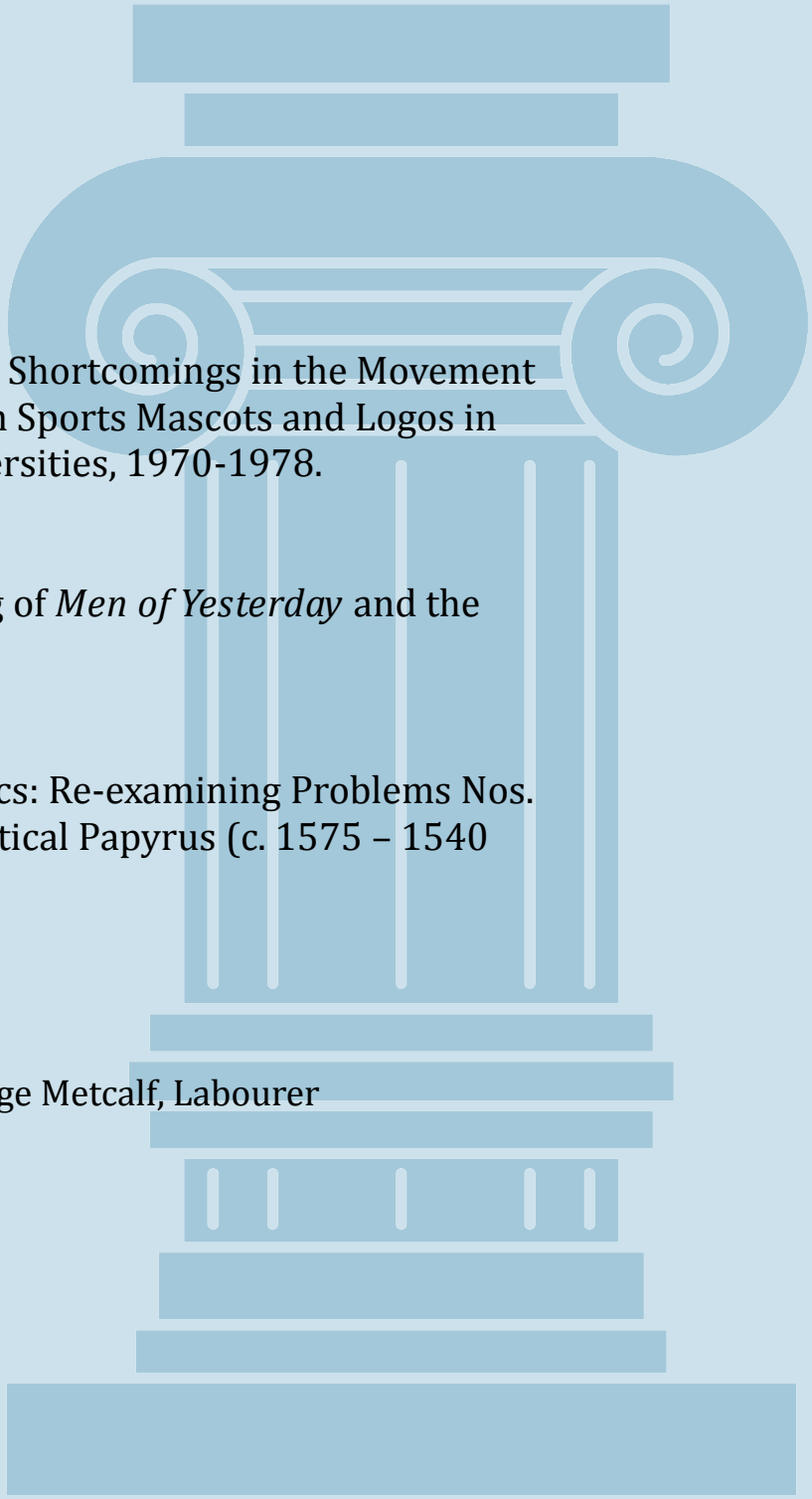
Edition 19 | Number 1 | October 2017

Eras

Humanities Through the Ages



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Editorial

Eras was founded in 2001 with the intention of facilitating interdisciplinary dialogue between postgraduate and early career researchers working across all areas of history, archaeology, theology and Jewish culture. In 2010 our scope was further expanded to include the disciplines of international studies and philosophy, particularly when such work also contains significant historical insight and content. In 2014, the layout underwent significant redesign. The redesign is reflected in this current edition, and has helped to transform *Eras* into a more accessible publication. We have continued to develop *Eras*, with on-going progress in increasing the accessibility to the journal and streamlining the process of reviews and article submission, with a new structure to the *Eras* editorial committee and the growth of this body. This has enabled us to more fully utilise the use of social media to promote *Eras*, especially through our Facebook page, Academia.edu, and Twitter.

Volume 19.1 sees the inclusion of a wide gambit of articles. It was the hope of the editorial committee to publish more within this volume, though several articles will now appear in volume 20, due to careful consideration of the peer-review process. This provides promising reading for the next volume. The current volume begins with an interesting approach by Eugenia Pacitti with an interpretation of the evidence for protests by the Native American community, notably the 'Red Power' movement, and the effort to eliminate Native American Mascots during the 1970s. This is followed by Lisa Hay's discussion of the life of Margaret Kiddle. This offers a new view on her career as a historian within the Melbourne School of History, and her legacy from this position. Sarah Chandlee presents a reinterpretation of ancient Egyptian mathematical problems from the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, with a focus on several key equations and a more developed understanding of the textual interpretation based on Peet's (1923) now dated publication of this material.

We have included a new addition by Stuart Dawson, who offers a historical discourse on the shooting of George Metcalf by Ned Kelly. This is a slightly different addition, as it follows on from Stuart's previous two submissions with *Eras,* though

this shorter piece looks at the evidence and reinterpretation of how historians can engage with the Ned Kelly saga.

In addition to the above peer-reviewed articles, this volume contains a number of book reviews. These reviews cover wide-ranging subject material, reflective of *Eras*' reach across multiple disciplines and fields of research. These include the thought-provoking *Between Quran and Kafta West-Eastern Affinities,* which raises questions about historical and philosophical topics ranging from refugees to poetry. The *Companion to World History* reflects a sound introduction to this topic and surveys of key themes, concepts and studies in broad academic fields. An interesting review of *Not in My Neighborhood and Capitalism's Contradictions* offers a detailed account of Baltimore's history of housing segregation. The continued review of Egyptological and archaeological publications sees reviews of *The Production, Use and Importance of Flint Tools in the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom of Egypt*. This signals the use of lithics in the understanding of early Egyptian history, and their importance and contribution to an overall understanding of the archaeological record from this fascinating culture.

This is also matched by a review of the archaeological investigations in the Fayum Desert, with the *Desert Fayum Reinvestigated.* This multi-disciplined reinvestigation uses new techniques to evaluation recent excavations in the Fayum region. An additional review of *Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers in Archaeology,* highlights the importance of understanding those regions away from major centres in an archaeological record, with the reconstruction of past cultures.

Eras would not be published if not for the generous help of many wonderful individuals. The editorial committee for this volume of *Eras* was comprised of Bernard Keo (Assistant Managing Editor), Rosa Martorana (Reviews Editor), Georgina Rychner (Social Media Editor), Lucy Mayne (Technical Editor), Stephen Joyce, Meagan Pool, Ben Bassett, Liz Miller, Hannah Skipworth, Jennifer Lord, Mimi Petrakis, Lana Stephens, and Lexi Rubenstein. The addition of many new editors has brought fresh perspective to *Eras*, and is valued in shaping and offering new direction for future volumes. I would like to thank these individuals for the work they have provided throughout the process of turning the initial submissions into refereed articles and for also providing editorial comments on the book reviews. My sincere thanks to Bernard for the suggestions and evolving direction of *Eras*. My gratitude to Rosa for her wonderful work in sourcing and collating the book reviews, and putting

up with all of my requests. Significant appreciation is expressed to Lucy for her effort in assisting with the final web-ready publication of this volume. I would also like to offer our gratitude and earnest thanks to the numerous publishers who have provided us with review copies of their publications, and the authors who have submitted manuscripts for consideration. I would also like to highlight and extended my sincere thanks to the academics who have made recommendations or who acted as a peer review for the articles within this volume. I would like to acknowledge your assistance and the anonymous comments you have provided; without your significant contribution to *Eras*, the journal would not be possible to produce.

Caleb R. Hamilton
Editor-in-Chief

Up for the Fight: Success and Shortcomings in the Movement to Eliminate Native American Sports Mascots and Logos in American Colleges and Universities, 1970-1978.

Eugenia Pacitti
(Monash University)

Abstract: *Following the prominence of African American civil rights activism in the 1960s, the 1970s saw several important protests by the Native American community, commonly known as the "Red Power" movement. This article examines a part of this movement that has not received widespread attention: the effort between 1970 and 1978 to eliminate Native American sports mascots and logos from colleges and universities in the United States. Although there were significant achievements made by the activists involved, who considered these representations to be demeaning and false, there are still over one thousand such mascots and logos active today. This article focuses on five major US universities and colleges, and considers the successes and shortcomings of the movement to eliminate Native American mascots at each of them. These reasons include a lack of unity amongst Native American students, a lack of support from the wider Native American community, strong opposition from college and university alumni, and an inability to gain the support of local or national politicians or Native American activists for the cause. The unique nature of sports such as baseball, basketball and ice hockey within American college and university culture is also taken into consideration. This article adds to discussions about racial appropriation within American sporting culture, and considers the movement to eliminate Native American sports mascots and logos within a narrative of the "Red Power" movement, positing as to why the movement was only partially realised.*

Keywords: *mascot, logo, Native American, American Indian, Red Power, activism, sports history, American sporting culture*

It is midway through the final innings on a warm July afternoon in 1972. The Atlanta Braves are leading the game five to four. Braves batter up. The ball is pitched—contact! The Braves' mascot, Chief Noc-A-Homa, watches the fly ball from a tepee on a platform in the bleachers. Home run! The Chief emerges from his tepee, clad in buckskins, moccasins and war paint. He begins jumping and dancing around the platform, his Plains Indian eagle-feathered headdress trailing behind him in flight. He sets off smoke signals into the air, and concludes his celebratory dance with a final, flourishing leap. The crowd cheers.

During the 1990s, the controversial use of Native American mascots and logos in sport was a popular talking point in schools, colleges and professional teams. It was a debate with roots in the 1970s, when crowd-pleasing mascots like Chief Noc-A-Homa, and team logos depicting stereotyped Native Americans, were commonplace in American sporting teams. Although the Chief's moniker was intended as a humorous play on 'knock-a-homer (a home run), many Native Americans were not amused by his name, attire or role during Atlanta Braves matches. In 1972, Native American students, prominent activists and local residents rallied against his use. One protester claimed that The Chief depicted the Indian "to the larger segment of American society as something to be laughed at and not taken seriously and therefore not due respect".[1] Conversely, those who supported the use of the mascot deemed that it commanded respect for Native Americans by symbolising positive traits such as bravery, strength, and skill, as well as honouring local Indian history.

In the 1970s, there were five notable cases that resulted in the elimination of mascots and logos from colleges and universities, including the retirement of "Little Red" at The University of Oklahoma, "Willie Wampum" at Marquette University, Stanford University's "Prince Lightfoot", as well as mascots at Dartmouth College and Syracuse University. These five cases in question were widely covered in university publications, and some received the attention of mainstream press. These documents shed light on the challenges faced by the movement and its leaders.

[1] "Indian Movement Out To De-Indianise Braves," *The Washington Post*, 19 January 1972.

Whilst significant research has been undertaken regarding this use of Native American mascots and the push to eliminate them, this has mainly focused upon attempts to abolish Indian imagery at schools from the 1980s onwards, and the psychological effects of these images on Indian students.[2] Less has been published on the origins of the movement to abolish the imagery in higher-level institutions and even less attention given to the shortcomings of those movements.

Before discussing the movement itself, it is first necessary to gain a grasp of the cultural climate of civil rights action in which it occurred. When one thinks of prominent mass protest movements against racial discrimination in the United States, it is usually the Civil Rights movement of the African American population that comes to mind. Although it has received significantly less attention than this movement, there is indeed a developed literature on Native American activism in twentieth-century United States. Much of this suggests that this activism, coined the "Red Power" movement, began in earnest in November 1969, when 89 urban-based American Indians began an occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay.[3] The nineteen-month-long occupation garnered a great deal of media and celebrity attention, drew attention to the struggles faced by American Indians, and captured the imagination and energy of young Indians.[4] Despite the prominence of this act, recent scholarship has tended away from the idea of the occupation of Alcatraz as the 'genesis or ground-zero' of the movement. Instead, it finds its roots in a longer history of Indian activism that dates to the early twentieth-century.[5] Bradley Shreve ascribes the origins of the movement to the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) which first met in 1961, whilst Charles Wilkinson looks more generally to the climate of the post-war era as the beginning of what he considers to be a major civil rights

[2] See: C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood, eds., *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascots Controversy*, (USA: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); C. Richard King ed., *The Native American Mascot Controversy,* (USA: The Scarecrow Press, 2010); Lawrence R. Baca, "Native Images in Schools and the Racially Hostile Environment," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28:1, (2004): 71-78; D. Stanley Eitzen and Maxine B. Zinn, "The Dark Side of Sports Symbols," *USA Today Magazine*, 129, 2668 (2001): 48-51.

[3] Alvin M. Josephy, Troy R. Johnson, and Joane Nagel, eds., *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 1. Activist Clyde Warrior coined the term "Red Power" in 1966. For a discussion of its origins, see Bradley Glenn Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 8.

[4] Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: New Press, 1996), 38.

[5] Ibid., 37.

movement in American history.[6] Others look back even further to activism of Native Americans in early-to-mid twentieth-century progressive organisations to begin the narrative of the movement.[7]

The movement has not only proved difficult to locate temporally, but also to define in the scope of its aims and actions. Some provide a loose definition that includes participants involved in both militant activism and moderate lobbying, such as the "fish-ins" that began in the 1960s. Others have focused more on the violent nature of many of the protests led by the American Indian Movement (AIM), likening the group to the African American revolutionary organisation: the Black Panthers.[8] Bradley Shreve suggests that rather than attempt to define the movement in relation to others before it, we should look much closer at and adhere to the definitions of Red Power that Native American activists and lobbyists of the 1960s and 1970s made for themselves.[9] Despite differences in scope and approach, the literature is underpinned by a characterisation of American Indian activism in the twentieth-century as a long struggle for self-determination and representation, often emphasising the nature of intertribal politics, and the conflict between urban and reservation Indians. This activism set a firm foundation and provided students with inspiration needed to engage with the issue of Native American mascots and logos in sport.

For the most part, the literature on Native American activism does not feature the movement to eliminate Native American sports mascots. Instead, it has focused on more prominent events that attracted strong media interest, such as the Alcatraz occupation and the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in 1972, as well as changes in policy and law that has affected Native Americans.[10] At the same time, scholarship on the attempts to abolish these mascots does not explicitly place the

[6] Bradley Glenn Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 3; Charles F. Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*, 1st ed. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005).
[7] Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*; Daniel M. Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008); Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler, eds., *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research, 2007); Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 130.
[8] Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*, 130. For more on the "fish-ins" of the mid-1960s see: Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle*, 150-173.
[9] Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism*, 7.
[10] See: Shreve, *Red Power Rising.;* Josephy, Johnson, and Nagel, eds., *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom*.

actions of students at American colleges and universities within the larger history of twentieth-century American Indian activism. There are several similarities however, that link the push to eliminate Indian mascots and logos with the wider Indian activism of the 1970s. This article situates the movement to eliminate Native American mascots and logos in American sport within the longer narrative of Indian activism. By identifying some characteristics of this wider movement, such as disunity amongst activists and between activists and other Native Americans, I suggest some reasons why the student-led movement to eliminate Indian mascots and logos in five American colleges and universities between 1970-1978, faced difficulties and had shortcomings. As well as the characteristics above, I also consider the barrage of criticism aimed at the activists by university alumni, and the sentiment that minorities are not always right, which pervaded some higher-level institutions in 1970s USA. This will contribute to a broader understanding of Native American activism in the mid-late twentieth century, beyond the much-discussed events, such as the protests at Alcatraz and Wounded Knee, and will also consider how popular representations of Indians can be understood within this narrative.

The Significance of Mascots and Logos

One may ask why the crowd-entertaining mascot who spent five minutes on the baseball pitch created so much outrage? Why did a tiny logo on a football helmet result in vehement protest that continues today? To answer this, it must first be established that mascots are not trivial. They are neither flat nor static, rather they are dynamic signifiers that "project certain symbolic connotations".[11] These connotations include the physical image of Indians depicted on logos, as well as the image and behavioural actions of a team mascot. More than a tag or label, the mascot comes to define the institution that it represents. Mascots and logos create a sense of community and solidarity between athletes, fans, the college community and the public.[12] While their intention is to energise the crowd and provide a focal point for fans, these symbols can also project a false or offensive image to the spectator. This became particularly problematic in the 1970s because many of the

[11] Frank Nuessel, "Objectionable Sports Team Designations," *Names: A Jounral of Onomastics* 42, no. 2 (1994): 101-19, 08.
[12] D. Stanley Eitzen and Maxine Baca Zinn, "The Dark Side of Sports Symbols," *USA Today (Magazine)* 129, no. 2668 (2001): 48.

mascots and logos seen in American colleges and universities were not accurate portrayals of American Indians nor their culture, but rather the creations and symbols of "Indianness" as imagined by non-Indians.[13]

It is also important to consider the use of the image of Native Americans rather than any other race. There are no American teams nicknamed the Jews or the Negroes, so why Native Americans? Since the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492, the relationship between European-Americans and Native Americans has been fraught. Many conflicts saw Indians considered uncultured savages–sometimes noble, sometimes not–which led to loss of life and land, and ultimately their severe marginalisation. Throughout the centuries, the American Indian has been constantly persecuted and controlled predominantly by white Americans. This led to them becoming the most ignored, and virtually invisible population in the United States.[14] Despite their relative invisibility, historians such as Phillip J. Deloria and Jay Mechling have identified an American proclivity for 'playing Indian'.[15] Non-Native Americans have been "playing Indian" from those who disguised themselves as Mohicans at the Boston Tea Party, to boy scout camps and meetings of "Red Men" societies built around Indian lore that encouraged non-Indian children and adults to dress up and act in a way they perceive to be "Indian".[16] The over-culture's affinity for "playing Indian" over hundreds of years is based on a will to embody positive qualities associated with Native Americans, such as bravery, strength, nobility, and "authenticity".[17] Native American-inspired sports team names, mascots, and logos also supposedly embodied 'pride, competition [and] tradition', rather than specific racist connotations.[18] The use of Native American images in sport, therefore, can be understood as part of a broader narrative of non-Indian people appropriating Indian culture.

[13] For detailed discussion on the history of the persistent tradition of "playing Indian" in American culture, see: Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[14] Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, 279; Lee Sigelman, "Hail to the Redskins? Public Reactions to a Racially Sensitive Team Name," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 15, no. 4 (1998): 317-25, 23.
[15] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, esp. 62-120.; Jay Mechling, ""Playing Indian" and the Search for Authenticity in Modern White America," *Prospects* 5 (1980): 17-33, 18.
[16] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, esp. 62-120.; Jay Mechling, ""Playing Indian" and the Search for Authenticity in Modern White America," *Prospects* 5 (1980): 17-33, 18.
[17] Fergus M. Bordewich, *Killing the White Man's Indian: Reinventing Native Americans at the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 17.
[18] C. Richard King, *Redskins: Insult and Brand* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 69.

Additionally, and importantly, these symbolic mascots are placed within one of the most influential arenas in American society: sport. In the 1970s, as today, sport was an integral part of American life. Baseball, football, basketball, hockey, these favourite spectacles for Americans brought people together to revel in displays of skill and athletic ability. Sports were also a central aspect of colleges and universities across the country. American historian Richard Davies posits that "the American system of higher education [was] unique for its commitment to athletic competition".[19] The competing teams were not only important to the staff, students and alumni of their respective institutions, they also gained support from the wider community. Attendance at college football matches averaged around 10,000 people in the early 1970s.[20] Team mascots became pivotal in energising the crowd, building the core narrative of the team, and creating a sense of solidarity.[21] Many had a large following and fans eagerly awaited their dance at half time and after a touchdown or home run. The admiration of mascots meant that misrepresentations of Indians were viewed widely and the sports field became a ground for fostering these images. Mascots and names are key to the narrative of a team and its fans, so those who supported the use of Native American mascots and logos felt strongly that they had something worth fighting to retain.

The Origins of Native American Imagery in College Sport

The use of Native American imagery in college sport started in the late-nineteenth century when sports journalists began to assign Native American nicknames to their local teams and the language of American-Indian Wars entered into sports coverage.[22] The development of these nicknames into symbols and mascots went largely unchallenged, including by those they purported to characterise, and the opposition that existed was far from united.[23] An association

[19] Richard O. Davies, *Sports in American Life: A History* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 62.
[20] "NCAA Division 1 Football Records (Attendance Records)," *NCAA,* (2010), 2, accessed 2 August 2016, http://fs.ncaa.org/Docs/stats/football_records/DI/2010/Attendance.pdf
[21] King, *Redskins: Insult and Brand*, 64.
[22] J. Gordon Hylton, "Before the Redskins Were the Redskins: The Use of Native American Team Names in the Formative Era of American Sports, 1857-1933," *North Dakota Law Review* 86 (2010): 879-905, 895.; King, *Redskins: Insult and Brand*, 20.
[23] C. Richard King discusses the origins of the use of the term "Redskins" for the Washington D.C-based baseball team, pointing to historic anxieties over white masculinities, and the differences in

developed between Native Americans and athletic prowess, and the use of Native American names was supposed to reflect their positive attributes and convey respect, rather than be disparaging.[24] This changed, however, in the late 1960s when small groups of student activists pressured their institution's administration to abolish the Indian mascot or logo. The movement spread across the country from the University of Oklahoma, to Marquette University, Stanford University, Dartmouth College and Syracuse University. These institutions met the students' request and all eliminated their Indian symbols. For the most part, these students achieved their goal: a campus free of symbols that made them feel unwelcome and disrespected. Although this article discusses some of the limitations of the movement, the significance of their achievements cannot be overlooked or understated.[25]

Disunity Amongst Indian Students

Although Native American mascots were eliminated at five major institutions throughout the 1970s, the effort to achieve this had several shortcomings that can be understood by situating the movement within a wider narrative of Indian activism in the 1960s and 1970s. Perhaps the foremost of these issues is the lack of unity amongst Indian students, which has also been described as a feature of the "messy, disorganised" action undertaken at Alcatraz.[26] From its inception to its abolishment as the official university mascot, Indian students were divided over the Little Red at the University of Oklahoma. An Indian mascot is said to have first appeared at The University of Oklahoma (OU) in the 1940s when student Jack Redbird led "the band onto the field…in full Indian costume" at football matches.[27] Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, other Native students Dick West and Philip Waller facilitated the mascot's evolution into Little Red: a dancing Indian in a "satin shirt, buckskin

popular uses and understandings of Native American imagery compared to other racial groups, such as African Americans. King, *Redskins: Insult and Brand*, 11-28.

[24] Hylton, "Before the Redskins were the Redskins," 891-902.

[25] C. Richard King and Charles Springwood have both written about several success stories in which Indian mascots and logos were eliminated in United States schools and universities. See: King and Springwood, *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascot Controversy*.; King, *The Native American Mascot Controversy: a handbook*.

[26] Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, 64.

[27] Boyce Timmons, "A Matter of Individual Choice," *The Sooner Magazine,* October 1970, accessed 22 June 2016, https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/sooner/article_info.asp?articleID=10867&issueID=511&period=October&year=1970&volume=44&issue=1

leggings, and an eagle feather bonnet".[28] (Figure 1) It became clear however that not all Native American students at OU supported Little Red.

In 1969, a group of students, who were members of OU's chapter of the National Indian Youth Council, staged a daylong sit-in to oppose the use of Little Red. They also delivered a petition with 32 signatures to the president of the university, J. Herbert Holloman.[29] It stated that the mascot "serve[d] as a symbol of the physical oppression and cultural degradation" faced by American Indians in the past.[30] Their protest did not persuade all other Indians on campus to unite for the cause. Instead, these Indian students decided to use the mascot as a way to show all on campus that "college was a place for Indians".[31] Kirke Kickingbird, who was Little Red in 1969, told the University's student-produced newspaper that his family and tribal chairman encouraged him to use the role to gain more understanding for Indians.[32] Many Indians did not support the mascot elimination movement, and some like Kickingbird even actively pushed for its retention.

The OU chapter of the NIYC assisted the push to eliminate Little Red as the university's mascot, and in doing so, a connection developed between this action and "Red Power" activism of the 1970s. Their use of sit-ins as a form of protest also mimicked earlier "fish-in" efforts of the NIYC in the 1960s. Although OU students had support from the NIYC, their lack of organisation contributed to the unsuccessful movement to eliminate Little Red. By October 1970, even the president of the OU chapter of the NIYC Dave Poolaw described the mascot issue as a "circus situation" that had got wildly out of hand.[33] He said that the group had lost sight of its aims: the creation of an Indian Studies program, scholarships and help for Indian students. The students lacked experience in campaigning for Indian rights and their strategies for enacting change were not always effective, meaning that the movement was left without a unified front or clear direction. Without strong organisation and adherence

[28] S. Matthew DeSpain, ""Little Red Died for Your Sins": Playing Indian at the University of Oklahoma and the Rise and Fall of Little Red," *Native Matters: The Journal of Native American Studies* 2 (2012): 12-20, 12.
[29] "OU Indian Group Asks Mascot Ban," *The Oklahoman*, 22 November 1969.
[30] DeSpain, ""Little Red Died for Your Sins": Playing Indian at the University of Oklahoma and the Rise and Fall of Little Red," 20.
[31] Ibid., 17.
[32] Oklahoma Daily, 14 November 1969.
[33] Dave Poolaw, "Not Everyone Loves Mascots," *The Sooner Magazine*, October 1970, 21-22, accessed 22 June 2016, https://digital.libraries.ou.edu/sooner/article_info.asp?articleID=10867&issueID=511&period=October&year=1970&volume=44&issue=1

to an established goal, OU student's efforts lost momentum and Little Red reappeared on the sporting field in the following decade.

At the height of the issue, Indian students like Kirke Kickingbird who brought Little Red to life, were not happy with fellow students' attempts to eliminate him. Nor were they convinced that the mascot racially demeaned them or should have been retired. Over a decade later in 1984, one of the first Little Reds Philip Waller attempted to revive the mascot by appearing on the sidelines at a football match dressed in full Indian attire.[34] Waller was sanctioned for his actions, but demonstrated that the issue was not buried and Indians were still willing to fight to retain their beloved mascot. Waller's demonstration confirms that unity between Indian students was never achieved at OU. Little Red came to exist because of Native American students who felt that he honoured Indians on campus. In the same manner—at the hands of Native American students—he met his demise. Without the unanimous support of Indian students, there was little hope that the mascot would lie down quietly.

A similar situation of student disunity arose at Marquette University. Their mascot, Willie Wampum,[35] was described in *The Marquette Tribune* as a "grinning, tomahawk swinging Redskin", with a huge fiberglass head, who "spent his time chasing the mascots of opponents and entertaining the fans".[36] After eleven seasons on the basketball court, the buzzer went on Willie Wampum in early 1971 when the Student Senate voted 16-9 to "retire him as soon as possible".[37] His abolition though was not proposed by a unified group of Indian students, but by the activist Milwaukee priest, Father James Groppi. Editor of *The Marquette Tribune* Patrick Deady reported that controversy was stirring over the mascot in January 1971, but that this concern was not dominant among the Native American student population. Indian student Bernard Vigue said that seeing caricatured images of their race was "just

[34] Beth Powell, "Little Red's Return Irks Some Indian OU Students," *The Oklahoman*, October 24, 1984.
[35] It is Marquette University policy to not publish images of Willie Wampum. The author instead directs readers to the following search link should they wish to view images of the mascot. See: http://cdm16280.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/search/collection/p4007hilltop!p4007coll14!p4007coll18!p4007coll22!p128701coll1!p128701coll5!p128701coll6!p16280coll1!p16280coll3/searchterm/%22willie%20wampum%22/field/all/mode/all/conn/and/cosuppress/0
[36] ""Willie Wampum" Is Warrior Mascot," *The Marquette Tribune,* 15 November 1961, Box 16, B-2.2, Indian Symbol/Mascot 1977-1990, Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries.
[37] John J. Gilmore, "Willie Wampum: almost everybody's friend," *The Marquette Tribune*, 3 April 1974, Box 16, B-2.2, Indian Symbol/Mascot 1977-1990, Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries.

one of those things that Indians experience all the time".[38] Whilst this could be considered something that should be rectified, Vigue considered it "nothing really to worry about".[39] He also extended this feeling of apathy to the five other Native American students he knew on campus. This suggests that Indian students were used to being trivialised on campus and it did not really distress them. The article also noted that one Native American student they contacted had never even heard of Willie Wampum.[40] These examples do not depict Indian Marquette students actively attempting to keep Willie Wampum alive. Instead they show that Native American students on campus were just not overly concerned with their caricatured mascot, and certainly not concerned enough to form a group dedicated to its abolishment. The prevalence of inauthentic "Indian" symbols in the media can explain student indifference to these caricatured depictions of Native Americans. Romanticised images of Indians were rife, particularly in films, which may have led Indian students to simply accept their portrayal as part of a wider societal acceptance of inaccurate imagery, and even participate in and perpetuate it.[41]

Lack of Representation on Campus

The fact that there were very few Indian students at college campuses in the 1970s is another key reason the push to eliminate Indian mascots did not proceed smoothly. Without strong numbers, the movement struggled to depict a sense of solidarity that would attract the attention of college administration or the wider public. Dartmouth College was founded in 1769 with the local Native American population in mind. This is reflected in the college charter, which states the university's aim of "civilising…Christianising, and instructing the Indian natives of [the] land".[42] In the college's first two hundred years however, only sixty Native American students attended.[43] Despite the lack of student representation, the Indian was ever-present

[38] Patrick Deady, "MU mascot called offensive," *The Marquette Tribune* 55:31, 27 January 1971, Box 16, B-2.2, Indian Symbol/Mascot 1977-1990, Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Deady, "MU mascot called offensive."
[41] Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*, 43-47.
[42] "Dartmouth College Charter," *Dartmouth College Rauner Library*, accessed 1 July 2016, http://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/rauner/dartmouth/dc-charter.html?mswitch-redir=classic
[43] Colin Calloway, "Long Time Coming," *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine,* July/August 2010, accessed 1 July 2016, http://dartmouthalumnimagazine.com/long-time-coming/

on campus through the university's logo that featured the head of a Native American. The choice of this logo was grounded in a desire to adhere to the commitment of this original charter. A statement by the College Trustees noted that in 1970, there were only three Native American students enrolled at Dartmouth.[44] Over the next four years, the college actively recruited Indian students in an effort to be committed to its original prime reason for being: Indian education.[45]

The four students who demanded the Indian head logo be changed in 1968 certainly did not feel welcome on campus. They felt that if the college was committed to becoming a centre for Native American people, it was necessary to remove a mascot that "nourished only a romantic notion of being an 'Indian'".[46] They also believed that Dartmouth's sudden commitment to recruiting Indian students appeared "designed to assuage a national feeling of guilt" rather than really try to aid their plight.[47] This was said in light of a commitment in the 1970s by institutions like Dartmouth to admitting more students from racial minorities.[48] To be sincere in its devotion to Indian education, it seemed that Dartmouth would have to remove the Indian head logo. As the college never officially adopted the logo, the committee that deliberated over the issue concluded that there was "nothing to repeal".[49] They did, however, recognise that the logo was inconsistent with the institutional and academic objectives of the college, and encouraged individuals to make conscious decisions over their personal use of it.[50] According to the Alumni Council Report, many factions of the university voluntarily did away with Indian imagery and terms. This included the college's undergraduate newspaper, radio station, the alumni magazine and those who used stationery and letterheads bearing the Indian logo. Whether it

[44] 'Trustees of Dartmouth Re-Affirm College Policy Supporting Native American Program, Discourage Use of Indian Symbol," *Dartmouth College News Services,* 30 October 1974, Box 1473, File 16, Records of Dartmouth College Trustees Collection DA-1.
[45] Rosenthal suggests that this can be viewed as part of a nation-wide effort to increase the participation of Native Americans and other students of colour in higher education during the late 1960s. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*, 132.
[46] "Policy Statement and Recommendations from Native Americans at Dartmouth on The Dartmouth "Indian" Symbol," 1972, Box 1473, File 18, Records of Dartmouth College Trustees Collection DA-1, Dartmouth College Archives.
[47] "Report and Recommendations of the Indian Symbol Study Committee — Dartmouth Alumni Council," 15 June 1972, Box 1473, File 18, Records of Dartmouth College Trustees Collection DA-1.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] 'Trustees of Dartmouth Re-Affirm College Policy Supporting Native American Program, Discourage Use of Indian Symbol," *Dartmouth College News Services,* 30 October 1974, Box 1473, File 16, Records of Dartmouth College Trustees Collection DA-1, Dartmouth College Archives.

was due to their recruitment program or a more welcoming environment with fewer images of the Indian logo, the number of Native American students rose in the following years.[51] In the 1970s at least, there were too few Indians on campus to initiate official condemnation of the college logo. With more student representation, perhaps there would be stronger support on campuses nowadays to campaign against Indian imagery.

Lack of Support from the Local Indian Community

In addition to their own internal disunity, the Native American student population did not receive strong support from the local Indian community. This ultimately added to a sense of disorganisation and a lack of solidarity with their cause. Charles Springwood states that one can "hardly expect unanimous opinion from any single cultural community", and Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior denote that "Indian leadership was rarely united" during the "Red Power" movement because their demands and wants were not the same.[52] These statements ring true when considered as a reason why the push to eliminate Indian mascots did not receive strong support from the wider Indian community. It was reported in the student newspaper of Syracuse University, *The Daily Orange,* that the "Onondaga reservation Indians consulted had no objection" to the mascot's use, "as long as it was done in a dignified manner".[53] Student Ron Hill emphasised this in his letter to the editor of *The Daily Orange*. He advised that there was "no need for alarm" on campus because the "Indians who live on the reservation south of Syracuse [would] not unite and sweep down on the…campus, raiding and burning down buildings".[54] Some of the university population doubted the ability of the campaign to truly disrupt the current use of Indian imagery, and considered it valid to try to keep the issue of mascots an internal university matter. With low Indian student numbers on campus though, the lack of community support meant that the movement did not receive the attention it needed to prevent the Warriors nickname being retained.

[51] Calloway, "Long Time Coming".
[52] Charles Fruehling Springwood, ""I'm Indian Too!" Claiming Native American Identity, Crafting Authority in Mascot Debates," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28, no. 1 (2004): 56-70, 57.; Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, 57.
[53] Brian O'Neill, "Mounts, Indians discuss warrior symbol," *Syracuse Daily Orange,* 10 November 1977, accessed July 22, 2016, http://dailyorange.com/archives/
[54] Ron Hill, "Letter to the Editor," *Syracuse Daily Orange*, 21 February 1972.

At Marquette, the university's American Indian Counsellor Maxine Smallish sent an open letter to the local Indian community in 1978 asking if they favoured or opposed the introduction of a new "Warrior" mascot. The letter stipulated that the new mascot would in no way resemble the old Willie Wampum. Instead it would be a "salute to the American Indian students at Marquette and of the state of Wisconsin".[55] The result was 85 people in support, 19 opposed and three who were indifferent.[56] The fact that only 107 responses were received from 1500 mailed out letters, conveys that the American Indian community of Milwaukee was not overly concerned with the issue. Some Native Americans in the Milwaukee area wrote letters voicing their anger at the dismissal of Willie Wampum. They were particularly bewildered that it was a non-Native American who initiated his removal. Chippewa Indian Ruth Braeger asked, "who gave Father James Groppi the right to assume [himself] a spokesman for the American Indian on the matter?".[57] Clarence Reil added that the "mascot [was] not harming the Indian's image", and that if Indians were offended by it, they could do their "own speaking and fighting".[58] The Indian community did not like being spoken for by a white priest and only a small group of students. Just as the occupation of Alcatraz Island had been considered an exercise done by "privileged, misguided youth", the work of students at OU too fell victim to the misguided behaviour of optimistic student[s.59] Director of Indian Programs at OU, Boyce Timmons, stated that the students' biggest mistake was to make themselves "self-appointed Indian spokesmen for the Indians of Oklahoma without ever asking the Indians of Oklahoma anything about it".[60] College-educated students who felt entitled to speak on behalf of a community clashed with others in the community who did not share their perspective about the matter. The resulting resentment and lack of agreement between Indians on campus and the wider Indian community meant that the students did not add legitimacy to their cause with this broader support. Without this support, the apparent importance of their campaign as benefitting a wider Indian community was diminished and it achieved only partial success.

[55] Maxine Smallish, "Open Letter to the Indian Community," January 1978, Box 16, B-2.2, Indian Symbol/Mascot 1977-1990, Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries.
[56] Smallish, "Open Letter to the Indian Community."
[57] Ruth Ann Braeger, "Willie Wampum Welcome," *The Milwaukee Journal,* 3 February 1971.
[58] Clarence Reil Jr., "Indians Walk Alone," *The Milwaukee Journal*, 3 February 1971.
[59] Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, 87.
[60] Boyce Timmons, "A Matter of Individual Choice," *The Sooner Magazine,* October 1970.

The Need for Support from Local Leaders

By the early 1970s, Indians had seen over a decade of African American-led civil rights activism, and "felt a yearning for the same kind of attention".[61] Differences in aims and approaches however, meant that the two movements for civil rights had a complicated relationship.[62] Charles Wilkinson has noted that despite these differences, the African American civil rights movement "put wind beneath the wings" of the Indian movement and allowed them to take up the fight to take control of their own representation in the early 1970s.[63] Yet C. Richard King brings to light the divergent interests of the two groups, and suggests that racial thinking in the United States has come to "pivot around the interface of blackness and whiteness" to the disadvantage of Native Americans.[64] Seemingly, the climate was right for real change to occur on campuses across the United States, but the push to eliminate Native American mascots and logos struggled for wide success from the outset. The movement's inability to acquire the support of any prominent American Indian leaders was a contributing factor. This left it without the impact of other Indian civil rights action such as the occupation of Alcatraz, the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building (1972), and siege at Wounded Knee (1973), which had the support of prominent leaders such as Vine Deloria and Russell Means. This is not to say that Indian leaders were not interested in the issue of mascots in sport. The case of the Braves' Chief Noc-A-Homa did gain the attention of prominent AIM member Russell Means. He declared the fight to abolish The Chief the beginning of a "national effort to change the stereotype of the American Indian," his next opponent was the Cleveland Indians' Chief Wahoo logo.[65] His optimism did not, however, translate to the removal of the mascots. Chief Noc-A-Homa remained part of the Braves' fixture until 1986 and Chief Wahoo is still grinning today. Perhaps on the smaller scale of colleges and universities, the presence of an ambassador for Indian rights–such as Russell Means–would have projected the cause further. The students did not

[61] Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*, 58.
[62] Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*, 129.
[63] Ibid., 130. Raúl Tovares has also noted the influence of the African-American civil rights movement on the beginnings of increased action by the American Indian population. See: Raúl Tovares, "Mascot Matters: Race, History, and the University of North Dakota's "Fighting Sioux" Logo," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 26, no. 1 (2002): 76-94, 86.
[64] King, *Redskins: Insult and Brand*, 78.
[65] William M. Carley, "Is Chief Noc-A-Homa Racist? Many Indians Evidently Think He Is," *The Wall Street Journal,* 27 January 1972.

capitalise on the well-known Indian leaders of the time and the general atmosphere of protest-based activism, leaving their cause lacking in impact.

Non-Indian Barriers

In addition to limitations on the Native American's part, non-Indians also put up significant barriers to the removal of Indian imagery in sport. Since the early twentieth century, predominantly white sports teams have incorporated Native American imagery into their sports mascots, logos and designations. These were justified as invoking positive attributes like strength, ability and bravery, which were desirable traits on the sporting field. In his article on the use of Indian team names in the formative era of American sports, J. Gordon Hylton establishes that the "attachment of a Native American name to a baseball club was intended to emphasise the 'American' nature of the game".[66] At least in the early part of the story, the use of Indian imagery in sport does not appear to have been derogatory. At Marquette, great effort was made to ensure that mascot who replaced Willie Wampum was respectful and dignified. They employed and paid Native American woman Lila Blackdeer a large sum to craft the "magnificent regalia" for new mascot; The First Warrior.[67] By commissioning an Indian woman to make the outfit, Marquette did not simply create another 'white man's Indian', but one that was authentic in appearance. Despite protests, the university believed that it could have an Indian mascot that commanded respect and honour and the Indian students found it difficult to convince the generally white leaders of the university that this was not the case.

A further 'white barrier' developed from another distinct group within college communities: the alumni. Some members of this powerful group took it upon themselves to protect the symbol of their alma mater. One particularly perseverant campaign was that of Dartmouth Class of 1928 alumnus, Jack Herpel. His advertisement in the college alumni magazine in 1979 asked fellow graduates to respond with whether they wanted a "dignified Indian symbol" or "no Indian symbol"

[66] Hylton, "Before the Redskins Were the Redskins: The Use of Native American Team Names in the Formative Era of American Sports, 1857-1933," 896.
[67] James H. Scott to Lila G. Blackdeer, 8 February 1980, Box 16, B-2.2, Indian Symbol/Mascot 1977-1990, Marquette University Raynor Memorial Libraries.

at Dartmouth.[68] Of the 500 responses received, 90.5 per cent wanted the symbol restored. Nearly two thirds even donated money to the cause.[69] Interestingly, upon analysing Herpel's graphs of the results, it so happened that alumni of classes between 1970 and 1978 provided the fewest responses, but were also most divided over the issue.[70] The figures dictate that there was heavy support amongst older alumni for the reinstatement of the Indian logo—people often with the money and authority to influence their alma mater. That more recent graduates were less inclined to support the mascot, reflects changing perceptions over racially discriminate images. Herpel's campaign did not bring about reinstatement of the mascot, but did, however, bring forward the disgruntled voice of an influential group at the college.

Much of the backlash from the college community and alumni came about through the widespread attitude that minorities are not always right. In an era when African Americans had demanded their civil rights through forms of public protest, some of the white population appears to have grown tired of minority groups claims of discrimination. This brought about a broader simmering of resentment and backlash to a perceived sense of entitlement by minority groups. Students and alumni voiced this opinion, as did some mainstream press publications. In a satirical piece, Marquette student Charles Pierce wrote that to appease those in opposition to Indian mascots, the National Collegiate Athletic Association should "require all schools to name their teams the Wildcats", as it would "run little risk of offending anyone".[71] This reveals the sentiment that minorities were just being hypersensitive. Alumnus John Barchilon similarly questioned the ability of a "t-shirt and mascot" to really transmit and develop serious attitudes about minority groups. If they can do so he writes, then Indians have "discovered the two most potent propaganda tools in history".[72]

The belief that minorities were not always right also brought about a discernible unwillingness in some institutions to rid their schools entirely of

[68] Jack Herpel, "FADDIS (For a Dignified Dartmouth Indian Symbol) Report," June 1979, Box 1473, Records of Dartmouth College Trustees DA-1, Dartmouth College Archives.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid. Responding alumni from classes 1930-1939 voted 70 for and 2 against, whereas those in classes 1970-1978 voted 30 for and 14 against. In the intermediate years, support for the mascot continually declined.
[71] Charles P. Pierce, "The Wampum cover-up story," *The Marquette Tribune*, 3 April 1974.
[72] John Barchilon, Letter to the Editor, *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, July 1972, accessed 1 July 2016, http://archive.dartmouthalumnimagazine.com/issue/19720701#!&pid=2

disparaging Indian imagery. In some cases, the mascot or logo was retired but other depictions of Indians remained. Painted on the walls at Dartmouth College's Thayer Dining Hall (later known as the Hovey Grill) are the Hovey Murals. The murals depict college founder Eleazar Wheelock sharing "five hundred gallons of New England rum" with various American Indian characters.[73] The fifth panel portrays seven semi-nude Indian women posing in a sexualised manner. The murals project and propagate an image of the Indian as perceived at the founding of Dartmouth in the eighteenth century. Although the murals have value as artworks, the image they portray of Indians as primitive and uncultured could be seen as equally demeaning and harmful as some thought the Indian head logo to be. The murals remained prominent in the dining hall and were not covered until 1983. They are still occasionally unveiled for educational purposes.[74] Dartmouth discontinued its Indian logo, but the Hovey Murals' importance as artworks overcame the Indian minority group's insistence that they were offensive. By keeping the murals, the college did not grant Native American students a campus fully free of offensive imagery.

The Indian symbol at Stanford University continued to resurface despite being banned in 1972. Almost every year since, there have been campaigns to bring the logo back and students still dress in Indian logo jumpers, headbands, and don war paint at sports matches. This occurs especially around the time of the "Big Game" between Stanford and rivals from The University of California, Berkeley.[75] When Native American students first petitioned to remove the logo, ombudsman Lois Anderson wrote of the "simplicity of the remedy" to the situation.[76] The remedy—to "permanently discontinue" the symbol—has proven to be far from simple.[77] Many students are unwilling to let the Indian symbol go, and so have asked for the introduction of a nobler looking Indian that would appease Native Americans who were offended by the old one.[78] This request has been repeatedly denied, but it

[73] Robert McGrath, "American Bacchanal: Myth, Memory, and the "Hovey Murals," in *The Hovey Murals at Dartmouth College: Culture and Contexts*, ed. Brian P. Kennedy (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2015), 19-44, 21.
[74] "Hovey Murals," *Hood Museum of Art,* accessed 23 July 2016, http://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/collections/overview/artoncampus/hovey.html
[75] "The Removal of the Indian Mascot of Stanford," *Stanford Native American Cultural Centre*, accessed 24 July 2016, http://nacc.stanford.edu/mascot.html
[76] Lois S. Anderson to Richard W. Lyman, 3 February 1972, File 8655, Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
[77] "Petition Presented to the Ombudsman of Stanford University," January 1972, File 8655, Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.
[78] Ibid.

demonstrates the allegiance felt to the old symbol. Loyalty to the university and its heritage has kept the Indian symbol alive, and the sense of solidarity created by the logo means that many at Stanford have been reluctant to submit to Indians' requests to eliminate it. Many students have remained loyal to this aspect of the university's heritage at the expense of Native Americans who feel insulted by the symbol. This prioritising of the desires of sports fans over those of the Native American minority, has meant that at Stanford the Indian head logo has unofficially remained ever-present on the sporting field.

At Syracuse, the mythology of the Saltine Warrior led to such popularity that it was difficult to abolish entirely. The class of 1884 named the student yearbook *The Onondagan* "in honour of the tribe and the beautiful valley" in which they lived, and ties felt with the Onondagan tribe led to the creation of the university's mascot.[79] The Saltine Warrior developed from a story published in the university's humour magazine in 1931. The story reported that during an excavation, workers had come across a "tribal house of the early Onondagans" from the sixteenth century and the portrait of an "early Onondagan chief" named *O-gee-ke-da Ho-schen-e-ga-da* or, the Salt Warrior.[80] It was revealed to be a hoax some forty-five years later, but by then the Saltine Warrior had become the Syracuse mascot. The class of 1951 even commissioned a bronze statue of the mythological figure, which still stands proudly outside the Carnegie Library at the university.[81] There have been no calls to remove it. Therefore, while some Indian iconography such as mascots could be eliminated, others could not. Without commitment to the full removal of Indian symbols on campuses, the overall achievement of the movement was limited. Although one aspect of Indian imagery had gone, others still existed that propagated the same stereotypes that students were trying to eradicate.

[79] Donald M. Fisher, "Chief Bill Orange and the Saltine Warrior: A Cultural History of Indian Symbols and Imagery at Syracuse University," in *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascots Controversy*, ed. C. Richard King and Charles F. Springwood (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 24-45, 27.
[80] "The True Story of Bill Orange," *Syracuse Orange Peel,* October 1931, File on Syracuse University Traditions – Saltine Warrior, Syracuse University Archives.
[81] "Syracuse University Mascots," *Syracuse University Archives*, accessed 30 July 2016, http://archives.syr.edu/history/mascots.html

No Government Backing or Legislative Action

The movement's efficacy was impeded due to a lack of support from any form of government, and absence of legislative action. This speaks to the legacy of the movement, the effects of which are still being played out today. In the 1980s, discussion over the use of Native American sports mascots continued although arguably not on the same level experienced during the burst of activity in the 1970s. The debate flared up considerably in the 1990s, with the focus turning to elementary and high schools. The legality of the use of these mascots, logos and symbols was also discussed. This was namely pertaining to the difficulty in balancing the right to engage in free speech, and the right of the Native American population to live free of discrimination.[82] The recent US Supreme Court ruling that the law used by the US Patent and Trademark office to prevent the Washington Redskins from registering trademarks using the word "Redskins" as unconstitutional, not only paves the way for Indian logos and names to remain, but also enters into important discussions about who decides what is discriminatory and offensive.[83] The movement has also turned to deploring the use of team designations and logos in American professional sports teams. In 2001, the United States Commission on Civil Rights released a statement calling for the end to the use of Native American images and team-names in schools.[84] This did not however extend to professional teams, which meant that still, Indian imagery was not ubiquitously condemned. In October 2013, United States' President Barack Obama weighed in on the topic. Referring to the Washington Redskins football team, he stated that if he were the owner of a team whose name was "offending a sizeable group of people, [he would] think about changing it".[85] After the President's statement, Redskins team owner Daniel Snyder promptly confirmed that the name would not be changed. Although Obama's backing of the movement has not yet brought change to the Redskins name, it refuelled discussion on the issue.

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[82] Scott R. Rosner, "Legal Approaches to the Use of Native American Logos and Symbols in Sports.(Braves or Cowards? Use of Native American Images and Symbols as Sports Nicknames)," *Virginia Sports and Entertainment Law Journal* 1, no. 2 (2002): 257-75, 58.

[83] Alex Swoyer, "Supreme Court ruling against censoring The Slants' name bolsters Washington Redskins case", *The Washington Times*, 19 June 2017.

[84] "Statement of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on the Use of Native American Images and Nicknames as Sports Symbols," *USCRR,* 13 April 2001, accessed 22 July 2016, http://www.usccr.gov/press/archives/2001/041601st.htm

[85] David Nakamura, "Obama: 'I'd think about changing' Washington Redskins team name," *The Washington Post,* 6 October 2013.

Conclusion

The movement to eliminate Native American mascots in sport provides one of the first instances of Indian students taking control of their own representation on campus. Rather than face imagery they felt demeaned and offended them every day, they attempted to capitalise on an atmosphere of protest created by the "Red Power" movement and end the legacy of racism that had haunted their people for generations. The actions of students did not occur in isolation, but as part of a broader movement for Native American civil rights, and this article has sought to acknowledge them as such. In the way of the complete realisation of the movement's aims stood obstacles such as the conviction that the symbols honoured Indians, and an overwhelming attitude that minority demands did not necessarily always have merit. The students' own lack of representation and organisation on campuses in the 1970s, as well as their lack of support from the Native American community, that itself had non-uniform opinions and priorities, also impeded the movement from moving forward with pace and lasting efficacy. By acknowledging the similarities between these limitations and those of the "Red Power" movement in a broader sense, we can better understand the difficulties faced by Native American activists to control their representation in the 1970s.

The legacy of those who first brought the issue into the field has been long lasting and their successes should not be understated. Native Americans still receive the lowest education and lowest income of any ethnic group in the United States and face high levels of alcoholism and unemployment. But without the enthusiasm of students in the 1970s and those they inspired, the image of the Indian may have been forever condemned to that of the stereotyped 'Injun Joe'. Estimates suggest that over two thousand Native American symbols, mascots and logos have been retired in schools and colleges across the United States.[86] One thousand remain. The week after President Obama's statement, the Redskins lost heavily to the Cowboys.

[86] "Anti-Defamation & Mascots," *National Congress of American Indians,* accessed 30 October 2013, http://www.ncai.org/policy-issues/community-and-culture/anti-defamation-mascots

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Margaret Kiddle: The writing of *Men of Yesterday* and the Melbourne School of History

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Abstract: *Margaret Loch Kiddle (1914-1958) is best remembered for Men of yesterday: a social history of the western district of Victoria 1834-1890. This classic example of Australian historiography was published posthumously in 1961. Set against the background of the writing of Men of Yesterday, this paper seeks to establish Kiddle as a central figure in Crawford's Melbourne School of History, a role which is highlighted by examination of her interactions with Crawford, Manning Clark, Geoffrey Serle and Russel Ward. Kiddle was a female historian who worked in an overwhelmingly masculine profession. Kiddle's intellectual and personal relationships with Crawford and other prominent academics of her generation are apparent through are a close reading of archival resources, and place her in the midst of the of Melbourne School of History during this era when the tradition of modern Australian historical writing was established.*

Keywords: *Margaret Kiddle, Max Crawford, Geoffrey Serle, Manning Clark, Russel Ward, Noel Butlin, historiography, women's history, Melbourne School of History, University of Melbourne, Australian National University*

"I'll never know whether it's been worth doing."[1] - *Kiddle 1983*.

Margaret Kiddle (1914-1958) academic, historian and children's author, is best known for *Men of Yesterday: a social history of the Western District of Victoria, 1834-1890* published posthumously in 1961. Her work and ultimately her life, were

[1] Margaret Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday : A Social History of the Western District of Victoria, 1834-1890*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983), ix.

restricted by illness. In true biographical tradition, Kiddle suffered a “good death” at an early age.[2] Kept alive in her final days by dialysis machines, her dying ambition was to see the last words of her manuscript written.[3] Her work *Men of Yesterday* brought to life the generation of landed gentry that had settled the land in a grand and elaborate style before the discovery of gold and land reform ended their glorious era. Kiddle became the first historian to chronicle their brief ascendancy.

With an academic life based at the University of Melbourne, and a Research Fellowship at the Australian National University, Kiddle was one of the few women who worked amidst the post-World War II boom in Australian history writing. Margaret Kiddle counted Manning Clark, Russell Ward, Max Crawford, Geoffrey Serle and John La Nauze among her friends and left behind a collection of personal papers that give a unique view of life within the academy during the 1940s and 50s.

The ten-year effort to see *Men of Yesterday* through to completion despite serious illness was documented in forensic detail within Kiddle’s correspondence, research notes and diary entries. The writing of the last words of the manuscript coincided with the end of Margaret Kiddle’s life. *Men of Yesterday* was released to critical praise that was undermined by rumours of major revision and editing after Kiddle’s death. Patricia Grimshaw and Jane Carey have traced the source of these claims to John La Nauze and refuted them.[4]

This classic work of regional history brought focus to a previously neglected era of historical writing in Australia. A close examination of her efforts to complete *Men of Yesterday* reveals Kiddle to be a central figure of the Crawford era Melbourne School of History.

Golden Tree of Life Historian

Kiddle’s early and somewhat dramatic death has perhaps overshadowed her work. Details of her last hours are documented by Russel Ward in his autobiography, *A Radical Life*:

[2] “Readers want it and demand it (a ‘good death’),” Paula R. Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001) 289, 91.
[3] Russel Ward, *A Radical Life : The Autobiography of Russel Ward* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1988), 229
[4] Patricia Grimshaw and Jane Carey, "Foremothers Vi: Kathleen Fitzpatrick (1905–1990), Margaret Kiddle (1914–1958) and Australian History after the Second World War," *Gender & History* 13, no. 2 (2001): 366.

> Towards the end she could only be kept alive being harnessed to a hospital machine, which continually recycled the blood her kidney could no longer handle. Her doctor, her brother-in-law, told me of her death. Her bed covered by a welter of research notes, papers and books, she wrote the last words of the manuscript, said to him, 'Now turn that thing off', turned her face to the wall and died.[5]

These words written by Ward–perhaps with some dramatic licence–cast Kiddle as a writer racing against her own mortality to complete her manuscript before death arrived. This vision of Kiddle was also adopted by Manning Clark, who in his own indomitable style described her as a "golden tree of life historian" due to her shortened lifespan: "We were hanging out the washing together in Canberra when she told me. It was clear then she knew I knew, and I knew she knew I knew, and we had another unspoken bond of love for someone who had died."[6] The linkage between early death and posthumous publication are inexorable. Margaret Kiddle died in May 1958 at the age of 43. The manuscript, *Men of Yesterday,* was published by Melbourne University Press in 1961. From Max Crawford's heartfelt preface, to the author biography on the back cover flap, the tome is encased with the irrefutable facts surrounding her death. The dramatic circumstances regarding the completion of *Men of Yesterday* are usually signposted wherever Kiddle or *Men of Yesterday* warrant a mention. Ward provides a perfect case in point: despite a long personal and professional association with Kiddle; a person he had acknowledged in the foreword to *The Australian Legend* for her supervision and encouragement of his work at the Australian National University, it was the dramatic details of Kiddle's death to which Ward devoted limited autobiographical space.

Insight into the writing of *Men of Yesterday* can be found through Kiddle's preparation for death, leaving details that may never have been possible otherwise. The author's impending death reveals the life of the manuscript. It is within the copious amounts of papers and letters detailing research discoveries and editorial decisions made, that the very essence of the manuscript can be found. The inner story of *Men of Yesterday* reveals the extent of Kiddle's interactions with key

[5] Ward, *A Radical Life : The Autobiography of Russel Ward,* 230.
[6] Manning Clark, "Writing History in Australia," in *Occasional Writings and Speeches* (Sydney: Fontana/Collins, 1980), 24.

members of the famed Melbourne School of History. It indicates the extent of her involvement with their working and their personal lives and revealing it to be far greater than any biography of Manning Clark, Max Crawford or Geoffrey Serle has suggested.

The Melbourne School of History is best known for its activity under Max Crawford after he was appointed Professor of History in 1937. In the subsequent decades the Melbourne School of History grew substantially. Members of the School and their associates pioneered the writing of Australian history through a more rigorous use of primary sources and a newfound nationalist sentiment.[7] As a Master of Arts student in 1939, with philanthropist Caroline Chisholm as the subject of her thesis, Kiddle was the first of Crawford's students to research Australian history.[8]
As Department head, Max Crawford successfully lobbied the University for additional staff to ease the burden of the existing staff in the post-war years. Kiddle was appointed to work for the Department of History at the University of Melbourne in February 1946. Her employment corresponded with completion of her interrupted Master of Arts thesis on Caroline Chisholm. Margaret's recruitment into the expanding Department of History meant her career as an academic, albeit an untenured female, had begun.

The appointment of Kiddle to the Department of History occurred at a time of great expansion for University of Melbourne enrolments. Returning servicemen and women contributed to an increase in history enrolments, with the student numbers in 1946 swelling from 950 to a projected 1443.[9] Officially employed as a part time tutor, Kiddle initially acted as Crawford's research assistant. Her starting part-time salary was £150 per annum; this compares favourably with an average wage of £210 for females in full-time employment during 1945.[10]

[7] Graeme Davison et al., *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 425.
[8] Fay Anderson, *An Historian's Life : Max Crawford and the Politics of Academic Freedom*, Mup Academic Monograph Series (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2005), 162.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *University of Melbourne, Department of History Staff Appointments 1947-1954, 8 May 1946.*" Staff Establishments Memo. Series Accession. No. 1975.0033, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne; T. Sheridan, *Division of Labour: Industrial Relations in the Chifley Years, 1945-49* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1989), 262.

Thank heaven I am not trying to get anywhere in the academic jungle

Although Kiddle would never rise above the level of Senior Tutor, her academic skills received recognition in the form of twelve months' paid study leave to undertake research for *Men of Yesterday* in the United Kingdom in 1952. In the following year, Kiddle was approached by Laurence Fitzhardinge, Reader in the Sources of Australian History at the newly established ANU, to help build the University's school of Australian History. A placement of three to five years as a Visiting Fellow was offered to Kiddle, who would only agree to a term of twelve months.[11] While chronic illness is likely to have been a contributing factor in her lack of professional academic promotion, Kiddle dismissed the idea: "Thank heaven I am not trying to get anywhere in the academic jungle – though I have a shrewd suspicion that if I ever did want to my squatter ancestry would get me there – nature red in tooth and claw."[12] Her words suggested no outward issues surrounding gender or health, at least none that Kiddle was willing to admit. In the immediate post-War era few females held appointments in university history departments.[13] When a contemporary of Kiddle, Kathleen Fitzpatrick, was promoted to associate professor of History at the University of Melbourne in 1948, she became the first female in a non-scientific department, to achieve such an Australian university rank.[14]

The parallels between Kiddle and Kathleen Fitzpatrick are worthy of consideration.[15] Fitzpatrick had good health on her side and would ultimately outlive Kiddle by over forty years. Like Kiddle, Fitzpatrick enjoyed ongoing work in this male-dominated profession. By 1958, the year of Kiddle's death, Fitzpatrick had risen to Associate Professor of History at the University of Melbourne before opting for early retirement in 1962. Some believed Fitzpatrick deserved appointment as second chair at Melbourne over John La Nauze. There was time for Fitzpatrick to write her own childhood reminisces in the well-received *Solid Bluestone Foundations* (1983), along with her most notable histories *Sir John Franklin in Tasmania, 1837-1843* (1949) and

[11] *Fitzhardinge, L., to Kiddle, 27 May 1953*, Letter. Series 952/5b/1a, MS 8637. *Margaret Loch Kiddle, Papers Ca. 1937 to Ca. 1965,* State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
[12] *Personal Correspondence to R. M. Crawford, Kiddle to Crawford, 1 June 1955*. Letter. Accession No. 1991.0113, Box 17, Series 7/ 27, *Raymond Maxwell Crawford (Professor) Collection*.
[13] Grimshaw and Carey, "Foremothers Vi: Kathleen Fitzpatrick (1905–1990), Margaret Kiddle (1914–1958) and Australian History after the Second World War," 352.
[14] S. Davies, "Kathleen Fitzpatrick: Sculptor with Words " in *The Discovery of Australian History 1890-1939*, ed. S Macintyre and J Thomas (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), 192.
[15] Ibid., 350.

the commissioned history of the *Presbyterian Ladies' College PLC Melbourne: the first century, 1875-1975* (1975). Letters exchanged with Manning Clark were published posthumously as *Dear Kathleen, Dear Manning: The Correspondence of Manning Clark and Kathleen Fitzpatrick 1949-1990.*[16] Those extra decades allowed Fitzpatrick to memorialize her own part in the Crawford-era Melbourne School.

Perhaps it may be the best thing I ever have to give anyone

Three years after commencing work at the University of Melbourne, Kiddle made a virtually imperceptible shift in focus. During 1949, while awaiting the release of her second work of fiction for children: *West of Sunset* and the publication based on her Master of Arts thesis: *Caroline Chisholm,* Kiddle turned her thoughts to new book projects. Kiddle put aside work on her draft of *Grenfell Gold*, a work of fiction set in the gold rush era for older children and began searching for a historical non-fiction project aimed at adults. The self-assigned task was to locate a topic which would yield a level of primary documentation that had eluded *Caroline Chisholm.*[17] Kiddle had been unable to locate Chisholm's personal papers. As a result, Kiddle felt that "This is not the personal biography of Caroline Chisholm which I once hoped to write because, after an eight years' search, I have been unable to trace her private papers."[18] A chance remark by grazier and businessman, Sir Clive McPherson, that someone should write a book about "the good old days" gave Kiddle the subject she had been looking for.[19] In September 1949, she began planning for what would become *Men of Yesterday.* By January 1952, Kiddle had embarked on a twelve-month visit to the United Kingdom to locate primary records. These materials comprising largely of letters and diaries, would form the basis of the research for *Men of Yesterday*: the work that would be her academic focus for her remaining years.

[16] Manning Clark and Kathleen Fitzpatrick, in Susan L Davies ed., *Dear Kathleen, Dear Manning : The Correspondence of Manning Clark and Kathleen Fitzpatrick 1949-1990* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 182.
[17] Crawford, R., 'Margaret Loch Kiddle' in *Men of Yesterday: A Social History of the Western District of Victoria, 1834 - 1890*, Carlton, Victoria, Melbourne University Press, 1983, p. x.
[18] Kiddle, M., 'Acknowledgments' in *Caroline Chisholm*, Abridged, 1969, p. xii.
[19] *Kiddle, M. 'Seminar. - Western District: reasons for choice of subject, 21 September 1949*. Seminar. Accession No. 1996.0039, p. 1, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1951-1994 Collection.*

The Writing of Men of Yesterday

Kiddle's closest relationship within the Melbourne School of History was undoubtedly with Max Crawford. What started as a working relationship eventually developed into a close and enduring personal bond. Their informal communications are replete with book recommendations, university gossip and incidental moments from their daily lives. Woven into their lively written exchanges are many poignant narratives demonstrating the extent of their friendship; when Kiddle began writing the first chapters of her manuscript in Canberra at the commencement of her ANU Fellowship, she wrote to make a request of Crawford:

> Max – it's very early to suggest this, but if I do finish it, will you let me give you the dedication? That is, if you would like to have it. You've helped me through all the ups and downs since I first decided on the subject & you deserve the dedication more than anyone else does. But apart from that I would like you to have it. Perhaps it may be the best thing I ever have to give anyone – I don't know – but if you'd like it, the book is yours.[20]

From the time years before when Kiddle had taken her first tentative steps towards writing the earliest draft chapters of her manuscript, she was determined the eventual book would be dedicated to Max Crawford, even though she felt it had a long way to go. There had been no need for Kiddle's doubt. Crawford sent his approval days later:

> Margaret, I am more moved than I can tell you at your offering the book to me. It is going to be the *magnum opus*…I think like you that 'perhaps it may be the best thing you ever have to give anyone.' And that you would be ready to give that best thing to me is something that I value in the same way as I do the love and support you have given me for so long, never obtruded and never withheld.[21]

Crawford believed from the beginning that *Men of Yesterday* would be a history of significance: "I read the plan with fascinated interest. Comments will follow later. Enough for the moment that it seems to me far more than competent. It will be

[20] *Kiddle, M., to Crawford, R.M., 28 April 1954*, Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.2 University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne. *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.

[21] *Personal Correspondence to R. M. Crawford, Kiddle to Crawford, 3 May 1954*, Letter. Accession No. 1991.0113, Box 17 Series 7/ 27, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Raymond Maxwell Crawford (Professor) Collection*.

a book of character. It will tell us something we want to know about."[22] Kiddle relocated to Canberra in 1954 for a research fellowship at the ANU. Her letters to Crawford chart her dogged determination to complete the huge task:

> I have decided that your book [*Men of Yesterday*] is: an amorphous mass: all wrong not worth writing anyway. Why that should goad me into a renewed frenzy of tinkering with the thing is just another proof of my natural contrariness. I'd like to say that I'm determined to finish it because I'm writing it for you, but that would only be partly true. I know I'll keep hammering away at the thing because I hate leaving anything unfinished. And now it's well begun I can't turn back. And in spite of all the mess of it there are just a few good moments.[23]

Their relationship was one of mutual support. At times of loss and sorrow, Crawford turned to Kiddle:

> Dear Margaret: I was going to write this week to thank you for the book; but I am doing so now to tell you that my wife died this evening. Quickly in the end. Please – and I mean this – do not come back from 'Sarona'; there is nothing you can do. But I wanted you to know. John will be telling our colleagues, but he may not have your address. I am tired now and will not write more. Max[24]

Although Margaret Kiddle had lived most of her life with the knowledge that polycystic kidney disease would mean a shortened life span, by February 1957 doctors had confirmed her life was ending. The time between blood transfusions had grown shorter and her hospital stays had become longer and more regular. Doctors could not give Kiddle any clear indication of how much time she had remaining. From her hospital bed at the Epworth, Kiddle wrote to Crawford. The letter outlined Kiddle's master plan for the time she had left. The tone of her writing was as

[22] *Personal Correspondence to R. M. Crawford, Kiddle to Crawford, 5 April 1954,* Letter. Accession No. 1991.0113, Box 17 Series 7/ 27, p.3, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Raymond Maxwell Crawford (Professor) Collection*.

[23] *Kiddle, M., to Crawford, R.M., 17 March 1954*, Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 6, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*

[24] *Personal Correspondence to R. M. Crawford, Kiddle to Crawford, 16 November 1956*. Letter. Accession No. 1991.0113, Box 17 Series 7/ 27, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne *Raymond Maxwell Crawford (Professor) Collection*.

humorous and pragmatic as any of her earlier letters. It also offers a glimpse into the character and determination of this historian:

> I am seething with plans. I gave Dr Hurley a broadside this morning & I think he's going to co-operate. As far as he can because after all he doesn't know exactly what is going to happen himself…The thing I am concerned about now is THE BOOK. I brought in a copy of the plan, handed it to him and told him to read it! I told him I'd written 12 chapters and had 6 to do – did he think I'd make it? Obviously he's not sure.[25]

And so it was with Crawford that Kiddle outlined her plans for her remaining life. In Kiddle's own words, her story was not one of tragedy; she had written that "I've been battling with this bloody kidney most of my life & I'm not going to give it a walk over now."[26] News of her approaching death had not made Kiddle any less determined to see that her book was completed. She was not particularly precious about authorship either:

> I'm not able to think clearly yet but I think what I should do is try to finish it myself [she wrote to Crawford] but at the same time have an understudy who could take over from me if necessary. Do you think Marnie Bassett would be interested? ...her style might match mine fairly well….She might have other commitments of course. Or can you think of a better plan of campaign? (all hands to the files)[27]

Although there is an absence of correspondence with other females within Kiddle's personal papers, her suggestion of Bassett as a possible author to complete *Men of Yesterday* revealed Kiddle's respect for Bassett's ability. Twenty-five years Kiddle's senior, Bassett was a self-taught scholar who had never studied at university. This was a demonstration that for Kiddle the completion of *Men of Yesterday* was a contribution to historical scholarship, rather than being solely a personal achievement. The suggestion Crawford manipulated Kiddle emotionally, prior to the death of his first wife, is arguably overstated. Biographers of Crawford

[25] *Kiddle, M., to Crawford, R.M., 16 February 1957*, Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 1–2, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne. *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[26] Ibid., 3.
[27] Ibid., 2-3.

and Fitzpatrick reach similar conclusions based on Kiddle's response to news of death of Crawford's first wife:

> After I arrive I will telephone to ask how you are. Unless you want me to do so I won't seek you out (except to drop in occasionally at the University) but if you do just want to talk & relax we could meet. Unless you make them there will be no emotional demands made & if you do want to make the demands there will be no strings attached – I've put that badly – I don't know how to put it. I think you know me well enough to understand what I'm trying to say. I just want you to feel that while you're trying to readjust yourself if I can help you in any way at all it would give me great happiness to do so.[28]

Despite this paragraph being a small excerpt from a long letter discussing grief, Fitzpatrick's biographer Elizabeth Kleinhenz compares Kiddle's words to some of Fitzpatrick's more "craven attempts at subservience." This, Kleinhenz asserts, forced Crawford to immediately take evasive action to ensure Kiddle did not misinterpret his intentions.[29] Crawford replied:

> I hope I won't draw on your understanding too heavily as it really would be unfair.
>
> Extreme tiredness and a background of worry made me do so once before, though I can't altogether regret it and it has worried me. Dear Margaret, I am very, very fond of you, but I have realised, as I believe you did as once, that it was not the sort of fondness to justify emotional demands, and I am terribly anxious not to cause you unhappiness, not to alloy friendship with bitterness. Your wise & brave letter has made it clear that you won't let that happen; but I am so tired after these months & still so wound up with all the strain & the wringing out that I could act clean against my judgement & my will.[30]

Whilst the meaning of Kiddle's letter is ambiguous, it has likely been misconstrued by Kleinhenz. Kiddle appears to have been reaching out purely as a

[28] *Kiddle, M., to Crawford, R.M., 22 November 1956*. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.3, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne. *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*

[29] Elizabeth Kleinhenz, *A Brimming Cup: The life of Kathleen Fitzpatrick* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2013), 189.

[30] *Personal Correspondence to R. M. Crawford, Crawford to Kiddle, 27 November 1956*, Letter. Accession No. 1991.0113, Box 18, Series 7/ 27, p.6-7, *Raymond Maxwell Crawford (Professor) Collection, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne.*

friend with whom she shared a deep personal attachment. The misunderstanding may possibly have been only Crawford's. Within a little over a year, Crawford had remarried.[31] The suggestion that Kiddle harboured an ambition to marry Crawford seems incompatible with her personal life. Kiddle had previously eschewed thoughts of traditional marriage. The death of Crawford's wife also coincided closely with Kiddle becoming aware that her own condition was terminal.[32] Theirs was a friendship of mutual emotional and academic support. As Kiddle neared the end of her life, Crawford proved to be an enduring friend.

With due respect for Manning

Manning Clark was someone Kiddle had "great personal affection for."[33] They had been acquainted since their years as students at the University of Melbourne, where they were undergraduates at the same time. By 1945 Clark was a lecturer in the university's history department, and quickly gained a reputation for his entertaining and dramatic lectures.[34] Crawford, anxious to preserve the reputation of the history department he was building, lobbied for Clark to be offered an early promotion in 1949 in the form of a Senior Lectureship.[35] Instead, Clark applied for and was appointed as Chair of History at Canberra University College.[36] From 1930 the college was the academic responsibility of the University of Melbourne until its eventual merger with the Australian National University in 1960.[37]

Responding to criticisms by the Australasian Publishing Company in critique of the manuscript for her children's book *West of Sunset* in 1947, Kiddle asked Clark to read the work and "jump on any historical inaccuracies".[38] Although their friendship endured, the waning of Kiddle's esteem for Clark's academic approach to

[31] Anderson, 321.
[32] *Kiddle, M., to Crawford, R.M., 11 February 1957*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.1, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*
[33] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 27 June 1954.* Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 7, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[34] Mark McKenna, "Clark, Charles Manning (1915-1991)," *Australian Dictionary of Bibliography, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clark-charles-manning-225.*
[35] Anderson,199.
[36] Mark McKenna, *An Eye for Eternity: The Life of Manning Clark* (Carlton: Miegunyah Press, 2011), 273.
[37] John Poynter and Carolyn Rasmussen, *A Place Apart : The University of Melbourne : Decades of Challenge* (Melbourne: Melburne University Press, 1996),187.
[38] *Kiddle (Draft) to Bartlett, 18 October 1947*. Letter. Series 950/1a/2a, Ms 8637, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. *Margaret Loch Kiddle, Papers Ca. 1937 to Ca. 1965*.

history was apparent from the commencement of her time in Canberra. Having arrived in Canberra a few years ahead of her, Clark had attempted to warn Kiddle about the personalities of the ANU academics she would soon consider emasculated: "I reserved judgement, because Manning does get such odd ideas, but it is true."[39] Kiddle's harsh words were based upon her own observations of unnamed ANU academics she felt were trying to intimidate Ward into "conforming to the academic jargon." Kiddle vowed to try and make Ward stop listening to "the clever fools" and write his thesis his own way.[40]

From their Robin Boyd house at Tasmania Circle, the Clark family quickly became "renowned for its hospitality, quality of conversation and irrepressible *joie de vivre.*"[41] They were the stuff of newspaper lifestyle features, with titles such as "An ivory tower for a Professor (absent-minded or not), a home for a family." Kiddle's correspondence tells a different story. In one of her regular letters to Geoffrey Serle, Kiddle described the domestic chaos of the Clark household:

> Did you know that Dymphna Clark had been in hospital for a month with rhematic fever? Poor Manning has been trying to cope with the house & children but Dymphna always was the better man of those two & he's making heavy weather of it. Dymphna will be in hospital at least another 6 weeks. I am going to try and be with them on Sundays to 'do' for them. The worst trouble at the moment is all their clothes have disappeared – can't understand what's become of them. Not a sock to be found! I shall sally forth armed with a large packet of Lux and the apron I KNEW I'd need!...I can talk to Manning about the book![42]

Determined as always, Kiddle continued to pursue Clark for his view for her plan for the book. She was pleased to find Clark excited about the book, predicting that it would be "a work of art", yet she dismissed Clark's view that she should give more emphasis to "morality", for which she only had a single chapter. Manning advised that Kiddle trade her subject-based chapters for a simple chronological arrangement to avoid having the morality theme lost in the more descriptive

[39] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 12 April 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.3, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[40] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 12 April 1954*.
[41] McKenna, 312.
[42] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 24 March 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.6, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.

chapters. “With due respect for Manning, I don’t think it would. There’s enough artistry in the simple truth of the story without in any way exaggerating it.”[43] Kiddle’s vision for *Men of Yesterday* had given her the confidence to reject the advice of a rising star of her profession.

Kiddle’s perceptions of Clark irrevocably changed after attending his famous inaugural lecture as Professor of History at Canberra University College in June 1954.[44] In her lengthy summary to Serle, Kiddle was direct in her criticism: “It’s years since I’ve heard Manning lecture (& then only once) his style was bad then: it’s abominable now.”[45] The reason for Kiddle’s annoyance centred on themes that had emerged from Clark’s lecture:

> It does seem to me that all the suggestions he made as to the re-writing of Australian History are ideas which have been circulating amongst us for years. That would not have mattered so much, but at least to me he appeared to be arguing as if he & he alone had thought of them. I dunno – perhaps I’m being unjust in trying to worry it out afterwards. I thought perhaps all our ideas had originally come from Manning! But I’ve never heard or read his lectures & I’ve got ‘em.[46]

Kiddle was incredulous that her Canberra colleagues did not see the flaws in Clark’s argument. She complained to Serle: “Out of it all it seems to me that Manning, as the Emperor, is still comparatively well-dressed, but is by no means clothed in the gorgeous raiment which some people seem to see glittering around him.”[47] Consoling herself over having such contrary feelings towards her long-time friend, Kiddle added: “I’m still in awe of his very great knowledge, I admire the imagination & insight which is still there. But - & it’s a dreadful thing to say - after seeing him in action this year. I just don’t trust his judgement.” With that statement, Kiddle had made a resolution in relation to Clark: “I don’t think I’ll ask much advice from him about my book.”[48]

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[43] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 15 May 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.2–3, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne*, Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[44] Manning Clark, "Rewriting Australian History," in *Occasional Writings and Speeches* (Sydney: Fontana/Collins 1980).
[45] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 27 June 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 1, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*
[46] Ibid., 3.
[47] Ibid., 7.
[48] Ibid.

In the last year of her life, Clark remained supportive of Kiddle's efforts to complete the manuscript, reading completed chapters and sending his notes and edits back in return. A few weeks before her death, he wrote:

> I have just finished reading your work, and enclose some random comments. You will publish it as it is because it is your creation, and a very good creation it is too. Of course people will quarrel with you. They always do.[49]

In Clark, Kiddle observed a man warped by excessive religiosity: "And I suspect that springs chiefly from his fear of death. From hints he & Dymphna have let fall I believe he's one of those unhappy people with the uncontrollable fear. It must be dreadful."[50] Her observations may have had merit. Twenty years later, Clark described Kiddle's eye for eccentrics and the bizarre. "I imagine it was those early limitations of mortality, that knowledge of being a stricken creature, which tinted the lenses of her camera with that something extra."[51] Clark described Kiddle's discovery of Western District squatter, Niel Black with envy. Making Black central to *Men of Yesterday* had achieved something he had wanted for his own writing:

> Over the tops of the clothes on the line she said to me: 'Niel Black's one of your men, Manning.' So he was, because he was a troubled and tormented man. Her gift of the [Black] letters still lives in my room at Canberra as a reminder of how I failed where she succeeded: I mean she created Niel Black, she made him immortal, and my Niel Black still remained inside me…[52]

Brickbats will be gratefully received

Geoffrey Serle and Margaret Kiddle were colleagues who developed a close friendship based on a shared interest in building an archive of primary nineteenth century documents relating to the history of Victoria. By the time Serle joined the teaching staff of the University of Melbourne History Department in 1950, Kiddle was already in her first year of preparing research for what would eventually become *Men*

[49] *Clark, C.M., to Kiddle, M. L., 6 April 1958*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.1, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[50] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 27 June 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[51] Clark, 23.
[52] Ibid., 24.

of Yesterday.[53] Through their letters they discussed their efforts to locate and protect archival material, and talk often revolved around Kiddle's coordinated campaigns to gather more resources for their shared use:

> We decided that I should work out something like the enclosed note which we could then discuss the Executive Council of the Grazier's Association then perhaps you or I might talk to them & we could work out some plan of campaign to locate Victorian material. We thought of a general questionnaire but since then I've been talking to Noel Butlin & he suggested that the wool company inspectors…who are continually travelling around the country might be the best people to locate the stuff.[54]

Kiddle's enthusiasm for western district history provided Serle with inspiration for his study of nineteenth-century Victoria. Serle would use her example as a "guiding light" throughout his career, particularly for the choice of a great Australian subject, "her search for the ways to tell a story and evoke a landscape, and her passionate concern for the survival and preservation of the documentary record…"[55] The discovery of additional archival materials were widely shared and discussed between Kiddle and her colleagues; Their letters often included copies or transcripts of records. Her efforts, through the collection of records, to push to push the frontiers of knowledge was palpable. During discussion with Serle over sharing archival finds with members of the Faculty of Science, Kiddle decided: "I don't know if you'll approve of me going to '"the scientists" about the matter. But whether you approve or not station records are of much more than historical interest & I think we'll have to treat them accordingly."[56] To her trusted confidante Serle, Kiddle demonstrated her magnanimous nature in sharing records with researchers she did not particularly care for, such as the economic historian, Noel Butlin: "He seems properly grateful & so he bloody well should be. He's a surly, loutish brute, but I'm determined to get on well with him – though I won't stand for any "cornering" of records." After some negotiation, Kiddle had arranged for Butlin to gain access to the Dalgety pastoral

[53] John Thompson, *The Patrician and the Bloke : Geoffrey Serle and the Making of Australian History* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2006),199.
[54] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 24 March 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 2, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[55] Thompson, 208.
[56] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 24 March 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.3, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.

company records, an archive the company had previously been told him did not exist. Butlin had been "livid" to discover the Dalgety records had already been accessed by others.[57]

The friendship between Kiddle and Serle was mutually supportive. Kiddle had encouraged him as a young lecturer who lacked confidence in his ability.[58] Serle in return, was a valued contributor throughout Kiddle's researching, planning and writing of *Men of Yesterday*. Exchanges such as "All suggestions of any kind concerning the whole plan will be welcomed, & brickbats will be gratefully received" demonstrated the esteem in which Kiddle regarded her younger friend.[59] The experience proved useful for Serle, as he followed closely behind with work towards what would eventually become his first classic of Australian historiography; *The Golden Age: a history of the colony of Victoria 1851-1861.*[60] By the December following Kiddle's death, Serle had written 50,000 words of the manuscript.[61] *The Golden Age* was published by MUP in 1963, two years after *Men of Yesterday*. In discussions over how their work was progressing, Kiddle spoke to Serle of the "long agony" of writing:

> As I see it, it IS a great story, but it's the execution of the plan that'll make the book and whether I can carry that through as it should be carried I won't know till it's finished…I tear in to it every morning and can see the sweep of the story – or rather hear the sweep of it. I try to get it on paper of course. I never can – you know how it is.[62]

Their close friendship naturally spilled over to matters of a more personal nature. Kiddle admitted she suspected something had been going on when Serle announced he had fallen for Jessie Macdonald, the woman he would marry the following year: "Of course you would slip in the bit about "trying to decide whether I'm in love or not" just amongst the rest…it's such an individual thing & you're such a

[57] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 31 March 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.3, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*
[58] Thompson, 226.
[59] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 31 March 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.1, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[60] Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age : A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1963).
[61] Thompson, 225.
[62] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 12 April 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p.2, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.

cautious bloke." Kiddle promised her friend she was a qualified and sympathetic listener should he need someone to talk with.[63] Serle was someone to whom Kiddle revealed a rare crack in her independence by asking him to assist her in dealing with an exuberant Russel Ward. During her time at the ANU, Kiddle was given responsibility for supervising Ward for one year of his PhD. His formal supervisor was Fitzhardinge:

> Geoff – I'm really writing to ask you would you do something for me. At an opportune moment while Russel is with you, please would you explain to him that I'm sometimes much more tired than the average person ever is, & that occasionally I'm in a bit of pain? Possibly I'll be able to bluff it out with him the whole year – I've become adept at bluff. But I have to see so much of him that I think he'll have to know sooner or later & it could be easier for us both if someone like you explained.[64]

Although it was rare, Kiddle was willing, where necessary, to reveal a more vulnerable side of her personality to her male colleagues.

That big, beautiful man, that great galoot

Ward's doctorate, *The Ethos and Influence of the Australian Pastoral Worker* was published in 1958 as *The Australian Legend*, the classic study of the Australian character.[65] Kiddle described to Serle, the heart-to-heart talks she had with "that big, beautiful man, that great galoot" who she believed was "scared of all these emasculated academics & is trying to force himself to conform to the academic jargon… I'll have to try to make him stop listening to the clever fools and write the thesis in his own way."[66] Kiddle was fearless in her approach to her male colleagues, occasionally passing judgements as to the potency of their masculinity. Ward did not escape her keen eye: "Russel is quite large & definitely an asset…He's the kind of man, to who hands a woman in & out of a car & opens & shuts doors – very

[63] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 8 August 1954*, Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 4, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[64] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 15 May 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 2, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*
[65] Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1958).
[66] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 12 April 1954.* Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 3, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*

satisfying!"[67] Ward was enjoyable for Kiddle to supervise and equally passionate about his subject matter. Kiddle described a ninety-minute "awful ear bashing" she received on prostitution and homosexuality:

> The point being that there are no references to either in the ballads. He seems to think his 'nomad tribe' were pure & undefiled – that I can't believe. But he became so impassioned on the subject I began to get a bit pink & was glad the room was in twilight…I gave him too, some lurid extracts from the Black Papers which silenced him. I reckon there's a heavy censorship on those ballads. But he's got some wonderful stuff & we're a great help to each other.[68]

Ward acknowledged Kiddle's contribution, explaining how she, along with Clark, had taught him to "swim in the academic sea." Fitzhardinge had the wisdom "or perhaps the humility to encourage the widest possible consultation with others, of whom Margaret was the first and the greatest."[69] In May of 1955, Ward noted to Kiddle how he had been "bogged" down in the Gold Rush era of his thesis for some time, and could "feel the chill blasts of the new year down the back of my neck." Commenting about his PhD supervision after Kiddle's return to Melbourne, Ward wrote:

> LF [Fitzhardinge] has observed your injunctions by leaving me entirely undisturbed. In fact I have had great difficulty in getting him to read through up to Ch [chapter] 5, feeling that it was safer to have objections now than later. I realised only afterwards that he'd been unconsciously complementary by commenting that it was coming along very nicely or some such. [70]

Like Crawford, Clark and Serle, Ward actively took part in critiquing Kiddle's chapter plans and drafts over the years as she worked on the manuscript for what would become *Men of Yesterday*. In the midst of Ward's struggles to obtain

[67] *Kiddle, M., to Serle, G., 24 March 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 5, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*
[68] *Kiddle, M., to Crawford, R.M., 28 April 1954*. Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 4, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[69] Ward, *A Radical Life : The Autobiography of Russel Ward*, 229.
[70] *Ward, R. to Kiddle, M.L., May 18, 1955*. Letter. MS 7578, Series 1, Box 12. Folder 102, p. 2, National Library of Australia, *Russel Ward Papers*.

academic work once his thesis was completed, he continued to critique draft chapters of Kiddle's manuscript:

> I couldn't help feeling that the chapter as a whole is not quite as successful (despite a beautiful opening) as the earlier ones. A graceless thing to say immediately following the extremely cheering remarks you've made so recently about my stuff, and I wouldn't take much notice of it. It may be simply that this chapter must inevitably, by its nature be so more complex, scrambled and so on than the earlier ones where you're describing aspects of the so much simpler pastoral (almost Arcadian) pre-gold society. Or it may be a purely subjective reaction stemming from matters in me and not in your work.[71]

Ward's search for an academic position was arduous, complicated by his past Communist Party membership. He shared his delight over the completion of thesis writing, "am working on the bibliography…it's a wonderful feeling" in between words that documented his difficulties in procuring work.[72] "It is kind of you to concern yourself so much about a job for me. Changes in the shape of things to come here (since I last saw you) move me to cast false pride & bogus shreds of dignity to the winds."[73]

Ward was an ardent admirer of Kiddle. He confided in her and sought her advice frequently. Towards the end of her life, Ward often opened his letters with "Darling Margaret."[74] His critiques of her draft chapters were detailed and appreciated by Kiddle. In a show of gratitude for her support and friendship, Ward contacted La Nauze after Kiddle's death and pledged his willingness to assist with seeing the book to publication: "You know without my labouring the matter how anxious I'll be to give any help, at any stage which you think desirable."[75]

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[71] *Ward, R. to Kiddle, M.L., 29 February, 1956*, Letter. MS 7578, Series 1, Box 12. Folder 102, p. 1, National Library of Australia, *Russel Ward Papers*.
[72] *Ward, R. to Kiddle, M.L., 4 November, 1955.* Letter. MS 7578, Series 1, Box 12. Folder 102, p. 1, National Library of Australia, *Russel Ward Papers*.
[73] *Ward, R. to Kiddle, M.L., 3 August, 1955*, Letter. MS 7578, Series 1, Box 12. Folder 102, p. 1, National Library of Australia, *Russel Ward Papers*.
[74] *Ward, R., to Kiddle, M.L., 29 September 1957,* Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 1, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[75] Ward, R., to La Nauze, J., 20 November 1958, Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, p. 1, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection.*

This book has been finished in dramatic circumstances

Seven months before her death, Kiddle added a codicil to her Will. The modification bequeathed her literary estate to the University of Melbourne. This meant all future royalties on sales of books written by Kiddle, whether published or unpublished at the time of her death, would be paid to the university. Specifically, Kiddle's wishes were that the Professor of History, Max Crawford and the Ernest Scott Professor of History, John La Nauze use the royalties "in their absolute discretion for any purpose associated with the work of the Department of History…"[76] In making this gesture, Kiddle confirmed her desire for her name to remain associated with the department. It was also a measure of the trust and esteem in which Kiddle held her colleagues: that she would entrust them to see her *magnum opus* finally reach publication.

As literary executors, Crawford and La Nauze were left with Kiddle's detailed instructions for the acknowledgements and retail price of the book which was released three years later. Kiddle humorously suggested that her own death be used to promote the book. Highlighting her own pragmatism, there were no outward traces that she viewed herself as a tragic figure: "This book has been finished in dramatic circumstances – for publicity purposes cash in on them as much as you like – it may earn you some money."[77] Within the year following its 1961 release, *Men of Yesterday* had raised £1047 for the History Department. Crawford opened a trust account while plans were made to channel the funds into an essay prize and staff room among other uses.[78]

More than thirty years after publication, Kiddle's sister Elizabeth contacted The Press to raise the question of reprinting *Men of Yesterday.* Though the book was described as "one of the foundation works of Australian historical scholarship," it was deemed too costly for 'the Press' to keep in print. The exchange was revealing for another reason: a senior MUP staff admitted to having no knowledge of the extensive University of Melbourne archive: the location of the Kiddle's unpublished

[76] *534/205 Will and Codicil of Margaret Loch Kiddle*, Will. Va 2549 Supreme Court of Victoria, Vprs 28/P0004, Probate, Unit 001703, Public Record Office of Victoria.
[77] *Kiddle, M., 'to My Literary Executors', 4 April 1958.* Letter. Series 951/2a/3, State Library of Victoria, *Margaret Loch Kiddle, Papers Ca. 1937 to Ca. 1965*.
[78] *Personal Correspondence with J. A. La Nauze, Crawford to La Nauze, 17 May 1962*, Letter. Accession No. 1991.0113, Box 20, Series 7/ 57, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Raymond Maxwell Crawford (Professor) Collection*.

manuscripts.[79] Those who held ownership of Kiddle's literary estate no longer possessed detailed knowledge of its contents.

The legacy of *Men of Yesterday* shaped how the academic community remembered Kiddle and remains the best known work of her short career. Yet the reputation of this ground-breaking work of social history did not enough to rescue it from a publishing industry driven by economics. *Men of Yesterday* was last published in a corrected edition in 1983.[80] Plans to reprint it by the MUP were abandoned in the 1990s due to the "prohibitive" cost of such a proposal.[81] Other landmark works of Australian history by members of the Melbourne School of history and published by MUP remain in print. Clark's six volume *A History of Australia* has been reformatted into three volumes and is available in both hardback and paperback as well as E-book, while Serle's *The Golden Age* is also in print through paperback and e-book formats. Kiddle's *Caroline Chisholm* has fared better. A new edition appeared in 1990 and it remains in print.[82]

In accordance with Kiddle's wishes, her papers were deposited with the University of Melbourne. In 1962, Crawford began the task of sorting through the first instalment of Kiddle's large archive of manuscripts, research materials and drafts.[83] Ultimately, the papers were split between the University of Melbourne Archives and the State Library of Victoria, with neither repository holding a complete set of records for any of Kiddle's published works. The demarcation between university archive and public library seems apt for a historian who made significant contributions to the preservation, research and writing of Australian history.

Margaret Loch Kiddle was an academic who worked within the Melbourne School of History from 1946 to 1958. She was a rare female member among the historians of the era. Kiddle produced two ground-breaking histories in *Caroline Chisholm* and *Men of Yesterday,* but her life and career were shortened by illness. Her participation in the intellectual and personal networks of the Australian historical

[79] *Putnam to Bush, E., 12 November 1997,* Letter. Collection, Accession No. 2008.0047, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne, *Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998*.
[80] Margaret Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday : A Social History of the Western District of Victoria 1834-1890* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983).
[81] *Putnam to Bush, E., 12 November 1997*, Letter. Accession No. 2008.0047, University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne*, Kiddle, Margaret Loch (1914-1958) 1952-1998 Collection*.
[82] Margaret Kiddle, *Caroline Chisholm* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1950, 1957 (2nd ed.), 1969 (abridged ed.), 1990 (abridged ed. with new introduction), 1996 (reprint).
[83] *Memorandum: Margaret Kiddle's Papers, 25 June 1962,* Memorandum. Series 947/3b/2c 5, Ms 8637, *Margaret Loch Kiddle, Papers Ca. 1937 to Ca. 1965*, State Library of Victoria.

profession during the creative era that launched the careers of public intellectuals such as Manning Clark, Geoffrey Serle and Russel Ward has not been fully acknowledged.

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Ancient Egyptian Mathematics: Re-examining Problems Nos. 49-52 of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (c. 1575 – 1540 BCE)

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***Abstract**: The origins of mathematics are likely older than the oldest cultures known to us today. However, the fact remains that our evidence for early mathematics is found only in ancient written texts, of which only a few examples have survived. Some of the earliest examples of mathematical texts come from ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. This paper looks at the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (c. 1575 – 1540 BCE), reinvestigating four geometrical problems (Nos. 49-52). Specifically, I retranslate each mathematical problem, as well as adding to the current scholarship by providing a transliteration and commentary for the reader, followed by a mathematical analysis of these ancient calculations.*

***Keyword:** Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, Hyskso, Second Intermediate Period, Egypt, Mathematis*

During Dynasty 15, the scribe Ahmose copied mathematical problems from an earlier Middle Kingdom papyrus, onto what now is called the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (RMP). Named after its modern purchaser, Alexander Henry Rhind, the papyrus is currently located in the British Museum (10057 and 10058).[1] In this paper, I examine four problems of geometry from this papyrus, specifically Nos. 49-52, retranslating each problem, providing a transliteration, and mathematically investigating the ancient calculations. This publication will expand upon previous publications of the Rhind Papyrus, as well as establishing the accuracy of ancient

[1] For the complete publication of this papyrus, see: T. Eric Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: British Museum 10057 and 10058* (London: The University Press of Liverpool, Ltd., 1923); Marshall Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science: A Source Book*. *Volume Three: Ancient Egyptian Mathematics* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999).

Egyptian mathematics for calculating the area of a circle, triangle, and trapezoid. Geometry is central to the development of mathematics for the advancement of abstraction, generalization, deductions, and spatial thinking. Through this investigation of four geometric problems, we can further understand the constructions, and precision, of ancient Egyptian mathematics.

The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus should first be placed in a contextual framework. Therefore, it is pertinent to discuss the finds associated with, and the extent of, ancient Egyptian mathematics. There are several surviving texts which outline the mathematical achievements of Egyptian society, including the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus (Museum of Fine Arts Moscow, 4676), the Kahun Fragments housed in the University College London, the Berlin Papyrus (Egyptian Museum Berlin 6619), two wooden tablets in the Cairo Museum (JE 25367 and JE 25368), a mathematical leather roll in the British Museum (BM 10250), Papyrus Reisner (Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 38.2062), in addition to papyri which describe the Egyptian systems of weights and measures.[2] The majority of these finds date to the Middle Kingdom (c. 2125 – 1650 BCE). The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus dates to Dynasty 15, although it is said to be copied from an earlier Middle Kingdom papyrus.[3] From these texts, several conclusions can be briefly drawn about the extent of mathematical knowledge in ancient Egypt.

Peet has noted that many of the problems in the Rhind Papyrus deal with specific problems and not general formulas.[4] Egyptian mathematics was practical. Ideas and concepts were viewed in concrete terms, such as a specific number of items (e.g., loaves of bread), and not in an abstract manner. The Egyptian numerical system was based on powers of ten, i.e. 1, 10, 100, 1,000, etc., and written with numerals, or numerical symbols.[5] The procedure for computing problems in Egyptian mathematics was essentially additive.[6] This method is easily understood for the

[2] Lucas N. H. Bunt, Phillip S. Jones, and Jack D. Bedient, *The Historical Roots of Elementary Mathematics* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1988), 28-30; Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, 204-237, 239-247, 249-253, 255-279; Richard J. Gillings, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1982), 89-103; Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 6-7.
[3] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 3.
[4] *Ibid.*, 10.
[5] For more information and notations of the numerals used in Egyptian hieroglyphs, refer to: James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 123-135.
[6] Carl B. Boyer, *A History of Mathematics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1991), 14-15; Otto Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1957), 73;

concepts of addition and subtraction, which could be computed through the proper counting, or 'adding,' of marks. Problems of multiplication and division were computed in this same manner, by "breaking up any higher multiple into a sum of consecutive duplications…and each duplication is nothing by the addition of a number to itself."[7] Fractions were used when computing weights and measures, although the only numerator used for Egyptian fractions was 1 (also called unit fractions, i.e., ½, $^1/_3$, ¼, $^1/_5$), with the exception of the fractions $^2/_3$ and $^3/_4$.[8]

The ancient Egyptians may have also been aware of the concept of squaring a number (e.g., n^2), as an example from the Moscow Papyrus seems to illustrate.[9] There are a few examples of finding the square root of a number in Papyrus Berlin, Papyrus Kahun, and Papyrus Moscow, specifically to find the square root of 16 (which is 4) and also computing the square root of quantities with simple fractions.[10] Basic geometry was known to the ancient Egyptians, as there are problems for finding the area and volumes of various shapes in the Rhind Papyrus, highlighting the development of mathematics in Egypt.[11]

The majority of the problems written in the Egyptian mathematical papyri, including the Rhind Papyrus, are arranged in a similar manner, and therefore a general methodology for 'Setting Out the Sums,' can be established. First the title of the problem is given, beginning with the words *tp n* or "example of." Second, there is the statement of the problem introducing the data set for the example. Third, the problem is reckoned, or computed. Fourth, a proof for the method of obtaining the answer is given.[12]

The Egyptian mathematical texts were most likely used for educational purposes, either for copying the texts or to learn the basics of Egyptian mathematics. The concepts would have also been used by surveyors and architects, such as the royal architect Senemut of Queen Hapshepsut (c. 1479 – 1458 BCE) who is depicted

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Walter F. Reineke, "Mathematik," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, 1237-1245, eds. Helck and Otto (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980).

[7] *Ibid.*, 73-74.

[8] For more information about Egyptian fractions, refer to: Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 123-135; Bunt, Jones, and Bedient, *Historical Roots*, 15-20; Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 15-20; Reineke, "Mathematik," 1237-1245.

[9] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 20.

[10] *Ibid.*, 20.

[11] For more information about geometry in ancient Egypt, refer to: Boyer, *A History of Mathematics*, 16-18; Reineke, "Mathematik," 1237-1245.

[12] For some problems in the Rhind Papyrus there can be confusion between steps three and four, where the proof and working can be confused in the sums, see: Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 21-22.

in a statue holding a coiled rope (Figure 1). The rope would have been used by surveyors to reset the boundary markers of fields after the Nile floods receded.[13] Further evidence of contemporary usage of mathematics can be found in a New Kingdom satirical text, which refers to the digging of a lake, the building of a ramp, the weighing of an obelisk, and the erection of a colossus.[14]

The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus and Nos. 49-52

The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (RMP) was found in a small building near the Ramesseum.[15] The papyrus now consists of two main pieces, which once formed a single papyrus roll, and several fragments which fill the gap between the two main pieces.[16] Alexander Henry Rhind purchased the two large portions of the papyrus in Luxor in 1858, currently housed in the British Museum (10057 and 10058).[17] BM 10057 measures 319cm in length and 33cm in height; BM 10058 measures 206cm in length and 33cm in height.[18] The fragments are currently in the possession of the Historical Society of New York.

The RMP dates to Year 33 of the reign of the Pharaoh Apophis (Auserre) who reigned in Dynasty 15 during the Hyksos period (c. 1575 – 1540 BCE) and is the latest of the extant mathematical papyri.[19] The papyrus was written by the scribe Ahmose, who records that he was copying from an earlier document written during the reign of Pharaoh Amenemhet (Nymaatre), who reigned during Dynasty 12 (1818 – 1773 BCE). The RMP consists of 84 mathematical problems, either relating to arithmetic or geometry (for a plan of RMP see Figures 2-3). These examples, or problems, were numbered by Eisenlohr in the 1870s.[20] In addition to the mathematical exercises found on this papyrus, there is also a table of the resolution

[13] Bunt, Jones, and Bedient, *Historical Roots*, 4-5.
[14] Adolf Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians: Poems, Narratives, and Manuals of Instruction from the Third and Second Millennia B.C.* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.: 1927), 214-234; specifically 223-226. Reineke, "Mathematik," 1237-1245.
[15] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 2; Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, 113.
[16] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 1-2. Peet has studied the two main pieces of the RMP and the smaller fragments concluding that the damage was most likely done in modern times, possibly by an unskillful unroller.
[17] Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, 113.
[18] After Peet's measurements in: Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 2-3.
[19] Gay Robins and Charles Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: An Ancient Egyptian Text* (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), 10-11; Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 3.
[20] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 1.

of fractions whose numerator is 2.[21] On the verso of 10057, the papyrus ends with a section of some accounts (possibly incomplete) and "calendrical" entries.[22] For a more complete synopsis of the problems found in the papyrus, see Table 1. The most extensive research regarding the RMP was accomplished by Peet, who provided Egyptologists with a complete description of the RMP, including a summary of its contents.[23] Following his introduction, he provided a translation and transcription for each of the problems found in the RMP, including Nos. 49-52, discussed in full below.

Notably, Peet's publication does not offer the reader with a transliteration of the problems, and his translation can gloss over the original hieratic. The translation of Nos. 49-52 presented below offers an alternative that attempts to follow more closely the original ancient Egyptian text. In addition to his commentary of each problem, Peet provided an explanation of the Egyptian mathematical method being used that can be difficult to understand. The subsequent commentary herein attempts to provide a comprehensive analysis which accommodates a broader audience. Additionally, for No. 50, I will more thoroughly investigate the Egyptian method of finding the area of a circle to see whether or not the method employed in this example was unique to the particular circle at hand, or if a general equation can be derived from the Egyptian reckoning. In order to distinguish between previous work and current, my notes will be included in [ ] and my additions to the translation will be included in ( ).

No. 49

Transcription (Figure 4)

Transliteration:

1. *ṯp n jst ȝḥwt mj ḏd n.k jfd tȝ n*

2. *ȝḥt n ḫt 10 r ḫt 2 ptr ȝḥwt.f jrt mj ḫpr*

3. 10 *ḫt*
   2 *ḫt* [ ]

[21] *Ibid.*, 4
[22] *Ibid.*, 4-5.
[23] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*. Scholarship completed on the RMP after Peet include: Boyer, *A History of Mathematics*; Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, 113-204; Gillings, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs*; Annette Imhausen, *Mathematics in Ancient Egypt: A Contextual History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016); Robins and Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*; Gay Robins "Mathematics, Astronomy, and Calendars in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Volume III, 1799-1813 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995).

4. *1* *1,000*
10 *10,000*
100 *100,000*

5. *r 10 n 100,000 m 10,000* *r 10 n 10.f m 1,000* *ntf pw m ꜣḫt*

Translation:

(**1**) Example of calculating fields. Like it is said to you, a rectangular land of (**2**) field of 10 *khet* by 2 *khet*. What is its field? [i.e., its acreage]. The doing like the occurring: (**3**) 10 *khet*, 2 *khet* [lengths given for the sides of the rectangle] (**4**) 1, 1,000 – 10, 10,000 – 100, 100,000. (**5**) $^{1}/_{10}$ of 100,000 is 10,000. $^{1}/_{10}$ of its $^{1}/_{10}$ is 1,000. This is it in the field. [i.e., 'This is its acreage.']

Commentary:

Line 1: I have translated *jst* () as "calculating",[24] grammatically it is an infinitive. Peet was unable to translate this word but assumes that it must be a verb, possibly the verb *njs*, here written incorrectly, which Peet translated in other examples as "reckoning out."[25] Peet was correct to assume *jst* was a verb, though it is unlikely that jst was meant to be *njs*, as *jst* translated as "calculating" fits well within the context of problem No. 49.

Line 2: Note, 1 *khet* is equal to 100 cubits or 57.41 yards or 52.5 meters.[26]

Mathematical Summary:

RMP problem No. 49 begins with introducing the problem to find the area of a rectangle with a length of 10 *khet* and a height of 2 *khet*. From this example, the Egyptian method for finding the area of a rectangle is as follows:

Multiples of 10 are given in a table like form beginning with the number 1 and ending with the number 100,000. Then 100,000 (the largest

[24] Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Volume I (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche, 1926), 128: literal translation "calculate flat of land."
[25] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 90.
[26] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 128.

number in the 'table') is multiplied by $^1/_{10}$ which is equal to 10,000. Following, the student should then take $^1/_{10}$ of 10,000, which is 1,000 (the problem literally says to take $^1/_{10}$ of the $^1/_{10}$ of 100,000).
The answer is 1,000 cubits of land or 10 *khet*^{2} (or 10 *setat*).

Today the area of a rectangle is found by the equation $A_{rectangle} = ab$ where $A_{rectangle}$ is equal to the area being calculated, *a* is its height, and *b* is its length. Therefore, by modern methods, the area of this rectangle in No. 49 would be:

A = 10 *khet* *2 *khet*

A = 20 *khet*^{2}

With both the ancient Egyptian and the modern calculations completed, discrepancies can be noted. First, the area of the rectangle should be 20 *khet*^{2} not 10 *khet*^{2}. In this problem, it appears as though the scribe either completely ignored the 2, replacing it instead with 1, copied an error from the original Middle Kingdom papyrus, or made the error through transmission. Peet also commented upon the inconsistencies of this problem and states that there might be an "error in the setting and in the figure," perhaps possible "confusion with a right-angled triangle of base 2 *khet* and height 10."[27] If the sides of the rectangle were 10 *khet* and 1 *khet* then the problem is worked correctly.

No. 50

Transcription (Figure 4)

Transliteration:

1. *tp n jrt ꜣḫt dbn tꜣ n 9 ḫt*

2. *ptr rḫwt.f m ꜣḫwt ḫb.ḫr.k r 9.f m 1*

3. *ḏꜣt m 8 jr.ḫr.k wꜣḥ tp m 8 zpw 8*

4. *ḫpr.ḫr.f m 64 rḫwt.f pw m ꜣḫwt 60 sṯꜣt 4*

5. *jrt mj ḫpr* *ḫt 9*

[27] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 90.

6. *1* *9*
r 9.f *1*

ḫbj ḫnt.f ḏ3t 8

1 *8*
2 *16*
4 *32*
8 *64*

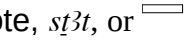
7. *rḫwt.f m 3ḫwt 60 sṯ3t 4*

Translation:

(**1**) Example for making a circular (piece) of land of 9 *khet* (**2**) What is its amount in fields? You have to subtract $^{1}/_{9}$ of it, (it) is as 1, (**3**) remainder is as 8. You have to multiply 8 by 8 times. (**4**) It has to be as 64. This is its amount of fields: 60 [*khet*^{2}] and 4 *setat*. (**5**) The doing like the occurring: (**6**) 1, 9 - $^{1}/_{9}$ of it, 1 – Subtract from it, the remainder is 8. 1, 8 – 2, 16 – 4, 32, - 8, 64. (**7**) Its amount is as fields of 60 [*khet*^{2}] and 4 *setat*.

Commentary:

Line 3: For *w3ḥ tp m 8 zpw 8*, or  , I have used the translation of "multiply," based on the original manuscript and context of the problem.[28] This translation was also used in No. 51, Line 8 and No. 52, Line 4.

Line 4: Note, *sṯ3t*, or  , can also be translated as "aroura" and is equal to 100 centarouras or 0.681 acres.[29]

Line 6: Here I have translated *ḫbj*, or  , in the imperative form.

Mathematical Summary:

RMP Problem No. 50 begins by introducing the problem of finding the area of a circle with a diameter of 9 *khet*. From this example, the Egyptian method for finding the area of a circle is as follows:

[28] Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Volume I, 254; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), 53.
[29] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 128-129.

The diameter of the circle, here 9 *khet*, is multiplied by $^1/_9$ which equals 1. This answer is then subtracted from the original diameter of 9 to get 8; 8 is multiplied by 8 (i.e., 8^2) is computed and equals 64. Thus, the area of the circle is equal to 64 *setat* (or 60 $khet^2$ and 4 *setat*). There are two tables of numbers in this problem. The first computes the multiplication of $^1/_9$ and 9 to give an answer of 1. The second set of numbers computes the multiplication of 8 times 8 to arrive at the correct answer of 64.

Today the area of a rectangle is found by the equation $A_{circle} = \pi r^2$, where A_{circle} is equal to the area, where π is a constant real number, defined as the ratio of a circle's circumference C to its diameter: d = 2 r. The radius of the circle, that is half the circle's diameter, is represented by r. This being said, the area of this circle in Problem No. 50 is:

$$A_{circle} = \pi (4.5)^2$$
$$A_{circle} \approx 63.6173$$

As you can see from the calculation, the exact area of a circle with diameter 9 is equal to 63.6173 and in the Egyptian calculations they found the area to be 64. Statistically, the Egyptian result is only in error by approximately 0.597%.[30] Although error percentages are always better when they are closest to zero, the error found here is small enough to assume that the ancient Egyptians knew that their calculations were fairly accurate, at least for a circle with a diameter of 9.

Consider applying the ancient Egyptian method for finding the area of any circle with diameter *n*.[31] Then the method could be written as

[30] This error was calculated by the equation: Error = $(A_{Today} - A_{AE}) / (A_{AE}) * 100$, where A_{Today} is the modern calculation of the area of a circle and A_{AE} is the area of a circle found by the ancient Egyptian method.

[31] Peet does not discuss this in his publication, that is, whether or not the solution in Problem No. 50 can be used for any circle or just in this particular example, though he does consider whether or not the solution of Problem No. 51 can be applied to all situations or not. Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 89-94. Imhausen also considers Problem No. 50 when discussing area computations, noting that the Egyptian equation in this problem is fairly accurate, though noting that the Egyptians only calculated this circle using a set diameter of 9. Imhausen, *Mathematics in Ancient Egypt*, 118-120.

$A_{AEcircle1} = (n - 1/9\ (n))^2$ or the equation could be read as $A_{AEcircle2} = (n - 1/n\ (n))^2$ based on the example we have here of finding the area of a circle with diameter 9.[32] Since we only have one instance of finding the area of a circle to examine in this paper, both equations must be considered. The following areas of circles were computed using both ancient Egyptian methods and modern calculations, along with the corresponding error percentage associated with each of the two proposed Egyptian methods:

Circle with diameter 10:

$A_{AEcircle1} = 79.0123$	$A_{AEcircle2} = 81$	$A_{circle} = 78.5398$
% error =.598%	% error = 3.037%	

Circle with diameter 8:

$A_{AEcircle1} = 50.5679$	$A_{AEcircle2} = 49$	$A_{circle} = 50.2655$
% error = .598%	% error = 2.58265%	

Circle with diameter 4:

$A_{AEcircle1} = 12.642$	$A_{AEcircle2} = 9$	$A_{circle} = 12.5664$
% error = .598%	% error = 39.6267%	

Circle with diameter 21:

$A_{AEcircle1} = 348.444$	$A_{AEcircle2} = 400$	$A_{circle} = 346.361$
% error = .5978%	% error = 13.4098%	

Circle with diameter 11:

$A_{AEcircle1} = 95.6069$	$A_{AEcircle2} = 100$	$A_{circle} = 95.0332$
% error = .60006%	% error = 4.9668%	

Though their methodology differs slightly, the above calculations indicate that the ancient Egyptians employed the following equation for

[32] That is, since the Egyptians took 1/9 of 9, then we could either assume that 1/9 was meant to remain constant in the method for finding the area of a circle, or 1/9 could be 1/n where n is the diameter of a circle.

finding the area of a circle with diameter *n*: $A_{AEcircle1} = (n - 1/9 (n))^2$.[33] In each of the cases examined above, the Egyptian method was only in error of approximately 0.6%. Therefore, it appears that the Egyptian method was fairly accurate, and at least consistent, even without the knowledge of the real number π ≈ 3.14.

No. 51

Transcription (Figure 4)

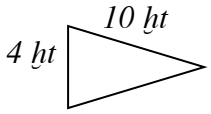
Transliteration:

1. *tp n jrt spdt m ꜣḫwt*

2. *mj ḏd n.k spdt t ꜣnt ḫt 10 ḥr*

3. *mryt.s ḫt 4 m tp r.s*

4. *ptr ꜣḫwt.s jr mj ḫpr*

5. 

6. *jr.ḫr.k gs n 4 m 2*

7. *r rdjt jfd.s*

8. *jr.ḫr.k wꜣḥ tp m 10*

9. *r zp 2 ꜣḫwt.s pw*

10.

1	*400*	*1*	*1,000*
½	*200*	*2*	*2,000*

ꜣḫwt.s pw 2

Translation:

(**1**) Example for making a triangle of fields. (**2**) Like the saying to you, A triangle of land of 10 *khet* upon (**3**) its height (?) (and) 4 *khet* as its base (**4**) What is its fields? [i.e., acreage] The doing like the occurring: (**5**) 10 *khet*, 4 *khet* [lengths given for the sides of the triangle] (**6**) You have to do ½ of 4, (it) is as 2, (**7**) in order to give its rectangular (piece) (**8**) you

[33] This same method for finding the area of a circle was used in the Problems Nos. 41-43 for finding the area of a cylinder, see Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 80-84.

are to multiply 10 (**9**) by 2 times. This is its fields [i.e., acreage]. (**10**) 1, 400 - ½, 200 – 1, 1000 – 2, 2000 – Its fields is 2.

Commentary:

Line 3: I have translated *tp r.s*, or  , as "base," though literally it is translated as "head of mouth."[34] Envisioning the triangle, the two sides (here measuring 10 *khet*) could be seen as the two jaw lines with the 'base' (in this case measuring 2 *khet*) representing the 'mouth' of the triangular figure.[35]

The word *mryt*, or  , literally translates as "bank" or "shore," although Faulkner provides an additional translation of "'height' of a triangle."[36] Whether or not 10 *khet* is meant to represent the height of the triangle in this case or one of the sides of a triangle, *mryt* could represent the mathematical term 'side' or 'edge'.[37] A discussion of the use of *mryt* and its translation are included below.

Line 8-9: For *w3ḥ tp m 10 r zp 2*, or  , I have used the translation of "multiply"; this translation was also used in No. 50, Line 3 and No. 52, Line 4.[38]

Mathematical Summary:

From the drawing of the triangle in Problem No. 51, the triangle appears to be isosceles. This describes a triangle with at least two equal sides, in this case with a length of 10 *khet*. In this Problem, the Egyptian method for finding the area of a triangle (isosceles) is as follows:

Multiply the base of the triangle, here 4 *khet*, by ½; then multiply the answer by the length of the mryt side, here 2 x 10 *khet*. The answer is then 2,000 cubits (which is equal to 20 $khet^2$ or 2 thousands-of-land), which is given by the table of numbers given in the reckoning of the

[34] Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Volume V, 237; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 297.
[35] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 91.
[36] Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Volume II, 109-110; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 112.
[37] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 91.
[38] Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Volume I, 254; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 53.

problem. Following the table, the answer to this problem is given again as 2. The unit of this answer "2" is surely 'thousands-of-land" to match with the answer given in the reckoning and the table.

There are several issues to consider when it comes to examining this particular problem. The first, also noted by Peet, is the statement "This is its rectangle."[39] Peet commented that from this statement we might conclude that the area of a triangle was obtained graphically. If this is the case, then the triangle in this example would have to be isosceles. Consider the following figures:

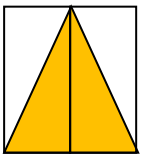


Figure 5: Isosceles triangle and its rectangles.

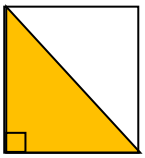


Figure 6: Right triangle (a triangle with a 90° angle) and its rectangles.

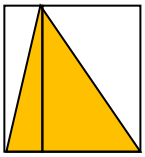


Figure 7: Acute triangle (where all angles are < 90°) and its rectangles.

In each of the above figures, rectangles have been set up on each of the long sides, divided by the corner of the triangle opposite from the base. This method was also used by Peet to illustrate the formation of each of these triangles graphically, although here I have added the right-angle triangle.[40]

In Figure 5, the two rectangles superimposed on the isosceles triangle illustrate "the graphic solution as that shown [in Figure 5] … if the triangle is isosceles and the *mryt* is its vertical height we actually see in the drawing the rectangle contained by half the base and the height."[41] Although there is only one rectangle to be drawn over the right triangle in Figure 6, the same principles as outlined by Peet for Figure 5 apply for Figure 6 as well. That is, the area of the right triangle would also be one half of the base multiplied by the height, which would be half of its rectangle. In Figure 7, the two sides of the acute triangle here are not

[39] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 92.
[40] *Ibid.*, 92.
[41] *Ibid.*, 92.

equal in length. Therefore, the "rectangle" of this triangle is not shown, although a rectangle is seen which is double the area of the acute triangle. From this discussion, it is still difficult to draw conclusions about the meaning and use of the word *mryt*.

We should also consider whether or not the triangle represented in this problem is a scalene, isosceles, or a right triangle.[42] Today, the area of a triangle is found by the equation: $A_{triangle}$ = ½ (base) (height).

If the triangle is scalene, or has no equal sides, then *mryt* must have meant the height of the triangle. If *mryt* was meant to be the length of one of the sides of the scalene triangle, then there would be two different *mryt* given in order to properly find or closely approximate the area of a scalene triangle. With *mryt* representing the height of the triangle in this case, then the Egyptian solution for the area of the triangle is correct. That is the area is found by taking ½ of the base, 4 *khet,* and multiplying this by the height, or *mryt,* 10 *khet,* which is equal to 20.[43]

If the triangle is isosceles, where two of the sides are equal, then *mryt* could either represent the length of the sides or the height of the triangle. Again, if *mryt* is the height of the figure, then the Egyptian reckoning is correct. If *mryt* represents the length of the sides, then the ancient Egyptians had found an approximation for the area of an isosceles triangle. The Egyptian method for finding the area of an isosceles triangle is $A_{AEtriangle}$ = 20, whereas by modern mathematical calculations, the area is equal to $A_{triangle}$ = 19.5959; from this, the Egyptian value is in error by 2.02041%.

Peet stated that for this particular example of an isosceles triangle, the Egyptian approximation of the area is fairly accurate, although only when the length of the base of the triangle was relatively small.[44] Peet does not provide specific examples or more explanation in his text for this statement, so I provide the following for further consideration of the

[42] A scalene triangle is a triangle with three unequal sides and can be an acute triangle, obtuse triangle, or right triangle.
[43] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 92-93.
[44] *Ibid.*, 93.

mathematics: calculations for isosceles triangles with a constant of sides equal to 10 and the variable of bases equal to 2, 3, 8, and 15.

Isosceles triangle with sides 10 and base 2:

$A_{AEtriangle} = 10$ $A_{triangle} = 9.94987$

% error = .5013%

Isosceles triangle with sides 10 and base 3:

$A_{AEtriangle} = 15$ $A_{triangle} = 14.8303$

% error = 1.13133%

Isosceles triangle with sides 10 and base 8:

$A_{AEtriangle} = 40$ $A_{triangle} = 45.8258$

% error = 14.5645%

Isosceles triangle with sides 10 and base 15:

$A_{AEtriangle} = 75$ $A_{triangle} = 49.6078$

% error = 33.0562%

From the above examples, it is clear that if *mryt* was meant to represent the two sides of equal length of an isosceles triangle, then the Egyptian method for finding the area of such a triangle was an approximation, and one that became less and less accurate as the values for the length of the base increased.

A final consideration is if the triangle represented in this example might be a right triangle, where one of the angles of the triangle is equal to 90°. Peet remarked upon this, referencing an example from the Moscow Papyrus where a right-angled triangle is treated as a half rectangle, therefore the triangle represented here in No. 51 is likely scalene or isosceles.[45]

Since we do not know any more specifics about this particular problem, the debate for the translation and use of *mryt* still remains open. *Mryt*

[45] *Ibid.*, 93.

could either stand for the height of the triangle or represent the length of one (or more) of its sides. If we take into account the use of *mryt* in the next example, Problem No. 52, then it might be the case that *mryt* was meant to stand for the length of the height of a figure, taking into account that the triangle shape drawn onto the RMP for No. 51 is presented with its base on the side.

No. 52

Transcription (Figure 4)

Transliteration:

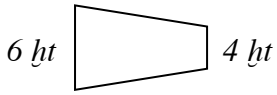
1. *tp n jrt ḥ3kt nt 3ḥwt mj ḏd n.k ḥ3kt nt 3ḥwt*

2. *nt nt* [*siś*] *ḫt 20 ḥr mryt.s ḫt 6 m tp r.s ḫt 4 ḥr p3 ḥ3kt ptr 3ḥwt.s*

3. *dmḏ.ḫr.k tp r.s p3 ḥ3kt ḫpr ḫr 10 jr.ḫr.k gs n 10 m 5 r rdjt jfd.s*

4. *jr.ḫr.k w3ḥ tp m 20 r zp 5 ḫpr.ḫr 10 3ḥwt.s pw jrt mj ḫpr*

5.



6.

1	*1,000*	*/ 1*	*2,000*
½	*500*	*2*	*4,000*
		/ 4	*8,000*

7. *dmḏ 10,000 jr m 3ḥwt 20*

8. *rḫwt.s pw 3ḥwt*

Translation:

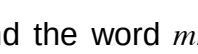
(**1**) Example for making the trapezoid of fields like the saying to you. The trapezoid of fields (**2**) of 20 *khet* upon its height (?), 6 *khet* as it base [literally: 'head of mouth'], 4 *khet* upon this short parallel (side). What are its fields? (**3**) You are to bring together its base and this short parallel side. You are to do ½ of 10, (it) is as 5. In order to give its rectangular (piece) (**4**) you are to multiply 20 by 5 times. 10 has to exist. This is its fields. The doing like the occurring: (**5**) 20 *khet* – 6 *khet* – 4 *khet* – (**6**) 1, 1000 – ½, 500 – / 1, 2000 – 2, 4000 – / 4, 8000 – (**7**)

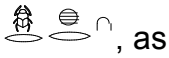
Total: 10,000. The making is as fields of 20.[46] (**8**) This is its amount in fields.

Commentary:

Lines 1-3: *ḥ3kt*, or  , is translated as "trapezoid" and as "short parallel (side)" (*WB.III*, 34). In Line 1, *ḥ3kt* should be translated as "trapezoid" as it introduces the problem at hand, that is, finding the area of the shape we call a trapezoid. In Lines 2 and 3 *ḥ3kt* should probably be translated as "short parallel (side)" since a particular section of the trapezoid is being referenced in the method for calculating the area of the entire shape.

Line 2: In the beginning of this line *nt* is repeated twice. The second *nt* is superfluous to the translation and in the understanding of the text. The second *nt* might be due to scribal error in the copying of this text from the original Middle Kingdom document.

Again in this line of No. 52 we find the word *mryt*, or  , which literally translates as "bank" or "shore", although Faulkner provides an additional translation of "'height' of a triangle."[47]

Line 4: I have translated *ḫpr.ḫr 10*, or  , as "10 has to exist", as a translation for the *smd.ḫr.f* verb form.[48] The number 10 is the subject of this sentence. For *w3ḥ tp m 8 zpw 8* I have used the translation of "multiply"; this translation was also used in No. 50, Line 3 and No. 51, Line 8.[49]

There is also an issue with the answer of 20 times 5 being given as 10 in the middle of this line. The answer should be 100. The Egyptians were aware of how to correctly multiply, so the error here might be scribal.[50] Peet noted that the answer of '10' given here is correct if the reader assumes that the scribe has mentally divided the correct answer

[46] As Peet has already pointed out, the answer should be 10 and not 20 as it is written here, see Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 94-95.
[47] Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Volume I, 109-110; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 112.
[48] Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 297-298.
[49] Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Volume I, 254; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 53.
[50] Imhausen, *Mathematics in Ancient Egypt*, 86-88; Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 73.

of 100 *khet*^{2} by 10 to reduce the answer to 'thousands-of-land', which has been the form in other sums.[51]

Line 7: In this line *dmḏ* is written only with the papyrus roll, or  Gardiner notes that this hieroglyph (Y1) can stand alone for the word *dmḏ*.[52] Although the answer written in the RMP is '20', it is incorrectly written and should be 10.

Mathematical Summary:

Problem No. 52 begins with an introduction to the problem at hand: that is finding the area of a 'truncated triangle,' a figure also known as a trapezoid. In this introduction, the lengths of the sides of the trapezoid are given, where 6 *khet* and 4 *khet* are the lengths of the two parallel sides. A value of 20 *khet* is provided for the *mryt* of the triangle, most likely referencing the height of this trapezoidal figure.[53] The lengths of the two parallel sides are then added together (6 + 4 = 10) and multiplied by ½ to equal 5. This is then multiplied by 20, the length of the *mryt* (in this case being understood as the height), totaling 10 [thousands-of-land].

This total is again found two different ways, first in the reckoning of the problem, and second in the table of numbers present in this example which give multiples of 2,000 and add "2,000" and "8,000," as represented by the dash marks before these lines, to again total "10,000 [of-land]."

Today, the area of a trapezoid is found by the following equation: $A_{trapezoid} = ½\ a\ (b_1 + b_2)$, where a = the height of the trapezoid, and b_1 and b_2 = the lengths of the two parallel sides. For the example given in Problem No. 52, the area of the trapezoid is:

$$A_{trapezoid} = ½\ 20\ (6 + 4)$$

$$A_{trapezoid} = ½\ 20\ (10)$$

$$A_{trapezoid} = 100$$

[51] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 95.
[52] Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1994), 533.
[53] *Ibid.*, 91-95.

> This area is equal to that found by the Egyptians in this problem, who used essentially the same equation, as we do today for finding the area of a trapezoid. The Egyptian reckoning for finding the area of a trapezoid can be applied to other trapezoidal examples assuming that mryt is meant to be the height of the figure.

Conclusions

My translation and analysis of Nos. 49-52 of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus expands upon those published by Peet. In Problem No. 49, Line 1, I have translated *jst*, or  ,as "calculating," which Peet thought was an incorrect spelling of the verb *njs*, or "reckoning" in his translation. A second look at the hieratic clarifies which word was written by the ancient scribe, being truer to the text. For Problem No. 50, Peet stated "there is little to notice here. The sum is worked out correctly in square *khet* by the usual rule for calculating the area of a circle."[54] He does not provide examples to support his conclusion and therefore I have supplemented his conclusion with the finding of the Egyptian general equation for computing the area of a circle, or $A_{AEcircle1} = (n - 1/9\ (n))^2$.

Problem No. 51, the finding of the area of a triangle, presents more of a problem to the modern scholar when trying to understand the mathematical mind of the ancient Egyptians. It is difficult to translate the term *mryt*, or  , and there is little information in the problem to suggest what triangle might be represented or used in this particular example. From this, *mryt* could be translated either as the length of one (or two, if the triangle is isosceles) of the sides or *mryt* could be translated as the height of the triangle. Peet discussed the issues associated with No. 51 in his commentary, although he does not provide adequate mathematical

[54] Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 92.

equations to support his findings, which can be confusing for the reader. Instead, to thoroughly examine the problem presented in No. 51 and the statements made by Peet, one must compute their own examples in order to come to the same conclusions. Therefore, for No. 51, I have supplemented Peet's discussion of this problem with supporting mathematics to illustrate that the Egyptians were likely computing the area of an isosceles triangle.

There are relatively few issues with the translation or with the mathematical computations associated with Problem No. 52. There appears to be some scribal error with the addition of the second *nt* in Line 2. The answers to this problem given by the scribe at first glance do not appear to match and are unclear to the modern viewer, although the change in units utilized by the scribe are likely to have been understood by those ancient Egyptians capable of reading and using this text. Further mathematical study of No. 52 confirmed there was no issue with the ancient Egyptian method for finding the area of a trapezoid.

This paper has reviewed four specific problems found in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus and has added transliterations, as well as a revision of ancient Egyptian mathematics to previous publications for these problems. The latter is significant as additional analysis of the mathematics enhances our understanding of ancient Egyptian society and their comprehension of spatial mathematics. By calculating the errors in Egyptian calculations, a fairly accurate and reliable method for finding the area of a circle (RMP No. 50) is revealed without their knowledge of the real number π. Additionally, it can be considered whether or not the Egyptians were creating different types of triangles in their fields (RMP No. 51). The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus displays a number of mathematical achievements made by

the ancient Egyptians, several of which are highlighted through this investigation of RMP Nos. 49-52.

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Appendix

Mathematical Definitions and Equations

1,000 cubits = 1 thousands-of-land = 10 *khet*^{2} = 10 *setat*

Parallel lines: Two lines are said to be parallel if they never intersect

Right triangle: A triangle that contains a right angle

Isosceles triangle: A triangle with at least two equal sides

Scalene triangle: A triangle with three unequal sides

Trapezoid (or truncated triangle): A four-sided polygon, or quadrilateral, with two sides being parallel

≈: symbol denoting “approximate” or “approximately”

π ≈ 3.14 and can be defined as: the constant pi, denoted π, is a real number defined as the ratio of a circle's circumference C to its diameter d = 2 r

Modern equations for finding the area of a rectangle, circle, triangle, and trapezoid:

$A_{rectangle} = ab$
(*a* = base, *b* height)

$A_{circle} = \pi r^2$
(r = radius of a circle)

$A_{triangle} = ½$ (base) (height)

$A_{trapezoid} = ½ a (b_1 + b_2)$
(a = height, b_1 & b_2 = parallel sides)

The Pythagorean theorem states that for a right triangle with sides a, b, and hypotenuse c, then $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$.

Table 1: List of the contents of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus
After Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: British Museum 10057 and 10058*, 4-5.

Table of resolution of fractions with numerator 2

Book I. Arithmetic.
- Nos. 1-6. Division of various numbers of loaves equally between 10 men.
- Nos. 7-20. First group of completion-calculations (*seken*) involving multiplication of fractions.
- Nos. 21-23. Second group of completion-calculations, involving simple addition of fractions.
- Nos. 24-34. Arithmetical solution by trial of equations of the first degree.
- Nos. 35-38. Similar equations involving the bushel or *hekat*.
- Nos. 39 and 40. Division of loaves between men in unequal proportions.

Book II. Mensuration.
- Part I. Volumes and cubic content in corn.
  - Nos. 41-43. Cylindrical containers.
  - Nos. 44-46. Rectangular parallelopipedal containers.
  - No. 47. Expression incorrect form of 1/10, 1/20, up to 1/100 of a *hekat*, disguised as a sum in cubic content.
- Part II. Areas.
  - No. 48. Area of a square and circle compared.
  - No. 49. Rectangle
  - No. 50. Circle.
  - No. 51. Triangle.
  - No. 52. Truncated triangle.
  - No. 53. Trapezoid (?).
  - Nos. 54 and 55. Division of given area of land into equal-sized fields
- Part III. Batter, or angle of slope.
  - Nos. 56-59. Batter of pyramid.
  - No. 60. Slope of a cone (?).

Book III. Miscellaneous problems in arithmetic.
- No. 61. Multiplication of fractions (probably out of place, see above).
- No. 62. Proportionate values of precious metals.
- No. 63. Division of loaves in unequal proportions.
- No. 64. Division of barley into shares in arithmetical progression.
- No. 65. Division of loaves in unequal proportions.
- No. 66. Daily portion of a yearly ration of fat.
- No. 67. Reckoning of livestock.
- No. 68. Division of 100 *hekat* of corn in unequal proportions.
- Nos. 69-78. So-called *pefsu*-reckonings. Conversion of grain into bread and beer, and the barter of these last.
- No. 79. Geometrical progression.
- No. 80-1. Conversion of fractions of the *hekat* (1/2, 1/4, 1/8, etc.) into *henu.*
- No. 82-3. Food estimate for a poultry yard.
- No. 84. Estimate of food of an ox-stall.

Additions.
- No. 85. Unintelligible group of signs.
- No. 86. Fragment of accounts.
- No. 87. Calendrical entries.

Figure 1: Statue of Senemut, the architect of Queen Hapshepsut, showing the deceased as a surveyor holding a coiled rope, Dynasty 18; From Bunt, Jones, and Bedient, *The Historical Roots of Elementary Mathematics* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1988), 5.

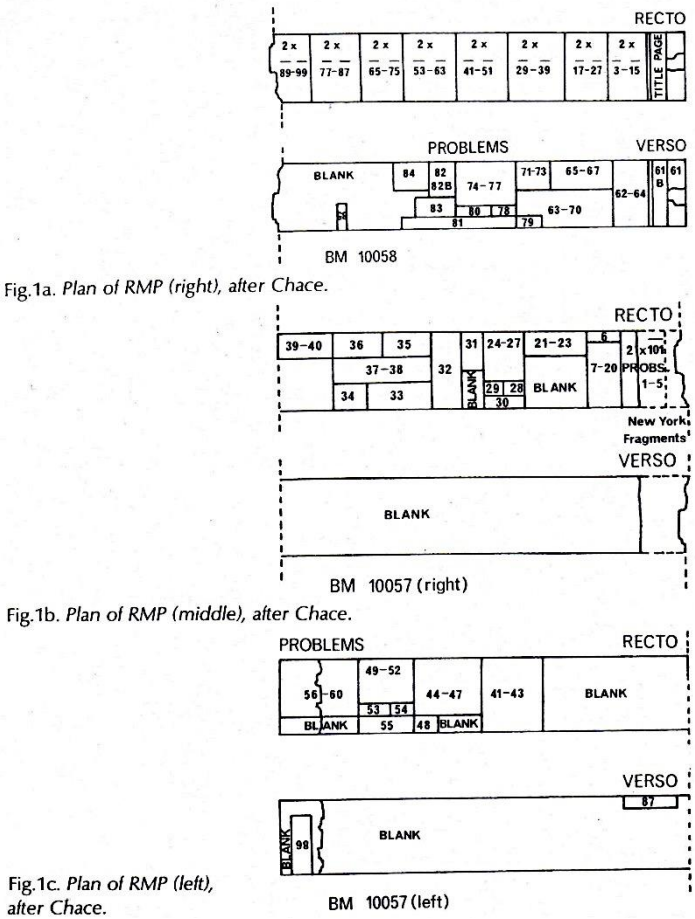

Figure 2: Synopsis of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. Robins and Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: An Ancient Egyptian Text* (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), 11.

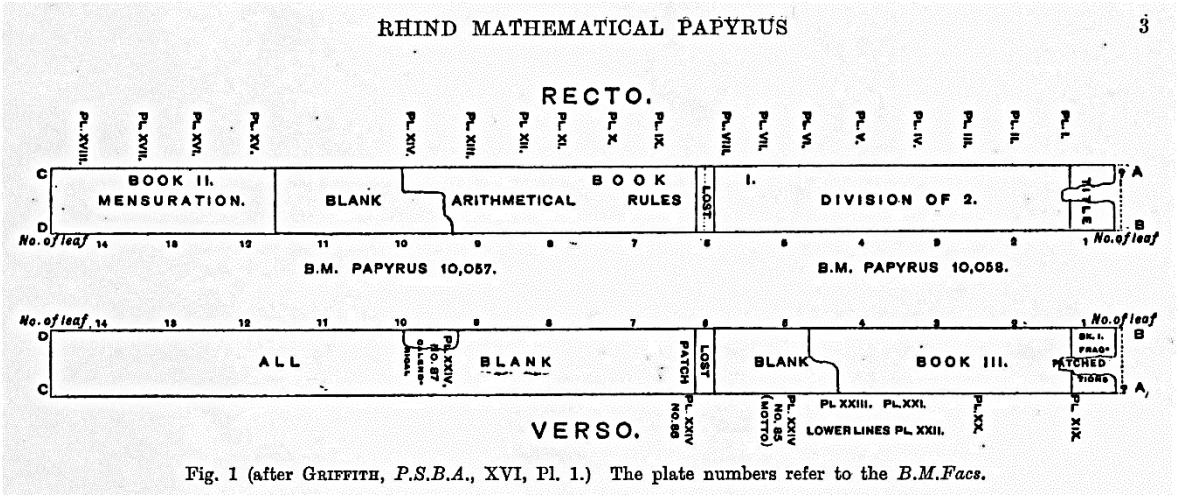

Figure 3: Another synopsis of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: British Museum 10057 and 10058* (London: The University Press of Liverpool, Ltd., 1923), 4.

Figure 4: The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: Problems 49-55; end of 46. From Robins and Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: An Ancient Egyptian Text* (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), Plate 16.

Historical Commentary

Ned Kelly's Shooting of George Metcalf, Labourer.

Dr. Stuart E. Dawson*

Abstract: *A core component of the popular Ned Kelly myth is that he had never taken innocent life. Against this, there is a documented case in which he directly caused a quarryman's death. George Metcalf was one of the persons made prisoner by Ned Kelly in Ann Jones' Glenrowan Inn during the siege of 27-28 June 1880, and it has been widely held that he was injured, and later died, in consequence of a police bullet fired during the siege. Metcalf, who could not afford medical treatment, stated that his injury occurred while he was sheltering in a fireplace during the shooting, and his surgical and related costs were paid by the police. However, subsequent enquiries by a detective found that the injury was caused by Ned Kelly on the afternoon before the siege, when he accidentally shot Metcalf in the face while fiddling with a revolver he had taken from a gravel contractor that morning. The Metcalf story was effectively forgotten for a hundred years after Ned Kelly's death. When it was rediscovered, following a series of Kelly histories critical of the police, evidence concerning Kelly's responsibility for Metcalf's injury was typically overlooked or disregarded by those who clung to a belief in Kelly as a heroic figure who was more victim than criminal. The case of Metcalf illustrates how ready pro-Kelly historians have been to blame the police for every misadventure in the Kelly saga. In fact, however, Metcalf's death must be laid squarely on Ned Kelly's hands.*

In a recent work, historian Doug Morrissey wrote of "a new generation of Kelly-philes, who unabashedly glorify Ned's memory and give a false legitimacy to the Kelly myth".[1] A core component of that myth - maintained to the end by Ned Kelly himself, in a letter written in his condemned cell – is that he had never taken innocent life. In this context, this was the life of anyone other than the police who

* I wish to thank Sharon Hollingsworth, my two anonymous referees, and the editors for their valuable comments. Please forward any comments or queries to stuart.dawson@monash.edu

[1] Doug Morrissey, *Ned Kelly: A Lawless Life* (Ballarat: Connor Court, 2015), 182.

were searching for him, and whom he believed intended to shoot him on sight rather than arrest him.[2] Were it the case that Kelly did directly cause an innocent person's death, an important claim made in his defence by those sympathetic to him would be significantly weakened. This investigation shows that there is such a case, and that pro-Kelly historians have repeatedly disregarded it to preserve a popular myth of Kelly as more victim than criminal.

Quarry worker George Metcalf was one of the persons made prisoner by Ned Kelly in Ann Jones' Inn at Glenrowan during the siege of 27-28 June 1880, which exterminated the Kelly gang of bushrangers. It has been widely held that Metcalf was injured, and later died, as a result of ricochet from a police bullet fired during the siege.[3] This story resulted from a claim by Metcalf–who could not afford medical treatment–for an injury that he stated had occurred while he was sheltering in the hotel fireplace, when a surrounding cordon of police were shooting into the building.[4] Yet despite its recurrence in much contemporary Kelly commentary, the story is false.

Metcalf attended the Eye and Ear Hospital on Thursday 1 July, stating that he had been injured "during the attack by the police".[5] He was temporarily admitted while surgeon Andrew Gray sought instructions from the Chief Commissioner of Police, Captain Standish, as Metcalf had said that he was unable to pay for treatment.[6] Standish replied by letter on 2 July, "I consider that under the circumstances of the way he met his injuries, the patient referred to who is utterly without means is a fit case for the charity".[7] Gray commenced work upon receipt of the authorisation, as he advised Standish on 3 July.[8] The police took Metcalf's claim at face value, and paid his medical bills and board and lodging in Melbourne.[9]

[2] Letter, E. Kelly to the Governor, 10 November 1880, VPRS 4966, Unit 2, Item 10, 144-147.
[3] For example Paul Terry, *The True Story of Ned Kelly's Last Stand* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2012), 177; Peter FitzSimons, *Ned Kelly: The Story of Australia's Most Notorious Legend* (Sydney: Heinemann, 2013), 522; Grantlee Kieza, *Mrs Kelly* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 2017), 407.
[4] *Kerang Times and Swan Hill Gazette*, "Another Glenrowan victim", 22 October 1880, 4, "… when the first volley was fired into the house, Metcalfe [sic] ... received very severe injuries to one of his eyes, it is thought that a splinter from the chimney struck by a bullet was the cause. Owing to the pain he suffered therefrom, he was taken to Dr Nicholson at Benalla, and that gentleman recommended him to place himself under the care of Dr Gray, of the [Melbourne] Eye and Ear Hospital".
[5] Letter, Gray to Standish, 1 July 1880, VPRS 4965, Unit 3, Item 146.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Letter, Standish to Gray, 2 July 1880, VPRS 4965, Unit 3, Item 146.
[8] Letter, Gray to Standish, 3 July 1880, VPRS 4965, Unit 3, Item 146.
[9] Nicolson, Memo, 9 December 1880, VPRS 4967, Unit 2, Item 53.

Metcalf did recover to some extent, but subsequently died in October, possibly as a result of infection.[10] The fact that Metcalf's costs were paid was widely taken as an admission of fault and liability by the police, and was subsequently used to bolster criticism of their actions during the siege. The *Kerang Times* opined, "should the injury sustained have accelerated the death of the deceased, as appears to have been the case, it is a question whether some compensation should not under the circumstances be awarded to the family by the government".[11] The police determined otherwise, and Metcalf was effectively forgotten for a full hundred years after Ned Kelly's death. However, when his tale was rediscovered, it would be uncritically and wrongly hailed by many as further evidence of police recklessness and duplicity at Glenrowan.

The Kelly story largely slipped from the public mind in the years after the 1881 Royal Commission into the police force and its handling of the Kelly outbreak. In George Boxall's 1899 *Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, the Kelly gang occupy less than nine percent of its pages. By contrast, the Kelly story occupied just over half of a popular general history of bushrangers in the mid-1960s.[12] To Boxall, the best known histories of the Kelly gang in his day were those of ex-Superintendent Francis Hare (1892), the only policeman wounded at Glenrowan, and reporter John McWhirter from the *Age*, "largely compiled" from *Age* articles.[13]

After Boxall, C.H. Chomley's *True Story of the **Kelly Gang** of Bushrangers* (1900) held sway until J.J. Kenneally's *Inner History of the Kelly Gang* (1929), which was the first narrative that sought to see the actions of the Kellys as a justifiable response to police persecution.[14] This was regardless that the allegation, "that either

[10] Metcalf recovery, letter, 12 September 1880, http://www.geocities.ws/heartland/8267/GeorgeMetcalf.htm, accessed 10 September 2016; died 15 October 1880, VPRS 4967, Unit 2, Item 53. Died of peritonitis, Ian MacFarlane, *The Kelly Gang Unmasked* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2012), 28.

[11] *Kerang Times and Swan Hill Gazette*, 22 October 1880, 4.

[12] Tom Prior, Bill Wannan, and H. Nunn, *A Pictorial History of Bushrangers* (Dee Why West: Hamlyn, 1968).

[13] George Boxall, *The Story of the Australian Bushrangers,* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1899), 354; Francis Hare, *The Last of the Bushrangers* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1892). McWhirter was one of only five witnesses called to testify before the Kelly Reward Board. There is no trace of a published book by McWhirter, so Boxall may mean McWhirter's 1880 *Age* articles, or some work that drew on them.

[14] Chomley, C.H., *The true story of the Kelly gang of bushrangers*, Melbourne: Wyatt & Watts, [1900]; Jerome J. Kenneally, *The Complete Inner History of the Kelly Gang and their Pursuers*, ([1929], 4th edn., Melbourne: Roy Stevens, 1945). For Kenneally as Chomley's successor in Kelly narratives,

the outlaws or their friends were subjected to persecution or unnecessary annoyance at the hands of the police", had been carefully examined and rejected by the Royal Commission, which was itself not well disposed to the police.[15] Despite its claims to impartiality, Kenneally's reflected a highly partisan enthusiasm for the Kelly gang.[16] A reviewer of the day noted "… the author's determination to paint every action of the police as black as possible".[17] It was built largely from selective quotations from the 1881 Royal Commission *Minutes of Evidence*, and informed by the oral history of ex-convict and Kelly cousin Thomas Peter Lloyd (Tom Lloyd Jr.), often regarded as the "fifth member" of the Kelly gang.[18] The work is especially notable for its printing of Kelly's Cameron/Euroa letter and the "innocent victim" mindset of which it reflected throughout.[19] For Kenneally, "Ned Kelly's heroism in defending his mother's integrity; his sister's honour; and his brother's innocence, has claimed for him a place in the hearts of fair-minded people of Australia".[20] Kenneally portrayed the Kellys as hounded by the police without cause, starting with a story of "Billy-Jimmies", mysterious expert horse thieves for whose exploits the Kellys were blamed.[21] It is reminiscent of other thieving stories, such as the 'warrigal dodge', a common fiction of wild horses tempting working horses away, also related by Kelly in his Jerilderie letter.[22] Kenneally's work was reprinted several times but in small print runs, and did not attain a wide readership in its day.[23] It nevertheless found its share of devoted

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Paul Eggert, "The Bushranger's Voice: Peter Carey's True History of the Kelly Gang (2000) and Ned Kelly's Jerilderie Letter (1879)", *College Literature* 34.3 (2007), 125.

[15] Police Commission, *Second Progress Report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Circumstances of the Kelly Outbreak,* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1881), x. For ex-Superintendent Sadleir's view that the Commission "went relentlessly for [police] scalps", John Sadleir, *Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer* (Melbourne: George Robertson & Company, 1913), 240.

[16] Frank Clune, *The Kelly Hunters: The Authentic, Impartial History of the Life and Times of Edward Kelly, the Ironclad Outlaw* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1954), xiv.

[17] *Franklin and Somerville Standard, 13 July 1929,* 4.

[18] Tom Lloyd credited as Kenneally's informant in his 4th edition (Kenneally, *Inner History*, 10); "fifth member", Ian Jones, *Ned Kelly: A Short Life* (Port Melbourne: Lothian, 1995), ix; ex-convict, Police Commission, *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission into the Police Force in Victoria, together with Appendices* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1881), Appendix X.

[19] Kenneally, *Inner History,* 104-10.

[20] Kenneally, letter to Chief Secretary, *Inner History*, 310-1.

[21] Kenneally, *Inner History,* 19-21; never mind that Edward Kelly, *Jerilderie Letter* (SLV MS 13661, February 1879), 56, boasted of having "sold horses and cattle innumerable". If Lloyd had told Kenneally the police painted themselves with woad, he would probably have believed it.

[22] For this and similar tales, Boxall, *Australian Bushrangers*, 191-2; Kelly on "old Wombat", *Jerilderie Letter*, 2.

[23] Stephen Knight, *The Politics of Myth* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2015), 158.

adherents, and through them it would deeply influence and shape future representations of the Kelly gang by laying the blame for the Kelly outbreak on the police due to their alleged persecution of the family.[24] Although Metcalf was not mentioned in these early narratives, his story would resurface as a rebuke to the police in later retellings of the Kelly saga.

There was a revival of interest in Ned Kelly in the 1940s, and Clive Turnbull's introduction to his 1942 *Ned Kelly*–a printing of the full text of Kelly's 1878 Cameron/Euroa letter–proclaimed Kelly "our only folk hero". [25] Turnbull enthused, "rightly or wrongly, [the people] have seen in Kelly those qualities which are deemed the most desirable in the Australian conception of manhood – courage, resolution, independence, loyalty, chivalry, sympathy with the poor and ill-used".[26] In 1943 Turnbull followed this with a sympathetically introduced bibliography of the gang which described Kenneally's work as "… the most complete account of the Gang's doings".[27] Whether intentional or not, this endorsement of Kenneally elevated his influence over that of earlier work, along with its strident denunciation of police activity leading up to and throughout the Kelly hunt.

Returned soldier Max Brown was also captivated by the Kelly story, and spent a year researching material for his 1948 *Australian Son*, the first book about the Kelly outbreak to achieve significant attention.[28] This was in part due to it including the first readily accessible printing of Kelly's Jerilderie letter, which Brown saw as "by far his

[24] Kenneally blamed the Kelly outbreak on a failed attempt by Constable Fitzpatrick to arrest Ned's brother Dan for horse-stealing, in which the constable was shot and wounded, with the subsequent gaoling of Ned Kelly's mother and associates. For a comprehensive analysis see Stuart Dawson, "Redeeming Fitzpatrick: Ned Kelly and the Fitzpatrick Incident", *Eras Journal* 17.1 (2015), 60-91. On the centrality of the Baumgarten horse-stealing ring to the Kelly outbreak, see MacFarlane, *Kelly Gang Unmasked*, 53-6; John McQuilton, *The Kelly Outbreak 1878-1880,* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1987), 84-5; and Doug Morrissey, "Ned Kelly and Horse and Cattle Stealing", *Victorian Historical Journal* 66.1 (June, 1995), 33, 43-46.

[25] In his foreword to Graham Seal, *Tell 'em I died game: The legend of Ned Kelly* (Flemington: Hyland House, 2002), vi, historian Russel Ward noted that "Up till about the time of World War II most of the material [about the Kellys] belonged to folk or popular culture", and was absent from general history books before 1930.

[26] Clive Turnbull, *Ned Kelly: being his own story of his life and crimes* (Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1942), 1-2. Turnbull's view is centrally based on Kelly's claims about himself in his Cameron/Euroa letter.

[27] Clive Turnbull, *Kellyana,* (Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1943), 1.

[28] "The first modern account of the Kelly outbreak … The book has featured prominently in later examinations of the story by authors and historians", http://www.ironoutlaw.com/australian-son/, accessed 14 October 2016.

best single written statement".[29] Brown was strongly sympathetic to Kelly seeing him–as had Kenneally and Turnbull–as a figure of vigorous and distinctively Australian manhood wrongly persecuted by the police.[30] To Brown, "blood and bone he was of the Australia that had shown its true colours at Eureka and was carrying on as best it knew the age-old struggle waged against the princes of Europe".[31] Based largely on his interpretation of the Jerilderie letter, Brown manufactured a political Kelly with republican leanings, whom he saw as "a new messiah of Australian democracy".[32] Yet Kelly was famously politically naïve: his interest went no further than posting his hard luck story and unrealistic demands for the release of his mother and two convicted associates from gaol to Donald Cameron, M.L.A., and "failing to recognise [Cameron's question about the gang in parliament] as a routine attempt to embarrass the government".[33] Like Kenneally, Brown selected evidence that supported or accorded with his outlook, and accepted Kelly's statements as essentially factual accounts of events.[34] In his first two editions (1948 and 1956),

[29] Max Brown, *Australian Son: The Story of Ned Kelly* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1948), 271, Appendix, "from a copy made in 1879 or 1880 by a government clerk". In his 1980 revision, he added the Cameron/Euroa letter as an additional appendix.

[30] Both Kenneally and Turnbull are listed in Brown's short and only published bibliography (Max Brown, *Australian Son: The Story of Ned Kelly,* rev. edn., edited and compiled by Chester Eagle, Greensborough: Network Creative Services, 2005), and is a clear influence on his approach. Eagle's editorial foreword noted that Kenneally "kept the Kelly's side of the story alive, but ... he couldn't give the gang any respectability. He could only claim they were victims of injustice. … [Brown] wrote *Australian Son* [to capture] forever the feelings of those whose instincts told them that the Kelly story was about something going wrong with law, justice and morality in the State of Victoria not so many years before" (viii-ix). A cynic might think that what went wrong was a murderous gang of thieving outlaws on the run for far too long, with a large pool of relatives and criminal associates willing to assist them.

[31] Max Brown, *Australian Son: The Story of Ned Kelly* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, rev. edn., 1981), 36.

[32] Ibid., x.

[33] Ian Jones, *Ned Kelly: A Short Life* (South Melbourne: Lothian, new edn., 2003), 144: Kelly demanded the release of the "suffering innocents", his mother and associates William Williamson and William Skillion, who were convicted of aiding and abetting the attempted murder of a constable in the Fitzpatrick Incident; and 145, of the Cameron Letter, "they [Ned Kelly and Joe Byrne] mistook the political football for a genuine opportunity to make their case". MacFarlane, *Kelly Gang Unmasked*, 211, "None of Ned's letters – including the one he sent to Cameron – indicate that he had the slightest grasp of political shenanigans".

[34] Brown, *Australian Son* (1981), ix. In the foreword to his first, 1948, edition, Brown says, "It may have been better to have written a novel", but that he "finally decided…to select, as I believed the most valid aspects of the myth" (12). Imagined dialogue populates many of the events in his narrative, e.g. pp. 94, 151. Unlike Kenneally, Brown made no claim to impartiality; his preface concludes, "So does the myth become greater than reality to act upon reality!". A comparative review with Bill Wannan's *Tell 'em I died game* (1963) remarked the severe extent to which Brown

Brown did not mention Metcalf, but in his 1980 revision he wrote that "Medcalf [sic] lay in the [hotel] parlour, a bullet through the eye".[35] Brown decried "the wanton killing of Johnny Jones, Jane Jones, George Medcalf [sic] and Martin Cherry" by police fire during the siege.[36] Yet he almost certainly knew that the Metcalf story was false, as he had closely read the Royal Commission *Minutes of Evidence*.[37] He cannot have overlooked the sworn testimony of Superintendent John Sadleir in respect to a police report:

> "There is another [incorrect] statement…: 'A man named George Metcalfe has also been forwarded by your instructions to Melbourne, for treatment to an injury received in the eye while the firing was going on.' That was the man's own statement to Captain Standish, and myself, but, on further enquiries, I found that the injury was caused by Ned Kelly on the Sunday before the capture, the gun having accidentally gone off in his hands, and shot this man in the eye".[38]

Brown's decision to privilege an old newspaper story over sworn evidence, and to use it to berate the police, says much about his partiality. In Brown, a false history was manufactured that would not accept the unpalatable truth of Kelly's callous carelessness as revealed by Sadleir, which was simply ignored. In his summary critique of the police, Brown instead held the false tale of Metcalf's death against them.[39] Nothing would be allowed to fault Brown's construction of the ideal man: "the father of our national courage - our General - our King - whose mystical presence is still growing about us, never to die".[40] In 1954, Frank Clune, who had also pored over every page of the Royal Commission evidence, dealt with the problem of Kelly's shooting of Metcalf by ahistorically placing Metcalf among the

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over-romanticised Kelly, and observed that "Wannan is forced to conclude that for most bushrangers, the Kellys included, life was nasty, brutish and short" (*Canberra Times*, 28 December 1963, p. 13).

[35] Brown, *Australian Son* ([1980] 1981), 174.

[36] Ibid., 194.

[37] Brown, *Australian Son*, 228-233.

[38] Police Commission, *Minutes of Evidence*, Q.16700, p. 616.

[39] Brown, *Australian Son* (1981), 232.

[40] Ibid., viii, paraphrasing Robbit Clow, *The Cause of Kelly* (Ballarat: Baxter & Stubbs, 1919), 5-6, whom Brown also quoted in his front matter. Clow contributed a letter of endorsement to Kenneally's fourth edition.

outdoor spectators the morning after the siege began, where he is struck in the eye by a stray police bullet during their "wild firing".[41]

The story of historical falsification worsens. Police correspondence shows that Detective Alexander Eason conducted enquiries at Glenrowan in the aftermath of the siege, during which he discovered the facts of Metcalf's wounding, and reported:

> "I see that a man named George Metcalf now an inmate of the Eye and Ear Hospital Melbourne from injuries received to his eye on this occasion has made a statement to the effect that when a prisoner of the Kellys in Jones' hotel and sheltered in the chimney he was injured from a bullet fired from the outside striking the brickwork which struck him in the eye. Now I find that Ned Kelly before daylight on the Sunday morning called out a contractor named Adolphus Piazzi from his tent near the railway line and that Piazzi attempted to use his gun when Kelly fired at him and very nearly shot him and afterwards later in the day when Metcalf was bailed up outside the Station Master's house Kelly was fiddling with this gun of Piazzi's when it exploded striking Metcalf in the face, the blood came from his face and Mr. Stanistreet's son got him water to wash it off, and Kelly then said, "I did not mean to fire, it went off accidentally", and now whatever object Metcalf may have in asserting that he was wounded when inside Jones' hotel by a shot fired from the outside this account of the cause is the correct one".[42]

Eason appears to have come across the Metcalf story by accident. His memo commences with a report on the actions of Kelly sympathisers Denis and Patrick McAuliffe, who were inside Jones' Inn during the siege.[43] He then says that he had noticed Metcalf's statement, which he presumably sought to corroborate.[44] There is no indication that Eason was initially seeking to question Metcalf's claim. Eason's report is undated, but it was originally attached to a memo by Supt. John Sadleir of 26 July 1880, from which it has become separated in the PROV file. A portion of Sadleir's memo notes that:

> "The information furnished by Det. Eason as regards the injuries suffered by George Metcalf can be supported by several witnesses and disposes of any

[41] Clune, *Kelly Hunters*, 301.
[42] Undated report by Detective Eason, VPRS 4967, Unit 3, Item 60, pp. 241-2 of the PDF file.
[43] Ibid.; cf. Ian Jones, *The Fatal Friendship* (rev. edn., South Melbourne: Lothian, 2003), 185.
[44] Eason's report, *op.cit*.

claim that he may make for compensation on the grounds of being shot by the police".[45]

The police files that contained these two reports were accessible from late 1966.[46] They should have prevented any suggestion in Brown's 1980 revision that Metcalf's injuries resulted from a police bullet fired during the siege, with the evidence that his suffering was the fault of Ned Kelly. Historian John Molony also followed Metcalf's story of events, omitting any reference to Eason's findings.[47] Both reports are now acknowledged, together with a content summary, on the PROV website,[48] and a case was mounted by historian Ian MacFarlane for their acknowledgement in regard to the issue in 2012.[49] As a cult figure however, Kelly had numerous defenders who sought to dismiss the reports.

MacFarlane's presentation has been rejected outright by adherents of the work of prominent Kelly historian Ian Jones, whose interest in and subsequent impassioned study of Kelly was inspired by Kenneally and Brown.[50] As with those authors, no opportunity is lost by Jones for finding fault with the police at every turn, a view ultimately rooted in Kenneally's "loaded dice" view of police persecution.[51] Jones aggressively promulgated the Metcalf myth in his 1995 biographical study, *Ned Kelly: A Short Life*, from whence it has been propagated as fact in other Kelly commentary, including Justin Corfield's widely consulted *Ned Kelly Encyclopaedia*.[52] Jones claimed by misreading the source documents, that Metcalf's eye "was injured when a bullet ricocheted from a chimney he was sheltering in" during the siege, and alleged that Metcalf's employer, gravel contractor Adolphus Piazzi, "came up with a

[45] Report by Supt. Sadleir, VPRS 4967, Unit 3, Item 60, pp. 173-5 of the PDF file.
[46] The Crown Law Department's Kelly files were accessible in the State Archives from late 1966; then consolidated into the Kelly Papers Collection with the establishment of the Victorian Public Record Office in 1973; and the collection "arranged and described by an archivist" in 1983. See Colin Cave, ed., *Ned Kelly: Man and Myth* (North Ryde: Cassell, 1968) 59 and 141; "Kelly Historical Collection", http://prov.vic.gov.au/whats-on/exhibitions/ned-kelly/the-kelly-collection, accessed 10 September 2016; MacFarlane, *Kelly Gang Unmasked*, 219.
[47] John Molony, *I am Ned Kelly* (Ringwood: Allen Lane/Penguin, 1980), 288 n. 15.
[48] PROV, http://prov.vic.gov.au/whats-on/exhibitions/ned-kelly/the-police-case, accessed 14 October 2016.
[49] MacFarlane, *Kelly Gang Unmasked*, 1, 27-8.
[50] Jones, *Short Life* (1995), vii-viii, Kenneally as "the ultimate portrayal of Ned Kelly as a victim and hero"; Brown "inspired and encouraged" Jones' work.
[51] Kenneally, *Inner History*, 30-2; 152.
[52] Corfield, *Encyclopaedia*, s.v. "Metcalf", cites Jones only, not the source documents.

story that George Metcalf had been shot accidentally by Ned Kelly, not, as Metcalf himself claimed, by police fire".[53] Jones cited Eason's notice of Metcalf's claim that he was struck by a ricocheted bullet as proof of its truth, and dismissed the very next sentence in which Eason reported that his investigation had found that the injury occurred earlier, from Ned's fiddling with Piazzi's gun.[54]

Jones' reference note for the wounding of Metcalf, "Detective Report, quoting Metcalf, Eason to Sadleir", is wrong.[55] Eason did not quote Metcalf, but said that he saw that Metcalf had made a statement.[56] Jones misinterpreted the evidence in the police report in his desire to exonerate Kelly. This required him to simultaneously ignore or dismiss Sadleir's memo of 26 July, itself an official report, that "several witnesses" supported Eason's findings, and to ignore Sadleir's sworn Royal Commission testimony which had been based on these reports, with all of which Jones was thoroughly familiar.[57]

Jones next asserted that Piazzi "came up with a story" that Metcalf was accidentally shot by Kelly, and that Piazzi had an "undue eagerness to say what the police wanted to hear", which may have been motivated by Piazzi's claim for compensation for horses shot by the police.[58] This forgets (or ignores) that Metcalf was the one who had obtained compensation based on a false claim. Jones misread the source evidence in his note at the end of Chapter 20, in which he stated that "Piazzi claims that Ned shot Metcalf", referencing Eason's report.[59] Yet Eason nowhere said that Piazzi made this claim. Rather, Eason reported his own findings of what occurred, findings that also involved Mr Stanistreet's son, one or both of his parents, and at least one other witness identified in Eason's report.[60] Jones' questioning of Piazzi's integrity was undeserved and without foundation.

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[53] Jones, *Short Life* (1995), 250, 284, 386.

[54] Ibid., 380, rejecting report by Detective Eason, VPRS 4967, Unit 3, Item 60, pp. 241-2 of the PDF file.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Report by Detective Eason, VPRS 4967, Unit 3, Item 60, pp. 241-2 of the PDF file.

[57] Jones had studied the Kelly Papers in the State Archives well before the 1967 Wangaratta conference, and had his own copy of the Royal Commission *Minutes of Evidence* before 1968 (*Short Life*, 1995, p. viii).

[58] Ibid., 284.

[59] Jones, *Short Life* (1995), 386.

[60] Witnesses in addition to Mr Stanistreet's son, who brought Metcalf water, included station master John Stanistreet and railway worker James Reardon, both of whom are recorded on the second page of Eason's report.

The police paid Metcalf's medical expenses from his admission for treatment onwards, and also reimbursed the costs of his board, lodging and related expenses to hotel landlord Charles Wilson, whom Chief Commissioner Standish had engaged as his carer. On learning that Metcalf had been taken seriously ill on 11 October 1880, Superintendent Nicolson, as Acting Chief Commissioner, arranged for Metcalf's immediate return to the Melbourne hospital, where he died on 15 October. Nicolson also authorised payment of a retrospective bill from Wilson for accommodation and costs that was received after Metcalf's death, despite having learned by then that the claim was fraudulent.[61] Jones disregarded these acts that showed the police in an honourable light, again insisting in his first note to Chapter 21 that because the money was paid, police fire must have caused Metcalf's injury.

Despite a further decade of intensive involvement in Kelly research, Jones kept the Metcalf myth unchanged in his 2003 major revision.[62] Max Brown, who died in 2003 but had continued to revise his material over the years, similarly could not bring himself to acknowledge that Kelly was at fault. He repeated the tale unchanged in his late life revision of *Australian Son*, posthumously published in 2005.[63] Both authors remained under the thrall of Kenneally's impassioned defence of the Kelly gang of bushrangers against the police, a hunt that was welcomed by almost every Victorian of the day.[64] Both selectively used historical evidence to construct and promulgate unhistorical, sugar-coated images of Kelly as a heroic figure, far

[61] Nicolson, Memo, 9 December 1880, VPRS 4967, Unit 2, Item 53.

[62] Jones, *Short Life* (2003), 223 and 254.

[63] Brown, *Australian Son* (2005), 202, 226. Chester Eagle, the editor, noted in his foreword (ix) that, "Max lived to see several editions of the book… At length he decided he needed to revise his classic, and he did". Mr Eagle advised me in an email of 4 June 2014 that, "The 2005 version was greatly altered by Max, not by Brad [Webb, the publisher] or me. Parts of the book were rewritten, and other parts not. That was Max's decision.… Let me assure you that considerable effort was expended in giving the public the 2005 version of *Australian Son* as Max intended it to be presented".

[64] *Ovens & Murray Advertiser*, 31 Oct 1878, 2, "We now think that there is reasonable hope to suppose that this bloodthirsty band of young ruffians … will soon be captured. May such an event speedily be consummated"; *Bendigo Advertiser*, 3 March 1879, 2, on a rumour that the gang had been captured, "the sentiment generally evoked by the rumor was one of sincere gratification"; *Argus*, 2 April 1879, 5, "scoundrels whose deeds of blood have horrified and incensed the whole community"; *O&M*, 29 Oct 1880, 2, "we trust that at all hazards people will scour the country, and never rest until these foul murderers are brought to justice".

removed from the reality of his life and crimes. With this pasteurisation, it is not surprising that Kelly has been wryly called Saint Ned.[65]

The case of Metcalf illustrates how ready many historians have been to blame the police for every misadventure in the Kelly saga. Judith Douthie's investigation of those inside Jones' hotel during the siege acknowledged Eason's report, and noted, "it is understandable that George [Metcalf] would not have wanted the police to know who injured him, as he then would not have received any compensation for his wounds".[66] Given that he could not afford treatment, Metcalf took the only way he could see to get it, and claimed injury from police fire. The evidence shows that Metcalf was a victim of Kelly's careless gun handling in the afternoon before the siege commenced. He did not then let him go to seek treatment, but rounded him up in the hotel as part of Kelly's human shield seeded with some twenty sympathisers; the same tactic he had used at Euroa and Jerilderie to prevent interference with his plans.[67] Like many other people who suffered the impact of the Kelly gang, Metcalf was a victim of tragic circumstances beyond his control. However, his death was in no part the fault of the police.

[65] Keith Dunstan, *Saint Ned: The Story of the Near Sanctification of an Australian Outlaw* (Sydney: Methuen, 1980).

[66] Judith Douthie, *I was at the Kelly Gang round-up* (Greensborough: Network Creative Services, 2007), 106-7.

[67] Douthie, ibid., 1, estimated 18 to 20 sympathisers among the 62 prisoners at Glenrowan; for sympathisers among the prisoners at Faithful's Creek (Euroa), see Jones, *Short Life* (2003), 158; and Jerilderie, 172.

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VPRS - Victorian Public Record Series, in the Public Records Office Victoria.

Book Reviews

Between Quran & Kafka West-Eastern Affinities

Navid Kermani, trans. by Tony Crawford

Polity, 2016; Softcover; 303 pages; A$36 ISBN 978-1-5095-0034-5.

This is an intriguing and thought-provoking book that raises many questions about historical and philosophical topics, such as suffering, refugees, social inclusion, and poetry. The author is a well-known German Muslim willing to engage with medieval history and ancient texts alongside current political debates. This collection of eighteen of his papers and talks presents a uniquely European Muslim perspective.

Kermani's thoughts range from a discussion on the Quran's poetry, to Arabic as an enduring and modern musical language, to views on suffering in various religions, and to the role of borders in Europe's complicity in torture. This last topic is possibly his most poignant as it questions the future of an open and united Europe given the growing anti-refugee sentiment. The author reflects on Europe's historical openness, while considering the recurring experience of the Jews, in addition to noting issues of dehumanization and the out-sourcing of torture. Interspersed with statistics on the preferences of Moroccan refugees are quotes from the Bible and Dostoevsky. When people are fleeing desertification and starvation, can they be fairly called "economic refugees"?

Chapter Two on "Attar and Suffering" explores the insights of Attar, an important Sufi teacher of the twelfth/thirteenth century, and the similarities with Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Kermani notes the profound affect that Islamic philosophical thought, and literature on suffering, had on the West, including on such defining texts as the *Decameron* and *Don Quixote*. Eastern influence was often left uncited but its overwhelming influence is quite visible. Such provenance is still being discovered and appreciated, and Kermani's challenge for further research and greater honesty is appropriate.

The poetic nature of Arabic, especially as standardized by the Quran, has been a major factor in the longevity and stability of the language. Kermani observes correctly that poetry was a foundation of the Islamic shared identity, but his assertion that Quranic metaphor had no precursors is historically inaccurate. This is a recurring failure throughout the book. While there are many careful insights, the author is neither an historian nor a philosopher, and this is evident in a number of places. There are also several editorial errors, such as the misspelling of "Bagdad", and various people's names. But if these are overlooked there is much that is worthy of consideration.

Kermani's essay on "World without God: Shakespeare and Man" analyses aspects of Shakespeare's plays. He notes the failure of King Lear's parallels between himself and Job, and the significance of this for the West. He connects the theme of suffering alone with Harold Bloom's thoughts on the solitary human, and the modern replacement of God with nature. Not all of Kermani's ideas are developed, but his comments on "the drama of the individual, the disaster of man's autonomy, the doom of being human," (p. 48) are provocative and worthy of attention.

Many of the chapters reflect on themes found in the works of various German or German-language authors, such as Goethe, Kleist, Lessing, Hesse, Kafka, Arendt, and Zweig. Despite the Germanic focus, the ideas are relevant for Western culture as a whole, and, in most cases, for all cultures. Kermani is deeply concerned about the human condition and the paradoxes of modern Western society. He is troubled by the hypocrisy of the West and disturbed that many positive aspects are being eroded by fear. This is especially clear in his Frankfurt 2015 speech captured in the Appendix, which could have been the final chapter of the main section. It is a disturbing reflection on brutality, love, fear, and interfaith relations.

As an exploration of critical thinking on Goethe and religion, on Kleist and love, or on Lessing and terror, this is well worth reading. Kermani presents many starting points for further explorations of the intersection between cultural history and modern politics, and his reputation as a provocative writer is well-deserved.

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The Desert Fayum Reinvestigated: The Early to Mid-Holocene Landscape Archaeology of the Fayum North Shore, Egypt.

Edited by Simon J. Holdaway and Willeke Wendrich.
Monumenta Archaeologica 39, The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, Los Angeles, 2017, 292 pages, ISBN 978-1-938770-09-8.

This edited volume is the culmination of extensive archaeological investigation, patient analysis of collected material and information, and tenacious theorisation. The eight chapters are presented in an accessible format, coupled with an array of figures and tables that present an engaging amount of information for this regional reinvestigation during the early to mid-Holocene of the Fayum North Shore.

This is a highly-anticipated volume, the result of years of fieldwork in the concession area of the North Shore. The multi-institutional project has produced a work that presents some tantalising results, with further possibilities of future research and interpretation of material in a regional context, which can holistically broaden our understanding of the period of study. There is an interesting use of multiple authors for all chapters in the book. This reflects the application of a holistic approach to interpreting the archaeological record, with different data-sets requiring unique approaches, interplayed with a multifaceted approach to interpreting the record from the Fayum's North Shore region.

The first chapter presents a well-rounded introduction to the reinvestigation of Fayum's North Shore. The aims of the study, and indeed the many planes of this archaeological enquiry, are clearly articulated here. The multitude of researchers involved with this project, led by the editors and ably buoyed by authors such as Rebecca Phillipps, Rebecca Ramset, and Joshua Emmitt, as well as a host of team members over many years in the field, provide diverse interests and approaches to the subject material. The central aim, building on Caton-Thompson and Gardiner's work in the region,[1] was to apply a geoarchaeological and landscape approach to Fayum archaeology. This would be achieved through the URU Fayum Project interpreting the land and water use of the region northwest of Lake Qarun. To this end the project undertook a study and analysis of the natural, anthropogenic, economic, and social processes that formed the present landscape and the

[1] Caton-Thompson, G. and Gardiner, E., 1934. *The Desert Fayum.* London.

archaeological remains that are part of it. The interpretations of this study and analysis are provided, in part, throughout all of the remaining chapters, though Chapters Three, Seven and Eight, provide key insights into the findings of this reinvestigation.

The second chapter provides a good outline of the context of Fayum in northeast Africa. The application of previous approaches to analysing data sets in northeast Africa is well positioned to show that the approach applied in the Fayum can be used as a regional case study to provide localised examination of this part of Egypt during the Neolithic. The landscape approach that is detailed within Chapter Two aptly provides a means to analyse the variability within the data stemming from archaeological research undertaken in the Fayum. This moves away from interpreting the information as part of a 'Neolithic package', which is a misnomer in itself. Indeed, the authors suggest in Chapter Seven that the Neolithic package did not arrive late to the Fayum. Instead it did not arrive at all, as such a suggestion is too general for a complex proposition. Rather, the approach used in this volume looks at the whole record (or package), rather than selected aspects of the archaeological material, or selected typological studies.

Chapter Three begins well by addressing the age estimates of the archaeological material found in the lake edge deposits and their relation to lake edge occupation. This raises the issue of a lack of independent proof of direct association with archaeological features and sediment deposition in this area. Notably the authors indicate that whether people occupied the ground immediately adjacent to Lake Qarun cannot be verified due to hearth deposition alone. The use of satellite-derived DSM to produce high-resolution georectified contour maps of the study region, as included in this chapter, allows for more accurate height estimates when compared with, and built upon the work of, previous studies and their associated errors. This helps to correct the interpretations of the landscape of the palaeoenvironment, as well as the movement of the lake edge over time, with the associated interaction of peoples. The discussion and analysis of lake basins provides a vast amount of information that illuminates the paleoenvironment of the north Fayum region, with the results providing an interesting assessment of the six basins along the northern shoreline (originally identified by Caton-Thompson and Gardiner). This has a key relation to the agricultural viability of the region, which is an aspect this is consistently tied back to the main aim of the project. This is perhaps

best articulated when the authors of Chapter Three (Phillipps, Holdaway, Ramsey, Wendrich, and Emmitt), note that as archaeologists, they are interested in how people used different parts of the landscape, in relation to the potential these areas provided.

Methodological considerations, as outlined in Chapter Three, are keenly highlighted by issues that the project had to approach when conducting fieldwork. One of the best examples of this was the high density of artefacts on the deflated surfaces. With such a large project area (approximately 142 km^2), limitations on fieldwork were sure to arise, though these have been mitigated with modern survey techniques. The results of these surveys suggest that artefact concentration aligns with the areas around the basins identified by Caton-Thompson and Gardiner.[2] Importantly, the interpretation of flaked stone artefacts was approached as a whole, with the complete assemblage analysed, rather than favouring certain stone tools as part of this assemblage and inferring particular activity through this selection. The well-rounded analysis has meant that the assemblage provides information pertaining to the context of stone tools as part of the wider assemblage, and also about raw material reduction, use, and discard, as well as the movement of stone artefacts across the landscape. The examination of a complete assemblage is favourable, as it allows for the interpretation of a broad range of use and discards at particular locations, which can be plotted across the landscape. Other types of features or artefacts that are presented include grinding stones, hearths (notable for their use in providing radiocarbon results as discussed in Chapters Four to Six), ceramics, basketry and textiles, personal ornaments, faunal material, and floral material.

Results outlined in Chapter Four and Five indicate that archaeological deposits discussed in Chapter Three are more extensive than previously thought, with deposits in lower elevations than those reported from previous fieldwork and investigation. As presented by the authors in Chapters Four to Six, this alters the interpretation of human interaction with this landscape, as reflected in the material collected by extensive surface survey, and some selected excavation. The artefact concentrations from the surveys conducted are discussed in Chapter Four and Five, focussing on K, and L Basins.

[2] Caton-Thompson, G. and Gardiner, E., 1934. *The Desert Fayum.* London.

There is a sound synthesis of evidence discussed in Chapter Seven. This is the most substantive chapter of the volume, with detailed discussion and conclusions of the research making it possible for future direction. The synthesis provides an attempt to approach the topic of the Neolithic origins in Egypt, though as noted this was traditionally based upon the use of limited sets of observations which form generalised models of interpretation. It is here that the volume moves away from such generalised models, by drawing upon the detailed analysis of archaeological material from a landscape at multiple temporal and spatial scales within the Fayum region. Notable within this chapter is the fact that radiocarbon dates do not provide a precise understanding of occupation duration in this region. It is perhaps suffice to state that the results produced different indications of occupation at different times during the early to mid-Holocene, stemming predominantly from hearth generated samples (though some straw examples were obtained from Upper K Pits 68 and 75). The results indicate that the Fayum had greater use than previously thought, and while there are gaps in the chronology of this period, there is now a better understanding of the complex interactions and activities that took place with the landscape during this time in the region. This is indicated by the movement of artefacts across the landscape. This is how the authors' research leads to the conclusion that the north shore of the Fayum was most likely part of a more spatially extensive system.

The final chapter makes a concise synopsis of the discussions and summaries from previous chapters. Notably, the history of the Fayum seems to be more complex than the two periods traditionally proposed for this region. Chapter Eight provides a sound contextualisation of the evidence from the Fayum within the wider context of the Western Desert, and connections to Lower Egypt. The chapter begins with the realisation that the current understanding of the Neolithic in the Delta and Nile Valley, and perhaps the associated Eastern and Western Deserts, lacks from a detailed study which charts the nature of archaeological remains without typological bias, and also considers site occupations within a wider landscape context. This is quite rightly conceded, and this volume does help to rectify this within the Fayum region, also indicating beneficial link to research undertaken in other regions of Egypt.

The results of the study indicate that there is variability across the landscape of the north Fayum. This is indicated by different archaeological records preserved to

differing degrees in different places dating to different times. This is hopefully not unexpected by the project, as uniformity is rare in archaeological records across a wide landscape, especially one of this size. The authors do not attempt to ask where the people of the Neolithic came from, or where they went; rather they present an approach to studying the early to mid-Holocene material from the Fayum that considers the complexity of the archaeological record, the interaction between different locations within the concession area, the interplay of human activity across a diverse and changing landscape, and the possibility of further enquiry. This was gained, as noted at the end of Chapter Eight, by three important elements of enquiry: substantial time in the field for thorough recording; reinterpretation of methods in relation to their objectives (outlined above); and the theorisation of their findings, as presented in this volume, and a host of associated articles produced throughout the course of the projects history, and hopefully beyond.

The organisation of each chapter is well-laid out in an easily accessible discourse of the information from the archaeological remains and discussion of this material. It is notable that some notions which are put forward by the authors (though it is not always discernible which one), are lacking citations, or at times could be bolstered by further explanation. Such citations would further support the summation in Chapter Eight, or the discussion sections in chapters preceding this. However, this is coupled with the limitations of the size of a volume of this scope, which has limited room for extrapolation. Perhaps this can be remedied by further publications associated with this research, and the development of a wider understanding of the Fayum, and indeed other parts of Egypt during the Neolithic. This is certainly, and frequently, advocated by the authors in this volume.

While every volume attempting to outline the results of a project of this size and scope will have deficiencies, the positive approach and reinvestigation of the archaeological record and landscape of the North Shore of the Fayum should leave readers wanting more. Due to limitations already alluded to, it is an imperative that others use the work outlined by Holdaway, Wendrich et al., to help contextualise Neolithic Egypt, and hopefully will be able to match the scale of their application, to provide a better overall holistic understanding of Egypt during this period. Important studies such as this are seldom published to this extent, and the fact that this reader is left with more questions than answers, is a product of the fact that the material

presented paves the way for future possibilities, rather than lacking conviction in what has been presented in this volume.

Thus, as suggested by the title of the book, the results of this study offer a thorough reinvestigation of the record from the north Fayum shoreline, which has the potential to make stronger links with this region and others from the Levant, through the Nile Valley, into Lower Nubia, and the Saharan Western Desert of Egypt with work undertaken by members of the Dakhleh Oasis Project in the latter region. It is pleasing that limitations of access, and excavations constantly balanced by ever encroaching modern agricultural needs within the Fayum did not deter work (albeit, the impact is notable on the extent and types of results that were yielded, unfortunately). However, there is still possibility and hope that such a volume could be expanded, with motivation for similar studies in other parts of Egypt, building on the now well-laid foundations from the research undertaken for this volume.

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Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers in Archaeology: a Study of Spatial Relationships.

Bryan Feuer

McFarland & Company, Jefferson, North Carolina, 2016, 164 pages, ISBN 978-0-7864-7343-4.

A fundamental, and underlying notion within *Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers in Archaeology: a Study of Spatial Relationships* is how to evaluate and interpret the connection between a broader access to space, people, and resources, and the applicability of theory involved with this to varied societies in the archaeological record. Bryan Feuer does achieve this; however, some of the theory and its applicability can be evaluated in other in-depth case studies, not present in this book, which would provide alternative interpretations and conclusions on borders and frontiers, and the available evidence from different data-sets of material culture. While the author has primarily focussed on Mycenaean Thessaly, the reviewer feels that the focus of this book is applicable to other cultures and time, such as Early Dynastic Egypt.

The book brings together research and ideas about spatial organisation in order to present a theoretical overview of a significant aspect of human cognitive behaviour. As such, there is a large reliance on world-systems theory, showing the influence in the author's background and academic career. While different theories have been developed and are now associated with world-systems theory, which have had a significant impact on archaeology and sub-disciplines, such reliance here means that the adaptation of information from this book to different cores, semi-peripheries, and peripheral regions is skewed for some that may want to use the theory contained within. Feuer is attentive to present a balance of information for discussion, rather than being too economically focused (of a world-systems analysis). This allows him to tie in the case studies presented at the end of the book and to some extent balance social and cultural considerations.

The evolution of human concepts of spatial organisation necessitated the change in the value of land, and perceptions of this, which is where the importance of borders, boundaries, and frontiers began to significantly develop in relation to societies and pristine states. Where Feuer suggests that it is difficult to separate the various social, economic, and political processes analytically, this reviewer proposes

that it is possible, and indeed this book combines research that shows it is easily achievable and applicable.

Chapter One outlines definitions of boundaries, borders, and frontiers as used in this book. The author notably states that boundaries are related to the notion of boundedness; that they are lines or demarcations with limitations to separate different entities with an 'us and them' notion emphasised. Alternatively, borders and frontiers should be considered as zones. Borders are defined away from frontiers and the synonymous use of these terms which is an important feature at the forefront of this volume, and will help those studying archaeology to better understand the importance of boundaries, borders, and frontiers from an archaeological record. The incorporation of simple, yet effective figures at this point in the chapter is good, as they constitute useful images of the concepts and definitions provided. These definitions are broad, purposefully, as they are more applicable this way to multiple studies. It is interesting that Feuer suggests that colonies could exist as a discontinuous form of a frontier, often separated from the homeland or core area by natural barriers. This is not always a true notion, as the appropriation of geographical areas not considered part of the traditional Egyptian state, such as Nubia or the southern Levant, is evident at times during Pharaonic history, and can be considered colonies at various times, though they were not necessarily separated from the core of the Egyptian state by natural barriers.

The second chapter provides a good summation of theory applicable to various cultures, and helps to set-up the proceeding content. A short interlude with Chapter Three provides a succinct discussion of spatial concepts. This chapter seems as though it could be part of a larger discussion of the evolution of spatial concepts, or amended to other chapters surrounding the content therein.

Chapter Four, the longest chapter in the volume (though the most crucial in this reviewer's opinion), details aspects of the processes related to borders, frontiers, and boundaries. This covers political processes, economic processes (which heavily relies on world-system theory), and the social and cultural processes related to interaction with borders, frontiers, and boundaries. The latter are a highlight of this chapter, especially the discussion of ethnicity. This is a succinct section, which is accessible while also providing a good summary of a complex process or notion. I feel this section is easily accessible for anthropologists and archaeologists from various sub-disciplines in this format. Overall, this chapter is excellent in identifying

the limitations of borders and frontiers as buffer zones in a political process. However, it is notable that any discussion of increasing dependency of peripheral regions on the centre for resources, especially food, is not necessarily correct. To the reviewer's knowledge, peripheral regions to the early Egyptian state during the Early Dynastic period could provide themselves with resources readily available while still seemingly acting as a peripheral region, rather than a centre to the Egyptian state. Such statements punctuate the volume at times, and while the case studies from Chapter Five do provide varied examples of the applicability of the theory outlined in preceding chapters, they do not always provide examples contrary to some assertions.

The case studies in Chapter Five present an application of the theory from the previous chapters. The discussion of China seems too brief, with some dated sources, and some statements generalised for the context of this book and theories. The next case study focuses on Rome. This presents a better outline of applicable theory to the Roman Republic and Empire, especially regarding the issue of quick expansion of the core and the unsettled nature of integration of the peripheral regions, resulting in eventual pressures on the core, socially, politically, and economically. This is matched by examples of the social and cultural processes of acculturation, or in this instance the Romanisation of those Rome encountered. This ties nicely with the discussion in Chapter Four, though the real analysis of this culture lays in others' research and is adapted here for sake of comparison. The last, and most in-depth, analysis takes a more specific focus on Mycenaean culture, which allows for a deeper consideration of the periphery of this culture and aspects of acculturation evident in the archaeological record. This reflects the author's background and recent research, but finally allows for a more nuanced analytical discussion of the theory from the preceding chapters.

Some deficiencies with the volume can be found in grammatical issues, the placement of references can be inconsistent, and an overly heavy reliance on the use of quotes from other authors can detract from the reader's experience of the book.

While the book attempts to atone for archaeological research and discussion focussing primarily towards the centres of societies rather than their perimeters, drawing together over 30 years of research would never have been an easily completed project. However, Feuer does do justice towards many aspects of theory

surrounding boundaries, borders, and frontiers. While the book is light in some aspects of discussion, this is made up for by the fact that this short volume is highly accessible for undergraduate and postgraduate students alike, as well as more complex research in academia.

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The Production, Use and Importance of Flint Tools in the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom of Egypt

Michal Kobusiewicz

Archaeopress Egyptology 12, 2015; Paperback, 168 pages; RRP from £36 (print), £19 (epub); ISBN: 978-1-78491-249-9 (print); ISBN 9781784912505 (epub).

This volume represents a much-needed initial attempt at providing a general overview of Egyptian lithic industries dating to the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods. This work is a critical piece of research, presenting a large, comparative study of lithic assemblages from multiple sites and data-sets in an Egyptian context, while also offering the potential for more comprehensive insight into an area of research that has often been marginalised within the discipline. Although a brief outline of research concerning key sites with available lithic data-sets dating to the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom period is presented early in Chapter One, the real focus seems to be a handful of recently excavated sites from Lower Egypt (Kom el-Hisn), Upper Egypt (Elephantine) and the Western Desert's Dakhleh Oasis ('Ain Asil, 'Ain al-Gazzareen, Mut al-Kharab, El-Kharafish, and the 'Watch Post' sites). Other chapters present information concerning key themes: the construction of *chaîne opératoire* (Chapters 2 and 4), the identification and definition of raw material types and organisation of lithic production (Chapter 2), and a typology of flint tool types commonly found within Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom assemblages (Chapter 3). The later chapters (Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9) are dedicated to data analysis and subsequent discussions, including a comparative component, the identification of lithic complexes, and the importance of flint in early Egyptian society both from an economic and socio-cultural point of view.

Kobusiewicz opens with a brief introduction, followed by a succinct list of sites dating to the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom that have yielded lithic material, although unfortunately reference is not made to publications concerning assemblages, which would have helped direct the reader to the origins of data-sets included in the volume. This is followed by a presentation and discussion of lithic organisation, including the identification of raw material types encountered in Egyptian assemblages. While the separation into nodular, tabular, and mined flint is a useful distinction, the section on raw material identification itself seems rather limited. The application of Munsell Colours to the flint distinctions, which is a useful

tool for discussing specific assemblages, does not consider the vast range of hues encountered across such a large geographic area. The next focus is dedicated to a detailed typology of lithic tools from the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods of Egypt, albeit a difficult task due to the unstandardised nature of most lithic types in Egyptian assemblages. Kobusiewicz refers mostly to the recently excavated sites from the Dakhleh Oasis, although he also includes some information relating to sites from Upper and Lower Egypt. This is expanded in the next chapter, which is dedicated to analysis of assemblages from the previously mentioned sites, including in-depth analysis of debitage; this will be gladly received by lithic analysts interested in comparative technological studies and reduction sequences. Chapter Five briefly summarises these assemblages, comparing key differences such as the use of blanks and the frequency of major tool types.

The second half of the volume is dedicated to broader discussion of more thematic content, including the identification of three key components of manufacture among Egyptian assemblages for the time period: tools of highly specialised production (such as bifacial knives), ad-hoc production (scrapers, retouched blades and flakes), and 'heavy duty' tools (crescent-shaped borers, picks and hoes). Kobusiewicz contemplates the role of flint tools in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Egyptian societies, both from an economic perspective (agricultural practices, woodworking, animal butchering) and a cultural one (ritual, prestige). From an economic perspective, the agricultural use of sickle blades is well attested and the prolonged exploitation of tools bearing sickle sheen is commonly observed in almost all Egyptian settlement sites. Other more general comments, such as the use of flint tools for the cutting of inscriptions on the walls of temples and *mastabas*, are logical but may require further evidence. Kobusiewicz's commentary on the ritual and prestigious role of flint tools, particularly the fishtail knives used in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, are supported by textual evidence and caches in mortuary contexts, and represent important social aspects of lithic assemblages. This is further highlighted in Chapter Nine, which explores the socio-cultural potential of flint materials from an analytical point of view, including investigating concepts such as centralised rule and cultural interaction (acculturation, external contact). The evidence for state formation is evident among the lithic assemblages from Old Kingdom settlement sites: the distribution of standardised implements on mined flint such as bi-truncated, regular blade tools and sickle elements, are evidence of a

centralised administration. In particular, the evidence of large quantities of distributed regular blade tools from Elephantine from external workshops during Dynasties III–IV suggests an increased connectivity between the settlement and a centralised distribution centre.

Kobusiewicz's volume is a key piece of literature for researchers interested in understanding Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom lithics in Egypt, although a large proportion of the data originates from the Western Desert sites and therefore represents regional industries. The inclusion of a chapter on the indigenous Sheikh Muftah occupation at El-Kharafish on the Libyan Escarpment, for example, represents an industry that should be considered definitively different from the Egyptian industries of the Nile Valley. The volume, therefore, may be better suited to researchers interested in understanding the role of lithic technology in cultural interaction in regional areas, or the development of distinctive regional industries, as it bridges a geographic divide that is often a noticeable distinction in published data. Although the work includes valid discussion of many Nile Valley assemblages, the attempt to cover such a wide geographic range and chronology impedes Kobusiewicz's ability to discuss key points in depth. It also occasionally leads to overly generalised points regarding key aspects of the assemblage data, such as the statement that the site of Mut al-Kharab is representative of a temple site in the earliest contexts.[3] Nonetheless, the work represents a novel approach to understanding lithic assemblages in an Egyptian context more holistically and will be of great use to researchers interested in studying any aspect of lithic technology during the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom, particularly in the Western Desert.

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[3] Hope and Pettman state that the architecture dated to the Old Kingdom at Mut al-Kharab currently does not permit the nature of the building to be identified: "Egyptian Connections with Dakhleh Oasis in the Early Dynastic to Dynasty IV", 150. See also Hope et al. (in press).

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Not In My Neighborhood: How Bigotry Shaped a Great American City

Antero Pietila

Ivan R. Dee, 2010; Hardcover; 336 pages; RRP $21.72; ISBN 978-1-56663-843-2.

In a detailed account of Baltimore's history of housing segregation, Antonio Pietila makes several significant contributions. Mainly, his book is extremely useful for pointing out the specific characters and institutions who have been responsible over time for segregation in urban planning and ideologies propelling white supremacy. Unfortunately, his book stops short of making the more in-depth structural critique that would logically follow from his historical account. A macroeconomic approach would illustrates how the behaviours of the individuals and institutions which are responsible for discriminatory housing practices, are mostly guided by a structure which incentivises them. While the historical characters are important and should still be held accountable in our historical consciousness and record, the more important point to be drawn from Pietila's book is that the structure of capitalism is unsound, especially in the context of housing. Capitalism's reliance on an exchange value determined by social factors, its cyclical nature, which reproduces and reaffirms inequality, as well as its capacity to be a command and control economy, are all main points to be drawn from Pietila's historical account. As Baltimore is still mired in racial tension and housing inequality, Pietila's critique of capitalism's inherent contradictions can hopefully serve as a challenge to the current neoliberal models of development which are constantly prescribed for the city.

One observation to be drawn from Pietila's book is the recognition that the capitalist notion of value, the market or exchange value, is largely determined by social parameters. Most neoliberal economists hold to the marginal utility theory of value, which states that value is subjective and that buyers have the most power in the capitalist marketplace. In other words, value is determined subjectively by consumers (or the inhabitants/buyers), not by labour or production (such as the cost of the labour to build the house or maintain it). In his historical analysis, Pietila indirectly tends to what could be considered a *historical racial theory of value*. He inadvertently gives evidence to the negative side of the capitalist marginal utility theory of value, where worth is connected closely with race. He shows how exchange value informed by racial prejudice can lead to structural racism and a racialised command and control over capital movements across space. One

example he presents is the use of restrictive covenants and urban planning via neighbourhood associations.

Pietila gives us many examples of neighbourhood associations which systematically developed a widely understood, but largely unspoken and unwritten "exclusion policy with real estate brokers' participation and homeowners' approval."[4] He offers us an insight into the market logic behind racist housing practices, citing an example of a prominent community planner and urban designer in Baltimore, who explained how it is the racial "'uniformity of use in a restricted territory that gives special value to lands'".[5] Pietila does not say that community planners and individual homeowners have been solely responsible for, or the main drivers of, housing segregation. Instead, he explains how community planners were actually incentivised to act as such by racist homebuyers who formed the majority of the market. Not only were community planners given an incentive to segregate housing based upon market demand, but so were the banks, federal government, and real estate agents when they engaged in the practices of redlining and blockbusting.

Pietila describes the practice of redlining, where the federal government and banks collectively designed maps which outlined certain areas either for investment or disinvestment based on their racial make-up. On the basis of most buyers assigning a low value to areas of non-white ethnicities, these areas received less access to federal loans for housing, hence the "red line" on the maps which encompassed these areas. Being guided by the same racialised exchange values, blockbusting was a product of racialised market logic as well. Pietila describes how real estate agents incited panic and encouraged white flight by convincing white homeowners they had to sell low, while offering the homes to African-Americans at a higher than market rate, inciting further panic and flight. Pietila's book is not only illustrative of capitalism's structural failing to produce class equality for different races, but capitalism's logic of cyclical causality as well.

Capitalism not only reproduces poverty for black people, but it also constantly reaffirms race-based impoverishment for certain spaces. As demonstrated in Pietila's book, people of colour are first deemed inferior, and are thus barred from equal access to market entry. Their inability to have equal access to the market finally

[4] Antero Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood: How Bigotry Shaped a Great American City* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2010), 36.
[5] Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood,* 35.

leads to impoverishment of people of colour which *seemingly* affirms the original claim of racial inferiority propelled by white supremacists. For example, Pietila starts his book by explaining how people of colour were deemed inferior due to the widespread belief in the theory of eugenics in the first half of the 1900s. Pietila makes the point that these white supremacist beliefs were so normative as to be held even by the "Progressives" of the day[6] and "guide[d] the Federal Housing Administration and its policies".[7] Because the belief in eugenics worked to devalue African-American owned properties, it prevented intergenerational wealth transfers. Specifically, it prevented wealth from being passed down in the form of physical and stable assets, property and home ownership being a primary example outlined in the book. The lack of physical and stable assets to be passed down to kin meant there was also little intergenerational upward mobility for people of colour, resulting in poverty being reproduced over time, generation after generation.

People of colour being less likely to benefit from intergenerational wealth and being much more likely to live in concentrated poverty exacerbated issues which any community would already face: drug use, education, sanitation, and others. Pietila writes: "Whites' unwillingness to relinquish any established blocks or vacant lands made the creation of additional black residential areas nearly impossible. That led to steadily worsening social problems in overcrowded black districts."[8] To the white outsider, the structural problems of poor health and high crime which Pietila alludes to *seemed* to be results which confirm that African-Americans were biologically inferior and that their communities hosted these problems because of that biological inferiority. The social and health problems created out of forced population density, forced segregation, and therefore the lack of intergenerational wealth transfers, were used as further reasons to justify further segregation, whether by laws or market forces, only to cause a further snowballing of more crime and health problems. While Pietila's book is missing these broader class critiques, what is also missing from his book is suggestions about what should be done to address these still relevant issues.

The Civil Rights Movement has shown us that changing public perceptions on race and class equality has largely happened at the margins of capitalism, not within

[6] Pietila, *Not in My Neighborhood,* 42.
[7] Ibid, 46.
[8] Ibid, 54.

it. In contrast, Pietila mentions the promises of Obama in his conclusion, which is perhaps telling of his faith in the neoliberal democratic process along with its capitalist foundation.[9] If Pietila had taken a more nuanced and critical economic approach to his journalistic study of housing segregation in Baltimore City, it is likely he would have concluded that capitalism and geographic racial development cannot coincide.

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[9] Ibid, 261.

A Companion to World History

Edited by Douglas Northrop.
Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, 2012; Hardcover; xix + 617 pages; 11 maps; 5 figures; 1 table; RRP $200.95; ISBN 978-1-4443-3418-0

Introductory overviews are often a helpful resource for students and academics alike to obtain one-stop surveys of key themes, concepts and studies in academic fields they are unfamiliar with. In the same way, this edited volume can be read as a comprehensive, but not exhaustive, guide to world history. Compiled as part of the Wiley-Blackwell Companions to History series, this volume comprises 33 well-connected chapters written by a diverse group of world historians from a number of countries. The chapters cover a number of themes, ranging from historiographical reviews to different world-historical concepts, allowing readers to encounter the vast depth and breadth of thinking and research that has been put into establishing world history as a legitimate academic field in the last 20 to 30 years.

One main concern that this volume addresses pertains to the status of world history as a marginalised field. The chapters, which are structured into three parts, provide a state-of-the-field update about this issue, emphasising that this situation has been turned around over the last 20 to 30 years thanks to three factors: the efforts by a number of scholars who have produced high-quality world-historical studies, the founding of key institutions to support world-historical scholarship, and a sharp increase in the quantity and quality of school programmes that are currently providing world history training in USA.

Part I of the book ("Trajectories and Practices") is sub-divided into two sections called "Researching the world: techniques and methods" and "Teaching the world: publics and pedagogies." This part plays a fundamental role in setting the stage for a broad introduction into the background and professional aspects of the field. Importantly, the chapters take stock of the major historiographical shifts which led to the genesis and professionalisation of the field in the 1980s, as well as an in-depth overview of the challenges, techniques and pedagogical tools involved in world-historical academic training, research and teaching. The first chapter "World History: Departures and Variations" by Kenneth Pomeranz and Daniel Segal—two established scholars—provides readers with a useful analysis of the formation of world history as an institutionalised discipline. They demonstrate the various

departures and variations the discipline had to take from forerunners like the Western Civilizations course and competing contemporary frameworks, such as global history, in order to centre the study of world history around the major concept of "connections" (p. 24). The subsequent chapters also provides readers with what can be characterised as an instructional guide on how to become a professional world historian. One example is the chapter by Heather Streets-Salter ("Becoming a World Historian: The State of Graduate Training in World History and Placement in the Academic World") which furnishes readers with an assessment of the quantity and quality of the different graduate programmes and career opportunities that are available.

The most important portion of the book is Part II ("Categories and Concepts"). Made up of 17 chapters and sub-divided into three sections titled "Framing", "Comparing" and "Connecting". This section informs readers of the multiple theoretical frameworks that have been utilised to re-conceptualise various historical fields (i.e. local history, colonial history) as world history. The range of topics covered include fields that both have and have not participated in what I call the "world history turn" since the 1980s. This has enabled the authors to reflect on the effectiveness of world history's contributions and to forecast the way ahead for the potential integration of the world-historical method(s) into all historical fields. These assessments should not be seen as an adulatory attempt to showcase the achievements of world history; instead one finds that the authors bring their respective topics into close conversation with key world-historical studies in order to validate their current approaches. One chapter that typifies the theoretical rigour of Part II is Antoinette Burton's "The Body in/as World History". This sophisticated essay combines scholarship from the fields of gender studies, post-colonialism and world history in order to re-position the human body as a key component that should form a central analytical "device" (p. 275) in the study of world history. That said, a small number of chapters are unable to match the overall standard of rigour in Part II as they are largely descriptive – rather than being conceptually provocative – in their portrayal of the overall impact of world history in their field of work.

Part III ("Many Globes: Who Writes the World?") can be considered as the most suggestive section of the book. Here, Douglas Northrop attempts to integrate non-American views of world-historical scholarship into the volume in order to firstly, give a fairer reflection of the worldwide developments in world history, and secondly,

to propose ways to move beyond the focus on American-based, Anglophone world-historical scholarship which has been privileged over non-American studies. To be fair, a small number of chapters in Part I and II do provide some information about the advances in world history outside USA (see for example chapter on “Big History”). Nevertheless, this effort to include a substantial number of non-American voices should be applauded. Some of the chapters, quite illuminatingly, suggest that the world-historical field evolved rather independently in regions like Latin America, Northeast Asia, and Oceania, although scholars in these regions continue to be influenced by American scholarship in varying degrees. For instance, the chapter on Oceania illustrates how historians in these regions sought to think of world history from their perspective by arguing that the importance of the region’s historical linkages with the world lies in the inter-connectedness of the many islands in the Pacific Ocean.

In sum, this volume should be considered as an important contribution to world history. The immensity of the task in gathering such a varied community of scholars to provide a diverse range of outlooks about the field is commendable. The studies in the volume are also provocative as they propose new ways of incorporating different world-historical concepts into their research, thereby enabling scholars to enrich the study of their topics by developing the habit of thinking in both local and global terms.

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