11.1872.

time.[49] The firman was sought via the Foreign Office, not via the Jerusalem Consul, and though undoubtedly contact did exist between Conder and the consul, the consul was rarely used officially and never approached by the Fund. The relationship between Ganneau, Shick, and Conder was also formalised. Ganneau was excavating for the Fund on a tightly controlled budget. Shick received no money from the Fund, but seems to have acted as an unpaid correspondent.

Conrad Shick, born 1822 in Bitz in Switzerland, had originally been a missionary and a member of the Brüderhaus Community. Leaving the Jerusalem Brüderhaus on marriage, he became an independent missionary. Wilson and Shick became friends in 1864 during the Water Survey and Shick later became PEF's Jerusalem representative. He had a wide-ranging knowledge, he was a contributor to PEFQS, and befriended many PEF exploration teams. Conder certainly knew and met Shick but Shick's real value was the information he sent to the Fund, for although his main interests were archaeological interest, he proved a lucrative source of information on French and later German activities. His contact with the survey team was not great but he acted as Wilson's check on the team's work.[50]

The Fund had learnt its lesson after its problem with Warren. It controlled activities in Palestine very tightly. Conder was refused permission to publish any part of his work, save with the Committee's permission[51] and Conder was given no scope for archaeological work. That lay in the hands of Ganneau and Shick, and Tyrwhitt-Drake effectively acted as the Fund's representative on the spot. In reality though Tyrwhitt-Drake had limited authority and the Engineers were controlled by their own officers, and eventually by Wilson. Conder found working with the PEF difficult. Unlike Warren, he was paid his salary with some regularity, but although paid with some regularity he found the committee of the Fund constantly harrassed him, interfering with his work, and making constant demands for results, reports and the like. So difficult and demanding were the Executive that by 1873 Conder was seeking home leave.[52] Conder also sent geological specimens to individual fund members (probably Wilson) during his tours around the land. Again the Fund reproved him.[53] Wilson lodged the specimens he recovered at the Ordnance Survey. They later were given to the Board of Agriculture from whom they were recovered in 1901.[54] Similarly Conder had to be reminded that 'All plans and discoveries, and not merely a selection' belonged to the Committee.[55] It

---

49 PEF/MINS, 11.12.1872.
50 Obituary of Conrad Shick in PEFQS, 1902, p.139.
51 PEF/MINS, 12.1.1873.
52 PEF/MINS, 22.4.1873.
53 PEF/MINS, 30.4.1873.
54 PRO/OS.1.17/2 Wilson's correspondence with the Board of Agriculture in 1901.
55 PEF/MINS, 6.6.1873.

had been realised that plans were being passed on to the War Office. Conder was not to pass articles on to journals, particularly The Edinburgh Review for whom he wrote, and who published his articles. When his articles appeared in the Review using PEF material he was again reproved by the Committee. None of this seems to have concerned Besant who corresponded with Conder on a regular basis exchanging vast quantities of information with him that never reached the Committee.[56] The Committee now suspected that more was being done in Palestine than simple mapping for the Fund. On more than one occasion the PEF Executive formally rebuked Conder by name at their meetings.[57] Conder ignored it. In truth the Executive could do little. They were beholden to the Engineers to do the map work and to Wilson to provide a result which would keep the PEF in being. They could not afford to ask too many questions about the Royal Engineers' activities.

The Fund's Executive was equally keen to control Conder's expenses, frequently checking his expense claims with Wilson and Warren.[58] Conder's exasperation with the Fund's policy can be seen in his letters to Besant where he frequently complained that people in London did not understand the pressure of his work[59] or the situations he faced with unstable local conditions[60] and spiralling prices on local markets. Delays too in the payment of NCOs were a problem and on more than one occasion Conder was forced to protest that 'Full and regular pay is important to a soldier.'[61] For Conder the lack of such pay resulted in soldiers' wives and families being impoverished; he cited the example of Sgt Brophy whose wife received nothing for months despite his pay being only £4 per month.[62] Supplies too were a problem and much pressure was needed to get basic provisions at Christmas 1872[63] and to get finance for servants, guides and guards.[64] Basic equipment had to be supplied by the Ordnance Survey or the Office of Works at Wilson's request and without Treasury permission. It was shipped out to Conder via Malta. PEF still had no surveying equipment of their own and the Engineers were still being supplied with the old North American Border Survey equipment.[65] By July 1873 the Ordnance Survey were having to supply paper and ink to the party. They had run out and had no other means of supply.[66] Much of the equipment was supplied at Wilson's request.

---

56 PEF/MINS, 3.6.1873.
57 See for example PEF/MINS, 9.7.1873.
58 Ibid.
59 PEF/WS/CON/68, Conder to Besant 3.10.1873.
60 PEF/WS/CON/73, Conder to Besant 18.11.1873.
61 PEF/WS/CON/63, Conder to Besant 20.9.1873.
62 Ibid.
63 PEF/WS/CON/1, Conder to Besant 1.12.1872.
64 PEF/WS/CON/73, Conder to Besant 18.11.1873.
65 PRO/OS.1.17/1, Wilson to James 2.11.1872 and James to PEF 8.11.1872.
66 Ibid, Wilson to James July 1873.

Tyrwhitt-Drake was also subject to the same, if not worse, restrictions. Drake was nominally party leader and was the PEF representative at the work. Conder had at least got Wilson to back him up. Drake was subject to the whims of the Committee. Applications for an increase in his gratuity were refused and Tyrwhitt-Drake's expenditure was questioned each time they were submitted throughout 1872 and 1873.[67]

The reason for PEF's attitude was that finances were becoming a problem. By July 1873 the PEF funds were reaching the point of exhaustion.[68] A national appeal to every clergyman and every Anglican parish in England and Wales was being urgently considered. The appeal was never launched, principally because funds took an upturn in November 1873, although this improvement did not last. The Fund had three problems. Firstly it was conducting an expedition which was beyond its means, was for the benefit of the Royal Engineers and the topographical department of the War Office, and for which it received no Treasury funding. Secondly its members' donations had by now dwindled away and a subscription of one guinea (£1.05) had been introduced, limiting but stabilising its income. Thirdly it was running two expeditions at once, one under Conder and Tyrwhitt-Drake, and one under Ganneau.

In 1871 Ganneau was employed by the PEF as an archaeologist and given an allowance of £156.[69] His work was not directed by the Fund,[70] he was left to work as and when he wished on what he wanted. No questioning ever came from the Committee about what Ganneau was doing. Moreover Conder was specifically warned off trespassing into Ganneau's field of excavation. When Conder began to doubt some of Ganneau's discoveries, doubting them as he did with 'Ganneau's supposed Cave of Adallan'[71] he was quickly reminded not to interfere. During arguments with the Committee of PEF and its officials Conder doubted the value of Ganneau's work and resented Ganneau's unlimited expense allowance pointing to Ganneau achieving little.[72] Again Conder was ignored. Ganneau certainly received instructions from Wilson and his position as the favoured explorer aroused criticism and this can be seen in correspondence when Conder frankly stated there were differences between him and Ganneau because:

'i. A simple soldier cannot rival an eminent archaeologist

---

67 PEF/MINS, 11.11.1873 for example.
68 PEF/MINS, 17.7.1873.
69 PEF/MINS, 11.6.1872. Details of his life are at PEFQS 1921.
70 PEF/MINS, 14.10.1873.
71 PEF/WS/CON/66, Conder to Besant 14.10.1873.
72 PEF/WS/CON/69, Conder to Besant 2.12.1873.

ii. Ganneau has a different life here in a study with books to do 2 to 3 days work, the said subaltern rides 8 hours a day for 5 days out of the week.
iii. In the R.E. it is bad form to blow your own trumpet.'[73]

Ganneau's expedition also depleted the funds of PEF at a time when money was hard to come by and the Western Survey was only just financially viable, with a little help from government departments. So bad were finances that some months only Ganneau's pay was possible. When in December 1873 the PEF handed the Moabite fragments to Ganneau PEF had virtually no money in their funds with which to meet survey costs and Ganneau's honorarium. In some respects the fragments were Ganneau's salary.

Most employees of the Fund in Palestine were expected to hand over any items they acquired during their expedition. It was made clear to Conder and Warren that this was the case. Despite Warren's objections the Fund justified its gift of the Moabite Stone on the basis that Warren acquired it whilst on an expedition. This rule did not apply to Ganneau. Ganneau traded in antiquities and it was that trade that eventually led to his expulsion from Palestine and his conflict with the Turkish authorities following his illegal trading in antiquities in Gaza and his part in exposing the Shapira forgeries. Why therefore did the PEF Executive tolerate Ganneau's behaviour, and why did they employ an archaeologist who they could not afford? The Fund's financial state was so bad by January 1874 that Ganneau had to be requested not to excavate at Jerusalem or Modin[74] and Conder was asked to conserve money. In February 1874 an attempt was made to obtain from the Louvre payment for the Moabite Stone sold to them by Ganneau, and yet in March Ganneau not only received his annuity but also payment for other work done.[75] By now funds were seriously depleted.

The Fund was effectively split between those who favoured biblical excavation and those who favoured mapping. The situation was summed up by Conder - 'PEF as far as I can judge [is] not ... very scientific.'[76] In the same letter to Besant Conder probably spoke for some members when he criticised the Fund for publishing nonsense. The Fund had been set up to conduct 'scientific' research in the Holy Land. It had become an organisation for mapping the Holy Land and that mapping was firmly in the control of Wilson and his majority on the Executive. Ganneau represented the minority view, that the Fund should be a vehicle for extending Holy Land research by scientific means, which effectively meant archaeology. To try to appease both groups two expeditions were mounted with disastrous financial consequences. Wilson's surveying expedition, though benefiting the Topographical

73 PEF/WS/CON/74, Conder to Besant 2.12.1873.
74 PEF/MINS, 13.1.1874.
75 PEF/MINS, 10.3.1874.
76 PEF/WS/CON/74, Conder to Besant 2.12.1873.

Department of the War Office, was on a scale and of a type that was far in excess of the Fund's needs. In addition the Engineers' expedition did not identify sites or make discoveries; it was barred by its terms from so doing. Antiquarian and archaeological work belonged to Ganneau. Unfortunately Ganneau's explorations conflicted with those of Wilson, both financially and politically.

Financially we have already noted the situation. The topographical department had no funds with which it could subsidise PEF. All the way through the second part of the nineteenth century virtually no British intelligence system existed. The embryonic parts that did exist had no funds and depended upon the goodwill of Englishmen to facilitate what intelligence-gathering took place.[77] What secret Fund money existed was spoken for in foreign pensions.[78] There could be no Treasury funding of PEF's mapping, however useful it was to the War Office, only aid in kind could be supplied. The aid came in the form of the loan of men and materials. PEF's financial reward was to come in the shape of the printing and sale of maps and photographs.

Ganneau was not working to further the British Empire. He was a French consul and had only his own and France's interests at heart. Ganneau received a modest, but not insignificant remuneration for his work which acted doubly as a cover for the mapping and served to appease those who saw the Fund's role as more scientific. Ganneau was, however, an expensive employee. He cost £180 a year (half Conder's pay) and expenses. He also incurred heavy expenses demanding increased labour and resources in the year 1874 and 150 francs a month for labour during his digs. He worked without a firman, and exported artefacts without a licence. The Foreign Office would not assist with obtaining him a firman (he was a French consul, after all) and he published finds in continental journals before notifying them to the PEF.

The conflict between the military map makers and the archaeological explorers grew. The matter of Shapira came into prominence. Moses Wilhelm Shapira was a Jewish convert to Christianity. Like many Holy Land converts to Protestant Christianity Shapira filled a role which left him dealing with Westerners on unequal terms as well as being rejected by his original community. In Shapira's case he had become an antiquities merchant in a shop in Christian Street, Jerusalem and a specialist antiques seller of scrolls and Jewish documents. Although recommended in Baedeker's Palestine and Syria and a member of the Anglican/Prussian congregation at Christchurch, Jerusalem, he was still something of an

---

77 Andrews, Secret Service ..., ch.I

78 Louise Atherton, Top Secret. An interim guide to recent releases of intelligence record at the Public Records Office.

outsider. His wife was a Prussian deacon.[79] By 1873 tourists were starting to come to the Holy Land and tourists demanded antiques to take home. Shapira was highly recommended; he supplied both British and German museums and had wide contacts. Arabs from the area where the Moabite Stone had originated contacted him offering for sale pottery, stonework and the like 'from Moab' inscribed with unusual lettering and sometimes in obvious phallic shapes. Shapira was enthusiastic. Samples were bought and sent to Berlin where they were pronounced genuine.[80] The pots came to the attention of most of the European community in Palestine and by mid-1872 Conder was enthusiastic about the pots and wrote to the Fund suggesting the purchase of some samples for PEF.[81]

Conder regarded himself as the party leader. 'You will be only too ready to recognise my position as in command of the party'[82] and pushed aside Tyrwhitt-Drake's objections to purchasing the pots and stonework. Conder's informant was Chaplain, the doctor to the London Jews Society Mission and a friend of both Conder and Shapira. Chaplain had also viewed the pots as genuine. In September 1872 Conder discovered the Germans had purchased all Shapira's stock of Moabite pottery. They were determined not to lose out as they had done over the Moabite Stone. More Moabite pots began to appear and Western scholars became sceptical, not least at the quantity found and what Conder called the 'phallic thing'[83]. Fergusson and several other Fund members voiced doubt, but Conder insisted 'It will cost Fergusson a year's work to stand up to a clever forgery'.[84] The Germans, too, were having doubts and insisted on seeing the site of the excavation of the wares. The actual digs were shown to the Germans and the credentials of the pots were secured. The site was a fraud and the pots had been buried the day before. The only question that has never been settled was how far Shapira was aware of the fraud. By October 1872 Conder trumpeted Shapira's finds as true.[85]

By October 1872 Ganneau had returned and Conder feared that he might find Ganneau attempting to take command of the work. Tyrwhitt-Drake was by now a sick man and Conder had led the party from late 1871 onwards. Ganneau was a different proposition. Conder was only willing to deal directly with the Fund '... as expressed through the Secretary'.[86] He did

---

79 Silberman, Digging ..., p.131 et seq.
80 Ibid, pp.133-5.
81 PEF/WS/CON/9, Conder to Besant 13.8.1872.
82 Ibid.
83 PEF/WS/CON/12, Conder to Besant, 12.9.1872. Conder wrote pleading 'do not publish about the phallic thing'.
84 PEF/WS/CON.14, Conder to Besant 26.9.1872.
85 PEF/WS/CON/17, Conder to Besant 7.10.1872.
86 PEF/WS/CON/18, Conder to Besant 8.10.1872.

'... not feel bound to adhere to any Regulations which tend to impede the Survey party'.[87] He certainly did not intend to take orders from Ganneau. Ganneau, however, in early 1873 examined the pots in the presence of Shapira and the Prussians. He pronounced them forgeries and within day located the potter, an Arab named Selim-al-Gari. Ganneau delighted in personally telling the Prussian Consul.[88]

The result was doubly satisfying to Ganneau. As a French Consul he hated Prussia after the Franco-Prussian War; as an academic he was against the soldier amateur. From then on the two expeditions functioned separately. Conder gave Ganneau no part in the survey. The archaeologists and scholars had won against the engineers/surveyors. The boundaries were fixed and the two parties functioned entirely separately. It did not endear Conder to Wilson who wrote in 1877 'What an impossible fellow Conder is.'[89]

Ganneau was equally unpleasant and objectionable given his later dealings with Shapira; Ganneau drove Shapira to suicide in 1884 over the 'Shapira' fragment, an incident in which the Fund took no part. As for the Moabite forgeries, some were purchased by PEF, the rest went to Germany where originally a museum was planned to display them. Germany was as anxious as Britain to show her imperial credentials to the Holy Land. A dispute broke out between the German museum directors as to who should be custodian when the pots were revealed as forged. The items were left with Talk, the Director of the Leipzig Museum, and they were never seen again.

Tyrwhitt-Drake died in 1874 following a prolonged bout of fever. Drake, as nominal head of the party, had discussed his archaeological work with others, including Ganneau. It was through these conversations, through contact between Ganneau and an Armenian informant and antiquities dealer, Seraphim Murrad, that Ganneau learned of the existence of an incised stone originally discovered at Gezer by Tyrwhitt-Drake.[90] Ganneau decided in 1874 to 'acquire' the stone, remove it and take it to France. The acquisition and removal was contrary to Turkish law and Ganneau hid the slab at the house of Peter Berghiem, a banker's son. The authorities found out about the incident from Murrad who had opposed Ganneau since the Shapira affair, with the result that the Turkish authorities became involved.[91] The Fund had tried to support Ganneau, the British Consul had not. Conder saw Ganneau as being in the right in the incident if for no other reason than for '... the Fund and European prestige', but

87 Ibid.
88 Silberman, Digging ...., p.134 et seq. and correspondence in PEFQS 1876, p.99 et seq.
89 PEF/WIL/1/14, Wilson to Besant [nd]
90 PEF/WS/CON/101, Conder to Besant 23.9.1874.
91 Ibid.

that 'M. Ganneau should have been so entirely in the right, his own imprudence has caused findings to go against him so that stories of the most discreditable kind are freely circulated'. In any event Ganneau's reputation was so damaged that he had to leave fairly soon after as he was recalled by the French government following Turkish representations.[92] Conder felt able to express his feelings about Ganneau, pointing out his rudeness and dishonesty in attributing others' finds to himself. Ganneau, as the Fund's archaeologist, still had his supporters in PEF and even after he had been forced out of the Holy Land the PEF still felt committed to publishing his work, placing additional strains on PEF funding.

In the aftermath of the financial crisis and the Shapira dispute, matters settled down to sniping between Conder and Ganneau with Besant as an intermediary. From February 1874 illness struck the expedition.[93] Conder continued to send Wilson regular reports and maps. Drake had both surveyed and performed scientific research. Conder was now the leader of a depleted party; he received £50 a year supplement for this, and the whole party was suffering from water-borne infections.[94] Additionally the international situation was becoming unsettled and the full map of Western Palestine was urgently needed. It was Conder who assisted the committee in finding a replacement for Drake. A letter from Conder recommended that the committee approach Lieutenant Herbert Kitchener RE, and on 8 September 1874 the committee resolved to approach him.[95] Both Kitchener and Conder were old friends, the two of them having been at Woolwich together. Morrison, Grove and Wilson formed a sub-committee who went to Woolwich Arsenal and interviewed Kitchener and offered him the formal appointment as a member of the PEF party. Morrison's later correspondence confirms this. By 13 October 1874 the committee was in correspondence with the War Office about the appointment of Kitchener and indeed had received some confirmation that 'subject to conditions, Kitchener could be appointed'.[96]

Horatio Herbert Kitchener was born on 24 June 1850 at a shooting lodge known as Gunsborough Villa, Ireland, three and a half miles north-west of Listowel. Kitchener's family originated from Hampshire and later East Anglia, his grandfather having been a Suffolk tea merchant. Kitchener's father had served as an officer both in the 13th Light Dragoons, the 9th and finally the 29th Foot and had by the end of his service attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His mother was the third daughter of a Suffolk clergyman who married Kitchener's

92 PEF/WS/CON/116, Conder to Besant 28.11.1874.
93 PEF/WS/CON/85, Conder to Besant 7.2.1874.
94 PEF/MINS, 14.7.1874.
95 PEF/MINS, 8.9.1874.
96 PEF/MINS, 13.10.1874.

father in 1845 following which the family had moved for a short time to India but returned to England in 1847/48. Childhood was somewhat disrupted, firstly by his father's insistence that private tutors should be used for the instruction of the sons of the family and secondly by the death of his mother in 1864. Following his mother's death Kitchener and his family moved first of all to Montreux in Switzerland and, following his father's second marriage to Emma Green, to New Zealand. Kitchener was left at the age of 14 in the care of the chaplain of the English Church at Montreux until his father returned to England and later settled in Brittany. Kitchener was crammed for entry to Woolwich Military Academy by the Reverend George Frost in London. It was Frost who first introduced Kitchener, then aged around 17, to the rather older Claude Conder with whom Kitchener was to form a firm friendship lasting many years.[97]

Kitchener was successful in passing the entrance examination for the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich and despite his lack of any formal education was placed 28th out of 56 in the list of successful candidates. Kitchener was unlike most of the other candidates for Woolwich. He did not come from the traditional public school background and was strongly attached to the High Church and the ritualistic movement. He studied Hebrew in his spare time with Conder and had virtually no family to return to when not at the Academy. His father's second marriage had failed and his father was now living in Dinan in Brittany. Passing out from Woolwich in 1870, Kitchener went to his father's house in Brittany at about the time that war had commenced between France and Prussia. After seeing a small amount of action around Le Mans, Kitchener returned to England and was posted to the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, a post that he held through to April 1873 when he served as ADC to Brigadier General George Greaves and after which he spent some time in Germany returning from there to Aldershot in the summer of 1874.[98] Kitchener was not keen on peacetime duties in Aldershot and when in July 1872 Tyrwhitt-Drake died Conder wrote to Kitchener suggesting that the latter might find working for PEF of interest. In survey terms the bulk of the work had already been done. The first 20 sheets of the Great Map of Western Palestine had virtually been completed, and only the last six remained. On 13 October 1874 the committee of the Fund authorised Charles Grove to communicate to Kitchener the conditions of his appointment as a surveyor for the Fund.[99] On 19 November 1874 Kitchener joined Conder, two subalterns, and three corporals and a native clerk at the survey's camp at El Dhoheriyeh on the Plain of Philistia.[100]

---

97 DNB entry under Kitchener and also PEFQS 1916 for his obituary.
98 Magnus, Kitchener ..., pp.1-12.
99 PEF/MINS, 13.10.1874.
100 PEF/MINS, 19.11.1874.

At an early stage Kitchener succumbed to the local fevers which laid him low from early January 1875 through to early March 1875. The fact that Kitchener was affected by the local fevers so quickly after arriving in the Holy Land is hardly surprising. Most of the survey parties who went were infected at some point. Sergeant Black, for example, had also become incapacitated through fever and had to be returned to England. In 1875 Conder himself was to be a victim of the endemic fevers of the area and during his enforced idleness Kitchener took charge of both the survey results, the archaeological results from Conder's excavations, and the photographs which had been taken by the expedition. Kitchener himself was interested in photography and took quite a number of pictures which he sent back to PEF. Reports, sketches and photographs of the surveying party were forwarded to the Executive Committee of the PEF in January 1875.[101]

From the point where the committee began to consider Kitchener's appointment to the Survey Wilson, by now a Major in the Intelligence Service, had supported the decision to appoint. Wilson was also present at the committee meetings where Kitchener was appointed and undoubtedly as Wilson had a hand in the selection of Kitchener. Wilson's intelligence service interest in Kitchener and in the work of the Western Survey is fairly evident. Certainly Phillip Magnus, writing in the 1950s, was under no doubt that Kitchener, like Conder, was reporting back to Wilson for the whole of his period in Palestine[102] and indeed it would be strange if Kitchener was not so reporting. It is also significant that shortly after Kitchener's appointment the scope of the survey was extended to beyond the biblical area of Dan to Beersheba into Nablus and the Hebron and to the north as far as the Litania River. The progress of the survey was directly under Wilson's control to the extent that when at a committee meeting on 9 February 1875 a letter was received from a Dr Tiluman asking about the progress of the Western Survey, that letter was referred to Wilson.[103] The survey expedition was by now entering areas where Turkish government control was far from strong and again on 9 February 1875 Warren wrote to the committee warning of the need for caution in those areas.[104] At about the same time the committee also debated whether or not the size of the expedition should be increased by one more man. By now the survey party had entered areas where the Turkish Writ barely controlled the local population and in particular in July 1875 the party began to survey in the Upper Galilee area around the town of Safed. It was there that the party were attacked by the local inhabitants.

Round about four o'clock in the afternoon of 10 July 1875 the survey party had pitched its tents in an olive grove when some Arabs approached and began to make disparaging

---

101 PEF/MINS, 12.1.1875.
102 Magnus, Kitchener ..., pp.13-4.
103 PEF/MINS, 9.2.1875.
104 Ibid.

remarks, according to Kitchener, about the Christian faith. A pistol belonging to one of Conder's servants had been hung on a branch of an olive tree, it had disappeared and enquiries were made as to where the pistol had gone. According again to Kitchener and Conder, the local Arabs began to abuse Conder's servant and a stone-throwing incident developed, the target of the stones being Conder's servant. Conder advanced to rescue his man and after a struggle the Arab was taken, bound hand and foot and deprived of a knife which he was said to be carrying. According to Conder the intention was that the Arab prisoner should be handed over to the Turkish authorities, but that was not the way in which things turned out. The Arab prisoner's capture and subsequent restraint by the British party resulted in some two hundred or so local residents appearing and the PEF party of five Englishmen and ten native servants being stoned by the local Arab population. Conder, nominally in charge of the party, was at the time recovering from a bout of fever. Conder was therefore not in a position to run very far at any great speed and was remonstrating with the crowd protesting in front of him when he received a blow to the head from a club wielded by one of the crowd. The crowd were not for moving, and eventually the party was forced to retreat up a nearby hill to see, presumably to their relief, that the local Turkish garrison had realised what was happening and had been turned out. In his report to the Fund, Conder insisted that throughout the whole of the attack the survey party was abused on the grounds that it was both Western and Christian and that he - Conder - would not have survived the attack if it had not been for Kitchener's personal bravery.[105] The matter was reported back to the Fund at a special meeting of the PEF Committee on 27 July 1875. Further communications from Conder and Kitchener reported Conder's injuries as being 'dangerous'. The survey was suspended and the matter taken up with the Foreign Office. The British consulate was also informed.[106]

The Turkish authorities were in no hurry to arrest and it took Foreign Office pressure to secure the apprehension of the Safed rioters. Meanwhile the decision was made to bring back the survey party and by 14 September 1875 part of the survey party had returned and had landed. Part remained in Palestine. With some prompting the Turks had arrested a number of rioters and set up a special commission which included Noel Temple More, the British Consul at Jerusalem, Colonel Rashdi Bey, the Turkish police chief, and others for a trial of the alleged rioters at Acre. The trial commenced on 11 September and lasted until 28 September, and Conder and Kitchener were present for most of the time. The verdict - 8 persons sentenced to two months imprisonment, 6 to three months imprisonment, 2 to twelve months in prison and £112.10s. (£112.50) was awarded in damages as a collective punishment for the town of Safed. The committee were kept informed of the proceedings. The Fund had put in a damages claim of £400 for expenses and £200 for compensation. The Minutes of the Executive

105 Philip Magnus, Kitchener. A portrait of an imperialist, pp.14-18 and PEF/MINS, 27.7.1875.

106 PEF/MINS, 29.7.1875 and PEF/MINS, 31.7.1875.

Committee make it quite clear that the committee was not happy at the low value of the award made to it.[107] Writing to the Earl of Derby on 4 November 1875 on the instructions of the PEF Committee, Hepworth Dixon, the Chairman of the committee, notes that

> Mr Consul Law has not succeeded in obtaining a sum of money he thought it right to demand on account of the expenses actually incurred by the Fund and compensation to the officers engaged and injured in the affair. He demanded £600 - £400 for Expenses and £200 for Compensation, he afterwards consented to reduce his claim by £60 and in his report on the trial he speaks in strong terms of the necessity of enforcing this demand.[108]

The letter went on to state that it was the Fund's understanding that one of the persons involved in the affair, Sheikh Ali Agha Allan, was a rich man who could well afford to pay the entire compensation and expenses claimed. That was more than could be said for the Fund which at this point was in dire financial troubles. In short the Fund demanded that the sentences be increased and indeed following vigorous British Foreign Office protest they were increased with an extra month's imprisonment being added to each of the shorter sentences, six additional months being added to the two twelve-month terms and the fine being increased to £340.[109] Conder and Kitchener left Palestine for England on 1 October 1875 both of them suffering from various illnesses contracted in the Holy Land and both were granted leave of absence.

From around December 1875 both Conder and Kitchener were to work on drafting completed sheets of the map, in rented rooms in the basement of the Albert Hall in Kensington, London. The Safed incident and the return of Conder, Kitchener, and the survey party was fortunate for two reasons, firstly because at this point the Fund was in a severe financial crisis, the worst that it had been subjected to since the dark days of 1867 when the despatching of Warren to Jerusalem had virtually emptied the Fund's coffers, and secondly, because international tension was rising and war was likely to break out between Turkey and Russia. It did eventually break out in April 1877, by which time the War Office had copies of the survey maps.

In private correspondence with his mother, Conder did express the view that Kitchener had saved his life, although just how life-threatening his injuries were must be a matter for conjecture. After the trial at Acre was concluded the remainder of the team came back to the United Kingdom and remained in London until November 1876 when Kitchener alone returned

107 PEF/MINS, 21.10.1875.
108 PEF/MINS, 2.11.1875.
109 PEF/MINS, 3.11.1875.

to recommence the Survey. Conder's health suffered, more as a result of infection contracted in the east than as a result of his head wound, and he did not return to Palestine with Kitchener.[110]

Financially the cessation of mapping and surveying in the East was a great relief to the Fund.[111] In July 1874 the Fund had been in financial difficulties; by August 1874 it had had to start an appeal to raise enough money to keep going.[112] In the Fund's accounts there would appear to be virtually no payments to NCOs and few payments to officers during the years 1874-75, yet there is no mention of failure to pay salaries either in the letters from Conder or in private correspondence with the Ordnance Survey. Payment must have come therefore from War Office or regimental funds in order to keep the Survey party financially solvent.[113] In July 1875 a cheque for £132.3s.11d (£132.19) was granted by the Fund to Sergeant Black, a large sum representing over a year's salary.[114] Black would not have been able to subsidise the Fund to that extent, and the cheque must have cleared arrears owed through Black to the War Office, or owed as the overseas supplement of pay.

Wilson was a member of the Fund's Executive. He would have known of the poor state of finances and of the lack of prospects of the funds increasing radically. He must also have known of the PEF's heavy commitment to Ganneau and the gift of the Syrian Improvement Fund on 11 August 1874.[115] There could, of course, be no question of the payment of public money to PEF, no secret service funds existed for such purposes. The War Office was, however, badly in need of the map. A Turkish-Russian war was threatened, and the vital part of any possible Russian invasion route of the area was the Galilee area. This was where plans to map the Holy Land had found difficulties at Safed, both from the local inhabitants and from the Fund's lack of money. Financial help came to the Fund in October 1874 when Morrison, the Treasurer, lent £100 to the Fund in respect of 'a bill having been received of which he (the Secretary) had no warning'[116] although that money was soon used. By March 1875 £150 was raised by PEF's regional committee in Manchester to allow the employment of some additional Royal Engineers NCOs to complete the Eastern Survey, despite the urgent need for moneyto fund the Survey.[117] Even with the additional funds, an

---

110 Eluth, 'Claude Conder ..., p.21 et seq.
111 PEF/MINS, 30.6.1874.
112 PEF/MINS, June-September 1874.
113 PEF/MINS, July 1875. See also PEF/WS/CON for Conder's letters and PRO/OS.1.17/1. All are silent on this matter.
114 PEF/MINS, July 1875.
115 PEF/SYR/1, August 1874 and PEF/MINS, 11.8.1874.
116 PEF/MINS, 13.10.1874.
117 PEF/MINS, March 1875.

appeal was needed in June 1875.[118] That appeal was to 'certain societies, asking for assistance'.[119]

It only raised £180.[120] An appeal was also made to the United Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in London who had funded PEF in the past.[121] By July 1875 Warren was undertaking to contact Grand Lodge to raise money when the situation was saved by the Safed incident. The Safed incident was a stroke of extreme good luck. The Fund was able to use it as a publicity aid; what better story than one of Christian soldiers being attacked on account of their religion and attacked by Moslem Arabs? The story was published in The Times and to the membership at large. The incident gave the Foreign Office an excuse to become involved in the Fund's work at an official level. Previously the Consul had done little more than apply for permits for the Fund when permits to work had been needed. Now the Foreign Office, through its Consul in Jerusalem, could involve itself directly. The excuse afforded to the Fund for suspension of the excavations not only allowed for the raising of funds, but also for the assessment of the work done. A committee under Morrison, Wilson and a Captain Hanson of the Royal Engineers was set up as a sub-committee of the Executive Committee to examine both the accounts of the Survey and its working methods to see if savings could be made. Conder's accounts in particular were examined carefully, much to Conder's annoyance, for over the years Conder had had to remind the Fund of the need to pay his NCOs. Lastly the Fund hoped to get compensation from the incident.

Immediately after the attack work ceased for the rest of 1875 and much of 1876. Conder wrote a dramatic account of the incident to the PEF Executive. Kitchener, for his part, penned a report both to the Consul-General in Beirut and to the War Office. Letters from Dr Chaplain, the Fund's agent in Palestine and the London Jews Society representative in Jerusalem, supported the account. In truth Conder's injuries were not severe. He had a bruised left thigh and a badly bruised arm, but what was severe was his pre-existing il'ness which was a local fever, probably caused by the local water supply. Kitchener was honest when he cited the reasons for suspending operations as a 'murderous and unprovoked attack on the party by Moslem inhabitants of Safed ... [and] the second, the gradual spread of cholera over Northern Palestine'.[122] The second reason was probably the major cause of the end of

---

118 PEF/MINS, 15.6.1875.
119 PEF/MINS, 22.6.1875.
120 PEF/MINS, 24.7.1875.
121 PEF/MINS, 13.7.1875. Grand Lodge had provided some funding in the 1860s (about £100) and local lodges funded sporadically but not on a consistent basis. There is no evidence to show that there was an unusually high proportion of freemasons on the Executive. Most members of the Executive do not appear in Grand Lodge's archives.
122 Magnus, Kitchener ..., p.16.

the Survey from the Royal Engineers' point of view. For the PEF any excuse that afforded an opportunity to recover the finances was welcome.

The first news that the Fund received concerning the Safed attack was contained in a Reuters's report in the daily newspapers. The PEF had not been given priority notice. To get information the Fund Executive had to request that a telegraph be sent by Reuters to the survey party and requesting news. News came on 27 July 1875, some seventeen days after the attack, and even that message came only from HM Consul, Beirut.[123] It was 29 July 1875 before the executive could confirm the position through Reuters. Perhaps, this more than anything, or any other incident, shows the utter dependency of the PEF upon the War Office. The PEF had been the last to know of the attack and their input into representations regarding it were limited. The matter was a Foreign Office one and on 29 July 1875 the executive agreed to leave the 'subject of Lieut. Conder's attack'[124] to the Foreign Office. A telegram to that effect was sent by them to Conder in August 1875 and the Executive was formally told that matters were in Foreign Office hands.[125] They need not have bothered; the survey party had suspended work and were planning to leave in September in any event. The Fund could not have maintained the survey for another month anyway; the Fund had no money.

Upon their return both Conder and Kitchener took leave. The PEF and the War Office were by now intent on producing a map, the need for that map was growing and who better to draft it than the surveyors themselves. The problem for PEF was the money. The Fund could not afford to draw up the Western map. The PEF had no suitable premises where the work could be undertaken, its offices were inadequate and it had no materials for producing the drawings. From 9 November onwards the Fund began to search for offices where the survey results could be written up.[126] At this point the Fund's bank balance had plummeted to around £13.3s. (£13.15) Its expected income for the coming year was £1,500 and of that the Fund estimated that some £1,000 would be needed to recommence the work in Palestine. Matters had reached such a crucial point that the Executive Committee of the Fund resolved 'to appoint a sub-committee consisting of Major Wilson, Captain Hanson and Mr Morrison to examine further into the accounts, report to the committee and offer any suggestion which might appear for a satisfactory solution for the return of the Party.'[127] The financial position, which was never particularly good, and which had led to constant friction between the committee and Conder when he was working in the Holy Land, had now turned into a crisis. It was necessary to do something to alleviate the crisis and one obvious solution was to delay

123 PEF/MINS, 27.7.1875.
124 PEF/MINS, 29.7.1875.
125 PEF/MINS, 6.8.1875.
126 PEF/MINS, 9.11.1875.
127 Ibid.

the return of the survey party. The Minutes clearly show that Conder corresponded with the committee during December 1875 regarding the possible date for a return to the survey party. The committee replied on 11 December 1875 by requesting that Conder produce all papers, notebooks, sketches, maps and outline plans for them to peruse.

Immediately the committee raised two issues. Firstly they came into conflict with Conder about his use of materials he had gathered whilst in their service and used for his own purposes in journal articles. The second was that the committee resolved that those maps should be prepared for publication and verification as and when necessary. The committee also wrote to the Earl of Derby, the Foreign Secretary, stating that they had had no satisfactory outcome to the attack at Safed and urged that outstanding claims on the Fund in Palestine be settled so that a more satisfactory outcome to the Safed Affair be obtained. That correspondence on 11 December 1875 was effectively enough to justify a delay in the return to Palestine by the survey party. The Fund retained the services of Sgt. Armstrong, Lieut. Conder and Lieut. Kitchener, and by 26 January 1876 the Fund had a report back from its working party and asked Conder for estimates as to the cost of the work when it resumed.[128] At the same time the Fund set up, as a sub-committee of the Executive Committee, a Survey Publications Committee which consisted of Hepworth Dixon, Eton, Grove and Wilson. By 1 February 1876 the Executive of the Fund had resolved that the survey should not resume until the Autumn of 1876, presumably to allow the financial situation that the Fund found itself in to clarify, and that 'Lieut. Kitchener's services were not to be required until the survey resumed'.[129]

Throughout this period Conder was still ill and estimates as to the possible cost of resuming surveying were made by Kitchener. However, Kitchener did not leave the survey and it was specifically noted on 22 February 1876 that Conder was still ill and in reply to the resolution of 1 February (the one declaring Kitchener surplus to requirements) a letter was sent through to the Fund by the Adjutant General of the Royal Engineers requesting that the committee reconsider their decision.[130] As a result the committee granted Conder sick leave and Kitchener was re-instated whilst Conder received one month's leave of absence by the committee.

From account books of the period it is clear that the War Office, realising the situation in which the Fund found itself, had hired rooms on the Fund's behalf in the South Kensington Museum where the Fund could employ Kitchener and later Conder to draw up the map of Palestine. The committee never paid any rent in respect of those rooms; they appear to have

128 PEF/MINS, 26.1.1876.
129 PEF/MINS, 1.2.1876.
130 PEF/MINS, 22.2.1876.

been paid for, furnished, and rented at the expense of the War Office. Nor were the committee paying at any stage the salaries of the two officers and Sergeant Armstrong, who drew up the Western Map in those rooms. A combination of the Fund's lack of money, the War Office's need for a Middle East map, and the Fund's need to ensure that the material it had in its possession was drafted into some sort of form where they could retain greater control all led to a suspension of the survey and the drawing up of the Western Survey map. All arrangements were left in the hands of Wilson, Warren, and Captain Anderson. A Russian-Turkish war was looking likely, and any invasion of Turkey by Russia threatened not only the Straits and Constantinople but also the Turkish provinces, particularly Palestine. A Russian government in Turkey's eastern provinces threatened British interests in India and could provide a safe warm water anchorage in the Persian Gulf for Russian vessels. The Western Map was therefore vital to British intelligence interests and War Office assistance in its preparation is no surprise. The War Office could not give money directly to help the Fund, but they could assist the Fund by providing help in kind for the drafting of the map.

By early 1876 the committee's financial position had stabilised. The committee meeting of March 1876 reported a bank balance of £561.2s.2d (£561.11). The same meeting attempted to set a pay rate for Lieut. Kitchener namely the same pay rate as applied to any home-based Ordnance Survey officer. No pay however was ever handed over by the committee to Kitchener, and he appears to have received the salary directly from the War Office.[131] The committee also dealt with the question of the regulation of the work of the preparation of the Great Map of Western Palestine. Significantly it was resolved that the preparation of the map should be subject to the same daily working rules and hours as the Intelligence Department of the War office and the work was to be placed under the supervision of Captain Anderson, now stationed in London. The offices to be used by the survey party for drawing up the map were to be in the basement of the Royal Albert Hall and the party was moved out of its temporary accommodation at the South Kensington Museum. All notebooks, documents and records were to be deposited at the Royal Albert Hall office of the survey. The net result of all this was that the survey and the drafting of the map was now completely under the day to day control of the War Office and in reality under the day to day control of the Intelligence Department.[132] The pens, ink, drafting equipment, stationery and stores for the map-making were requisitioned from Ordnance Survey stores by Kitchener in March 1876.[133] It must always have been the intention to return to Palestine to complete the Survey, for the survey equipment did not return to Ordnance Survey until after 1878 when the Western Survey was finalised.[134]

131 PEF/MINS, 28.3.1876 and Minutes through to 1877. All major expenditure and all salaries went via the Executive and were noted in the Minutes.
132 PEF/MINS, 28.3.1876.
133 PRO/OS.1.1/17, Requisitioned by Kitchener on 2.3.1876.
134 Ibid, correspondence with Hepworth-Dixon.

A Publications Committee was set up on 28 March 1876 and by May 1876 the committee had decided that the map should be published on the scale of one inch to the mile. Two maps were to be produced, one by lithograph which was to be large and in detail and a second by engraving on copper at a scale of three miles to the inch. A layer map was also proposed. Publication was to be by the Ordnance Survey, but the copyright of the map was to remain with the Palestine Exploration Fund and overall control was to remain in the hands of the committee of the Fund. Subsequent correspondence received by the Fund made it quite clear that publication was being supervised by Anderson and that the day to day execution of the work was in the hands of Kitchener. Conder appears to have been effectively frozen out and his suggestions were received by the committee and considered by them but subject to the over-riding views of Anderson and Kitchener.[135] The whole of the management of the compilation work was to eventually break up the friendship of Kitchener and Conder. Conder never forgave Kitchener for taking over the management of the work and even less for the fact that when the map was completed Kitchener ensured that his name appeared on the map as the main compiler of it. Privately Conder felt that his work had been 'stolen by Kitchener' and the friendship between the two men broke up.[136]

By November 1876 Conder was pressing for a resumption of the Western Survey. He estimated the expenses to be incurred at about £260 per calendar month and proposed that the survey party should proceed to the Holy Land forthwith. The proposal to recommence work was agreeable to Anderson, one of the military members of the PEF committee, and it was supported by a predictable combination of Crace, Morrison, Eaton and Hepworth-Dixon. The problem that did, however, arise was of finance. The Fund had little money - only £407.8s.8d (£407.43) in its bank account - and could only have met two months of the survey's expenses. The Fund was also committed to a heavy publication programme having begun to make arrangements for the publication of the Western Map and undertaken to publish works now being placed before them by Clermont Ganneau. The Fund had another worry - the map of Western Palestine had by now been put out for engraving, and the constant concern was that whoever did the engraving might 'pirate' a copy and pass it on to Murray & Co. who, at the time, were the principal publishers for Guide Books to the Holy Land. Eventually the decision was made to put the engraving in the hands of one Mr Bolton and the printing in the hands of the Ordnance Survey.[137]

---

135 PEF/MINS, 23.5.1876.

136 Magnus, Kitchener ..., ch.1. Also note the inscription on early copies of the Great Map.

137 PEF/MINS, 21.11.1876.

By December 1876 the Fund was again facing a financial crisis and only £354 was in the bank and they had received a claim from Conder for £58 as a result of expenses incurred by him after the Safed attack. The Fund did not consider it to be part of their duty to compensate individual employees who lost out as a result of their employment with the Fund. Conder's request was refused. From the time of his first engagement with the Fund up to about December 1876. Conder had been in the habit of corresponding separately with Besant, still the Acting Secretary of the Fund, as well as with the Executive Committee. This practice was ordered to cease at the Fund in December 1876,[138] Conder had suggested that two commissioned officers and a group of non-commissioned officers be sent to the Holy Land to complete the mapping work, but the Fund ruled this out on the grounds of expenses and the committee heeded rather the advice of Captain Anderson who advocated a much smaller survey party. Anderson suggested that the expedition could run on £240 a month together with a reduction to one in the number of officers taken. At the same time the committee were willing to contemplate in assisting in the production of Ganneau's latest book, a venture which meant that they had to co-operate with the French government who were partial funders of Ganneau's project and surrender some, if not all, of Clermont-Ganneau's drawings to the French authorities for publication. Given the jealousy with which the committee had guarded the documents and sketches produced by Conder it is surprising that they were willing to contemplate the surrender of the same type of documentation produced under their auspices to the French authorities for publication.

The answer must be that the Royal Engineers and the Topographical Department did not want their survey results to fall into anyone else's hands, particularly not those of the French government. Ganneau had no contact with the survey party and had worked totally independently of them. Conder had relayed news of Ganneau's activities to the Fund and been slightly amused by his downfall in 1875 following the incident at Gaza, but at no stage had either Conder or Kitchener ever allowed Ganneau or any other 'outsider' access to their results. Even the PEF committee only received reports from them and never the detailed survey notes and projections.

By 19 December 1876 the PEF and the Engineers had made the decision that two engineering officers should be employed, one in London and one in Palestine. Conder was to go to London and supervise the map drawing, Kitchener to Palestine. Captain Anderson and Wilson were effectively the commanding officers for the two - both were on the PEF Executive and its sub-committee. Kitchener was checked and monitored by PEF's committee, particularly the sub-committee, and when he objected to the committee's powers he was told by Anderson in a letter:

---

138 PEF/MINS, 21.12.1876.

> ... the DAG (Deputy Adjutant-General) sent for me today and he requested me to tell you that he considers the reply of the Committee to your claim for compensation for the Safed attack to be complete and satisfactory. Col. Grant considers that as there are two engineer officers on the committee you must abide by the ruling of the Committee.[139]

For all practical purposes the PEF committee was in debt to the engineers to a point where the engineers could direct the running of the Fund and through it instruct junior officers. The operational side of the mapping of Western Palestine was firmly under military control with officers in the field subject to control from their superiors on the PEF committee.[140] With the unsettled state of Western Palestine still clear in later 1876 and war still likely all were aware of the volatile international situation. Jackson Eldridge of the War Office spelt his fears out to the PEF in correspondence in December 1876.[141] There seemed much sense in having an officer drafting the Palestine map in London and one surveying in Palestine to finish it. The intelligence branch now needed the PEF as much as PEF needed it, and consequently Kitchener and Conder were warned by Col. Grant not to pursue their compensation claim. The War Office could not afford a squabble over the Safed claim to disrupt mapping in the sensitive Galilee area. Kitchener was to go east as soon as possible.

On 3 January 1877 Kitchener met with the Fund to discuss the strategy that he would employ for mapping and surveying the remaining parts of the western area of the Holy Land. Kitchener made it clear to the Fund that he could complete the Western Survey for £197 a month together with £300 for the purchase of stores to see him to Constantinople and onwards to Jaffa. He fixed a tight time scale for the committee, estimating that he could start work on 27 February 1877 with the levelling of the area around the Sea of Galilee and proceeding to survey Upper Galilee. Kitchener estimated the work would by completed by 14 August giving him a break of one month. On 14 September he proposed that he would commence surveying 250 square miles of Beersheba at the other end of the country and this was scheduled on Kitchener's time estimate to complete by 14 December. In view of the Russian threats the Survey of Galilee is significant. The most desperately needed thing was a complete survey of Upper Galilee which in the event of a Turko-Russian war was the most likely part of the Holy Land area to be invaded and should such an invasion occur, the most likely part to put the Suez Canal at risk.

Even so, the Fund was not wealthy. On 23 January 1877 its bank books were recorded in the committee minutes as showing a balance of £474.15s.8d (£474.77).

---

139 PEF/MINS, 19.12.1876.
140 PEF/MINS, 21.12.1876.
141 Letters reported in PEF/MINS December 1876.

Hepworth-Dixon reported to the committee that the survey party had departed by 23 January and that it was now on its way to the Holy Land. In the meantime the committee continued their plans to publish works by Clermont Ganneau despite the fact that they also had at the same meeting to make arrangements for the payment of £196 a month to the account of Lieut. Kitchener at Cox & Co. to fund the latest expedition. No money was actually paid out by Cox & Co. at this point to Kitchener. At a meeting on 26 February 1877 Warren stated that he had been left in Palestine with no money for 19 months and raised the question about the payment of Kitchener. The result was that the committee ordered an exact date for payments to Kitchener to be arranged.[142] At the same time the committee were in touch with not only Kitchener and the survey party but also with Professor Palmer who by now was also in the western area of the Holy Land. By March 1877 Kitchener was established in Palestine and had commenced surveying. It was reported on 6 March that war could be in the balance between Turkey and Russia and Kitchener was then authorised to take all steps needed to protect the survey party. By May Kitchener was well established in the Holy Land and had commenced mapping on a large scale and had already taken the levels at the Sea of Galilee and got the work well in hand. In the meantime tension was mounting between Russia and Turkey and Kitchener was working against the clock to try and complete his projected mapping. Money was running short from PEF's point of view and time from the War Office's point of view. By 6 June 1877 the Fund's bank balance stood at £148.6s.9d (£148.34). By June 1877 the question of deferring the publication of the Western Map was actively under consideration, not only because of the committee's lack of money but also because of a request to the committee made by the War Office.[143]

In 1877 the funds reached a new low. At the end of October the accounts showed a bank balance of £116 and the situation with publication of the map was becoming urgent. The Fund was taking upon itself new commitments such as the publication of Conder's work, Tent Work in Palestine, as well as the publication of works by Clermont Ganneau and the regular publication of the PEF Quarterly Statement. Money was in short supply and on 16 October 1877 the committee resolved that application would be made to Col. Home at the War Office for a grant towards the preparation of the Western Map. It was decided that Captain Anderson and the other military members of the committee should convey the request to Col. Home, thereby pointing to the tacit approval of the War Office prior to the request being processed. By November 1877 the Fund's financial position was again dire and the Minutes of 6 November record only £26.19s.7d (£26.96) in the Fund's account with proposals being laid on the table that the Fund should move to new premises in order to save money on rentals. Indeed the crisis of finance showed no signs of abating, and by 20 November the bank balance

142 PEF/MINS, 26.2.1877.
143 PEF/MINS, 6.6.1877.

in the Fund's accounts was standing at £72.2s. (£72.10). Kitchener was ordered by letter to sell up and leave Palestine as soon as possible.[144] Such funds as the committee had were placed at Kitchener's disposal to assist him in his immediate return to England, and plans were even made to leave the Royal Albert Hall as a base for drafting the map. Once more the committee found itself in a position where the Fund's incomings did not meet its outgoings and the committee members found themselves desperately scrabbling around to raise relatively small sums of money due to the Fund in order to keep the Fund afloat.

In the meantime, while the War Office was still considering the Fund's application for a grant, whilst committee members concerned themselves over the fact that it would appear that they were personally liable for any shortfall in the Fund's income as at this stage the Fund was unincorporated.[145] What is also perfectly clear is that at this stage the officers engaged on the Western Survey had been paid nothing by the Fund. Even though no payment had been made, Conder was able to report to the Fund that he had drawn up the first of a number of proof sheets of the Western Map and that Kitchener was still winding up his work in the Holy Land. Kitchener did not return back to Britain until 15 January 1878 or thereabouts, when he addressed the committee of the Fund. In return for his work with the Fund a Vote of Thanks was accorded to him and a copy of that Vote of Thanks forwarded to his superior officers at the War Office.

At the 15 January 1878 meeting it was announced that a grant had been given to the Fund by the War Office, and that grant was for the drawing up and completion of the Western Map. The grant did not include payment for the officers who had been assigned to the Fund by the War Office. Throughout the whole of the period that Kitchener was working out in the field in the Holy Land and Conder was drafting his map back at the rooms hired at the Royal Albert Hall no protest was sent in to the Fund regarding a lack of pay. When the Fund failed to pay out compensation in respect of the Safed incident both Kitchener and Conder were quick to complain. It is unlikely that they worked, especially in the case of Kitchener, for the best part of a year, abroad, in the Holy Land for no pay at all. Kitchener was not independently wealthy and as the son of a retired military officer of fairly modest means would not have been able to sustain such a long pay period of payless labour. The same almost certainly applied to Conder. Both must therefore have received some remuneration from the War Office in respect of the work that they were doing either through their own regimental pay or through a special allowance channelled to them.

---

144 PEF/MINS, 16.10.1877, 6.11.1877 and 20.11.1877.
145 PEF/MINS, 6.11.1877 and 20.11.1877.

One Letter Book has survived from this period and it shows correspondence was passing between the Fund and the War Office regarding completion of the mapping work. In Letter Book Correspondence between The Fund through its Chairman, Hepworth Dixon, and Col. Clark at the Ordnance Survey headquarters in Southampton undated letters show that throughout 1877 sketches and tracings of triangulations were being sent through for approval. The tracings sent through are significant, thus one undated letter states, '[A]lso (enclosed) a Tracing of the South East Corner ... at Jaffa that from one one-inch plan showing the position of Jaffa as laid down from the latitude and longitude with remarks.'[146] Given the international situation Jaffa would be an important strategic point. The same correspondence refers to maps and additions to the plans for the Nazareth area, again an area of strategic importance. The correspondence which must have passed in early 1877 concludes by saying '[D]ecided that Sir H. James' (Director of Ordnance) method is to be adopted that is two triangulation points listed on each sheet.'[147] Again the Director of the Ordnance Survey and Head of Topographical Intelligence had more than a passing interest in the work that his men were doing out in the field.

At this stage the Committee's contact within the War Office was Lieut. Colonel Home. In correspondence of 19 May 1877, Home, writing to the Chief Clerk of the War Office, describes on 19 May 1877 the work that had already taken place on the Western Map, and then comments

> The Committee (of PEF) propose to give the War Department the use of the Map which embraces all the country between the Jordan and the sea when completed gratis, and if requested to delay its publication giving the War Office sole use of the Map under such arrangements as may be hereafter arrived at.
>
> They ask for the assistance of two draftsmen, for one year to finish the work. I find that the money cost of the Assistants will amount to about £200 and strongly recommend it being given for the following reasons.
>
> If Russia occupies Turkish Armenia she will have the two valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris at her disposal and she will completely dominate the Gulf of Seuderum if indeed she does not occupy it. Syria especially the Valley of the Jordan will become of great importance as offering the easiest road for an advance on the Suez Canal - under such circumstances it is of the utmost importance that we should have good maps of the country.[148]

146 Undated letter 1877, Col. Clark to Hepworth-Dixon.
147 Ibid.
148 Letter Book entry, 19.5.1877, p.29. Home to Chief Clerk War Office.

Clearly the War Office's interest in the whole project had always been to secure the back door to the Suez Canal, that is to say to secure the Jordan Corridor against Russian penetration. As if to further emphasise this aspect, Home concludes his letter to the Chief Clerk by saying

> There are perhaps other reasons of a sentimental character that may perhaps be of some weight (in completing the survey) but I propose to base any recommendations on the enormous military value of a good map of the country to us. I have spoken to the D.A.G. R.E. on the subject.[149]

In the same letter book there is also a copy War Office endorsement to that letter stating, '[L]ooking to the value of the map to us I think we should be quite justified in complying with this request.'[150] The matter was put to the Secretary of State who, through his Permanent Secretary, agreed.

It is not over-dramatising the situation to say that Home as the linkman arranged the grant between the Fund and the War Office. The immense importance of the map could not be under-estimated, and on 18 June 1877 Home reported to Hepworth-Dixon

> I have the honour by direction of the Secretary of State for War to inform you that Mr. Hardy consents to aid the Palestine Exploration Fund with two Draughtsmen on the following understanding:
>
> (1) The expense ... shall not exceed £200
>
> (2) That the War Office shall be supplied with such a number of copies of the map ... as may be agreed upon when it is completed.
>
> (3) That the War Office shall be at liberty to photograph the map for immediate use and defer its publication. Compensation as may be hereafter agreed on being paid to the Palestine Exploration Fund for any delay so caused in the publication of the map.[151]

The letter continues to ask further that Hepworth-Dixon appoint someone to liase with the Secretary of State for War on the subject. Clearly from the outset the War Office had had a considerable interest in the mapping of the area, but due to the state of the PEF's funds financial assistance had at last to be provided. The PEF understood the War Office interest and

149 Ibid.
150 Ibid.
151 Letter Book entry, 18.6.1877, p.30. Home to Hepworth-Dixon.

it was for that reason that Kitchener was sent to complete the Western Survey when the Fund looked as though it was financially embarrassed. As the year 1877 progressed the Fund had taken on a bewildering array of financial commitments including the publication of works by both Conder and Ganneau. The whole pretence of begging money from the War Office in the form of a grant had been to some extent a charade as the Fund already knew that it would receive a £200 grant and possibly the charade had been designed to cover up what went on between the War Office and the Fund, and in particular the financial assistance given in early to mid-1877. Certainly, monies never passed directly through the Fund's accounts, but by the same token the Fund never paid anything for the drafting of, and the drawing up of, the map of Western Palestine. What also is clear is that Sgt. Armstrong and Cpl. Wilson drafted the Western Map from 10 July onwards and were paid for their drafting work directly by the War Office. Payment was under the control of Lieut. Col. Home and an existing letter book entry for the period states '[P]ay List of the two men will be properly vouched and signed by myself in the usual way.'[152] Payment started on 20 July 1877.[153] It would also seem from the same letter book source that the rooms where the map was drawn up were paid for by the Ordnance Survey Department and that they were furnished by the same Department. There are no recorded entries in the Journals or Minutes of the fund for payments for rent of rooms at the Royal Albert Hall. The Ordnance Survey Department at the time was under the Deputy Adjutant General of the Royal Engineers, as indeed were the men employed there and Major Brophy of the Royal Engineers supervised their payment and work done directly. Conder was, of course, also seconded to the same work. To some extent the drafting of the Western Map was now out of the hands of the Committee of the Fund as indeed was its publication. By February 1878 the funds of PEF had reached £233.11s.9d. (£233.58) and the committee was considering the report of Lieut. Kitchener.[154] They must have been well aware that Kitchener had also reported directly to Col. Home at the War Office.

From 1876 onwards Wilson was assigned to other duties by the War Office and he took a less prominent part in the Fund's activities although he was to return some years later to eventually become Chairman. Captain Anderson, in the absence of Warren, appeared to be the more prominent officer during the period of the drafting of the Western Map. By now the publication of the map was on a deadline which was scheduled for 31 March 1878, and on 19 February 1878 the committee heard from Captain Anderson that publication may well take place at government expense. Although the committee were not paying the military officers involved in the drafting work and although in reality the committee had little control over the drafting work which was by now in the hands of the Royal Engineers, the committee was still

152 Letter Book entry for pay and expenses, 1877.
153 Letter Book entry, p.32, Home to Hepworth-Dixon, 18.6.1877.
154 PEF/MINS, 18.2.1878.

asked to agree formally to increase Lieut. Kitchener's pay on 18 February 1878[155] and then asked to assign him to assisting Conder in completing the Western Survey. Conder, at the time, was requesting more time for the completion of the survey work. By 19 March 1878 the committee were being approached again by Captain Anderson on behalf of Lieut. Col. Home to see whether or not they would agree to further War Office involvement in the publication of the Great Map. Effectively the committee had handed over control of the entire publication process to the War Office at the War Office's discretion. At the same time the committee received a report from Kitchener and was shown control sheets of the new map. As the months progressed it became increasingly clear that the conduit of information between the War Office and the committee was Anderson and that publication was now completely in the hands of the War Office. The committee, realising that publication was delayed, suggested that compensation was appropriate as from 5 March 1878.[156] At this point a meeting of a small group within the committee of the Fund was convened under Hepworth-Dixon and included Anderson, Crace, Vaux and Canon Tristram. They realised the War Office's dependency upon the Fund and demanded some £3,000 towards the Fund's finances as a result of the delays in the publication of the Western Map. The committee too, possibly realised their impotence in that though they considered that they still had control of the Western Map they must have realised that control was effectively in the hands of the government. The Minute Book entry for the period reads

> The Committee resolves that whilst expressing their willingness to assist the Government to the utmost they cannot part with absolute control of the maps then executed until the question of the compensation has been considered in accordance with the terms expressed in the correspondence of 5 June and 11 June 1877.[157]

Correspondence commenced between the Fund and the War Office, correspondence which shows the interconnection between the Fund and the Intelligence Department. It is correspondence dated 12 March 1878 that shows that the Fund's Secretary's son, Captain Grove, a member of the Royal Engineers Intelligence Department, together with Colonel Home had agreed that the Intelligence Department should complete the Map of Western Palestine, photograph it, zincograph it, and produce appropriate printing plates. The PEF was to be given the zinc plates once they had been produced on payment of the cost of the zinc.[158] In short, the Fund was to be given a free set of printing plates of the Western Map, but the Intelligence Department obtained the vital first copies for their use.

---

155 PEF/MINS, 5.3.1878.
156 Ibid.
157 PEF/MINS, 2.4.1878.
158 PEF/MINS, 12.3.1878.

By the middle of 1878 the government had responded to PEF's concerns regarding the publication of the Great Map and proposals from Colonel Home were agreed by the committee. Although the proposals were not spelt out in detail in the Minutes of the Executive Committee, it would seem that Morrison, Anderson, Gallisher, and Grove all agreed to the delay in publication and to the government's use of the map and the survey information in the intervening period.[159] The type and nature of the maps published was also the subject of debate by the committee. Eventually it was decided that one edition of a three-eighth of an inch to the mile scale map should be published, at the cost of around £120 for the whole edition, and publication was to be delayed. The committee were at pains to thank Kitchener for his work and acknowledge his contribution in a printed report made by Kitchener and to be appended to the map when published. Indeed Kitchener was a vital link in the whole of the production of the full Western Map. His plans and drawings were handed through to the War Office who perused them before they were sent through to the committee.[160] What the committee received was what was released by Col. Home after he had scrutinised Kitchener's drafts. By now the work of the PEF and the work of the Intelligence Department were getting increasingly intertwined, and by 30 April 1878 the committee was becoming slightly alarmed at the overlap between the two. On 30 April 1878, on behalf of the Fund, Hepworth-Dixon wrote to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Royal Engineers stating

> These Non-Commissioned Officers (drafting the map) are actually engaged on work which is really for the use of the Government under an arrangement specifically made with the Secretary of State for War viz:- the drawing of a map of Western Palestine which the Intelligence Department are about to photograph and to use is necessary for the purposes of the War Department. The work on which these men are now employed is the reduction of the larger map in 26 sheets to the smaller or a map which is necessary for field work and for other purposes.[161]

Belatedly the PEF executive had realised their dependency on the War office. The £3,000 they had demanded had never been forthcoming and the increasing dependence of the Fund on the War Office was becoming more and more obvious. The War Office now were considering reducing and withdrawing staff from the fund. The period of the loan of the draughtsmen was coming to an end, and the PEF, with low funds and no fully completed Western Map, were looking at their eventual dissolution if they did not get the finished zincograph plates from which to print. The Balkan Crisis of 1876-78 was moving to a close, and the Congress of Berlin was due to take place. Peace did not favour the Fund, for peace

159 PEF/MINS, 2.4.1878.
160 PEF/MINS, 30.4.1878.
161 Ibid.

removed the urgency to obtain the Western map. In order to secure the Fund's place as originators of the Survey that the PEF had to take immediate action.

Mindful of this danger the committee were at great pains on 28 May 1878 to resolve that any work published by either Lieut. Kitchener or the Board of Works should bear the inscription at the top of each sheet - 'PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND MAP' - and at the bottom - 'SURVEYED AND DRAWN UNDER THE DIRECTION OF LIEUTENANTS CONDER AND KITCHENER R.E.'[162] At the same time the committee entered into negotiations with Lieut. General Cameron, Director of Ordnance Survey at Southampton, regarding the printing of the Western Map. A photographic process was to be used for reproducing the Western Map and the Board of Works authority was to be sought for the use of photographic reproductions. The printing work appears to have been negotiated by a combination of the Executive Committee and Kitchener on the terms that it had been extraordinarily good, namely £2.15s. to £3 for each 100 sheets printed. Some 500 copies were therefore proposed. At the same time both Lieut. General Cameron, Colonel Home and Captain Claude Conder were all made members of the General Committee of the Fund.

The Western Survey was reaching an end. On 11 September 1878 the survey equipment was returned to Ordnance Survey stores and later the Fund was asked to pay £11.3s.4d (£11.17) for equipment left in Jerusalem in 1877.[163] Kitchener was removed from the work of the Exploration Fund and on 10 September 1878 the committee received notice that he was to take charge of a survey of Cyprus. It was therefore with the committee's thanks to Kitchener for the excellent way in which he had conducted his survey work that the committee parted company with him. It is clear from the private correspondence of Wilson in particular that Kitchener was regarded as far superior a surveyor and observer of the Western Palestine area than Conder ever had been. Wilson in particular had been much taken by Kitchener's work seeing Kitchener as a man with promise.[164] As a result Wilson arranged for Kitchener to lecture to the British Association with regard to some of his earlier finds and work. Wilson had found Kitchener's work far more accurate than Conder's. 'My great complaint has always been that though Conder has spent much of his time in Jerusalem and had trained surveyors there, he has added absolutely nothing to the maps.'[165] Wilson was in the habit of disparagingly referring to Conder's work as 'Condonian Ideas'. On the other hand, however, the committee had always valued the work of Sergeant Armstrong, a feature which comes up strongly in the committee's discussions about the publication of the Western Map. By the end of 1878 the committee were well on the way to deciding about the form of publication of the

162 PEF/MINS, 14.5.1878.
163 PRO/OS.1.1.17, DG of Ordnance Survey to Hepworth-Dixon, 11.9.1878.
164 PEF/WIL/7 and PEF/WIL/8.
165 PEF/WIL/1/14. Letters, Wilson to Besant.

memoirs of Western Palestine. These were to be published without War Office support as they were the committee's academic assessment of the work in the Holy Land area. Estimates for the publication of the Western Map and the Memoirs of the Western Survey were obtained, these indicated that the overall cost with maps would be about £2,500 and the sale price of the work would be 10 guineas (£10.50) to members and 15 guineas (£15.75) to the general public. The publishing of the Western Survey was therefore to be a major publishing undertaking by the Fund and despite the fact that the Fund had no longer paid either the surveying party in the Holy Land or any expenses arising from the Survey of Western Palestine - the undertaking was to be an extremely onerous one from a financial standpoint.

Work on publication commenced in early December 1878 with the commissioning by the Fund of the drafting of sketches and plans by Edward Rainford at a cost of some £340 and arrangements were made with Clermont-Ganneau, still retained by the Fund to do archaeological research, and for him to prepare papers to go in the survey volumes. It is significant that it was at this time that the Fund Executive took the decision to float the Fund as a limited company and to draft Articles of Association for that purpose. The Fund's accounts contained some £571.2s.6d (£571.13), not enough to meet the cost of publication, but more to the point the Fund had lost the backing of the War Office. The War Office had little interest in the publication of the Memoirs of the Western Survey and the only way in which the Fund's Executive Committee could protect itself from the possibility of the Fund collapsing under the financial strain of the publication of the Survey was by the Fund being floated as a company.[166] Secondly the Fund had now ceased mapping for the War Office and there was now no reason why its accounts could not be in the public domain, something that would follow from incorporation.

Incorporation was suggested by Morrison and took place under the Railway Acts in 1879. The Executive secured the copyright of the Western Map for the Fund and took possession of such notes and documents as the War Office would release. With the protection of incorporation PEF could protect its members and property far more efficiently and in any event it could protect itself from near collapse at the whim of the War Office. Its directors were the executive who were also the only shareholders. The members of the General Committee and the subscribers were neither shareholders nor directors of the company. They were those on whom PEF 'traded'. If anything the new arrangement re-inforced the gap between members and the executive.

During 1878 and 1879 PEF entered into correspondence with the APES who had taken a responsibility for mapping east of Jordan. APES had not had the quality of surveyor that had

166 PEF/MINS, 7.1.1879.

been available to PEF. Lieutenant Edgar Z. Steever, accompanied by John A. Paine, had arrived in Palestine to survey in January 1873. They had met Conder and worked in the East, the survey boundaries having been defined after some hesitation.[167] The American surveyors were never highly rated by their PEF counterparts - 'Their Arabic is infamous, I beg to draw your attention to the number of their animals, 23 baggage animals and nine horses ... you can judge how much cheaper I do the thing.'[168] They were criticised for the quality of their camping and quality of their organisation, their first expedition achieving little.[169] Their second expedition did little better. As the British Consul, Jackson Eldridge wrote to Grove, 'I agree with you that nothing can be done East of Jordan if they continue to organise their expedition as they do.'[170]

Kitchener had little time for them and despised them as unprofessional and considered he could survey the eastern area (the Hauran) better than they could. 'I should like it very much but all arrangements must be made through the committee as the government would not lend me to an American society.'[171] When in 1879 the PEF entered into correspondence with the APES to see what their survey results were, the APES sent their copy maps and plans of the east to the Fund. On arrival the PEF forwarded copies to the Intelligence Department where the document was copied and returned to the PEF via Captain Anderson. The American Society had submitted in the hope that the two plans could be united into one to produce a unified survey. The scheme appealed to Kitchener, but the American work did not. 'The American Survey, so-called, is simply an ordinary military road reconnaissance sketch but in no sense a survey as we understand that term.'[172] Kitchener's view was the one which prevailed at the War Office and accordingly neither PEF nor the War Office publicly made any use of the APES map.

On 8 May 1879 Grove resigned as Secretary to PEF. He remained, however, a member of the Editorial Committee of the Fund working on the memoirs of the Western Survey. By 1880 he had relinquished that position and was replaced by Besant. By late 1879 Wilson and Anderson had become editors of the Memoirs of the Western Survey, Wilson already being the co-editor and Anderson replacing Grove. Control of the Western Survey and its publication was now entirely in the hands of military men with Anderson, Wilson and military surveyors more or less having full control over what was produced by way of Survey Reports and Maps. Wilson had been by now posted to Ireland and was himself working on

---

167 PEF/A/EC/1, 9.7.1873 and PEF/A/EC/1, 9.9.1873.
168 PEF/WS/CON/.51, 27.11.1875.
169 APES, Fourth Statement and Selah Merrill, East of Jordan, 1881.
170 PEF/WS/120, 30.11.1876.
171 PEF/WS/KIT/38.
172 PEF/WS/KIT/68.

Irish Survey matters but he was able to keep in touch with the Fund by post and maintained a strict control over the publication and the production of the Western Survey material. Grove stated his official reason for wishing to leave the committee was pressure of work but undoubtedly he must also have been influenced by the fact that the survey work was now virtually entirely under military control. The APES map, for instance, was by 23 May 1879 being photographed by the Intelligence Department at the War Office presumably despite Kitchener's scathing comments about the quality of American map-making.[173] The possibility of a copy of any map of the East of Palestine was too good to miss and the War Office interest dictated that they should take a copy of the map. Certainly by June 1879 the American map had been returned, photographed and noted by the War office and was then returned by the Exploration Fund to America 'the original maps and sketches uninjured'. Both the War Office and the Fund seem by now to have had it in mind that the Survey of Eastern Palestine was necessary and the American sketch map was perforce a useful starting point. The Survey Memoirs were to suffer further disruption in 1879 when Wilson resigned as editor and a further editor had to be found. The new editor was to be Professor Palmer, and he and Anderson jointly co-edited the volumes that were later to appear.

From 1869 to 1871 the PEF employed Warren to do mainly survey work and reconnaissance work in the Holy Land, and in that period Warren did virtually no excavational work. He had previously worked on excavations but those had been of limited value and had mainly consisted of military mining. Warren's real contribution was to lay a foundation for the subsequent map work of Conder and Kitchener and to carry out a topographical survey. When the Fund did need an archaeologist it retained Ganneau, a known French archaeologist, to work for them and did not rely too much on Warren's work. Warren's main archaeological contribution in this period was his involvement with the Moabite Stone, a matter concerned less with archaeology and more with the politics of European Middle Eastern influence.

During this period (1869 to 1871) the PEF was never particularly well off. They could not, for instance, raise the funds to buy the Moabite Stone, a fact that must have been known to the Royal Engineers and Wilson. However, Warren was retained in Palestine despite the questionable finance of the PEF. The period covers the height of French power and prestige, the opening of the Suez Canal and the decline of French power after the Franco-Prussian War when French pride was severely attacked after Sedan. Warren's presence acted to show official British interest in the land, observe other European activity and protect imperial interests. Symbolically (as with the Moabite Stone) and actually (by surveying and reconnaissance work), Ganneau represented PEF's archaeological interests.

---

173 PEF/MINS, 2.6.1879.

During the period 1870-71 Wilson was both instigating changes at the Topography Department and establishing himself there as a leading departmental member. Those reforms were instigated not to benefit PEF but to advance Wilson's career. Any advantage to PEF was accidental and any benefit given by PEF to the Topographical Department was fortuitous. Such benefits did accrue largely by accident through Wilson's connections. The departments of Statistics and Topography were separated from Ordnance Survey and no longer submitted reports and accounts to Parliament. It became easier to conceal the Department's contacts from public scrutiny. The nature of the PEF and the way it worked reinforced that, and through Wilson the PEF struck up a relationship with the Intelligence Department. Limited money was available and none to help the PEF but Wilson, Sir Henry James and others could call on reserves of goodwill.

The Western Survey was born of a very real desire by Fund members and subscribers, including Wilson, to map the Holy Land. It came of an idealistic imperial religious wish to possess the land for the British Empire, to symbolise the achievements of the world's greatest Protestant Christian empire. It also came from a very real need for Britain to map the Jordan Valley to protect both Suez and India against both France and Russia. Planning commenced in 1871 and by mid-1871 discussions on dividing up the work of mapping with the newly formed APES was well under way. The APES had little experience of Palestine exploration and America had no strategic interests in the area that suited the British who were only too glad to place a relatively neutral party in the area to block any French or Prussian ambitions to the East. Britain took the task of mapping Western Palestine, the most strategically significant area and from 1872 to 1877 pressed on with that task with only one break following the Safed incident.

Throughout this period the Committee of the PEF found itself more and more reduced to the creature of the intelligence departments of the War Office as the need for the map grew greater and greater. After 1875 and the purchase of the Suez Canal shares that need became urgent. The British Empire was now on the political agenda; both Liberals and Conservatives discussed it, Disraeli spoke of it on 3 April 1872 in Manchester and 24 June 1872 at Crystal Palace. It was seen as part of Britain's destiny by those advancing the ideal. The expedition led by Conder was part of that ideal. With the death of Tyrwhitt-Drake, Kitchener was seconded to the expedition and he gradually took command until he replaced Conder as party leader. Kitchener was significant in a number of ways; firstly for his mapping skills which were good, secondly for his relationship with Wilson, and thirdly because his appointment represented the complete military control of the PEF. Kitchener was a very able surveyor. He surveyed impartially, made no pretence of biblical scholarship, and did not involve himself in local affairs. Conder was rather different. He frequently attempted to identify biblical sites, he entered into local disputes with Ganneau over site identification, and became a partisan supporter of Shapira in the matter of the Shapira forgeries. Kitchener did not contradict

archaeological and religious views held by committee members such as Wilson, Grove or Morrison. Unlike Warren he did not enter the Temple or Tomb controversy, nor did he express views on site authenticity. He reported directly to Wilson giving good quality observations. He worked efficiently and cheaply at a time when the military were funding the PEF.

By the time Kitchener was appointed the PEF was in dire financial trouble and that reached a head in 1876 just before the Safed incident. The map of Western Palestine was becoming more and more urgent, and the PEF was failing as a vehicle for obtaining that document. Should PEF fail the cover afforded to the map makers would have gone and hence PEF's importance. Kitchener saw that and when in 1877 he took over the survey he worked at speed and as cheaply as possible. Finally it became that PEF was about to collapse and could not afford to fund the drafting of the Western Map or its publication. At this point the military men had to intervene directly, fund the work and produce the map in time for any possible emergency during the Turko-Russian War. Internal correspondence in 1878 makes the War office interest quite clear, and PEF's attempts to negotiate with them failed. They had to take the War Office offer.

By 1879 the Western Survey had been completed and the military maps published, the Intelligence Department funding ceased. The PEF still had to publish the results of the Western Survey, very much at its own expense, using what little help it obtained from military sources. The publication of the Western Map had been delayed for a year at War Office request. Throughout the whole period most of the assistance to PEF came not as monetary help but as help in kind. The sole exception to this appears to be the War Office grant for the completion of the Western Palestine map. The use of men, often the best men, in surveying, use of equipment and drawing and tracing paper, the supply of stores from Cyprus to survey parties, all constituted hidden subsidy. PEF did make up the overseas allowance on pay for soldiers and officers and did pay for native labour and other sundries, but the amount paid nowhere near covered the expenses that the survey must have incurred. The PEF's hand to mouth existence was known to all concerned. The men in Palestine continued to work despite pay arrears. Why did they continue? The answer is clear that by the mid-1870s the PEF was an arm of the War Office and the map was a military imperative.

The PEF had strayed some distance from its roots. When it returned to civilian control in 1879 incorporation was the first action the Fund took to protect its contributors and executive. The military safety net had been taken away. This was not, however, the end of PEF's military links. They would continue for some time and PEF were to be linked to both imperial and military aspirations for some years to come. In all the above, however, we must not lose sight of three things. Firstly that the vast majority of PEF's membership only vaguely

understood the military link. The vast bulk of subscribers are unlikely to have contributed to help keep the Suez Canal and Indian Ocean British. They contributed because they truly wanted to increase Bible knowledge. Similarly, the bulk if not all the committee were equally interested in the Bible and its history. The Royal Engineers' surveys were a way of extending that knowledge. Secondly, the climate of the times linked empire, religion and Britain. The fact that the British Empire benefited from the PEF would have been more a matter of pride than concern. Thirdly, it was only because of the War Office and the Royal Engineers that the PEF continued to exist at all after 1867 and but for them the Western Survey would have had to be abandoned at an early stage for lack of finance.

CHAPTER 5
NEW HORIZONS: THE EASTERN SURVEY AND THE LOSS OF PALMER

As we have already noted, the PEF and the APES agreed in 1872 to divide the survey of Palestine between them. The APES produced the sketch map of the east of Jordan that was dismissed by Kitchener in 1878; the PEF produced the western Map which was completed by 1880 and by 1884 the five volumes of memoirs of the Western Survey.[1] Although the two organisations had an agreement over areas of exploration, they were quite independent with a minimum of overlap and no joint organisation. APES was, if anything, better funded and not subject to imperial military needs, but lacked the experienced high quality survey staff that PEF had been loaned. The two surveys had proceeded on uncoordinated courses save for the exchange of formal correspondence and when the results of APES work reached PEF it did not reach British military requirements. Steever's work for APES had cost $10,000 and did not reach British standards.[2] With Wilson and Kitchener dismissing Steever's work and the War Office failing to find it satisfactory, a new survey was proposed this time of the east and to be completed by Conder with the assistance of Lieutenant Mantell. The area east of Jordan was becoming strategically more important. For centuries it had been only thinly populated and virtually outside Turkish rule. It was largely a desert area which was notable only for the fact that the annual Haj pilgrimage to Mecca passed through it. Its settlements were small and its population partly nomadic. Things were, however, changing. The Turks were, by the early 1880s, starting to exercise far more control over the eastern area and had improved communications with it. With the communication came improved Turkish military control. New populations moved into the area, and with the new population came a disruption of the old tribal structure. A map of the east was now needed just as urgently as one had been of the west of Palestine.

From 1880 onwards the PEF began to plan an Eastern Survey. From 1881 to 1882 the survey commenced, but it stopped short when problems arose firstly with the Turks and secondly with an Arab revolt simmering in Egypt. That Arab revolt boiled over in 1881 in Egypt under the leadership of Urabi Pasha, an Egyptian army officer who asserted Egypt's right to reject both the interference of the European powers in Egypt's affairs and their control of much of Egypt's government. Immediately Urabi Pasha's revolt put the Suez Canal at risk, and Britain acted to defend her interests. It was during the revolt that the British found it vital to secure the passive support of the desert tribes who occupied Sinai and to negotiate with them and bribe them. Professor Palmer was sent into the desert to visit Bedouin chiefs and, with his

1 Charles M. Watson ed., Palestine Exploration Fund: Fifty year's work in the Holy Land, pp.75-8.
2 Neil Asher Silberman, Digging for God and Country, pp.117-9.

military escort, disrupt communications. Palmer did not return, but his remains were found in a waddy in Sinai. Palmer had been a long-standing PEF associate and his death threw the link between PEF and Palmer into relief, publicly exposing the connection of the PEF and the intelligence services.

By 1880 PEF was financially solvent, with around £1,243.3s.11d. (£1,243.19) in its accounts.[3] The end of the Western Survey, the sale of some books and the publicity surrounding the end of the Western Survey had all caused the Fund's bank balance to rise. The Fund had by now lost Grove and Holland as Honorary Secretaries and Besant was virtually in charge of all administration, whilst James Glaisher had replaced Hepworth-Dixon as Chairman. In 1880 the PEF had no major expedition in the east and the main source of original material was Professor Palmer, once again in the east and travelling largely on government business and reporting such finds as came his way and any material of interest to the PEF.[4] Palmer's work could not amount to more than geographical and archaeological tit-bits with respect to monuments and texts that he saw. His work was principally government work. His interest was language and not mapping. Palmer's work and reports could never be enough to supplement the American map so vilified by Kitchener; not did it provide the information required by the topographical department.

In November 1880 The Executive Committee agreed to set up a sub-committee to consider a proposal that a survey take place of the lands on the east of the Jordan. The sub-committee was given four days in which to report and its members were not named[5] but the presence of Warren, now a colonel, and Major Anderson on the executive committee points to military interest in the outcome of the discussions, and the short discussion period of four days again points to an already pre-agreed time timetable for an Eastern Survey. The need to map the east was partly driven by a dissatisfaction with the American map, partly by the government's need to know what lay east of the Jordan valley, and partly by intellectual curiosity.

The area was one which was hitherto virtually untouched by British or indeed by any Western European explorers, but it was an area which by now had been attracting the attention of Germany. Additionally Turkey was beginning to show an interest in the area and was attempting to pacify it and impose Turkish administration upon it. The area east of Jordan had been for centuries largely uninhabited, and its main feature, apart from its physical features, had been the existence within it of the Haj route to Mecca from Damascus, that is to say the

3 PEF/MINS, November 1880.
4 PEF/MINS, 2.11.1880.
5 Ibid and PEF/MINS, 6.11.1880.

traditional overland road for Mohammedan pilgrims to progress on their way to Mecca. By 1880 the Haj roads had largely ceased to be used with the advent of steamships which now ploughed the route between Alexandria, Beirut, and Constantinople and the Arabian peninsula. It was now possible to approach Mecca and Medina by a much shorter, safer, and quicker route using steamboat rather than by physically walking from Damascus, Alexandria, or Jerusalem across the Eastern Desert. When in the late 1870s Richard Burton had made the Haj journey disguised as a Moslem trader he realised that he would be walking one of the last Haj walks to Mecca. Significantly Burton returned from his Haj by steamship up the Suez Canal to Alexandria.[6]

There was now a number of conflicting interests in the East Jordan area. Firstly there was the interest of the Turkish government who were attempting to control the area and settle their unwanted populations of Arab Christians in it. Secondly, the German and Turkish interest in the area involved the construction of a railway line. The Hajaz Railway when constructed was to run to near Medina with a spur off for Jerusalem. The line served two purposes. Firstly it allowed the Turkish government to have better access to the area in order to control the population. The rule of the once-mighty sheikhs of the area was to be curtailed by Turkish railways bringing Turkish troops into the area at speed if necessary. Secondly, the line allowed better access to the area for the Turkish civilian population and for Moslems wishing to make the Haj journey. In addition the railway guaranteed food supplies to the area and removed its isolation to an extent that made settlement east of Jordan a real possibility. Following Gladstone's reaction to the 'Balkan Atrocities' his government had abandoned the traditional British support of the Ottoman government. Though subsequent governments were on occasions to try and reverse this lack of support, the Germans had by then stepped in and the imperial German government offered not just support but also material help to the Ottomans. From the 1880s Germans became the preferred builders of the Hajaz railway. Palestine came into existence in the late 1880s and the Germans began to show obvious interest in not only the construction of the railway but also surveying and excavating the area as a prelude to that construction. British foreign policy was dominated by worries over Egypt; in 1881 the Mahdi Rebellion had broken out in Sudan, and by 1882 Britain had been forced to occupy Egypt, taking over the Egyptian government and placing a British agent in Egypt to advise the Khedive on both foreign and domestic policy. Whilst British imperial policy centred upon the guarding of the routes and access to the Suez Canal German foreign policy was starting to concentrate upon acquiring sufficient railway access to enable it to challenge British eastern supremacy. From all points of view therefore the mapping of the area was imperative.

6 Sir Richard F. Burton (1821-1890), British diplomat, traveller and linguist.

All these reasons lay behind the recommendations to a General Committee of the PEF on 23 November 1880 that

> It is now desirable to undertake without delay the survey of Eastern Palestine under conditions similar to those which proved to have been thoroughly successful in the case of Western Palestine.[7]

As the western area opened up it also had become clear that it could contain archaeological evidence of significance to biblical scholars. The prospects of biblical discoveries was further reason for the Fund's interest in the Eastern Survey. Again it was more a question of the Fund's interests and the interests of the government coinciding rather than the Fund being a mere marionette for the government's will. There can be little doubt, however, that in the atmosphere of heightening imperial expectations, the Fund did not object to assisting in the development of British imperial interests. By mid-December 1880 the Fund had written to the War Office asking for officers and men of the Royal Engineers to take part in an Eastern Survey.[8] The proposal was that the east of Jordan should be defined as the Land of Bashan, that is to say the table land south of Mount Herman to Gilead and thence to the Yarmuk River. Bashan itself was further sub-divided. The area was also to include Gilead to the River Arnon and Moab to Kir Haraseth.[9] To survey this area the committee requested the assistance of Royal Engineers and in particular asked for Conder to take charge of the expedition. A sub-committee was to organise the work and that sub-committee was to consist of Morrison, Warren and Glaisher, the then Chairmen of the Fund.[10]

It was also decided that an archaeological exploration under Conrad Schick should run alongside the Eastern Survey. Schick was by now approaching his sixtieth year. Born 1822 in Bitz in Switzerland and trained as a missionary, he was later a member of a Bruderhaus in Jerusalem and the Jerusalem agent of the London Jews' Society. Schick and Wilson had formed a strong friendship during the latter's 1864-65 and 1865-66 surveys when Wilson found Schick's local knowledge which was invaluable.[11] Schick was also an amateur archaeologist and a contributor to the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (PEFQS). With the disappearance of Ganneau from Jerusalem in the 1870s Schick became the Fund's preferred archaeologist. As a German-speaking Swiss he had an entry to sites and places that would have been denied to British or French archaeologists. The eastern area was

---

7 PEF/MINS, 23.11.1880.
8 PEF/MINS, 14.12.1880 and PEFQS 1880, pp.26-33.
9 See PEFQS 1880, pp.28-9 for a full breakdown of the area defined. See also Watson, PEF: Fifty years ..., pp.81-4.
10 PEF/MINS, 14.12.1880.
11 PEFQS 1901, pp.139-42 for his obituary.

becoming dominated by Germany wishing now to emphasise her imperial credentials and British army officers would have been regarded with suspicion. Schick's presence did not raise that fear either in the Germans or the Turks and he was a perfect choice for a Fund archaeologist. In the event Schick seems to have had no intelligence connection but with the PEF's intelligence links his work was always open for intelligence scrutiny.

The committee of the Fund therefore saw the value of Schick operating alongside Conder. The Fund, however, wanted more than that. They suggested Schick should attempt a full archaeological survey including work in Jerusalem. Their recommendations for his work included exploring the Ophel area of Jerusalem in order to find King David's Tomb in addition to working in the east. Some of these ideas reflected the PEF's need for a 'big' discovery. Some were impractical and some reflect an almost stagnant thinking by those controlling the Fund.

At this point the Fund's bank balance stood at a healthy £1,212 and it was proposed also to issue a pamphlet from the Holy Land for the benefit of travellers. By 21 December a request for two officers had been forwarded to the War Office and a full reply was awaited but anticipated favourably.

On 4 January 1881 the committee took the decision not to publish the American Map of eastern Palestine but merely to supply, free of charge, fifty copies of it to the American Society. By February 1881 the Fund had received informal word from the War Office that a formal application should be made to it for the secondment of two engineering officers plus men to undertake the work of surveying eastern Palestine. They had resolved already to approach Conder once more and so on 10 February 1881 Besant wrote to Conder asking him if he would consent to working for the Fund again.[12] The proposed party was to consist of two officers, and two non-commissioned officers or pensioners of the Royal Engineers and an 'Arabic scribe'. The party was to leave England as early as possible and the command of the party was offered to Conder, the terms being subject to the approval and consent of the War Office and, of course, to Conder's acceptance of the post. Remuneration was to be at the rate of £35.7s.10d. (£35.39) a month to be paid monthly into Conder's personal account at Messrs. Cox & Co. and was to include regimental and all extra pay. An assurance was given that all travelling expenses and service expenses would be met by the Fund save that the Fund would not meet private and personal expenditure. If during the period that he was engaged upon this work Conder should be lucky enough to obtain promotion to the rank of captain, an increase of some £6 in pay was also agreed. Conder was asked to excavate where possible, but the major objective of the Fund was stressed to be the completion of the Survey. Conder was strictly

12 PEF/MINS, 21.12.1880; 4.1.1881; 10.2.1881; 15.2.1881.

enjoined not to communicate any of his finds to any newspapers or 'private person' without the prior consent of the committee and the engagement was to be for 18 months unless the health of the party gave way. Conder's personal attention to detail was stressed, as was the Fund's right to any materials Conder uncovered during his service with the PEF. The Fund's offer was accepted by Conder on 12 February 1881 subject to the approval of the War Office.[13] The surveying equipment used for the Western Survey had been returned to the Ordnance Survey in 1878 and returned to stores.[14] New equipment was applied for, but the Ordnance Survey could not spare it. Instead the Fund was thrown onto its own resources and the equipment had to be provided from other sources.[15] The estimated cost of the work was £3,000 per year to be raised by 'the English-speaking people'.[16]

Conder himself was under no illusions as to the problems he would face. The countryside involved was mountainous and hostile. The Arab tribes were in a state of insurrection against the Europeans. In the northern part of the Bashan area the revolt was particularly severe and was fanned by a religious fundamentalism that was surging through the Moslem world. To the south things were calmer and rather more settled, but the European traveller could not move around in perfect safety. The Arab tribesmen tended to be armed and though the party was a military one, the hope of rescue in the event of trouble rested on the Turks; the party would be beyond European help.[17]

Conder warned the committee of the problems he might experience surveying on the east of the Jordan and pointed out in his acceptance letter that work on the east could be very different to work on the western side. Having only anecdotal evidence from Schick and Ganneau the Fund Committee were unlikely to have heeded Conder's warning and as the committee relied very heavily upon the views of Professor Palmer, Conder's views were largely ignored. Nor would Conder accept Palmer's criticism that in earlier surveys he (Conder) had relied too heavily upon the work of his non-commissioned officers. In any event Conder was accepted by the Fund and some £200 were voted to him on 8 March 1881 as a basic sum for provisioning the expedition. By 5 April Conder had arrived in the Holy Land accompanied by Sergeants Black and Armstrong as his NCOs. Conder took with him a second commissioned officer, Lieut. Mantell, and the pair commenced work. Meanwhile, back at the Fund work continued with preparing for the publication of the Western Survey. By June 1881 the survey party were still in the area of eastern Palestine. Significantly, the Fund does not

13 PEF/MINS, 15.2.1881.
14 PRO/OS.1.17/1 Director of Ordnance Survey to Hepworth-Dixon, 11.9.1878 and 19.12.1879,
15 PRO/OS.1.17/1, Memorandum 10.2.1881 from Director, Ordnance Survey.
16 See PEFQS 1880, p.33.
17 Watson, PEF: Fifty years ...., pp.82-5.

seem to have made any payments to either Lieutenants Mantell or Conder or any of the men after the party left England in late March 1881. Up to July 1881 the only recorded payment made to the survey party was the sum of £200 by way of expenditure and provisioning. Presumably that £200 was merely to cover the cost of the journey and the cost of equipment, nothing more. It would seem, therefore, that in view of the fact that there were no protests from Conder about the lack of payment, that payments and salary were in fact being received from the War Office. This to some extent is corroborated by the fact that even in July 1881 the Fund's bank account was some £927 in credit. Had the survey party been receiving the rest of their salaries from the Fund the outgoing expenditure could have been expected to be somewhere in the region of £90-£100 a month and there would have been a dramatic fall in the bank balance of the Fund. As it was, the fall of some £300 from when the survey party first left Britain can probably be accounted for by the ordinary administration costs of the PEF.

By July 1881 Conder was ready to commence surveying on the eastern side of the Jordan. Between March and July he had spent his time in Orontees and at Baalbeck, looking at surrounding sites and examining them. When in July 1881 Conder announced his intention to cross the Jordan and commence surveying he did not have a firman from the Turkish authorities. The committee's reaction to Conder's request for a firman is unusual; they did not immediately request one but rather set up a sub-committee consisting of Anderson, Holland, Hayter Lewis and Warren to decide whether or not a firman was necessary and whether they should consider obtaining one.[18] Conder was left in the difficult position that he had to justify his actions in surveying, and surveying presumably would be a very obvious activity, and he had to justify it on the basis of an old firman granted to the Fund in the 1870s. The state of the eastern part of the country was not good. When Conder crossed the mountains at Homs the countryside was unsettled and the Arab population were in revolt against the Turkish government, partly because of the changes the Turkish government intended to bring about in the area and partly because of the Turkish government's increased activity in the attempts to control the local Arab Bedouin population. Conder's problems were compounded by the fact that prior to commencing work he had met the Governor of Syria and had been forbidden to explore by the governor acting on the orders of Constantinople. Conder tried to by-pass this by moving east and south 'to get as far from the central authorities as we could'[19] but telegraphic confirmation defeated him and it was only with local Christian help that they set up camp at Heshbon only to be stopped again by the telegraph. Using local tribes Conder tried to evade the Turks, but to no avail. The tribes informed Damascus and again using Christian help the explorers had to hide from the Turkish troops.

18 PEF/MINS, 6.7.1881.
19 See PEFQS 1880, p.33 et sq. and PEFQS 1882, p.250 et seq.

Matters were not helped by the actions of the Committee of the PEF. A committee meeting took place on 2 August 1881 where again the request for a firman was considered.[20] Again the committee's action is significant. No request was advanced to the Turkish authorities, but rather a request was '[L]aid before Colonel Sir Charles Wilson'.[21] Clearly at this stage the committee was still concerned as to the reaction of the Turkish authorities should a firman be requested, not least because the zone in which Conder wished to work was a sensitive zone and because of the proposed German railway involvement. The problem for Conder was, of course, that without a firman he had no protection against the natives who lived in Eastern Palestine and without a firman he could not request Turkish protection from the local Turkish garrison commanders. On 2 August 1881 the committee, after deliberation, resolved

> [T]hat instructions be issued to Lieut. Conder that the committee do not wish at the present to conduct explorations in Jerusalem or any portion of the country that has already been surveyed. If he fails to carry on the survey East of the Jordan for which special purpose the expedition was sent out, they desire him at once to continue the survey south of ... Bersheba and explore the Negev.'

The reason is clear. Conder had run into problems east of the Jordan because of the unsettled state of the country and opposition from the Turkish authorities, and the Fund knew that no firman would be forthcoming and did not seek to obtain it on the advice of Wilson and other persons from the War Office. The Fund desired to get a full map of the area and presumably so too did the War Office. If the survey could not be carried out at one point then it had to be carried out at another. In fact Conder had only managed to obtain the triangulation of some 500 square miles of the area when trouble at Es-Salt had prevented him proceeding any further with his survey and he was forced to return to Jerusalem. The Governor of Es-Salt would not assist Conder in any way whatsoever; he was intractable, and as a result of his lack of co-operation Conder was forced to abandon the survey and return.

Politically, Britain did not want to flex its muscles at this time. The visit of the two princes, Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, to the Holy Land was pending. The two were to be conducted round the Holy Sites of Jerusalem and of Western Palestine by the Revd. Dalton and the princes were in particular to visit the politically and religiously sensitive sites of Machpelah at Hebron and the Temple Mount.[22] Wilson had also gone out to Jerusalem to assist in conducting the princes. Dalton, Wilson, and Conder were senior and well known members of the Fund and all of them had been selected for the task of taking the Queen's

---

20 PEFQS 1882, p.250 et seq.
21 PEF/MINS, 2.8.1881.
22 See Report at PEFQS 1882 p.193 et seq. and subsequent entries in same volume.

grandchildren around the sites. A confrontation with the authorities with regard to surveying east of the Jordan would not have been politically or from a publicity point of view a particularly good thing. The survey was abandoned and the abandonment of the Eastern Survey does demonstrate the close linkage between the War Office, the Intelligence Corps, and the Fund and the fact that this survey like its predecessor, the Western Survey, was not an independent survey run by the Fund but the work of the War Office who designed and paid for the survey. The PEF appear to have accommodated the War Office needs, an accommodation that can best be seen in its accounts, for there are no entries regarding payments to Conder or the granting to him of any subsequent expenses other than his initial £200. Conder's formal order to withdraw from the Eastern Survey was given on 15 November 1881 and was reported to have taken place at the request of the Turkish authorities.[23] By 6 December 1881 Mantell had been withdrawn from Palestine and Conder alone was left. Conder sought the permission of the Fund to carry out an investigation so far as he could into the Haram. The committee still hoped that they might receive a replacement for Mantell in Jerusalem but that was not to be. The El-Urabi Revolt was pending in Egypt and Conder, as a seasoned and experienced and senior Intelligence Officer, was needed by the Royal Engineers in Egypt. Conder was diverted to Egypt and to take part in dealing with the intelligence work that surrounded the problems there.[24] Palestine and its surveys took a much lower priority.

Glaisher put the whole matter again before the committee in January 1882 when the fate of the Eastern Survey hung in the balance. The significant part of Glaisher's report to the committee comes in its final paragraph which was in fact prepared on the advice of Professor Palmer:

> The sub-committee (dealing with the matter) recommend the Executive Committee to instruct Captain Conder to go down to the south of the Dead Sea with as small a party as possible to get among the Beni-Hanidh Arabs and without mentioning his intention to the Turkish Authorities to continue a survey in the Kerak District, it being clearly understood that if this plan should prove impractical the party should definitely withdraw.[25]

We should remember that Palmer was a British agent and that his interests were in preventing an uprising amongst the desert tribes, particularly those in the Sinai region and along the banks of the Suez Canal. Warren was an intelligence officer closely connected with both Wilson and Palmer and, of course, with Conder. The area around Kerak was sensitive

23 PEF/MINS, 15.11.1881.
24 PEF/MINS, 6.12.1881.
25 PEF/MINS, 17.1.1882.

and important to British Suez and Middle Eastern interests. Egypt was in turmoil and so too was Sudan. Southern Palestine, Sinai and the Negev were vitally important for two reasons, firstly they represented the eastern border of Suez and, secondly, if they fell to the Egyptian uprising the Canal, and the whole of the Levant, would not be safe.

The problems of the Canal centred upon the security of Egypt. Before the Canal opened there were overland routes to India including the Suez-Red Sea route, the Euphrates Valley route, and one over the north Syrian desert. British policy centred upon preventing Russian influence entering the Mediterranean and keeping Russia from controlling the Black Sea straights and also curtailing French influence in the Levant, thereby preventing France dominating the Syrian and the Euphrates routes to India. The British policy was, therefore, to guard approaches to the Levant and Egypt rather than to occupy the countries in question. Egypt was seen as a key part of this policy and an independent Egypt suited British interests. When, in 1854, de Lesseps obtained the concession to cut the Suez Canal the British government seriously misjudged the long-term political and strategic importance of the Canal until the mid-1860s. When the Canal was opened it was not initially successful, but as it became so, its importance became clear. After 1875 Britain owned 177,000 of the 400,000 Canal shares in Suez and British interests focussed on retaining that control and also on controlling Egypt. Egypt became a very important part of British Red Sea, Mediterranean and Suez policy. Britain wished to control Egypt as well as Syria and Palestine to prevent Russia exercising power in the area and also to keep France's power base to a minimum.

European, and particularly British, interests were deeply entrenched in Egypt. Between 1838 and 1881 European settlers and residents in Egypt rose from 10.000 to 90,000. Cotton was grown as a cash crop in the Nile Delta, and after the American Civil War the crop values rose by £E10 million.[26] European investments increased with fabulous interest rates of 12-20% on best securities and the Khedive acquiescing to Western rapacity from a mixture of greed, improvidence and gullibility. British and French economic interests were at stake. Egypt's National Debt was £91 million by 1876 and a joint Anglo-French Dual Control was set up to monitor Egypt's finances and try to make her solvent.[27] The plans fell with a revolt in Egypt.

In 1881 Urabi Pasha, an Egyptian army officer, led a revolt against the Khedive and foreign interference by the Dual Control. The Khedive himself then stood out against Dual Control and all that went with it, including the installation of European advisers for the major Egyptian departments of state. The revolt consisted of a number of factions, all with differing

26 Ronald Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914, p.178.
27 Ibid., p.179.

needs and wishes, held together by a dislike of the European intervention and particularly the financial regime imposed on Egypt by the Europeans in 1876.[28] All sections of Egyptian society were included particularly Egypt's Moslem clergy who were now preaching a new Islamic purity and showing a dangerous interest (from the European point of view) in the radical Islam then starting to appear in other Moslem states. The Urabi revolt was viewed with alarm in Britain.

Britain's interest was not just her Egyptian investments but also the Canal. Eighty percent of shipping passing through the Canal was British by 1882, and 13% of the total foreign trade of Great Britain passed through Suez.[29] The Canal was a question of British interests. Whilst British and French views differed over what was to be done over the Urabi movement, it was agreed that it should be broken and on 20 May 1882 a naval demonstration was mounted with six iron clads (three French, three British) arriving at Alexandria. The British ships, under Admiral Seymour, bombarded Alexandria and one thousand Egyptians were killed. Egypt became resentful, so much so that the Canal's security became threatened. Whether Gladstone agreed to shell Alexandria to bail out European bondholders in Egypt, or if it was to protect Suez, is not relevant for our purposes. Suffice it to say that fear for the Canal was very genuine in British minds, if only because of its commercial importance to Britain. The men on the spot advising London were Admiral Beauchamp Seymour, and the British Consul-General, Sir Edward Malet, both of whom had feared for the Canal and exaggerated the dangers to it from the Egyptians and their navy. The display of naval might did not end the incident. Incensed, the Egyptians rioted on 11 July 1882 and chaos threatened in Egypt, the Khedive was discredited, Dual Control collapsed, and France threatened to invade and take a foothold in Egypt.

To prevent France entering Egypt a British force under Sir Garnet Wolseley was landed and defeated the Egyptian army under Urabi Pash at Tel-el Kebir. Britain reluctantly became an Egyptian power. The British wanted to withdraw, they could not, and they remained in Egypt until 1956. There was nothing to replace them after Tel-el Kebir and by 1883 Lord Cromer had been dispatched to be British agent and Consul-General in Egypt. Egyptian power collapsed too in the Sudan under the onslaught of the Mahdist forces. When the Mahdists massacred Colonel Hicks and a 10,000 strong army they threatened southern Egypt. They were fundamentalist Moslems, preaching their own brand of Islamic purity and their ideas crossed into Egypt and seemed set to spread through the Levant.[30]

---

28 Ibid., pp.174-83.
29 C. W. Hallberg, The Suez Canal, pp.118-81.
30 James Morris, Heaven's Command: an imperial progress, ch.25.

It was against this background that Conder had been forced to abandon his mission to map east of Jordan and against it that Conder was called to Alexandria in 1882 and set to join the forces under Sir Garnet Wolsey's command. There he found Warren, also an intelligence officer, and set to join the expeditionary forces. They both knew Palmer, a one time professor, an adventurer and a PEF supporter. Palmer had been involved in government work before; he was to be approached and sent on a mission to secure Arab acquiescence to British occupation of the Canal and to pacify the Sinai Arabs to the east of Suez.

Edward Henry Palmer was probably the most unusual of all the people who were involved with the Fund in its early years. He was born in Cambridge in August 1840, and both his parents died when he was quite young and Palmer himself was educated at the Perse Grammar School. When he left the Grammar School he found no place for him at Cambridge and he decided to go to London where he worked for Hall and Underwood, a firm of wine merchants. During his period there he learned Italian, followed by becoming friendly with Irving, the actor, and after some continental travel learnt French as well. Palmer's real gift was that of a linguist. In 1860 Palmer returned to Cambridge and after two year's study entered the University at Cambridge studying languages. At the conclusion of his course he had become proficient in Arabic, Persian, Latin, Greek and had taken a degree in the Classical Tripos. Despite the low marks he achieved in his degree results, he was elected a Fellow of St John's College and there undertook Linguistic Studies obtaining an MA in 1870. With Palmer's interest in Middle Eastern languages went an interest in Middle Eastern religion, and by 1869 he was thinking of journeying to the East to pursue his studies there. A chance came in 1869 when Charles Wilson invited Edward Palmer to become part of the Sinai Survey Expedition which was effectively led by members of the Palestine Exploration Fund and Palmer, together with Revd. Holland and Wilson, Captain Palmer and others went out to complete the Sinai Survey which Wilson had begun in his two surveys between 1864 and 1866. Palmer's part in the Survey was to act as an interpreter; for Palmer the value of the Survey was that it allowed him to study local Arab dialects on the Sinai peninsula.

When he returned to England in 1870 he made arrangements with the PEF to go on a second expedition to the Middle East, this time to the Negev and to the south of the Holy Land in the area of the Desert of Tih. Here, accompanied by Tyrwhitt-Drake, he explored the area around the Desert of Tih and the Negev and was sponsored partly by the Fund and assisted by a grant from the University of Cambridge - Travelling Bachelors' Fund. This journey was unusual for three reasons. Firstly because no dragoman was asked to accompany the party, an extremely unusual occurrence with such a small party; secondly, because both Tyrwhitt-Drake and Palmer were fluent Arabic speakers; and thirdly, because the area of the Negev and the Desert of Tih were both remote and largely unknown places for the European traveller. The visit to that remote area probably owes more to Palmer's later career in intelligence than to the

fact that he wished to obtain original research material to write papers for the Palestine Exploration Quarterly Statement. During his Middle Eastern adventures Palmer also met Richard Burton, the Orientalist and diplomat, and they became firm friends. Upon his return to England, Palmer was appointed the Almoner Professor of Arabic at Cambridge and awarded a salary of some £300 a year. He was appointed to that professorship by the Lord Almoner who at that time was Dean of Windsor.

In 1874 Palmer was called to the bar and, though he did not practice law regularly, he maintained a seat in chambers and occasionally went to County Assizes. From 1871 to 1881 he did considerable academic work translating, writing and working in Arabic and Persian. During the early 1870s Palmer worked with Conder and later became a co-editor of the Memoirs of the Western Survey. He took a view much opposed to that of Fergusson translating Arabic texts relating to the Dome of the Rock.[31] Palmer's wife died in 1878 and in 1879 he gave up his chair, becoming a journalist working on a freelance basis and writing in, amongst other papers, The Times and the Standard. He re-married in 1879.[32]

His re-marriage was not a success and in 1882 when the Urabi revolt broke out in Alexandria, Palmer was approached and offered his services to help Britain's war effort in Egypt. As we have noted above, Palmer's great skill was linguistics and one of his studies had been the dialects of the Sinai peninsula. He knew the leading sheikhs of the peninsular and it was this knowledge that the British administration in Egypt decided to use. On 30 June 1882 Palmer was sent to visit the Sinai tribes.[33] He left Alexandria with orders from Admiral Beauchamp Seymour and journeyed to Jaffa, returning three weeks later to Suez having interviewed a number of peninsular sheikhs and assured himself of their wish to support Britain. During that three weeks Palmer was out of contact with the British authorities. Arab loyalty had a price, and gold was needed to obtain peace east of Suez.

Unfortunately the government in London felt the price was too high, and although £20,000 in gold was distributed,[34] more was needed to secure the Arabs east of Suez and ensure they remained quiet. On 8 August 1882 Palmer had to make a second journey to the Sinai interior. Again he liaised with the Board of Admiralty and left for Nakhl with two military officers - Lieutenant Carrington RN and Captain Gill RE.[35] As Campbell-Bannerman, Secretary to the Admiralty, later had to admit in the House of Commons, all were under the

---

31 Obituary, PEFQS 1883, pp.4-7.
32 See 'Palmer' in DNB 1890 edition.
33 Correspondence respecting the murder of Professor E. H. Palmer, Captain Wm. Gill RE, and Lieutenant Harold Charrington RN. C3949 (1993) HC papers, vol.LXXXII.
34 Telegram, Beauchamp Seymour to Admiralty, London, 6.8.1882.
35 Administrative letters of 8.8.1882.

direct control of Admiral Hoskins of the Intelligence Department who had been sent to Suez to set up intelligence operations.[36]

This time only £3,000 in gold was sent to Palmer and the team had a far more arduous mission. They were to cut the telegraph lines linking Kantara and El Arish, thereby isolating Egypt from Constantinople. Captain Gill had received his orders verbally from the Admiral and to carry them out the party was to proceed to Suez by the end of the month, visiting desert tribes on the way.[37] The party was, however, instructed to do more than visit tribes. Using the pretext of purchasing camels for the British army, the party was to distribute £3,000 in gold amongst the Arab tribes and to persuade the tribes to support Britain by patrolling the east of the Canal. £3,000 had been given to Palmer for this purpose. The group had another purpose, to sever the Alexandria to Constantinople telegraph. That was the task of Captain Gill. Britain did not want the Urabi revolt to spread beyond Egypt and did not want Constantinople telegraphed by the rebels and them requesting help. Charrington was included at Palmer's request, 'as I am acting on the part of H.M.G.'[38]

By 23 August it was clear that something had gone wrong. The telegraph was still working and the party had not returned. Jehad was being preached in Gaza and the Sinai was far from settled. A search party under Captain Foot was sent out and reports were received that the party had been sighted in various towns.[39] On 31 August Foot sent news through that the party were reported to have been attacked and plundered at Moses's Well, or thereafter. False reports came in that this was not the case, and that Palmer, known as Sheikh Abdullah in the desert, had survived. By mid-September the Turkish authorities were helping with the search and Osman Bey, the local governor, was aware of the disaster. Warren was by now involved.

Warren had been posted to Egypt in early 1882 at the start of the Urabi revolt. By 23 August he was being suggested as a good man to lead the hunt for Palmer and the two officers.[40] Gradually, through September, news leaked through from Europeans in Sinai that Palmer had never rendezvoused with a leading Bedouin sheikh but that he and the two officers had gone with the leader of a small tribe from the Moses' Well area and had vanished, following a raid on the party's camp. Using intelligence from Greek monks at Sinai and paying the monks in wheat, lentils and other supplies, the British forces and the Turks pieced

---

36 Hansard, vol.274 (30 October 1882) cols. 369-71.
37 Ibid (2 November 1882) cols. 650-51.
38 Correspondence respecting the murder of Professor E. H. Palmer, Captain Wm. Gill RE, and Lieutenant Harold Charrington RN. C3949 (1993) HC papers, vol.LXXXII. Correspondence of 8-14 August 1882.
39 Telegrams and reports to 31 August 1882.
40 Telegrams to HMS Beacon, 23 August 1882.

the party's fate together. Warren took command of the search on 6 October 1882 and after carrying out his own inquiries followed a path over the desert to where the party had died. Clothes, books and Palmer's truss were all recovered. By 27 October the deaths were confirmed and the waddy where the three Britons, their cook and their dragoman had been shot, was identified.[41]

By 25 October the whole matter had become public and questions were being asked in the House of Commons. The matter was reported in the press, and by November the government had been forced to agree to a public inquiry into the party's fate. Warren himself remained in Sinai and took control of the operation to round up the suspects. By rounding up and imprisoning the families of the men thought to have killed the party, he forced the tribe involved to hand over the men concerned. By 16 November Gladstone could report to the House of Commons that 'the principal culprits were in custody'.[42] The Turkish government tried and executed them.

The incident is important in a number of respects. Firstly the name of the Palestine Exploration Fund was mentioned more than once in the ministerial replies in the House of Commons. The link between Warren, Palmer and the Fund was made perfectly clear. The person who discovered Palmer's remains at the foot of the waddy was Warren, by now a colonel, assisted by others including Richard Burton and the Jerusalem consul, Temple-Moore. Warren was responsible for bringing Palmer's remains back to London. The connection between leading Fund members and the Intelligence Department was perfectly clear in parliamentary questions. If any further confirmation was needed, the Report laid before the two Houses made the link clear. The PEF was not involved in Palmer's Sinai mission of 1882 but the resulting investigations involved PEF by virtue of the fact that it revealed the link between intelligence, Palmer, Warren and the Fund. From now on the Turks were to treat PEF with far more care and PEF's value to the security services was diminished.

The incident revealed, too, the flimsy nature of PEF's excuses for being in the Middle East and allowing the Royal Engineers to act for them. Warren had argued that archaeology was his aim, Wilson water surveying, and Conder and Kitchener biblical mapping. Palmer had argued that he was camel buying. When Palmer's excuse was shown as false, the others were naturally open to question.

---

41 See Warren's lengthy report on his discovery of Palmer's party's fate. The remains of the party were returned to Britain in a large ship's biscuit box. They later received a state funeral at Saint Paul's Cathedral.

42 Hansard, vol.274 (16 November 1882), cols. 1549-50.

Palmer's real interest had been protecting Suez. The Canal had been in British and French joint control since 1875 and the greatest national tonnage of shipping passing through it was British, much of it on route to India and other British colonies. Egypt was indeed the spine of the Empire linking the east to the west, and India to Europe. The Canal was the physical representation of that spine. Once Disraeli had bought the Canal shares it was only a matter of time before Britain took physical control of Egypt and Urabi's revolt had been the incident that made that taking of control necessary. The finding of Palmer's remains had involved a very public admission of his reasons for being in the desert and his work there, nor could his work be covered up in a veil of scholarly research. At the same time the world was shrinking. Steamships and telegraphs were now commonplace, and that, coupled with the growth of railways outside Europe, meant that not only could military news be transmitted regularly and quickly but that it was not as easy for the authorities to cover up operations that went wrong. Palmer's death could not be concealed from the press or parliament, nor could his connection with PEF.

Palmer and his party died due to a combination of bad luck and British government parsimony. If Palmer had been given more money he could have bought the co-operation and protection of the larger Arab tribes. His luck ran out and his cover was lost. He had originally been recruited to the PEF by Wilson in 1868. He epitomised all the Fund represented - careful mapping, surveying, biblical exploration and above all the propagation of the ideals of the British Empire. Those ideas were not just to exploit the world but also to extend commerce, trade, and Christianity as well as extending Britain's influence. Palmer had been typical of such imperial explorers and his death was a loss to the Fund. In late 1882 Captain Grove and Anderson were appointed to complete his task of editing the memoirs of the Western Survey.[43]

The PEF had by the 1880s become very dependent upon the Intelligence Department and much of its work was Intelligence Department driven. The need for the Eastern Survey was as much military as academic. The PEF did want to survey the whole area but would probably not have taken on the task of another survey so close to the completion of the Western Map. The Fund was still committed to publishing that work and all the expense that went with publication. The military need was, however, great with the region becoming increasingly unsettled. The Turkish authorities were by now asserting themselves and effectively stopped the work being undertaken by Conder. New communication methods (the telegraph) meant that Constantinople and the regional government could halt the PEF's work far more efficiently than they had been able to do before. The link between PEF's explorers and the Intelligence Department is further illustrated by Conder's recall from his attempts to survey the south

43 Palmer papers were recovered from the desert and are now in the PEF collection. His obituary is to be found at PEFQS 1883, pp.4-7.

eastern part of the Holy Land area and his dispatch to Alexandria to join in the attempts to put down Urabi's revolt.

Palmer was a civilian and a PEF friend. He was never on the Fund's committee but he was very closely linked with its activities and contributed regularly to the PEFQS. He had been part of the 1868 Sinai Survey and had been prominent ever since. His death showed the extent to which he was connected with covert military intelligence. He worked in disguise, was known as Sheikh Abdullah, and purported to be purchasing camels. The inquiry after his death showed that he was a British agent bribing Arab sheikhs to protect Britain's Suez interests. By implication, he points to the PEF's activities as being intelligence linked. The recovery of his clothing, a few bones and his truss by Warren brought Warren's intelligence activity to the fore. Warren was known to be good with the Arabs and have intelligence ability. He is linked with Palmer's work, and it was ironically Warren who recovered his remains. One of the great problems with Palmer's death and the subsequent inquiry was that it made clear to the Turks the nature of PEF's work, the nature of the people doing it and why it was being undertaken.

CHAPTER 6
THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY: 1883-1884

The failure of the Eastern Survey and the death of Palmer did not break the link between PEF and the Intelligence Department of the War Office. The Eastern Map was still needed and particularly a map of the area around the Waddy Arabah and the Wilderness of Zin. This area was of immense importance as it marked a possible route of attack on the Sinai peninsula and a possible entry point to the Jordan Valley via the Dead Sea. The PEF would, of course, have supported any mapping in the area but, without resources and support from the military it is unlikely it would have been attempted. The area was one where German railway building was now taking place under German railway engineers who included Gottlieb Schumacher. Schumacher was engaged upon the task of surveying and mapping TransJordan for the Damascus-Haifa Railway for some twenty years from the 1880s and during that period he became a regular correspondent of the PEF and the newly-formed Deutsche Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas (DVEP). It was from Schumacher and the Swiss Schick that PEF received eventually much of its information relating to the TransJordan area. In 1883, however, PEF had not commenced receiving that detailed information, and it was necessary to try to obtain a survey of the strategically significant parts of the eastern area.

In 1883, following the end of the Urabi revolt, Kitchener was again despatched to Palestine to map. The survey was put forward as a 'geological' survey and PEF sent Professor Hull as party leader. The survey was to study the geology of Arabah and Kitchener, now a Captain in the Royal Engineers, was to do the map work whilst the now-retired George Armstrong completed the party. The Arabah was remote and unmapped; it was little known to Europeans and had been the area to which Conder had been directed in 1881 when his Eastern Survey failed.[1] Presumably it was hoped that it was sufficiently remote for the Turks not to know what went on, but again improved Turkish communications and improved administration led the Turks to detect the work and effectively end it.

The principal features of the area were the Waddy and the Haj road that ran through it.[2] The road was by now virtually redundant, having been superseded by the sea steamers for Arabia. PEF formally sanctioned the Survey at the Annual General Meeting of the PEF in June 1883 when the idea, already put forward by Charles Wilson, was formally adopted.[3] Wilson justified the survey in both committee and the meeting that the work was the type that would

---

1 Charles M. Watson ed., Palestine Exploration Fund: Fifty years' work in the Holy Land 1865-1915, pp.91-7.
2 Ibid, p.95.
3 PEF/MINS, June 1883.

have been within the meaning of PEF's original prospectus.[4] In this he was supported by Besant, now the Fund's Acting Secretary and, following Holland's death, effectively its Honorary Secretary. The survey proposed by Wilson was to be a short one, four to five months, and was to be despatched to Arabah in November 1882. Edward Hull was to be its leader.

Edward Hull (1829-1917) was a distinguished geologist and had served on the staff of the geological survey of the United Kingdom, been director of the geological survey of Ireland, and at the time of the expedition he was Professor of Geology in the Royal College of Science and a member of the Royal Commission on Coal Reserves. Hull wrote later on the geology of the Atlantic and became a Fellow of the Royal Society. Appointed to the Geological Survey of Waddy Arabah and Petra Arabia by his old friend Wilson, Hull was given a free hand in relation to his geological work in TransJordan. His main interest was the fault line which had given rise to both Arabah and the Dead Sea, together with the geological formations in the area.[5] He was a member of the PEF general committee and of the Executive Committee.

Wilson had left the Executive Committee of the Fund because he had accepted foreign postings. In 1883 he returned to England and on 5 July he was re-appointed to the Executive Committee to replace Major Grove who had resigned on being posted to Portsmouth.[6] All suggestions regarding the new survey came from Wilson, now the senior military officer on the PEF Executive. It was Wilson's suggestion that the Fund approached Kitchener, Mantell and a Lieutenant Wood with a view to taking part in the new survey. Both Kitchener and Mantell were in Egypt at the time that this approach was made because they were already part of the Intelligence Corps working for the British administration seeking effectively to establish Egypt as a protected territory. Some British troops in Egypt were not under direct British command; they were under the nominal command of the Egyptian government, and as a Royal Engineer Intelligence Officer Kitchener probably fell into the latter category. As such the Foreign Office would be the appropriate government department to correspond with the Fund, and on 11 September 1883 the Fund received a letter from the Foreign Office stating that the Egyptian government would provide assistance for the party entrusted with the execution of the geological survey.[7]

At the same time Wilson wrote to the Fund regarding not only the geological survey party but also various items of topographical work which might be taken up by the survey party and suggesting that that work may be of interest to it. At this stage, therefore, the Fund

4 PEF/MINS, 5.7.1883.
5 PEFQS, 1918, pp.11-3.
6 PEF/MINS, 5.7.1883.
7 PEF/MINS, 11.9.1883.

was effectively diversifying its work from pure topographical surveying, an activity which had proved somewhat difficult in view of the Turkish government's refusal to allow the Fund to survey in Eastern Palestine to geological surveying and later archaeological surveying which acted as a cover for the Fund's activities in sensitive areas. Arrangements for the transport of the Geological Survey party were made through Messrs. Cook & Sons and Professor Hull undertook to work out the terms for transportation with Cooks. Cook & Sons made a generous offer that they were prepared to undertake the '[A]rrangements without the slightest profit directly or indirectly',[8] and to bill the Fund for the monthly expenditure incurred. At the same time the Egyptian government was willing to furnish an escort for Professor Hull and the rest of the party from Suez to Akabah, even though Akabah was outside Egyptian controlled territory.

By November 1883 Professor Hull had reached Cairo where he was to meet up with Kitchener and Armstrong.[9] Armstrong was no longer a serving Royal Engineers NCO but had been employed by the Fund because of his expertise in mapping and surveying work. Soon the party was on its way to the Waddy Arabah where map work and geological surveying was to take place. Hull, never a brave man, was by now extremely nervous, not only because of the nature of the work and the remoteness of the area, but presumably also because of the disaster that had befallen Palmer a year or so before.[10]

Hull had good reason to raise the issue of safety. The whole of the area was in turmoil. Problems had started to surface in the Sudan, an area to the south of Egypt and one which was little known to Europeans or, for that matter, most Egyptians. Nominally ruled from Cairo, the Sudan was home to a mixed Moslem Arab and African population and a major link in the slave trade. When Britain invaded Egypt in 1882 in order to protect her interest in Suez, Egypt had been quickly subdued by General Sir Garnet Wolseley. A British agent had been installed to 'advise' the Khedive and a British residency had been established in Cairo. What, however, was never clear was whether the British assumption of responsibility for Egypt involved an assumption of responsibility for the Sudan, a nominal dependency of Egypt. The Sudan had risen in revolt against both Britain and Egypt, a revolt led by a Moslem holy man simply known as the Mahdi.[11] The revolt was a mixture of Moslem popular pietistic revival, anti-imperial and anti-Egyptian feeling and financial resentment at the European and Egyptian interference with the slave trade. Mahdi-led armies effectively took over Sudan and drove out resident Egyptian garrisons. Initially this did not concern the British.

---

8 Ibid, correspondence.
9 PEF/MINS, 20.7.1883.
10 See Hull comments in E. Hull, Reminiscences of a Strenuous Life (1910).
11 James Morris, Heaven's Command. An imperial progress, ch.25.

In 1883 a British mercenary commander in the employment of the Egyptian government, one Colonel Hicks, together with a few British officers and 10,000 Egyptian soldiers, marched into Sudan to El Obeid and faced 50,000 Sudanese. A few hundred soldiers of the Egyptian force survived and all white officers were killed. The Sudan had become an imperial issue. Gladstone's government in London received the news of Hicks' death with regret but with little wish to start an imperial adventure. They were willing to abandon Sudan to the Mahdi. Others saw things differently.[12] The imperialists within the government in conjunction with the military men advising saw dangers to Egypt and the wider Middle East. The Mahdi threatened southern Egypt, the canal zone and even worse, if Mahdism spread, the whole of the Arabian peninsula, especially Sinai and the Holy Land. The entire area was in a state of fear and expectation; fear of a revolt, and expectation of a Mahdi appearing in the Holy Land area.

Charles Gordon was 51 years old, unmarried, a devout Christian and an imperial hero. He was a Royal Engineer, and from his days of training at Gravesend had been imbued with an evangelical spirit and a religious conscience that went with it, that had given him a fortitude bordering on recklessness in the face of danger. Most of his military life was spent on independent adventures, and by 1884 he was a known imperial hero. He had an interest in the Holy Land having spent a year in Palestine investigating the holy places and making a number of new (and incorrect) identifications. For some time in the 1870s he had been Governor-General of the Sudan on a 'loan' from the Royal Engineers to the Egyptian government. It was a position he had relinquished in 1876 and again in 1879. By 1884 Gordon was back in England considering resigning his commission when in January 1884 the Cabinet requested him to attend at the War Office in Pall Mall. Accompanied by Woolsey, now a General, Gordon was presented to the Cabinet of Gladstone's administration. The Cabinet instructed Gordon to return to Egypt and to retake Sudan, and in January 1884 he left Charing Cross Station for what was to be his last mission. He arrived in Khartoum on 18 February 1884 and never returned. It was against this highly volatile international background that the PEF decided to mount the Geological Survey.

PEF were also undertaking the survey at a time when a new imperial style was developing. The roots of that development go back into the mid-nineteenth century and the new style was to challenge the old and triumph over it by the early 1890s. In 1883 the two imperial styles were directly challenging each other. The older, imperial, style had been one where overseas possessions were taken for their usefulness; territories were acquired for profit, for raw materials, and for markets, or to stem rivals' commercial investments. Economic and strategic motivations governed acquisition. The territories of the Empire were

12 Ibid, pp.494-6.

not special in themselves. They could be declined or surrendered - as were Tangiers, Java, the Ionian Islands. It was an Empire acquired, in the words of J. R. Seeley, 'in a fit of absence of mind'. The new breed of imperialists were different. They wished to acquire an Empire for its own sake, not for its usefulness. Technological advances in Europe - steamships, telegraphs and speedy communications - all assisted in this objective. European railway systems were now expanding beyond Europe, and waterways such as the Suez Canal allowed rapid troop transportation to India, Africa, and Asia. Britain was by now in competition with other European powers in a race to acquire pieces of Africa and the Pacific Ocean islands.

Gordon represented the old style imperialist. He was a man imbued with a deep religious commitment, a sense of Christian duty, and an intention to spread British trade, the flag, and Christianity. Others did not share this view of Empire, and as Gordon journeyed to Khartoum, an old imperialist fighting the new imperial battle, a man imbued with the new imperialism was commencing work in the Jordan Valley and around the Waddy Arabah. He was H. H. Kitchener and his colleagues and reasons for being there were Professor E. G. Hull. George Armstrong and H. C. Hart of Dublin. The party left Cairo on 7 November 1883 and journeyed to Moses' Well near Suez (and near where Palmer had died in 1882). Hull's part in the expedition was to examine the rock structure, that of Kitchener to examine the practicality of a Jordan Valley canal system.[13] The latter idea was virtually dead. In reality they were to complete the survey of a strategically significant area. Their equipment was loaned by the Ordnance Survey.[14] Their results were eventually to be communicated to the Ordnance Survey together with all other data they acquired despite their nominal employment by the PEF.[15]

Hull was never a brave man and by 4 December 1883 he had raised the question of his personal safety in the area with the Fund Committee via Besant. On 4 December 1883 Besant and Glaisher reported to the Fund Executive that they had been to the Foreign Office and had seen Lord Edmund FitzMaurice to secure his and the government's assurance that the government would do everything they could and that the Foreign Office in particular would bear in mind the safety of the party led by Professor Hull.[16] Foreign Office assurances as to the safety of Professor Hull's party were formally received on 1 January 1884 and by early January 1884 confirmation had been received that Hull, travelling separately, had met up with Kitchener and had proceeded to Waddy Arabah and later to Waddy Nasab where mapping work continued under the nominal direction of Hull.[17] In fact it was under the real direction of

13 PEFQS, 1884, p.160.
14 PRO/OS.1.17/1, List and Notes dated 8.5.1884.
15 PEF to Director of Ordnance Survey, 23.6.1884 at PRO/OS.1.17/1.
16 PEF/MINS, 4.12.1883.
17 PEF/MINS, 1.1.1884.

Kitchener, for Hull left the Holy Land as quickly as he could and by 12 March he was back in London. It was indeed Kitchener who telegraphed the secretary of the PEF and confirmed that both he and Armstrong had left Cairo on 2 March having completed all the work necessary in the Arabah area.[18]

In a report by the committee of the PEF to the British Association, the reason for Hull's disquiet is made quite clear: the Committee could not obtain a firman from the Sultan to conduct the geological survey or indeed any other surveys that were conducted by the Fund in 1880 and 1884. The fact of the matter was that the survey was conducted covertly and without the permission of the Turkish authorities. Whilst the cost of the survey conducted by Hull and company was reckoned to be under £2,000, the Fund accounts do not show payments anywhere near that level leaving the Fund's accounts during the period through to April/May 1884.[19] By May 1884 it was possible to report that the work of the surveyors going to Arabah had been accomplished and the Fund was able to contemplate the drafting of a map of Eastern Palestine. This was to be done by George Armstrong who was engaged by the Fund for that purpose at the rate of £3 per week.

By June 1884 Armstrong had completed the Eastern Map. Significantly the completion was undertaken under the auspices of Armstrong's old commander, Sir Charles Wilson.[20] The completion of the map marked the completion of the Eastern and Western Surveys with much of the Eastern Survey having had to be abandoned and only 500 square miles of the land east of Jordan having been surveyed. In the words of the report to the Annual General Meeting of the General Committee of the PEF in June 1881, '[T]he committee have still under consideration the question as to whether or not ... there should be a continuation of the work (of the Eastern Survey).'[21]

The published accounts for the year 1883 show that the amount expended by the Fund on the Expedition to Waddy Arabah was only some £833. That amount was to June 1884, as announced at the Annual Meeting. When this is set against the estimate of some £2,000 or so, there is obviously a large discrepancy which it may be accounted for by the War Office paying for Kitchener's part in the survey whilst the Fund paid for Hull's part. Hull's results were obviously of value to the Fund (and only marginally to the War Office) whilst Kitchener's were primarily for the War office. By the Annual Meeting of the Fund in 1884 it was possible for a public announcement to be made by Mr Birch, the Manchester area Secretary of the Fund that

18 PEF/MINS, 4.3.1884.
19 PEF/MINS, 15.4.1884.
20 Ibid, and 27.6.1884.
21 PEFQS, 1885, p.158.

> We have reached an epoch in our work ... We have surveyed all the parts of the Holy Land from Dan to Beersheba which lie on the west of the Jordan - there are our maps. We have planned, drawn, measured and photographed nearly every ruin in the country; we have recovered the old Jewish Tombs, and are now enabled to classify and to re-date them ... Clearly we cannot too much congratulate ourselves.[22]

The completion of the Arabah survey marks the start of the transition of the Fund from its role as primarily a surveying organisation to the role of an archaeological research body. There was yet to follow a last interlude where the Fund returned to surveying, and that was in 1913/14 when Lawrence and Woolley completed the Wilderness of Zin Survey. For most practical purposes, however, after 1884/85 the Fund was to be re-designated by its membership as essentially a body devoted to archaeological investigation and a body with less official, that is to say War Office and Foreign Office involvement, in it. The Arabah Survey had been a hybrid survey, part of it being an investigation of the geology of the Arabah area and part of it being in reality a military survey for strategic purposes. Kitchener and Armstrong had effectively completed all necessary map work with the exception of the small area of the Negev forming the Wilderness of Zin which was to be covered by others at Kitchener's instigation in 1913/14. From 1885 until 1912 Kitchener was to have little contact with the Fund, but some of the older stalwarts, those who had started with the Fund in 1865, men like Wilson, Warren, Conder, Watson and others were to remain connected with the Fund throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and in most cases until their deaths. From an intelligence point of view the Fund's main use to the War Office was now to be to act as a conduit for the reports and work of people such as Schumacher and Schick, who over the next ten years or so were to supply the Fund with sufficient detail of the German railway building in the eastern area of Palestine so that the Fund were able to provide good coverage and good maps for that area.

The Fund had lost its importance to the War Office for three reasons. Firstly, as we have noted above, there had been a change in imperial style. The scramble for Africa had begun by 1884 and by late 1884 Khartoum was under siege. By 26 January 1885 Khartoum had fallen and Gordon was dead. The siege that ended with Gordon's death had led to public and parliamentary pressure being brought to bear on Gladstone to save Charles Gordon. By late 1884 Gladstone had given in to the pressure and a rescue expedition was mounted under Lord Wolseley and with Charles Wilson as the intelligence officer. When the expedition reached Khartoum Gordon had been dead for three days. Gordon, the archetypal Christian soldier of the old imperial school, had died. The old imperialists had failed to save him and it would be the new imperialists, under H. H. Kitchener, who would avenge him.

---

22 PEFQS, 1885, p.158 et seq.

With the change in imperial style that followed Gordon's death came the death of the old style Christian soldier of the Empire. PEF's very obvious religious base had appealed to such, but now the new style of imperial hero did not need to shelter behind a tableau of religiosity. The British Empire and its military might justified him. PEF was not a necessary cover. The Empire was to devise its own ceremonies, its own secular religion, its own secular faith, and it celebrated its first public appearance in 1887 at the Queen's Golden Jubilee and reached its high point in 1897 at the Diamond Jubilee. The concept of the military empire justifying itself by its military might was the work of the new men, men such as Kitchener, who above all exemplified the new imperial ethos. PEF was sidelined.

PEF was rejected for a second reason. After the loss of Palmer in the desert it could never be denied that PEF had intelligence links. True that Palmer never was a member of the Executive Committee, although he was on the Fund's General Committee, but Palmer above all had exemplified the Fund. He had been a very active member and played a major part in the 1862-69 Sinai Survey. Even more to the point, the Select Committee Inquiry into Palmer's death had positively identified him as an agent of Britain. PEF now found it hard to hide behind a cloak of Bible research. The Turkish authorities had reformed their administration and they were now less accommodating to PEF. The failure of both the 1881 Survey under Conder and the 1883/84 Survey under Kitchener are evidence of that fact. The failure to get firmans after 1880 is also evidence of Turkish distrust.

Thirdly, by 1884-85 Turkey was falling under the influence of other nations. Germany was starting to build railways and the proposed Berlin-Baghdad line ran through Turkish territory. As the hold of foreign governments grew in the years up to 1900 so the power of the British government and its influence in Turkey waned. As that happened so the influence of PEF waned. Other countries were now forming Palestine exploration and archaeological societies, and PEF was not unique in the way that it had been in 1865. The War Office would no longer support it; it had its map, and the Fund's services were not needed in the way they had been before.

The nature of the Fund had also changed. The Fund had become a major publisher of works of the Holy Land and by 1880 had been responsible for promulgating a number of significant works on the history, the geography and the archaeology of the area. Foremost among the works published by the Fund had been the Palestine Quarterly Statement which, by the 1880s, was becoming internationally known and was receiving contributions from scholars in Britain, France, Germany and America. Other works published had included the Report of the Sinai Survey of 1869/71, a Report which was published together with maps by the Ordnance Survey. The Fund had therefore to manage the inevitable change that was to take

place in a way to benefit it. The PEF came to see itself as an organisation with a different role and a new purpose. That new purpose was to emphasise the Fund's role as an agent of Britain's cultural, intellectual and religious interests in the area. To understand this we must understand Britain's interests in the Holy Land after 1885.

The military interest was not only in the protection of the canal route but also in preventing Russia from invading Western Palestine in order to obtain a deep warm water, Arabian Gulf port access which would allow the Russian naval military establishments to have access to the Indian Ocean routes to India. Additionally Britain had an interest in protecting the whole of the area against a resurgence of Turkish power. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century Turkey had been both militarily insignificant and in administrative chaos. The reforms wished upon Turkey by the Western powers in the Tanzimat had had the effect not only of improving the lot of the minority peoples of Turkey, but also of improving Turkish administrative ability. By the early 1880s Turkey was beginning to get a grip on the administration of its extensive and ramshackle empire. Frequent changes of Constantinople's appointed governors had broken local power monopolies, the use of the modern telegraph system had improved Constantinople's control of the local administration; and the commencement of the construction of carriage roads in many place within the Turkish Empire had also improved communications.

By the early 1880s there was a very real chance that Turkey might be able to control and govern her subject peoples successfully. This was not to Western tastes and European effort was put into negating those improvements. Having relinquished the burden of the Balkans, Turkey was now in a position to try to impose her will on her other subject Moslem peoples and in particular to try and subdue and pacify the land to the east of the Jordan. For centuries that area had been a largely uninhabited and wild land with little semblance of central government control and left to the governance of a handful of local chiefs. By the 1880s the Turkish army was actively re-imposing its control over the area and a map of the east of Jordan became important, important that is to British interests and in particular to British military interest that saw the difficulties that a strong Turkey could cause for Britain in that area.

Britain by now had a huge political interest in maintaining Western domination of the Western Palestine area. It was not for religious reasons that Britain and France in particular sought to encourage Jewish colonisation of the Western Palestine area. Colonisation proved attractive to the British Foreign Office for it guaranteed that the area of most strategic significance, the traditional Holy Land area, would be held by a group of western people of European origins who would according to the dominant thinking in the Foreign Office provide a buffer against renewed Turkish control of Western Palestine. For their part the Turks themselves were engaged in a social engineering programme in many of the more troublesome

parts of their Empire. The lessons of the Balkans and of the Greek Revolt had now been learned, and Turkey sought to settle Anatolian Christians, members of their substantial indigenous Christian minority, in the distant part of the Holy Land. This was a policy that had already been tried within the Turkish-controlled lands, and the Arab population, numerically small, had learned the lessons of history and immediately registered themselves as the majority landholders east of Jordan whilst the Christian Turkish population who were transferred into the area became labourers, artisans and tradesmen of the region. The British interest as perceived by the Foreign Office establishment was therefore not to allow Turkey to become too strong in her own TransJordanian hinterland.

Two complementary religious interests were at work. One was the interest of the Christian Protestants of Britain, and the second was the interest of the Anglo-Jewish establishment. The interests of Catholicism in the Holy Land area were already well represented by Rome through its possession and its interest in parts of the Holy Sites and also by the substantial number of religious houses that Rome possessed in the Holy Land. There was obviously Protestant interest in having an Episcopal See belonging to the established Anglican Church and based in Jerusalem. Protestant claims to have uncovered and recovered parts of the original biblical Holy Land, to have identified sites, and in some cases to have physically taken possession of significant Hebrew Bible locations strengthened the established Protestant churches of England and Scotland in their theological and academic confrontations with the Roman Church. Additionally, the acquisition of such sites in some way strengthened the historicity of the Protestant church showing its ability to trace its roots into 'scientifically proven' Biblical sites from the Hebrew Bible; sites that pre-dated those controlled by the Catholic and Orthodox establishments. It is unlikely that either the Royal Engineers or the Foreign Office were particularly moved by the appeal of British possession of Biblical Holy Sites, but from the point of view of the Foreign Office it did provide a convenient reason for Britain's continued presence in the Holy Land and for Britain's continuous involvement in what otherwise was a wholly owned and controlled province of an Islamic empire. In short, it is almost certain that the religious motivation of certain groups for their involvement in the Holy Land was used as an excuse by the British government for its continuous presence there.

The London Jews' Society had, by now, fallen out of favour, not least because the British Foreign Office establishment in general, and key members of that establishment in particular, could see an advantage to encouraging Jewish colonisation of the Holy Land. Firstly it relieved the pressure of refugees from Western Europe, and secondly it placed a group of Western Europeans as colonists in an area where Britain wished to maintain influence. The conversionist motives of the London Jews' Society would almost certainly have been at odds with the British interest of establishing a Jewish community in the area. In any event overt government encouragement of Missions was by now no longer British policy,

nor had it ever been for Missions tended to sow dissent amongst the populations who the British Foreign and Colonial establishment wished to control.

By 1885 the joint Anglican Prussian bishopric was dead. Bishop Gobat had died in 1879 and reluctantly the Prussians had agreed to the continuation of the bishopric when Joseph Barclay was allowed to succeed as the Anglican nominee. Barclay died in 1881 and no successor was appointed to the joint bishopric. The bishopric was ended in 1883 when it was replaced by an Anglican bishopric which had strong allegiance to the Church Missionary Society. British religious interests were therefore served by the new bishopric, which was more definitely Anglican, had no conflicting foreign ties, and defined itself very clearly as English. The new bishopric emphasised its Englishness by abandoning the old Church of Christ church by Jerusalem's Jaffa Gate and commencing to build a new cathedral of St George's overlooking the city. It was a move in keeping with the new imperialism, a move which emphasised the new imperial ideals of a permanent Empire marking out ground that was for ever England's.

An obvious age-old religious interest existed in the British Jewish community in obtaining a foothold in the Holy Land, but the Anglo-Jewish establishment almost certainly also realised that such a foothold would provide a useful way of persuading East European immigrants to settle colonially rather than encouraging them to settle within the United Kingdom. In short, the Anglo-Jewish establishment found that Jewish colonisation would be a convenient way of diverting East European immigrants from settling amongst British Jewish communities.

What therefore was the impact of all these various interests and motivations upon the PEF? The Fund had to adapt itself to take advantage of the new situation. For the Fund it was fortuitous that the change in British interests came more or less at a time when the interests of the Fund were changing, not least because it had completed the Western Survey. The Fund was now looking for a new role and that role was one that it could fulfil alongside the new emerging British interests.

The Fund was ideally placed to take advantage of the new situation. The Fund was non-religious in origin, a condition which had been written into its initial Constitution, and it was dedicated to both mapping, archaeological excavation, and general observational work, a remit which was sufficiently wide to allow it to adapt. It would probably be both unfair and wrong to say that the Fund was deliberately manipulated to take advantage of the situation. To some extent the Fund adapted and to some extent the Fund took advantage of favourable conditions. It still retained a committee largely made up of its original committee members voted on to the Executive in 1865-67. Through most of the period 1880-1914 that committee

changed but slowly and those changes were caused by the filling of casual vacancies following the death of existing committee members. Between 1880 and 1914 the Fund was not run by young revolutionaries, but rather by conservative tired and elderly men, men committed to the old ideals of the British Empire, an Empire which to some extent had been forged by them and their kind, an Empire which had been their youthful vision, and a vision of Empire in which they believed. For many of the committee members throughout this period and indeed throughout the first fifty to sixty years of the Fund's history, the work of the Fund was coterminous with and indistinguishable from the work of the British Empire.

From 1865 through to 1885 the work of the Fund had been concentrated largely on mapping the west of Palestine, with a little archaeology and antiquarian study as an afterthought. In 1865 the amateur archaeology of Warren had been novel and had been innovative. By the 1880s proper professional archaeologists were active in the field in Palestine, archaeologists sent from other European countries and archaeologists of calibre. A period, 1865-85, had seen a considerable growth in biblical and textual scholarship of the Bible. German scholars had come to the forefront of international scholarship and though the work of men like Grove and Edward Robinson had stood the test of time, that work had now got to be set alongside the work of European scholars such as Max Müller, Harnack and, of course, the textual theory of Graff and Welhausen and the establishment of the Tübingen School. The work of Graff and Welhausen was easily as significant as that of Robinson some forty years previously, and was to become the basis of form criticism for the next seventy years and was to establish Germany's pre-eminence in both the form critical and textual critical fields for a generation. The Fund had, therefore, to re-assess its programme.

The problems which had beset the Fund in its early years still remained. The Fund still had its essential conflicts between the military men who, with their supporters, wished to survey to scholars and archaeologists who wished to dig and recover antiquities, and the Christian evangelicals who still saw the Fund as essentially a means of promulgating their views. The balance between the groups still had to be maintained whilst the Fund changed track and interest from cartography to archaeology. It was a change that would not be accomplished easily for in truth the PEF had no knowledge of archaeology. It had published the ideas of amateurs such as Wilson and Warren. It had accepted the views of Ganneau and Schick, but in truth all were out of date and PEF had fallen behind the European archaeologists in its work and its views. The transition would not be easy, and the Fund would not quickly adapt to its new role or easily accept its new position as only one of many institutions bearing witness to British culture. It never attained the position in the new imperialism that it had in the old, yet it was necessary for it was one of the few tangible links joining Britain to the Holy Land, joining the chosen people of the greatest empire earth had known to the chosen land of the Hebrews of old.

CHAPTER 7
DIGGING FOR ENGLAND: PEF 1885-1909

The period 1885-1910 saw a complete change in the PEF's work and its role. From its foundation to 1885 the Fund had been predominantly concerned with mapping, and archaeology had only been a secondary matter which PEF had undertaken when funds and conditions allowed. From 1885 onwards the situation was reversed, and mapping became a secondary activity. Ordnance Survey and Royal Engineer's support was lost after 1885, the representative engineering officers no longer sat on PEF's executive. Individual engineers, such as Wilson, Warren and Conder, maintained their links with the PEF on a purely personal level, but the official help ceased. The main cartographic material coming to the PEF came from Schumacher and Schick who both submitted material relating to the east of Palestine and TransJordan, material largely acquired during the German railway survey. During the 1880s, in particular, Schumacher had mapped for both PEF and DVEP and no objection seems to have been raised to that course of action.

By 1888 it was clear that PEF needed a new direction or that it would die. The new direction that was selected was excavation, and by 1889 excavations were being suggested under the guidance of William Matthew Flinders Petrie. A short season of excavation under Petrie did take place between 1890 and 1892 at Tel el Hesi. Petrie dug for only one short season and was succeeded by his pupil, Frederick Jones Bliss who, after training by Petrie, dug Tel el Hesi for two seasons. Bliss remained the Fund's preferred archaeologist (referred to as the 'Explorer') for some years. Between 1894 and 1897 he mounted an excavation at Jerusalem for the PEF digging for part of the time with Archibald Dickie until the party was attacked and injured.

These excavations were followed in 1898-1900 by work at Shephelah, Tel es Shafieh, Tel Zakeriya and the surrounding area. During these excavations L. A. Stuart Macalister was appointed by the Fund to succeed Dickie as Bliss' assistant explorer. Macalister and Bliss worked together at first, but after some time the PEF committee came to favour Macalister against Bliss and moves were made to replace Bliss. By 1900 Bliss had resigned and left the PEF. Macalister became the Fund's archaeologist until 1910, mounting excavations at Tel es Jezari (1902-5 and 1907-9) over a number of seasons until Macalister himself left the PEF to take up a university chair in Ireland. Throughout the whole period of Petrie, Bliss, and Macalister's work the Fund was dogged by financial problems. At no stage was PEF in a position of financial strength, for it had, for the first time ever, to depend on its own resources to keep itself afloat. Publication of works prepared by Bliss, Petrie and Macalister was expensive and that also drained the PEF resources. There was virtually no government work to

supplement its income and throughout the years 1885-1910 financial collapse was never far away.

During this period the Fund stopped to review its situation and its changed circumstances. Although PEF had ceased to be a predominantly cartographic body it did have some mapping interests, amongst them work sent in by Gottlieb Schumacher. Schumacher, a German engineer, was resident in Haifa and was responsible mapping the route of the Damascus to Haifa railway. In 1878 the newly-created German empire founded a German Exploration Fund, the Deutsche Verein zur Erforschung Palastinas (DVEP), patronised by the Kaiser and modelled on PEF. Initially relations between the two funds were good, although little correspondence appears to have passed between the two. Schumacher was a DVEP employee and their Haifa representative. No objection seems to have been raised at first to him mapping for the PEF.[1]

From 1884 onwards Schumacher was engaged by PEF to survey the Julan, the country from Lake Tiberias and Hûle to Bashan on the east of Jordan.[2] In 1885 the survey was extended to south of the Yarmuk River and in 1886 a map of the Julan was published. Gottlieb Schumacher was able to map in the areas where PEF had experienced problems. He could map there because he was a German and by the 1880s the Germans had replaced the British as the most influential power within Turkey because Germany promised economic aid in the shape of railway construction.

Schumacher was engaged on the railway work and the protection afforded to him as a railway surveyor acted as a cover for his mapping work. Later in the 1890s (1897) Schumacher extended his work to the mountains of the Huran area producing high quality maps of it. Much of his work was published by PEF or by DVEP, although he was only paid expenses by both and PEF only gave him a retainer on a casual basis. As the expertise of the DVEP began to rival that of PEF competition between the two societies increased and after the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century pressure of a political nature forced Schumacher to cease working with PEF and work with DVEP alone. Between 1884 and 1887 Schumacher's maps increased knowledge of eastern Palestine by some 200 square miles in addition to providing the identity of a number of Arab villages.[3] With the fund still in debt and the Western Survey and map still being published, the Fund could not afford to mount any extensive new projects. Instead the Fund had to content itself with known archaeologists and

1 V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land through British eyes, 1820 to 1917, pp.202-10.
2 H. V. Hilpercht, Exploration in Bible Lands during the nineteenth century, 1903.
3 PEF/MINS, 24.6.1885.

explorers, men such as Ganneau (still on the Fund's pay roll), Schick and Schumacher and Lawrence Oliphant who became an occasional correspondent with the Fund.

Oliphant, a one time member of a millenarian sect, an ex-member of parliament, and by now a resident in the Holy Land undertook for £200 a year salary to do survey work and investigate the origins of names in the Palestine area. When Oliphant was appointed the committee wrote to Schumacher, already their Agent in Jaffa, and asked if he had any objection to the Fund's employment of Oliphant. If anything, this points to the significance of the material present at that time being sent through to the Executive of the Fund by Schumacher.[4] At the 1887 Annual Meeting the Executive Committee frankly admitted '[T]he work of exploration, however, has been conducted for the Society during the last year (1885/86) by Herr Gottlieb Schumacher'.[5] The PEF was very dependent on Schumacher for they had no other archaeologists in the field. The Royal Engineers had tried to work east of Jordan but had failed. They were not protected by the Turks. Schumacher was and could survey, but his survey work was dogged by the new rivalry which grew up between the great powers. The rivalry and the withdrawal of British military support for PEF had two results. Firstly PEF had to civilianise the work it did in Palestine, especially in the Julan (east of Jordan). In the period 1885-1890 that was done by the employment, on a voluntary basis, of civilian archaeologists, often from non-British backgrounds. In the period PEF employed or retained the services of those noted above together with Selah Merrill and, of course, Schick. Secondly the international competition meant that not only was PEF only one of many archaeological bodies in the field; it also had no longer a monopoly under which it could ensure that it was the only body to publish results. It had now to share results and share the fruits of its explorers' labour. Thus in 1886 the German bodies published a full map of the Julan. Schumacher had contributed to this map, as had Schick.

Gone were the days when objection could be raised to Warren or Conder publishing independently of the PEF. In 1887 Schumacher published both in the PEF Quarterly and in the DVEP Zeitschrift.[6] As the 1890s drew near the PEF found it could no longer rely upon the goodwill of its foreign explorers. They fell away as gradually various nations set up their own national societies. By the late 1890s PEF found it could only rely upon one person for exploration - Professor Hayter Lewis - an Arabist from Oxford. Perhaps the best example of the international rivalry that was growing up can be seen in the affair of the Shapira fragment. Moses Shapira had crossed the path of PEF in the 1870s with the matter of his pottery which was purchased by PEF and Conder. By the 1880s Shapira had returned to his trade in antiquities in Jerusalem when he was offered parchment fragments found in a cave near the

4 PEF/MINS, 4.5.1886.
5 PEF/MINS, 14.7.1887.
6 PEF/MINS,14.6.1887, AGM report.

Dead Sea. The fragment was in Hebrew, seemed to be from Deuteronomy, and Shapira thought it was genuine.[7] Shapira was an expert in manuscripts and supplied them to the British Museum. He was respected in this field. He disclosed his find to Professor Schröder, a German, and with his backing took it to Europe through Schroder who interested the Kaiser in the find. Shapira then presented his find to PEF and found that both Conder and Walter Besant had doubts about it, and referred him on to Ginsburg at the British Museum. Ginsburg was a Hebrew scholar himself, and he felt the fragment genuine and the Manuscript Department of the Museum agreed.[8]

An offer was made and Shapira found himself famous, potentially rich and with Germany trying to out-bid Britain. National rivalry stepped in to destroy the fragment, Shapira and the dreams of all concerned. Clermont Ganneau came to London, and being refused permission to see the fragment queued to see it publicly and looked at it and noted it. He pronounced it a forgery and cut from a scroll already supplied by Shapira to the Museum. Such were the strengths of Ganneau's argument that the scroll fragment was devalued and rejected. National rivalry was not far from Ganneau's action. He was a French diplomat. The scroll was promoted by a Prussian Kaiser of Germany, and Britain and France, though not enemies, were certainly colonial and naval rivals. International politics played as much a part in destroying Moses Shapira as any work of Ganneau.

Why did the PEF reject Shapira so quickly? The answer is that they had been misled by Shapira before and anyway they had no money. The Committee did not even consider Shapira's find; its funds were too low in 1885. In any event Ginsburg was a leading PEF member and he had access to the British Museum and its funds for such a purchase. What it does illustrate is that in the mid-late 1880s archaeology itself was not outside politics, and that the interests of nations could be represented in a battle over such artefacts as the Shapira fragment.

Throughout the 1880s the PEF's financial position did not improve. Undeterred by their lack of money the committee of the Fund met on 4 December 1888 and resolved on the motion of Sir Charles Wilson and in view of letters from Colonel Groves that a firman be applied for from the Sultan to allow the Fund to dig the Tels and other ancient sites of Palestine. The Fund at this date did not define which Tels it was interested in digging, but appears to have had some vague idea of excavating the Walls of Nehemiah and all the royal sepulchres.[9] Wilson had been one of the principal proponents of the idea of excavating in the Holy Land proper. As a proposer of the idea Wilson had been to the Foreign Office by 18

7 Neil Asher Silberman, Digging for God and Country, pp.134-9.
8 Ibid, pp.141-5; see also PEFQS, 1883, p.195 et seq.
9 PEF/MINS, 4.12.1888.

December 1888 and interviewed officials there, requesting them to obtain a firman allowing the Fund to excavate in Jerusalem and on both sides of the Jordan. The Foreign Office had not definitely promised to apply for such a firman but had left Wilson with the impression, according to the Fund Minutes, that an application could be made.[10] The firman which was to be applied for was hopelessly wide although the Fund itself did try to narrow the scope of the firman down, taking the advice of Schick. In financial terms the Fund's position was improving. By January 1889 some £628.12s.9d. (£628.63) stood in the Fund's bank account, the best that the Fund's account had been for some years.[11] The improved financial position of the Fund, coupled with the appointment towards the end of 1887 of George Armstrong as Acting Secretary to the Fund, was the precursor to a change in direction of the Fund's activities. Besant had now become the Honorary Secretary to the Fund as from the Annual General Meeting of 1887.

On 12 February 1889 the Fund received its reply from the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs who wrote back to the Fund having received a report from H.M. Consul telling the Fund that the application for a firman was flawed as the application did not specify the places where the excavation was to take place.[12] The Fund accordingly resolved that a sub-committee be set up consisting of Wilson and Conder to determine where excavations should be sited, and no doubt taking advice from Schick and Schumacher. At the same time the Fund was given notice by the South Kensington Museum to remove the objects that had been deposited there for display. The Museum was by now reappraising its exhibition policy and under the guise of wanting space had requested the removal of what were presumably seen as old fashioned antiquarian items. The Society itself was therefore put in a position of having to consider setting up and running its own museum on its own premises.[13]

Under the direction of Wilson and Conder, Walter Besant had approached William Matthew Flinders Petrie, the leading Egyptologist of the time, to see if he would be willing to dig for PEF. The approaches had tentatively begun in July 1888 and were renewed in 1889 whilst Petrie was ill in Egypt and contemplating what to do when his excavation season ended in May 1889.[14] For Petrie the attraction was that by digging a short season for PEF he could effectively extend his digging season into July and August and work in the cooler climate of the Holy Land. Petrie's first love was Egypt, and in working for the PEF he hoped to find material in Palestine that linked with his Egyptian work.[15] Petrie decided to accept the Fund's

10 PEF/MINS, 18.12.1888.
11 PEF/MINS, 15.1.1889.
12 PEF/MINS, 12.2.1889.
13 PEF/MINS, 18.12.1888.
14 PEF/PET/1-21, 26.
15 Margaret S. Drower, Flinders Petrie. A life in archaeology, ch.VII.

offer and formally wrote to the PEF stating that he had decided to undertake work in Palestine on his own account. Petrie wondered if the PEF would like to be associated with his work.[16] Petrie was careful with his wording. He was in charge of the excavation and the Fund were associated with it; the PEF were not in charge of the work. Petrie could, therefore, avoid the demands made upon his predecessors such as Warren and Conder who had been directed in their work by Wilson and others and had come into conflict with the Fund, but then Petrie was an experienced excavator.

William Matthew Flinders Petrie was born in 1853 in London. He was a delicate child and was educated at home by his family and at an early stage showed an interest in scientific subjects. He had a prodigious memory and developed an interest in an eclectic group of subjects and a taste for country walks. Through his parents he acquired contacts at the British Museum and the University of London.[17] Petrie never went to school or university, but quite independently developed an interest in surveying and archaeology. Making most of his own equipment, he surveyed Stonehenge in 1874 and a number of other Stone Age monuments in the south of England. Working independently Petrie compiled the survey and by 1877 had deposited portfolios in the Map Room of the British Museum and become noted by other archaeologists of his day such as Flaxman Spurrell. Archaeology was emerging at the time from a subject practised by leisured gentlemen into a subject of academic study. Most archaeologists were amateur and Petrie's lack of formal education was no bar to his acceptance by those who were interested in the field. Egyptology was just as much an amateur field and Petrie was lucky to live just at the point where the professional excavator was beginning to emerge and oust the amateur. His interest in Egypt came from his contact with the works of an old family friend, Piazzi Smyth who, in the 1850s, published a speculative book about the origins of the Giza pyramids.[18] Smyth's work was based on the work of John Taylor[19] and on pyramid measurements. Between 1879 and 1882 Petrie went to Egypt, measured the pyramids, disproved Smyth, and established himself as the new authority on Egypt.

Petrie excavated the delta area of Egypt, 1883-86, during which he began to refine his historical and archaeological methods. Petrie's method of excavation was totally different to the antiquarian methods that had preceded it. Petrie attempted to excavate in such a way as to learn about aspects of the past, not to mention the historical record, and to check up on the accuracy of the record. Artefacts recovered by Petrie had to be placed in the context of their historical usage and in order to ensure that such a context was established Petrie excavated using the techniques which had originated from the excavations by Schliemann at Troy in 1875

16 PEF/MINS, 19.2.1889.
17 Drower, Flinders Petrie, ch.II.
18 Ibid, pp.27-33. Piazzi Smyth, Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid.
19 John Taylor, The Great Pyramid - Why was it built, and who built it?, 1859.

and 1880-84. The basis of these methods was stratigraphic digging together with dating and cross-dating techniques using among other things pot fragments and shards to establish dates. Petrie had recognised that by digging through stratas of debris he could establish a taxonomic framework for the classification of the material, especially the pottery, and a chronometric system by which artefacts and items recovered could be assembled or assessed and dated and calibrated. Petrie used this method to great effect in Egypt.[20] In 1890 he was to transfer it to Palestine. Petrie also correctly identified middle eastern tels as not natural land forms but the remains of dead cities, which if excavated would yield the strata and pottery evidence he required. Following more Egyptian excavations Petrie did work for one short season for the PEF after which he returned to Egypt. By 1893 he had become the first British professor of Egyptology at London University, a chair he occupied until 1935. During his tenure of the Amelia Thompson chair he continued to dig in Egypt and assembled his own museum at London University. He is credited with discovering the prehistoric civilisation of Egypt and the Greek city of Naucratis. The PEF excavation was his only work in the Levant outside Egypt. He died in 1942 in Jerusalem.

In order to dig in the Holy Land Petrie needed a firman and PEF undertook to obtain one for him. Nothing better illustrates the new situation in which the Fund found itself. The world was changing and the old methods of men such as Wilson, Conder, Morrison and Warren were no longer appropriate. No more clear illustration of the changes that were taking place can be given than the correspondence that was necessary in order to obtain a firman. On 2 April 1889 a long series of correspondences were entered into with the Foreign Office, the British Ambassador in Constantinople and the Turkish authorities in order to obtain a firman.[21] Gone were the days when a firman could be obtained virtually as a right by any British organisation and the Fund could rely upon the Turkish authorities to oblige their every whim.[22] An application for a firman raised many questions, and those questions had to be answered before the firman was given. Not the least of the reasons for this change in the attitude of the Turkish authorities was the fact that the Germans were now by far the most influential group of foreigners within the Turkish Empire. It is also symptomatic of the fact that the Turks had by now improved their government of Jerusalem and the whole of the Middle East to such an extent that they could insist upon rules and regulations and undertake the regulating of such excavating work. Jerusalem had been created as a separate Pashahlict and as such administration had improved enormously. This was in keeping with the

20 R. Chapman, 'British archaeology in the Holy Land in the nineteenth century. Sources and a framework for study in Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914', Conference, 8 February 1989.

21 PEF/MINS, 2.4.1889.

22 Ibid.

administrative improvements throughout the Turkish Empire and in particular of the eastern side of the Jordan.

Belatedly, too, the Turks were concerned about the trade in antiquities and had now decided to regulate what had hitherto been an unregulated trade in antiquities. To do this the Turkish authorities insisted on site inspectors at all digs within the Empire and upon the reporting of major finds to Constantinople. For anyone to dig within the Turkish Empire now required not only due formality but also definite plans and a delineated digging area. To men such as Wilson, Conder and Warren such requirements must have come as a considerable shock. They had never before been required to submit plans nor any delineated area, and indeed no reason why they either wished to map or dig within Jerusalem or the Holy Land in general had been needed. Communications within the Turkish Empire were now improving with the coming of the telegraph and the commencement of the building of carriage roads. A carriage road now existed from Jaffa through to Jerusalem and the telegraph had been available for some years.

The established leadership of the Fund must have suffered a considerable shock on 4 June 1889 when the Turkish authorities again refused a firman.[23] This was the first time they ever had refused permission to the Fund to do anything. The reasons for refusal were that a firman could not be granted for four different spots at the same time, and secondly because regulations required a plan of the site proposed to be dug to be submitted. The report of H.M. Consul at Constantinople and the Porte was to the effect that the explorers would need permission even if they wished only to examine monuments, let alone dig in undefined spots. Truly, the glory days of exploration had ended. This time the committee of the Fund were forced to seek professional advice and they resolved to ask Flinders Petrie to undertake excavations on behalf of the Fund in 1890. Petrie was also asked to suggest where work should take place and to submit not only a plan of the site but also a name of the officer, or effendi, who would control work at the site on behalf of the Turkish authorities. For the Fund and its Executive this was a considerable climb down. They had never before had to subject their working practices to the will of Turkish authorities who were after all their hosts in Palestine.

A further change in the Turkish authority's policy was an insistence that all recovered artefacts belonged to the Turkish government and not to the exploration society. For Petrie such negotiations were not a difficulty. He was used to conducting them in Egypt where he had largely spent his early archaeological years. To the Fund it presented an insuperable problem for they had always regarded recovered items as their property to take away. All this

23 PEF/MINS, 4.6.1889.

points to a reduction in both Britain's power and the Fund's status and influence both within Britain and in the East. The PEF had lost its main protector and power base, the War Office. It was only by linking itself to someone of the status of Petrie that it could recover credibility in the archaeological and academic world. It was to be Petrie who would identify the site at Tel el Hesi and through it open a new period of Holy Land exploration. Prior to Petrie, Holy Land excavators such as Ganneau, Wilson and Warren had looked for items which would illustrate the Bible. They went to prove the Bible to be correct. Petrie, using his stratigraphic system dug with fewer presuppositions. Though a religious man himself, and though a personal friend of many Fund members, it was Professor Sayce and Professor Hayter Lewis who had introduced him to the PEF. He did not abide by PEF's old methods.[24]

Petrie's new 'scientific' exploration methods did not immediately displace the earlier 'antiquarian' methods traditionally used by the Fund. For the rest of the nineteenth century the PEF continued to rely on the antiquarian methods used by Schick, Schumacher and Ganneau. All those men were older men, all of them Palestine explorers of the old school who dug with fixed ideas of 'proving' the Bible account to be correct. They were contemporaries of the men who ran the Fund. Petrie challenged the ideas of those men but such was the status and the reputation of Petrie that none could stand against him. Petrie was an accepted expert. It was he who would train virtually all British Middle Eastern archaeologists from 1870 to 1935.[25] In any event the PEF were very dependant on Petrie to help them mount their expedition in 1890. After the initial correspondence between him and the PEF in January-March 1889[26] the Fund had to concede that Petrie knew more about digging in the Middle East than they did themselves. By July 1889 they had been forced to ask Petrie to suggest a site to dig, the idea of requesting a general permission to excavate having been rejected twice by the Turks. Wilson had been the main proponent of that idea wanting permission to dig on the east and the west of the Jordan.[27]

Petrie suggested to the committee in correspondence in July 1889 that digging should commence on one of the southern tels of western Palestine. He also gave estimates of the cost of labour (estimating about £60 a month) and working on a basis of some 100 labourers being employed. Petrie's intention, of course, was to produce a situation where he could excavate in Palestine during the 'Off Season' in Egypt.

---

24 Margaret S. Drower, 'W. M. Flinders Petrie, the PEF and Tel el Hesi', PEQ, 1990, p.87.
25 Olga Tufnell, 'Reminiscences of a "Petrie Pup"', PEQ, 1982, p.81 et seq.
26 PEF/MINS, 15.1.1889.
27 PEF/MINS, 16.7.1889.

By mid-1889 the committee were busy arguing over the organisation and cost of the expedition. Petrie's estimates were not accepted without challenge, nor were his possible sites for digging. Based on their experiences of some 30 years previously, Wilson, Warren and others initially advocated a number of sites and queried Petrie's costings. The sites suggested by Wilson included Moab and Dhiban. The significance of the committee's debate was that the committee was still thinking in terms of biblical sites to prove biblical accounts whilst Petrie was looking to the excavation of sites that had archaeological value. When by August 1889 the committee decided to re-apply for a firman giving plans and details of where digging was to take place, they suggested Tel Aglan '[T]hat Mr Flinders Petrie have a firman to excavate at Tel Aglan (the supposed Eglon of Joshua)'.[28] Still the committee were thinking in terms of proving biblical sites. By 20 August 1889 the application for such a firman had been passed on to the Foreign Office.[29] In the meantime reports were still being received from Schick outlining his discoveries and throughout August, September and October 1889 from Schick explaining how he had found the Pool at Bethesda. As always, Schick's identification of the Pool was probably open to dispute. The Fund's assets still stood at a fairly low level, of about £450, and showed no likelihood of increasing vastly beyond that point. With low funds, therefore, an avowed commitment to publish work submitted by Clermont Ganneau, and the closure of the Fund's permanent exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, the Fund was n a near state of crisis. Matters were not assisted by the fact that on 17 December 1889 a telegram was sent to the Fund from H.M. Ambassador at the Porte explaining that the local authorities in Palestine were unable to identify the Khurbet Ajlam where digging had been requested. The exact position of the requested area was obviously not known to the Porte.[30] To show the way that the world had changed, in February 1890 permission was granted to dig at the Khurbet Ajlam but this time the Turkish authorities demanded a deposit of £50 plus £20 fees prior to work commencing.

Funds stood at some £520 but that was nothing like sufficient to allow the work to commence. An appeal had to be placed in the principal newspapers asking for a special 'whip' for funds.[31] Finally, on 20 February 1890 Glaisher, on behalf of the Fund, wrote to Flinders Petrie explaining that the firman had been granted and laying down the Fund's conditions. By now cash in the Fund's accounts stood at £1,116.19s.1d. (£1,116.96) and Glaisher was in a position where he could dictate terms to Petrie. Those terms included a remuneration, including bakshish, of £150, labour costs of some £200, travelling expenses of £30 and personal honorarium of £100 for a four month dig. The government inspector to take charge of the site was to be Hamadi Bey, and it was acknowledged that all objects found should be the

28 PEF/MINS, 6.6.1889.
29 PEF/MINS, 20.8.1889.
30 PEF/MINS, 17.12.1889.
31 PEF/MINS, 4.2.1890.

property of the Turkish government. The Fund inserted their usual conditions in Petrie's contract: that he was not to publish without clearing any matters with the Fund, and all his notes and papers were to be forwarded to the Fund for publication, if they thought fit, in their Memoirs. In the firman obtained Petrie is described as being 'of the British Museum'. Petrie replied to the offer in writing in March 1890 and money was forwarded to him through Cooks travel agents.

When Petrie received the news of his appointment and of receipt of the firman, he was in Jerusalem having taken refuge in the house of the Revd. J. L. Hall, a missionary. In Jerusalem Petrie met up with Hayter Lewis and Dr Zeller and from them he learned that the Turks had a fixed idea that Britain wanted to take over Syria in order to impede French and Russian ambition. It would seem that the work done by Palmer and Kitchener was still uppermost in Turkish minds and that, coupled with the German work in the area, produced problems for true academic researchers such as Petrie. It was in fact Schick and the British Consul who smoothed Petrie's path with the Turks. Both were well known and trusted, both could talk to the authorities, both helped in the selection of an inspector - something Petrie disliked but had to accept. By April 1890 Petrie had started inspecting his sites and meeting the paramount chiefs of the areas he intended to dig. By judicious offerings of bakshish to all concerned, Petrie managed to transfer his digging site from Umm Lakis to Tel el Hesi on discovering that Umm Lakis was largely a Roman-Arab site.[32] Petrie still retained considerable authority, an authority that his successor Bliss never commanded. Part of the secret of Petrie's power over the Fund rested on his reputation and part on the Fund's need to overcome its crisis caused by the withdrawal of Royal Engineers and War Office support. Petrie's removal of his work from Umm Lakis to Tel el Hesi was but one example of his authority and power. In this he was helped considerably by his friendship with Sayce, Hayter Lewis and probably Besant. Wilson was also not as active at this time and was not able to intervene in Petrie's work.

Petrie formally received his firman and set about obtaining a workforce. Petrie always liked personally to choose and employ his own staff and labourers. In Egypt he used townsfolk whom he found most satisfactory, but here he was forced to take some local Bedouin labour firstly because of the unsettled nature of the country, and secondly because Bedouins were the only residents in the area. Petrie dreaded the approaching Ramadan for he knew that his workforce would disappear during the fast. He also found that they were poor workmen and other local Bedouin constantly hung around the fringes of the site.[33] Work was therefore constrained by the approach of Ramadan and the forthcoming grain harvests.

32 Drower, Flinders Petrie, pp.158-61.
33 Drower, 'W. M. Flinders Petrie ...', p.87.

By the beginning of April 1890 he had begun hiring labourers and camel crews to act as bearers and transport. The wording of the firman had been reasonably generous and using the wording and his archaeological knowledge Petrie prospected for a likely site. Umm Lakis and Khirbet Ajlan did not look promising. They had been the Fund's preferred sites, but as there was no surface pottery present at either site Petrie decided to prospect a large mound, Tel el Hesi, six miles from Bureyr where Roman surface pottery was evident. The site was twelve miles from Gaza, and Petrie could receive assistance from medical missionaries when he needed such. Work commenced on 17 April 1890 and quickly Petrie made a discovery of some small jugs containing animal bones. These he labelled 'Amorites', although in fact they are now known to be early Bronze Age. Problems arose as Ramadan was approaching and the temperature in the area was soaring. Petrie was a systematic worker and his Egyptian staff over at Merdum had been trained by him to excavate to his requirements. The position was otherwise at Tel el Hesi where inexperienced local labour was not of the quality he would have preferred. Petrie found the effendi a 'pretentious goose' and established bad relations with him. This was rather unfortunate as the effendi was the official Turkish inspector allocated to that site. Petrie assumed that he was digging through the remains of the biblical Lachish, although in fact he was not and though he made many mistakes in identification because of his assumptions, he did work with a systematic skill which had been absent in all previous Holy Land archaeological investigation.

Petrie's interest in Palestine excavation had really been limited to an interest in methods of early stone cutting. His interest in digging biblical sites was strictly limited to the way that digging could assist him with is own work over in Egypt. By the end of May 1890 Petrie had decided to close the site down, a decision which was assisted by the fact that his workmen just melted away at the end of Ramadan and they went off to their fields and villages to gather in the crops. Faced with virtually no workmen, a half-excavated site and no promising finds, Petrie had little to show for his season's work in Palestine other than a few whole pots, a huge collection of shards, and a large number of photographic plates. Petrie made his way to London in June to appear before the Fund's Executive on 11 July 1890.[34] There Petrie recommended that the work of excavation at Tel el Hesi should not continue owing to the enormous costs of labour in removing earth and the possibility of barren results. Handing over his report Petrie suggested two other tels which he felt may reveal better discoveries and yield further information 'and Mr Petrie endorsed his former statement viz: "[T]hat he preferred Egypt to Palestine but would be glad to give advice or instruction on excavations to whosoever the committee should appoint to conduct next season's work."'[35] Despite receiving Petrie's

34 PEF/MINS, 1.7.1890.
35 Ibid.

support and recommendations the committee then went on to consult with Wilson, Conder, Major Grove and Mantel to ask for recommendations for a further site for excavation. In short, the committee reverted to its former practice of seeking a site that had been identified as having biblical significance, digging it, and hoping that the results would support the biblical text. The four Royal Engineers approached were all primarily surveyors and their archaeological knowledge was that of amateurs. None of them suggested any one of Petrie's nominated sites, but they agreed on a site at Tel Hum. On behalf of the committee Professor Hayter Lewis wrote to Petrie and invited him to take on the excavation of Tel Hum. If Petrie refused the excavation was to be offered to Mr Griffiths of the British Museum and also to a Royal Engineer's officer.[36] Petrie refused further engagements with the Fund and the Royal Engineers' were also rejected when Wilson could not secure sappers to dig Tel Hum. They therefore did not accept Wilson's committee's views as to the site that should be excavated and the Executive of the Fund nominated work to continue on Tel el Hesi. Although Tel el Hesi eventually became the Fund's preferred site, a substantial minority of the Executive did point out that Flinders Petrie had felt that the site was not worth excavating, would yield no results, and would be expensive. In the ensuing argument Sayce, Simpson and Crace of the Executive voted to continue the Tel el Hesi excavation whilst Morrison and Major Watson voted for a new excavation at Tel Hum. Because Chaplin, the one-time missionary doctor to the London Jews' Society did not vote but abstained, the decision was made to continue excavating Tel el Hesi. A firman was to be applied for and a young American archaeologist, Frederick Jones Bliss, was appointed to excavate.[37]

Born in Suq al-Gharb near Beirut on 22 January 1859, Bliss was the eldest son of Daniel Bliss and Abby Maria Bliss. In 1866 Daniel Bliss, a Presbyterian missionary, founded the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, an institution that was re-named the American University of Beirut in 1920. Throughout his life Frederick Jones Bliss was to maintain a strong link with the Syrian Protestant College, especially after his brother, Howard Sweetser Bliss, succeeded his father as College President. Reared in the Levant, Frederick Bliss spoke Arabic fluently which distinguished him during his archaeological career from most west European excavators in the area. Bliss did not enjoy good health, a factor which may have contributed towards his failing to obtain the presidency of the Syrian Protestant College. Academically Bliss studied in the United States, he received a BA, an MA, and an Honorary PhD from Amhurst College in Massachusetts and in 1887 graduated from Union Theological Seminary in New York. He was never ordained into the ministry.[38] In October 1890 Bliss was appointed to succeed Petrie as the Fund's archaeologist in Palestine. By January 1891 the Fund had obtained a firman in the name of Bliss, and arrangements had been made for Bliss to

36 PEF/MINS, 5.8.1890.
37 PEF/MINS, 7.10.1890.
38 Phillip J. King, 'Frederick Jones Bliss at Tel el Hesi and elsewhere', PEQ, 1990, p.96.

be trained by Petrie. Bliss arrived in Cairo in early January 1891 to join Petrie, the Fund taking up Petrie's offer to train archaeologists for them. The funds of the PEF at this stage stood at some £1,318 and no proper costings appear to have been done to estimate the price of the work which Bliss would be asked to carry out. Unlike Petrie, Bliss did not have a good clear knowledge of archaeology; in fact he knew nothing about the subject. He did not know what it would cost to excavate in Palestine, and he had never been in charge of a dig before.

Bliss's apprenticeship consisted of following Petrie around Petrie's existing digs at Medum in Egypt. At the time Petrie was the leading British archaeologist and he demonstrated to Bliss the techniques of photographing, surveying and stratigraphy, together with his own eccentric methods. Bliss's apprenticeship with Petrie was also remarkably brief. Bliss served his apprenticeship in one month and by 20 February 1891 Bliss had left Petrie and was on his way to Jaffa to purchase trucks, supplies and equipment to dig Tel el Hesi. The Fund and Petrie appear to have expected Bliss with his limited knowledge to master the complex task of setting up and managing his dig in a remarkably short time. In fairness to both Petrie and the Fund, however, we should remember that very few European archaeologists had much more experience than that which had been acquired by Bliss in his month's apprenticeship. Petrie's work was unique among English archaeologists, many of whom were still in the mould of antiquaries and who did little more than collect disconnected objects of interest. Petrie's reports and his work at Tel el Hesi had introduced the conceptual framework for understanding the significance of tels in Levantine archaeology for the first time, and had, for the first time, made those carrying out Levantine exploration aware of the nature of tels and their significance. Petrie had adopted Schliemann's methodology from the Troy excavation of 1875, but even Petrie did not realise the full significance of the methodology he had adopted.[39] Petrie's methods were still in the process of development although he was by now moving along the lines of the production of a site report and a research programme. When the Fund dispatched Bliss to Tel el Hesi Bliss had not only to follow Petrie's excavation techniques, but also devise his own method of site reporting, his own method of photographing his finds, and work within a completely unknown research programme and budget.[40] The work was never budgeted, and it was on this latter point that Bliss was initially to come into conflict with the leaders of the Fund.

Most of the Fund's 'inner circle' of committee members had dug or surveyed in Palestine prior to the 1880s. Few of them had much archaeological knowledge, the bulk being old fashioned antiquarians looking for finds of significance to prove biblical texts and to be exhibited in museums. Bliss was therefore faced with an uncomprehending committee who did

39 R. Chapman, 'British archaeology in the Holy Land ...'.

40 Shimon Gibson and Tessa Rajak, 'Tell el-Hesi and the Camera: the photographs of Petrie and Bliss', PEQ, 1991, p.114 et seq.

not understand the nature and quality of the work which he was performing on their behalf. A further problem to confront Bliss was the fact that the committee relied so strongly upon their older established explorers and antiquarians. Schick, Clermont Ganneau, and Schumacher were not only old established friends of the committee but also excavators whose work had been accepted over the years by the committee, published by them, and who reflected the thinking of people of their generation. There was only one person connected with the inner workings of the committee who had experience of actually excavating on behalf of the committee and excavating in difficult circumstances. That one person was Charles Warren, and during his period Warren was not active within the Fund firstly because he was Commander Singapore 1889-1894 and secondly that following the publication of his work, The Temple and the Tomb in 1880, Warren had attacked many of the cherished ideas of the inner group of the PEF Committee. Many of the Executive Committee of the Fund were still wedded to Ferguson's theory regarding the siting of the Second Temple and the possible location of the Tomb of Jesus. Wilson, a long time exponent of Ferguson's views, was appointed Director General of Ordnance Survey 1886-1893 and later Director of Military Education at the War office, 1893-1898. Throughout this period (1892-1900) Wilson was prominent in and often present at meetings of the Fund's Executive Committee. Matters that arose when Wilson was not present were often referred back to him. This was obviously a difficult background for Bliss.

Additionally, Bliss had the disadvantage of being an American employed by a British exploration society to the end of the nineteenth century, and during the heyday of British imperial endeavour. Many of the attitudes of class, religion, and racial awareness which permeated British imperial thought would also have permeated American middle class white Protestant thought, but there was a difference. Bliss did not come from the conventional American background. He came from the background of a missionary father who conducted a missionary church outside the protection of any imperial remit. In short, Daniel Bliss had acted as a missionary in Lebanon during a time when he had, in all probability, had to rely upon making converts and appointing native Lebanese as clergymen and leaders within his missionary organisation to keep it alive. The attitude of Frederick Bliss towards the native Palestine population was totally different to that of, say, Flinders Petrie. Whilst Petrie could not speak much Arabic, as indeed was the case with most European adventurers, Bliss spoke fluent Arabic. Where Petrie could not communicate with, or indeed tolerate the Turkish effendi sent to supervise his work, Bliss was able to not only communicate directly with the effendi but also formed a firm friendship with him. Because of this friendship, because of his relations with local Turkish officials and Arab notables, Bliss was able to contemplate assisting in the setting up of a Turkish-run Museum of Palestine Archaeology within Jerusalem. Though this was a project he was to become involved with during the later years of his employment by the Fund, it was a project which was to bring him into conflict with the Fund's Executive who saw

the function of their explorer was to provide finds that they could place in their museum in London, rather than finds that could be exhibited in a museum in Jerusalem.

The task before Bliss was large. Tel el Hesi had only been probed at by Petrie, who had among other things run tunnels into the side of the mound. Bliss was faced with the removal of more than 750 cubic feet of earth rising over 60 foot. Work began in March, and by May had to be stopped due to the heat and conditions. Digging was not to re-commence until November. Shortly before the re-commencement of exploration work, in October 1891 Bliss wrote to the Fund asking if more money could be paid into the Coutts Account for the excavation. Realising the enormity of the task before him, Bliss wanted to employ up to 120 people a day in order to move the vast amount of earth that stood on the site of Tel el Hesi. By now he had a better idea of costings and he suggested to the committee that more funds were needed, for he knew that his expenses would exceed £20 a week.[41] Bliss was unaware of the fact that the Fund's bank balance was now round about £374. Even by January 1892 the amount that the Fund held in its bank account had only risen to some £630.[42]

By January Bliss had once more been forced to cease work, this time due to storms in the area and he was able to send a list of antiquities recovered through to the Fund. An extension to the firman was found to be necessary at this point. By March 1892 an extension to the firman was obtained, but that extension was only for a period of one year through to March 1893. By now the Turkish authorities were far more interested in controlling European digging and European excavation within their domain. The extent that the Turks were now exercising control is probably best seen by the fact that though the extension was made through to March 1893 no extension could be made to cover the summer months of 1893 and those would have to be applied for separately. Still Bliss's excavations carried on.

By April 1892 Bliss was again in touch with the Fund, this time stating that the season's work would require about £375.[43] Bliss also noted that there was a balance of some £84 in Coutts account and that £200 had been sent out since the beginning of January. The Executive would only grant Bliss a further £100. In the meantime Bliss contemplated ceasing work over the hot season to re-commence in October/November. Once again the committee had to accept Bliss's wish to cease work as that was a matter that was covered by the firman. When Bliss had attempted to negotiate an alteration of terms of the firman at a local level and also with Constantinople, it was made perfectly clear to him that all correspondence with Constantinople should go via the Executive through the Embassy and to the Porte. Additionally the problem faced by Warren some 24-25 years previously was now beginning to

41 PEF/MINS, 20.10.1891.
42 PEF/MINS, 19.1.1892.
43 PEF/MINS, 11.4.1892.

again rear its head. The Executive did not have sufficient funds to sustain an expedition and in particular a dig of the type being undertaken by Bliss. Bliss, in turn, as a native Arab-speaker, wished to negotiate directly with the Arab authorities but no power could be delegated to him. Nor was he aware of the financial plight of PEF.

Further, Bliss faced difficulties that were unknown to Warren. He was not able to take the robust course and the robust view that Warren took some 30 years previously. Warren had been able to be far more cavalier in his treatment of Arab workmen and in his approach to the Turkish authorities. Following the reforms of the Tansamit and the development of the Palestine area on both sides of the Jordan, the Turkish authorities were able to take a far more definite stand with Westerners who wished to dig and explore within their territories. The result was that Bliss had to work within the Turkish system, obey its rules and beware of causing too much disruption. Turkey was no longer dependent on Britain in the way she had been in 1865; she had German support and Russian/French interests. There was now no reason to give the PEF explorer any preferential treatment and every reason to not do so. Britain was now in possession of Egypt, and Turkey did not want any other parts of her dominions to fall into the hands of the British Empire. At the same time PEF had lost its War Office power base and was impotently attempting to press Bliss to stand up for British imperial interests.

Archaeologically Bliss did well. In June 1892 he was able to report to the Executive that he had made what was probably his most exciting discovery at Tel el Hesi. A cuneiform tablet discovered in a layer of debris and ash and the tablet was similar to the Tel el Armana Tablet found in Egypt. This was the first inscribed tablet to have been found in Palestine and was made of burnt clay. The Fund used the find for all it was worth, including advertising it in The Times. Here, however, we can note another dissimilarity from the excavation of Warren 25 years previously. The tablet was not sent through to London, only a copy of it. The original went to Constantinople's Imperial Museum. Bliss was now laid up with fever and had to be brought back to England to recover. Some £50 was sent to pay the cost of his voyage.[44] At the same time the committee undertook to co-operate with the German Palestine Exploration Fund (DVEP). During the break in excavation work at Tel el Hesi the Fund was able to replenish its bank balance and by 17 January 1893 the PEF had a balance of some £643 in the bank.[45] The decision was made to close the excavation at Tel el Hesi and Bliss wrote to the Fund stating that money was proving a problem at the Hesi excavation and suggesting that a new site should be selected. By this time the Fund had completed four full seasons at Tel el Hesi and Bliss himself had completed his third season there.

44 PEF/MINS, 21.6.1892.
45 PEF/MINS, 17.1.1893.

Bliss had always had the greatest of doubts about the tel. He found it a difficult place to dig, the money and labour force available to him were insufficient, and his results were disappointing. Apart from a large collection of pottery fragments, bronze age hammer heads and the like he had a sizeable collection of old lamps, together with a few seals and inscribed tablets, to show for three seasons' work. For most practical purposes all Bliss had done at Tel el Hesi was to confirm Petrie's observations. The significance of the dig had been that for the first time it had been able to be recognised that the tels in Palestine were in fact the remains of cities from previous millennia. This was a point not identified by previous scholars, including Edward Robinson and which had only been brought to prominence by Petrie and confirmed by his and Bliss's work. Bliss wrote up his report quickly, and by 1894 had published his findings in his book A Mound of Many Cities.[46] The task of choosing a new site to excavate fell to the committee, and once more Wilson's advice was sought. The committee were not long in making a decision, and the decision was made on 21 March 1893 when the committee resolved to obtain a firman to dig at Jerusalem.[47]

A firman was requested in March 1893. None had been received by 1 April 1893, and the Fund Executive was forced to seek an interview with Mr Pilling, the Secretary of the Jerusalem Haifa Railway Company,

> But Mr Pilling told us that he would be most happy to help our work and that he was going to Stamboul (Constantinople), where he had some influence, could he be of any use in the getting of a firman? He had spoken to the Grand Vizier about our work and asked why Conder had been stopped, the Grand Vizier did not know.[48]

In short, the Fund's influence over the Turkish authorities was now diminishing, probably in line with the diminution of British influence over the Ottoman Empire. By now the Germans were the dominant force within the Ottoman Empire, and their Palestine Exploration Society was at work digging in the archaeological field at Tel Hum. The tel had been selected by Petrie as a possible excavation site, but had not been taken up by the Fund who instead had preferred to excavate Tel el Hesi. Additionally, the railway companies were now building the Jerusalem-Haifa line of the Berlin to Baghdad railway, and a French company as well as an English company and a German company were all engaged in construction work.

---

46 King, 'Frederick Jones Bliss ...'. See also Olga Turnell, 'Excavatio's progress. Letters of F. J. Bliss, 1889-1890', PEQ, 1967, pp.112-27.

47 PEF/MINS, 21.3.1893.

48 PEF/MINS, 1.8.1893.

Not only was the railway construction well in hand, but also the natural resources of the Holy Land were now becoming obvious. Schumacher was in mid-1893 the only engineer on the railway project but it was anticipated others would go out. Schumacher had reported to the Fund that the area to the east of the Dead Sea was 'rich and that a line to the Dead Sea could pay very well'. In other words, the mineral resources of the area had become apparent. Prospecting was taking place and once more the Fund noted '[M]any officers are prospecting, some being Russians. The Czar has purchased a firm property in Haifa.'[49] The Fund had now to rely upon the agency of the Syria-Ottoman Railway Company if it wished to obtain a firman and Bliss had to be sent to call upon Pilling by 1 August 1893 with a view to getting Pilling to support the application to make excavations along the line of the railway. Clearly the world had changed from the heady days of the 1860s when the Fund alone was the sole European representative in the area. By 19 September 1893 Schumacher had been given a new contract retaining him as a member of the Fund's excavations staff. The Fund was prepared to pay Schumacher an honorarium of £3 a month beginning in July, and this was to report such finds 'as may be made on the railway excavations'. One of the great problems was, of course, that the Fund's resources were still not exactly high. By October 1893[50] the Fund's bank balance remained at some £180. The Fund now received very little in the way of government aid and compared with their French and German equivalent and the Russian equivalent the Fund was badly impoverished. Most foreign Palestine exploration funds received some sort of subsidy from their governments. Not so the PEF; they barely received government support for their firman applications, and when it did come, support was not great. Thus on 13 October the Foreign Office wrote asking that an Agent be appointed to act for Bliss in Jerusalem in reference to the firman.[51] Clearly a firman was not now a matter of right, but had to be fought for. Bliss himself was dispatched to Jaffa on 11 October 1893. With Bliss in Jerusalem it became possible to find out where the difficulties lay. A letter from Bliss dated 7 November 1893 was read at the December 1893 Committee meeting where the Sublime Porte raised points in relation to the quarterly statement that had offended Turkey.[52] The glory days of European pillaging of Holy Land were now over. By now PEF was willing to excavate on the strength of a locally granted permit to dig rather than a full imperial firman from Constantinople.

The argument over the granting of a firman or a permit was to carry on well into 1894 and correspondence was received in March 1894 from the Foreign Office stating that the Porte had been pressed for a definite answer in relation to any permission for excavations at Jerusalem and that they had demanded a further report in relation to items found.[53] Given the

49 PEF/MINS, 19.9.1893.
50 PEF/MINS, 17.10.1893.
51 PEF/MINS, 13.10.1893.
52 PEF/MINS, 19.12.1893.
53 PEF/MINS, 10.3.1893.

competition now available in Jerusalem to fund and develop Palestine, and given the large influence which Germany and France were having in the area, the Porte was clearly in no mood to compromise with the British who, in any event, had altered their policy towards the Turks following the Balkan atrocities and Gladstone's rejection of the traditional Anglo-Turkish alliance. It was only Foreign Office pressure eventually brought to bear on Turkey in March 1894 that obtained a firman for the Fund. By that time the Fund's assets amounted to some £800 and the Fund obtained, through the Foreign Office, a firman for the excavation of Jerusalem on the basis of the payment of £20 Turkish and a deposit of £50 Turkish. The expenses of a Turkish inspector were also to be paid by the Fund. The Committee had to accept the conditions put forward to it, and cheques were dispatched for the appropriate amount. Work could now begin at Jerusalem on the Jerusalem excavations.

Bliss was to work to the south of the city in an area agreed with the Turks, and in an area which was known to many of the Fund's leaders - Wilson had dug in roughly the same area in the 1860s, as indeed had Warren. By June 1894 Wilson had written to Warren explaining that the purpose of the excavations was to'trace the course of the city walls and any work such as cleaning out and tracing an aqueduct which does not throw light on the main question is to some extent unnecessary expenditure'.[54] Wilson took a very restricted view of Bliss's task. Bliss was to define the line of the city walls and only take into account such significant finds as he may come across. Bliss wished to investigate as a professional archaeologist, following the examples he had been given by Petrie, and he wished to trace all leads and all passages that he found. Wilson, however, drew on his 30 year-old experience of excavating at Jerusalem, telling Bliss to contain himself to 'significant monuments', find and finding the line of the wall. The Fund were equally careful about allowing Bliss to increase his labour force and the Executive had grave doubts about allowing Bliss to employ more people than they had initially authorised. Throughout the whole of the time that Bliss was excavating on behalf of the Fund the Fund received reports from Ganneau and Shick relating to the same areas.

Bliss's remit was to dig around the walls of Jerusalem in order to establish the line of the historic Third Wall of Jerusalem prior to 70 A.D. The definition of the line of that wall was particularly important from a Christian point of view for it was the defining feature as to whether or not the Holy Sepulchre, which by 1894 was in the centre of Jerusalem, was within or without the city during the time of the First Century A.D. The work was potentially arduous and Bliss could not complete it on his own. By 15 February 1895 it had been necessary for the Fund to appoint Archibald Dickie to be Bliss's assistant.

---

54 PEF/MINS, 28.1.1894.

Archibald Dickie was born in Dundee in 1868 and died in 1942. He was trained in the Architectural School at London, and became an architect to the PEF Expedition at Jerusalem in 1895 and worked with Bliss at the excavation until June 1897. Dickie left the Holy Land in 1897 after being attacked by a group of local Arabs who not only stabbed him but also broke his arm. Until 1912 he practised as an architect in London and from 1910 he combined that practice with acting as an Assistant Secretary to the Fund in place of George Armstrong who died that year. In 1913 he was appointed Professor of Architecture at the University of Manchester, retiring from that post in 1933 when he was appointedto an Emeritus Professorship which he held until his death.[55]

In 1895 Archibald Dickie was employed by PEF at the rate of £8 per calendar month with duties as diverse as acting as secretary to Bliss and also as Bliss's architectural assistant and sketcher out of finds. The two men worked well together, and over a period of three years gradually worked their way around the walls of Jerusalem making good quality reports of their finds. The pair were banned from digging near to forts or near to religious buildings such as the Haram Walls or the Dome of the Rock and next to the Holy Sepulchre, but they were able to find the line of the Third Wall running at one point through the middle of a Moslem cemetery. The line of the Third Wall was traced into the Tyropeaen Valley and from there down to the gates of the citadel and onwards to the Lower Pool. Steps leading into the Shalom Pool were also discovered, and work was still well in hand when the permit to excavate ended in 1895. The permit had been extended to allow the investigation to the west of Jerusalem.

Dickie and Bliss worked with very little money. Once again the Fund had utterly miscalculated the amount of available assets it had as against the amount of work to be done. The cost of excavating in 1895 was running at about £70 per calendar month and by February 1895 the Fund had only some £115 in hand.[56] Again, fund-raising meetings had to be held up and down the country to try and raise enough money to allow the expedition to carry on, and again the Fund had to exist on a hand to mouth basis. In March 1895 Flinders Petrie wrote to the Fund suggesting that a Mr Duncan be allowed to assist Bliss and Dickie in their work. There was no money available for Duncan to be able to work with the pair, but the prospect of Duncan being able to work for free and to be fed at the Fund's expense was canvassed. It appears never to have been taken up. The Fund had still to pay Dickie's passage by P&O steamer to Jerusalem and presumably could not even afford to pay Duncan's expenses for travelling from Merdun, where Petrie was working, to the Jerusalem site.

55 Obituary in PEQ, 1942, pp.5-7.
56 PEF/MINS, 5.3.1895.

By June 1895 Bliss had become ill with the conditions in the Jerusalem area and he had retired to the Beirut district.[57] Illness was to be a recurring theme, Bliss falling ill again in August 1895 and again on a number of other occasions. Throughout the whole of the expedition expenses were very carefully watched by the committee. Wilson, for instance, noted in 1895 that Bliss's expenses had reached £85 per calendar month, a not unreasonable level especially when compared with Warren's expenses some 30 years previously, but a level which Wilson and the rest of the Executive found unacceptable.

In excavating Jerusalem Bliss and Dickie were very much covering the ground covered by Wilson in 1864 and 1865. To some extent this put them in a position where they came into conflict with Wilson, especially where their results differed. For some thirty years Wilson had been seen as the British expert on Jerusalem archaeology and topography. Now his position was under challenge from two new young men, Bliss and Dickie. There was also a second issue. Wilson had been for many years very much attached to the ideas of James Ferguson. Ferguson's theories were by 1895 extremely old and little accepted in academic circles, but Wilson was not in academic circles. He was essentially a career army officer with an antiquarian knowledge of Jerusalem. The tracing of the line of the walls of Jerusalem, in particular the line of a third wall, impinged directly upon Ferguson's theory that the Temple and the Tomb of Jesus had been in the same area, on different parts of a platform of the Temple site in the Haram area. The dispute had been heightened by Warren with the publication of his book.[58] In The Temple or the Tomb? Warren had dismissed Ferguson's ideas as wrong. The combination of those two factors meant that Wilson was extremely critical of any work that Bliss undertook. When in September 1895 Bliss disagreed with Wilson and redefined the line of what indeed was the third wall, Wilson dismissed Bliss's results as being inaccurate. Wilson levied criticism against Bliss's exploration methods, his sectional recording methods, and the quality of his examination of walls and other details found by him.[59] The excavation of the Temple area in 1895 was, and Wilson knew it, to be the last excavation for many years that could prove Wilson's theories right or wrong.

It was likely to be the last Jerusalem excavation PEF would mount for many years because of the cost. The Fund was pressed for cash and there was little chance things would improve in the foreseeable future. Secondly, and more importantly, others were now digging in Jerusalem. Russia had been allowed to start excavations near to the Holy Sepulchre and under the cover of excavating a pilgrims' hostel had uncovered remains. Germany and France

57 PEF/MINS, 18.6.1895.
58 Charles Warren, The Temple or the Tomb?, Bently, London, 1880.
59 PEF/MINS, 18.6.1895.

were now starting to compete for archaeology in the area.[60] A firman was unlikely to be obtained again for the Jerusalem area. Although Wilson did not like Bliss's and Dickie's results, he had grudgingly to accept them as correct. In any event, at the Annual Meeting of 1895 the Fund was forced to admit, through its Executive Officers, that Bliss and Dickie had uncovered much of interest in the Holy Land.

The relationship between Bliss and Wilson did not improve, possibly as a result of the poor relationship, Wilson began to criticise the amount that Bliss spent on excavation. By now Wilson was also enmeshed in the formation of the Palestine Pilgrim Text Society. To some extent that interest overshadowed his interest in the work then being carried out by Bliss. By October 1895 Bliss's work had started to yield results and Bliss was able to report his tracing of the course of the walls of Jerusalem. However, the Fund's assets were falling steadily and up to the end of 1895 were averaging about £300; the Fund was just about solvent. The Fund was also taking on more publishing commitments.

By January 1896 the Fund was again entering one of its financial crises.[61] On 21 January 1896 Morrison had to lend the Fund some £100 to keep it solvent, that cheque being sent through to Thomas Cook's to go to Bliss to finance the digging. The pattern was familiar; it is the pattern that was seen in the mid-1870s when a funding crises arose over the preparation of the Great Map. There was, however, one difference between those crisis and the ones that occurred in the 1890s - the War Office was not involved in 1896, and there was no-one, other than Morrison and the Fund supporters, to offer money to pull the Fund through its financial difficulties. On 4 February 1896 the Executive Committee noted that Bliss had had to 'bribe' the excavation site effendi by offering him some £30 to prevent him from leaving the site of the work.[62] The Fund was not pleased. Bliss wrote to the Fund explaining that he had little power to prevent the Turkish effendi from demanding money or the Turkish authorities from stopping digs. Once more the Executive failed to grasp what Bliss was saying and failed to grasp the new situation that they faced. Bliss was not in the position of Warren, Wilson, Kitchener, or Conder back in the 1870s and early 1880s; he was in a different world faced with a powerful Turkish government who had largely re-established control over the Holy Land area. The excavation costs were still running at about £100 a calendar month.[63]

Bliss reported regularly doing work of high quality when a great blow struck on 20 April 1896. Ibrahim Effendi, the site inspector, died. Ibrahim Effendi had struck up a strong

---

60 H. V. Hilprecht, Exploration in Bible Lands in the nineteenth century, pp.591-609; Neil Asher-Silberman, Digging for God and Country, pp.147-60.

61 PEF/MINS, 21.1.1896.

62 PEF/MINS, 4.2.1896.

63 PEF/MINS, February 1896.

personal friendship with Bliss, and Bliss's working relations with him had been good. His death was a sad loss both to Bliss personally and to the Fund in general.[64] By June 1896 the firman had expired. An extension was being sought and a second firman was in doubt. Letters from Schumacher had arrived explaining that the DVEP was now seeking permission from the Turkish authorities to survey the country to the east of the Jordan. Schumacher had long worked in the Holy Land area, mainly as a railway engineer, but now his services were being requested by the DVEP to work on the eastern side of the Jordan on their behalf. Schumacher was effectively being taken over by his own national fund, and his services were no longer available to PEF. All this pointed to the intense international rivalry at work. With money problems apparent, international rivalry increasing, and Bliss's work costing around £100 a month, PEF was in a difficult position. Once more an Arab attack upon the Fund's explorers came to the Fund's aid. With the Fund's net bank balance at £177 Bliss and Dickie reported to the Fund that they had been attacked by 'two drunken ruffians in the Jerusalem area and that Dickie had received a broken arm and a stab to the shoulder, whilst Bliss had escaped without injuries'. At the same time there was no extension to the firman and work therefore had to cease.[65]

Bliss and Dickie did get a firman extension, but unlike Conder and Kitchener, no compensation. They returned to excavate in July 1896. By mid-1896 Bliss's expenses were running at £120 per month and the Fund was only saved from destitution by the sudden appearance of a legacy of £1,000. Besides Bliss the Fund had Schick digging in Jerusalem and reporting back to them.[66] The 1896 Annual General Meeting saw an appeal for funds and an admission as to the fund's financial difficulties. Gradually Bliss's work was drawn to a close; Bliss's ill health played a part in this, but the predominant reason was the Fund's inability to support Bliss's expensive digging in Jerusalem financially. By now Charles Wilson was attending most of the Fund's committee meetings and he was personally voicing his opposition to much of Bliss's work. With funds standing at no more than £316, Bliss was told that work had to cease on 20 June 1897 and Wilson undertook to edit all the work sent through to him. Wilson was hardly an impartial editor.[67]

Based on suggestions from Flinders Petrie, the Fund suggested further possible areas of excavation and though Bliss was suggested as a possible excavator, that was made dependent upon the application for a new firman succeeding. The extension requested for the Jerusalem work was not obtained, and work was closed down in June 1897. Dickie resigned from 12 May 1897 and Bliss decided to return to America on 17 May, partly to lecture on

64 PEF/MINS, 15.5.1896.
65 PEF/MINS, 16.6.1896.
66 PEFQS (1898) pp.282 et seq.
67 PEF/MINS, 8.5.1897.

behalf of the Fund and partly for a respite. He had been digging more or less for a period of six years non-stop.[68] Dickie in fact remained in Jerusalem to close down the dig on 20 June 1897, the day of the expiry of the firman. The work that Dickie and Bliss had done in Jerusalem was later to win the admiration of both Kathleen Kenyon and Yigal Yadin in the twentieth century.[69]

By 1898 the Fund had once more commenced the process of obtaining a firman to allow them to dig in Palestine. Bliss was again their preferred archaeologist and Bliss took a major part in attempting to obtain the documentation from the Turkish authorities. At this stage the best of relationships persisted between Bliss, Wilson, and the Fund in general. By 15 February 1898 the Fund had heard that its new firman application was proceeding quite normally through the usual channels at the Porte and confirmation was expected soon.[70] Bliss was stili nominally employed by the Fund and at the time was writing up works on their behalf.[71] A firman was obtained to begin on 1 September 1898, and Bliss, who had done so much to obtain the new firman, was appointed to act as archaeologist. The areas to be dug were Tel es Safieh, Gath and surrounding area. An application was received on 5 July 1898 from a R. A. Stuart Macalister applying for the post of assistant to Bliss, in place of Mr Dickie.

Macalister was appointed on the motion of Watson, supported by Aldis Wright, and engaged on the same terms as Dickie, i.e. £8 per calendar month, living expenses paid for a two year period covered by a firman.[72] By July 1898 Macalister had accepted the appointment and Bliss announced that he was planning to leave for Palestine on 26 July. Bliss and Macalister arrived in Jerusalem on 30 August 1898. Macalister was the son of Professor Macalister of Dublin who was later the first Professor of Anatomy at Cambridge University and a member of the PEF Executive. A staunch Presbyterian, R. A. Macalister was later to hold the Chair of Celtic Archaeology at University College, Dublin (1909-1943), and had obtained a doctorate from the same university. Macalister's appointment as assistant to Bliss was in fact to be the ruin of Bliss's involvement with the Fund and the cause of Bliss severing his links with the Fund in 1900. A combination of Bliss's inability to get on with Macalister, Bliss's new confidence regarding the work he was doing out in Palestine, and his dislike of the general stance often taken by the Fund's Executive Committee all culminated in terminating Bliss's relationship with the Fund in 1900. According to Olga Tufnell, the cause of the dispute between the two men was one of personality and the dispute with the committee was the

68 PEF/MINS, 1.6.1897.
69 King, 'Frederick Jones Bliss ...'.
70 PEF/MINS, 15.2.1898.
71 Especially F. J. Bliss, Excavations at Jerusalem which followed on the success of his Mound of Many Cities 1894 reporting the Tel el Hesi dig.
72 PEF/MINS, 5.7.1898.

committee's usual problem of not being able to pay salaries.[73] Bliss's salary was unilaterally reduced, as we shall see, by the committee, and following that reduction Bliss protested. Those protests led to a complete breakdown in his relationship with the committee. An even more important feature of Bliss's breakdown of communications with the Fund was almost certainly the fact that Bliss sponsored and attempted to assist the Turkish authorities to set up a museum in the Turkish School near Herod's Gate in Jerusalem.[74] The setting up of the museum by Bliss and the Turks did not go down well with the PEF committee during the height of British imperial endeavour. Undoubtedly men like Wilson, brought up in the spirit of the expanding Empire, were unable to accept that the museum that should hold the relics excavated in Palestine should be a museum run, and controlled, by a foreign, non-Christian, power such as Turkey and staffed by Arab and non-British subjects. It is more than likely that Macalister shared the same view.

When Bliss arrived in Jerusalem on 6 September 1898 the firman which he had requested had not arrived. Armstrong, the Acting Secretary of the Fund, was instructed by the Executive to send him official notification that he should commence digging, whether or not the official firman had reached him and effectively regardless of the Turkish authority's view. Bliss did not take the same attitude and on 12 October 1898 he again wrote to the Fund explaining that the firman had still not come through. He refrained from digging until he received the official confirmation from Constantinople. Despite having been sent out to work upon Tel es-Safi, Bliss finally started work at Tel Zakariya. Bliss's method was to establish good relations with local villagers and if possible with the local Turkish inspector who would have to be with him throughout the dig. This he managed to do at Tel Zakariya, although his attempts to dig Tel es-Safi proved difficult because local people were unco-operative and Bliss had to import labour from the previous site that he had dug.[75] Once work actually commenced on the site in November 1898 regular reports were received by the committee from both Bliss and Macalister. Macalister was Bliss's assistant, but it seems from the committee minutes that the PEF Executive received reports from both. 'Letters from Dr Bliss dated 24 November and 5 December were read. His report of the excavations, and one from Mr Macalister were read and laid on the table and referred back to the editor.'[76] Bliss was, at the same time, told to send back to the committee all discovered items 'save those sent to Constantinople'.

By now the Executive Committee was habitually chaired by either Walter Morrison, Dr Chaplin, or Charles Wilson. All three were at the young end of the older members of the

73 Tufnell, 'Excavator's progress ...'
74 See PEF/MAC/74A, Macalister to Wilson, and V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land ..., p.201.
75 Turnell, 'Excavator's progress ...'.
76 PEF/MINS, 20.12.1898.

Fund, and formed a controlling group on the Executive Committee. The controlling group were well out of date with conditions in Palestine. They adopted a fairly high-handed imperialist view towards the way excavations should be carried out and towards the way in which native workers and officials should be treated. It was typical of their approach that they should demand that Bliss commenced work before he obtained a firman, and even more typical that on 17 January 1899 they demanded that Bliss should be 'asked if he could not carry out excavations at both Tel Zakariya and Tel es-Safi'.[77] Charles Wilson was put in charge of drafting a letter requesting that Bliss worked both sites. Such a system of working may have been satisfactory in the old 'treasure hunting' days of antiquarian research in the Holy Land, but not at a time when Bliss was attempting to undertake scientific investigation. By February 1899 Bliss was estimating a need to employ some 51 workmen and a budget of £110-120 a month in order to carry out the season's work. At the same time Charles Wilson was due to make a Palestine trip. Part of that trip would inevitably involve Wilson in inspecting the work being undertaken by Bliss. Clearly Wilson intended to not only inspect Bliss's work but also renew his acquaintances with Schumacher and Schick.

By 21 February 1899 Bliss had reported back to the committee that work had had to cease due to the winter conditions. The committee were not pleased and immediately wrote back to Bliss instructing him to work throughout the winter conditions 'referring to the clause in the firman providing against stoppage of work for two months'. At the same time the committee re-instructed Schumacher to dig on their behalf and report back from the point of view of railway construction. Although at this stage money was not a problem, the Fund's assets were running at about £850 and the account appearing to be reasonably healthy, the Executive was mindful of the excessive cost of previous expeditions. The Fund was also successful in attracting grants from other institutions, in particular from the Royal Geographical Society, from the Bank of Egypt in Cairo, and from private individuals, thus defraying the cost of digging. However, the financial health of the Fund did not mean that the Executive Committee were prepared to be patient with Bliss. It would also seem that the committee were in touch with Macalister just as much as they were in touch with Bliss. Wilson returned from the Holy Land and immediately proposed, on 18 April, that the Fund should financially support not only excavations which were being undertaken by Schick but also excavations being undertaken by the White Fathers in Jerusalem. This was agreed.

Bliss had by now fallen ill and the supervision of digging work had been taken over by Macalister. With Bliss ill, Macalister and Yusif, the Fund's Arab assistant during Holy Land digs, took over not only the running of the dig but also the reporting and modelling of finds. Bliss himself had little problem with the Fund through this mid period of 1899. By 15 July

77 PEF/MINS, 17.1.1899.

1899 Bliss had closed down his work at the two tels and retreated to Jerusalem, the weather having become too hot and too unpleasant to allow him to work. Once Bliss recovered, he and Macalister appeared to have struck up a reasonably amicable relationship, but problems began once again when in October 1899 Bliss intended to commence his next season of digging and wrote to the Fund pointing out that he was insufficiently funded. He asked if he could receive £130 a month instead of £100, which he had found was too little to cover the expenses of being in the area of the two tels, and he considered that additional funding was necessary to produce better results. The committee were not happy; they regarded £100 a month as being sufficient, and told Bliss that that was their view.[78] Part of their problem was that by now the available money in the Fund had fallen to £120.

The committee were even less enthusiastic about a proposal from a local meeting of the now-revived Jerusalem branch of the Fund. That branch was being led by Dr Wheeler and, together with Bishop Blyth, the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, the Jerusalem branch proposed the setting up of a Biblical Museum in Jerusalem itself. Led by Wilson, the committee rejected the proposal stating quite definitely that they could not possibly afford to fund it. Unfortunately that was true; the Fund did not have sufficient money in its coffers to meet the cost of much of Bliss's expedition, let alone fund a Jerusalem museum. The appearance of a separate museum in Jerusalem also threatened the predominance of the London-based Fund as the main organ of Palestine exploration. By November 1899 the Fund was reaching crisis point financially, and was becoming worried about Bliss's activities over in Palestine.[79] On 5 December 1899 Bliss was telegraphed and told to stop excavating, to return to Jerusalem, and once more to begin to search for the Tombs of the Kings. Clearly the Fund, now in a financial crisis with a balance of only some £200, was in no mood to pay for an expensive scientific excavation, but rather wanted a stunning discovery which would attract contributors. The number of contributors the Fund had by now stood at some 729, plus institutional contributors who at that time were not great in number. With only a small subscription base the Fund depended upon profits from printing and its own reserves to allow it to continue with archaeological work.

With funding in a mess, results not coming up to expectation, and the leadership of a fund in crisis, Macalister went to Egypt to excavate. Charles Wilson, who together with Morrison had by now taken over the leadership of the Fund, was once more interested in 'boring the Ophel in Jerusalem', presumably to obtain evidence relating to the site of the Temple and the Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Caught between the currents of conflicting interests, Bliss was again ordered to cease digging and to submit accounts to the Fund. Macalister,

78 PEF/MINS, 17.10.1899.
79 PEF/MINS, 21.11.1899.

meanwhile, was to come back from Egypt to dig shafts and to investigate rock cut tombs. Dissatisfaction seethed, fuelled, it would seem, by the Fund having in effect two chairmen, Wilson and Morrison. By April 1900 the Minutes of the Fund Committee show that the Committee was becoming dissatisfied with the amount of work carried out by Bliss, complaining that Bliss had only excavated for a period of some 259 days over a two year period.[80] On 25 April 1900 the Executive sent a letter to Bliss effectively terminating his contract with them. The reasons they gave were that Bliss's progress had been slow and that results had been poor. Bliss's health itself was blamed and long and convoluted calculations were placed before him to show that his excavation record had not been good. A frank admission was made in the letter that subscriptions were 'falling off, and that money for the Fund had become tight'.[81] The Fund then went on to express doubts as to whether or not they could afford to retain Bliss's services further. Bliss replied to the Fund's letter on 17 May 1900, the reply being received in time for the June meeting of the Executive, and copies of Bliss's letter were sent to all members of the Executive Committee. Bliss had been put in an impossible position and his resignation was effectively forced in the period between the original letter of April and the June meeting.

Although the wording of the reply from the committee to Bliss was that Bliss had resigned and that the resignation had been accepted unwillingly by the committee on the grounds of economy, there is no doubt from the overall tone of the letter that Bliss was forced to resign. The resignation was accepted on the motion of Charles Wilson and Crace. In fairness to Bliss the committee's funds were not that depleted. The Executive Minutes show a balance of some £264 in their account, and things could not have been that bad, as by December 1900 the Executive was to employ Macalister, Bliss's assistant, as their explorer and archaeologist in Palestine. Bliss was paid off by the Fund, having submitted his final Annual Reports on 4 December 1900. Macalister was employed by the Fund to carry out excavation work in the Holy Land on 18 December 1900 - some 14 days later.[82] The Fund was also able to undertake the cost of re-making the raised map and re-printing other maps that they published at a cost of some £320 and that undertaking was entered into in August 1900. The committee found no difficulty also in employing, albeit on a small retainer, Schumacher and Schick, and continuing to employ Clermont Ganneau on a rather larger retainer. Immediately after accepting Bliss's resignation the committee went on to discuss plans for making grants towards the setting up of the new American School in Jerusalem and to discuss publications which the Fund could undertake. The reason for effectively dismissing Bliss was therefore not just financial.

---

80 PEF/MINS, 23.4.1900.
81 PEF/MINS, 25.4.1900.
82 PEF/MINS, 18.12.1900.

Why did Bliss fall foul of the Fund? Firstly, because of the archaeological methods he used. Bliss was using the new, and at that stage revolutionary, theories of Flinders Petrie. He had applied Petrie's method to archaeological excavation in the Holy Land and, as Petrie's pupil, had produced excellent results. Those results were not produced by the methods which had been traditionally used by the antiquarians who formed the PEF's committee and to some extent almost a professional jealousy had built up between men such as Wilson, and Conder, and Bliss. Secondly, Bliss's Jerusalem excavations had not supported Wilson's theories. Bliss had attempted to trace the line of the Third Wall and, by 1896-98, Bliss had produced a result which was to discredit wholly the theories of Ferguson. Wilson clung to the Ferguson theories for a very long time. Bliss had agreed with Warren and Warren's dismissal of Ferguson's hypothesis, Wilson had probably felt a tremendous professional jealousy and the expense of excavation was an excuse to rid the committee of the responsibility of employing a man whose ideas did not fall four square with those of one of its leading members. Thirdly, Bliss was an American; he was also a young man who did not wholly share in the imperial ideals of the committee, in particular of men such as Wilson, Conder, Morrison and Crace. Bliss maintained excellent relationships with the local Arab and Turkish population. He was a man who had been brought up in the Lebanon, in the missionary family who had founded the American University of Lebanon, and a man who did not find it difficult to get on with Turkish officials and who spoke Arabic fluently. Petrie, it will be recalled, did not see eye to eye with any Turkish official and men such as Wilson had exuded an air of treating the Turks and the local Arab population of Jerusalem as being merely colonial subjects. Lastly, Bliss had co-operated with the local Turkish population in founding a museum in Jerusalem. The foundation of such an institution greatly endangered the predominance of the European exploration societies and called into question the propriety of European explorers exporting the best of their finds back to their home countries. Bliss made it clear in his work Excavations in Palestine that he regarded the foundation of the museum in Jerusalem as being one of his chief contributions to Palestine excavation.[83] Bliss also experienced friction with Macalister who was more able to understand the mood of the committee and its concerns. It was Macalister who was eventually to replace Bliss. Macalister came from the same imperial English background as the committee and his understanding of the committee's concerns meant that the committee felt they could trust him.

The news of Bliss's departure from PEF's employment was not mentioned at the Annual Meeting of 17 July 1900. It was the Annual Meeting of the Fund held in 1901 that received the report that Bliss had left the Fund's employment. At that meeting Walter Morrison proposed a vote of thanks to Bliss, and Herbert Bentwich, a prominent Zionist and Jewish leader, who asked to second it. Perhaps of all the documents dealing with the affairs

83 Bliss, Excavations in Palestine, p.76.

concerning Bliss the most poignant is the committee's last letter to Bliss on 21 September 1900. In that letter the committee wrote to Bliss telling him to complete work and leave Jerusalem by 31 October. To add insult to injury, the committee made it clear that they wanted Bliss to hand over all documents, drawings and photographs to Macalister.[84] The committee also wrote at length to Macalister giving him precise instructions as to how he, Bliss's assistant, was to wind up the whole of the operation he had been engaged on with Bliss. Indeed, even before Bliss had left Palestine, Macalister was starting to do work on behalf of the Fund on his own account in that by November 1900 Macalister had been sent to the Dead Sea to mark water levels and carry out observations on behalf of the Fund.[85] The Jerusalem Museum sponsored by Bliss and Dr Wheeler was allowed to remain. It was under the control of the local PEF, but the Executive had little interest in the foundation of a public museum by the Turkish authorities, something which had been proposed and sponsored actively by Bliss.[86]

By November 1900 Macalister had effectively taken over from Bliss and the society was funding his travel. By now the funds of the PEF stood at some £650 and further excavation was possible, given that amount of money. Macalister received his official engagement letter on 4 December 1900 and at the same time a change in the committee meant Wilson effectively became Chairman. Glaisher's health would not allow him to carry on any further as Chairman of the Fund. Wilson was now in control of the Fund, Morrison remained Treasurer, and for the time being Besant was Secretary. Macalister was engaged at a salary of some £200 per annum, with living and travelling expenses within Palestine and firmans were applied for on his behalf. He was also offered an honorarium in respect of articles he was to write for the Fund and a Memoir he was to compile in respect of the excavations he had been on with Bliss. By February 1901 the committee had a balance at the bank of some £502. The Executive felt able to consider applying for a new firman and the nominated area was Tel Jezari.[87] During this period Macalister flitted between Jerusalem and London, and was partially engaged in writing the memoirs of the Tel el Safi excavations. The move to found the museum in Jerusalem became unstoppable, and the executive had to concede that a museum should be founded and placed under the auspices of Bishop Blyth and others in Jerusalem.

The museum which the committee founded for its own purposes was attached to the Protestant College of St George in Jerusalem. The executive took no part in the foundation of any public museum. Macalister was instructed to return to Jerusalem for the end of September,

---

84 PEF/MINS, 17.9.1900.
85 PEF/MINS, 6.11.1900.
86 Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 2, 21:44 gives further biographical details on Bliss.
87 PEF/MINS, February 1901.

by way of Constantinople if needs be to hurry up the issue of a firman, then proceed onwards to dig the tel. The Fund took to Macalister in a way it had never taken to Bliss. By October 1901 Macalister's father had been issued with a share in the company which formed the limited liability cover of the Fund. Admittedly shares had become vacant by virtue of the death, in June, of Besant and the retirement of Glaisher, but Bliss himself had never been assimilated to such an extent into the workings of the Fund. Bliss had been an employee; Macalister became a member.

The Fund effectively ran two excavations at Tel el Jezari, one in 1901-05 and the second 1905-09. The site was one that had been recommended to the Fund by Ganneau and had been the site of one of his discoveries of a Hebrew and Greek inscription and identified by him as being the site of Gaza.[88] This was a linkage which had been confirmed to the Fund by Grove and fitted into the Fund's traditional pattern of attempting to identify likely Bible sites and then excavating them to find proof. In short, Macalister adapted his excavational methods to fit in with the Fund's expectations and with the Fund's normal traditional methods of antiquarian exploration. It was an excavation method which did not fit happily with the newer approaches established by Flinders Petrie and his pupil Bliss. Financially, throughout the whole of this period, the Fund was little better off than it had been during the time of Bliss's dig, but methodologically Macalister's work fitted far more coherently within the understanding and the work planned out by the Fund than did the work of Bliss. The firman for Macalister's dig was obtained for the Fund by the Foreign Office, and the obtaining of that firman had to be done with some speed for the Germans were beginning to dig in the same area. Their interest at the time was one of geological exploration, but obviously archaeology was also an interest.[89] The Fund's old friend, Schumacher, had warned the Fund of the German interest and the need to act speedily. International competition in Palestine was now very clear and with the Kaiser's financial backing, Germany's DVEP was now prospecting at Meggiddo.[90] More to the point, Germany was allowed to keep finds made by her archaeologists and her archaeological support for excavations was far superior to PEF's support.

The Fund looked backward throughout the whole of this period; for instance, on 18 March 1902 a copy of Perrotti's works of 1864 were offered to the Fund. The Fund refused to accept. Perrotti was long dead; George Grove, Perrotti's protagonist in the 1860s, was also dead, but so long as the old men who founded the Fund remained, Perrotti's works were not to be accepted and Perrotti was not to be forgiven. Macalister's relationship with native labourers and local representatives was also more to the Fund's liking. Macalister approached the native

88 C. M. Watson ed., Palestine Exploration Fund: Fifty years' work in the Holy Land, pp.127-39.
89 PEF/MINS, 4.3.1902.
90 Silberman, Digging for ... Country, pp.167-70.

labour and officials with the unequal approach of a colonial master. More than any archaeologist sent out by the PEF, he seems to have regarded native workmen with disdain. His relations with his effendis were stormy, and his relations with the native workforce were poor and very limited.

Macalister was willing to use as excavational guides both the maps published in Recovery of Jerusalem, and also maps produced by Schumacher, Wilson and others. His excavational methods, however, were no cheaper than those of Bliss or indeed those of any other archaeologist who had been sent out. No estimates had ever been received from Macalister and he appears to have worked without any budgetary constraints, so much so that by the end of 1902 the Fund's reserves were badly depleted.[91] The Fund were forced to approach Messrs Coutts & Co., their bankers, for a loan of some £300. The loan was guaranteed by Walter Morrison. Even the loan of £300 guaranteed by Morrison, and later repaid by him, was not sufficient to see the Fund through its lean period. Donations did come in, in small quantities, but by January 1903 the Fund was forced not only to undertake a lecturing tour to raise money, but also to sell some of its antiquities to the British Museum.[92] The Fund's income by now was supplemented massively by the sale of maps and in particular by the sale of the map that the Fund had produced as a result of the surveying activities through to 1880. In 1903 the Fund applied to H.M.S.O., their sole distributor of maps, for permission to sell on their own account. That permission was refused, but a combination of donations and loans did lift the Fund's assets to some £500 by February 1903.[93] It is open to question as to whether or not the money was being well spent for by mid-1903 little had been discovered at the site of Tel el Jezari. At the same time there was a further cooling of interest in the Fund's work from government sources. A grant was applied for from the government to publish photographs of the Holy Land; that was refused in July 1903 and the Fund's old supporters at the War Office appear to have largely either retired or been moved on to positions where they were not able to assist the Fund.[94] During this period the Jerusalem branch of the Fund was re-founded under a combination of Dr Wheeler and Bishop Blyth, presumably as a means of monitoring the Fund's Jerusalem Museum.

During this period the Fund's finances became increasingly more erratic. By December 1903 it had been necessary to extend the period for the repayment of the Fund's loan from Coutts Bank by an extra year, and in order to raise more capital to fund the excavations then taking place the Fund's annual subscription by members had to be raised to three guineas

91 PEF/MINS, 16.12.1902.
92 PEF/MINS, 6.1.1903.
93 £559.19s.3d. (£559.96) by 3.2.1903.
94 PEF/MINS, 7.7.1903.

(£3.15) for London-based subscribers.[95] The royalty on copies of the raised map, i.e. the map of western Palestine which was sold in a relief version, was raised to £2 for each map. Once again, in attempt to stem a financial crisis confronting the Fund, a Fund history, Thirty Years' Work in Palestine,[96] was re-published by the Fund under the editorship of Charles Wilson and sold at £1 per copy. All these various measures kept the Fund afloat financially through to the middle of 1904 when the Fund's Executive began to note the excessive cost of the excavations being carried out by Macalister, pointed to those costs, and began to question them. Fortunately, however, by now Macalister was too far entrenched as a member of the Fund and it was difficult to make any alterations to the arrangements that had already been reached with him.

By June 1904 the Fund were seriously considering the amount of money they would need to expend on the excavations at Tel el Jezari. Professor Alexander Macalister, Robert Macalister's father, was on the Executive of the Fund. The Executive considered the money needed to continue the excavations and came to the conclusion that they would need some £1,500 from subscriptions and £1,000 from donations over a period of 14 months to make excavation possible. By now the excavation had proved fruitful in so much as a number of tablets had been discovered, but overall, apart from a few interesting burials, little of great significance had come to light from the Tel el Jezari expedition. Funds were by now fairly low and the committee had a credit balance of some £218.2s.3d. (£218.12) at the bank. Again, loans became necessary with a further £200 being borrowed from Coutts.[97] By October the Fund again was in a difficult financial position and had to borrow a further £500 against its stock.[98] At this stage further loans from Coutts were probably not possible, and the Fund had to borrow from the Craven Bank at Skipton which was advanced against the Fund's stock and also against the security of Walter Morrison who was effectively the owner of that bank. The Fund was by now operating two bank accounts, and the £500 was placed to the credit of the Fund at the Union of London and Smith's Bank Ltd. The second account was opened presumably because of difficulties with Coutts. Apart from a few small legacies and a few donations, the Fund did not seem to be in a position to raise the £2,500 necessary to continue the work in Tel el Jezari.

At the committee meeting of 18 October 1904 Walter Morrison, who by now had seized the financial reins to try and bring the Fund back into line, stated that there were to be no

95 PEF/MINS, 3.12.1903.
96 Wilson, Thirty years' work in Palestine, PEF, London, 1903. It was an updated version of Walter Besant, Twenty-one years in Palestine, and an attempt to attract members.
97 PEF/MINS, 20.7.1904.
98 PEF/MINS, 4.10.1904.

further borrowings after closing the Fezer (Tel el Jezari) expedition until the loan of £500 was paid off.[99] Effectively, through the loan of money to the Fund, Morrison was able to seize control from Wilson and the rest of the Executive. With no other source of income, save donations and subscriptions, the Fund was not in a position to back long extravagant excavations on the scale of those conducted 1890-1904, and their break with the War Office meant that effectively they could no longer rely upon public funds to sustain them as had happened during the crises that had beset the mapping of western Palestine. The first Tel el Jezari expedition was run down, and from the period December 1904 through to May 1905 the Fund did very little save to resolve in March 1905 that a new firman would be requested when the present one expired, and that firman would be to start in 1906. With Macalister now working in extremely reduced circumstances and running down his excavations, the Fund took the view that any discoveries he made should be publicised. Thus the discoveries made in April 1905 were well publicised by the Executive Committee in the Athenaeum, The Times, the Scotsman, the Yorkshire Post, and the Manchester Guardian, despite the fact that some of the discoveries were of very limited value.[100] It would seem that the idea was to attempt to attract further donations to the work of the excavating party. Periodic complaints about the conduct of Macalister in Jerusalem surfaced at committee meetings throughout 1905, but with Professor Macalister in the committee those complaints never reached the pitch that they had done when they were made against both Warren in the 1860s and against Bliss in the 1900s.

To the end of October Macalister ran down his work in the Holy Land and returned to England. The Fund struggled to pay off the £500 loan from the Craven Bank and £200 was paid in November 1905.[101] Charles Wilson died on 25 October 1905 and was buried in Tunbridge Wells.[102] Wilson's death was formally reported to the Fund's Executive on 7 November 1905. Charles Watson was to be his successor as Chairman. With Wilson, Grove, Besant, Stanley and Glaisher all dead, Morrison was the only one of the original founders of the Fund left in office on the Executive of the Fund. Slowly and imperceptibly the Fund was changing. Only Warren and Crace remained active, besides Morrison on the Fund's Executive, representing the interests of the older group of members who had founded the Fund, and even Warren and Crace had been brought onto the Executive some years after the initial foundation of the PEF.

Although Watson was to become the Chairman of the Fund from now until 1914, Morrison was to remain the main mover of the Fund's activities. Morrison was the Fund's financial paymaster. In 1906 PEF was still in debt to his bank to the tune of some £300.

---

99 PEF/MINS, 18.10.1904.
100 PEF/MINS, 14.4.1905.
101 PEF/MINS, 21.11.1905.
102 DNB, Supplement 1901-1911, entry for Sir Charles William Wilson.

Morrison was later to give the Fund its first permanent and unrented offices, and it was to be Morrison who would, to some extent, direct the Fund's development for the next ten years or so. Excavations stopped throughout the whole of 1906 and apart from dealing with standard correspondence and mounting exhibitions the Fund did little throughout that period.

Apart from mounting exhibitions, the Fund did little in 1905-6. In 1907 the Fund put into operation once more the application for a firman to dig in the Holy Land. By March 1907 Macalister had again obtained permission to dig at Tel el Jezari and on 5 March 1907 he had been dispatched to the Holy Land to commence his work.[103] In the year 1907 the Fund was lucky in its money raising, not by donations but by the fact that a large part of its book stock was burned in a fire at its publishers. This gave the Fund compensation of some £1,000 and it received substantial donations, including a major legacy of at least £800. This certainly offset a lot of costs that the Fund was to face with Macalister's dig, and though its balance in its account stood fairly low at times, its solvency was far far greater than it had been at any time for the previous ten years. With Morrison in charge, some money in the bank, the Fund was able to build up substantial assets in a deposit account at 3.5% interest.

Macalister's excavations were to last until 1909 and though on occasions questions were raised in the committee as to the cost of the excavations, by and large Macalister's accounting methods and the committee's tighter control over excavation sufficed to prevent a repeat of the friction which had occurred during the excavations by Bliss. The cost of the excavation was rather substantial, and as tunnelling became increasingly necessary the Fund's balances were likely to have been depleted but for the fact that on 7 July 1908, and again on 21 July 1908, Walter Morrison donated to the Fund the sum of £100. The two donations are recorded in the Minutes being specifically given for the purpose of sustaining the excavation.[104] Macalister's firman had not long to run, and though he had found post holes, flint implements, some ornamentation, and a number of inscriptions, much of what he had recovered was Roman or Greek. By December 1908 it was necessary to apply for a new firman in order to continue exploration and consular help was sought in applying.[105] During this period the Fund received a number of legacies, all of which were applied to the cost of the excavation so that by May 1909 the Fund's bank account recorded a balance of some £734, an amount unheard of during a period of excavation. In the meantime, the application for a new firman was effectively put on 'hold'. Macalister had become ill and wished to return to England. In May 1909 he wrote to the Fund and told them so, and the committee agreed that in view of the illness of Macalister and in view of disturbances then taking place in

103 PEF/MINS, 5.3.1907.
104 PEF/MINS, 21.7.1908 and 7.7.1908.
105 PEF/MINS, 1.12.1908.

Constantinople, part of the unrest following the take-over by the Young Turks Movement, that Macalister could travel back as soon as he was well enough to do so.[106]

Macalister returned to England in July 1909 to be present at a committee meeting of the Fund and to discuss with them the possibility of publishing the results in a collection of memoirs of excavations in Palestine conducted by both Bliss and himself. At the end of July 1909 the committee was discussing the prospect of setting up yet another excavation based on site ideas supplied by Macalister and which were to start in 1911.[107] By November 1909 Macalister was in a position to supply to the committee a list of suggested sites for possible future exploration. Of all the people in the committee's deliberations, Macalister was probably the best placed to advise the committee as to possible sites and also as to possible areas of excavation together with costs. By November 1909 there was no-one who sat regularly as a member of the Fund's Executive who had direct experience of excavational work. However, in November 1909 Macalister had further news for the committee; he had been appointed Professor of Anthropology at the newly-founded University of Ireland, and he would be unable to continue his work for the Fund in Palestine. Led, therefore, by Macalister and by their own guesses, the Fund selected the site of Ains Shems as being the next excavation site and made application for a permit to dig it, thinking that it was most likely the site of Beth Shemesh. They had, however, now lost their excavator. As an excavator, Macalister had been rather less expensive than many that the Fund had previously employed. Macalister's termination expenses were only £167.13s.1. (£167.65) - that included his honorarium. Macalister had partially dug on his own income.

The committee appointed a new explorer in December 1909. That person was Dr Duncan Mackenzie and to assist him one Campbell Thompson. The appointments were made on 7 December 1909.[108] Led by Walter Morrison, the committee imposed strict conditions on Mackenzie - his appointment, and what he could and could not do. One significant change in the conditions of appointment was that the appointment of Mackenzie was made 'subject to the approval of the Turkish government and the local authorities'. Never before had the committee had to submit their nominated explorer/archaeologist for the approval of the Turkish authorities.

The period 1885-1909 falls into four distinct parts: 1885-1889, a short period of four years where the Fund sought direction; 1890-1891, the year of Petrie's dig; 1891-1900, the years of Bliss's work; and 1900-1909, the years of Macalister's work. Of the four periods, the most important must be the year 1890-91. In that year in a few weeks of mid-1890 Flinder Petrie changed the direction of the Fund. The appointment of Petrie was the single most

106 PEF/MINS, 4.5.1909.
107 PEF/MINS, 20.7.1909.
108 PEF/MINS, 7.12.1909.

important event in the PEF's history after the recruitment of Wilson to the Fund's committee in 1866.

From 1866 to 1885 the PEF had been dominated by the needs of the Intelligence Department of the War Office, and the needs of the Royal Engineers. In 1885 the surveys of Palestine were complete, the new imperialism had no need for the cover afforded by a small archaeological society, and as the Empire approached Victoria's Golden Jubilee its pluralist and non-religious nature became apparent. For about four years, from 1885 to 1889, the PEF attempted to make itself relevant to the Empire and to mapwork through the work of Schick and particularly Schumacher. It failed largely because that role was no longer needed and because the Army had all the maps it needed and now occupied Egypt. Some of the sudden fall of PEF's influence can be seen in the way that firmans took time and effort to obtain. The consular back-up had gone and the military support was not there, leaving PEF as one small player in the complex Middle Eastern political and archaeological game.

The retention of Petrie as the Fund's explorer (that was the term used) was both a stroke of luck for the Fund and an act of foresight by the committee. Petrie established the PEF as a serious modern excavating body which could attract the best archaeologists in the British Empire and which had to be taken seriously. Petrie's work for the PEF covered only a matter of weeks in duration, undertaken to improve his Egyptian work, and did not result in any major finds. It did, however, mean that the PEF could and did connect itself to a growing band of Middle and near Eastern scholars. Petrie trained Bliss for the Fund and in turn Bliss dug and worked by Petrie's methods producing academically respectable results and passing those methods on to Macalister. Macalister was in turn connected to Petrie, Sayce and Hayter Lewis through his father, who sat on the Fund's Executive and taught at Cambridge. Petrie was related or connected to many London, Cambridge and Oxford academics, not only professionally but through his parents, his cousin Francis Galton, his wife Hilda, and his distant relation Charles Darwin.[109] The result was to move PEF away from dependence upon out-moded antiquarian views held by Schick, Wilson and others.

The modernisation of the PEF and its methods had its costs. Wilson and his supporters resented the attack that all this represented upon their expertise and standing. The man who bore the brunt of the blame for the change brought about was Bliss. Bliss was a total outsider, an American who was not from America, a man who had no British imperial background, and an exponent of the 'new' archaeology. Bliss offended Wilson and it was easy for Macalister, the insider, to engineer his removal. By 1900 national and imperial interests were again

109 Drower, Flinders Petrie ..., pp.259-60.

awakening. Excavation in Palestine was by now a contest[110] and Britain was again entering the contest, and who better to represent Britain than the Anglo-Irishman Macalister? Macalister succeeded where Bliss failed, for amongst other reasons the PEF had no-one but Macalister to turn to for academic and archaeological respectability and in any event Macalister was known to the Fund; he was one of them.

The last decade of the nineteenth century was the story of PEF falling under the control of a small inner circle of men. By 1895 Wilson was coming to dominate the Fund. Now based in London and entering his sixtieth year, Wilson could dedicate more time to PEF. After Besant died in 1900 there were few who could restrain him. In Macalister Wilson found a man who would work to his formula and in the way he wanted, tempering excavation with imperial and antiquarian interest. When Wilson died in 1905 his natural successor was Morrison who, with Crace and Warren, represented the older group of now-departing founder members of the PEF. Morrison put PEF on a financially sound footing; he balanced the books and largely removed the historic debt. The second Tel el Jezari excavation was probably the most securely funded work the PEF had ever done in the Holy Land.

The period 1885-1909 also marks a decline in the Fund's political power in the Holy Land and a decline in British interests there. The problems experienced in obtaining firmans testify firstly that the British consular and Foreign Office authorities would not press the PEF's claims to firmans as hard as they had done previously, and secondly that British influence in the area was declining. The DVEP obtained leave to dig firstly due to the German government support and secondly because Germany was a dominant power in Palestine. The French and Russian Palestine Societies received similar backing, as did the Austrian one. British power in Turkey was in relative decline and PEF bore witness to that. The Executive Committee found this hard to accept at first, but by 1909 it was clear that not only was imperial Germany powerful in the Ottoman land, but that Turkey was radically changing and reasserting its statehood. It was to this changed Turkish Empire that the Fund sent Mackenzie and Thompson at Beth Shemesh, known as Ains Shems.

110 Silberman, Digging for ... Country, chs. 15 & 16.

CHAPTER 8
THE MEMORY OF PAST GLORIES: 1909-1913

By 1909 the PEF had established itself as a serious force in the field of archaeology, and had managed to retain a chain of archaeologists with a reasonable international reputation. After Macalister left the Fund's employment in 1909 he was replaced by Dr Duncan Mackenzie as the PEF's explorer. Mackenzie had been a pupil of Dr (later Sir) Arthur Evans and had worked with Evans on Crete for a number of years. He was recommended to the committee by Evans, who was by now a committee member, and was said to have a good knowledge of historical pottery and an interest in the Philistines.[1] Mackenzie was predominantly a Greek historian who had but a passing interest in Palestine limited to its relationship to Greece. His great work was at Knossos in Crete and his appointment to excavate Ain Shems was not destined to be one of his career highpoints. Mackenzie did not have the contacts in the PEF that Macalister had. He had no friends on the committee and was a total outsider to the organisation, nor did he have Macalister's extensive contacts in the Holy Land or in academic circles. He had one advantage over his predecessors. By now Wilson, Conder, Besant, Grove and Fergusson were all dead and only Morrison, Warren and Crace remained from the original committee of the Fund. They did not seek to direct him in the way his predecessors were directed.

He had, however, one enormous problem that even Macalister had not experienced. By now competition between the various powers had reached an extraordinary intensity in the Holy Land with Americans becoming involved in the excavation of the Holy Land. Americans had been involved in Holy Land exploration since the 1840s, but on a limited scale. American interest had largely been either religious or limited archaeological and cartographical work, but from 1900 onwards that changed with the founding of the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) and its Jerusalem-based American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. In 1906 ASOR commenced excavating the Samarian site of Sebastiyoh using Harvard University students and with Gottlieb Schumacher as director, later (1909-10) David G. Lyons and then George Reisner.[2] They were backed by generous funding. Macalister had got on well with the Americans, although he had written to both Crace and Wilson criticising them[3] and was very dismissive of their work. At the same time PEF had to contend with the near unstoppable activity of the DVEP and the work of the French, Russian and Austrian archaeological societies. Even the Roman Catholic church had commenced excavation in the form of the White Fathers who did co-operate with PEF. By 1910 even Finnish adventurers, in the form

---

1 PEFQS (1910), p.170 et seq. Annual Meeting report.
2 V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land through British Eyes: 1820-1917, a documentary history, p.202 et seq.
3 PEF/MAC/302, Macalister to Crace, 6.9.1908, for example.

of Valter Juvetius, were prospecting for archaeological finds in Jerusalem using local contacts.[4] Turkey was in turmoil with the Young Turk revolution disrupting Constantinople and central control breaking down. Mackenzie, therefore, faced a world of great competition and disruption where PEF had to fight hard for its share of the archaeological opportunities and where competition was intense and Turkish power weak. Coupled with this Mackenzie was not a biblical archaeologist and he was working in unfamiliar territory where political manipulation mattered as much as research ability.

Even the obtaining of a firman was not easy. By January 1910 the PEF committee had commenced negotiating, through H. M. Ambassador in Constantinople, for a new firman. The negotiations were with an old friend of the Fund, Hammadi Bey of the Imperial Museum. In the old days they would have been straightforward, but by 1910 they were not and the Turks began to insist upon due form in the applications made to the Porte. Sir Edwin Pears, the ambassador, reported to the committee that the Turkish authorities would not even consider the application in February 1910 unless he had a Power of Attorney from PEF. Crace had to swear a Power of Attorney on behalf of the Fund, and it was granted to Pears in early February 1910.[5] Further delays arose with the sudden death of Hammadi Bey. Time was now of the essence and PEF were beginning to become concerned that they were losing their place in the competition to dig Palestine. Mackenzie was ready to leave for the Holy Land by May 1910 and again the Fund feared its explorers may desert them if no work was forthcoming. Mackenzie was given a salary of £50 in advance and £50 in expenses, and by July 1910 he was in the Holy Land, ready to commence digging. The PEF, through Sir Edwin Pears, had negotiated a commissioner for the excavations and the site nominated was Ains Shems. Work could commence once Turkish permission was received.

Digging work did not commence immediately, and delays followed largely because of the Turkish administration following the revolution in Constantinople and metropolitan Turkey. By mid-November 1910 the Fund had received permission to commence work, but by January 1911 a dispute had erupted between Mackenzie and Halil Bey, the Turkish commissioner, causing such problems that the Consul in Jerusalem had been forced to intervene.[6] The problem was that Halil Bey had formed the opinion that the work being undertaken by Mackenzie on PEF's behalf was not in accordance with the permission granted to the Fund. Because of the delays and the amount of time that had elapsed since the granting of the original firman and the application for it was by now almost necessary to ask for a time extension to the documentation. Sir Edwin Pears was constrained to go back to the Turkish authorities and request not only an extension to the firman. but an amendment to it. Digging in Palestine was

4 Neil Asher Silberman, Digging for God and Country, ch.17.
5 PEF/MINS, 1.2.1910.
6 PEF/MINS, 3.1.1911.

by now becoming an extremely competitive matter. German teams were digging extensively in the area of Ains Shems; French teams had re-commenced work, and the English digs, largely represented by the PEF, were small in number. Gone was the primacy when PEF could expect to get preferential treatment just on the basis that they represented the British Empire, and the difficulties being thrown up by people like the Turkish commissioner probably reflected more the political situation and the turmoil in Turkey together with the German domination of the country than an effective dislike of anything that Mackenzie was doing. Innumerable telegrams had to pass between Pears, PEF and the Turkish authorities in order to resolve the situation. From the Fund's point of view letters were sent by a combination of Masterman and Crace at the conclusion of which the matter appeared to be largely solved. But digging was delayed extensively by the dispute.

By 17 January 1911 Mackenzie had recommended to the Fund that the general survey of Beth Shemesh (Ains Shems) should be abandoned until such time as the problems over digging were resolved. Those problems could not be resolved until a new commissioner had been appointed by the Turkish authorities. The nature of the problem between the Turkish authorities, the British authorities, and the Fund did not become clear until 7 February 1911.[7] Sir Edwin Pears managed to obtain from Halil Bey a copy of a French telegram of application to dig the Ains Shems site. The problem had been one of European rivalry. Whilst Sir Edwin dealt with the ensuing diplomatic problems Mackenzie proposed that he and Newton, who was by now with him, should move to Askalon, Gaza, and Beersheba and then if necessary cross over into Egypt. So far the best part of five months of the expedition's time had been lost in wranglings which had been caused by the European rivalry which by now was intense in the area. All Mackenzie was able to do was to photograph and send copies of the photographs he had taken in the area to the committee together with regular reports. The committee directed him to report every fortnight, and the expedition had to wait for Sir Edwin Pears' interview with Halil Bey and confirmation that digging could now commence.

When the interview between Sir Edwin and the Turkish officials took place the decision by the Turkish officials was that the Fund should submit new applications for an extension of the old permits or firmans. The old conditions or the new ones to begin from the time when the Fund would be ready for work.[8] The Fund had little alternative but to telegraph to Sir Edwin an application in the terms suggested as soon as possible and follow that up with a postal application. It was not until 11 March 1911 that the Turkish authorities consented to appoint a new commissioner for the digging work.[9] By now Mackenzie was in a position to commence work in April. On 9 May the Fund was able to note at its regular committee meeting

7 PEF/MINS, 7.2.1911.
8 Ibid.
9 PEF/MINS, 11.3.1911.

that work had indeed commenced on the site, nearly six/seven months after Mackenzie had gone out to Palestine.[10] A staff of 36 was employed and that was expected to increase to 100. The Fund now had to pay some (Turkish) £20 to the Turkish administration in order to secure the services not only of the site overseer but also to cover the cost of obtaining the firman. By May 1911 Watson, the Fund's Chairman, had gone out to Palestine and visited the site. Both he and Mackenzie were able to report considerable progress in the digging work. Mackenzie's assistant, Newton, an architect who was drafting plans of the site, was, however, by now absent in Egypt, but the work was progressing.

Progress did not last long for by 27 August conditions at Ains Shems had deteriorated to such an extent that many of the workmen became ill with fever and Mackenzie found that he had to abandon the works for a period to allow them to recover. Whilst the workmen were recovering Mackenzie decamped to Athens and Newton, his architectural assistant, went back to England to report the progress of work to the committee.[11] The stoppage lasted two months. Come November 1911 Mackenzie was still detained in Athens and the committee were not aware whereabouts in Athens Mackenzie was based. The patience of the committee began to wear thin with Crace being directed to ask Mackenzie appropriate questions as to why he did not return to the Holy Land. By now Newton had virtually taken over the conduct of the digging, though Newton was not an archaeologist. Mackenzie was still in Athens at the beginning of December 1911. By December 1911 Newton intimated that he had decided to close the camp at Ains Shems and leave Palestine. After considerable diplomatic effort to secure a firman against French objections, the British archaeological team had unilaterally taken the decision to shut the excavation down. The committee were not pleased and wired back on 24 November[12] saying '[D]o not leave Jerusalem Await letter - Watson'. That telegram was directed to Newton; the committee had still not managed to make contact with Mackenzie who was still in Greece. Finally, however, a letter did arrive in early December from Mackenzie containing various suggestions concerning the future of the work and the future of the excavation at Ains Shems. The letter also proposed the postponing of the publication of the annual memoir of the excavations and effectively the end of the dig. The committee resolved

> That Dr Mackenzie and Mr Newton be informed that the Committee desired that they should return to England at once with all plans and papers in order, that the Report of the work at Ains Shems in 1911 should be completed by 11 February 1912 and in a state for publication. Should they fail to comply with these instructions the committee could hold out no prospect of the engagement being continued.[13]

---

10 PEF/MINS, 9.5.1911.
11 PEF/MINS, 3.10.1911.
12 PEF/MINS, 5.12.1911.
13 PEF/MINS, 19.3.1912.

Mackenzie had up to the end of 1911 done very little digging on behalf of the Fund. His interests lay in Greece and the near Levant; he had little interest in Palestine and the Fund's methods of exploration and their demands had just not been to his liking.

A friend of Sir Arthur Evans, Mackenzie telegraphed him on 19 December 1911 stating that he was indeed returning to London with the various documentation requested. By now the Fund's main interest, so far as Mackenzie was concerned, was to rescue its papers and documentations from him as quickly as possible after Mackenzie arrived in London on 1 February 1912. In the meantime the Fund appointed three new shareholders to the company which acted as the limited liability cover for the Fund - Sir Arthur Evans, Dr D. S. Hogarth, and Professor G. Buchanan. The Fund was now having to obtain further loans in order to continue to dig and with the Fund's firman due to run out in three months time and Mackenzie's behaviour being far from satisfactory, the Fund decided to abandon the digging in the Holy Land altogether.[14] Mackenzie had by now returned to work for the Fund but [T]he state of finances made it likely that he might not be able to resume work after all.'[15] Mackenzie desperately wanted an extension to his firman but no extension was possible, and when Mackenzie called upon Sir Edwin Pears at the embassy in Constantinople he was told that the embassy could do nothing to facilitate an extension of the firman. Although Mackenzie did have a flurry of activity when he attempted to revive the digging he discovered that he was starved of money and had to reduce his staff, not least because the Fund was refusing to send any further money through to him due to their inability to finance his dig. In a nutshell, the 1911-12 excavations had been a disaster and with a near collapse in the Fund's finances loans had had to be taken out and the finances collapsed from £7-800 in the bank to around £200. By September 1912 there was no alternative but for the Fund to dispense with the services of Mackenzie and his assistant and to start to work on other possible projects.[16]

Mackenzie's digging season for the Fund had not been particularly successful. He had only dug for a short space of time and for much of that time he had been handicapped either by his own illness, or by his absences in Greece. French rivalry had delayed the issue of a firman to the Fund and consular indifference had not helped the Fund's cause. The outlay at Ains Shems had been very heavy and the results had been very limited. Even when trying to write up the Ains Shems work in 1915 Charles Watson had been able to do little more than give an outline of the few odds and ends that had been found at the excavation. In truth the excavation had lasted only a little more time than Flinders Petrie's 1891 work and its results had been less rewarding.[17] Although the Fund gave Mackenzie formal notice that he was to stop digging

14 PEF/MINS, 2.4.1912.
15 Ibid.
16 PEF/MINS, September 1912.
17 C. M. Watson ed., Palestine Exploration Fund. Fifty years work in the Holy Land, p.139 et seq.

and in three months time cease employment, the Fund had little control over Mackenzie when he was back in Palestine where he was when notice was given. Notice was sent to Mackenzie on 3 July to terminate excavation work in three months time,[18] and Mackenzie was further ordered by the committee to return to London at the latest by 15 September, not to divert to Athens, and to surrender all papers for the Ain Shems dig to the executive as soon as possible. Mackenzie, however, was not for obeying the dictates of the executive committee. By 15 September Mackenzie had telegraphed Sir Arthur Evans at the British Museum stating that he was not minded to obey the committee's instructions and that he had no intention of returning to England. The committee's response was to dismiss him by telegram but withhold any payments due to him until manuscripts had been handed over. Dr Masterman, who at the time was in the Holy Land, was instructed to contact Mackenzie and obtain papers but failed to do so when confronted by voluble protests by the two excavators who refused to stop work.[19] Eventually they ceased work, but papers were never handed over to PEF.

It was true that at this point the Fund was financially embarrassed but it did have a cash amount in the bank of £560, and its loans were from Morrison's own bank, the Craven Bank. By now PEF owned the premises from which it operated. Debts certainly existed to Messrs. Cook & Co. and by September 1912 those came to some £150 and whilst by September 1911 it was true to say that the Fund was in debt and overdrawn, it was not insolvent. Not only did the Fund own the rights to the reproduction of the Great Map of Palestine; it also owned the freehold of a property at Hinde Mews, in itself worth £4,500 together with the possibility of obtaining substantial loans and substantial credit from Morrison, its Treasurer. The truth of the matter was that the Fund wished to rid itself of Mackenzie and his digging team, firstly because their work had been unsatisfactory and was not yielding results and secondly because of Mackenzie's attitude towards the Fund's work and the committee's instructions which had been far from compliant. The committee may also have had a third reason. It would seem that by this stage the committee had been approached by the War Office to complete the survey of the Map of Western Palestine. The Wilderness of Zin Survey had been proposed. The first and most important thing to do, however, was to get Mackenzie and his papers back from the Holy Land.

Telegram after telegram was sent to Mackenzie, and yet Mackenzie had refused to comply.[20] Finally, by November 1912 Mackenzie having received his last payment of salary from the committee, consented to close the works down, moved to Athens and undertook to send such papers as he might have completed together with accounts and reports, through to the Executive Committee. Mackenzie, for his part, could never see why the excavations had to

18 PEF/MINS, 3.7.1912.
19 PEF/MINS, 13.9.1912.
20 PEF/MINS, 21.9.1912.

be closed down and the works ended just as he felt that he was managing to make finds that he regarded as important. Once more the committee had experienced the problem of the conflict between the professional historian/archaeologist digging in the field, making and evaluating finds, and the committee's expectations of what should happen. This was to be the Fund's last archaeological expedition financed and wholly run by the PEF according to the PEF's requirements. The committee of gentlemen amateurs had now been supplemented by people such as Sir Arthur Evans of the British Museum and D. G. Hogarth of Oxford University, although the old gentlemen amateurs such as Watson, Morrison, Crace, and Sayce still had a controlling interest over the committee. The committee which emerged from the First World War was neither financially able to launch and run excavations on the scale that it had done previously, nor had it got the ability to run them alone. The committee had to abandon its procedure of command investigations where it sent an archaeologist into the field to investigate and find evidence of certain biblical events and replace it with formal investigations where the archaeologist investigated the field and reported his finds to the Committee. Those types of investigation were, after 1920, to be taken over by the Mandate Palestine Antiquities authorities and the Fund's archaeological role was thereby diminished.

The end of the First World War and the commencement of the British mandate in Palestine was also to mark the end of the Fund's ability to acquire antiquities from the sites that had been dug. Towards the beginning of November 1912 the Fund instructed Masterman and Mackenzie to box up and send out such antiquities as could be exported back to the Fund's museum. After 1920 such acquisitions would be virtually impossible as the antiquities would almost certainly have remained in Palestine under the control of the mandate authorities. To some extent also the excavations by Mackenzie on behalf of the Fund mark the obvious start of the decline of British colonial authority in the Holy Land. In 1865 Wilson had gone to the Holy Land, treated it as an eastern colony of the British Empire, surveyed and not even requested the permission of Constantinople to carry out his activities. Even in the 1870s when Conder, Kitchener, and Stewart had surveyed the country for the Great Map they had not sought full Turkish imperial permission for their activities. At the best they had had the tacit agreement of a local governor; at the worst they had ridden roughshod over local feelings and local views. When excavation work had commenced under Flinders Petrie in the 1890s it had been necessary for the Fund to obtain a firman. The firman had initially been easy to obtain but by the 1900s, by the commencement of the excavation work of Macalister, a firman had become difficult to obtain and maps, plans and other drawings and diagrams had had to be submitted together with a report to a government inspector. When Mackenzie's work had commenced the firman was not only required, the usual reports and the presence of a government inspector had also been necessary to petition and petition hard for the firman.

Not only were other colonial powers, in this case France, but in other cases it could easily have been Germany, interested in the work, but it is also noteworthy that the Turkish authorities were beginning to assert themselves against the overweening ambitious of the European excavators and archaeologists. Bliss, for instance, had assisted the Turks in starting a museum in Jerusalem, an action which did not endear him to the older and more imperially minded members of the Fund. At the time Mackenzie's excavations commenced the obtaining of the firman was not only difficult, but the whole of the process was fraught with troubles. Workmen had to be properly paid, they could not be made to work during Ramadam, they could not be made to work against their wills, and they could not be bullied and beaten into working. When Warren employed native workers in his tunnel system by the Haram walls he had employed Armenians to 'beat the workmen to make them work harder'.[21] This was a technique which could not possibly be applied in Mackenzie's day without infuriating local Moslem and Turkish nationalist feelings. The end of Mackenzie's digs marked the end of an era. No longer was it possible to indulge in an imperialistic European antiquities raid in a sovereign state. Not only had excavation methods altered but so also had the way those excavations were to be carried out and so too had the results of the excavations and the way they were to be understood. By 1912 the methods of Petrie and his interpretation of the results of his excavations had won widespread approval - a dig was not to be undertaken to obtain evidence to prove the correctness of a part of the Bible but was to be undertaken to obtain information as to the communities, the types of settlements, the nature of settlements and the pre-history of the area dug. Archaeology had now become a subject of academic respectability and not the occupation of well-meaning gentlemen amateurs. The Fund was isolated, out-dated, and, from an academic point of view, increasingly marginalised after the 1890s. It remained for those who brought the Fund out of the First World War and reconstructed it to bring back into the Fund's work a degree of academic importance. As if to symbolise this change in the Fund's status of fortunes the Colonial Library at Salisbury wrote to the Fund in September 1912 stating that it wished to dispose of its copy of the memoirs of the Western Survey. This had been a state of the art work on the history, geography and geology of the Holy Land. By 1912 it was becoming increasingly outdated and irrelevant.[22] Gradually too, the Fund was closing down its meteorological observations in the Holy Land. In 1912 it closed down its observation stations in both Jerusalem and the Dead Sea and by the end of 1912 it was considering ending meteorological observations at Nazareth.[23]

Just as the Fund's committee thought that it had closed down its Ains Shems excavation the excavation started up again. This time Mackenzie had obtained independent funding to excavate the high places at Ains Shems. Mackenzie had commenced digging on

21 C. Warren, Underground Jerusalem, ch.1.
22 PEF/MINS, 5.11.1912.
23 PEF/MINS, 1.10.1912.

those high places and, using independent funding together with a little unauthorised overdrawing of the Fund's accounts at Thomas Cook's he had set forth and commenced an investigation which would take him through into 1913. The Fund was powerless to stop him.[24] It had no option but to give in and to allow Mackenzie to continue his excavations at both his own expense and the expense of his financial backers. For the Fund this was a salutary lesson. They had discovered that they were not the only people with a right to dig in the Holy Land on behalf of Britain. Others clearly could and clearly were digging and investigating and here, and on the Fund's own doorstep, was proof of those investigations and of their lack of ability to control them. The Fund had ceased to be the 'official' voice and the 'official' arm of British Holy Land archaeological investigation and Mackenzie had illustrated that it could be by-passed and could do nothing.

The British authorities could not stop Mackenzie, nor did they want to, and the Turkish authorities had no interest. Despite the fact that the Fund had employed Dr Masterman to try and control the digging by Mackenzie and to try and prevent him from carrying on with the excavations which the Fund regarded as 'theirs', Masterman was unable to do so and had to have his out of pocket expenses returned to him by the Fund. Previously, the Fund had regarded itself as owning the firman granted to it by the Porte at Constantinople. That fiction now lay in ruins. Mackenzie had clearly obtained his own permission to excavate the high places, and was doing so. The only thing that the Fund now controlled was its Quarterly Statement which acted as its organ of publishing the results of its excavations. It did not own the excavations nor did it 'own' the results of that work. By this stage also, of course, the Fund's Quarterly Statement was not the only organ for publicising such academic work. The Fund knew that well, and so too did Mackenzie. Scholarship was becoming increasingly international rather than national. It was lack of money rather than lack of will which caused Mackenzie to start to fill in his excavations at Ain Shems and on 7 January 1913 to agree to start the process of returning to England.[25] With the closure of Mackenzie's high place excavation and the submission of his report in January 1913 his work came to an end.

Mackenzie dug at Ains Shems for a relatively short period and discovered little of significance. Even Watson, writing in 1915, could find little to say about the expedition. Mackenzie and Newton both appear to have tired of the lack of progress in the work and to have vacated the site at Ains Shems for more promising areas of work in Greece or Egypt. Mackenzie's work is not important for its results, but for the fact that it demonstrates the extent to which British power and PEF's importance had declined in the area. British power and PEF's importance rested upon two things only, the involvement of the Royal Engineers in PEF's Palestine work and Britain's willingness to support the Engineers with diplomatic

24 PEF/MINS, 19.11.1912, 3.12.1912, and 17.12.1912.
25 PEF/MINS, 7.1.1913.

assistance and, if need be, force. The latter was the unwritten and unspoken pressure that PEF had at its disposal in the dealings it undertook with Turkey. British sea power and by implication Britain's force of arms had been seen in Egypt in the 1880s and elsewhere thereafter. When in 1913 Britain again used military officers to survey under the cover of the Fund's work the PEF found that doors again opened for the Fund.

Financially the PEF could not cope with the pressure of excavation and academically it was not able to compete with many other European Holy Land exploration societies. By 1912 it was not even the sole representative of British Holy Land interests and, as Mackenzie showed, it could be simply ignored in the field of Palestine archaeology if that suited its opponents. It remained a 'gentlemen's' organisation with some professional archaeologists on its board. It was still dedicated to digging and harrowing the Holy Land in order to prove the Bible, an aim that was to die only with the last of the original founders in the late 1920s, by which time its primacy had vanished and its work had devolved on to the mandate administration of Palestine. By the late 1920s PEF had become a relatively unimportant organisation dwarfed by the mandate administration and whose work was rendered superficial by other organisations. Even its great achievement, the mapping of the Holy Land, was rendered out of date by British aerial surveying of the country. It had become one of the past glories of the British Empire. The PEF did, however, have one further part to play in the story of the Empire prior to 1914 - the Wilderness of Zin Survey.

CHAPTER 9
THE LAST SURVEY: THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN: 1912-1914

With the closure of the work at Ains Shems in 1912 and Mackenzie's final cessation of excavation in early 1913, PEF had come to a momentary halt. The Fund was by now low on members and finance. The excavations from 1891 to 1912 had used up their reserves and their supply of archaeologists. They could not afford to pay for any more. Their membership was falling and the PEF was no longer the dominant force it had been in either biblical archaeology or British archaeology. Russia, Germany, and Austria had all now acquired large prestigious Holy Land sites on which to build, and from where they could demonstrate their interest in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The population of the Holy Land had also altered. The east of Jordan was now populated by a mixture of Bedouin Arabs and resettled Syrian Arab Christians. The west of Jordan now had a much greater Jewish population, increased by emigration from Eastern Europe.

In the world, outside the Holy Land, international tension was increasing. Problems existed in the Balkans and conflict was arising between small states as well as tension between the five great imperial powers of Germany, France, Austria, Russia and Britain. Suez had now become a vital link in the British Empire and Britain still occupied Egypt, nominally on a temporary basis, advising the Khedive through a British Agent General who was in reality Governor of Egypt. Turkey was under the influence of Germany and German military advisers, and the Germans were pressing ahead with the construction of a railway from Berlin to Baghdad and the port of Basra. Another change had taken place; the world had witnessed a transport revolution between 1890 and 1913. The motor car and the motor lorry had increased in importance and with them the need for oil. Oil was now important for warships and for motor cars, and oil was discovered in the Dead Sea area in 1913 by Standard Oil and was known to exist in Persia.[1] The whole area now took on an even greater significance for its importance was not just biblical but strategic, economic and linked to the transportation advantages brought about by the Suez Canal.

There was a gap in the British survey of the Holy Land. The country to the north of the Sinai Survey and to the south of the Dead Sea had not been mapped by the Fund either in the course of Wilson's Sinai Survey in 1868 or in the course of the preparation of the Great Map -1870 through to 1880. An attempt had been made by Kitchener to map the area but that attempt proved fruitless and the mapping attempts had been disturbed by the Turkish authorities and by the local Arab Bedouin natives. The British government were acutely aware of that gap in their map knowledge. In 1908 the Fund was approached by the War Office and sent plans

1 V. D. Lipman, Americans and the Holy Land through British Eyes 1820-1917: a documentary history, pp.233-47.

of ten sites consisting of the plans of the Sinai Survey including the country to the north of the Ordnance Map of Sinai.[2] The War Office pointed out to the Fund that the survey already made by the Fund went up to the Dead Sea area but that a gap existed. There was a triangle of land which existed between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akabah and the end of the Sinai map. That triangle of land, though by the terms of the rest of the map being small, was vitally important from a British military point of view. It was an area consisting of wadis and hills, an area which would allow the Turks access to the Sinai peninsula in the event of war. The British were particularly worried and the British military establishment was concerned that should an enemy power enter that area an invasion of Suez and Egypt would be likely, thereby taking away from Britain control of the eastern Mediterranean. A map of sorts already existed, and a copy of that was sent through to the Fund in February 1908. It consisted of a manuscript map drawn up for the War Office by a Mr Bramley on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society on a scale of three-eighths to the inch. It was not, however, an Ordnance Map; it was a map which the War Office had reduced photographically for its own purposes, (such is made clear in the Fund's Minutes of February 1908)[3] and which the War Office wanted updating and re-scaling by the Fund. The Fund obligingly did update the map, and returned it to Major Close at the Royal Engineers.

By 1913 war looked inevitable and the likely aggressor appeared to be Germany. To protect British interests the map of the Wilderness of Zin had to be up-dated and once more the War Office approached the Fund. The Fund's stock of western Palestine maps was virtually exhausted and in July 1913 the committee entered into discussions with Colonel Hedley of the Royal Engineers, the Director of the Topographical Branch of the War Office, and the Director of the Ordnance Survey, with a view to getting new maps prepared.[4] That correspondence reported in the Minutes shows that the Ordnance Survey Department had to some extent lost or destroyed the photographic negatives and plates of some of the earlier maps, but in correspondence with Sir Charles Watson, Colonel Hedley revealed

> We are producing at the War Office a series of three sheets on the 1/250,000 scale extending from latitude 30°45' to 35° only one sheet is at present finished - I attach a copy of it which please keep but treat as confidential for the present. These sheets are based principally on your survey, the other details being filled up with such material as was available. The whole has been brought up to date as regards roads and railways as far as our information goes. These maps have hitherto been marked 'For official use only', but they contain no information which is not available from other sources, and it is probable that this restriction could be removed if you thought that the map would be

2 PEF/MINS, 4.2.1908.
3 Ibid.
4 PEF/MINS, 1.7.1913.

> useful for your purposes. If this restriction can be removed and if these maps would serve your purposes as a general map there would be no necessity to reproduce the map of the whole country on the three-eighths to an inch scale as you could confine yourselves to producing a new map of Palestine proper from the engraved copper plates.[5]

The War Office, mindful of the international situation were trying to update their map stock and realising the importance of the Holy Land appear to have approached the PEF. There was another reason for approaching the PEF. Kitchener, by now ennobled and serving as British Agent in Egypt, had realised the importance of the Zin area and prompted the director of military intelligence in London, Brigadier General Henry Wilson, to think about approaching PEF.[6] Wilson had in turn approached the Foreign Office about the prospect of filling the void in the Sinai Survey in order to defend the northern flank of Suez.[7] From 1908 therefore the War Office had planned to extend the survey of Sinai to cover Zin, but by 1913 the need for a new survey was becoming great. A combination of Kitchener's urgings and PEF's new contacts with the War Office led to PEF again becoming associated with intelligence work and the Royal Engineers.

By September 1913 the survey was being actively organised. Sir Anthony Nicolson, for the Foreign Office, had obtained Ottoman permission for a party of five officers and men to survey Zin. The urgency of the situation was stressed in view of the Balkan War then in progress. The survey was noted to be important from the Indian point of view and of protecting India.[8] Turkish co-operation in the Zin Survey was never sure; further telegrams from Constantinople injected an element of doubt,[9] but by 29 October 1913 Turkish acquiescence was assured and details requested for the Turkish authorities.[10] At its October 1913 committee meeting PEF had commissioned the production of a new map based on the maps sent through it by Hedley and which were to go on sale to subscribers. On 13 October 1913 Colonel Hedley had written to the PEF stating

> We have just received permission from the Survey of Palestine Exploration Committee to extend their work to the Egyptian boundary. The Turkish government have given permission. The whole of the work must be carried out under the auspices of PEF but

---

5 Ibid.
6 Philip Magnus, Kitchener: Portrait of an Imperialist, p.260.
7 Rupert L. Chapman III and Shimon Gibson, A note on T. E. Lawrence as Photographer in the Wilderness of Zin, Unpublished, p.1.
8 PEF/ZIN/1. Memorandum from MO4/Africa/341 to Directorate Military Intelligence, 19.9.1913.
9 PEF/ZIN/2.
10 PEF/ZIN/3. Decypher - Sir L. Mallett Constantinople despatched 1.55 R3SO 29.10.1913.

> we will supply two officers and pay all their expenses. You will perhaps want to send an archaeologist. If you are coming down here we could settle details, or I could come and see you at any time.[11]

A full meeting of the Fund's committee was then held and Colonel Hedley attended and explained the War Office's interest in the survey. Following the discussions the Fund resolved, through its Executive Committee, to write to the War Office and apply for the services of Royal Engineers who were to carry out the survey. The question of the appointment of an archaeologist was discussed and Sir Arthur Evans promised to ascertain if Mr Peet, an Egyptologist, would be able to take on the work. The preparation of new maps based on the latest War Office intelligence was also authorised.[12]

What the meeting makes absolutely clear is that the War Office appear to have had in existence a committee called the Survey of Palestine Exploration Committee. This committee was not the Fund; none of the deliberations of that committee appear in any of the Fund's Minutes, and there is no reference to it. It would, therefore, seem that the War Office in the Topographical Department kept the whole of the mapping and intelligence situation in western Palestine under constant review through the agency of the committee, and the title of the committee was deliberately produced to look as close to the title of the Fund as possible. The Fund then had to go through the charade of communicating with the Survey of Palestine Committee in order to obtain its sappers and excavators. Two non-commissioned officers were very quickly forthcoming.[13] In fact matters between the PEF and the War Office were sorted out by correspondence and, at a joint Foreign Office, War Office, and PEF meeting on 1 November 1913 it was bluntly stated that the surveyors were '[M]ore likely to get permission if the Survey was represented as an extension of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund.'[14] PEF was only a very thin veil to conceal military work that was to some extent already in progress.

The Executive met on 4 November 1913 and confirmed its wish to participate in the exploration and survey proposed by Wilson and Hedley of the War Office, and that news was conveyed back to the Foreign Secretary.[15] Newcombe, the Royal Engineers captain chosen to lead the survey, was already in Sinai near to the Turco-Egyptian border. In a report from the Director of Military Operations (Wilson) Newcombe was made available along with two non-commissioned officers and a second commissioned officer, all of them being topographers.

11 PEF/MINS, 13.10.1913, and PEF/ZIN/5, Hedley to Watson.
12 PEF/ZIN/6. The meeting was on 31.10.1913 when Hedley put forward Brigadier General Wilson's plans.
13 PEF/MINS, 18.11.1913.
14 PEF/ZIN/7, Geological section of the General Staff, War Office, 1.11.1913 to Watson from Hedley.
15 PEF/MINS, 4.11.1913 and PEF/ZIN/8.

Kitchener was informed.[16] PEF, for their part, were to send in archaeologists and accepted their liability to pay just the archaeological team.[17] Walter Morrison was a strong supporter of the scheme, placing his faith in the War Office's expertise and his own faith in archaeological finds resulting from the joint venture.[18] In passing Morrison commented on the Fund's long association with the War Office, noting '[Y]ears ago we suspended the publication of our map at the request of the War Office because of the risk to officers in disguise had they been caught in northern Syria.'[19] Morrison donated £100 to the cost of the work in order to defer the cost of the archaeologist.

The War Office organisation of the survey was comparatively easy. Captain Stewart Francis Newcombe was a Royal Engineers officer. A few years before he had completed the mapping of Syria. He was an experienced and a good surveyor. His team consisted of Lieutenant Greig, Corporal Rimmer and Lance-Corporal Diamond, some of whom were already in Palestine.[20] PEF had to provide the archaeological back up. That was not as easy. For a start PEF were once more financially in difficulties to the extent that they could not afford to pay for two archaeologists. Morrison's £100 donation defrayed some cost, a Royal Geographical Society donation of £100 helped towards the rest.[21] No firman was necessary for, as Watson pointed out in correspondence with Scott-Kilte, none has been obtained for the western or eastern survey or the geological survey. The cost of a firman was avoided.[22] The second problem faced by the Fund was who to employ as archaeologists.

At first the PEF sought the services of T. E. Peet as the Fund's archaeologist. Peet refused and the committee of the PEF approached one of its members, Sir Frederick Kenyon of the British Museum. Time was short and PEF needed an archaeologist quickly. Kenyon had two who were working on the Museum's excavations at Carchemish. Their names were T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Woolley. Woolley spoke Arabic, but was shy and was the senior man; Lawrence was the junior man.[23] The two were currently at the Carchemish excavations, but would soon be at liberty and available to the PEF.[24] The Carchemish exploration, upon which Woolley and Lawrence were engaged, was an exploration funded nominally by the Ashmolean

16 PEF/ZIN/8, Director of Military Operations, War Office, to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 4.11.1913. Reference 49258/113.
17 PEF/ZIN/9, PEF to Hedley, 5.11.1913 and PEF/ZIN/10, Morrison to Crace, 7.11.1913.
18 PEF/ZIN/10, Morrison to Crace, 7.11.1913 and also PEF/ZIN/11.
19 PEF/ZIN/10. The officers referred to included Kitchener (see PEF/KIT/1).
20 PEF/ZIN/16, War Office (Geographical Section) to PEF, 2.12.1913.
21 PEF/ZIN/17.
22 PEF/ZIN/14, Watson to Scott Kiltie, 23.11.1913.
23 PEF/ZIN/13, Kenyon to Watson, 21.11.1913.
24 PEF/MINS, 2.11.1913.

and the University of Oxford. In fact, one of the principal funding sources of the expedition was Walter Morrison who had given a huge sum of money for the Carchemish dig. The dig was run for Oxford University through the auspices of the British Museum who were also co-sponsors of the digging. Morrison's donation had been both through the University to which he was a major donor, and through the British Museum to which Morrison had made substantial donations. Morrison had strongly imperialistic sentiments and was also a major donor to the Palestine Exploration Fund. Effectively, therefore, the major backer of both the Ashmolean, the British Museum and the PEF expeditions was Walter Morrison. Sir Frederick Kenyon sat on the PEF Executive Committee, and both Colonel Hedley and Captain Newcombe were to be shortly recruited to the Palestine Exploration Committee. Newcombe was to become the officer in charge of the survey expedition in 1913-14 and Hedley was the Fund's link man into the War Office. The only other person in the saga was Hogarth, both Woolley's and Lawrence's tutor at Oxford; he sat on the PEF Executive and had recruited Lawrence and Woolley for Carchemish.

The Carchemish dig had yielded extraordinarily good results during the brief 1913 digging season and had included the uncovering of the Kings Gate area of the city and produced several other major finds. But the digging season had been short. As late as October 1913 Hogarth had written to Woolley urging him to continue digging in Carchemish as new evidence was coming to light.[25] More gates and palaces were being uncovered, as indeed were more examples of even earlier civilisation at the site, and good results were being notified back to Kenyon of the British Museum. Work stopped at Carchemish on 4 December 1913 and at the end of the working season Woolley and Lawrence suggested to the British Museum, through Kenyon, that they should remain in the Middle East and continue working, on full pay, until they had managed to deal with a number of other matters that they had excavated in the Carchemish area. Kenyon had accepted the idea and agreed to pay them full pay for one month whilst they worked on finds that had already been made, with half pay for two months holiday. Around 10 December 1913 a letter arrived from Sir Frederick Kenyon which changed both Woolley's and Lawrence's plans.[26] Hogarth, acting for Kenyon, asked them whether they would be prepared to accompany a survey party to map the Sinai Desert south of Beersheba. Woolley replied in a cable - 'Both ready, survey work January 12th'. He then sent a letter of confirmation the same day. Shortly afterwards he wrote

> We should both greatly like to do the work but I have some misgivings about this place: really we ought to be working on into January ... though your letter took so long in

25 Malcolm Brown ed., T. E. Lawrence, the selected letters, pp.50-54.
26 Ibid, p.54, Lawrence to C. F. Bell, 26.12.1913. Woolley received the letter from Hogarth.

reaching us that we may well be too late for the job, I hope they will still want us, it will be a splendid trip.[27]

Both Woolley and Lawrence were working against time in the Carchemish excavation work and the first volume of the British Museum official report on the dig was due out in 1914. The journey to Beersheba and the Wilderness of Zin was, though interesting, a break they could well have done without, but the work sounded interesting and they went. The letter had been sent by Hogarth at the request of the PEF.[28]

Charles Leonard Woolley was 33 years old (born 1880) when he went into PEF's employment. He was the son of a London clergyman and had been educated at New College, Oxford where he read theology and was put onto archaeology by his tutor, Revd. Spooner, when he did not wish to become a clergyman. Like T. E. Lawrence, his tutor was David Hogarth, a man with strong imperialist and patriotic views. Woolley was introduced by Hogarth to Sir Arthur Evans of the Ashmolean and was sent by him to dig in Northumbria and later Crete. In 1912 Woolley was sent to dig at Carchemish with Lawrence. Woolley came to know Petrie and both he and Lawrence did a short dig with him (a matter of weeks) and returned to excavate Carchemish until the pair were sent to undertake the Zin survey.

T. E. Lawrence, by contrast, was some eight years Woolley's junior. Thomas Edward Lawrence was the illegitimate son of Thomas Chapman and his governess, and was born in 1888 in Tremadoc, North Wales. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford, he studied the crusader castles of Palestine for his thesis and excavated at Carchemish under D. G. Hogarth in 1911. In 1912 he joined Woolley under Petrie in Egypt, to return in 1912-13 to work with Woolley at Carchemish. In 1913-14 both he and Woolley were sent from Carchemish to Zin in Sinai to help complete the Sinai Survey.[29] The common links between the two men that drew them together were their days at Oxford and their friendship with Hogarth. Sir Frederick Kenyon of the British Museum had secured their services and was able to report back to the Fund that both were ready and willing to accompany the survey party.[30]

Effectively, therefore, the Survey of Zin was in fact two surveys - one by Newcombe for the Royal Engineers and one by Woolley and Lawrence for PEF. In his instructions to Woolley Watson never officially confessed to the military link with the work in hand, but kept up the pretence that Woolley and Lawrence were part of a purely civilian geological survey and

---

27 Jeremy Wilson, Lawrence of Arabia, the authorised biography of T. E. Lawrence, pp.130-33.
28 PEF/MINS, 16.12.1913.
29 Brown, T. E. Lawrence ...., pp.i-xxx.
30 PEF/ZIN/22.

archaeological expedition.[31] To some extent this was true, but one would not have happened without the other. The Fund's loyal servant, Yusaf, Macalister's one-time guide and cook, was recommended to Woolley and money for the pair was sent via Thomas Cook's.[32] Lawrence was to photograph such finds and observations as were made for the Fund, but the Fund could not afford to provide Lawrence with a camera. Fortunately Lawrence himself was a photographer and had his own Beck field camera and a Wratten-Wainwright half-plate camera which he used at Carchemish. He took the latter to Zin.[33] In total Lawrence was to take some 65 plates. He and Woolley were instructed to go to Sinai and meet up with Newcombe's party.

In the meantime the Fund received an unexpected bonus. The DVEP presented PEF with an updated one inch eastern map drawn up by them in three sheets. PEF were able to thank them. At the same time the committee meetings had now been supplemented by the addition of a military observer, something which had not been seen since the 1880s. In this case it was either Colonel Hedley or Captain Nugent, acting on his behalf. At the same meeting it could be reported by Captain Nugent that the survey party under Captain Newcombe had arrived at Jaffa and that the party had now been supplemented by the addition of Mr Montagu of the Egyptian Survey Department. The Governor of Jerusalem was being asked for official recognition of the expedition. One essential difference between this expedition and the archaeological survey expeditions which had taken place from the 1890s onwards was that it appears that no application was made to the Turkish authorities for a firman to survey the area. By January Captain Newcombe had written back to the Fund requesting sight of old survey documentation and accounts of the area around Kedesh Barnea and other documentation relating to the area. The survey party drew upon PEF's expertise.

By 1 January 1914 Woolley and Lawrence had left Aleppo for Gaza, via Jaffa.[34] The military party had commenced the process of purchasing camels and Watson had given Lawrence and Woolley detailed instructions on their work. The archaeologists were to report to Watson for PEF and Newcombe to Wilson and Hedley for military intelligence,[35] though with occasional reports to the PEF executive. By 7 January 1914 the military had commenced work[36] and by 10 January the two parties had met.[37] The military men had expected elderly professors, not two young men.[38] Instead, they met Lawrence and Woolley, one looking

31 PEF/ZIN/23.
32 PEF/ZIN/24-31.
33 Chapman & Gibson, A Note on T. E. Lawrence .... p.2.
34 PEF/ZIN/32.
35 PEF/ZIN/33, Newcombe to Watson, 3.1.1914.
36 PEF/ZIN/37.
37 PEF/ZIN/38, Woolley to Watson, 10.1.1914.
38 S. F. Newcombe, 'T. E. Lawrence. Personal reminiscence', PEFQS (1935), p.110-3.

about 18 years old, although he was in his early twenties, and the other looking about 24 years old. From Newcombe both Lawrence and Woolley learned quickly that the survey was for military purposes and, Lawrence commented in a letter to his parents, '[W]e are obviously only meant as red herrings to give an archaeological colour to a political job.'[39]

With Morrison making further donations to the Fund, and with money from the Royal Geographical Society passing through the accounts of Messrs. Cooks' agents at Gaza, Woolley and Lawrence were provided with cash for their work but little in the way of equipment, or initially, substantial finds. Because of the speed at which the work had been arranged it became apparent by 22 January that there had been no time for equipment to have been sent out by the Fund and, according to Sir Frederick Kenyon, equipment was to follow later.[40] Whilst the Royal Engineers reported satisfactory survey work was being completed, Woolley and Lawrence began archaeological researching in the area of the Wilderness of Zin. Woolley reported to the Fund in February 1914 that he had made substantial progress in investigating the 'prehistoric' antiquities of the country. Woolley also undertook to meet the financial obligations that his half of the expedition would incur on the basis that the Fund would pay him back through a consular agent at an early date.[41] Woolley's major concern at this stage was to find out what publication would be the recipient of the results of his investigations. He was able to be assured that the 1914 Annual of the Fund would be the publication point for his result.

By mid-February the survey party had split in two. Newcombe intended at the outset to cover the southernmost section of the survey area himself (from latitude 30°15' downwards towards Akabah. The other part of the survey party was to cover the Wadi Arabah. Presumably this reflects a strategic significance of Akabah and the strategic significance of the Wadi from a sea. During the excavation the main items found were Byzantine artefacts, forts and a few finds going back to the second millennium B.C. Whilst these items may have been of interest to both Lawrence and Woolley, they were not of interest to the Fund, and both Lawrence and Woolley failed to find any evidence of the wanderings of the Israelites during the Exodus period. When Woolley reported to the Fund on 17 March 1914 he was not able to tell them of any biblical finds but could report having despatched 'boxes of pottery fragments' to the Fund. Woolley himself returned to Aleppo on 26 February 1914.[42]

Of the two, Lawrence was the one who most took to desert life. Lawrence stayed with Newcombe's party and showed himself both interested in map making, the geology and the

39 Wilson, Lawrence of Arabia ..., p.136.
40 PEF/MINS, 6.2.1914 and PEF/ZIN/38.
41 PEF/MINS, 17.2.1914.
42 PEF/MINS, 17.3.1914.

geography of the area. The main problem came when Newcombe and Lawrence reached Akabah and the Kaimmakam forbade them to work in the area. The Turkish authorities took all possible steps to prevent them working in the area, which they believed sensitive. From Newcombe's point of view that posed little problem. There were already maps of the area. Lawrence himself engaged in a number of adventures and spent much time evading the Turkish authorities in order to explore the Akabah area. By 18 March the survey party was able to report back to the Fund's committee meeting on 7 April that the work was progressing well save for that in the Akabah area.[43] In fact the Turks had by now become very suspicious about what was happening. Newcombe had been placed under the direct control of Kitchener.

> Lord Kitchener told me that I was to remain under the army of occupation Cairo, so I have sent the report to them (i.e. his report for PEF) asking GSO to forward to you as soon as possible. This I believe is the correct procedure as regards anything to be published and also by the way saves me writing another long report to Cairo.[44]

In other words, Cairo was censoring Newcombe's reports to PEF to prevent information leakage. At the same time Newcombe became more secretive and the Turks more alarmed about the mapping and were trying to restrict the survey party.[45] The Fund were increasingly asked to restrict the information made public, and by April the information handed over was heavily censored by GOC Cairo.[46] Censored reports were provided.

By April the survey work was coming to an end, and the PEF's AGM was pending. The work had progressed well, and by the middle of April Newcombe was able to report to the Fund and Sir Charles Watson that he was likely to be leaving the Holy Land soon and returning home. By 21 May both Newcombe and Lieutenant Greig were on their way home having left via Cairo and Alexandria.[47] To maintain their cover of working for the Exploration Fund the two men undertook to present their findings formally at the Annual Meeting of the Fund, scheduled to take place in June 1914. By now both Woolley and Lawrence had returned to their original work at Carchemish and had left the employment of the Fund. At Carchemish they were to be confronted with a difficult situation from 22 March 1914 onwards when a fracas broke out between German railway engineers and their men. In the ensuing melee pistols were fired and fire was returned by the German engineers. The incident was symptomatic of the heightening tension in international relations. Woolley and Lawrence continued with their digging and with the compilation of their report to the Palestine

---

43 PEF/MINS, 17.4.1914.
44 PEF/ZIN/47, Newcombe to Watson, 15.2.1914.
45 PEF/ZIN/56, Hedley to Watson, 10.3.1914.
46 PEF/ZIN/58-66.
47 PEF/MINS, 21.5.1914.

Exploration Fund. The future of their Carchemish expedition was by now guaranteed as a result of a further donation of £10,000 given in January 1914 by Walter Morrison towards the work. Other incidents broke out between the guards and employees of Woolley and Lawrence and their German counterparts.[48] Although on their return to Britain Newcombe and his party had passed through Carchemish, they had only done so in May 1914 in order to survey the Turkish railway. By June 1914 Lawrence had returned to Baghdad, together with Woolley, and both had started off for a summer holiday in England.[49] On the way back to England they travelled the length of part of the German/Damascus/Baghdad railway, gathering information which was later passed on to Newcombe.[50] The pair were in England when war broke out.

Apart from small grants made by the committee to members of the survey party, the mapping of the Wilderness of Zin cost the committee virtually nothing. On return Newcombe and his party set to to draft the much-needed map and that work was under way under War Office auspices when in August 1914 war broke out. Immediately war was declared the works sent through to the committee by Lawrence, Woolley and Newcombe were embargoed and that embargo was maintained by both the Fund and the War Office until the cessation of hostilities in 1918. It was on Lawrence's application to the Fund that none of the matters were published. By now doubtless Lawrence was acting on behalf of the War Office who later confirmed his request in November 1914.[51]

No doubt the use of the Fund as a convenient cover for military mapping work was a long established practice. We have seen it used by Kitchener, Conder, Wilson and Warren at earlier stages in the Fund's life. It would seem that there is little doubt that the suggestion that the Fund be used emanated not just from Colonel Hedley but also from his Commander in Chief, Lord Kitchener. Kitchener had worked for the Fund on and off for the best part of ten years. He knew it well; he knew its employees and, more to the point, he was almost certainly a friend of Watson. For most of this period Kitchener was in Egypt but it would seem he took an almost personal control and personal interest in the work of Newcombe and the mapping party. The particular area that needed to be mapped, the Wilderness of Zin, i.e. the area around Beersheba down to the Gulf of Akabah, was of vital military importance, as it was a possible invasion route for British forces when hostilities broke out and if Turkey allied herself to the central powers. Turkey did not ally herself immediately with German aspirations in the war but, at a fairly early stage, did declare herself for Germany and remained a German ally for the duration of hostilities.

---

48 Wilson, Lawrence of Arabia ..., p.142.
49 See PEF/ZIN/69. Woolley spoke to the Fund's AGM, 1.7.1914.
50 Wilson, Lawrence of Arabia ..., p.147.
51 See PEF/ZIN/71-90 and PEF/MINS, August-October 1914.

Why were Lawrence and Woolley chosen? It would seem that Lawrence and Woolley just happened to be in the right place at the right time. Sir Frederick Kenyon appears to have been the person responsible for recruitment of the pair. As head of the British Museum and a principal paymaster of the Carchemish expedition, he realised that a useful saving could be made by employing Woolley and Lawrence during the 'off season', instead of paying for their passage back to England. PEF could employ them for half pay and the Museum would not have to pay them at all. The saving to the Museum was thus both the cost of their passage by steamer back to England and half pay for three months. Hogarth was a member of the Fund's committee; he also realised that by employing Woolley and Lawrence, who were already on site at Carchemish, the Fund would make a useful saving in that it would have no need to pay any travelling expenses for the pair who would be able to make a fairly cheap journey from Carchemish down to Beersheba where they would meet up with the survey party. Given the fund's parlous financial position and that the Fund, at this stage, was virtually dependent upon Morrison's munificence to provide it not only with accommodation but also with the discharge of the massive loan that it had from the Liverpool Bank, the Fund was more than grateful to Kenyon for coming up with a solution that allowed it to complete its Western Map without having to pay much in the way of fees to those who surveyed for it.[52] The Royal Geographical Society obligingly gave £100 to the Fund to cover the expenses of archaeological survey work and the cost of the mapping, and the War Department, through the Ordnance Survey, was willing to produce the map at a substantially reduced price. In short, the whole scheme profited everybody.[53] Both Woolley and Lawrence were taken on by the Fund as Lawrence spoke good colloquial Arabic and Woolley, the senior man, was the more competent researcher. The Fund were able to reduce their payments to Lawrence further, in particular, by taking into account the fact that he was in receipt of a bursary from his Oxford college. In short, Lawrence and Woolley worked for virtually nothing, receiving little more than their bare expenses and the excitement of the job.

The outbreak of war in 1914 was a turning point in the history of the Fund. Between 1914 and 1922 the map and political complexion of who the Middle East was to be re-drawn out of all possible recognition. By 1922 Turkish sovereignty over the whole of the area south of the Tarsus Mountains had all but disappeared. In its place appeared a tapestry of much smaller nation states, many of them European client states such as Syria and Lebanon, which had governments largely dependent for their existence and creation on the European governments. The Holy Land had, by 1922, become mandate Palestine and was now completely under British administration with a colonial style administration, a governor, and occupying troops standing guard in places where some ten years previously Turkish troops had

52 Chapman & Gibson, A Note on T. E. Lawrence ..., and private conversations with Dr Chapman.

53 Wilson, Lawrence of Arabia ..., p.153.

stood. The British colonial administration of the area, for that is what it became after 1917 when the British took control of the area, was ruthlessly efficient and produced its own archaeological survey teams and its own archaeological department. No longer did the War Office need to rely upon the good offices of a voluntary society such as the Palestine Exploration Fund to provide them the cover to map or look at the area. In any event the War Office had maps of sufficient calibre and quality not to need any further mapping. The survey from 1913 to 1914 had been a harkening back to colonial style activities that had taken place some 25 years earlier when the main surveying work for the Great Map had taken place. To some extent it was out of time as a means of obtaining the mapping information needed but the Fund had been pressed into service as an emergency measure. The period 1890-1912 more truthfully reflects the Fund's and Britain's failing influence in Palestine. No longer was British domination of Palestine exploration a matter to be taken for granted; it had become a competition between France, Germany, Britain and Russia. No longer was the Foreign Office dependent upon either the British Exploration Fund or the Jerusalem bishopric to represent its views. That could be done adequately by others and the lack of interest of the Foreign Office in the Fund's work in the first decade of the twentieth century again reflects the Fund's falling position of power within the British system of colonial and foreign policy.

After 1918 the Fund had to start to consider a re-definition of its role. It had to compete with new power groups, and with a new administration and a new government system in the Holy Land. By 1918 the Fund was largely run by new men. All those who had founded the Fund, save Crace and Morrison and all those involved in the Fund's early work, bar Warren, had died. Watson died in 1915 and Crace followed him in 1920. Kitchener was lost at sea in 1916 but even Morrison ceased to be a power after 1915 when he suffered his first stroke. Morrison was to die in 1922, just as the Fund was emerging from war, and Clermont-Ganneau was to die at an old age in 1923.

The only person to survive through to the end of the second decade of the twentieth century was Sir Charles Warren. With the death of the Victorian founders of the Fund died the Victorian controversies. The controversies between Perrotti and Groves had passed away and the controversy between Fergusson, Wilson and Warren had also died by 1918. The man who was to take over the running of the Fund and lead it into the post-war period, and who was to become its elder statesman, was Sir Charles Warren, but he was by then an old man of about 80 years of age. His moment of leadership had come far too late in the day for him to make the significant contribution he could probably have made earlier in his life. It was for others to firmly lead the Fund along the path of archaeological research and away from its military links and into the new world that followed the Great War.

CHAPTER 10
FUNDING THE FUND

For the entirety of the period 1865-1914 PEF experienced major financial problems. There were few occasions during its first 50 years when the Fund found itself both financially well off and able to fund its projected commitments. There were two reasons for this: firstly the size and scope of the projects embarked upon by the Fund were often neither properly costed nor were they projects that a small voluntary organisation would normally have undertaken. The excavation work of Warren, the Western and Eastern Surveys, the excavations at Tel el Hesi and elsewhere were also large-scale projects never before attempted by any British organisation. The PEF's executive had only a hazy idea of cost. Secondly, the PEF's access to funds was limited. After 1869 it largely depended upon its subscription income, which was only £1.1s.0d. (£1.05) for full members. That income was not enough to do more than allow the PEF to pay for its basic running costs. It is true that in the 1890s the Fund did receive some money by way of legacy, but that in itself did not allow PEF to undertake work as costly as the archaeological work undertaken in that period.

Initially, the Fund depended upon donations from its members and supporters. Those donations were erratic and when the first waves of interest in the Fund had dried up, so too did the donations. The PEF, especially during its first years, depended heavily on obtaining public support and subscriptions by virtue of the finds it made and the publicity it attracted, hence its emphasis upon the importance of the finds it made in its early years. Funding problems reached a crisis at various times in the Fund's history. The first major crisis was in 1867-69 during Warren's work. So severe was the crisis that Warren appears to have been left in the Holy Land unfunded and unsupported for months. A second major crisis came about in 1875 after the Safed incident, and again during the drawing up of the Western Map. Only War Office intervention saved the Fund on those occasions. Money ran out again at various times, during Bliss's, Macalister's, and Mackenzie's digging work. Loans had to be obtained at various times after 1870, sometimes from Coutts Bank, sometimes from individuals such as Morrison, sometimes from Morrison's bank. Up to 1911 the PEF had virtually no property upon which to secure loans, save its name and sometimes its book stock. More than once it had to rely upon Morrison's personal guarantee. It was only after 1911 that the Fund had its own premises and a secure income to supplement its subscription income. The early years of funding crises are covered in the accounts of Wilson's and Warren's work. Generally speaking Wilson had no funding problems. Warren did, and it was those difficulties that caused Wilson to become more active in the PEF in and after 1868.

The years 1865-67 saw a funding crisis which culminated in Warren being left in the Holy Land with minimal resources. This has been referred to elsewhere. By mid-1868 it was

clear that the Fund could no longer rely on appeals alone to sustain its work, and that a subscription was needed. By 1868 funding was again a problem. Correspondence between Grove andWilson, by now a leading influence in the PEF, reveals that both realised the problems and cost of surveying western Palestine. A cost of £5-6,000 was estimated and Grove, at Wilson's prompting, felt that the Ordnance Survey should take control of the mapping with the PEF as trustees.[1] Whilst that matter was easy to solve, and whilst the PEF relinquished much of its control to Ordnance Survey, money was still an issue. Wilson commented in 1868 '[I]f we could only get hold of some rich old lady devoted to the Holy Land'.[2]

By now most big donations were ending; the appeal of 1867 had brought in £4,557.12s.5d. (£4,557.62), 111 of the donations being for over £10. It was the PEF's best year ever for fund-raising, 1865 had only raised £1,438.0s.1d. (£1,438.01) and 1866 £1,033.3s.0d. (£1,033.15).[3] Further financial appeals were out of the question. A subscription had to come in, and did so in December 1868, starting 1869. The year 1867 had been successful because Warren had commenced digging in Jerusalem that year. The expense of his work on the Tyropean Valley had been under-estimated. It raised funds but tunnelling used around £300 a month. The Fund was also planning other works, namely the Survey of Sinai 1868-. That survey was organised by Wilson and its funding was hazy. The results were published by the Ordnance Survey and the Sinai Survey, led by Wilson and including Palmer and Holland and Lieutenant Anderson, was said to be funded by a 'well wisher'. It was not officially a PEF-led survey. On the other hand the people who manned it were all connected to the PEF. Minutes for July 1867 to June 1868[4] show an amount of £2,506 entering the Fund's accounts. Given the problems the Fund experienced in 1867 in funding Warren's dig in Jerusalem, this was an amazing turnaround. Even more odd was the fact that only £400 remained in the PEF account by December 1868.[5] The money had not gone to Warren.

Warren was paid £400 in April 1868[6] and then fitfully thereafter. The money must have gone to the Sinai Survey mounted by Wilson that year. No other accounts survive, but the likely conclusion is that PEF funded the Sinai Survey and Warren's work was a distraction and a money-raising matter. All this points to the hand of Wilson and military intelligence, for the Sinai Survey was desperately needed. As we have noted a preliminary survey of Sinai was

1 PEF/1, Wilson to Grove, 14.7.1868.
2 Ibid.
3 PEF donations and subscription ledgers, 1865-7.
4 PEF/MINS, 25.2.1868.
5 PEF/MINS, 29.12.1868.
6 PEF/MINS, 2.4.1868.

made in 1865. By 1868 the Suez Canal was near completion. Britain, worried over French influence in a British area of operation, obtained the express authority of Sir Henry James, director of ordnance and with four NCOs, Wilson, Anderson and two scholars, and later Tyrwhitt-Drake, went to finish the Sinai Survey before the canal opened in 1869.

The Survey was operated through PEF and it would seem the funding passed through PEF's books. It was such an important survey that Sir Henry James himself was prepared to go out and to take charge of it.[7]

When he returned from Sinai, Wilson took charge of the Fund following his reforms in 1867-69. The period of work he undertook in Sinai had stopped that work temporarily. Two financial measures were immediately taken: digging at the Western Wall ceased, and a Secretary to the PEF was appointed. The two happened simultaneously. In December 1868 Warren was told '[T]hese works which do not provide important results [should] be for the present abandoned'.[8] Digging ceased and Warren was sent to do reconnaissance work and survey work. The PEF's future from then until the 1890s was to be primarily as a survey organisation, not archaeological. The survey was driven as much by a need for military maps as for geographical knowledge. The saving was large. Military officers were paid around £34 per month, and NCOs between £8 and £10 a month. Besant was engaged as Secretary not only lending stability to PEF but also forcing the executive to adhere to the agreed 1867 reforms. Besant was paid £200 per year, but unlike the military officers he could engage in his own activities part of his time. In time his salary rose to £300.[9]

Given their close involvement at this stage in the Fund's history, the Ordnance Survey and the Intelligence Department must have been aware of the Fund's low finances and its lack of money. When in 1869 a subscription was introduced Fund income fell, giving a subscription and donation income of £2,263.6s.4d. (£2,263.32). The high donation levels of 1867 were never achieved again before 1918, although membership did not decline. The reason is that when a subscription came in large donations fell away, never again to return, and although membership figures remained constant, up to 1914 subscriptions and donations tended to follow the subscription level demanded and not be a freewill offering.

The difference between subscription levels and the Fund's needs was made up from two sources - from the sales of publications, and from local societies and lectures, and as the years went by these became an increasingly important source of income. In 1870, for instance,

---

7 C. M. Watson ed., The Palestine Exploration Fund: Fifty years work in the Holy Land, p.71.

8 PEF/MINS, 12.12.1868.

9 PEF/2/1-2 Fidelity Bond for Besant, 10.8.1868.

lectures, sales of books and photographs produced an income of £567.4s.10d (£567.24).[10] Local societies were also vitally important. For one quarter, in 1881, £969.17s.11d. (£969.89) was donated by them.[11] When in 1876 the PEF reluctantly let Mrs Finn found a ladies association within the Fund, it was only for the income it provided - about £250 in 1877 - alone.[12] Without the financial supplement of lectures, sales and local associations the Fund could not have carried on. The appointing of local lecturers was a matter of importance to PEF together with the sale of photographs. When the Great Map had been produced at the conclusion of the Western Survey in 1880, its sale formed another useful addition to Fund income. The map was for many years the standard map of many Bibles and the Fund owned the copyright. In the 1880s at least one civil action had to be fought to emphasise the Fund's ownership of the copyright.

By 4 January 1870 PEF faced yet another financial crisis. The Fund's accounts stood at £328 and Warren's work cost £350 a month. Work on the tunnels had been stopped in 1868 but had been resumed in 1869. Grove was instructed by the Fund to write to The Times to appeal for donations. Given the lack of money, Warren's tunnelling did not help finances and Warren himself had been reduced to securing donations from visitors to his site.[13] Warren had to be instructed most strongly to cease digging and not to re-open his shafts without permission. His expenses fell, and from January 1870 never exceeded £200 a month. By 1871 his yearly expenses were £1,467.

In 1871 the Fund's income from all sources was £2,359: 'Not so large as in preceding years'[14] the Fund's Annual Meeting was told. Palmer had again been surveying the desert when Warren's work ended in 1871. However as Warren ended Stewart began, and by 1872 survey work of £2,337 a year was being done on a £3,317 a year income.

What did the Fund receive for its money? Between 1868 and 1872 the Fund received the results of three surveys, only one of which was officially theirs. Warren continued to survey in the west of the Holy Land; Wilson's survey of the Sinai peninsular produced reports and results; and Palmer, ever enigmatic and secretive, journeyed around the wilderness areas of the Levant contacting Arab chiefs and his old friend Richard Burton. PEF paid nothing for that survey, but did receive the results of Palmer's efforts in relation to the Desert of Tih. The financial burden was great and was to remain great for years to come. Insolvency permanently

10 PEFQS 1872, p.2, Financial Annex.
11 PEFQS 1881, Financial Annex.
12 PEFQS 1877, Financial Annex.
13 PEFQS 1870, p.216.
14 PEFQS 1872, pp.102-3.

threatened and it was only local committees and the sales of books, photographs and copy squeezes that kept the Fund near solvency.

Another problem the Fund faced up to the late 1870s was paying its explorers on time. Morrison illustrated this well when in 1870 he wrote: '[S]end me a cheque for £150 or £50 for Warren; I am very uneasy about it, for I promised him personally to see that he should not be subject to the inconvenience of our old happy-go-lucky system.'[15] Morrison had personally had to lend money to pay Warren, and as early as 1868 had lent £244.17s.3d. (£244.86)[16] which was later repaid. The problem of payment bothered Morrison in 1869. 'I am uneasy about not remitting money to Warren's account, we must not allow him to overdraw his account here.'[17]

In 1868 the Fund had hoped for a rich old lady; by 1870 Morrison, realising the Fund could hardly sustain itself, saw Americans as being a possible way of raising money and even contemplated an appeal to American tourists in general and American enthusiasts for the Holy Land in particular. The mention of an American fund or branch was the catalyst for this, but the appeal was never undertaken.[18] The only way to stabilise payments was by ending excavation completely in 1870 and offering Warren £100 for expenses together with his and his men's salary. The War Office must have known of the Fund's state and yet Warren was never recalled.[19]

Despite the financial problems which had not improved by March 1870, the PEF felt confident enough to allocate Professor Palmer money to cover the cost of publishing his Holy land photographs and still pay Warren £100 a month. PEF had only £320 in the bank, and its income was static.[20] Later the same month Palmer received £100 towards his desert work and Warren £150.[21] By May 1870 the Fund only had £180 in the bank account, but did not want to end Warren's work or the Palestine project.[22] The Fund wished to continue Warren's work and despite their lack of resources the executive agreed to continue Warren's work with PEF '[F]or such times as will enable him to complete his work'.[23] That motion was supported by Wilson and Morrison. Clearly Wilson knew what was happening; he and Morrison chaired the committee and were aware of the shortage of money. Wilson also knew Warren was by now

15 PEF/uncatalogued letter, Morrison to Besant, 13.1.1870.
16 PEF/MINS, 24.4.1868.
17 PEF/uncatalogued letter, Morrison to Besant, 7.1.1869.
18 Ibid.
19 PEF/MINS, 10.2.1870.
20 PEF/MINS, 2.3.1870.
21 PEF/MINS, 29.3.1870.
22 PEF/MINS, 20.5.1870.
23 PEF/MINS, 5.5.1870.

surveying a baseline outside Jerusalem. Stores were arranged from Malta and the work had commenced. The PEF's work had changed from digging to surveying and surveillance. In late 1870 Warren went to Galilee and worked there; Galilee was the suspected Russian invasion route and also a French invasion route from Lebanon. When Warren returned in 1871 all was ready to send out the surveyors of the Western Survey.

The cost of the survey was never going to be cheap. The survey was under the nominal control of Tyrwhitt-Drake, as PEF representative and the military side was run by Stewart and later Conder. Equipment was for the larger part lent to the Fund by the Ordnance Survey department and photographic apparatus appears also to have been on loan. In addition to one officer, the party consisted of a sergeant (Black), a corporal (Armstrong) and other unit members. Much of the outfit was provided by the Royal Engineers - tents, camp beds, etc. - were not Fund property. Some horses were bought with Fund money, but personal items - paper, pens, guns, ammunition, etc. - were War Office, regimental or Ordnance Department provisions. The Fund paid for the passage of the party to the Holy Land, but not travel within the country. Servants were employed at the officers' own expense. Even with this considerable help, and no payment being made for food or drink, wages alone came to about £100 a month. Tyrwhitt-Drake had to be paid £20 a month, officers £35.7s.10d. (£35.39) a month, and the NCOs received £36 between them. In addition there was usually additional expenditure for such things as photographic processing, photographic plates and chemicals, and sundry expenses.

When in June 1872 it became apparent that Stewart would have to be replaced as party leader, the Fund's assets stood at some £724.7s.10d. (£724.39)[24] and it was obvious that there was insufficient money in both the Fund's main account and in any subsidiary bank accounts that it might have to sustain the survey. In addition to paying out around £100 a month towards the cost of the survey the Fund was also committed to paying Besant his yearly remuneration, by now about £300, and paying for the cost of a clerk to assist Besant. The Fund had also to pay for the rental of the rooms that it occupied. All in all, therefore, the Fund could never hope to meet the cost of the Western Survey from its income alone, for at no stage during this period did the Fund's income ever total more than £1,400 from subscriptions and from donations. In addition to the expenditure above, the Fund was also committed to paying a retainer to Ganneau who had now been employed by the Fund. Additionally a gratuity was due to Schick. It was not long before the whole enterprise began to eat away at the Fund's assets. By the July committee meeting following the appointment of Conder to the expedition, the Fund's assets stood at £517.18s.1d. (£517.91), roughly £200 down on the previous

24 PEF/MINS, 4.6.1872.

month.[25] October 1872 saw the assets of the Fund fall to £103.10s. (£103.50)[26] and by November 1872 those funds had not recovered. They still stood at £156.2s.8d. (£156.13)[27] Clearly money was becoming a problem and even though the funds were to reach £686.2s.7d. (£686.13) by January 1873[28], by June 1873 the funds had again fallen to £248.11s.11d. (£248.59).[29] The funding crisis was to be a recurrent feature of the organisation from the start of the Western Survey until its completion. The funding problems were to reach a climax round November 1875 when the Fund's assets fell to around £13.[30] Salvation came in two forms. Firstly the Safed incident when Kitchener and Conder were forced to withdraw from the Holy Land and cease mapping, and secondly in the form of the Royal Engineers who compiled and drafted the western Palestine map at War Office expense.

Financing ran on a hand to mouth existence from 1872 to 1874. It was in 1874 that things began to go seriously wrong with the funding of the Western Survey. By January 1874 the Fund's assets stood at £317.6s.5d. (£317.32) and money was becoming extraordinarily light to the extent that Grove was instructed to write to Conder reminding him of the need for economy[31] whilst even Ganneau was reminded of the need to be economical and not to dig at Jerusalem or Mordin.

The Fund resorted to other ways of raising money. It even tried to persuade the Louvre Museum that payment ought to be made for the Moabite Stone given to them earlier in the year. No money came, and an Emergency General Meeting ratified the handover.[32] Ganneau had to be paid and he was demanding both labour and money at the rate of 150 francs a month. He also demanded a firman which the Fund found impossible to obtain through the Foreign Office. The Fund paid Ganneau;[33] by contrast they never gave Conder additional funds or permission to publish on his own account without prior submission of documents to the executive. By January 1874 assets totalled £210 and Grove estimated £1,050 was needed to complete the survey.[34] A popular pamphlet was produced to raise funds and attempts were made to sell off the rights to sketch maps to Bible printers. On 23 June 1874 Tyrwhitt-Drake

25 PEF/MINS, 6.7.1872.
26 PEF/MINS, 11.10.1872.
27 PEF/MINS, 12.11.1872.
28 PEF/MINS, 14.1.1873.
29 PEF/MINS, 30.6.1873.
30 PEF/MINS, 23.11.1875.
31 PEF/MINS, 13.1.1874.
32 PEF/MINS, 10.3.1874.
33 PEF/MINS, 14.7.1874.
34 PEF/MINS, June 1874.

died, and the Fund had a respite from paying him and at the same time incurred the expense of replacement.[35]

For the short term the financial crisis passed; Ganneau reduced his digging, and in November 1874 became involved in the Gaza incident involving the removal of finds from Palestine and his isolation from both European and diplomatic society in the land. He was expelled by the Turks in November 1874 and his archaeological mission ended.[36] With Drake dead and Ganneau disgraced, finances eased. The Fund was, however, to get the problem back to haunt it in 1875, a combination of too many high profile projects and insufficient funding could not cover two high profile expeditions. Although Ganneau's honorarium was relatively small, the cost of printing and processing his work, developing photographs and reproducing his works was significant.[37] Additionally the Fund still had to meet its commitments of £300 rent, Besant's salary of £300, around £1,000-£1,200 for survey expenses including production of the Quarterly Statement it depended entirely on the sales of books and photographs and local societies to keep it solvent.

Again we can note that the Fund was throughout the period under the control of Morrison and Wilson and latterly Hepworth-Dixon. All, especially Wilson, must have known of the state of the Fund yet Royal Engineers were allowed to remain on site in Palestine. Their continued presence must have suited Wilson. All finances up to 1914 were in the sole hands of Morrison who was also the Fund's auditor.

The respite between January and March 1875 allowed for financial recovery due to a combination of the weather stopping the survey and the in-flow of subscriptions. A high of £560.0s.2d. (£560.01) was reached[38] which fell by June to £265.11s.5d.[39] This fall took place despite a fall off of the remuneration paid to Royal Engineers. The PEF practice was to declare all amounts of money paid out at each committee meeting. Between June 1874 and July 1875 the Minutes of the Executive do not record any payments by way of salary to the survey party. In July 1875, with funds rising at a time when a fall would be more usual, £132.3s.11d. (£132.19) was issued to Sergeant Black to pay salaries.[40] Presumably an agreement with the War Office had allowed the PEF to pay late the wages of the men, but some

35 PEF/MINS, 30.6.1874.
36 C. Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874, repr. 1985, pp.i-vi.
37 PEF/MINS, 10.3.1874.
38 PEF/MINS, March 1875.
39 PEF/MINS, 8.6.1875.
40 PEF/MINS, 13.7.1875.

interim provisions must have been made for them. If the War Office had not provisioned and equipped the men the continued existence of the expedition would have been in doubt.

Tyrwhitt-Drake had been replaced by H. H. Kitchener in October 1874. Kitchener was frugal and after his arrival he assumed control of the expedition. Expenses were kept low, but even so the Fund ran into problems with unusual bills in October 1874 and Ganneau demanding £295.10s.8d. (£295.53) in December 1874.[41] Morrison lent the Fund £180 in October to tie the Fund over[42] and the Manchester local group raised £262 by March 1875.[43] The printing of Ganneau's and other books and repaying Morrison[44] meant that by June 1875 a public appeal was being made for financial assistance to '[S]ocieties, asking for further assistance'.[45] It raised little.

At the Annual Meeting the Fund's position was made clear. £1,000 was needed to meet liabilities[46] and an appeal was started. By July 1875 only £180 was raised by the appeal.[47] An appeal to the United Grand Lodged raised only £100. An appeal to wealthy patrons, the Duke of Norfolk, Duke of Sutherland, the Queen and others, brought in £352.13s. (£352.65) with £273.13s. (£273.65) in subscriptions. It was not enough when in July 1875 the incident at Safed stopped work. The cessation of work was a relief to the Fund; it was nearly bankrupt and could not go on.

Work ceased and the Turkish authorities were approached by the Foreign Office. Meanwhile funds continued to plummet reaching £13.3s. (£13.15) by December 1875.[48] The work did not resume until March 1876, by which time £1,500 had been received and the Fund's balance was around £800. When the survey recommenced a sub-committee of Wilson, Morrison and Anderson was set up to examine Kitchener's and Conder's accounts for waste. Conder, in particular, was much aggrieved by this, more so because Ganneau's accounts were never subject to such rigorous scrutiny whilst he and Kitchener had to wait long periods for payment. Ganneau, by contrast, was paid promptly. In any event Conder did not return to Palestine but worked on the drafting of the survey at the Royal Albert Hall.

When work did resume the PEF had received compensation from the Turks for the Safed attack. The party was reduced to one officer accompanied by NCOs and the War Office

41 PEF/MINS, 8.12.1874.
42 PEF/MINS, 13.10.1874.
43 PEF/MINS, March 1875.
44 PEF/MINS, 11.5.1875.
45 PEF/MINS, 15.6.1875.
46 PEF/MINS, 22.6.1875.
47 Ibid. and PEF/MINS, 13.7.1875.
48 PEF/MINS, 23.12.1875.

undertook map drawing free of charge. After 1875 the Fund did not pay the men in Palestine; their salary came from the War Office itself. The system of very much reduced Fund payments and enhanced War Office involvement continued through to the completion of the Western Survey. War was threatening in the region, and by the time the survey was completed it was likely that conflict would break out between Turkey and Russia. It gave the whole project an added urgency and the completion of the survey and the drafting of the Great Map was carried out at War Office expenses, and under Conder's, and later Conder's and Kitchener's, supervision.

The Fund contemplated publishing a full scale map on Ordnance Survey lines, together with smaller maps for schools and study use. A full commentary was prepared in three volumes, under the general editorship of Grove and Wilson, Anderson editing the maps and Morrison and Crace the photographic survey. Tristram and Holland covered geography, science and history. The Fund sub-committee editing the work was under the control of Wilson who was now once more with Ordnance Survey and, after 1876, posted to Ireland.

In 1878 Grove resigned as Secretary.[49] He had taken less and less of an active role in the Fund over the years after 1867 and was by now a cipher, real power resting with Besant. Grove did stay on to act as one of the survey editors, but after the survey's publication he severed his connection with the Fund, having little contact thereafter.

The Survey was a major publishing venture and was never going to be cheap. With Kitchener on the executive 1878-80, military co-operation was assured. Wilson was away but he trusted Kitchener to oversee the army's interest in the venture. By July 1879 some 263 of the Fund's subscribers had pledged themselves to purchase the three-volume survey commentary at ten guineas (£10.50) a set. With the survey memoir came maps, and it was Kitchener who acted as consultant on the maps, and as to how and when they were to be published.[50] Kitchener had direct access to the Fund's printers and to their proofs, to how and when they published, and to what they printed.

By November 1879 the plates for the maps were prepared by the Office of Works and publication at £50 per 100 sets of 26 sheets was charged to the Fund. The despised American map of 13 sheets was being produced at £20 for 100 sets. The Memoirs themselves were ready by 1880 and were published 1880-83. The work did not make a profit, even though it represented a major publishing achievement. Funding from the government now effectively dried up and the government help that the Fund had received after 1872 and particularly after

49 PEF/MINS, 11.6.1878.
50 PEF/MINS, 23.7.1878.

1876 went away. The Fund entered now a period where more and more it had to rely upon its own resources to finance its activities.

After 1880 funding from membership subscriptions never increased; if anything, it suffered a decline. For instance, in 1891 the PEF's total income was £4,019.18s.6d. (£4,019.93) of which only £2,191.10s.10d. (£2,191.54) consisted of subscriptions, and £1,320.19s.2d. (£1,320.96) coming from local societies. Of the remainder £1,600 came from book and photograph sales.[51] By 1914 the Fund's donation income was £1,393.18s.7d. (£1,393.93) and its total income was £1,887.5s.11d. (£1,887.29), the balance being the result of the sale of publications.[52] Clearly the PEF was very dependent after 1880 for the sale of publications to act as a supplement to its income. The period 1880-1914 was marked by recurrent financial crises. By 1885 the PEF was again in debt. Printers bills and publication costs, 1884-88, had been so large that by 1886 a £850 loan had been taken and the Fund was only just making ends meet. Publications undertaken included not only the Western Survey but also works by Conder, Wilson, Warren and two volumes by Clermont-Ganneau.[53] The crisis persisted through into 1888 and had become a source of constant comment.

By the end of 1887 a further change had taken place. Besant had ceased to be the Acting Secretary to the Fund and had become the Honorary Secretary of the Fund. George Armstrong had taken over as Assistant Secretary and was in fact acting for all practical purposes as the paid full-time Secretary to the Fund. The move was not only cost-cutting; Besant received nothing by way of remuneration and Armstrong received £16.13s.4d. (£16.67) a month. It also reflected the actual position, that being that Armstrong had by now made himself indispensable to the Fund and by now was managing the Fund's every day affairs. Material was sent into the Fund throughout this period from both Schick and Schumacher, but publication had to be restricted for financial reasons. The Fund's income had scarcely risen since the late 1860s and even by the A.G.M. of 14 June 1887 only came to some £1,795 for both subscriptions and donations.

Estimates for 1888-89 as set forth in the Minutes foresaw a subscription level of only about £900-£1,000. The membership had not therefore increased.[54] It was against this background of penury that the Annual General Meeting of 1888 met on 3 July of that year. By now Armstrong was effectively acting as Secretary and Besant was effectively taking no role in the day to day administration of the Fund. As always, the Annual Meeting received an up-beat assessment of the work of the Fund. The accounts, however, do make it perfectly clear that at

51 PEFQS 1890-91, Financial Annex.
52 PEFQS 1914, Financial Annex.
53 PEF/MINS, 14.6.1887.
54 PEF/MINS, 19.6.1888.

that time the Fund was still severely in debt for £850 and that the bulk of that debt had been incurred through the large amount of publishing that the Fund had undertaken during the preceding two years.

Things improved by 1889, but when an expedition to dig was first mooted the Fund had very obviously got insufficient assets. Petrie was to lead an expedition in 1890 but even by August 1889 funds only stood at £450. PEF was by now committed to Petrie's dig on their behalf at Tel el Hesi, and it was clear that funding would have to be raised to meet Petrie's estimated £680-£700 costs.[55] An appeal raised cash and by early 1890 the accounts stood at £1,116. The truth was that the PEF could afford to run and maintain itself, but it could not afford the luxury of excavations.

Petrie realised the Fund's poverty. He excavated for the PEF for only three to four months and left advising that their site and methods were going to be too expensive. The Fund took little notice of this, and following Petrie's abandonment of the Fund engaged Frederick Jones Bliss as their archaeologist. By early 1891 PEF was unusually healthy in a financial sense with £1,318 in its account and an intention to restart the work Petrie was doing at Tel el Hesi. This time PEF had to fund its work strictly from its own resources. There were to be no covert Royal Engineers subsidies, and the Executive of the PEF were for the first time to confront the full cost of exploration work.

The PEF's lack of financial management soon became clear. No-one knew the cost of the work to be done by Bliss. No costings were obtained and by 1893 the funds were low again.[56] Publishing had eaten away at cash reserves and a need to manage income more carefully became apparent. Excavation costs grew. By January 1893 financial worries were besetting the Fund. Late 1893 saw a balance of only £180 in the Fund's accounts.[57] By 1895 things were no better; the PEF existed hand to mouth with low reserves, frequent debts and virtually no substantial funds. During 1895 the PEF was just solvent; by 1896 it needed money. On 21 January 1896[58] Morrison had to lend the Fund £100, the first of a number of loans made by him to keep the Fund solvent. When in June 1896 Bliss and Dickie ceased digging, it was to the financial relief of PEF.

Recovery followed the cessation of excavation when a new firman was obtained in 1898. Funds stood at £980 and remained high through to September 1898.[59] Funds had

55 PEF/MINS, 4.2.1890.
56 PEF/MINS, 20.10.1891.
57 PEF/MINS, 17.10.1893.
58 PEF/MINS, 21.1.1896.
59 PEF/MINS, 19.4.1898.

recovered enough to allow for the appointment of Macalister as an assistant to Bliss. By 1899 the PEF were funding two excavations of their own, giving grants to Schumacher and the White Fathers excavating in Jerusalem, and printing works by Conder and Wilson. Disaster started to loom as the available funds fell to £120 by late 1899. Matters reached a head in 1900 with the dismissal of Bliss and the closure of the excavations upon which he was employed. Although other factors were involved in that dismissal, financial considerations were present.

By 1901 the Fund had picked up and small amounts of cash had been injected into the accounts by Morrison, but the Fund was never rich. By the end of 1902 funds were so badly depleted that the PEF had to seek a £300 loan from Coutts, their bankers, and have it guaranteed by Walter Morrison. Morrison later paid back the loan, but in 1903 the Fund had to sell its best museum exhibits to finance Macalister's digging in Tel el Jezari and it was only through loans and donations, together with the massive revenue from map sales and occasional publications, that kept PEF in being up to 1914.

The problem 1890-1914 was always the same. PEF had too small a membership base to allow it to fund any excavation. Its only real assets were the western and eastern maps and the copyright to them. But for the maps and a few larger donors the Fund would have become financially unsustainable by the mid-1890s. But for its obvious military value as a mapping organisation, it would never have survived beyond its first few years. By 1903-4 the PEF was £300-500 in debt with a loan guaranteed by Morrison. By 1904 with Macalister digging in Palestine, £2,500 needed to allow him to finish his work, and the Coutts loan having been extended and increased, money was being borrowed against the PEF's stock and other assets. By later 1904 no further loans were possible, and it fell to Morrison to arrange a loan to keep the Fund solvent with a loan from his Craven Bank at Skipton. The year 1905 and Wilson's death marks a significant change in the Fund for thereafter it was for ten years or so to become the private domain of Morrison. After Wilson's death in 1905 Morrison, now the Fund's main benefactor, became the longest-serving member of the executive committee. He was the PEF's main source of income for ten years. He provided its accommodation after 1911, he guaranteed its loans, its leases and its expeditions up to 1914. In a way reminiscent of the way he acquired and ran other bodies such as Giggleswick School, Morrison was effectively the arbiter of PEF's fate. With Wilson dead, no-one was left to stand against Morrison.

PEF was never an organisation with large finances, and in the period 1865-1914 that proved a problem given the commitments to which the Fund pledged itself. The Fund originated as a voluntary unincorporated and closed association, the members of which were the General Committee. Others subscribed to the original fund in the same way as they subscribed to any charity, and they received little for their money. In 1865 virtually no-one, not even Wilson, knew the cost of working in the Holy Land and when Warren went to

Jerusalem he did not realise the cost of his excavations. The Fund did not have enough money, nor did it attract enough financial support or sufficient donations to support Warren's work, let alone the work involved in the Great Map and the Western Survey. It was only through PEF's link with the Royal Engineers and to the War Office that PEF could undertake such work. The Fund did not finance wholly the Western Survey. It did not officially carry out the Sinai Survey and the eastern and geological surveys were virtually totally War Office-managed. Even so the PEF ran into financial problems, and eventually, in 1875-76, had to be rescued by the War Office. If it had not been so rescued it would never have compiled and published the Western Survey. But for Wilson and the Royal Engineers it would never have commenced the Western Survey. As noted above, PEF filled the role of trustee and the War Office the role of indulgent and rich beneficiary for the first 20 years of the Fund's life.

When the War Office broke its connection with the Fund in 1886 the Fund again commenced archaeological work. In that work it found itself unable to compete and under-resourced. Financial crises returned, during Petrie's, Bliss's and Macalister's employment with the Fund and again during Mackenzie's work. With no-one but their own members to rescue the Fund, PEF staggered from crisis to crisis to finally be rescued by the now ageing Morrison. Morrison saved the PEF from probable extinction between 1900 and 1912; without him the Fund would have simply run out of money. Why Morrison was so generous we can only speculate, but the probable clue is in his financial support for imperial causes. In his last 20 years of life Morrison did support a number of such causes. Between 1913 and August 1914 PEF offered the Royal Engineers a convenient way of obtaining a map of the Wilderness of Zin. It produced a map that became Fund property and an expedition that would not have been possible but for War Office interest.

From 1911 onwards the PEF survived as a result of its ownership of 2 Hinde Mews, London. The building provided not only space for the Fund but also space that could be, and was, rented out to tenants to produce an income. That income was supplemented by subscriptions, publications, bequests and, above all, but the continued ownership of the copyright of the Great Map of Western Palestine which was, for over 75 years, the standard map for most Bible students and was used extensively in many Bibles and historical atlases. That combination of income carried PEF through into the interwar period and beyond.

CONCLUSION

The British, and more particularly the English, lost their link with the Holy Land during the Reformation. From the early years of British Christianity up to around 1540 English people, like most European people, had set off on pilgrimages, some of which ended in Jerusalem. From 1540 up to around 1650 virtually no Middle East travel took place; fear of war, Popery, and the Turk deterred any would-be travellers. Yet England remained a nation dominated by the Bible, by the English translation of the Bible, and by an empathy with the people of that book - the Jewish people. The re-admission of the Jews to England in 1656 can be seen partly as a result of that interest, and the growing interest of the English in the Holy Land as another aspect of the English interest. A few brave men went to the Holy Land, either as traders or adventurers, returned and wrote about it; men such as Bishop Fuller in the 1650s, Nathaniel Crouch in 1764 and Richard Pocock in 1743.[1] Generally, however, travel to the Middle East was dangerous, difficult and above all subject to the whim of the Turks. Although British Protestants continued to interest themselves in the Holy Land, and although Protestant interest in the area grew as the Methodist revival took hold in the mid-eighteenth century, few attempted to go to the area.

It was a combination of two events that brought the Middle East back into British consciousness. One was the invasion of Egypt and Syria by Napoleon in 1799 and the second was the evangelical revival of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. The invasion by Napoleon projected the area to the forefront of military and popular consciousness and also emphasised the weakness of Turkey as a power. British intervention in both Egypt and Acre and the acquisition of Mediterranean possessions, particularly after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, translated Britain into a Mediterranean power.[2] At the same time the British evangelical revival promoted an interest in the Bible, particularly the Hebrew Bible, in missions and in the 'people of the Book', the Jewish people. The revival was accompanied by a growth of non-established Protestant sects, often of a millennial nature, and some with a strong interest in linking the British people to the Hebrew people of old and the Jewish people of the day.[3] Perhaps the most extreme examples of such sects were those linked with the work of Joanna Southcott, the 'prophet' Richard Brothers,[4] and John Wroe of Ashton-under-Lyme.[5] One of the by-products of these movements was the British Israelites who, after the 1870s, were to

---

1 Barbara W. Tuckman, The Bible and the Sword, pp.147-57.
2 Ibid., pp.158-66.
3 Ronald Mathews, English Messiahs, p.45 et seq.
4 DNB, Supplement 2 (1921-22), pp.1350-53 under heading 'Brothers'; and C. Roth, Nephew of the Almighty 1933.
5 J.F.C. Harrison, The Second Coming, ch.6.

become an international movement with supporters throughout the Anglo-Saxon world.[6] The evangelical revival also produced an impetus for missionary activity, particularly missions to the non-Christians abroad and the Jewish people in Britain.

The London Jews' Society originated from this background. Finding no fertile ground for conversion work in Britain, and having millenarian interests in any event, the London Jews' Society embarked upon conversion activity in the Holy Land in the 1820s, activity that neatly combined British strategic and national interests with religious revival and resulted in the foundation of the Jerusalem Bishopric in 1841.[7] With the death in 1845 of Bishop Alexander and the appointment of Samuel Gobat as Bishop of Jerusalem, Britain lost her hold on the Jerusalem Bishopric which was Prussian-controlled after 1846. British interests in the Holy Land were represented by the London Jews' Society and the Jerusalem Consul 1845 to 1862, during which the two organisations were in fact virtually one, for the consul was a prominent member of the London Jews' Society.[8] The consul in question was James Finn and he was to be removed from office in 1862, following the Prince of Wales' visit to Jerusalem.

By 1865, therefore, British religious interest in Jerusalem and the Holy Land centred on a combination of millenarian interests, British religious involvement in the Jerusalem Bishopric and also the 'scientific' recovery of the archaeological remains to be found in the area. Edward Robinson's work and theories influenced the English-speaking world of nineteenth-century biblical study. He offered a way, through his linguistic theory of the origin of place names, for the English-speaking Protestant world recovering the lands and the settlement of the ancient Hebrews. He had, like many others, dismissed the traditional Holy Land sites as false,[9] but unlike other Protestant travellers Robinson offered a hope that the skills of the Western scientific investigators could recover the true Holy Land and claim it for their own. Britain, with its Mediterranean interests and possessions, with its eighteenth-century interest in grand tourism and its passion for the south, was far better placed than America to investigate the east and to be the nation that found the truth of the Bible and opened up the Bible Lands. The very real and very genuine religious motives of those who originally took part in the foundation of the PEF cannot be underestimated. All the above factors would have influenced them, together with a number of domestic issues.

---

6 Encyclopedia Judaica, vol.4, p.1381; Albert Hyamson, article in Jewish Quarterly Review, 15 (1902/3), pp.640-76. Much of the theory was based on Edward Hine, Forty-seven Identifications of the British Nation with the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel 1871.

7 A. L. Tibawi, British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901, ch.2.

8 V. D. Lipman, 'The British Consulate in Jerusalem', in Britain and the Holy Land, 1800-1914, Conference papers, University College, London, 8 February 1989.

9 E. Robinson & E. Smith, Biblical Researchers in Palestine, vol.1, pp.349-76.

Domestically British religion was in a state of turmoil. Orthodox religious beliefs had become the subject of doubt from the 1840s onwards, both as a result of scientific speculation and as a result of religious developments. Far from being an age of religious certainty, the period 1860-1914 was one of tremendous religious doubt. The publication in 1844 of Robert Chambers' Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation had sent shock-waves through Victorian theological and scientific thinking.[10] It was followed, however, some fifteen years later by an even more momentous work, Charles Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859 and later in 1871 by his Descent of Man. Science seemed to be attacking the Bible and the Bible scholars had to reply with scientific proof of the truth of their texts. The digging up of the Holy Land and the production of antiquities from it was but one way of proving the truth of the text. At the same time study had commenced into the religions of the non-Christian world. No longer could these be rejected as the works of idolatrous blind pagans but they had to be addressed seriously and an interpretation at least attempted. In 1847 Frederick Dennison Maurice had published his sermons, The Religions of the World, seeking to make a liberal interpretation of non-Christian religions. By 1860 Brian Hodgson and Frederick Max Müller had commenced publishing Sanskrit texts from India and though Max Müller was yet to publish his great work, The Sacred Book of the East (1879), the result was to 'widen the views of educated men on the nature of religion'.[11] Protestant Christianity could no longer assume a natural intellectual and religious superiority; it had to compete in the marketplace of religions and the PEF was seen by its founders as a way of proving their faith.

Within English Christianity the Church of England was also in disarray. The rift between the High Church and the Broad Church was now formalised and equally clear were the separate views of the evangelicals. It was a combination of doubt about the Church of England, the power of the evangelicals within the Church, and the founding of the Jerusalem Bishopric that finally decided John Henry Newman to make his spiritual journey to Rome in 1845. Others remained within the Church of England, men such as Pusey, but formed themselves into a movement within the Church, the Oxford Movement.[12] In 1850 the Roman hierarchy was restored in England and Wiseman was appointed first Archbishop of Westminster.[13] All these events were reflected in the foundation of the PEF. The high churchmen sought proof of the truth of the traditional religious sites with men such as Williams advancing his ideas whilst Fergusson took a radical view, dismissing the traditional sites and advocating a Holy Sepulchre situated on the Temple Mount. At the same time PEF had to steer

10 Alec R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, ch.10.
11 Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church 1860-1901, p.37.
12 Vidler, op.cit., p.45 et seq.
13 David Newsome, The Convert Cardinals: John Henry Newman and Henry Edward Manning, p.193.

a careful course between the views of Anglo-Catholics, the liberal broad churchmen, and the wish of evangelicals to subvert it into a missionary organisation.

The origins of the PEF are not clear. John Irwine Whitty claimed to be the founder yet the PEF itself, from its early days onwards, claimed foundation stemmed from Angela Burdett-Coutts' gift of money for a water survey of Jerusalem in 1864/65. Whitty's claim deserves to be treated with respect for without a doubt he seems to have compiled a water supply survey report and published that report in 1863, prior to Wilson ever going out to Palestine. Whitty's report was compiled on behalf of the Syrian Improvement Fund. It appears that the Syrian Improvement Fund was taken over by a missionary group and collapsed due to the religious tensions that this caused within the Improvement Fund. It was effectively suspended and the Syrian Asylums Committee and the Syrian Relief Committee took over much of the Improvement Fund's work, but did so in a Protestant mission biased context. At the same time the PEF was founded by Grove, Morrison and others following the success of the Burdett-Coutts water survey. The PEF was to observe a strictly non-religious position and to concentrate its efforts upon exploring the history, flora, fauna, natural resources, and geography of the Holy Land, thereby avoiding the religious problems that bedevilled the time and the problems that destroyed the Syrian Improvement Fund.

The link between PEF and the Syrian Improvement Fund is made via the Jerusalem Water Relief Committee funded by Burdett-Coutts. This has a number of problems. Firstly, it was not necessary to carry out a water survey in 1864 when Wilson was sent to the Holy Land by the Jerusalem Water Relief Committee; Whitty had already done a survey and its results would have been known to the founders of the Fund, many of whom sat on the Relief Committee. Secondly no action was ever taken as a result of the Relief Committee's report of 1866 published by Wilson. Lastly there is little connection between surveying for artesian wells and surveying the whole country and digging for remains and archaeological finds. Wilson, the surveyor for the water survey, was one of the rising stars of the topographical department and the Royal Engineers, and he was an experienced surveyor and a competent engineering officer. In the course of the Burdett-Coutts water survey he appears to have made rough sketches of Sinai and also gutta percha models for the Engineers' use. From the beginning, therefore, the strategic and intelligence value of the Fund was recognised.

Britain was well aware by 1864 that the Suez Canal could revolutionise transport to and from India. The Canal's significance may not have dawned upon British legislators and the Foreign Office, but the middle-ranking military men recognised its value. By 1864 the opposition to the Canal was dying away,[14] and in any event the military would have wanted

14 Dean Bradshaw, A Decade of Opposition to the Suez Canal Project, 1854 to 1864.

maps of the area surrounding the Canal. The Canal was French-owned, the French were British rivals, potential enemies and in any event potential rivals as a Mediterranean power. Britain had built, and was in reality the operator of, the Egyptian railway from Alexandria to Cairo and the coast. Britain had a good idea of what lay in the lands to the west of Suez, but the land to the east, the Sinai, was unknown territory. Wilson sketched the Sinai during his 1864/65 visit to Jerusalem as well as surveying Jerusalem itself. When the PEF had been formally founded after the meeting in Willis's Rooms, Wilson returned to Galilee to again reconnoitre in that area, an area of strategic significance, and also to look for possible areas for PEF excavation. It does seem, therefore, that from its earliest foundation PEF had contacts with the emerging intelligence services and acted as a cover for their intelligence gathering.

The intelligence services were, however, at this stage both disorganised and very limited in scope. They did not officially exist and the intelligence work that did take place tended to be amateur, freelance and haphazard.[15] This work was, however different; it was carried out by the man who in 1870 would found the Topographical Department of the War Office and who, on 1 April 1870, would take over and run the somewhat lack-lustre Topographical and Statistical Department. Wilson was that man; he had studied in Prussia and knew the importance of good intelligence. He almost certainly saw the significance of the Canal, and using the techniques he had been taught in Prussia he gathered information for future use. Others had gathered intelligence on an ad hoc basis, Antonio Panizzi in Italy in 1855 (he was later a Fund member),[16] Lawrence Oliphant in his travels (later a Fund member) in the 1860s,[17] and others had done likewise but Wilson acquired middle eastern intelligence systematically. The British War Office provided no money for such work and it had to be carried out either free of charge or funded by other means. Wilson needed, therefore, both the Fund's cover and its money. None of this should, however, detract from the fact that Wilson was a deeply religious man who probably saw no problem in combining his patriotic duty to the British Empire with his military role as an amateur spy and encouraging Britain to seize and keep control of the Middle East. Trade, religion, and the Empire were all one, and to him and to his contemporaries such as Morrison, Besant, Grove and the rest the truth of Protestant Christianity and the interests of the Empire were as one. The subscribers who gave in PEF's first years were almost all middle class, the donation level saw to that, and gave for a mixture of reasons, probably predominantly religious. For the British people to rediscover the lands and towns of the Hebrew people of old, and for the British Empire to explore the lands of the Bible and claim it for its own, seemed only just and right. The period was one where the Imperial thinkers were starting to identify Britain with ancient Rome and some of the middle

15 Christopher Andrew, Secret Service. The making of the British intelligence community, ch.1.
16 Ibid, p.4.
17 Ibid., p.5.

classes saw the British people and in particular themselves as the descendants of the ten lost tribes of ancient Israel.

How far any of the PEF's founders fell into the above groups is a matter of speculation, but some must have, to a greater or lesser extent. What is clear is that the Fund was virtually insolvent by 1867 and when Warren was sent to Jerusalem it had no money. Wilson must have realised this; he was on the PEF Committee, and he must have known about the funding situation. Sir Henry James as co-trustee of the Sinai mapping project must also have known, or at least been aware for the Sinai money appears to have passed through the Fund's accounts. We do not know how far Warren was aware but he soon found the problems caused by the lack of funds. Wilson may have sent Warren to distract the Turks by digging in Jerusalem, or Warren may have been sent to do antiquarian digging and not know of his role as a decoy. By this stage the PEF was becoming more and more a military mapping organisation and less a biblical research organisation. Tension must have been growing between factions in the Fund and Warren's expedition served to satisfy those advocating archaeology. Warren was an expensive disaster. He found little and dug little; his main contribution appears to have been the acquisition of a few antiquities and part of the Moabite Stone. He did virtually no digging after 1869 and in 1869 he and Wilson appear to have confronted the PEF at a series of meetings and reformed the Fund and its structure.

In 1869 a subscription was introduced, priorities laid out and a new secretary, Besant, appointed. Morrison became treasurer, permanent premises were found for the Fund and Grove relinquished day to day management of the PEF. With these reforms in place the Fund was well placed to allow the Royal Engineers to survey Western Palestine for it and to take advantage of the Sinai Survey and Palmer's work in Sinai. In order to partly control French ambitions in the area, to satisfy those wishing for archaeological results and produce biblical and historical information, Ganneau and Schick were at various times employed from 1871 to 1880. Throughout the period of the Western Survey results obtained by PEF were undoubtedly of value to the War Office, but we must also remember that individual officers who took part were for the most part sincere and religious men who wished not only to work for the British Empire but also to expand biblical knowledge and bible scholarship and rediscover ancient Israel for Britain.

By 1870/71 the Fund was dependent upon the War Office for its continued survival. It was the Royal Engineers who had saved it from extinction in 1867 and more precisely Sir Henry James and Charles Wilson who, for their own purposes, had prevented the PEF from losing military support. When Warren was not paid for ten months of 1867 the military would have been justified in withdrawing him; they did not. The War Office had no ostensive reason for supplying the exploration party, but it did or work and supplies would have quickly dried

up. There was no clear reason why the Ordnance Survey should have continued to supply support to Warren and to the Sinai Party, but it did. The only reason must have been the strategic importance of Palestine and the Holy Land. It was an importance that would lead in 1872 to the Ordnance Survey, the Royal Engineers and the War Office supporting the survey for the Great Map of western Palestine.

The Western Survey, largely conducted by Conder, again had huge strategic significance and reconnaissance significance for the War Office, and by 1876 the significance had become so great that the War Office had to assist the Fund to complete the map. Throughout the period 1871-78 the PEF employed Ganneau as an explorer. Ganneau was a French diplomat and his work was kept entirely separate from that of Warren and later of Kitchener and Conder. Obviously the War Office did not want their results to be passed on to another power. The PEF Committee discouraged the excavation parties of Ganneau and Schick from involving themselves with the mapping party, and vice versa. The Fund was able to map without interruption from France despite France's pre-1871 interest in the area, as the Franco-Prussian War had caused a temporary end to French ambition in the area and left the field free for Britain. French acquisition of the Moabite Stone was made possible by the PEF and served to show a support of France as against Prussia and also eased relations with the French establishment.

None of the mapping work would have been possible but for the improved travel and communications systems that were coming into being by 1870. By 1870 regular steamship and postal services were in being from Malta, Constantinople, Marseilles, Genoa, Brindisi, Naples and Trieste to all parts of the Mediterranean and with them went Austrian, British and French postal services. Journey times were also falling, and P&O Steamers were luxurious compared with travel in the 1830s.[18] Railways were also improving. By 1870 Thomas Cook himself was leading parties of tourists to the Holy Land and so well were Cooks established in the Levant that they were able to act as bankers to the Fund's expedition. None of the work undertaken by the PEF would have been possible without this infrastructure and without the increasingly strong Turkish control of the area. For the first time in centuries Palestine was under the control of competent Turkish pashas and governors who guaranteed peace and protection whilst the canal and British bases in Malta guaranteed easy military and naval support and the supplying of the party.

How far the membership were aware of the nature of the military involvement of the PEF is hard to say, but it is likely all the Executive and most of the General Committee knew.

---

18 John Pemble, The Mediterranian Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South, pp.23-9.

By the 1880s the PEF was openly admitting its link with the Imperial ideal and even appealing to it as a justification for members to support the Fund. In a leaflet produced for the Cardiff local society one reason given for joining PEF is:

> Because as Englishmen we are nationally committed (even by admission of the great political party opposed to the original engagement) to the defence of the Upper Euphrates valley, the lower portion of which, together with the Suez Canal, form the only practicable roads of communication between Europe and Asia ... The power that holds the 'Promised Land' holds the two routes from East to West.[19]

The significance of the military link was clear in 1880; it must have been clear in the 1870s. While the military could subsidise the PEF with cash, there was, however, nothing to stop subsidies being in kind. The loan of the Royal Engineers was a subsidy, the use of the Ordnance Survey equipment was also a subsidy. The drafting of the Great Map, the hire of the Albert Hall, and the free use of zincograph plates, draughtsmen, and staff were the biggest subsidy of all. The result was that the Fund became an institution that was very dependent upon the War Office for its existence. When in 1875 and 1876 it suffered another financial crisis, it would again have failed and closed but for the War Office, by now utterly committed to the Fund and forced to save it. The Western Map would not have been published but for the War Office and the Ordnance Survey, and the delay in its publication, at the War office request, illustrates the close link between the two.

The Eastern Survey and the later loss of Palmer made the PEF's War Office links very clear. Palmer was a British agent, an old associate of the Fund, and when he was lost the ensuing outcry made all very clear. When in 1883/84 the PEF attempted yet another War Office and Royal Engineers backed survey it became clear that the Fund's value had gone. There was to be a thirty year break before the PEF would again be used for surveying for military purposes and for those thirty years the Fund had to survive on its own without official backing. It nearly did not make it, for the surveillance work and official support had seen the Fund through many hard times and left it highly dependent and without any experience of archaeology and the organising of archaeological excavations. From 1865 to 1884 the PEF had been an informal part of the British Empire. It had played its role in letting Britain have a part in and influence upon the Middle East. Through the PEF the Royal Engineers had been able to survey Palestine and observe foreign influences in the Holy Land whilst ensuring the safety of the Suez Canal. It had been a part of Britain's policy in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. After 1884 it lost that role. Britain's imperial style changed, her relationship with Turkey altered, and in any event Britain did not need a small voluntary society to mask her Middle Eastern activities.

---

19 Palestine Exploration Fund, Twelve Reasons for Subscribing, p.4.

Again PEF faced a crisis in 1885-89 when the Fund had to determine the direction in which it went. By retaining Flinders Petrie as an archaeologist PEF put itself at the forefront of Levantine archaeological work. Despite Petrie's poor results Bliss was attracted to work for the Fund and by using Petrie's methods made the Fund academically respectable so that Macalister could take over in 1900. Petrie had experience that Bliss lacked. He had worked with the Egyptian Archaeological Society and knew of the problems that could come from an essentially amateur voluntary body. He was also an Englishman, an insider and a respected and known figure. Bliss was none of these things; he was an American born in and brought up in an Arab country. He was not a man dedicated to advancing the British Empire and he ran into trouble with the Fund. He also made the error of attempting to establish a museum in Jerusalem that would threaten the primacy of the Fund at a time when other European powers were threatening and in some cases had usurped Britain's power in the Holy Land. Bliss also had the disadvantage of having to confront Charles Wilson and other imperialists at the height of the British imperial period between the Golden and Diamond Jubilees.

Despite Bliss' undoubted ability and his expertise in archaeology, he was eased from the employment of PEF in favour of R. A. S. Macalister who was British, was prepared to fight the imperial battle, and was an insider. Macalister dug as the Fund wished. Unlike Bliss he did not fall foul of the internal politics, especially those between Wilson and Warren. He also dug for antiquities in the way Bliss had not; he was not a purist as Bliss had been. During the period of Macalister's employment from 1900 to 1909 international competition grew in the Holy Land; it ceased to be a simple matter of making finds but more a matter of national pride that governed excavation work after 1900. Competition grew and competition for sites increased. Britain had lost her hegemony in the Holy Land and PEF had lost the support that the Foreign Office had given to it prior to 1885. The loss of British prestige and PEF influence can be seen in the problems experienced by PEF when applying for firmans. The assistance given by both the Foreign Office and the Constantinople and Jerusalem diplomatic missions was noticeably less after 1885 than it was before.

The expedition mounted by Duncan Mackenzie was nothing short of disastrous, but did illustrate both the PEF's lack of power in the Holy Land and their lack of influence. Mackenzie defied the Fund and showed that he could dig as he wanted and that they were but one of many exploration societies in Palestine. Indeed the exploration of Mackenzie showed how powerless the Fund was; it had to apply for a firman via a German railway company. The Holy Land was now an area firmly under German domination and was to remain so until British troops took Jerusalem in 1917.

Throughout the period 1885-1913 one thing would not go away. That problem was PEF's lack of money. With the Fund's membership base declining from 1885 onwards, and, with a few exceptions, its income was limited to membership subscriptions, it did not have the resources to finance long and expensive archaeological works. The age old spectre of insolvency kept appearing during this period, and it was not until after 1905 that the Fund's finances were put on any sort of sensible footing. The person responsible for the restructuring of finances of PEF was Walter Morrison who also became the Fund's biggest benefactor. Prior to 1885 the Fund could be reasonably sure that the War Office would not let it fail because of its value for military purposes. After 1885 it could have no such confidence. It was Morrison's money and particularly his gift of 2 Hinde Mews that ensured that the PEF survived and still survives.

In 1913 the Fund received the unexpected bonus of assisting in the Zin Survey. It was a reversion to its former role as a cover for military mapping. Unlike the earlier survey, all the documents establishing the Zin Survey have survived in the Fund's archives and we can see exactly how the Survey was set up and run.[20] On this occasion the Ordnance Survey was not involved and the survey, which was in all probability necessary to ensure accurate gun laying, was completed just in time before the outbreak of World War I. The map Newcombe prepared helped to secure an Allied victory in Sinai.

Although it is tempting to concentrate on the military connections of PEF, there is one thing that we must not forget. For all its doubt and all its difficulty, Victorian Britain was a land of church attendance and religious knowledge. The religious censuses of 1851 to 1902 bear that out.[21] It was also a land of the Book, and that book was the Bible. The vast majority of those who subscribed to PEF believed in PEF, not only as an instrument of imperial expansion but as a way of opening up the Holy Land and shedding new light upon the texts of the Bible. In all probability the members of both the General Committee and the Executive had the same pious hope. Many of those who explored the land believed, and many continued to work for the Fund, to write for it and to finance it long after their War Office and official contacts with the Fund had finished. They may have been soldiers, they may have indulged in espionage and covert intelligence work, but they felt they had done so at Heaven's command. There is one incident that sums up these explorers. It is the action of General Edmund Allenby when he entered Jerusalem in December 1917. As he entered Jerusalem he dismounted and walked through the Jaffa Gate on foot. Allenby was never a Fund member, but his sense of reverence even at the capture of Jerusalem, summed up those men who founded the Fund.

---

20 See PE/ZIN and PEF/MINS 1913 and 1914.
21 Chadwick, op.cit., p.218ff.

APPENDIX I

OFFICERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 1865-1914

Patron

1865-1901	HM Queen Victoria
1901-1910	HM King Edward VII
1910-	HM King George V

President

1865-1890	William Thompson, Archbishop of York
1891-1896	E. W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury
1896-1902	Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury
1902-	Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury

Vice President

1909-	Cosmo Gordon Lang, Archbishop of York

Chairman of Executive

1865-1875	William Thompson, Archbishop of York
1875-1879	William Hepworth Dixon
1880-1900	James Glaisher
1900-1905	Major General Sir Charles Wilson
1905-	Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson

Treasurer

1865	J. Able-Smith & R. Culling Hanbury (joint treasurers). Able-Smith died in 1865 and Hanbury in 1867
1867-	Walter Morrison

Honorary Secretary

1865-1868	Sir George Grove (joint secretary 1868-1880)
1868-1881	Rev F. W. Holland (joint secretary)
1887-1901	Sir Walter Besant
1901-	J. D. Crace

Acting Secretary

1868-1887	Sir Walter Besant
1887-1910	George Armstrong
1910-1912	A. C. Dickie
1912-	J.G.H. Ovenden

Editor of *Quarterly Statement*

1869-1881	Sir Walter Besant
1881-1902	Dr Thomas Chaplin
1902-	Stanley A. Cook

APPENDIX II
SHAREHOLDERS IN THE PEF, 1878-1914

In 1878 the PEF was floated as a private limited company under the provisions of the Company and Railway Acts then in force. Ten shares were issued and these were to:

Archbishop of York, William Thompson; W. Hepworth-Dixon; Sir George Grove; J. D. Crace; J. Hayter Lewis; Lord Talbot de Malahide; W.S.W. Vaux; Revd. F. W. Holland; Walter Morrison.

With the exception of Crace and Morrison, all had died by 1914. There were replacements appointed. The replacements are named below, together with their dates of appointment and cessation as shareholders:

Charles Warren (1887-1927); Henry A. Harper (1891-1900); George Edward Groves (1887-1893); John Macgregor (1887-1892); Christian D. Ginsburg (1887-1914); Charles M. Watson (1893-1916); Thomas Chaplin (1893-1904); B. Wood-Smith (1893-1901); Major General Sir Charles Wilson (1901-1905); Prof Macalister (1901-1919); W. A. Wright (1901-1914); D. G. Hepworth (1912-1927); Sir Arthur Evans (1912-1937); Professor Gray (1912-1927); Colonel Sir H. Trotter (1916-1919).

Although share owners were often committee members, they did not necessarily have to be on the Executive. Shares were maintained long after Executive Committee membership ceased, but the allocation of a share usually points to an individual being of importance when the share was issued. Share ownership did not equate with power - Walter Besant was enormously powerful but never owned a share in PEF. Wilson took a share in 1901, but had been a great force since 1868 when he and Warren initiated reforms of the finances and structure of the Fund.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography contains a selected list of manuscript sources and printed works that I have found useful when compiling this thesis.

A. Manuscripts

1. Palestine Exploration Fund

PEF/CON — The reports and correspondence of Claude Conder with the Fund

PEF/JER — Minutes of the Jerusalem Literary Society, 1849-1914

PEF/JER/WIL — Correspondence and papers relating to Major General Sir Charles Wilson's Jerusalem expeditions, 1864-1866

PEF/MINS — The Minutes of meetings of the General Committee and of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund 1865-1914

PEF/PAL — Correspondence and reports from E. H. Palmer 1870-1883

PEF/PET — Correspondence between W. Flinders Petrie and the Fund 1889-1891

PEF/SYR — Minute books of the Syrian Improvement Committee

PEF/WAR — Correspondence between the Fund and General Sir Charles Warren

PEF/WIL — Miscellaneous correspondence between the Fund and Major General Sir Charles Wilson, 1872-1883

PEF/WS — Papers relating to the survey of Western Palestine, 1872-1880. This includes the following:

- PEF/WS/STEW 1-4 — Correspondence and papers relating to Captain Stewart
- PEF/WS/DRA 1-93 — Correspondence and papers relating to Charles F. Tyrwhitt-Drake
- PEF/WS/CON 1-554 — Correspondence and papers relating to Captain Claude Conder
- PEF/WS/KIT 1-82 — Correspondence and papers relating to Lieutenant H. H. Kitchener
- PEF/WS/GAN 1-32 — Correspondence and papers relating to M. Clermont-Ganneau

PEF/ZIN 1-100	Papers relating to the Survey of the Wilderness of Zin, 1912-1914
PEF/SCHICK	Papers relating to Conrad Schick and his dealings with the Fund
PEF/BLISS	Correspondence and documents relating to the Fund's relationship with F. J. Bliss
PEF/MAC	Correspondence and documents relating to the Fund and R.A.S. Macalister
PEF/MISC/1	Miscellaneous letters and papers of the PEF, vol.1
PEF/MISC/2	Miscellaneous letters and papers of the PEF, vol.2

PEF/Cash books

No.1	1865-1867
No.2	1867 only

PEF/Accounts Ledger

1	1865-1868
2	1866-1867
3	1871-1875

2. Giggleswick School

Miscellaneous correspondence at Giggleswick School, North Yorkshire. The correspondence is that of Walter Morrison.

3. Public Records Office

O.S.1.14/1 & O.S.1.14/2 - Correspondence between the PEF and the Ordnance Survey Department.

B. Printed Matter

1. Newspapers and Journals

The Edinburgh Review

The Evangelical Magazine

The Giggleswick Chronicle

The Globe

The Illustrated London News

The Methodist Times

The Times

2. Official Publications

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates

House of Commons Command Papers

3. Reference Works

Dictionary of National Biography

Encyclopaedia Judaica

4. Journal of the Fund

PEFQS Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement. This later became

PEQ Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly

5. Cuttings Book

PEF Cuttings Book 1865-1869

C. Printed Books and Articles

Allen, William, The Dead Sea - a New Route to India. London, Longmans Brown Green, 1855

Andrews, Christopher, Secret Service. The making of the British intelligence community. London, Heinemann, 1985

Armstrong, George, Names and Places in the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha with their modern identifications. London, PEF, 1889

Atherton, Louise, Top Secret. An interim guide to recent releases of intelligence records at the Public Records Office. London, PRO, 1995

Baker, J.N.L., A history of geographical discovery and expeditions. London, Harrap, 1931

Barclay, J. T., The City of the Great King; or Jerusalem as it was, as it is, and as it is to be. Philadelphia, James Challer, 1858

Bartlett, W. H., Jerusalem Revisited. London, A. Hall Virtue and Co., 1855

Bell, Gertrude, The desert and the sown. London, Virago, 1985

Ben-Ariah, Yehoshua, 'Pioneer scientific exploration in the Holy Land at the beginning of the nineteenth century'. In Terrae Incognitae: the Annals of the Society for the History of Discoveries. Vol.4, pp.95-110

Ben-Ariah, Yehoshua, 'The geographical exploration of the Holy Land'. in PEFQS 104 (1972) pp.81-92

Ben-Ariah, Yehoshua, Jerusalem in the nineteenth century. Jerusalem, Yad Izhaz Ben Zivi Inst., 1984. 2 vols.

Ben-Ariah, Yehoshua, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century. Jerusalem, Hebrew UP, 1983. 2 vols.

Bentwich, Norman, England in Palestine. London, Kegan Paul, 1932

Besant, Walter (Sir), Autobiography of Sir W. Besant with a prefatory note by S. Squire Sprigge. London, Hutchinson & Co., 1902.

Besant, Walter (Sir), The life and achievements of Edward Henry Palmer. London, John Murray, 1883

Besant, Walter (Sir), The literary remains of Charles F. Trywhitt Drake, F.R.G.S. London, Richard Bentley, 1877

Beth-Zion, Lask Abrahams, 'James Finn: Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem between 1846 and 1863'. In JHSE (Trans) 37, pp.40-50

Blake, Robert, Disraeli's Grand Tour: Benjamin Disraeli and the Holy Land 1830-1831. London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1982

Bliss, Frederick Jones & Stewart Macalister, R. A., Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898-1900. London, PEF, 1902

Bliss, Frederick Jones , 'The hopes for Palestine exploration'. In PEFQS (1920) pp.127-32

Bliss, Frederick Jones , A mound of many cities or Tel El Hesy excavated. London, PEF, 1894

Bliss, Frederick Jones , Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897. London, PEF, 1898

Bliss, Frederick Jones, The development of Palestine exploration, being the Ely Lectures for 1903. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1906

Blumberg, Arnold, Lion before Zionism. Syracuse, Syracuse UP, 1985

Blyth, Estelle, 'Lord Kitchener's work in Palestine'. In PEFQS (1917), pp.40-50

Bolitho, Hector, A Victorian Dean. London, Chatto and Windus, 1930

Bourne, Kenneth, The foreign policy of Victorian England, 1830-1902. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970

Bradshaw, Fred Dean, 'A decade of British opposition to the Suez Canal project, 1854-1864'. Oklahoma University PhD thesis, 1973

Brendon, Piers, Thomas Cook, 150 years of popular tourism. London, Secker and Warburg, 1991

Brown, Malcolm (ed), T. E. Lawrence, the selected letters. New York, Paragon House, 1992

Brown, Wallace Cable, 'The popularity of English travel books about the Near East 1775-1825'. In Philological Quarterly, vol.XV (1936), p.70ff.

Buckhardt, John Lewis, Travels in Syria and the Holy Land. London, 1822

Buckingham, John Silk, Travels among the Arab tribes inhabiting countries east of Syria and Palestine. London, Longman, Hurst, 1825

Buckingham, John Silk, Travels in Palestine, through the countries of Bashan and Gilead. London, Longman Hurst, 1821. 2 vols.

Bulwer, Henry Lytton (Sir), The life of Viscount Palmerston. London, John Murray, 1870-4. 3 vols.

Burton, Isobel, The inner life of Syria, Palestine and the Holy Land. London, Henry King, 1875. 2 vols

Butler, Elizabeth, Letters from the Holy Land. London, Adams and Charles Black, 1903

Chapman, Rupert L., III, 'British Archaeology and the Holy Land'. In Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914. A conference at U.C.L., 8 February 1989

Chapman, Rupert L., III, 'British Holy Land archaeology: nineteenth century sources'. In With Eyes towards Zion, III, edited by M. Davies and Y. Ben-Arieh. New York, Praeger, 1991, pp.208-26

Chapman, Rupert L., III and Shimon Gibson, A Note on T. E. Lawrence as photographer in the Wilderness of Zin. Unpublished, 1995

Chapman, Rupert L., III, Nineteenth century British Holy Land archaeology: some further reflections. Unpublished, 1995

Clermont-Ganneau, Charles, 'Antiquities of Palestine in London' in PEFQS (1884) pp.222-30

Clermont-Ganneau, Charles, Archaeological researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874 ... with numerous illustrations from drawings made on the spot by A. Lecomte du Notty. Translated by Aubrey Stewart and John Macfarland. London, PEF, 1896, 1899, 2 vols.

Conder, Claude Reignier, 'An address by Captain Conder'. In PEFQS (1992) p.249ff

Conder, Claude Reignier, 'The Survey of Palestine'. In PEFQS (1872), various pp.

Conder, Claude Reignier and H. H. Kitchener, Map of Western Palestine in 26 sheets from surveys conducted for the committee of the [PEF]... 1872-1877. London, PEF, 1880

Conder, Claude Reignier, Heth and Moab. Exploration in Sinai in 1881 and 1882. London, PEF, 1883

Conder, Claude Reignier, Syrian Stone-lore: or the monuments of the history of Palestine. London, PEF, 1886

Conder, Claude Reignier, Tent work in Palestine: a record of discovery and adventure. London, PEF, 1879

Conder, Claude Reignier, The City of Jerusalem. London, John Murray, 1909

Davies, Moshe (ed), With eyes towards Zion, Vol.II, Themes and sources in the archives of the United States, Great Britain, Turkey and Israel. Second international scholars colloquium on American Holy Land studies. New York, Praeger, 1986

Dawson, Geoffrey, 'Walter Morrison'. In National Review, February 1922

Drower, Margaret S., 'W. M. Flinders Petrie, the Palestine Exploration Fund and Tell El Hessi'. In PEQ 122 pp.87-95

Drower, Margaret S., Flinders Petrie: a life in archaeology. London, Victor Gollancz, 1985

Egerton, Francis (Lady), A journal of a tour in the Holy Land in May and June 1840. London, privately circulated, 1841

Elath, Eliahu, 'Claude Reigner Conder (in the light of his letters to his mother)'. In PEQ (1965) pp.21-41

Elliott-Binns, L. E., English thought 1860-1900: the theological aspect. London, Longman Green, 1956

Fergusson, James, An essay on the ancient topography of Jerusalem, with restored plans of the Temple. London, John Weale, 1847

Fergusson, James, Notes on the site of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. London, John Murray, 1861

Fergusson, James, The Temple of the Jews and the other buildings in the Haram area in Jerusalem. London, John Murray, 1878

Finestein, Israel, 'Anglo-Jewish opinion during the struggle for emancipation: 1828-1858'. In Jewish Historical Society of England (Transactions) 1959-1961 vol.20, pp.113-43

Finestein, Israel, 'British public opinion and the restoration of the Jews 1800-1850'. In Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914. A conference at U.C.L., 8 February 1989

Finn, Elizabeth, Reminiscences of Mrs Finn. London, Marshall, Morgan, Scott, 1929

Finn, James, Byeways in Palestine. London, J. Nisbet, 1868

Finn, James, Stirring times: or records from Jerusalem consular chronicles of 1853 to 1856. London, Kegan Paul, 1878. 2 vols

Fisk, George, A pastor's memorial or Egypt, the Red Sea, the Wilderness of Sur, and Paran, Mount Sinai, Jerusalem and other principal localities of the Holy Land. London, Seely Burnside, 1847

Freemasons, The United Grand Lodge of ancient, free and accepted masons of England, Quarterly Communication (1865-1900)

Frith, Francis, Egypt and Palestine, photographed and described. London, 1861 (?), 2 vols

Gavish, Dov, 'French cartography of the Holy Land in the nineteenth century'. In PEQ 1994 p.24ff.

Gibson, Shimon and Tessa Rajak, 'Tell El-Hesi and the Camera: the photographs of Petrie and Bliss'. In PEQ 1992, pp.114-23

Gidney, W. T., The history of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews from 1809 to 1908. London, 1908

Glyn, Daniel, A 150 years of Archaeology. London, Duckworth, 1972

Goldschmidt-Lehmann, Ruth P., Britain and the Holy Land 1800-01914, a select bibliography. London, JHSE, 1925

Graves, Charles, The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove. London, Macmillan, 1903

Grove, George, 'Palestine Exploration'. In The Times, 3 January 1865, p.9

Gudgin, Peter, Military intelligence, the British story. London, Arms and Armour, 1989

Guedalla, Phillip, 'Napoleon and Palestine'. In Jewish Historical Society of England (Transactions) 1925, p.63ff

Hallberg, C. W., The Suez Canal: Its history and diplomatic importance. New York, Columbia Univ., 1931

Handbook for travellers in Syria and Palestine, including an account of the geography, history ... of those countries, the peninsula of Sinai ... with detailed descriptions of Jerusalem, Petra, Damascus and Palmyra. London, John Murray, 1868, 2 vols

Hannam, Michael, 'The Jerusalem Bishopric'. In Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914. A conference at U.C.L., 8 February 1989

Healey, Edna, Coutts & Co., 1692-1992. The portrait of a private bank. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1992

Healey, Edna, Lady unknown. A life of Angela Burdett Coutts. London, Sedgwick and Jackson, 1978

Hilprecht, Herman V. (ed), Recent research on Bible lands: its progress and results. Philadelphia, John D. Wattles, 1896

Hilprecht, Herman V., Exploration in Bible lands during the nineteenth century. Philadelphia, A. J. Holman, 1903

Hodder, Edwin (Sir), The life and work of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G. London, Cassell & Co., 1886. 3 vols

Hodges, Arthur, Lord Kitchener. London, Thornton Butterworth, 1936

Hopkins, Ian W., '"Captain" MacGregor and the exploration of the Upper Jordan'. In PEQ 115, pp.55-59

Hudson, Kenneth, A social history of archaeology, the British experience. London, Macmillan, 1981

Hull, Edward, Mount Seir, Sinai and Western Palestine: being a narrative of a scientific expedition. London, PEF, 1885

Hull, Edward, Reminiscences of a strenuous life. London, 1910

Hyam, Ronald, Britain's imperial century, 1815-1914. A study of empire and expansion. London, Macmillan, 1993

Hyamson, Albert M., British projects for the restoration of the Jews. London, British Palestine Committee, 1917

Hyamson, Albert M., The British consulate in Jerusalem in relation to the Jews of Palestine 1838-1914. London, JHSG, 1939. 2 vols

Irby, Charles Leonard and James Mangles, Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land, including a journey around the Dead Sea and through the country east of Jordan. London, privately printed, 1844

James, Henry (Sir), 'Survey of Jerusalem'. In The Times, 31 December 1861, p.11

Kark, Ruth (ed), The land that became Israel: studies in historical geography. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1996

Kark, Ruth, American Consuls in the Holy Land 1832-1914. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1994

Katz, David S., Philo-Semitism and the readmission of the Jews to England. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982

King, Phillip J., 'Frederick Jones Bliss at Tell el Hesi and elsewhere'. In PEQ (1990) pp.96-100

Kingslake, Alexander William, Eothen or traces of travel brought home from the East. London, John Oliver, 1844

Kirk, M. E., 'A short history of Palestine excavation'. In PEQ (1944) pp.130-44

Kochan, Lionel, 'Jewish restoration to Palestine: Christian attitudes in Britain in the late 19th and early 20th century'. In Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914. A conference at U.C.L., 8 February 1989

Kochav, Sarah, 'Biblical prophecy, the evangelical movement and the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, 1790-1860'. In Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914. A conference at U.C.L., 8 February 1989

Kyram, Don, The pioneers of photography in the Holy Land, 1840-1930. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1992

Lane-Poole, Stanley, Watson Pasha: a record of the life and work of Sir Charles Moore Watson. London, John Murray, 1919

Lawrence, T. E. and C. L. Woolley, Palestine Exploration Fund annual, 1914-1915. London, PEF [1915], a double volume

Lee, Sidney, King Edward VII, a biography. London, Macmillan & Co., 1925

Lipman, Sonia and V. D. Lipman, The Century of Moses Montefiore. Oxford, OUP, 1985

Lipman, V. D., 'The British consulate in Jerusalem'. In Britain and the Holy Land 1800-1914. A conference at U.C.L., 8 February 1989

Lipman, V. D., 'The origins of the Palestine Exploration Fund'. In PEQ (1988) pp.45-54

Lipman, V. D., Americans and the Holy Land through British eyes 1820-1917. a documentary history. London, V. D. Lipman, 1989

Ma'Oz, Moshe, Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman period. Jerusalem, 1975

Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart, 'Thirty years of Palestine exploration'. In PEFQS (1922) pp.79-86

Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart, Bible side-lights from the Mound of Gezer: a record of excavation and discovery in Palestine. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1906

Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart, The excavation of Gezer 1902-1905 and 1907 to 1909. London, PEF, 1912. 2 vols

Magnus, Philip, Kitchener, a portrait of an imperialist. London, John Murray, 1958

Maisels, Charles Keith, The Near East: Archaeology in the 'cradle of civilisation'. London, Routledge, 1993

Mankin, J. H., 'Survey of the Old City of Jerusalem 1865 and 1935'. In PEQ 101, pp.37-39

Martin, Theodore (Sir), The Life of H.R.H. the Prince Consort. London, John Murray, 1875-1880. 5 vols

Masterman, Ernest W. Gurney, 'Three early explorers in the Dead Sea Valley: Costigan, Molyneux, Lynch'. In PEFQS (1911), pp.12-27

Mathews, Ronald, English Messiahs. Studies of six English religious pretenders, 1656-1927. London, Methuen, 1936

Merrill, Selah, Ancient Jerusalem. London, Fleming H. Revell, 1908

Merrill, Selah, East of Jordan. London, Bentley, 1881

Moneypenny, William Flavelle, Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. London, John Murray, 1910. 3 vols

Morris, James, Farewell the trumpets: An imperial retreat. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978

Morris, James, Heaven's Command: An imperial progress. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973

Morrison, Walter (ed), The recovery of Jerusalem: a narrative of exploration and discovery in the City and the Holy Land by Capt. Wilson, Capt. Warren ... with an introduction by Arthur Penrhyn Stenley. London, Bentley, 1871

Neil, James, Palestine explored. London, 1888

Newcombe, S. F., 'T. E. Lawrence, a personal reminiscence'. In PEFQS (1935), pp.110-13 and 162-64

Newsome, David, The convert cardinals: John Henry Newman and Henry Edward Manning. London, John Murray, 1993

Nicol, Thomas, Recent archaeology and the Bible. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1899

O'Connell, Kevin G., 'A hundred years of excavation at Tell el Hesi: A symposium sponsored by the Palestine Exploration Fund and the joint expedition to Tell el Hessi; 19 June 1990'. In PEQ (1990), pp.83-85

Oliphant, Laurence, Haifa or life in modern Palestine. Edinburgh, John Murray, 1887

Oliphant, Laurence, The Land of Gilead with excursions into the Lebanon. London, Blackwood, 1880

Oliphant, Margaret, Memoirs of the life of Laurence Oliphant. New York, 1891. 2 vols

Owen, Chadwick, The Victorian Church. Part 2: 1860-1901. London, SCM, 1980

Palestine Exploration Fund, 'Lord Kitchener, K.G., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G., R.E.'. In PEFQS (1916), p.122ff

Palestine Exploration Fund, 'The survey of Western Palestine 1871-1877'. In PEQ 110, pp.11-15

Palestine Exploration Fund, Dudley Gallery ... Piccadilly. Catalogue of water colour sketches, tracings, models, photographs, pottery, etc. exhibited by the Palestine Exploration Fund. London, PEF, 1873

Palestine Exploration Fund, Our work in Palestine: being an account of the different expeditions sent out to the Holy Land. London, Bentley, 1873

Palestine Exploration Fund, Palestine Exploration Fund: Founded 1865. London, PEF, [1911], pamphlet

Palestine Exploration Fund, Proposed survey of Eastern Palestine, including Bashan, Moab, and the land of Gilead; also excavations at the Sea of Galilee. London, PEF, [1880]

Palestine Exploration Fund, Report of the paper read and observations made at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute on Monday, 23 July 1866 at the Royal Institution,

Albermarle Street, London; the Very Reverend the Dean of Westminster in the Chair. London, PEF, [1866?]

Palestine Exploration Fund, Report of the proceedings at a public meeting held at Willis's Rooms, St. James' on Friday, 22 June 1865. London, PEF, 1865

Palestine Exploration Fund, Statement of Progress. London, PEF, 1869

Palestine Exploration Fund, The City and the Land: a course of seven lectures on the work of the Society delivered in ... May and June 1892. London, PEF, 1894

Palestine Exploration Fund, The exploration of Palestine: a brief statement of the principal work accomplished by the exploration fund from its foundation to December 1870. London, PEF, [1870]

Palestine Exploration Fund, Thirty years' work in the Holy Land (a record and a summary), 1865-1895. London, PEF, 1895

Palestine Exploration Fund, Twelve reasons for subscribing. London, PEF, n.d.

Palestine Exploration Fund, Twenty-one years' work in the Holy Land (a record and summary), 22 June 1865-22 June 1886. London, PEF, 1889

Palestine Exploration Fund, World of the Bible: centenary exhibition of the Palestine Exploration Fund in co-operation with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Victoria and Albert Museum ... 1965. London, 1965

Palmer, Edward Henry and Walter Besant (eds)., The Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs of the topography, orography, hydrography and archaeology. London, PEF, 1881

Palmer, Edward Henry, Preliminary report of a journey through the Desert of Tih and the country of Moab. London, PEF, 1870

Palmer, Edward Henry, The desert of the Exodus: Journeys on foot in the wilderness of the forty years' wandering. Cambridge, Deighton Bell, 1871

Palmer, Edward Henry, The Survey of Western Palestine: Arabic and English name lists. London, PEF, 1881

Parfitt, Tudor, The Jews of Palestine 1800 to 1882. Woodbridge, Royal Historical Society, 1987

Pemble, John, The Mediterranean passion; Victorians and Edwardians in the South. Oxford, OUP, 1988

Petrie, W. M. Flinders, Researches in Sinai. London, John Murray, 1906

Petrie, W. M. Flinders, Seventy years in archaeology. London, Sampson and Low, Marston, n.d.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders, Tell el Hesi (Lachish). London, PEF, 1891

Pierotti, Ermete, Jerusalem explored, being a description of the ancient and modern city. Translated by Thomas George Bonney. London, Bell and Daldy, 1864. 2 vols

Porter, Bernard, The Lion's Share. A short history of British imperialism 1850-1983. London, Longman, 1984

Prothero, Rowland E., Life and correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. New York, 1984

Rabinowicz, Oskar K., 'The Shapira scroll: a nineteenth century forgery'. In Jewish Quarterly Review, 53, pp.1-21

Rae, W. Fraser, The business of travel: a fifty year record of progress. London, Thomas Cook & Sons, 1891

Reardon, Bernard, Religious thought in the Victorian age. A survey from Coleridge to Gore. London, Longmans, 1980

Ritter, Carl, The comparative geography of Palestine and Sinaitic peninsula. Translated by ... William L. Gage. Edinburgh, T & T Clarke, 1864, 4 vols

Robinson, Edward and Eli Smith, Biblical researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petra. A Journal of the travels in the year 1838. London, John Murray, 1841, 3 vols

Robinson, Edward, Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent regions. London, John Murray, 1856

Rogers, Mary Eliza, Domestic life in Palestine. London, Bell and Daldy, 1862

Salt, Mel, Millennial expectations and Jewish liberties. Leyden, Bril, 1978

Sauley, F. de, Narrative of journey round the Dead Sea and the Bible lands in 1850 and 1851. London, Bentley, 1853, 3 vols

Schreuder, Deryck M. (ed), 'Imperialisms'" Explorations in European expansion and empire. Sydney, University of Sydney, 1991

Schumacher, Gottlieb, Across the Jordan: being an exploration and survey of part of Hauran and Saulan. London, Bentley, 1886

Schumacher, Gottlieb, Northern Ajlûn 'Within the Decapolis'. London, PEF, 1890

Setzer, Urich Jacob, Brief account of the countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberia, the Jordan and the Dead Sea. London, 1813

Shaftesley, John M. (ed), Remember the days ... Essays on Anglo-Jewish history presented to Cecil Roth by members of the Jewish Historical Society of England. London, JHSE, 1966

Sharif, Regina, Non-Jewish Zionists: its root in Western history. Jerusalem, Zed Press, 1983

Shepherd, Naomi, The zealous intruders: the Western rediscovery of Palestine. London, Collins, 1987

Sidebottom, Herbert, Great Britain in Palestine. London, Macmillan, 1937

Silberman, Neil Asher, Digging for God and country: exploration, archaeology and the secret struggle for the Holy Land 1799-1919. New York, Alfred A Knopf, 1982

Smith, George Adam, Atlas of the historical geography of the Holy Land. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1915

Smith, George Adam, The historical geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the history of Israel and of the early church. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1894

Sokolow, N., A history of Zionism. London, Longmans Green & Co., 1919

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, Lectures on the history of the Jewish church. London, 1863

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history. London, John Murray, 1883

Stewardson, Henry C., The survey of Western Palestine: a general index. London, PEF, 1888

Stocks, E., A history of the Church Missionary Society. London, CMS, 1899

Swinglehurst, Edmund, The romantic journey: the story of Thomas Cook and Victorian travel. London, Price edition, 1974

Taylor, Anne, Laurence Oliphant 1829-1888. Oxford, OUP, 1982

Tibawi, A. L., British interests in Palestine 1800-1901. Oxford, OUP, 1961

Tingston, Herbert, Victoria and the Victorians. London, George Allen and Unwin, [1930?]

Tongue, Stanley, Report on the papers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, PEF (1865/1) PEF administrative in-letters, general ... Handlists I-IV. Unpublished, n.d.

Trigger, Bruce G., A history of archaeological thought. Cambridge, CUP, 1990

Tristram, H. B., Bible places or the topography of the Holy Land. London, SPCK, 1897

Tristram, H. B., The land of Moab: Travels and discoveries on the east side of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. London, John Murray, 1873

Tristram, H. B., The natural history of the Bible. London, SPCK, 1883

Trywhitt-Drake, Charles F., Modern Jerusalem: with a memoir. London, Edward Stanford, 1875

Tuchman, Barbara W., The Bible and the Sword. How the British came to Palestine. New York, Paper Mac, 1956

Tufnell, Olga, 'Excavator's progress: Letters of F. J. Bliss, 1889-1900'. In PEQ (1964) pp.112-27

Tufnell, Olga, 'Flinders Petrie'. PEFQS (1943), pp.5-8

Tufnell, Olga, 'Reminiscences of a Petrie pup'. In PEQ (1982), pp.81-86

Vereté, M., 'Why was a British consulate established in Jerusalem?'. In English Historical Review (1970), pp.316-45

Vidler, Alex, The church in an age of revolution. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1961

Walton, John K., Disraeli. London, Routledge, 1992

Warburton, E., The crescent and the cross, or romance and realities of eastern travel. London, 1855

Wark, Wesley K., 'Communication is never never land? The British archives on intelligence'. In Historical Journal 35, pp.195-203

Warren, Charles (Sir), Reports on the progress of works at Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Holy Land. London, PEF, 1868

Warren, Charles (Sir), Reports to ... George Grove, Esq.., Hon. Secretary. London, PEF, 1867

Warren, Charles (Sir), The survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem. London, PEF, 1884

Warren, Charles (Sir), The templer or the Tomb: giving further evidence in favour of the authenticity of the present site of the Holy Sepulchre. London, Bentley, 1880

Warren, Charles (Sir), Underground Jerusalem: an account of some of the principal difficulties encountered in its exploration and the results obtained. London, Bentley, 1876

Watson, Charles Moore (Sir), Fifty years work in the Holy Land: a record and a summary 1865-1915. London, PEF, 1915

Watson, Charles Moore (Sir), The life of Major-General Sir Charles William Wilson. London, John Murray, 1909

Watson, Seaton, Britain in Europe 1789-1914. A survey of foreign policy. Cambridge, CUP, 1937

Webster, Gillian, 'Baroness Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts'. In Biblical Archaeology 48, pp.186-89

Whitty, John Irwine, Discovery of 'Whitty's Wall' at Jerusalem (King Solomon's rampart) with map. London, Simpkin, Marshall, 1895

Whitty, John Irwine, Proposed water supply and sewerage for Jerusalem with a description of its present state and former resources. London, W. J. Johnson, 1863

Williams, George, The Holy City or historical and topographical notices of Jerusalem with some account of its antiques and its present condition. London, J. W. Parker, 1845

Williams, Watkin W., The life of General Sir Charles Warren. Oxford, Blackwell, 1941

Wilson, Arnold T., The Suez Canal, its past, its present and future. London, OUP, 1933

Wilson, Charles William (Sir) and John MacNeil, Notes on the water supply of Jerusalem, being reports accompanied by maps, and drawings by Sir John MacNeil and Captain Wilson R.E. London, Syrian Improvement Committee, 1886

Wilson, Charles William (Sir), Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. Edited by C. M. Watson. London, PEF, 1906

Wilson, Charles William (Sir), Jerusalem: the Holy City. London, J. S. Virtue, 1889

Wilson, Charles William (Sir), Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem. London. OS, 1865, 3 vols

Wilson, Charles William (Sir), The survey of Western Palestine: special papers on topography, archaeology, manners and customs, etc. London, PEF, 1881

Wilson, J., Lawrence of Arabia: the authorised biography of T. E. Lawrence. London, Heinemann, 1989

Wilson, J., T. E. Lawrence. London, National Portrait Gallery publications, 1988

Woodward, Llewellyn, The age of reform, 1815-1870. Oxford, Clarendon, 1939

Wroe, John, The life and journal of John Wroe with Divine communications revealed to him being the visitation of the Spirit ... Gravesend, The Society, 1859

Young, Percy Marshall, George Grove 1820-1900: a biography, London, Macmillan, 1980.