4 Dorothy Garrod in the Field and Faculty

At the end of her life, an acquaintance suggested to Garrod that she had been lucky. "*Pas la chance*," Garrod replied, "*c'est courage et persévérance*."[1]

The last chapter revealed how the institutionalisation of prehistory as a taught subject at Cambridge during the 1930s was furthered by the intellectual accomplishments of a "young man in a hurry" and his association with scientists. Heuristic models taken from the history of science literature were used to study Grahame Clark and his influence. The suggestions made by Coleman (1985), Geison (1993), Morrell (1972) and Secord (1986) that certain factors are present in a successful academic research school proved applicable to Clark and his experiences at Cambridge. The most relevant argument from the literature was Morrell's idea that the success of Liebig's chemistry lab at the University of Giessen was primarily the result of his development of new experimental techniques. In a clearly similar way, the introduction of pollen analysis, known as pollen statistics during the 1930s, was shown to be pivotal to the success of Clark's new archaeology. Using the results of Scandinavian-inspired, innovative scientific techniques, Clark developed new research agenda which attracted and inspired his students. These young men and women were then among the first professionals who travelled abroad and successfully spread their scientific archaeological knowledge. It was concluded that Geison's research school chart should be expanded to accommodate additional evidence.

By the end of the 1930s, the archaeological side of the fledgling Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology was offering a growing number of students a solid interdisciplinary core of new knowledge and the promise of careers. There was, by then, an expanded library to service the new undergraduates,[2] university-educated, specialised staff, classrooms for teaching, museum space and material for instruction and demonstration, an innovative journal, *The Proceedings of the Prehis-*

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[1] As told to Jane Callander by Garrod's colleague, Lorraine Copeland.

[2] In 1935, part of the old Law School was transferred to the use of the Faculty to provide for the rapidly expanding Library. The Library was moved from the Museum to a space in the adjacent building which is now called the McBurney Room. "The Library is the biggest anthropological library in Britain, other than that of the Royal Anthropological Institute" (*ca*. 1939/40, T.T. Paterson; draft memorandum for the Committee of the General Board on the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology; Faculty Minutes. CUA Min.V.92a).

toric Society, for publication of new archaeological research as well as a thriving intellectual/social place to meet, the tea-room. By December 1938, the new Museum Curator, T.T. Paterson, who was a Faculty Ph.D candidate in Palaeolithic archaeology and earth sciences, could confidently write, "Ten years ago there were seventeen students reading for the Tripos; there are now sixty in addition to an average of thirty Colonial Probationers, and there is every reason to believe this expansion will continue even more rapidly as the necessity for education in the social sciences becomes widely recognised."[3] "It can be said immediately that this is the foremost school of Archaeology and Anthropology in Europe."[4]

In 1939, Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod entered the Faculty as the first woman and the first prehistorian ever elected to a professorship at either Cambridge or Oxford. Before her election, she had had an illustrious excavation and expedition career as a superbly accomplished "dirt" archaeologist in the field.[5] In this chapter, I discuss her experiences as one of the finest British Palaeolithic archaeologists of the twentieth century. Her field career and accomplishments will be considered before proceeding to an analysis of her academic experiences and an account of her contributions toward the establishment of a full Archaeological and Anthropological Tripos during the 1940s.

Unpublished papers and personal recollections of colleagues and former students reveal a contrast between Garrod's personality as professor and her behaviour in every other context.[6] In the field she was at ease and gently humorous; reserved but fun. In the Faculty, however, she is described as "cripplingly shy" — dry, distant, difficult to know. A comparison between Garrod's extraordinary effectiveness in the field and her more muted success as an academic will be made using excerpts from her correspondence and field diaries to document the contrast. Garrod's earliest letters, before her Professorship, show a spontaneous attitude toward life and work. However, evidence will be presented which suggests that

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[3] T.T. Paterson, December 1938 draft report, appeal for funds: CUMAA Box 111 mm2/2/9.

[4] Faculty Minutes. CUL Min.V.92a. Draft memorandum for the Committee of the General Board on the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology; *ca*. 1939/40 by T.T. Paterson.

[5] Garrod described herself as doing "dirt archaeology, as Crawford called it" in a 1964 letter to her former student, Mrs Robin Kenward. Letter in possession of the Kenward family.

[6] Smith *et al*. 1997, Smith 2000a.

Garrod had a peculiarly trying time as a prehistorian and professor at the University of Cambridge.

The questions addressed in this chapter were not inspired by the research school literature which applied so effectively to Clark's experiences. Morrell's model, which worked brilliantly to illuminate Clark's career, is less helpful when Garrod's academic life and contributions are considered. It appears that research school approaches do not sufficiently address the corporate and the gendered nature of academic archaeology and do not clearly suggest appropriate questions when people who are not primarily academics become the focus of investigation. In order adequately to describe the growing success of Cambridge prehistoric archaeology in the 1940s once Dorothy Garrod is professor, we must first consider Garrod's early career.

Garrod was not academically the leader of a research school. She was experienced in the field and as professor participated in and contributed to a broader, co-ordinated effort by the entire Faculty to expand archaeology to a full degree course. Questions which must be answered to understand Garrod's experience and which are addressed in this chapter are, how did Garrod become involved in archaeology at a time when few women would have had the inclination or opportunity? What were her experiences and contributions in the field and did gender definitions hinder her performance as an excavator? How did she become elected as the first woman professor ever at Cambridge and what were her contributions as an academic, not only to the successful institutionalisation of prehistory but to the successful integration of women into Cambridge life? Finally, what was Garrod's difficulty in being professor?

A biographical introduction follows, after which I analyse Garrod's accomplishments in the field and detail her lasting contributions to archaeology. Garrod's attitudes and experiences in the field will then be compared with her experiences as an academic. Because there is no published biographical study available on Garrod, a detailed reconstruction and analysis of her life is given.[7]

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[7] This is in response to numerous requests. Since the recovery of the Garrod papers in the Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin de la Bibliothèque du Musée des Antiquités Nationales de Saint Germain-en-Laye, there has been a biographical essay written about Garrod's life by Callander and Bar-Yosef, which is forthcoming, entitled "Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod", in G.M. Cohen & M.S. Joukowsky (ed.), *Women in archaeology: the first generation, the pioneers*.

4.1 Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod (1892–1968)

Born in 1892 in London and educated at home, Garrod was exposed to archaeology as a child by her beloved tutor, Miss Isabel Fry, with whom she visited Roman archaeological sites.[8] Her father, who served for a time on the Ipswich Museum Committee,[9] may have been another childhood influence.

FIGURE XXVI Dorothy Garrod as a child; photograph by Photographer to Her Majesty The Queen, *ca.* 1898. Garrod was a solid member of Annan's (1955) British intellectual aristocracy. Her father, Sir Archibald Garrod, KCMG, FRS, MD, FRCP, had been St Bartholomew's first director of the new Medical Unit in 1919 and subsequently Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford. He is regarded as the founder of biochemical genetics. Her grandfather was Sir Alfred Garrod, FRS, MD, FRCP, of King's College Hospital, Physician Extraordinary to Queen Victoria and a leading authority on rheumatic dis-

[8] Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin writing to Gertrude Caton-Thompson, no date, letter from Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin. Box 71, 33432, MAN.

[9] Plunkett, S.J. 1996. "Prehistory at Ipswich — an Idea and its Consequences." Garrod's father served on this Committee before Garrod was elected the President of the PSEA in 1928.

eases;[10] her uncle, Alfred Garrod, FRS, was a noted physiologist and zoologist and Professor of Physiology of the Royal Institute and Professor of Comparative Anatomy at King's College. Her mother, Laura Elisabeth Smith, was also from a distinguished medical family; the maternal grandfather, Sir Thomas Smith, first baronet, was "one of the great surgeons of his time",[11] Consultant Surgeon to St Bartholomew's, Surgeon Extraordinary to Queen Victoria and Sergeant Surgeon to Edward VII. (Photograph courtesy of the Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin, MAN.)[12]

Coming up to Cambridge in 1913, before archaeology was available as a subject, Garrod read ancient and classical history at Newnham College[13] where she became respected for her quick wit and gentle humour.[14] She regularly participated in the Newnham College debates, successfully defending the motion, "Heredity is of more importance than environment." Her contributions to the student monthly publication, *Thersites*, reveal a quiet literary talent. At Newnham, "a golden autumn term transformed Cambridge into a magical city,"[15] before the start of World War I. By the time of her graduation in 1916, Garrod had tragically lost two brothers; Lt Alfred Noël Garrod, killed while serving with the R.A.M.C, and Lt Thomas Martin Garrod who died of wounds in 1915, aged 21. Her third brother, Lt Basil Rahere died, aged 22, in

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[10] Garrods have held 13 professorial Chairs in the last three generations (Garrod relative, Professor Jeremy Elston, in conversation, 1998). Information on members of this very successful academic family may be found in the *DNB*. For an in-depth study of Sir Alfred Garrod, see R. Porter and G.S. Rousseau's (1998) *Gout: the Patrician Malady.* For additional information on Garrod's immediate family, read Gertrude Caton-Thompson's (1969) entry on Dorothy Garrod in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* 55: 338–61.

[11] Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin writing to Gertrude Caton-Thompson, letter from Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin. Box 71, 33432, MAN.

[12] Garrod Papers. Box 71, MAN.

[13] Women were not allowed to take degrees at Cambridge in 1913 but could attend lectures and some supervisions, depending on the subject. They were allowed to sit the same exams as undergraduates. Newnham and Girton were the two colleges associated with Cambridge University established specifically for women students. Women students were not members of the University and were not referred to as "undergraduates".

[14] Favourable comments on Garrod's debating talents appear in the Newnham College, Cambridge, student publication, *Thersites* from 1913–15.

[15] Quoted from *Thersites*, 11 November 1913, volume 33.

February 1919 from influenza before demobilisation. It is rumoured that Garrod also lost a fiancé.[16] Perhaps trauma-induced, she suffered poor health as a student and, after serving in the Catholic Women's League in France and the Rhineland,[17] she joined her father in Malta in 1919. There as Head of War Hospitals, Sir Archibald "in his wisdom distracted her mind towards interest in the antiquities" (Caton-Thompson 1969: 342).

Garrod's closeness to her father and his influence is often mentioned in unpublished letters.[18] Caton-Thompson writes that the "closeness of family ties . . . particularly with her father was a frequent element in her conversation."[19] Also, apparently Garrod's first comment upon election to the Disney Professorship of Archaeology was "I wish my father had been alive and the others"[20] (Caton-Thompson 1969: 340). Although there is no indication in models of research schools that father/daughter relationships are important to academic success, there is some literature which does address this influence. In commenting on the early careers of female researchers at the Cavendish Laboratory, Gould (1997: 134) writes, "Since there was no prescribed route for aspiring female physicists to follow, influence and support from family members effectively shaped their lives. Patterns of behaviour between fathers and daughters, uncles and nieces, brothers and sisters, became a model for gendered working relationships." Gould (1997: 134) notes that P.G. Abir-Am and D. Outram (1987) "have claimed that the nature of the home environment was of the utmost importance in determining the career patterns of women." In addition, R. MacLeod and R. Moseley (1979) have

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[16] Jane Callander and I persistently heard this rumour but it was confirmed by only one witness, Miss Lovedy Smith, in an interview with Callander in 1997.

[17] Although there is some disagreement over the exact date, Garrod apparently converted to Catholicism prior to coming up to Cambridge. While at Cambridge, she enjoyed Museum Curator Baron von Hügel's hospitality, finding it supportive to the Catholic community (Letters to Caton-Thompson from Jean Smith, Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin. Box 71, MAN).

[18] Caton-Thompson to Saint-Mathurin, Saint-Mathurin to Caton-Thompson, Saint-Mathurin Papers. Box 71, MAN.

[19] 6 February 1976 correspondence, found in Saint-Mathurin Papers. Box 71, MAN.

[20] Garrod was here referring to her brothers.

documented the possibility that daughters might take inspiration from the example of their fathers' successful scientific careers.

Certainly Garrod openly admired her father's inventiveness and scientific adventurous nature as when she mused about his experiments in the family home. "I remember one conversation with Dorothy, in which she contrasted the conditions under which her father did his research work, with that of the 1940's and 50's; specialised team work, with elaborate facilities, whereas her father had developed his genetic ideas in the solitude of a makeshift study room in their Chandos Street house with a bootlace equipment."[21] Her parents' home would have obviously "remained a source of intellectual stimulation and perhaps inspiration" (Gould 1997: 135).

Garrod's intellectually aristocratic family would have provided her with a set of values which served her well in the exploration of new areas of knowledge and the pursuit of excellence in research. Caton-Thompson (1969: 341, 340) reports that Garrod "once told me that she resolved" at the time of her brothers' deaths "to try to compensate her parents . . . by achieving a life they could feel worthy of the family tradition." Here Caton-Thompson noted the "remarkable Garrod tradition of eminence in the advancement of scientific learning." As shown below, her father's pioneering spirit was also characteristic of Garrod's archaeological work. Garrod demonstrated considerable adventurousness while digging abroad. "She was eager, fastidious, apparently not robust, but with a clear sense of values . . . and courage . . . hence the very strenuous field work [in] — France, Spain, Palestine, Kurdistan . . . caves and underground rivers, " observed Miss Jean Smith, a Newnham College friend.[22]

After Sir Archibald was appointed Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford in 1920, Garrod enrolled in Oxford's post-graduate Diploma in Anthropology in 1921. It is clear from her lecture notes, which survive at the MAN, that the Diploma course was an intensive introduction to both archae-

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[21] 6 February 1976 correspondence, found in Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin. Box 71, MAN.

[22] Smith 1968 letter to Barbara White of Newnham College on the occasion of Garrod's death, Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin. Box 72, MAN.

ology and anthropology. R.R. Marett, who was Reader in Social Anthropology as well as the experienced excavator of the Palaeolithic site, La Cotte de St Brelade (Marett 1912, 1916), and physical anthropologist, Professor Arthur Thomson, were her instructors.[23] Garrod's notes reveal detailed lectures on "Method in Physical Anthropology", including instruction on how to excavate graves, how to record orientation, position, grave goods and how to photograph, measure, preserve, label and pack skeletons. "Great care should be exercised in removing bones; undermine them and support them," she carefully notes. "Cave burial: each layer should be removed separately," she continues. Such knowledge was to prove extremely useful to Garrod while removing skeletons during subsequent excavations. Garrod was also provided with a thorough introduction to prehistory, to de Mortillet's system of unilinear, evolutionary classification of Stone Age assemblages and to an understanding of the importance of geology and climate change. "The Mousterian begins in warm, ends in cold conditions, Magdalenian climate becoming warm and moist," Garrod noted under the heading, "Wanderings of peoples."[24] She was also introduced to Oxford's Professor of Geology, W.J. Sollas, who was at that time writing his influential and important text, *Ancient Hunters*. "*Je crois me souvenir que le livre qui a déterminé sa vocation est Ancient Hunters*," observed Garrod's close colleague, Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin.[25] Garrod used this text throughout her field and teaching career.[26]

It may have been R.R. Marett who finally inspired Garrod to devote her life to prehistory. Years later, while presenting the first Marett Lecture established in his honour, Garrod referred to the "many enchanted hours" she had

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[23] See George W. Stocking's (1996) *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888–1951* for an understanding of Oxford Anthropology at this time.

[24] Quotations in this paragraph are taken from Garrod's notes found among many other notes in Box 61, 33431, MAN. Garrod's lecture notes for her own lectures at Cambridge University are intermixed with her early student notes from Oxford.

[25] Saint-Mathurin to Miss Sheldon, n.d. Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin. Box 71, 33432, MAN.

[26] Teaching notes; Garrod Papers. Box 67, MAN.

spent listening to Marett in his Acland House room. "The lectures and tutorials of that Trinity Term of 1921 opened a new world of the mind." "Marett the genial colleague, the brilliant talker, the beloved friend," Garrod stated.[27] Mrs. Chitty, *née* Mary Kitson Clark, one of Garrod's companions during the now famous Mount Carmel excavation of 1929, stated, in an interview, that Garrod experienced her conversion to prehistory with a religious depth of feeling. "The determination to be a prehistorian and particularly in the Stone Age, came over her in one second, like a conversion. She was, after the War, in turmoil, what was she to do with her life? And, it came over her in a flash, that was what she was to do."[28]

The possibility that Marett, Oxford and family were behind Garrod's conversion to prehistory is supported by her recollections during her acceptance speech for an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Toulouse in 1952. "*C'est au cours des grandes vacances de 1921 que je suis venue à Toulouse pour la première fois, ayant en poche une lettre d'introduction auprès de Cartailhac, de mon maitre le Dr Marett, ami de toute la vieille génération des préhistoriens français . . . il y avait tout juste un an que j'avais découvert la préhistoire, révélation qui devait déterminer l'orientation de toute une vie*."[29]

Describing this trip, Garrod wrote to Jean Smith in September 1921, "My dear Jean, The last week in France was great fun. It was really almost too moving to be true. You crawl on your stomach for hours . . . climbing up yawning abysses (lighted only by an acetylene lamp which you had to carry with you somehow) and get knocked on the head by stalactites and on the legs by [stalag]mites, and in the end arrive at all sorts of wonders; bison modelled in clay, and portraits of sorcerers, and footprints of Magdalenian man

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[27] Manuscript of Garrod's Marett Lecture, Garrod Papers. Box 67, MAN.

[28] Mrs Chitty (*née* Mary Kitson Clark) in conversation with Callander and myself, 26 October 1996.

[29] "It was during the Long Vacation of 1921 that I came to Toulouse for the first time, having in my pocket a letter of introduction for Cartailhac from my teacher Dr Marett, friend of all the old generation of French prehistorians . . . just a year after I had discovered prehistory, a revelation which would guide the course of a whole life." Manuscript of draft speech, Garrod Papers. Box 64, MAN.

which have been sealed since Palaeolithic times." The humour and *joie de vivre* evident in this letter were typical of Garrod's later approach to life.[30]

Garrod was about to meet Breuil, by then Professeur at the Collège de France and at the Insitut de Paléontologie Humaine, who became her life-long intellectual father. "Comte Bégouën, our host who discovered the caves is a dear, and we also met the Abbé Breuil who knows more than anyone else about these things and explores impossible caves in a Roman collar and bathing dress. He got an Hon. degree at Cambridge last year, but more fully clothed." After earning her Oxford Diploma with distinction, Garrod joined Breuil, on Marett's recommendation, at the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine in Paris in 1922. Her preserved notes,[31] as well as comments in an obituary she later wrote at Breuil's death,[32] attest to a rigorous introduction to Commont's research on the Quaternary gravels of the Somme. Breuil also introduced Garrod to the French typological system of classification of lithic collections[33] and to the opportunity to work at the famous excavations of the Palaeolithic sites of La Quina with Henri-Martin ("*qui fouille alors dans la grande tranchée où la femme de la Quina a été trouvée*") [34] Les Eyzies with Denis Peyrony, Isturitz with the Saint-Periers and with Jean Bouyssonie in Corrèze. At La Quina, Garrod had the opportunity to learn to identify Neanderthal remains and also to meet her future friend and collaborator, Germaine Henri-Martin. "La Quina was to produce remains of 27 Neanderthal individuals: particularly important for Dorothy Garrod's future work were fragments of a juvenile cranium," observed Jane Callander.[35]

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[30] This and the following quotation describing Breuil are from a letter found in Box 72, MAN. It should be noted that, at times, Saint-Mathurin's papers are intermixed with Garrod's at the MAN.

[31] Garrod Papers. Box 64, 33431, MAN.

[32] A draft copy of this obituary is in Box 72, MAN.

[33] Breuil was able to classify a lithic artefact typologically, blind, by feel alone (Desmond Clark, in conversation, 2000).

[34] "who was excavating the large trench where the woman of La Quina was found." Notes on Garrod's student life at the IPH by her friend, Germaine Henri-Martin, found in Box 72, MAN.

[35] Callander, in conversation, 1999.

FIGURE XXVII M. l'Abbé H. Breuil, the great French prehistorian who had introduced Miles Burkitt to prehistory in 1913, was an intellectual father also to Dorothy Garrod. He is here pictured with Garrod in 1926 when she was awarded a B.Sc. from Oxford University. (Photograph courtesy of MAN.)

Grahame Clark, in his biographical study of Garrod written for Tim Murray's (1999) *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, claims that the future research agenda of Garrod's life were determined by her association with Breuil in the early 1920s. Clark might presumably trace all of Garrod's various research themes to Breuil's influence. Her interest in the origin, distribution and classification of Middle and Upper Palaeolithic assemblages; her fascination with the questions of the origin of modern humans and the demise of the Neanderthals; the concern with relative dating by geochronology; and her declaration that "Europe was after all only a peninsula of Africa and Asia" (Clark 1999: 402) could all be interpreted as Garrod being the intellectual child of the Abbé Breuil.[36]

As Breuil had encouraged Burkitt to write *Prehistory*, he also suggested to Garrod the wish "*de voir réunis en une publication d'ensemble convenablement raisonnée les résultats acquis depuis plusieurs générations par vos compatriotes*"

[36] Clark, in conversation, 1994.

(Breuil 1926: 7).[37] In 1926, Garrod published her first synthesis, *The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain* (1926),[38] for which she was awarded a B.Sc from Oxford University. This was Garrod's first experience working with industries to which the classic French sequences did not apply.

In this detailed compilation and analysis of British assemblages, Garrod described a local variation of French Upper Palaeolithic industries which she labelled Creswellian. This term, named after the famous cave-sites of Creswell Crags where it was most in evidence, is still used today. "I would suggest that this industry is sufficiently well characterized to deserve a name of its own which will serve to differentiate it, on the one hand from the classical Magdalenian of France, on the other from the true Upper Aurignacian." "We can no longer expect"Garrod (1926: 194) continued "the classification of Gabriel de Mortillet to hold good all over the Palaeolithic world."

At this point in her career,[39] Garrod wrote a postcard to Burkitt cryptically stating that Palaeolithic research in England and the Fayoum was "crowded."[40] By 1924, she was clearly looking for exploration opportunities. According to Alison Roberts (1999), Garrod had planned to excavate Kent's Cavern but access was denied by the Cavern proprietors in August 1925. Shortly afterwards she accepted Breuil's invitation to explore Mousterian sites in Gibraltar.

4.2 Garrod as Explorer and Excavator: "Small, Dark and Alive"

4.2.1 Gibraltar

According to Caton-Thompson (1969), Breuil had noticed fossil bone in the talus at the foot of Devil's Tower while on war missions to Gibraltar in 1917. A sound-

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[37] "I expressed to you the desire to see the results, acquired over several generations of your compatriots, collected in one suitably critical general publication."

[38] Used by Clark as a model for *The Mesolithic Age in Britain*.

[39] There are some aspects of Garrod's career which I do not address, e.g. the Glozel affair, because they are not relevant to this thesis. Refer to Bahn and Renfrew (1999), Bar-Yosef and Callander, forthcoming, and Garrod (1968).

[40] Letter from Garrod to Burkitt, 1926. CUL Add. 7959 Box III.

ing in 1919 had produced Mousterian implements. At his invitation, Garrod excavated the site over a total of seven months between 1925 and 1927. This was her first internationally recognised dig and she soon struck skeletal gold.

With sheer luck, which was to occur again and again during her excavation career, Garrod found the scattered fragments of one tiny skull over a period of two separate excavation seasons. Garrod's photograph album, stored at the MAN, testifies to the personal importance of these spectacular finds. Surrounded by red stars, she sits holding the pieces. The photograph is entitled "Abel", "b. B.C. 20,000. d. *aet*. 5, Disinterred, June 11, 1926."

In her 1928 interdisciplinary excavation report, Garrod produced the physiographic and typological analysis while Oxford anatomist, L.H. Dudley Buxton, and the well-known human anatomist/diffusionist from University College, London, G. Elliot Smith, commented on the hominid remains. Because Garrod was to find many anomalous skeletons during her ensuing career, it is worth mentioning here that Dudley Buxton (1928: 61, 64, 65, 83) at first thought that the skull did not fit within the definition of Neanderthal. The massive size of the cranium was "remarkable" in comparison to the Neanderthal child from La Quina; there was a "very large proportional breadth" and an unusual cephalic index; in addition, the frontal bone was "extremely slenderly built," "entirely unlike those which are usually associated with Neanderthal man." The abnormalities suggested a brain-case built "more after the fashion of modern than of Neanderthal." However, the child's permanent dentition was of the normal massive Neanderthal type. Primarily because of this certainty, despite serious concerns as to how to categorise the remains, Dudley Buxton decided "to ascribe it to Neanderthal man".

Garrod's friend, an expert from the Natural History Museum, London, Dorothea M.A. Bate, dealt with the faunal remains. Garrod concluded that Neanderthals, with an Upper Mousterian industry, lived at Devil's Tower in a period of regression. "The sands and travertines with their terrestrial fauna and remains of human occupation can only have been deposited in a period of emergence when the Rock was once more joined to the mainland." The Director of the Insitut de Paléontologie Humaine, Marcellin Boule, considered

FIGURE XXVIII Dorothy Garrod, "a valued member of a valued class,"[41] at the Devil's Tower, Gibraltar, June 1926.

"FOUND MOUSTERIAN SKULL" Garrod wired her parents on 12 June.[42] Here she holds the skull remains of a young Neanderthal child, whom she named Abel, uncovered during her excavation at Devil's Tower. This achievement soon became known to a wide public. "The Gibraltar skull, an important new link in the record of prehistoric man, was found last June by Miss D.A.E. Garrod . . . Miss Garrod recently read a paper on her discovery before the Anthropology Section of the British Association at Oxford," reported the *Illustrated London News*. [43] "The success of the excavation," Garrod stated modestly, "was largely due to the very sound advice" from Breuil.[44] (Photograph courtesy of Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin, MAN.)

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[41] Mrs Chitty (Mary Kitson Clark), in conversation, 1996.

[42] Telegram in possession of Jane Callander.

[43] *ILN* 28 August 1926.

[44] Quotation from Garrod's draft obituary of Breuil. Box 72, MAN

the travertine "to have followed on the deposition of the Monastirian beaches" which were assigned to the Last Interglaciation (Garrod *et al.* 1928: 44, 46). With this reasoning, Garrod provided her finds with a relative chronology and was therefore not solely dependent on typological analysis for establishing relative sequences.

FIGURE XXIX Reconstruction of the Devil's Tower skull, *Nature* (Zollikofer *et al*. 1995).

The Gibraltar crania are not yet securely dated but evidence suggests late Neanderthal survival in the Iberian peninsula. This may have been their final refuge. The Gibraltar dig provided important information for our present understanding of the dispersal throughout Europe of Middle Palaeolithic people. Garrod's date of 20,000 B.C. retains its resonance today. Dates of 26,000 B.P. for the age of the remains and four years old for Abel's age at death are considered approximately correct.[45] "Professor Garrod's discoveries on Gibraltar remain as significant today as they did 70 years ago. Indeed they are still a source of scientific interest and an active focal point for Neanderthal studies. The Devil's Tower excavation was a major scientific landmark. It helped broaden the focus of the Mousterian beyond the narrow confines of northern Europe and into the Mediterranean zone," states Dr Nick Barton, Co-director, with Professor Chris Stringer, of the Gibraltar Caves Project.[46]

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[45] Callander, in conversation, 1998.

[46] Quoted from Callander, J. and P.J. Smith. 1998. *Handbook for Exhibition in Honour of D.A.E. Garrod.*

As Grahame Clark suggested, Garrod's intellectual directions were firmly set by the 1920s. Her research goals remained basically unchanged throughout her life. Garrod's use of geochronology during the Gibraltar excavations and her search for hominids, "skulls — the best fund-raiser,"[47] were to be hallmarks of all her future work. Such goals were evident in Garrod's first statement of purpose, delivered to the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia as its incoming President in 1928. Here she declared that Palaeolithic archaeology was at a critical stage, that the heroic age of French archaeology was past, that de Mortillet's original unilinear framework of assemblage classification was conceptually inadequate and that prehistorians should think of cultural evolution in phylogenetic terms rather than narrow stratigraphic units.[48]

With her PSEA address, Garrod inaugurated a "new era in palaeolithic studies which will ever be her enduring monument." Clark (1939b: 280). "The centre of interest is rapidly shifting away from Europe and new discoveries make it clear that the classic sequence from Chellean to Magdalenian cannot be universally applied,"Garrod argued. "'Western Europe is only an advanced cape of Eurasia, a kind of cul-de-sac where successive waves of many human tides come to break and die out'" (Garrod 1928a: 260; Garrod quoting Boule 1928a: 261). Garrod would, from then on, look to Eurasia for the origins of the Palaeolithic invasions of Europe.

4.2.2 Kurdistan

Shortly before Garrod articulated this vision of Palaeolithic archaeology, she conducted a preliminary survey of Southern Kurdistan in search of Stone Age sites and the skeletal remains of Mousterian, i.e. Neanderthal, man. The area was archaeologically unexplored, "a blank on the distribution map of the Old Stone Age;"[49] hers

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[47] Bar-Yosef, in conversation, 1999.

[48] As did Clark, Garrod equated an assemblage with a culture and a culture with a people.

[49] Quotation from Garrod's Kurdistan Manuscript. Box 72, MAN. Garrod's vivid story of the Kurdistan/Persian border expedition and excavations is accompanied by dozens of photographic studies of the local Kurdish people who apparently visited Garrod's camp sites. These photographs were clearly intended as ethnographic records of how people lived, reflecting Garrod's training in anthropology at Oxford. These photographs are stored with Garrod's papers at the MAN.

was the first expedition to enter the district and was, according to Ralph Solecki (1972: 16), who excavated the Neanderthal site of Shanidar Cave, "to stand as the only prehistoric research in that country [north-eastern Iraq] for over two decades." Dudley Buxton and the American prehistorian, Henry Field,[50] had found, in 1927, extensive Palaeolithic surface lithics over the North Arabic desert. This implied to Garrod that Palaeolithic people migrated between Upper Mesopotamia and Syria and she hoped to discover evidence to support this hypothesis in Iraq's limestone caves. During her first brief survey, Garrod (1930: 13) discovered "Mousterian implements in gravels near Kirkuk". On a follow-up expedition in late 1928, she uncovered lithic evidence of an Epipalaeolithic, known then as Upper Aurignacian, occupation in the cave of Zarsi and an Upper Palaeolithic lithic assemblage overlying a Middle Palaeolithic level at Dark Cave, Hazar Merd. This was the first discovery of the Mousterian *in situ* in that region, proving that the Mousterian, previously thought to be primarily European, had existed as far afield as north-east Iraq.

At that point, Iraq was under British Mandate but there had been several rebellions, attempts at secession by the Kurds. Garrod's expedition took place between the second and third uprising and she therefore travelled and excavated under constant, heavy, armed guard. In fact, during one cave exploration, Garrod noticed that the police guard's "loaded gun, slung over his back, was aimed at the nape of my neck."[51] However, according to her vivid draft story, which survives at the MAN, she and her team were treated cordially by the local population. Garrod's numerous and thoughtful photographic studies of the local Kurd population imply good relations and a fascination with the people and with the country, which she thought particularly beautiful.[52] Her comments suggest that the team enjoyed themselves, despite

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[50] In *The Track of Man*, Field (1955) describes meeting Garrod and later Breuil when Field was a student at Oxford in the early 1920s.

[51] Kurdistan manuscript. Box 72; MAN.

[52] Garrod's notes record these reactions. Garrod Papers. Box 72, MAN.

dangers and oncoming bitter winter cold.[53]

Did the fact that Garrod was a woman affect her field archaeology in Gibraltar and Kurdistan? I have found no evidence that Garrod's gender either helped or hurt her archaeological explorations. Once again, as Mary Thatcher observed, Garrod was indeed a valued member of a valued class. She was an established upper-middle-class educated English woman whose family's scientific and personal reputation was beyond dispute. Gibraltar was a long-occupied British Crown colony, military garrison and an important naval base. As is clear from the extensive acknowledgements in her Gibraltar publication, Garrod experienced cordial and privileged alliances with government and military officials. Kurdistan was under British Mandate and Garrod had the full co-operation of the military; relationships with government officials were solid. If there had been difficulties, her position in British society, and as a British citizen in an occupied territory, would have easily surmounted concerns about her being a woman.

4.2.3 The Levant, the Galilee Skull and Shukbah

In 1928, Oxford Professor J.L. Myres[54] invited Garrod to excavate Shukbah Cave in Palestine for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. This was the first of a series of monumental excavations she was to conduct in the Levant, but before this excavation is discussed, it should be explained that prehistoric research in that area was still in its infancy, just beginning to excite much European interest. The methodological and theoretical foundations of Western Asian archaeology were established during the 1920s and '30s. The ground work for the expertise and theoretical background we now know to be necessary to understand the Levant's complex sites was just beginning.

The period between the World Wars was the formative era in Levantine archaeology.[55] "The foundation for all fields of archaeology from the Stone

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[53] Saint-Mathurin to Caton-Thompson, describing the cold, no date. Box 71, 33432, MAN.

[54] Callander, in conversation, 2004.

[55] Bar-Yosef, in conversation, 1999.

Age to the Islamic were laid in the years of the British Mandate," writes Palaeolithic archaeologist, Ofer Bar-Yosef with Jane Callander (in press). "The necessary academic atmosphere [was] created by the establishment of the Department of Antiquities, the British School of Archaeology, the American School of Prehistoric Research, the Hebrew University, and the presence in Jerusalem of the French Ecole Biblique." It was during this time that René Neuville was posted to the French Consulate in Jerusalem, that Moshe Stekelis fled Russia and that the German archaeologist, Alfred Rust, arrived in Palestine by bicycle. Neuville excavated Natufian sites in the Judean Desert on behalf of the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine of Paris, and would later explore Qafzeh Cave. Stekelis, now considered the "father of Israeli prehistory,"[56] discovered the important Palaeolithic and pre-Natufian site of Kebara. Rust excavated the Jabrud Rockshelter in Syria; his Palaeolithic sequences would eventually challenge Garrod's typological classifications from Mount Carmel.

However, the most remarkable prehistoric archaeological event of the 1920s in Western Asia was considered at the time to be Francis Turville-Petre's discovery of an ancient cranium at Mugharet ez-Zuttiyeh, near the Sea of Galilee.[57] This was the first time that "human remains of Mousterian date have been found outside the limits of Europe" (Keith 1927: 53).[58] George Grant MacCurdy, founder of the American School of Prehistoric Research, suggested that this discovery, together with the International Congress of Archaeology at Jerusalem and Beirut in 1926, "inaugurated a new era of prehistoric research in Palestine" (MacCurdy 1937: Foreword). Reviewers referred to the fragments as the "well-known Galilee skull" (Close 1928: 373) and Sir Arthur Keith (1927) devoted more than 50 pages to describing and analysing the remains.

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[56] Callander, in conversation, 1999.

[57] For an evaluation of Turville-Petre's archaeological contributions, see Bar-Yosef and Callander (1997).

[58] The skull remains the oldest human fossil found in the Levant.

FIGURE XXX "GALILEE SKULL" New Light on Early Man, *The Times*, 14 August 1925. "We publish today the first photographs of the human skull of an extremely primitive type." "The skull is now in this country and has been examined by Sir Arthur Keith who explains the significance of the discovery." As with the Gibraltar cranium, the Galilee skull differed from the Neanderthal varieties found in Europe. Keith suggested that the specimen approached a modern type, that skeletal remains seemed to become more Neanthropic, i.e. modern, the further east one went; the skull must represent a particular "race or breed of Neanderthal". What then was the relationship of "Neanthropic man" and "Neanderthal man"? Who was our common ancestor (Keith 1925)?[59]

[59] The Zuttiyeh (Galilee) skull is today considered by many to be evidence of hominid travel through the Levantine corridor from Africa rather than from the East. Researchers such as Jean-Jacques Hublin (2000: 162) perfectly echo Keith: "The Zuttiyeh skull . . . does not display clear Neanderthal affinities at a time when Neanderthal derived features are already well developed in European hominids." The date and classification of the Zuttiyeh skull are still questioned; Bar-Yosef (1992, 1998a) suggests a date >300,000 BP; a possible relative date would be within OIS 9. According to Callander (2002), most current archaeologists would agree with Keith that the Zuttiyeh specimen exhibits traits of anatomically modern humans (AMH). The specimen may be part of a population which was ancestral to the Levantine AMH populations from Skhul, Qafzeh and which is represented by the jaw from the lower part of layer C at Tabun. Some archaeologists claim that there is evidence of successive waves from the south associated later with Afro-Arabian fauna (Tchernov 1998); the fate of these early AMH populations is unknown.

The excitement that this discovery generated is completely unexplained in the history of archaeology literature. The political and social reasons for the explosion of European interest in the Palaeolithic of Western Asia during the 1920s have never been critically examined; such an examination is well beyond the scope of my analysis.[60] Nevertheless, the ample, sensational coverage in *The Times,* including large photographs, implies that English readers were fascinated by Neanderthals and that the questions posed by Keith in his newspaper article were of interest. Since the replacement of Mousterian (associated with Neanderthal) assemblages by the Aurignacian (associated with a "Modern European type") was rapid in Europe, where did modern man come from?

Where did modern man come from was exactly Garrod's guiding research question. It may be concluded that Garrod's questions were very much being considered in the public realm and were not dependent on new technical developments in a research school setting. Research school models were not designed to describe this way of doing science in the field outside of a university structure. Garrod's questions were developed during exploration abroad while working within a wider public arena. Such research was openly advertised in newspaper articles. As during Garrod's Gibraltar excavation, skeletal discoveries appear to have been applauded by the English middle classes. Ideas were presented before a non-academic readership and Garrod, along with an educated public, was looking further to the East for the ancestor of modern man.[61]

Certainly Garrod's discoveries, although not associated at the time with a university research setting, helped to congeal agenda taught today in university classes. Current research questions are reminiscent of those which directed Keith and Garrod's explorations during the 1920s. The agenda for Levantine Palaeolithic research appear to have been set by 1926. The ques-

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[60] As with Desmond Clark's and Thurstan Shaw's experiences in Africa, archaeological exploration was supported by the expanding British Empire.

[61] It should be remembered that "Java Man" had already been reported and was in the public consciousness (Shaw, in conversation, 2002).

tions of origins, dates, migrations, climatic change and ancestors still dominate the literature.[62]

At Shukbah,[63] as in Gibraltar, Garrod (1928a, 1928b, 1942) again found anomalous industries and made radically new skeletal discoveries. During the first extraordinary day of excavation, she uncovered three stratigraphic layers: A, Early Bronze Age to recent; B, an unknown microlithic flint and bone industry, later named the Natufian, which included microlithic "lunates" (Garrod 1957: 214) and sickle-blades; and D, an Upper Mousterian which "differs markedly from the industries of the same stage in Western Europe in the greater variety of its forms and in its more delicate technique, which approaches that of the Upper Palaeolithic." These Upper Palaeolithic forms occurred in clearly Mousterian, Middle Palaeolithic, layers and were not a result of mixture. Breuil at first suggested the name Aurignacio-Mousterian. The evidence of Upper Palaeolithic forms in a stratigraphically Middle Palaeolithic industry implied to Garrod that here there had been an "earlier and much more intimate contact between the two industries" and that in Palestine "we are much nearer to the centre of dispersion of the Upper Palaeolithic"(Garrod 1928b: 183, 185).[64] Garrod explained that she was

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[62] The literature is vast; see the well-equipped Haddon Library for Levantine prehistory. Aitken *et al,* (1992), Akazawa *et al.* (1998) and Bar-Yosef & Pilbeam (2000) offer an introduction to current debate.

[63] The definitive study of Garrod's Shukbah excavation and of her Middle Palaeolithic lithic finds is Jane Callander's (2002) "A Very Beautiful Mousterian Industry" Dorothy Garrod's Discoveries in Layer D of Shukbah Cave in Palestine Reconsidered. Unpublished MA Thesis; University College London; Institute of Archaeology; Forthcoming as an article in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.*

[64] Because the Levallois knapping technique was extensively used in the production of flakes in this industry, Garrod re-named it the Levalloiso-Mousterian; today it is known as the Late Levantine Mousterian. Bar-Yosef (1998a) and Callander and Bar-Yosef (forthcoming) suggest that at this time in Europe, the Levalloisian and the Mousterian were considered to be separate industries. In fact, during the 1920s and '30s, there was considerable confusion about the relationship between the Levallois technique and the Mousterian but it was recognised that the two could at times be part of one industry. According to Burkitt, reporting in his draft of a "Handbook for the 1932 Congress of Prehistory and Protohistory Archaeology" (CUL Add 7959 Box I), Levalloisian flakes had been found intermixed with early Mousterian industries in England. Also, on the Continent, "The true Mousterian industries are characterized by flake tools such as Levallois flakes" (Burkitt and Childe 1932: 190). The redefinition, then, of the Aurignacio-Mousterian as Levalloiso-Mousterian could have been an effort by Garrod to make this unusual industry more accessible intellectually to Europeans.

slightly in favour of an Asiatic origin but that this could remain an open question (Garrod 1928a).

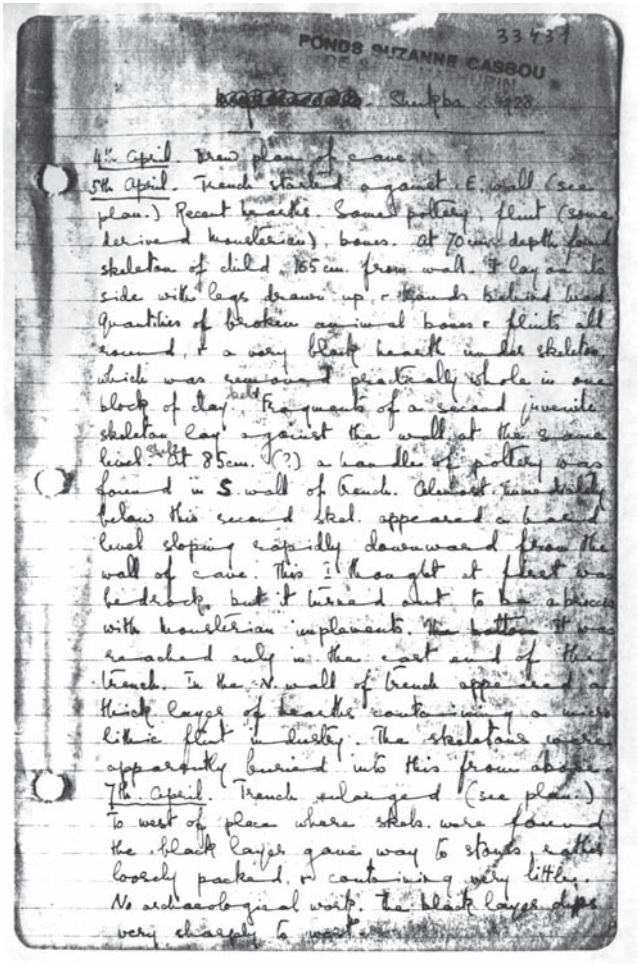

FIGURE XXXI Garrod's unpublished Shukbah field diary, first day of excavation, 5 April 1928.[65] "Trench started against E. wall . . . Some pottery, flint (some derived Mousterian), bones. At 70 cm depth found skeleton of child. It lay on its side with legs drawn up . . . Fragments of a second juvenile skeleton lay against the wall at the same level." On 5 April 1928, as well as finding evidence of a Mousterian unknown in Europe, Garrod also immediately unearthed the first remains of the Natufians who were "perhaps the earliest farmers" (Bar-Yosef 1998b: 162). "Larger blunted-back knives are common," Garrod (1932a: 258) observed, "and a number of these have on their edges the peculiar polish produced by cutting corn or grass." These discoveries at Shukbah set the agenda for future research by raising new and persistent questions concerning the origin of agriculture and the proper definition of the Neolithic. (By courtesy of the MAN.)

[65] Found in Garrod Papers. Box 63, MAN.

According to Bar-Yosef (1998b: 159), the most documented sequence from foraging to farming is in the Near East and the Natufian, with its evidence of cereal harvesting, is the "threshold for this major evolutionary change." "The Natufian," wrote Caton-Thompson (1969: 346) "is the turning point between the desert and the sown, between food gatherers and food producers, between wild animal and the domestic." Garrod did not seem to recognise the importance of the Natufian finds at first; she was surprised that there was no pottery nor domesticated animals as would be expected in Europe (Garrod 1932a). Although Dorothea Bate later found that the then Middle Natufian, or Shukbah Natufian, had domesticated dogs, Garrod's 1928 report concentrated on the Mousterian with its implications for the origins of the Upper Palaeolithic in Europe rather than the origins of agriculture or the Neolithic revolution in the Near East. "Little at that time could she have realised that she had found the nucleus of future discoveries," observed Caton-Thompson (1969: 346). Only later did Garrod (1957: 226) clearly note that her discovery of evidence of harvesting and of the domestication of dogs, without evidence of pottery, questioned the European definition of the Neolithic; "the old terms Mesolithic and Neolithic are no longer strictly applicable," she concluded.

4.2.4 el-Wad, Mount Carmel

With great fortune, I was able to track and to interview Mrs Chitty, *née* Mary Kitson Clark, who knew Garrod in 1929 and who was at the excavation of el-Wad. For the first time, eyewitness accounts of archaeological procedures and of Garrod's behaviour with Arab excavators and toward her own team members were available.[66] As an historian, rather than archaeologist, I was most interested in reconstructing human relationships between all the team players. Relevant to this reconstruction were the rich unpublished literary finds at the MAN. Sources saved include Kitson Clark's field notebook from el-Wad,

[66] Team members came from women's colleges in Cambridge, Oxford and the USA. I thank Julia Roberts for putting me in touch with Mrs Chitty.

April-June 1929,[67] Garrod's unpublished handwritten notes from el-Wad, entitled "Athlit, Wady Mughara 1929–30", 3 April–18 June,[68] Garrod's working notes for the discovery of the skeleton, Tabun I,[69] handwritten notes from Kebara[70] as well as camp diaries, personal diaries, card indexes and extensive notes from the other excavation seasons. These records were accompanied by hundreds of photographs, taken by Garrod, some of which are reproduced in this chapter. With this data, new perspectives were opened and Garrod's personal experiences could be re-created.

The extensive joint excavation funded by the British School of Archaeology and the American School of Prehistoric Research in the Valley of the Caves, Mount Carmel, lasted seven seasons and involved the excavation of three sites, Mugharet el-Wad (Cave of the Valley), et-Tabun (the Oven) and Mugharet es-Skhul (Cave of the Kids). A fourth cave, Kebara, initially noticed by Garrod while travelling on the Haifa–Jerusalem train, was also explored. The joint endeavour resulted in the discovery of the longest stratigraphic record for this crucial region of Western Asia. This sequence is believed to span over 600,000 years, from a crude, early "chunks of flint" pre-handaxe industry, referred to by Garrod as Tayacian (Layer G) (Garrod and Bate 1937: 89), to the modern era. The long Palaeolithic succession uncovered still serves "as a techno-cultural yardstick for the entire Levantine Mousterian" (Bar-Yosef 1992: 134).

The archaeological richness of the Mount Carmel Caves was astonishing. "The group of caves . . . has proved to be richer than any other Mediterranean coastal group" wrote MacCurdy (1937) in his introduction to *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel*. The first archaeological layer discovered at et-Tabun, Layer B of the Upper Levalloiso-Mousterian, had an average depth of 3.50

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[67] Garrod Papers. Box 63, MAN.

[68] Garrod Papers. Box 58, MAN.

[69] Garrod Papers. Box 57, MAN.

[70] Garrod Papers. Box 58, MAN.

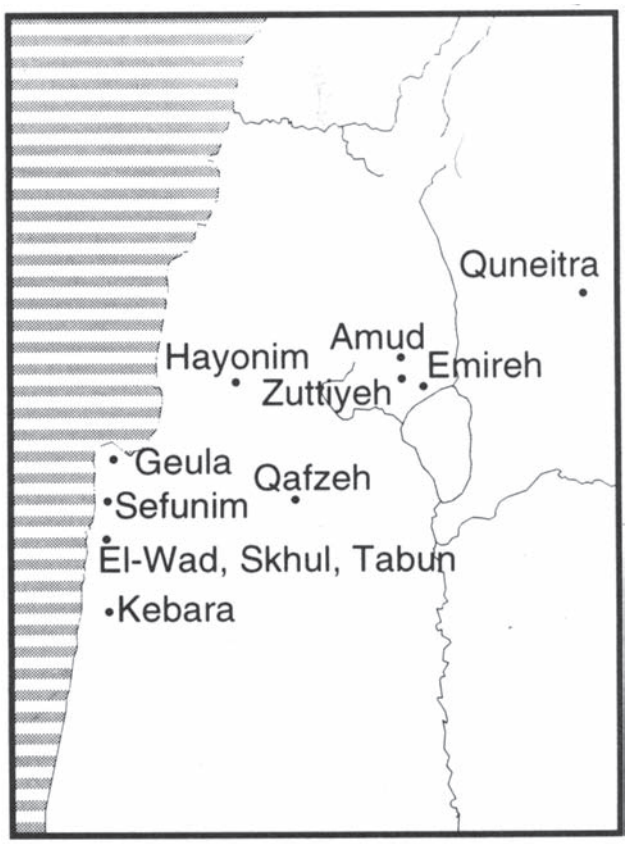

FIGURE XXXII Map of Sites. On this map, taken from Goldberg and Bar-Yosef's 1998 study of Levantine prehistoric caves, we see the close geographic location of Zuttiyeh, el-Wad, et-Tabun, Skhul and Kebara caves. Over hundreds of thousands of years, this small area, surrounding the modern city of Haifa, appears to have been an environmental refuge and crossroads for many prehistoric peoples. (By courtesy of Goldberg and Bar-Yosef.)

metres (Garrod 1934). Archaeological deposits for the inner chamber reached 8.30 m in depth. The trench dug in the outer chamber had a maximum depth of 15.50 m filled with archaeological layers. The maximum thickness of all the deposits was over 24 m (Garrod and Bate 1937). The stratigraphic layer E of et-Tabun alone "yielded in addition to innumerable flakes, blades and cores, no less than 7,113 hand-axes, 26,758 racloirs [scrapers] and 3,009 other implements" (Clark 1937a: 487). More than 87,000 stone implements were eventually excavated, classified and catalogued.[71]

[71] "The study of the archaeological material which I undertook myself," wrote Garrod in her 1939 application for the Disney Chair (copy found in Garrod Papers; Box 72; MAN), "involved the classification . . . of more than 87,000 stone implements."

FIGURE XXXIII Garrod's 1929 photograph of the Mount Carmel Caves prior to excavation. El-Wad is to the left; et-Tabun, which appeared at first "to be quite small" (Garrod 1934: 85) and insignificant, is to the right. Referring later in life to her early Levantine adventures, Garrod (1962: 233) stated, "In those ten years the whole regional succession, from the close of the Lower Palaeolithic through to the mesolithic was revealed, and a new type of fossil man brought to light. 'Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive'." (Photograph courtesy of the MAN.)

The skeletal remains were equally challenging and remain controversial. Extensive burials were uncovered at el-Wad, et-Tabun and Skhul. The remains from Tabun and Skhul, which will be discussed below, continue to be contentious. Most archaeologists today argue that two species of prehistoric humans, Neanderthal and Anatomically Modern Humans (AMH), using similar tools, occupied the caves either concurrently or alternately during the Middle Palaeolithic. Others might agree with Keith's final judgement that Tabun I and II, Skhul and even Zuttiyeh all represent only one highly variable people in the throes of evolutionary change, having affinities to both *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens*. Still others suggest that the morphological evidence for Neanderthal presence at Tabun is poor and that the remains can

be seen, instead, as evidence for a regional evolution of *Homo sapiens*. Despite all debate, it is generally agreed that the Levant provided an "inevitable land corridor" for the "long voyage to the West" (Arensburg & Belfer-Cohen 1998: 319).

According to Callander,[72] activities prior to Dorothy Garrod's digs at Mount Carmel were high-level stuff; government reports and telegrams about the site of paramount importance. "Yet the whole thing seems to fall to Garrod with merely good will. What a burden!" She was in charge of all four excavations, including Theodore D. McCown's work at Skhul and Francis Turville-Petre's investigation of Kebara.[73] At el-Wad and et-Tabun, Garrod was specifically responsible for designing the excavation strategies for four, sometimes simultaneous, excavation sites during seven seasons, soliciting and budgeting finances, setting up camps, choosing, hiring, training and supervising her co-workers, arranging for equipment and supplies, dealing with British Mandate officials and maintaining cordial relationships with the local Arab employees and their community. She was notified of all finds and made the decisions on how to preserve and to catalogue the abundant archaeological remains. The analysis of artefacts required an extraordinary effort; Garrod was responsible for analysis of all material, writing field reports and publication of results. She handled these formidable tasks expertly. "It was an enormous project and she did it quite single-handedly," remembered 1929 crew member, Kitson Clark.[74]

Inspired by the "sensational results" (Garrod 1929: 220) that Charles Lambert, from the British Mandate Department of Antiquities, had uncovered in 1928,[75] Garrod began to excavate el-Wad in early April 1929. Her first note-

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[72] Callander, in conversation, 1998.

[73] "Kebara was re-excavated by Stekelis, from 1951–65, and a team led by Bar-Yosef, from 1982–90, revealing in 1983 an almost complete Neanderthal burial" (Callander & Smith 1998).

[74] Chitty (Kitson Clark), in conversation with Callander and Smith, 1996.

[75] In early 1929, Keith had reported in the *ILN* (NPR.c.313 West Room, CUL) a find in Palestine of great interest and importance; prehistoric objects "not so far found outside of Europe". In 1928, Charles Lambert had uncovered, during a preliminary investigation at el-Wad, the first prehistoric art object discovered in the Near East, a finely carved bone animal head. He had also discovered human, later identified as Natufian, burials.

FIGURE XXXIV "Palestine People."

Notebooks and diaries from the very strenuous excavations document *bonhomie* and courage under stress. Dorothy Garrod with the members of her first excavation crew at the el-Wad, Mount Carmel, 1929. Standing in their camp are, left to right: Elinor Ewbank (Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford), Dorothy Garrod, Mrs Chitty, *née* Mary Kitson Clark (Girton College, Cambridge), Dean Harriet M. Allyn (Mount Holyoke College, USA) and Dr Martha Hackett. When I asked "how would you describe Garrod?," Mrs Chitty instantly and emphatically responded "Small, dark and alive!"[76] (Photograph courtesy of the Fonds Suzanne Cassou de Saint-Mathurin, MAN.) Jacquetta Hawkes (left), who also dug at Mount Carmel Caves, 1932. (Photograph courtesy of Mrs Caroline Burkitt, Mrs Kennedy Shaw's daughter.)

[76] Chitty (Kitson Clark), in conversation with Callander and Smith, 1996.

book entry, 3 April 1929, records that six women and four men, from neighbouring Palestinian villages, had begun preparing the site. Shortly after, in the outer chamber, she uncovered a collective burial of ten individuals associated with a Shukbah-like microlithic and bone industry. By her last entry on 18 June, Garrod could record eight archaeological levels from Bronze Age to Mousterian, the most complete prehistoric sequence in Palestine to date. A sounding was made at Tabun, finding Mousterian implements identical to that of Shukbah and el-Wad; according to Kitson Clark's notes, she made the first sounding at Skhul, discovering a Levalloiso-Mousterian industry, thought today to correspond to Tabun's Layer C.[77]

FIGURE XXXV The el-Wad Terrace; levelled area and rock cut basins at base of layer B. Close to 100 burials[78] were found in a cemetery on the terrace of el-Wad cave during the 1930 and '31 excavation seasons; these were associated with rich material cultural remains, lithics, bone tools, decorative objects, a ground stone assemblage and architectural features. "It was clear that basins, wall, and pavement formed a single scheme" wrote Garrod (1932b: 48), connected, she thought, with a cult of the dead.

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[77] The sounding was also mentioned during interviews. Kitson Clark, in conversation with Callander and Smith 1996.

[78] Estimate from Belfer-Cohen *et al*. (1991).

FIGURE XXXVI HOMO 25.

Garrod's photograph of a decorated Natufian skeleton. "It rested on its side . . . on the head was a circlet, perfectly in place, made up of seven rows of dentalia" (Garrod 1932b: 48). El-Wad is today considered to have been a major base camp; no "research of Natufian culture [dated *ca*. 12,900 to 10,200 BP] is complete without taking the site into full consideration," states Weinstein-Evron (1998: 9), who is re-excavating the cave. (Photograph courtesy of the MAN.)

Kitson Clark's journal for this first season radiates excitement but the excavation was particularly difficult. Both Shukbah and et-Tabun are karstic caves with sinkholes and vaulted ceilings; the stratigraphy in all caves was convoluted. Many layers were disturbed and occasional gaps occurred, as at Shukbah between Layer B and Layer C. No complete sequence was ever found in any one section at el-Wad; the archaeological layers were unevenly distributed. Only Natufian remains, for example, were found on the cave's terrace.

Living and health conditions at the el-Wad excavation were as difficult as the stratigraphy. "Unfortunately, the Arabs kept their goats in this cave, so we picked up lice . . . they did run freely around our legs and one of the Americans [Allyn] and I got Relapsing Fever. She got it rather badly with weevils . . . very unpleasant."[79] In Garrod's reports as Field Director to the American School of Prehistoric Research, she frequently mentioned the weather. "On 4 October [1932] the camp was flooded out by an excessively severe thunderstorm. Work was impossible the next day." Later in October, Garrod wrote, "the damp heat is very trying. An epidemic of influenza has spread to the members of the expedition." During the first week of November as the excavation of el-Wad was concluding, "Work was stopped for four days owing to very heavy rain, quite unusually violent;" and, at the end of November, "Weather has been vile . . . a tent is a bad place to live in during a succession of gales and thunderstorms."[80]

Nevertheless, Kitson Clark remembered Garrod as an excellent archaeologist "who knew her stuff"[81] and who remained composed, calm, and generous. Although reserved and shy, Garrod was "a very warm and feeling person." Kitson Clark noticed that relationships between the Mandate Government and the Arab population were definitely strained in 1929. During a procession on Good Friday, the way was cleared but "in front of every alleyway was part of Colonel Glubb's police with a whip. The crowds gave us the feeling of being hostile." Despite this, Garrod developed friendships with the Arab personnel who worked on the dig. Dr Martha Hackett set up a small medical clinic for the local people which was apparently much appreciated. Garrod, herself, was well respected and seemingly loved.[82]

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[79] Kitson Clark, in conversation with Julia Roberts, 1994.

[80] "Reports of Miss Dorothy Garrod, Field Director, Wady al-Mughara, Autumn Season 1932, to the Directors and Trustees of the American School of Prehistoric Research," copies in Box 72, MAN, others in possession of Jane Callander.

[81] According to Kitson Clark, Garrod judged changes in stratigraphy by the changing feel of stone artefacts.

[82] All quotations from Kitson Clark, in conversation, 1996.

FIGURE XXXVII Palestinian villagers visiting Garrod's camp. Relationships with Arab neighbours and employees were warm; Garrod was often invited to weddings or other celebratory occasions. "She was called Sitt Miriam, Lady Mary." "When we had a fantasia at the end, a party, the girls made a ring all around us and danced round us singing," Kitson Clark remembered. This photograph was taken by Eleanor Dyott, later Mrs W.B. Kennedy Shaw, who was a crew member for three seasons at et-Tabun. (Photographs courtesy of Mrs Caroline Burkitt, Mrs Kennedy Shaw's daughter.)[83]

[83] Miles Burkitt was responsible for recruiting several members of Garrod's Mount Carmel team. Among these were Mary Kitson Clark and Eleanor Dyott. Miles Burkitt's son, Miles Burkitt Jr, later married Eleanor Dyott's daughter, Caroline. Dyott's extensive photograph album from the Mount Carmel dig is in Mrs Caroline Burkitt's possession. Also, Miss Hilda Wills was the Burkitts' long-term friend and most likely learned of the dig through them.

4.2.5. et-Tabun, Mount Carmel

Work at et-Tabun was started in 1931; in the same season, Ted McCown, a 21-year-old palaeontologist from the University of California, began his excavation of Skhul cave. Both excavations revealed invaluable hominid remains, still pivotal to the archaeological debate on human evolution. In his first season, McCown found a single archaeological deposit resting on bed-rock yielding a Levalloiso-Mousterian industry identical to that of Tabun C as well as the first burials embedded in breccia. In the following season, he uncovered an ancient prehistoric necropolis with individuals who appeared to combine Neanderthaloid and Neanthropic features.[84]

At Tabun, with characteristic luck, Garrod quickly discovered that the deepest layer (G) in el-Wad corresponded to the first undisturbed layer (B) of Tabun which was a Levalloiso-Mousterian industry with abundant triangular flakes; the evidence of prehistoric occupation at Tabun started where the evidence of occupation at el-Wad had stopped. Tabun, therefore, complemented the prehistoric record preserved at el-Wad. Although it revealed no Natufian, Upper Palaeolithic or transitional material, Tabun harboured an endless surprise of Mousterian and Acheulean finds associated with abundant fauna, a discovery "so far unknown in this region"(Garrod 1932b: 50)[85] In her correspondence to G.G. MacCurdy, of the American School of Prehistoric Research, Garrod claimed to be embarrassed by Tabun's unexpectedly great depth of the deposits and the need for additional time and funds.

The skeleton of what is today considered to be a Neanderthal female, Tabun I, was discovered in December 1932 in Terrace West near the surface of

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[84] As mentioned above, the Skhul people are now considered to be AMH and are dated to *ca.* 100,000 BP by ESR (Bar-Yosef 1998a). They are today thought to ante-date the Neanderthal of Tabun and Kebara.

[85] The faunal evidence at Tabun was unrivalled in richness and allowed Dorothea Bate, who had worked with Garrod at Gibraltar and Shukbah, to reconstruct Tabun's prehistoric climate. In her now famous chart, Bate suggested that *Dama Mesopotamica*, a species of deer, abundant in Layer B, implied forest conditions and considerable rainfall. Layer B also gave evidence of "a great faunal break having taken place," "an abrupt change to fauna of modern type" (Garrod and Bate 1937: 155). A rapid increase in *Gazella*, on the other hand, in Layer C implied drier conditions.

FIGURE XXXVIII Garrod's photograph of Tabun in 1934 which appeared in *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel* (1937) with her stratigraphy superimposed.

This photograph, taken from Layer B, shows the grandeur of the dig. Layer D contained Lower Levalloiso-Mousterian (Middle Palaeolithic) deposits characterised by long and narrow Levallois points; Layer E and F were Lower Palaeolithic. According to Professor Avraham Ronen, leading Levantine expert who has re-evaluated the Mount Carmel Caves, "Garrod's stratigraphical subdivision of Tabun Cave is the clearest ever made."[86] (Photograph courtesy of the MAN.)

[86] Quotation from Callander & Smith (1998).

Layer C. Because of the continued controversy surrounding this skeleton, its proper stratigraphic provenance and its relationship to the remains from Skhul, it is worth putting on record Garrod's unpublished opinions. In a letter I recovered from the MAN,[87] written to Caton-Thompson, dated 22 January 1933, Garrod stated, "The probability of its being a woman is strengthened by the fact that we found vestiges of a very young infant close to the left humerus."[88] Although the skeleton was, therefore, immediately recognised as female, Garrod had grave concerns as to its classification. Garrod observed that the skeleton had "the most receding lower jaw I know on any human." "It has Neandertaloid brow-ridges but the bone is thin." "The skeleton is small, and the bones are delicate in contrast with Neanderthal man and with Ted's [Skhul's] people."

Some weeks earlier, a massive, powerful lower jaw with a well-developed chin had been recovered from the base of Layer C in Terrace East considerably below the level of Tabun I in Terrace W. "It [the woman]," Garrod noted "contrasts most strikingly with the isolated jaw from the base of the same level which has a well marked chin and seems to compare with Ted McCown's people." McCown's people had, by then, been classified by Keith as a Palestinian race of Neanderthal, *Palaeoanthropus palestinensis*, which was characterised by strong chins and considered to be closer to modern humans than their chinless, European Neanderthal relatives.

Since it was generally assumed that Neanderthals evolved from a common ancestor before modern humans, Garrod was surprised to find such strong evidence of two types of "humans", with the more modern type living so clearly stratigraphically *beneath* the chinless (even *more* chinless than European Neanderthals) primitive woman.

Bar-Yosef and Callander (1999) have argued that Garrod's MAN letter and corroborating evidence from a report Garrod wrote for the Jerusalem Department of Antiquities in 1932, which repeats the same statements, ex-

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[87] Garrod Papers. Box 71, MAN.

[88] It would appear that Tabun I died in childbirth or shortly there after.

plains why Garrod wrote her well-known conclusion concerning Tabun I. In *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel*, Garrod (1937: 64), "The skeleton lay so near the surface of C that the question must arise whether it does not represent a burial from Layer B. There was no obvious sign of disturbance, but . . . I feel that this must remain an open question." As this statement shows, Garrod had doubts not only about Tabun I's classification but also about its provenance. Bar-Yosef and Callander believe that Tabun I is a burial from Layer B and therefore not associated with Layer C and its industries as are the skeletons from Skhul.[89]

I would disagree. The information in the MAN letter does not lead to an explanation of Garrod's doubt as to the Tabun skeleton's proper stratigraphic provenance. Garrod did not discuss the stratigraphical position in relation to Layer B or Layer C in the MAN letter; she discussed only her concerns as to how the skeleton should be morphologically classified. She also made it clear that she thought the skeleton was a "true" earlier Neanderthal type. MacCurdy had suggested to her that it was perhaps akin to Krapina.[90] Krapina was, at that time, assigned to the Riss-Würm interglaciation. Neanderthals and the Mousterian generally were considered to be correlated with the European Würm glaciation. Bar-Yosef (Bar-Yosef and Callander 1999: 82) argues that because of evidence of Bate's great faunal break, Tabun B was thought to be correlated with the Würm glaciation and that Garrod would have preferred that Tabun I correspond to the Würm of Europe. However, there is no clear evidence that Garrod was thinking in this way. In fact, she seemed to believe that Tabun I pre-dated Neanderthals in Europe.

The letter does, however, clearly show that Garrod did not agree with Keith and that she felt that two different human types lived at Tabun, within the same stratigraphic unit; the modern one represented by the jaw, preceding the more primitive Tabun I, the woman. This was a revolutionary thought indeed and is today considered by many to be correct. However, Garrod apparently deferred to Keith and McCown on this issue; she never publicly

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[89] Callander, in conversation, 2003.

[90] Unpublished MacCurdy letter to Garrod, 3 February 1933. Garrod Papers, Box 71, MAN.

countered their eventual conclusion that Tabun I belonged to *Palaeoanthropus palestinensis*.[91]

FIGURE XXXIX Dorothy Garrod with Yusra, the woman who found Tabun I, the adult female Neanderthal skeleton. According to Jacquetta Hawkes,[92] Yusra acted as foreman in charge of picking out items before the excavated soil was sieved; over the years, she became expert in recognising bone, fauna, hominid and lithic remains and had spotted a tooth which led to the crushed skull. Hawkes remembered talking to Yusra about coming up to Cambridge. "She had a dream. She was very able indeed. Yusra would obviously have been a Newnham Fellow."[93] The villages of Jeba and Ljsim were destroyed in 1948 and I was unable to trace any members of the Palestinian team. (Photograph courtesy of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.)

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[91] Since it has not been noted in current literature, it should be recorded here that Tabun I's feet were burnt and that the body lay in a hearth (Garrod 1932 letter to MacCurdy, Garrod Papers. Box 57, MAN.)

[92] Jacquetta Hopkins, later Hawkes, from Newnham College, was a member of Garrod's 1932 Autumn team.

[93] Jacquetta Hawkes, in conversation with Jane Callander, 1990. I found some evidence in the Faculty Minutes that Garrod attempted to bring Yusra to Cambridge in 1936.

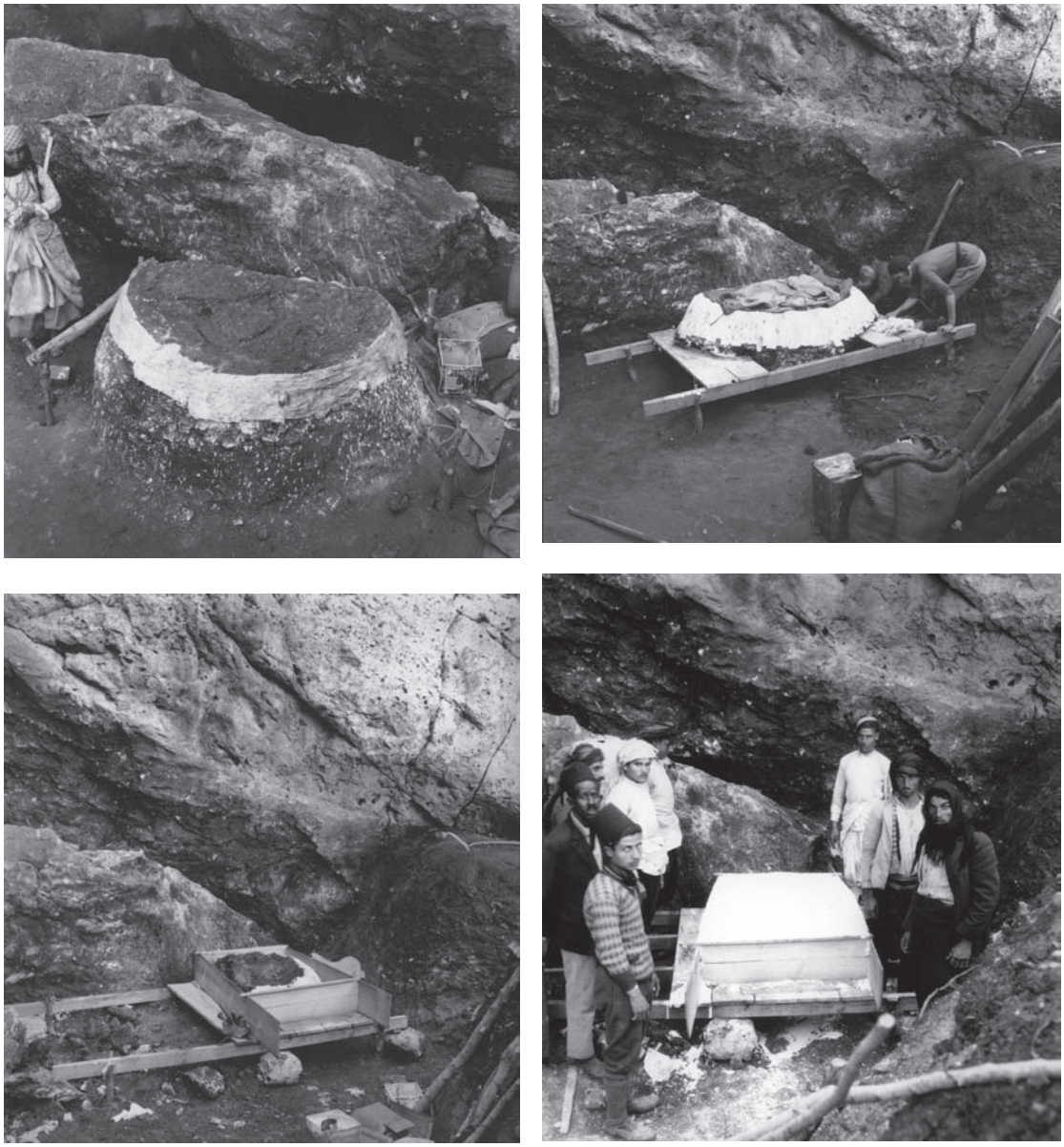

FIGURE XL The removal of the skeleton, Tabun I, from her grave. (Photographs courtesy of the MAN.)

Conditions at et-Tabun were harsh. The crew endured uncomfortable, primitive living conditions, terrible heat (119 degrees in Autumn 1932), 'sticky' humidity, limited and contaminated water, faulty equipment, dust, hot 'Khamseen' winds, violent electrical storms, torrential rains and again exposure to serious disease. Team members were again repeatedly very ill. During the final 1934 excavation season at Tabun, one crew member, Ruth Waddington, was rushed to the German Hospital in Haifa with malaria.

Garrod's 1934 diary is permeated with light-hearted stories that belie these difficult circumstances. "There was considerable consternation as there had been predictions of a cloudburst, an earthquake and the end of the world."[94] "Mud, muck, ooze upon the floor, torn tents and thunder – all were forgotten as the sherry bottle was opened. Though it might be mentioned all knives were carefully cleared off the table . . . as the dark showed blue lightning."[95] The women named their tents and tiny mud brick huts the "Tibn Towers", arranged daily tea, "Sabbath" sherry at 6.00 p.m. and an occasional Sunday seaside holiday. Although Garrod was affectionately called "The Boss", all daily living and working routines were group decisions, informally decided at breakfast or tea.

Numerous and frequent official European visitors were handled with patient humour. "The Towers must above all things keep up appearances," Fuller writes in Garrod's April Diary. "The afternoon was awaited with some anxiety, as Miss Hilda Wills had announced her intention of visiting the Towers," reports Garrod on 14 April 1934. "At 2.0 precisely Miss W.'s car was sighted turning into the 'drive'. DG hastened down to receive her, putting the finishing touches to her toilet as the car approached the causeway . . . though ignorant of prehistory [Miss Wills] displayed just the right amount of interest — in short behaved like the best type of Cultured English Hat . . . drank tea in the parlour of the Towers, and drove away, leaving a cheque . . . Sabbath Sherry was drunk at 6.45, the toast being . . .

a 'hat' of the best, named Miss Wills,
a presenter of gifts and not bills,
drove up to the Towers
and stayed several hours,
leaving twenty-five pounds and no mils."

The "Tibnites" decided at tea to spend part of this gift on improving an "essential piece of furniture" — their crude outdoor loo.[96]

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[94] Garrod 1934: 25 May 1934, Garrod's Diary, found near Box 62, MAN.

[95] Garrod 1934; Anne Fuller's April 1934 entry in Garrod's Diary, MAN.

[96] Garrod 1934, Garrod's Diary, 14 April 1934, MAN.

On 27 August 1934, according to Garrod's Diary, Levels F and G were completed. On 29 August, "The lorry for the flints arrived; 5 tonnes of flint." "At 12.45pm DG and ED [Eleanor Dyott] sailed away in a taxi. Au revoir au Mugharet et-Tabun." The diary is then marked, "Finis". Garrod's description and analysis was published in 1937 to critical acclaim. Grahame Clark, who was to succeed Garrod to the Disney Chair in 1952, described her massive tome, *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel* (1937), as "pure gold" (Clark 1937a: 488). Following the publication of this volume, Garrod was awarded Honorary Doctorates from the University of Pennsylvania and Boston College and a DSc. from Oxford University.

4.2.6 Anatolia and Bacho Kiro

The 1938 expedition to Anatolia and the subsequent trip to and excavation of the key Palaeolithic cave site in Bulgaria, Bacho Kiro, on behalf of the American School of Prehistoric Research, were Garrod's last field adventures before her election to the Disney Professorship. Once again, eyewitness accounts suggest that Garrod was poised and archaeologically successful as Director.

During her 1938 reconnaissance expedition in Anatolia, Garrod was once again "largely self-propelled". As in early field situations, her "demeanor and dealings with the various Institutes and with the Turkish authorities were . . . civil, effective and sure-footed with mutual respect and cordiality evident at all times". Although ultimately in charge of key decisions, she always encouraged contributions from the young Harvard researchers who accompanied her, James Gaul as well as Bruce Howe. Meeting at meals for "good talk and work", Garrod suggested that Howe spend his next year (1938–1939) in Cambridge to benefit from the Museum's extensive collections of Stone Age material and to attend Grahame Clark's and Glyn Daniel's lectures on prehistoric archaeology.[97]

Archaeologically, the expedition and excavation were a success. At

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[97] Bruce Howe, personal correspondence, 1998.

FIGURE XLI Dorothy Garrod with bear cub, Anatolia, 1938.

"She was calm and self-assured, conversed easily and put me completely at ease, and I took to her at once," reported Dr Bruce Howe on his first meeting with Garrod in 1938. Howe was a "green-horn graduate student" at Harvard University when he joined Garrod's five-month expedition to Anatolia and Bulgaria to document Palaeolithic sites. Although Director, Garrod "very much treated us . . . as equals . . . she seemed perfectly confident . . . authoritative and forth putting in all her fieldwork and planning interactions. Dorothy was unique, rather like a glass of pale fine stony French white wine."[98] (Photograph courtesy of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.)

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[98] Howe, personal correspondence, 1997.

Bacho Kiro, Garrod uncovered evidence of a number of Aurignacian levels superimposed on Mousterian material. This was the first Palaeolithic sequence to be found in Bulgaria; Garrod's conclusions about the Bulgarian Aurignacian remained the foundation of Upper Palaeolithic studies in that country for decades (Kozlowski 1999).

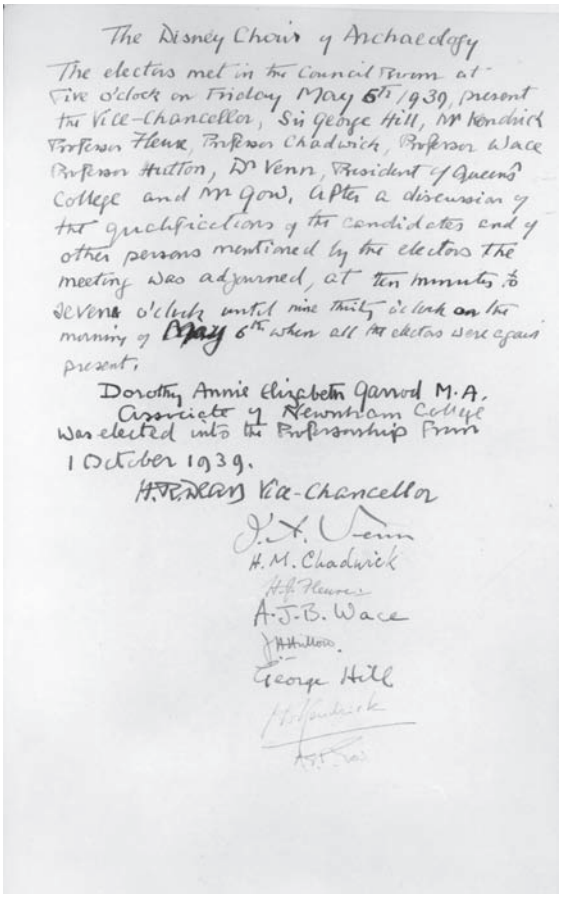
This detailed reconstruction and analysis of Garrod's excavation experiences and remarkable discoveries has documented how and what Garrod contributed to the foundation of twentieth-century Palaeolithic research during the period prior to her professorial election. By 1939, her very successful archaeological explorations had became known throughout Europe and Western Asia. Garrod's field research led the way in the 1930s. She is, today, considered to be one of the founders of modern prehistory for the Levant. The Mount Carmel sequence, possibly spanning over 600,000 years, still serves as a yardstick for the entire Levantine Mousterian. Many of Garrod's concerns, such as the emergence of anatomically modern people, remain issues of great anthropological concern. The skeletal evidence she uncovered is still studied and continues to be the centre of controversy and debate. Garrod's research was not only seriously important in the 1920s and 1930s but has remained relevant to current archaeological investigation. Her discoveries and analyses are part of university curricula in prehistory the world over. Garrod's life and accomplishments are worthy of great interest.

Garrod's academic career is now discussed; literature which analyses women's academic experiences will be used to understand Garrod's professorial years. Dozens of former students and colleagues shared their memories; these recollections helped to reconstruct Garrod's life as professor at Cambridge.

4.3 Garrod as Professor: Reserved and Shy

In May 1939, the mathematical physicist, Dr Bertha Swirles, later Lady Jeffreys, was taking a train from Cambridge to Manchester when she met Manchester Professor of Geography H.J. Fleure. Fleure had just participated in the Cambridge meeting that had elected Dorothy Garrod to the Disney

Professorship of Archaeology. According to Fleure, when the Electors gave their decision to Vice-Chancellor Dean, the Vice-Chancellor replied "Gentlemen, you have presented us with a problem."[99]



The Disney Chair of Archaeology

The electors met in the Council Room at five o'clock on Friday May 6th 1939, present the Vice-Chancellor, Sir George Hill, Mr Kendrick Professor Fleure, Professor Chadwick, Professor Wace Professor Hutton, Dr Venn, President of Queens' College and Mr Gow. After a discussion of the qualifications of the candidates and of other persons mentioned by the electors the meeting was adjourned, at ten minutes to seven o'clock until nine thirty o'clock on the morning of May 6th when all the electors were again present.

Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod M.A.
Associate of Newnham College
Was elected into the Professorship From
1 October 1939.

H.R. Dean Vice-Chancellor
J.T. Venn
H.M. Chadwick
H.J. Fleure
A.J.B. Wace
J.H. Hutton
George Hill
H. Kendrick
A.E. Gow

FIGURE XLII "Dear Mr Vice-Chancellor,

I beg to submit myself as a candidate for the vacant Disney Professorship of Archaeology," Dorothy Garrod wrote in her professorial application, 16 March 1939.[100] Although women became eligible for all University teaching offices and for membership to Faculties and Faculty Boards under Cambridge University's New Statutes of 1926, they were still not admissible to degrees and could not thus become members of the Senate and the Regent House. Garrod's election highlighted the contradiction inherent in this situation. (Photograph courtesy of the Cambridge University Archives; Cambridge University Library.)

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[99] Lady Jeffreys, in conversation, 1998. I am grateful to Lady Jeffreys for sharing her memories before she died.

[100] Garrod Papers. Box 72, MAN.

The Vice-Chancellor was correct. Being female, Garrod was not a full member of Cambridge University. Yet, as Professor she became eligible to serve on the Council of the Senate, and all members of the Council were by definition members of the University. Had she been chosen to serve on the Council, an awkward situation would have occurred. This amused Fleure,[101] who was favourably disposed to electing Garrod (Daniel 1986: 98).[102] He was from Manchester, where women were admitted to degrees, and was accustomed to the idea of women in higher academic ranks. The Electors seem to have chosen the best candidate without concern for administrative repercussions.

As mentioned earlier, there is no hint of controversy surrounding this important election. There is not the least sign of strong disagreement among the Electors. Dorothy Garrod was apparently chosen because of her qualifications. She was the best candidate for the position in several ways. By 1939, Garrod was one of Britain's finest archaeologists. In addition she had shown some administrative skill and some ability as a supervisor. Garrod was Newnham's Director of Studies for Archaeology and Anthropology from 1934 and had served on Newnham College committees. Although she had never held a position as a University officer, Garrod had offered a short course on the Palaeolithic in Eastern Europe and the Near East for the Faculty in 1938.[103] She was remembered by her Newnham students, at individual supervisions, as an "excellent supervisor, gentle and organised."[104] "Dorothy was my supervisor and she was very nice . . . she was a wonderful relief."[105]

Garrod's application was helped by political considerations and by who her competitors were. There is no official record of who was considered,

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[101] Lady Jeffreys, in conversation, 1998.

[102] Daniel, Disney Professor of Archaeology from 1974–81, met Fleure shortly before the 5 May 1939 Election. Daniel recalled Fleure favourably discussing Garrod's candidacy. Several family members and colleagues of the Electors, whom I interviewed, felt that this particular group of Electors might have been pro-women.

[103] Faculty Minutes, 3 November 1938. CUA Min.V.92a.

[104] Joan Lillico, First Class Honours 1935, personal correspondence, 1998.

[105] Clare Fell, who was awarded a First in 1933, in conversation with Julia Roberts, 1994.

but a list can be reconstructed from unpublished and published memoirs and interviews with relatives and former students. One possibility is problematical. There are conflicting reports on whether Gertrude Caton- Thompson, respected internationally for her intensive, innovative archaeological investigation of the Later Stone Age in Egypt, wanted the Professorship. A close relative of Garrod clearly remembers Caton-Thompson expressing regret that she was not chosen for the position.[106] But former Disney Professor Glyn Daniel (1986: 98) wrote in his Memoirs that "the Electors first offered the Chair to Caton-Thompson, who had not applied, and . . . when she declined, appointed Dorothy Garrod". Since there is no corroborating evidence either way, I can say no more than that Caton-Thompson was considered.

Christopher Hawkes, in 1946 appointed foundation Professor of European Archaeology at Oxford, did certainly apply (Webster 1991: 234).[107] But, in 1939, he was a man of merely 34 years whose career, in comparison to the other candidates, was not yet established.

The first of the major contenders was Miles Burkitt. "It was thought by many inevitable that the Disney Chair ought to and would go to Miles Burkitt," wrote Daniel (1986: 97). Burkitt was, by then, a long-term devoted member of the Faculty Board of Archaeology and Anthropology, an able administrator, the generous and hard-working Secretary to the Board since its inception. Burkitt's publications, *Prehistory* (1921a) and *The Old Stone Age* (1933) were standard introductory texts for Faculty courses. As documented earlier, he was remembered by all as an inspiring lecturer. Yet he had no experience directing excavations and he was not reputed to be an original researcher. The Faculty Board had declined to nominate him for a Senior Doctorate.[108] In addition, internationally known, influential prehistorians, such as Breuil, considered Garrod to be a superior candidate.[109]

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[106] Callander, referring to Madeleine Lovedy Smith's memory of the incident, personal communication, 1998.

[107] During an interview with me in 1996, Sonia Chadwick Hawkes confirmed that Hawkes applied.

[108] Faculty Minute Book: 5 March 1929. Min.V.92a.

[109] Testimonial on Garrod's qualifications for the Disney Professorship by Breuil. Box 72, MAN.

Daniel (1986: 97) also claims that the Anglo-Saxon archaeologist, Tom Lethbridge, "put in" for the Professorship. This claim is supported by a passage from Lethbridge's unpublished autobiography. He had taught archaeology from the mid 1920s to the early 1950s at Cambridge and entered the arena at the request of those opposed to an outsider. "There was an obvious candidate [Burkitt] for the Professorship but there was also a candidate from outside. Louis [Clarke, the Museum Curator] said it would be a real disaster for Cambridge if this one were elected and . . . persuaded me to stand to keep this man out" (Lethbridge [1965]: 100).

Probably the "candidate from outside" was Mortimer Wheeler, who Daniel (1986: 97) states wanted the position. Wheeler at that time was involved as Honorary Director of London University's Institute of Archaeology that he and his wife, Tessa, founded in the mid-1930s, and had not formally applied, but the British archaeological community was small and an informal inquiry would have been sufficient. He was "a brilliant organizer, a born excavator, a dynamic and forceful character" but was also considered a "bounder" by some members of the Cambridge Faculty (Daniel 1986: 407–8). He could easily have been one of those discussed among the "other persons mentioned by the electors".[110] By implication one of the Electors who might have voted for Wheeler was diverted by Lethbridge's candidacy.

On the other hand, the "outsider" may have been Louis Leakey[111] who, although with a brilliant Ph.D from St John's College, had scandalised Cambridge by leaving his pregnant first wife for Mary Nicol in 1934. Eyewitness accounts claim that the uproar was considerable and that Leakey was harshly judged for what was considered a rash and irresponsible act.[112]

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[110] Elections to Professorships. CUA O.XIV.54, 5 May 1939.

[111] Mary Kitson Clark was the first to claim that the "outsider" was Leakey, personal correspondence, 1998.

[112] Shaw was a good friend of Mary Nicol and knew Leakey and Nicol when they were first together. He remembers the reaction well (in conversation, 1996). Shaw's 60 years of correspondence with Mary Leakey is now in the CUL. It is clear, from letters Leakey wrote to Garrod, that he did wish to apply for the Disney Professorship in 1952 but may have decided against it for financial reasons. Leakey's correspondence with Garrod is stored in the CUMAA letter box for 1951.

A highly qualified, scandal-free, established British-born woman was apparently a more pleasing alternative than any outsider. Thus the fact that Garrod was a "Cambridge man" may be added to her list of qualifications.[113] "All went well," Lethbridge ([1965]: 100) concludes: "the proper man got in."

4.3.1 Reaction to Election

Garrod's appointment "was rather a bombshell as far as I could gather," reports Howe.[114] Her election was greeted with excitement and high expectations, especially by the women's colleges. The Newnham College *Roll Letter* announced with pride, "Miss Garrod's election as Disney Professor has been the outstanding event of the year and has filled us with joy."[115] Fellow female scholars felt uplifted by her achievement[116] and Rosalind Franklin, then a first-year undergraduate, later known for her part in the elucidation of the DNA structure, wrote to her parents, "The chief news in Newnham is the first female professor ever to be elected in Oxford or Cambridge has been elected from Newnham. It is not yet known whether she is to be a member of the University!"[117]

For contemporary women students, "the excitement of her appointment was great", reports Eleanor Robertson, Newnham Archaeological and Anthropology student, class of 1938.[118] Many enthusiastically recall the summer of 1939 "college feast" given at Newnham in Garrod's honour, where each dish was named after an archaeological item. For Jane Waley, *née* McFie

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[113] It should be noted that, when members of the Faculty organised a sweepstake on who would win, Lethbridge was the only member of the staff to put his money on Garrod. "No one for a moment thought that she would win . . . I held on and won twenty-five shillings" (Lethbridge ([1965]: 100).

[114] Howe, personal correspondence, 1998.

[115] *Letter* of January, 1940: 11.

[116] Classicist, Alison Duke, in conversation, 1998.

[117] May 7, 1939, letter in possession of Franklin's sister, Mrs Jenifer Glynn.

[118] Robertson, personal correspondence, 1998.

(Double First, 1945 [Section A] and 1946 [Section B]), Garrod and Newnham dons, such as E.M. Butler, elected Schröder Professor of German in 1944, and Jocelyn Toynbee, elected Lawrence Professor of Classical Archaeology in 1951, were inspiring: "They seemed to me to tower over the male versions in other subjects! I suppose there were some males among my fellow students, but my self confidence was undaunted!"[119]

The wider University community also took note. "The election of a woman to the Disney Professorship of Archaeology is an immense step forward towards complete equality between men and women in the University. The disabilities that remain here, being purely formal, are certain to be swept aside next time any changes in the University affairs are introduced" (R. English, May 1939). Many observers assumed that full membership for women in the University would soon follow.

However, Shaw[120] recalled that he and other undergraduates were particularly proud that Cambridge had held off a womanly invasion during the 1930s; they were pleased that it had remained a male domain. Oxford, on the other hand, had surrendered and there was a rumour that Oxford's performance in the Boat Race had slumped precisely as a result of the feminisation of that University. In fact, many of the male undergraduates interviewed had no memory of Garrod's election. It simply didn't register. As one undergraduate from the late 1930s, who read Archaeology and Anthropology in order to enter the Civil Service in India, stated, Cambridge was a "delightful, secluded club" where undergraduates "never took notice of girls in classes." "There weren't many of them" and "women were there on sufferance."[121] This was quite a consistent response from undergraduates interviewed.

There is a persistent rumour that Garrod's election was the precipitating event that resulted in the formation of a temporary syndicate on the Status of Women in the University during the early 1940s. There is no evidence at all

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[119] Waley, personal correspondence, 1998.

[120] Shaw, in conversation, 1996.

[121] Mr R.E. Lawry, in conversation, 1998.

in the Council or any Minutes that this is true.[122] War was declared before Garrod took office in October 1939. Most University activities were concentrated on emergency measures and accommodating 2000 evacuated members of colleges and institutions of the University of London; there was neither time nor staff to consider the extensive, detailed change to Statutes which was required later when women were admitted to degrees in 1948.

Two surviving signatories of the 30 September 1946 Memorial to the Council that initiated the long-awaited changes granting women full status clearly stated to me that Garrod's election was not a determining influence in their decision to back the petition. Professor Sir John Plumb and Dr George Salt suggested that the basic absurdity was introduced years previously when women were admitted to all University teaching offices and Faculty Boards, yet denied full membership. According to Plumb, Garrod's election was part of an ongoing process rather than a separate event. He felt that it would have happened much earlier if war had not intervened; Plumb remembered much discussion before 1939. Support for his claim emerged when I consulted the student newspapers of the era. *The Granta,* for example, had a number of questioning articles on females and their status. Plumb also stated that the University administration was behind the change, that it was not difficult to gather support for the Memorial and that Garrod's election as the first woman was noted receptively by all. [123]

Nevertheless, there is some specific evidence that Garrod's election forced an interesting administrative change for all involved. In the Minutes for the Council of the Senate for 17 March 1941, it is noted that a committee had been set up to advise the Registrary on the Seniority of titular graduates and women Professors "in relation to the Order of Seniority of Graduates."[124]

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[122] Council of the Senate Minutes 1938–1942. I thank Leedham-Green for searching these sources.

[123] Plumb, in conversation, 1998. It was an honour to interview both signatories. I thank Leedham-Green for suggesting that I contact Plumb and Salt.

[124] Council of the Senate Minutes 1938–1942.

According to Leedham-Green,[125] the concern here was the proper rank order, for example, for processing at official Cambridge functions. Since Garrod was the only woman Professor, it can be assumed that the Council was discussing her and was concerned as to how to include her in official occasions or how and where to list her in official lists. Garrod was Professor and must process but had no proper Cambridge degree and therefore could not process.

The dilemma was solved on 5 May 1941 when it was agreed that "the Registrary should be authorised to give to a woman's name the place which it would have if the Order of Seniority of Graduates applied as well to titles of degrees as to degrees." This was the model for and wording used when women were eventually granted degrees in 1948. It was agreed at that time that all University Statutes and Ordinances should apply to holders of titles of degrees as to degrees,[126] or as stated in the *Reporter*: "Women who hold titles of degrees shall be deemed to hold the corresponding degrees."[127]

Garrod's election clearly not only foreshadowed but also precipitated major change not just to one "research school" but to an entire research university.

The public reaction to Garrod's election seems to have been as extraordinary as the administrative response. There were very few women in teaching posts in Cambridge University in 1939. Garrod was a modest, shy person and appears to have been uncomfortable with the attention her election elicited. Her reticence is revealed in a story recounted by Howe. At the moment of her appointment, Garrod invited him to accompany her to a performance of "Fidelio" at a University theatre to celebrate. "She said that I could provide a sort of shield between her and the surrounding colleagues sure to show up . . . on all sides . . . she didn't want to be swamped with congratulations and chatter," wrote Howe.[128]

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[125] Leedham-Green, in conversation, 1999.

[126] For information on the Syndicate appointed to consider the status of women in the University, see file CUA R2930. I thank Leedham-Green for finding this file.

[127] *Reporter*, 3 June 1947.

[128] Howe, personal correspondence, 1998.

FIGURE XLIII Professor Garrod in her Cambridge garden, 1939. As Professor, "she struck me as a lonely, self-contained figure and not particularly convivial in large groups . . . her total non-participation in Museum/Department background or behind-the-scenes life struck me then as a major circumstance and fact of her University life," observed Bruce Howe during his year as a student in the Faculty.[129] "She was apprehensive at every junction . . . very shy to be the Head [of the Department]," stated Garrod's secretary, Miss Mary Thatcher.[130] (Photograph by courtesy of Madeleine Lovedy Smith and Antonia Benedek, Professor Garrod's cousin and god-daughter.)

The reaction of the Faculty was as demanding as that of the public and University. When Garrod assumed the Disney Chair, the Archaeological and Anthropological Tripos course consisted still of one part only. As mentioned above, a student usually read history or classics before taking a final year of archaeology and anthropology as Part Two of a three year degree. This one part still included two sections: Section A which covered Physical and Social

[129] Howe, personal correspondence, 1998.

[130] Thatcher, in conversation, 1998.

Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology; and Section B which covered Norse, Celtic Britain, and Anglo-Saxon history and language. By the end of the 1930s, the increasing demand for social anthropology and prehistoric archaeology, which was documented in the previous chapter, suggested that the Tripos course should be expanded.

4.3.2 Faculty Responsibilities

Garrod was expected by the Faculty to meet this increased demand for prehistoric archaeological expertise and to play a key administrative role in the development of a full Tripos. Leakey[131] had introduced the idea of an expanded Part I as early as 1934 when he presented a four-page document strongly suggesting that archaeologists in Section A be better prepared for the field with courses in geology. He suggested a generalised first year for both social anthropological and archaeological students followed by a specialised second year with a new curriculum and more practical, field preparation for the prehistorians. Although the Faculty did not respond and Leakey left soon after with Mary Nicol for Africa, there was a general feeling recorded in the Minutes that social anthropology, in particular, must modernise in order to compete with Malinowski and the London School of Economics.[132]

At the end of the decade, a new Faculty member, young Glyn Daniel, went further and recommended a Part I and II for archaeologists.[133] Daniel, who succeeded Grahame Clark to the Disney Chair in 1974, earned a Double First in Sections B and A and was so well-liked by Professor Chadwick and well-known to his Examiners that the Faculty waived his *viva voce* examination and recommended him immediately for the Ph.D in June 1938.[134] In

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[131] Faculty Minutes 18 February 1934. CUA Min.V.92a.

[132] Professor Hodson's concern, 18 February 1934. Minutes.

[133] It is Daniel who must be given credit for the idea of a full Tripos course for archaeologists.

[134] In the same month, June 1938, Charles McBurney, the future Cambridge Professor of Quaternary Prehistory, was accepted as a research student with a proposed thesis of "A Critical Study of Mousterian Industries in Europe"; he was assigned Burkitt as Supervisor. (10 June 1938, Minutes. CUA Min.V.92a.)

March 1939, Daniel[135] wrote to J.H. Hutton, William Wyse Professor of Anthropology, just as Hutton was formulating a Part II for social anthropologists. "One day we will have an advanced archaeological Part II — of that I have no doubt. Why not start it now; we have men coming up who want to do specialised archaeological work," argued Daniel. Signed "The Prophet", Daniel suggested a Part II that would allow men to specialise in all branches of archaeology from the "earliest times to the dawn of history". Daniel's planned Part II was delayed by the declaration of war but revived by Garrod on 23 January 1946 after she and Daniel had returned from war service; Daniel, Clark, Burkitt and Garrod served on the revision committee and it was their combined endless committee labour which eventually produced the desired result of a Part II in archaeology. The full Tripos course was established by early 1948.[136]

With her election in 1939, Garrod was catapulted into a challenging situation within a changing Faculty that was on the verge of expansion and needed a famous archaeologist to engineer a new curriculum. Although she did not have experience as a university lecturer, Garrod immediately assumed responsibility for teaching prehistory to advanced students. It should be remembered that Garrod was the first prehistorian rather than classicist to assume the Disney Chair; she became a professor of a subject that had been comparatively recently introduced to the University curriculum which was not yet fully institutionalised. Her predecessor, Ellis Minns, a respected classicist, palaeographer and former lecturer in Slavonic studies, did most of his teaching in the respected Classics Tripos rather than in Archaeology and Anthropology.[137] "Archaeological

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[135] Letter in the CUMAA Box 111 W07/1/1.

[136] Daniel graduated too late in time to be considered in depth in my thesis. However, because of his importance academically and his national popularity on the television show "Animal, Vegetable, Mineral" during the 1950s, it is worth mentioning that students from 1939 and 1940 (John Barnes and Bruce Howe to name just two, in conversation, 1998, 1999), genuinely enjoyed his good will and were impressed with his desire to bring archaeology to a wider audience. As early as 1938, Daniel introduced free lectures for the Cambridge public which were successful.

[137] Ellis Hovell Minns was a specialist in the archaeology of the Scythians. Clark remembered him as being especially supportive to the study of prehistory (Clark, in conversation, 1994). Decades of Minns's correspondence, a fascinating read, are kept in the CUL Add. 7722.

studies other than Classics [classical archaeology] were still considered to be in an [institutionally] embryonic state," wrote archaeologist Charles Phillips in his memoirs, who served with Garrod on the Faculty Board during the 1930s.[138]

Cambridge continued to be the only university in Great Britain offering an undergraduate degree specialising in prehistoric archaeology; archaeology was still considered by some, including Burkitt, to be a "hobby pursuit". By others it was considered a "last resort" or "soft" option.[139] Although institutional circumstances had greatly improved during the 1930s, both prehistory and anthropology were still fighting for academic recognition, funding and accommodation (Rouse 1997, Smith 1997).

Lethbridge ([1965]: 99) observed in his autobiography that Garrod's position on the Board of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology was "one of considerable frustration and difficulty". The University was in a period of rationalisation and progressive bureaucratisation. Relationships between the Faculties and the General Board of the Faculties, a powerful University body that controlled finances and final decisions on innumerable Faculty matters, had become noticeably more formal and distant.[140] Previously, during the 1920s and '30s, a sense of informality pervaded the Faculty Minutes; individual discussions with university administration personnel were permitted; decisions to meet a particular Faculty demand or student situation could be negotiated; interactions were more relaxed; there seemed to be more time for personal attention to Faculty exceptions. Mutually beneficial decisions seemed more possible.

During the late 1930s, matters were beginning to be rigorously conducted according to form. Flexibility was no longer encouraged by the Gen-

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[138] Phillips, Memoirs [1975–80]: 141. Memoirs in possession of the Phillips family. Phillips was absolutely correct; the great expansion of archaeological departments did not happen until the 1960s.

[139] Mrs Betty Saumarez Smith (Tripos 1936), Alison Duke, Mary Thatcher and others, personal correspondence and in conversation, 1998.

[140] Documented by numerous correspondences reported in the Faculty Minutes.

eral Board. It appeared that the Faculty did not react well to this new regime. The anthropologists and archaeologists valued their autonomy and rejected attempts by the General Board to formalise procedures and establish regulations. Illustrations of the expectations of the General Board and the Faculty's responses abound; a few examples follow. In 1936, the General Board noted that the Faculty Board's Report "appears without the customary opening sentence begging leave to report,"[141] that the Faculty apparently had done this before and that their current manner of addressing the General Board was unacceptable. In the same letter, Secretary General to the General Board of the Faculties, John T. Saunders, inquired "whether you [the Faculty] have any machinery for regulating the acceptance of gifts offered to the Museum." Minns responded promptly that in the future the Faculty would beg to report and that indeed there was no machinery. "The problem of the selection of objects to be accepted by the Museum does not appear to me to be one that can be solved by any kind of machinery," wrote Minns. The Faculty relied, instead, on the "extraordinary knowledge and judgement of the Curator."[142]

When, at the beginning of 1939, the General Board recommended that a "less haphazard method of appointing supervisors"[143] be established and again later in the year when the General Board requested that the Faculty regulate "how much Supervisors of candidates working for research degrees should help in preparation of theses," the Faculty responded that "it was impossible to formalize these personal relationships."[144] In 1938, when T.T. Paterson, the university-trained geologist, assumed control of the Museum from its gracious patron, Louis Clarke, rumblings in the Faculty Minutes suggest that University officials wished to put the informal system of volunteer Keepers, which persisted in the Museum, under regulatory control.[145]

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[141] Letter from Saunders, to Burkitt, 30 April 1936; letter kept in 1936 Letter Box, CUMAA.

[142] Letter to Saunders, 1 May 1936; Letter Box, CUMAA.

[143] 23 January 1939, Faculty Minutes. CUA Min.V.92a.

[144] 25 April 1939, Faculty Minutes. CUA Min.V.92a.

[145] 18 October 1938, Faculty Minutes. CUA Min.V.92a.

Paterson finally suggested "that, in the future, such Keepers would only be appointed when the Curator really asked for them." Again in 1944, when the General Board wished to set the number of hours of lecturing required from a University Lecturer and to establish an inclusive stipend covering all the officer's services, in response, "All members of the [Faculty] Board agreed on emphasising the importance of College supervisions in University teaching and the difficulty of attempting to control hours and methods of each teaching officer."[146]

Before and during Garrod's tenure in the Disney Chair, the Faculty Board wrangled continually with the General Board and repeatedly disagreed over definitions of jobs, funds and accommodation. The Faculty had less need to regulate and ran well in its "haphazard" manner. Certainly the phrase "The Faculty Board did not agree with the view of the General Board" became the Faculty's refrain.

The change in style and tone of administration could have been necessitated by the growth in size of the University, or perhaps caused by broader contextual demands from society or government, but this change may also have been a result of the personal influence of John T. Saunders, a zoologist, who served as Secretary General to the General Board of the Faculties from 1935–53. Saunders had an excellent reputation for strictness, effectiveness and efficiency.[147] He was known as a "hard man".[148] After retiring from Cambridge, he was brought as Vice-Chancellor to University College, Ibadan, Nigeria from 1953–6, where he solved a serious financial crisis of over-spending in three short years.[149] Saunders's written messages to the Faculty radiate control.

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[146] 22 November 1944, Faculty Minutes. CUA Min.V.94. I thank Dr T.J. Mead for arranging access to restricted Faculty Minutes.

[147] According to Harry Godwin (1985: 184), who served with Saunders on the General Board, he was a "supremely competent Secretary General of the Faculties."

[148] Leedham-Green, in conversation, 1999.

[149] Shaw, in conversation, 1999.

It would appear that Garrod was often caught between the General Board's desires and the Faculty's resistance. Shortly after assuming office, Garrod was requested to represent and explain the Faculty's needs to the General Board. Prior to the outbreak of war, the General Board had begun a lengthy investigation into the expenditures of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology on teaching, personnel, accommodation, and equipment. The organisation and regulation of courses, the size and grading of teaching and assistant staff, the status of the Curator of the Museum and the relationship of Section A to Section B within the Tripos course were being scrutinised. The relationship of Section A, which was exclusively prehistoric archaeology, to Section B, which covered the culture and language of early historic Britain, was the most sensitive and contentious of these issues. As mentioned previously, section B had been brought into the Archaeological and Anthropological Faculty from Modern and Medieval Languages in 1927 by Professor of Anglo-Saxon, H.M. Chadwick. The Archaeology and Anthropology Faculty unanimously wished to keep Section B within its ranks.

Yet some members of the University wanted Section B to be transferred to the control of the Faculty of English; there was vocal agitation and occasional letters to the General Board advocating this change. Professor J.H. Clapham of King's, an occasional member of the General Board, had circulated a fly sheet in November 1937, forcefully posing the question, "Is there any reason for maintaining the 1927 divorce from English?"[150]

Having met with Garrod and also Hutton, the Committee for the General Board sent a draft report to the Faculty Board. A major paragraph of this report referred to Garrod. According to the General Board Committee, Garrod "expressed the opinion" that Section A and B "appeal to different kinds of persons," that "Section A and B together did not make a coherent whole and that it was neither necessary nor desirable that they be linked. The Committee agreed to place these opinions on record so that they may be considered when the General Board undertake their inquiry into" the future of Section B.[151] In

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[150] Found in Faculty Minutes for 1937. CUA Min.V.92a.

[151] Faculty Minutes, 22 May 1940. CUA Min.V.92a.

response, Garrod asserts that she "has no recollection of making statements that Section A and B together did not make a coherent whole" and that she "considers any separation between prehistory and the later archaeology represented by Section B . . . undesirable." The Faculty Board then suggests "that the whole of this paragraph be deleted" because Garrod and the Faculty do "not want this paragraph to prejudice the promised inquiry" into Section B's future.[152]

In November 1940, the General Board sent another draft of their report to the Faculty for approval. The paragraph attributing quotations to Garrod had not been changed or deleted. The Board unanimously once again expressed their concern that these statements were misquoted and that these misquotations could prejudice the future of their Tripos course. The final General Board Report nevertheless retained the objectionable paragraph intact. In addition, on 20 November 1940, Saunders wrote to the Board, "the statement attributed to Professor Garrod appears to the Committee to be the view which should be taken into account when the future of Section B is considered." In final response, the Faculty Board "renews their protest against the placing on record of statements which are in their opinion inaccurate."[153]

This was Garrod's first experience with University administration and politics. It is not clear how the General Board could have so completely misinterpreted her testimony or why it persisted in using quotations that could surely damage Garrod's reputation and might completely discredit her within her Faculty, so soon after her election and before her reputation was established. However, it does explain her fearful concerns.

It was precisely her administrative encounters with the General Board that appeared to have caused Garrod the most consternation. As a professor in the Faculty and as Head of her Department, Garrod dealt continually with Saunders and the General Board. According to Garrod's Secretary, Miss Mary Thatcher, it was during the period when Garrod was Department Head from

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[152] Faculty Minutes, 22 May 1940. CUA Min.V.92a.

[153] Faculty Minutes, 22 January 1941. CUA Min.V.92a.

1950 to her retirement in 1952, that the Faculty "grossly overspent" on their allowance for electricity.[154] The Board received a letter from Saunders suggesting that Garrod please go and explain. "She might have been a schoolgirl," states Thatcher, who accompanied Garrod, "she shook with fear." During the meeting, Garrod asked Saunders what the Faculty might do to improve the situation. He answered, "Well, Professor Garrod, when you see a light on, turn it off."[155]

Garrod would have found this type of treatment confusing if not humiliating or at least demeaning. She was an older, cultured, reserved, upper-middle-class woman from an established and highly accomplished family. Garrod would have been accustomed to being treated with an understated respect.

According to Professor George Salt, who was a long-term member of several University Syndicates and had many opportunities to observe Faculty activities, Garrod had a reputation as a dutiful administrator.[156] Throughout her years of tenure, although never "enamoured of University administration" (Daniel 1986: 99), Garrod was nevertheless conscientiously reliable and hard-working within the Faculty. She served for years on every Faculty committee of import. In 1947 alone, Garrod participated on the Faculty Degree Committee, the Faculty Appointments Committee and a committee to consider a possible move from Downing Street to the newly proposed Sidgwick Avenue lecture-rooms. She was also on a committee dealing with the late Professor Chadwick's benefaction, the committee to reformulate regulations for the post-graduate Diploma, the committee to revise courses and regulations for the Tripos and on a committee to organise an archaeological expedition to Bolivia. In addition, Garrod regularly attended Faculty Board meetings and acted as an Examiner.

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[154] Thatcher, in conversation, 1998.

[155] Thatcher, in conversation, 1997.

[156] Salt, in conversation, 1998.

This is quite in contrast to Elsie M. Butler,[157] Garrod's good friend, who became the second female Cambridge Professor in 1944 when she was elected Schröder Professor of German. In her autobiography, Butler (1959: 153) wrote, "Oh those committees! *I hadn't bargained for them . . .* Yet, strangely enough, many of the dwellers in the groves of academe actually seem to enjoy it. Perhaps this has something to do with the lust for power."[158]

4.3.3 Garrod's Responses

When Garrod's responses to the General Board are studied, she presents herself as relating to University officials as she had related to officials while on excavations and expeditions. As quoted earlier, while on expeditions, Garrod's "demeanor and dealings . . . were civil . . . with mutual respect and cordiality evident at all times."[159] Garrod assumed that the other side was eminently reasonable and that a fair debate could solve all. She was forthcoming with Faculty needs and seemed to expect the General Board to give a clear answer. Her actions are reminiscent of her writing style, described by Clark (1937a: 488) as "dispassionate . . . scientific . . . modest." She seemed to believe in an idealised scientific model of discourse whereby if her hypothesis was wrong, open discussion would lead to a better solution.

Garrod often argued on a moral basis. After World War II, as a professor returning from National Service, Garrod received her stipend for several months while lesser Faculty members, such as Assistant Faculty Lecturer Grahame Clark, did not. She argued with the General Board that this was

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[157] According to Salt, Butler had a weaker reputation as a committee person.

[158] The full quotation is: "This was my first experience of University administration; and it was the reason in my heart of hearts I regretted the day when women were made full members of Cambridge University. They too, I knew from my own bitter experience, would begin to slide down the slippery slope to the bottomless pit of paper precedents. They too would be strangled by the coils of red tape winding and twining round these modern Laocoons. They too would expend the best energies of their minds in wrangling over statutes and ordinances. Yet, strangely enough, many of the dwellers in the groves of academe actually seem to enjoy it. Perhaps this has something to do with the lust for power" (Butler 1959: 153).

[159] Howe, personal correspondence, 1997.

crass discrimination. The General Board ignored her argument, stating that all Faculty were not allowed stipends until they started to lecture. When she pointed out that she herself had not started lecturing, the General Board responded that it could consider only hardship cases within her Faculty. Garrod responded that since it was an issue of discrimination between officers of the same Faculty and as all the junior teaching officers were not receiving stipends, all were hardship cases. The General Board responded that all Faculty were not allowed stipends until they started to lecture. At this point, Garrod stopped responding.

An instructive comparison is made when Garrod's behaviour during war service from 1942–5 is investigated; she is once again described as light-hearted. Garrod seemed thoroughly to enjoy her time away from Cambridge. Eyewitness accounts suggest that she was at ease in small, informal working settings where there was little or no concern with rank and nuanced power relationships. Fred Mason,[160] who was a young language graduate when he temporarily joined Garrod's section, reported that she was a modest, helpful and congenial officer.[161]

In contrast, Garrod seemed ill at ease in all hierarchical or formal situations when back at Cambridge, especially where she represented the Faculty. Although she had been an excellent supervisor in informal, small groups of female students while at Newnham College — "her mother joined us for a cup of tea before proceedings began. It was all very friendly and easy"[162] — Garrod was known as a "dead loss" as a lecturer, or even as a supervisor, within the more structured Faculty setting. The unremitting boredom and uniform dullness of her presentations are remembered by many. There was "never a light or bright moment" recalls former 1950s student, John Mulvaney, who later became foundation Professor of Prehistory at the Australian National University in 1970.[163] "She gave one of the poorest public

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[160] I thank Ursula Whitaker for introducing me to Fred Mason.

[161] Mason, personal correspondence, 1998, 1999.

[162] Lillico, personal correspondence, 1998.

[163] Mulvaney, in conversation, 1998.

FIGURE XLIV Cartoon, drawn by a Disney cartoonist during war service in England, of Garrod with members of her Photographic Reconnaissance Section at Medmenham.

Garrod was best in small groups where status was not a strong issue. She was "delighted" when Dr Hamshaw Thomas, Cambridge University Reader in Palaeobotany, recruited her in 1942 for the Medmenham Air Intelligence Unit, and was "jolly well not reserved" while there, remembers Hamshaw Thomas's daughter, Mrs Ursula Whitaker.[164] "Rank was of no importance . . . there was an atmosphere of tremendous conviviality" within the Unit and within Garrod's Section of three or four people who worked closely together.[165] Garrod served as Section Officer at Medmenham for three years along with other Cambridge archaeologists, Charles Phillips, Grahame Clark, Glyn Daniel, T.G.E. Powell (class of 1937) and Charles McBurney. (Cartoon reproduced by courtesy of the family of Dr Hugh Hamshaw Thomas, who served as Wing Commander at the RAF Medmenham Unit for Photographic Interpretation.)

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[164] Whitaker, in conversation, 1998.

[165] Whitaker, in conversation, 1998 and Fred Mason, personal correspondence, 1998.

lectures I ever attended," writes archaeologist Merrick Posnansky.[166] Her presentations were "dull, routine, dutiful, lifeless things," observed Howe.[167] Kitson Clark found Garrod to be a "dry-as-dust lecturer" and suggested that this was part of Garrod's misunderstanding of how a Cambridge lecturer should act.[168]

Lecturing was "not her chosen form of communication," stated Ann Sieveking, *née* Paull, who listened to Garrod discuss the Upper Palaeolithic, the Palaeolithic in Asia, and Palaeolithic art and religion as her student from 1951–52.[169] Sieveking's observation is supported by Garrod's own statement to her friend, Mlle Germaine Henri-Martin: "*J'aime mieux écrire que discuter de vive voix*" [I much prefer to write than discuss aloud].[170] Even in small and informal Tripos classes, Garrod seemed uncomfortable with her role and the format of University teaching.

In sharp contrast to the testimonial letters and statements of gratitude I have found from Garrod's "students in the field",[171] many former under-

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[166] Posnansky, personal correspondence, 1998.

[167] Howe, personal correspondence, 1997.

[168] Kitson Clark, personal correspondence, 1999.

[169] Sieveking, in conversation, 1998. Ann Sieveking, who dug with Garrod at the Upper Palaeolithic site of Roc aux Sorciers, Angles-sur-l'Anglin, remembered that Garrod, in her role as a Professor from the Faculty, treated students in a formal manner even while on digs. Garrod ate lunch separately and did not converse easily.

[170] Garrod to Henri-Martin, 19 February 1961. Box 38, MAN.

[171] Lorraine Copeland, who dug with Garrod at Bezez Cave and Ras-el-Kelb, remembered "I presented myself and said I'm very interested . . . I know absolutely nothing but would I be able to help? And she [Garrod] was indeed extremely kind and let me come in and . . . they were wonderful to me . . . and of course I learned on the job; learned by doing" (in conversation with Callander, 1993). James Skinner, who also dug at Bezez Cave, claimed that Garrod was an excellent mentor (Letter to Garrod, Garrod Papers. Box 58, MAN). Bruce Howe felt that she was one of the most personally influential archaeologists he met during his long career as a Near Eastern prehistorian (Letter from Howe to Garrod, 9 September 1952, Box 59, MAN). In fact, the students that Garrod did attract to the Faculty were usually people she had had experience with during excavations or expeditions. Garrod recruited Anne Fuller to the Cambridge post-graduate Diploma in 1934 after they had dug together at Mount Carmel. Again, in November 1945, Garrod suggested to the Faculty that John D'A. Waechter, just released from the RAF, should be admitted as a research student. She argued that, although Waechter had no first degree, he had had extensive experience excavating. Waechter took his Ph.D in 1949 with a thesis entitled "The Mesolithic Age in the Middle East" and went on to teach at University College, London.

graduates remembered meeting Garrod face-to-face only once, when admitted to the Department, and did not appear to be influenced by her work or personality. She did not seem to be a strong presence in the Faculty and attracted few students. "She was a rather remote figure to us," stated Felicity Beauchamp, who read Archaeology from 1945-46.[172] "Professor Garrod was busy and distant,"wrote Millicent Munro-Harrap,[173] who graduated in 1951. A "very private person," observed John Evans.[174] "A humble scholar,"concluded Mary Thatcher.[175]

In November 1950, Garrod wrote to her close friend, Mlle Germaine Henri-Martin, "*Je n'ai rien pu faire pour Angles* [Garrod and Saint Mathurin's Upper Palaeolithic rock shelter excavation in France] *depuis ma rentrée et je n'arrive pas à préparer mon cours pour le trimestre prochain — je serais obligée de le faire à Paris, ce qui remettra encore le travail d'Angles. Au fond, je mène une vie impossible! La décision de prendre la retraite est absolument nécessaire.*" [I haven't been able to do anything for Angles since my return and I haven't managed to prepare my course for next term. I'll have to do it in Paris, which will again delay Angles' work. Basically, I lead an impossible life! The decision to retire is absolutely necessary."[176]

4.4 Theoretical Literature

In order to recount Garrod's story and the story of the Archaeology and Anthropology Faculty during this period, other points of view are needed than those provided in the research school literature. Research school analyses were first developed during the 1970s slightly before gender and science investigations became popular. Current literature which discusses women as

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[172] Beauchamp, personal correspondence, 1999.

[173] Munro-Harrap, personal correspondence, 1998.

[174] Evans, in conversation, 1998.

[175] Thatcher, in conversation, 1998.

[176] Garrod to Henri-Martin, 21 November 1950. Box 34, MAN.

academics must be reviewed in order to put Garrod's experiences in proper perspective and to understand fully her academic life. Fortunately, there is substantial theoretical material that applies to these issues.[177]

One of the most referenced analyses of women in academe is Sonnert and Holton's (1995) *Gender Differences in Scientific Careers.*[178] This study was based on two separate models of behaviour. The first focuses on how women are treated as strangers; the second concentrates on how women act as strangers in academic settings. Post-doctoral women and men from top American universities were the subjects of this investigation and were extensively interviewed. The study found first that women in science usually had, as did Garrod, highly educated parents. Repeatedly the study also found that women are more likely to interrupt their academic careers, especially to care for families, and normally take longer to gain degrees. Certainly this was true of Garrod, who was in her thirties before she received her B.Sc from Oxford.

The straight academic road into science is clearly more likely travelled by men. This statement is also true of Garrod's entrance into the academic world, which differed greatly from Clark's, who advanced from undergraduate to Bye-Fellow, Faculty Assistant Lecturer, University Lecturer and finally to Professor, all within the same university system. Women post-graduates in Sonnert and Holton's study had more difficulty establishing collegiate networks of important contacts once within the university; earlier lack of appropriate institutional education could have adversely affected them. Most women interviewed found that the university environment was not supportive and was sometimes frightening. They tended to feel excluded from infor-

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[177] Gerhard Sonnert and Gerald James Holton's (1995) *Gender Differences in Science;* P.A. Graham's (1978) 'History of Women in American Higher Education'; C.F. Epstein's (1991) "Constraints on Excellence"; D.R. Kaufman's (1978) "Associational Ties in Academe: some Male and Female Differences"; S.E. Widnall's (1988) "Voices from the Pipeline"; D. Wright's (2000) "Gender and Professionalization"; T. Stone's (1999) unpublished Ph.D "The Integration of Women into the Military Service"; A. Oram (1989) "Embittered, Sexless or Homosexual" and the papers as well as the transcripts of the proceedings of the Conference on Women in Higher Education, privately printed in *"The Transformation of an Elite? Women and Higher Education since 1900"* (1998) are especially relevant.

[178] Maureen Linker suggested the Sonnert and Holton book.

mal social events such as going for drinks and feel out-of-place in predominantly male groups.

These findings may suggest the reason why Garrod never participated in Faculty gatherings. According to Bruce Howe, she did not frequent the tea-room. "The Museum coffee and teas were very stimulating shop-talk occasions. Daniel, Bushnell, Phillips, Lethbridge, Clark were the regulars; Garrod not at all . . . O'Reilly saw the pot was brewing, contributed cakes, cookies without fail."[179] Garrod might have felt reluctant as a professor to behave as a woman must, contributing tea and cake; there may have been a sense of informal exclusion. In addition, since so many Faculty and research plans were informally concocted over tea, Garrod might have had difficulty remaining up-to-date on the definition of Faculty issues and the formulation of subsequent decisions.

Sonnert and Holton's (1995) study also found evidence that styles of doing science differed between men and women. Women preferred a less aggressive approach; men demonstrated more entrepreneurial spunk, were more combative, self-promoting and preferred higher visibility. These statements well describe Clark who was indeed an intellectual entrepreneur who believed firmly that his own self-promotion would benefit the archaeological enterprise as a whole. In contrast, Mrs Phyllis Hetzel reported at the 1998 Cambridge Women and Higher Education conference, that in her experience while interviewing for the Civil Service and as Register of the Role at Newnham, "women simply do not blow their own trumpets."[180] This is true of Garrod, who seemed not to know how to or did not care to promote herself or her research within an academic setting.

Finally, Sonnert and Holton also found that women tended to be more "pure" scientists and were less concerned with the political aspects of science, such as influence and power. The women interviewed stressed the intellectu-

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[179] Howe, personal correspondence, 1999.

[180] Hetzel, speaking during discussion at the University of Cambridge conference entitled "The Transformation of an Elite? Women and Higher Education since 1900". These discussions are recorded in *"Transcript of the Day's Proceedings"* (1998).

ally stimulating process of science rather than results, were more cautious, perfectionistic, comprehensive, published less and took fewer risks with data.

Widnall's (1988) paper reviewed graduate Stanford and Harvard student surveys which revealed that women were uncertain about how to combine a family and career and many women who chose academic life remained single as did Garrod. Women students also often reported discomfort with the combative style of communication within their research groups. Men studied tended to be comfortable with a style "that seeks to reduce one of the protagonists to rubble" (Widnall 1988: 1744). Women interviewed generally found this unacceptable. Kaufman (1978: 11) asked if collegiate ties differ for men and women and found that women felt often excluded by the "exclusive club-like context of male professional society".

Discussions during the conference held in Cambridge on "The Transformation of an Elite? Women and Higher Education since 1900"(1998) focused on gendered self-definitions and informal and formal obstacles which women experience in academe. The results from these discussions, as well as the findings presented in A. Oram's (1989) "Embittered, Sexless or Homosexual" and in T. Stone's (1999) "The Integration of Women into the Military Service", illuminate Garrod's experiences and the problems she faced. As these studies suggest, Garrod appears to have had difficulty in defining her role. When considering Garrod's self-presentation, immediately the manner of her dress is brought to mind. As Professor she chose to dress in an understated, sensible, serious, almost manly manner which led to rumours that she might be lesbian. Elsie M. Butler, Schröder Professor of German, on the other hand, dressed in flowing gowns, wore ribbons in her white hair and smoked a cigarette using a long, elegant holder. This may have been the reason she was considered frivolous by some.

As pointed out by Louise Braddock during the Conference on Women in Higher Education since 1900, women, when they entered Cambridge in greater numbers, found that they were "de-skilled". Oxford and Cambridge have peculiar structures in that they have enormously elaborate committees and women did not know how to behave on University Syndicates. "That's a

separate skill," remarked Gill Sutherland. University roles, argued Felicity Hunt demand "the sorts of skills" for which women were not trained.[181]

This material suggests that academic achievements are not only dependent on an innovative cognitive base but are also dependent on skilled attitudes and necessary learned behaviours.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

Taking into account this literature, exactly what was Dorothy Garrod's difficulty in being Professor? It would seem that she found distasteful exactly the type of behaviour that had resulted in her election. Garrod would not have been capable of running a candidate to divert a vote.

Garrod had obviously never read F.M. Cornford's famous satire of 1908 on Cambridge University politics, *Microcosmographia Academica. Being a guide for the young academic politician*, and was untrained in the types of political manoeuvres this book so accurately describes. The "political activity" of casually negotiating deals while strolling King's Parade was alien to her. "Remember this:" Cornford (1908: 42) warns, "*the men who get things done are the men who walk up and down the King's Parade, from 2 to 4, every day of their lives."*

In addition, Garrod's lack of full membership in the University before 1948 and also the fact that she was a woman barred her from some behind-the-scenes interactions and also from social settings where deals might have been struck. Women were not allowed, for example, to dine at the men's colleges where issues were broached and resolved during conversations at High Table. She would not have been present at important informal discussions where bureaucratic manoeuvrings might have been agreed upon.

Negotiating scrimmages with powerful bureaucratic officers or committees was difficult partly because some members of the General Board of

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[181] Braddock, Sutherland and Hunt speaking during discussion at the University of Cambridge conference entitled "The Transformation of an Elite?" recorded in *"Transcript of the Day's Proceedings"* (1998).

the Faculties were particularly hard to deal with. She was unaccustomed to the often sharp style of Cambridge institutional interactions and was uncomfortable with the verbal sparring and sarcastic retorts which were an acceptable part of the negotiating process. In the electricity budget incident previously mentioned, Garrod would have felt it rude to respond to Saunders. However, when she did not retort, he would have judged her as weak. Saunders might have reacted thus to whomever he dealt with. However, as a result of Garrod's background, personality and gender, she was poorly suited to such interactions.

Garrod had no experience in hierarchical, institutional settings, where she would have been under a General Board, yet over undergraduates. She had never gone to a public school such as Marlborough, as had her brothers, or entered Cambridge and stayed there to build her career, as had Grahame Clark. She was accustomed to leading small, egalitarian research teams where she had control of funding and final decisions, or to supervising one or two students over tea; Garrod was ill-prepared for the University's ranked system.

Throughout, Garrod seems to have been operating on the more co-operative, reasoned, and even dignified mode of behaviour she had enjoyed in the practice of research. This behaviour was maladaptive within Cambridge's arcane institutional, hierarchical arena where control and manipulation of scarce resources were critical and where bureaucratic effectiveness required a tacit knowledge of how to act.

Garrod adequately fulfilled the formal requirements of her office. Her diligent service on the Faculty was well-appreciated. She conscientiously worked on Faculty committees and with Burkitt, Clark and Daniel to formulate regulations and to establish a curriculum for the new Tripos course. According to Daniel (1986), Garrod insisted, while serving on the committee to revise and expand the course, that students be required to gain experience excavating abroad and that the new curriculum stress world prehistory. Daniel considered this to be Garrod's most valuable contribution, commemorated today by the Department's Garrod Fund established specifically to pay students' travel expenses. Garrod thus wished to encourage non-Eurocentric

perspectives, hoping that with experience abroad and knowledge of the prehistory of other nations, students could consider the place of prehistoric England within a broader context.

However, Garrod never seemed to have tried to institutionalise her own research agenda. In comparison to Clark, who immediately taught his own material, pushed an ecological approach to archaeological analysis and who also fought to institutionalise what was to become known world-wide as environmental and palaeoeconomic archaeology, Garrod did not suggest that her many outstanding discoveries or her views on the evolution of *Homo sapiens* should become part of the required curriculum. Papers on the prehistory of the Near East and on the Levantine corridor were conspicuously absent from the newly established Part II. Although she made it clear that she wanted world prehistory to be taught at Cambridge, Garrod seemed completely incapable of "blowing her own trumpet" or championing her own material. In addition, she simply did not appear to understand the importance of attracting students in order to further her own research agenda.

Garrod never became acculturated to the type of informal behaviour needed to be a "Cambridge man". All indications are that she was uncomfortable in her Professorial role and left as soon as her sense of duty allowed. She did a competent job but longed to return to her field research.[182] Clare Fell, who was Assistant Curator of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology from 1948–53, remembered "how shocked and saddened everyone was when she resigned. Dorothy was one of the few women professors and the female academics thought it terrible she should resign. But she was right, as she wanted to finish her research and not get bogged down in administration."[183]

Although she did not function happily within the University hierarchy and certainly was not an intellectual careerist or entrepreneur as was Clark, Garrod was very well-liked by her Archaeology and Anthropology staff colleagues. "Oh, we loved her. She was quite awe-inspiring" remembered

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[182] Thatcher, in conversation, 1998.

[183] Fell, personal correspondence, 1998 and 1999.

Thatcher.[184] According to Daniel (1986: 211), in personal situations, "Dorothy Garrod had been easy to get on with; she was a generous, lovable, outgoing person." Upon retirement, thirty-four members of the Faculty Board presented her with an ornate scroll, inscribed in Latin, which reveals their sadness and respect, which can be translated as:

To Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod
most illustrious teacher and indefatigable explorer of antiquity, who for thirteen years professed the science of archaeology in Cambridge with such great learning, such great splendour, such great friendliness and humanity, her colleagues, acquaintances, friends, whose names are written beneath, joyfully giving thanks for so many things well done, earnestly mourning her sad and premature departure, following her in all excellent things, moved not only by love but also by regret, to one who has deserved it, who tomorrow will emigrate to Gaul, yet will quite often return to Britain, give with pleasure this clock as a gift.

"caelum non animum mutant, qui trans [mare] currunt"
[Horace. Epistles, Book I, 11, line 27]
"those who hasten across [the sea] change their horizon, not their soul"[185]

In the same year that women became full members of Cambridge University, Burkitt, Clark and Garrod succeeded in establishing a full two-part Tripos course for archaeology coupled with anthropology. With the story of the graduation of women and the institutionalisation of a full degree course, this thesis is almost complete. In the late 1940s, Garrod began exploring the beautiful Magdalenian friezes of bison, horses and women in the rock shelter, Roc aux Sorciers, at Angles-sur-l'Anglin. Clark (1949: 64) was about to excavate Star Carr, "one of the richest and most informative sites of

[184] Thatcher, in conversation, 1998.

[185] Quoted from *Exhibition in Honour of D.A.E. Garrod*, Callander and Smith (1998) with permission from Madeleine Lovedy Smith and Antonia Benedek, Professor Garrod's cousin and god-daughter. Translated from the Latin by Susan Bourne.

FIGURE XLV Garrod processing with Butler at Cambridge in academic dress as full members of the University, 1948. (Photograph courtesy of the MAN.)

FIGURE XLVI Dorothy Garrod and Queen Elizabeth at Newnham College. In 1948, Queen Elizabeth was awarded an honorary degree to celebrate the right of all women to take degrees from Cambridge University. (Photograph courtesy of the MAN.)

Maglemosian culture anywhere;" the results, fully published in 1954, demonstrated the profound intellectual power of combining archaeology with Quaternary research. Burkitt, ever the "avuncular Edwardian gentleman"[186], had retired as Secretary to the Faculty Board in 1939 and was increasingly involved in local government, where he championed archaeology as a secondary school subject; this involvement culminated in Burkitt's appointment as High Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.

As the 1940s drew to a close, the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology experienced one of its most creative periods with an explosion of students who scattered to posts in Britain and beyond. Post-war undergraduates tended to be bright and independent colleagues who were trusted by the Faculty to have projects of their own. Students entering Cambridge after World War II were often veterans on exhibitions offered by some colleges, such as Peterhouse, to ex-servicemen. Others who read archaeology came up on the new state scholarships introduced by the wartime Coalition government. A socially diverse group arrived.[187] Some interviewed were the first in their families to have this opportunity. "Meritocracy was coming to Cambridge," observed Whitaker.[188] "The prevailing attitude among both dons and students was that one worked hard to make up for lost time," writes Gathercole (1993: 1). Students whose courses had been interrupted thronged back to Cambridge. Undergraduates, older and feeling wiser after their wartime experiences, were self-starters who were to contribute fully to Cambridge's intellectual imperium.

By 1950, Glyn Daniel (1950) could note that Terence Powell (Tripos 1937) was pioneering prehistoric archaeology as an undergraduate subject at Liverpool. K.D.M. Dauncey (Tripos 1940), who Ray Inskeep (Tripos 1957)

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[186] The full quotation is "He looked and spoke like an avuncular Edwardian gentleman and his data seemed to belong to that era." John Mulvaney (Tripos 1954), personal correspondence, 1999.

[187] This change in the undergraduate population was noted by several interviewees (e.g. Antonia Rose, *née* Sewell, Peter Gathercole.)

[188] Whitaker, in conversation, 2002.

remembered as "a brilliant field archaeologist and brilliant lecturer and teacher", was the only appointment in prehistoric archaeology at Birmingham University. Cyril Fox (Ph.D 1922) had retired from Cardiff but Lady Fox, influenced by the Burkitts, was beginning her campaign to institutionalise archaeology at University College, Exeter. In fact, the only university offering undergraduate courses in Britain which did not have a Cambridge connection was Edinburgh; this was soon to change when Grahame Clark secured a research position for Ian Whitaker (Tripos 1951) under Stuart Piggott at the School of Scottish Studies in 1952.

The Cambridge influence increased in breadth and strength as more dots were added to Clark's world map.[189] John Mulvaney[190] (Tripos 1953) became the foundation Professor of Prehistory in the Faculty of Arts at ANU and is today considered to be the father of Australian prehistory. Jack Golson[191] (Tripos 1951) was instructed by Clark to apply to an academic position in New Zealand. "So, Jack . . . went out to New Zealand and founded New Zealand archaeology."[192] In 1961, Golson took up his appointment at the ANU Research School of Pacific Studies where he "set the Department of Prehistory so firmly on its feet . . . as the first fully trained and academically qualified prehistorian in the Australian National University" (Clark 1993: ii). John Hurst[193] (Tripos 1951) became one of the founders of the Deserted Mediaeval Village Research Group which championed the "study of Mediaeval settlement as a multidisciplinary research project" (Hurst 1986: 1).[194] Hurst

[189] Unfortunately, space does not allow me to mention many other fascinating interviewees. I plan to expand this section in a future book in which I will concentrate on Cambridge graduates and how they became gatekeepers for positions world-wide. For a detailed description of the Cambridge diaspora, see Clark (1989a).

[190] The full transcript of Mulvaney's interview is appended to this thesis.

[191] The interview I recorded with Jack Golson is deposited at the Society of Antiquaries of London.

[192] Mulvaney, in conversation, 2000.

[193] The full transcript of Hurst's interview is appended to this thesis.

[194] This quotation is from a manuscript entitled "The Work of the Medieval Village Research Group 1952–1986", sent to me by John Hurst.

and the DMVRG effectively introduced open-area excavation methods to Britain.[195] Peter Gathercole[196] (Tripos 1952) began his academic career in 1958 when Golson attracted him to a joint appointment as Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Otago and as Keeper of Anthropology at the Otago Museum, New Zealand, where he developed the Otago Department and established undergraduate and post-graduate degrees in archaeology and anthropology. Sylvia Hallam[197] *née* Maycock (Tripos 1948, 1949) became the University of Western Australia's first permanent appointment in prehistoric archaeology. Her students now form a body of professional Australian archaeologists. John Evans (Starred First, Tripos 1949), who worked in the field with his wife, Mrs Evelyn Evans, *née* Sladdin (Tripos 1957),[198] succeeded Gordon Childe in the Chair of European Prehistoric Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London. One of his many accomplishments, as the Institute's Director, was the establishment in 1969 of an undergraduate course leading to a first degree in archaeology.

When commenting on the successful institutionalisation of academic archaeology in 21 British universities and on the presence of Cambridge graduates in Asia, Africa, North America, Australasia, continental Europe and Britain, geographer and the then future Director of the Institute of Archaeology, David R. Harris (1977: 113), wrote,"It is a remarkable story, for there can be few scholarly subjects that owe their academic rise so exclusively to one university, Cambridge."

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[195] According to Jack Golson (in correspondence 2004), "open-area excavation was widely practiced on prehistoric sites in central Europe and Steensberg's mentor, the geographer Gudmund Hatt, had employed it on Iron-Age settlement sites in Jutland. The German refugee G. Bersu had brought it to England before WWII and used it at Little Woodbury. But it was not widely practised in Britain."

[196] Tapes of Gathercole's interviews are deposited at the CUMAA.

[197] Hallam's interview is in my possession.

[198] The transcript of the Evans' interview is appended.