

# The participation of women in the journal *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 1900–1950

by Pauline Phillips

*Until recently there has been a perception that the historiography of archaeology has failed to acknowledge or recognize the contributions of women to the discipline.<sup>1</sup> However, a recent publication, edited by Diaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen, has begun to address this problem by bringing together a number of accounts about women within the history of European archaeology.<sup>2</sup> This article will examine the participation of women within Sussex Archaeological Society. By concentrating on women's contributions to the Sussex Archaeological Collections (1900–1950) this work will assess the membership of the Society and will identify and acknowledge a number of women who contributed to the journal and/or held executive and administrative positions with the Society. Thus by identifying these women and examining their contributions, this article hopes to overcome the bias of a historiography that has failed to acknowledge or recognize them.*

## INTRODUCTION

One of the problems in recognizing women within the history of archaeology has been the way in which previous histories of archaeology have been written and the types of data upon which the research was based. Before 1980 most histories of archaeology provided chronological frameworks in which perceived important events were noted. These events all contained the vital ingredients of great discoveries, few of which involved women, and famous archaeologists, few of whom were women. By placing so much importance on great events this type of history has failed to provide a context for much of the development of archaeology.

As Diaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen outline in their discussion it is very hard for women to gain recognition in the history of a discipline that places so much importance on excavation and publication.<sup>3</sup> Most women, until recently, have tended to specialize in areas other than excavation and fewer women than men have contributed to major publications. It is only by examining the social context of the history of archaeology that we can discover many archaeologists, male and female, whose contributions have influenced the discipline.

In the last ten years there has been a move

towards more critical study of the history of archaeology. Christenson, Pinsky and Wylie and Reyman have published collections of studies which have examined the history, philosophy and sociology of the discipline.<sup>4</sup> Works like Murray's examination of the philosophy behind the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, Kehoe's study of the early development of the discipline and the way in which archaeological data were used to validate the politics of the time and Chapman's analysis of the powerful personalities that dominated 19th-century British archaeology all highlight factors that have impacted upon the history of archaeology and influenced the discipline.<sup>5</sup>

This growing awareness has resulted in the publication of two major works specifically on women within the history of the discipline by Claassen and by Diaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen.<sup>6</sup> As well as producing some discussion on women within the history of British archaeology, such references include a chapter by Sara Champion, some discussion by Ebbatson, brief mentions by Levine, Piggott and Hudson, a limited number of biographies and autobiographies, two articles in *Antiquity* by Gilchrist and Smith *et al.* and a short report of a conference in 1993.<sup>7</sup> These few works demonstrate that women within the history of British archaeology do not appear to be on the

publishers' agenda. The only British woman in this field to have received any major biographical recognition is Gertrude Bell and it is debatable whether it was her skills as an archaeologist that singled her out for such recognition. Other women such as Margaret Murray, Joan Evans, Mary Leakey and Gertrude Caton-Thompson all had to document their own lives.<sup>8</sup> Women perceived as successful archaeologists, such as Dorothy Garrod, Jacquetta Hawkes, Aileen Fox and Kathleen Kenyon, have had no major biographical works written about them.

This lack of representation and recognition alerts us to issues faced by women in the recent past, issues linked to the social perception of women's work, the type of contributions they made, the areas in which they studied and the structure of British archaeology as a profession. These factors have created a contemporary perception that few women participated in the history of British archaeology, although as Champion has shown, recent research is changing this perception.<sup>9</sup>

One area in which women can be identified as participating in archaeology is the county archaeological society. Many county societies were founded in the mid-19th century and allowed the membership of women. Such societies were initially founded to encourage antiquarian investigation of the local region and as such retained an eclectic interest in that region. As the discipline of archaeology became more scientifically orientated, the county societies maintained a balance between historical studies, archaeological research and other interests. It is within the area of local historical research, rather than archaeological fieldwork that we find many women involved, especially during the period 1900–1950. With this in mind we need to define a way in which their contributions can be understood and recognized.

The original research upon which this paper is based examined six British archaeological journals,<sup>10</sup> of which *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter the *Collections*) was one.<sup>11</sup> British archaeological journals are an undervalued source of social information on the development of British archaeology. Most societies publish an annual journal which can contain complete membership lists, minutes of meetings, reports of excursions, transcripts of financial records, as well as articles of an archaeological and historical nature written for it by members and non-members alike. By using these sources of information a paper examining the

numbers of women involved in archaeological societies, the types of articles they contributed to the journals and other information concerning their contributions to archaeology was presented at the fourth *Women in Archaeology* conference in Cairns, Australia in July 1997.<sup>12</sup> This current article focuses upon the women members of the Sussex Archaeological Society detected within the pages of the *Collections*. It contrasts their membership and contributions with those of women in other societies and identifies a number of women who contributed to the journal and/or held executive or administrative positions in the Society. This research provides an effective way to identify and acknowledge the presence of women within county archaeology in Britain.

#### METHODOLOGY

This article will identify a number of women involved with Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950. Part one will identify the extent of women's membership within Sussex Archaeological Society, analyze the composition of women's membership and examine the number and type of articles written by women in the *Collections*. Part two will examine a number of women who contributed articles to the *Collections* and identify a number who held official positions within the Society. In conclusion this article will discuss a number of these women and the way in which they participated and contributed to the Society.

The time span 1900–1950 was chosen as a period during which a number of dramatic events, that had serious social repercussions, took place: the fight for women's rights, two world wars, and the economic depression are seen as significant points in history which might have affected the participation of women in archaeological societies.

Data were gathered from six archaeological journals on the gender of members, authors and holders of committee posts and other positions within the societies. Some of the data were incomplete, for example, the Society of Antiquaries are not represented by a graph showing their membership figures because they did not publish their membership lists. Unfortunately, in some instances the dates do not match precisely between the journals because some societies did not publish their lists during wartime.

The membership numbers were examined at

eight intervals during the 50-year period. These intervals, separating the war and interwar years, were seen as representing significant social points which may have influenced the number of women belonging to an archaeological society. At each interval, membership lists and the number of women members were examined. Women were identified by the titles of Mrs, Miss and Lady. These members were then examined in relation to the other names and addresses on the lists to identify how many women were living at the same address as other members of the same surname. This method allowed a general distinction to be made regarding the influence of family upon membership; it did not allow for a married woman's birth family to be recognized however.

The gender of authors was established by cross-referencing them with membership lists. For the historic period under consideration women were acknowledged by a title. Of those articles identified as written by women, the topics were recorded and individual numbers of articles counted. The frequency of individual women's contributions was also noted. The lists of council members were examined and the minutes of meetings read. These were used to determine if women were present within the influential circles of the Society's hierarchy. If they were, the roles they played, for example, chairman, secretary and council member were recorded.

#### MEMBERSHIP OF SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY 1900– 1950

Figure 1 examines the number of men and women members present in each of the societies studied at the selected intervals. Of the four societies whose membership lists were surveyed, it is interesting to note that Sussex Archaeological Society had the largest number of members, male and female, throughout the entire period. It is suggested that the attraction of the Society, then as now, was the focus it provided for people who lived in or came to the Sussex area and were interested in the county's past. The Society accommodated its members by publishing an annual journal containing contributions on all aspects of local history and archaeology; it provided excursions and walks to local archaeological and historical sites and held a number of meetings each year at which papers on

the county could be read and heard.

Unlike the Society of Antiquaries, who did not permit the membership of women before 1920, women in Sussex were permitted to be members from the founding of the Society in 1846. In the early years they, unlike men, were elected members on the nomination of two members, without going to ballot. By the turn of the century this had changed with the membership of women following the same rules as men.

The first 24 women members of the Society constituted just over 10 per cent of the total membership of 217. Of these eight were related to male members of the Society; 13 were married and 12 were single. By 1900 the number of women had risen to 63, but out of a total membership of 633 still constituted only 10 per cent of the overall membership.

However, during the next 50 years the membership of women in archaeological societies rapidly increased. When comparing the membership of women in the four societies it can be seen that all societies increased between 1900 and 1950 and that Sussex Archaeological Society compares with the national level. Figure 1 shows that women's membership rose by 29 per cent across all four societies. Although the chronological markers chosen are only a guide to possible trends, Figure 1 would seem to indicate that two world wars and an economic depression had a serious effect upon the membership of men but little influence upon the steady rise of women's membership.

By 1950, women accounted for 44 per cent of the total membership of the Sussex Archaeological Society. This percentage level is closely followed by 42 per cent in the British Archaeological Association, and 33 per cent in the Royal Archaeological Institute. Ebbatson has noted that the membership of women within the RAI rose dramatically between 1893–1913, a period that encompassed the political struggle for women's rights.<sup>13</sup> This is matched by a rise of approximately 10 per cent in the other societies between 1900–1913 and would seem to indicate that women's membership could be influenced by social change. By referring to the general social history of the period it can be suggested that the gradual rise in women's membership over the 50-year period is a reflection of the long-term process of the easing of social mores. As social constraints lifted and women's lifestyles changed, it is possible they were more able

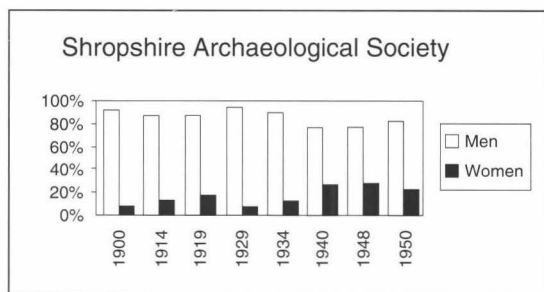
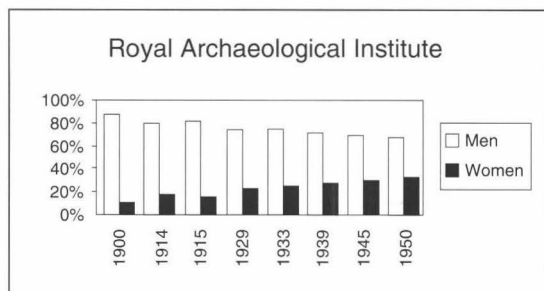
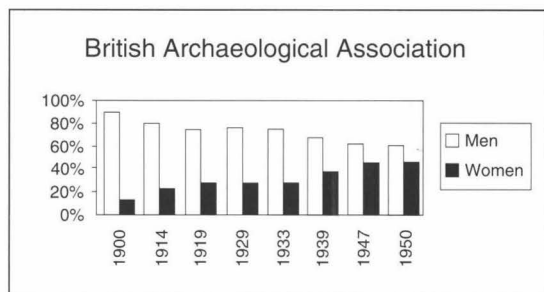
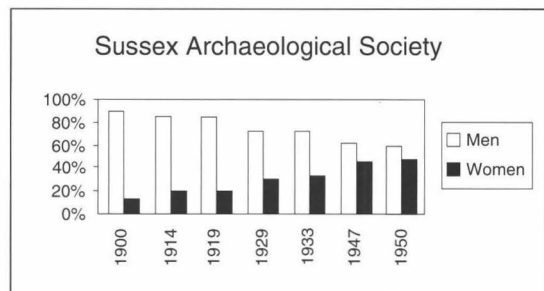


Fig. 1. Society membership numbers.

to pursue interests of their own, which resulted in a number of them joining archaeological societies.

### THE COMPOSITION OF WOMEN'S MEMBERSHIP

The four categories of women's membership examined are presented in Table 1. The results of the survey shown in Figure 2 indicate that the majority of women members within these archaeological societies, throughout the 50-year period, belonged to two categories: those of the unrelated single women, 'Miss NR', and the unrelated married woman, 'Mrs NR'.

Table 1. Categories of women's membership.

Category	Explanation
Miss NR	Single women listed at different addresses to other Society members
Miss R	Single women listed at the same address as other Society members
Mrs NR	Married women listed at different addresses to other Society members
Mrs R	Married women listed at the same address as other Society members

The category Miss NR encompasses those single women who were listed at addresses different to those of other Society members. This would indicate that, apart from the relationship of a married sister, most single women members of these Societies were unlikely to be related to other Society members. The numbers of this category remain high throughout the period examined in three of the Societies, swinging between 45 per cent and 60 per cent over time. This would indicate that single women were able to belong to archaeological societies with ease and in some numbers. It is possible that, as Piggott has discussed, societies provided a venue in which single women could socialize with people of the same class and interest.<sup>14</sup>

However, in Sussex they constitute approximately 40 per cent of women's membership along with the category Mrs NR (unrelated married women). Some possible explanations for this lower number might be that single women not related to other members may have preferred to belong to the London-based national institutions rather than the local society, or that fewer unrelated single women interested in archaeology lived in the region.

The second largest category of women for three of the Societies and an equal one in Sussex, was the Mrs NR category. These were the women designated as being married or having been married and living

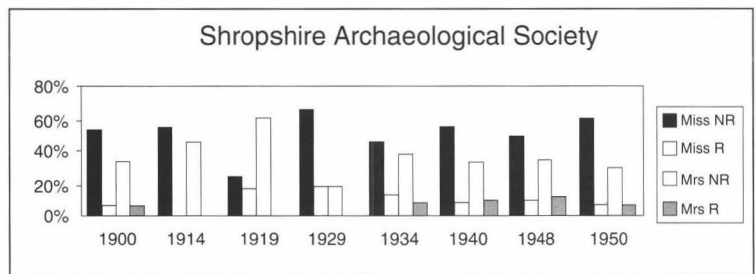
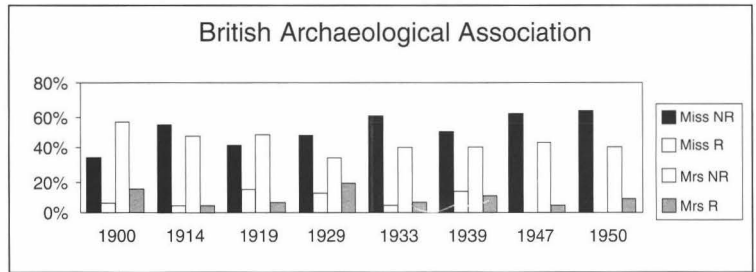
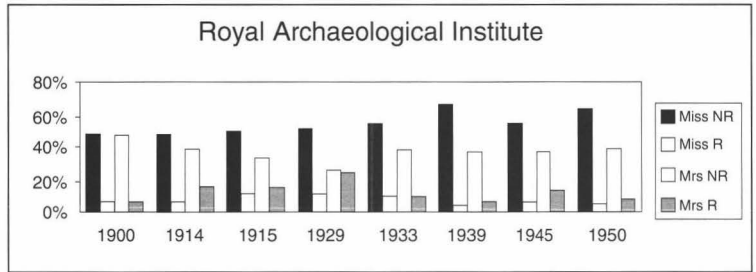
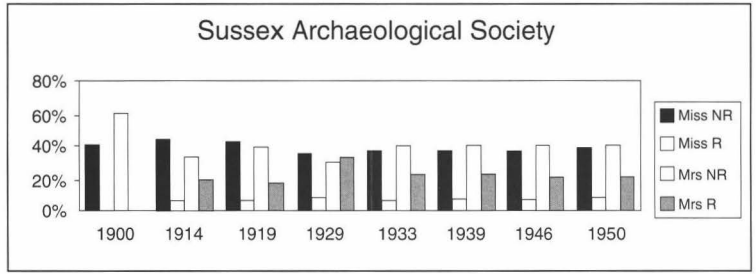
at different addresses to other Society members. Unfortunately, this category cannot determine relationships such as those between a married woman and her birth family, neither can it tell if such women were widows continuing their membership after the death of husbands.

The results indicate that a large number of unrelated married women were members of Sussex Archaeological Society. This trend is consistent with other societies and indicates that women in this category, whether widows or wives with families not interested in archaeology, were interested enough to become members in their own right.

In the category Miss R we can see that single women listed at the same address as other members of the society, probably daughters and sisters, are few. This is possibly a reflection of how many women related to members of the Society could share a *de facto* membership and did not seek membership of their own.

In the last category, that of Mrs R, we have the married women listed at the same address as other members of the Society, presumably husbands, but possibly sons or single daughters. As with the previous category, a possible reason for the lack of related women members may be that those women related to other members of the Society enjoyed a *de facto* membership and did not invest in individual membership.

In 1931 a new category of membership was introduced in Sussex Archaeological Society: that of associate membership.<sup>15</sup> This category was extended to



<b>KEY</b>	Miss NR = Unrelated single women
	Miss R = Related single women
	Mrs NR = Unrelated married women
	Mrs R = Related married women

Fig. 2 The composition of women's membership.

family members living at the same address as full-paying members (i.e.: Categories Miss R and Mrs R). Associate members enjoyed all the privileges of membership but did not receive copies of the Society's publications. However, looking at the numbers of women within the categories Miss R and Mrs R before and after 1931 it would appear that this new category did not entice any new female members related to existing members; in fact the number of women in these two categories dropped.

This survey found that the number of related married women in Sussex Archaeological Society fluctuated. This can be seen quite prominently from 1919 to 1929 when the figures doubled from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. This rise is matched in the Royal Archaeological Institute and the British Archaeological Association. 1929 was at the beginning of the economic depression and one would expect a family to cut back on expenses rather than pay for another membership. However, by 1933 these high figures had dropped and it would appear that even the introduction of an associate membership subscription in Sussex was unable to entice related married women back to Society membership in any numbers.

Nevertheless, it might have been responsible for maintaining the numbers of such women. It can be seen in the other societies, which did not offer this type of membership, that the number of related women members fell after 1929.

This study into the composition of women's membership has revealed that it was the women who had no obvious family background in archaeology who were more inclined to take out archaeological membership.

THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES WRITTEN BY MEN AND WOMEN

As Figure 3 demonstrates, women wrote very few articles in the 50-year period compared with men. The articles written by women totalled 4 per cent for *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 4 per cent for the *Antiquaries Journal*, 5 per cent for *Archaeologia*, 8 per cent for the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 10 per cent for *The Archaeological Journal* and 13 per cent for *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*.

Figure 4 compares the number of articles written by women for the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* with the number of women members within the Society during the seven designated intervals. It demonstrates that despite an increase of 29 per cent in women's membership, the number of women's contributions rose to only 11 per cent during a pre-war peak.

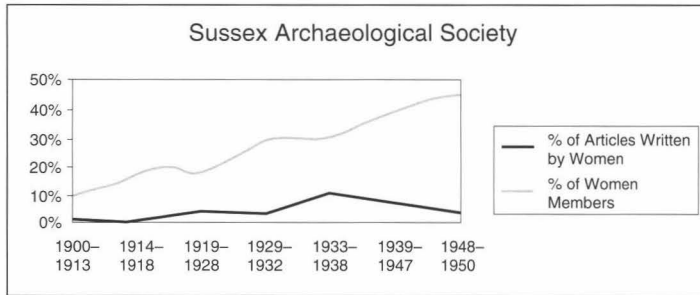


Fig. 3. The percentage of men's and women's contributions to the journals.

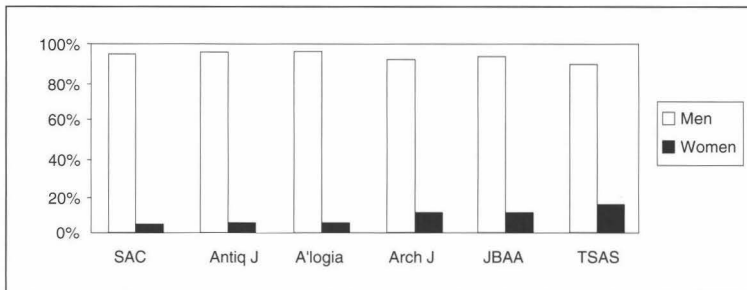


Fig. 4. The percentage of women's membership and contributions.

This type of research indicates that although women appear to have been more willing to belong to archaeological societies over time, they were not publishing articles in the *Collections*. It is difficult to say what factors are responsible for this lack of representation in publishing. However, a brief examination of the general social history of the period might suggest that women were encouraged more to pursue the roles of dutiful daughters, wives and mothers

than to pursue active interests of their own.<sup>16</sup> Factors such as a lack of time, family commitments, lack of support or encouragement at home and a perception that publishing was not a woman's place, can be suggested as to why so few women published.

TYPES OF ARTICLES WRITTEN BY MEN AND WOMEN

The types of articles written by men and women for the journals were examined. Five categories were established on the basis of their content to give an indication of the areas in which women appear to have preferred to write and to determine whether there was a difference between the types of articles written by the men and women. The categories chosen are described in Table 2.

In Table 3 it can be seen that of the 460 articles published by men in Sussex Archaeological Society, 240 were in the Historical/Documentary category, followed by 127 in the Prehistoric/Roman category. The women published 23 articles, mainly between 1933–1938: eight were in the Prehistoric/Roman category; ten in the Historical/Documentary category and five in the Ecclesiastical category.

This contrasts with the *Antiquaries Journal* and *Archaeologia* where the largest number of articles written by both men and women over the 50 years were in the Prehistoric/Roman category. In the

*Archaeological Journal* and the *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society* the largest number of articles written by men and women were in the Historical/Documentary category and in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* men wrote mostly on subjects of an ecclesiastical nature and women wrote articles with historical/documentary content.

These results are possibly more an indication of

Table 2. Categories of articles on the basis of their content.

Prehistoric/Roman	All articles on excavation, artefacts or theory to deal with the prehistoric and Roman periods.
Historical/Documentary	All articles dealing with individual, family, building and town histories, records and archives.
Ecclesiastical	All articles describing excavation, artefacts, documents and histories relating to the church.
Overseas	All articles on excavations, artefacts, documents and histories from outside of Britain.
Other	Articles on a variety of eclectic studies, such as folklore, natural history and geography.

Table 3. The number and type of articles written by men and women in the *Collections* 1900–1950.

	Prehist/Rom		Hist/Document		Ecclesiastical		Overseas		Other		Total men	Total women
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		
1900–13	17	0	85	1	40	0	0	0	0	0	142	1
1914–18	5	0	16	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	29	0
1919–28	31	1	44	2	14	0	0	0	0	0	89	3
1929–32	17	0	21	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	45	2
1933–38	31	2	23	3	11	4	0	0	0	0	65	9
1939–45	21	4	28	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	53	7
1946–50	5	1	23	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	37	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>460</b>	<b>23</b>

Table 4. Articles written by men and women in the six journals, 1900–1950.

	Prehist/Rom		Hist/Document		Ecclesiastical		Overseas		Other		Total men	Total women
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		
<i>Antiq J</i>	293	25	73	3	67	3	76	1	13	0	509	32
<i>A'logia</i>	148	8	134	1	85	8	58	4	4	1	429	22
<i>Arch J</i>	135	16	181	18	180	17	37	5	21	0	554	56
<i>JBAA</i>	88	0	171	22	181	20	36	2	13	3	489	47
<i>TSAS</i>	21	4	305	43	56	3	0	0	5	1	387	51
<i>SAC</i>	127	8	240	10	62	5	0	0	0	0	460	23

the types of articles published by the journals. The Society of Antiquaries could be perceived as a society interested in publishing articles on Prehistoric/Roman subjects whereas the *Archaeological Journal* of the Royal Archaeological Institute might have attracted more Historical/Documentary papers because of its founding interest in the Middle Ages and later periods of history. Likewise the British Archaeological Association, with a high clerical membership, was probably more likely to publish papers of an ecclesiastical nature. Also by the period 1900–1950 the study of archaeology had developed into a discipline orientated more towards excavation and fieldwork. Articles in the Journals published by the Society of Antiquaries followed this trend, but it can be seen that the Royal Archaeological Institute and more particularly the British Archaeological Association maintained a keen interest in articles of an historical and ecclesiastical nature. This can also be seen in the *Collections* whose editors were more inclined to publish historical papers during this period.

A closer examination of the papers written by women in the Prehistoric/Roman category shows that many of the articles were either on Roman history using documentary sources or descriptions of prehistoric artefacts housed in collections. It can be suggested that the majority of these articles, as well as those in the other categories written by women, could be researched in libraries, private manorial/estate collections or church muniments. Studies such as these could be accommodated around family life and social commitments. Few directly involved excavation or fieldwork. However, between 1935 and 1939 three women contributed eight articles in this category to the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. All involved excavation and fieldwork. These articles demonstrate that in the era between the Depression and the Second World War women associated with the Sussex Archaeological Society were experiencing success in the field and reporting their results in the *Collections*. Unfortunately, the Second World War appears to have slowed this flourish temporarily and it was not until after 1950 that women were once more able to contribute fieldwork reports in any numbers to the *Collections*.

However, despite this brief display of activity in the field in Sussex, the overall results appear to show that most women contributors concentrated on areas of study which required them to spend their

time studying in libraries and private archives. As shown by the number of women contributors to all the journals, history and local history were popular areas of involvement for women during this time. This is possibly an indication of how women's study was constrained by social requirements that discouraged women from seeking lifestyles away from the traditional domestic roles of sister, wife and mother.

#### WOMEN WHO CONTRIBUTED TO THE *COLLECTIONS*

Prior to 1900 only one woman had contributed an article to the *Collections*. In 1880 Miss Florence Dobson wrote about St Mary's church at Barcombe. This article contained a detailed description of the church's exterior, interior and interesting snippets from the church register. It was illustrated by Miss Ethel Dobson. Neither women were members of the Society, but a probable relative, the Rt Hon J. G. Dobson was.<sup>17</sup>

Before this, in 1870, a member of the Society, Mrs Hunt of Shermanbury, had communicated some of her maternal great-grandmother's letters to the editor of the *Collections*, who decided to publish them. He wrote in the introduction that although the letters 'probably will not be deemed of sufficient historical or archaeological importance to excite the admiration of the sterner members of our society, they will, I feel assured, be read with much interest by the gentler and fairer portion of them'.<sup>18</sup>

Another early contribution to the journal by a woman was an engraving of a drawing by a Miss Slater of an ancient mural painting discovered at Lindfield church in 1848. This picture is accompanied by a descriptive text, probably written by the editor but not ascribed to him.<sup>19</sup>

Such was the number of contributions by women to the journal prior to 1900. This is possibly a reflection of the social mores of the time which did not encourage women to write and publish articles. However, by the 1920s women appear to have had more confidence and we see a greater number of their articles appearing in the *Collections*.

From 1900–1950, 105 women were identified as having contributed articles to the six journals surveyed. Of these women, 13 contributed to the *Collections*. As Table 5 shows, five women contributed two or more articles to the journal. These include Mrs Davidson-Houston, who wrote five articles on



inscriptions from monumental brasses throughout Sussex, Miss Mary S. Holgate, who used documentary sources to contribute three articles on historical topics, Miss Phoebe Keef, who penned three articles on prehistoric excavation and survey, Miss Leslie Scott, who presented two interim reports on the excavation of a Roman villa, and Miss Mollie White (Mrs Clark), who contributed two articles on prehistoric excavation and artefacts.

It can be suggested from the number of these articles that some of these women were confident in writing articles. Of the 12 women who published, nine wrote on historical topics and three on archaeological fieldwork. This is a good indication that many women conducting research within archaeological societies did so in areas of historical interest.

Of the 12 women who published, brief biographical details have been obtained on five. Three of these women not only contributed to the journal but were also involved in the running of the society. Their details will be outlined in the next section which examines the participation of women within the Society. A few biographical facts will be presented here on two field archaeologists Leslie Scott and Phoebe Keef.

#### LESLIE SCOTT

Miss Leslie Scott contributed two articles to the *Collections*, but was never a member of the Society and did not live in Sussex.<sup>20</sup> When Littlehampton Archaeological and Natural History Society wished to excavate Angmering Roman villa, they contacted Mortimer Wheeler for his advice. He recommended one of his assistants Leslie Scott, a student from the University of London.<sup>21</sup> She had excavated with him at Verulamium and Maiden Castle.<sup>22</sup> In 1935 she worked with Eliot Curwen as a volunteer at Whitehawk camp, Brighton.<sup>23</sup> Also that year, she was sent by Mortimer Wheeler to France, to seek out Iron Age hillforts and museum collections which might show signs of having cultural connections with the British sites he had excavated.<sup>24</sup> In 1936 she joined him and Raleigh Radford on a trip to Normandy and Brittany where they conducted preliminary survey work.<sup>25</sup> By 1937 she was assisting him with preparations for the forthcoming excavations planned for Brittany.<sup>26</sup> In 1938 she supervised the excavations at Angmering and then supervised excavations at Kercaradec and Camp de Caesar in Brittany. It was at Camp de Caesar

Table 5. Women who wrote or contributed to articles published in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.

Name	No. of articles	SAC vols.
Miss Marion Cooper	1	61
Mrs Davidson-Houston	5	76, 77, 78, 79, 80
Mrs Esdaile	1	82
Miss Marian Frost	1	65
Miss Mary S. Holgate	3	68, 70, 71
Miss Phoebe Keef	3	81, 84, 89
Miss Eleanor Lloyd	1	54
Miss Alice F. Mutton	1	78
Miss P. A. Nicklin	1	76
Miss Leslie Scott	2	79, 80
Miss Eleanor Swift	1	78
Mrs Christine Toms	1	67
Miss Mollie White/Mrs Clark	2	76, 80

that she met Peter Murray-Threipland, a fellow archaeologist, whom she later married.<sup>27</sup> During the war she worked in air photography intelligence and from 1948 worked in Italy with the British School at Rome.<sup>28</sup>

She contributed two interim reports to the *Collections* on excavations at Angmering, but did not participate within the Society. She was a professional archaeologist who came to Sussex to excavate a site and then moved on.

#### PHOEBE KEEF

Phoebe Keef wrote three articles for the *Collections* (1940, 1943, 1948) and contributed to *Sussex Notes and Queries*.<sup>29</sup> In a report written in 1940, she mentions that from 1931–1935 she fieldwalked an area near Bedham Manor Farm, Petworth, where she collected stone tools. In 1937 she became a member of Sussex Archaeological Society and in 1938 was elected as a fellow to the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland. She contributed an article on excavation work at Chester Hillfort to the *Proceedings* of the Society and in the same year presented the Society with eight worked flints from Blackdown in Sussex.<sup>30</sup> From 1938 she is noted as being a volunteer at Angmering.<sup>31</sup> In 1941 she received time off from her wartime position at the Canadian hospital to assist Littlehampton Archaeological and Natural History Society excavate the villa remains at Angmering endangered by the threat of air raids.<sup>32</sup>

Her contributions to the journal were of a professional standard and like Leslie Scott, she demonstrated that women archaeologists were able to work in Sussex during this time. She died in 1978,

but unlike some other women members of the Society, received no obituary in the *Collections* or Society newsletter.

Although few details can be gained on the lives of these two women through the pages of the journal, Leslie Scott and Phoebe Keef are two examples of women archaeologists who were professionally trained for their vocation. Their archaeological experience had been gained alongside a number of other women who studied archaeology at universities during the 1930s. Although such women were fewer in numbers than men in the discipline, they did exist and as demonstrated by Scott and Keef, were able to contribute.

#### POSITIONS HELD BY WOMEN IN SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

A number of women who held various positions within the Society have also been identified. These women have been divided into three groups. The first group consists of those women who were created vice-presidents of the Society. The second group contains those who held active positions within the Society's administrative framework and the third group is made up of those who held the position of local honorary secretary.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS

The title of Vice-President was conferred on nine women during this period. The Countess Buxton, The Countess of Chichester, Lady Wolseley and Lady Chance were invited to become Vice-Presidents during the 1920s and 1930s. The positions of Vice-President were usually granted to those Society members who were titled and influential. These women were able to use their social positions and

wealth to promote the Society. Other women invited to become Vice-Presidents were Mrs Thomas-Stanford, whose husband was a council member, former President and great benefactor to the Society; Mrs Henry Dudeney, a wealthy novelist, responsible for negotiating the purchase of Brack Mount for the Society; Miss Harvey-Smith who had been one of the first women to sit on the Society's Council, and Dr Hilda Johnstone, a distinguished academic. One other woman should be mentioned here. Although never a Vice-President, Lady Leconfield was appointed President of the Society in 1930. She served for one year and at the end of her term disappeared from the pages of the journal. Of these women, two have been selected to outline their contributions as Vice-Presidents to the Society: Lady Frances Wolseley and Dr Hilda Johnstone.

#### Lady Wolseley

Frances Garnet Wolseley was born in Dublin in 1872. Her father was Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley and until 1898, when he settled in Glynde, she and her mother spent many years following him from posting to posting. At Glynde she was able to indulge her love of gardening. She published a book on gardening for women in 1908 and successfully opened and operated a college at Glynde for lady gardeners. This property worked six acres of fruit, flower and vegetable gardens. In 1914 she was responsible for the foundation of a co-operative society called the Glynde District Federation of Growers. During the First World War she formed a group of women land-workers and worked closely with the Board of Agriculture.<sup>33</sup>

On the death of her father in 1913 she succeeded to the title. Her social position allowed her access to many of the great houses of Sussex, which she utilized by producing a series of articles that examined these and other historic buildings and gardens for the *Sussex County Magazine*. She also endowed a room at Worthing public library for a collection of Sussex paintings.<sup>34</sup>

She held a number of civil positions in Sussex, serving as a poor-law guardian in Glynde from 1908–9, as well as holding various positions with Sussex-based organizations. In 1924 she was appointed a Vice-President of the Sussex Archaeological Society.<sup>35</sup> She had been a member of the Society since 1916 and had demonstrated her interest in the history and antiquities of the county in her articles written for the *Sussex County Magazine*. As Vice-President she

Table 6. Women who served as Vice-Presidents and President in the Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950.

NAME	POSITION
<b>Group One</b>	
The Countess Buxton	Vice-President
The Countess of Chichester	Vice-President
Lady Wolseley	Vice-President
Lady Chance	Vice-President
Mrs Thomas-Stanford	Vice-President
Mrs Henry Dudeney	Vice-President
Miss Harvey Smith	Vice-President
Dr Hilda Johnstone	Vice-President
Lady Leconfield	President

was well-suited to the requirements of the position, her involvement in social and civil activities in the county enabled her to use her social position to promote the interests of the Society.

#### **Dr Hilda Johnstone**

Hilda Johnstone was born in Manchester in 1882. She attended university and received her BA in 1903. She went on to specialize in the history of the English Middle Ages and received an MA in 1907. She was reader in history at the University of London from 1913–1922 and became a professor of history at Royal Holloway College 1922–1942. She received a D.Litt. in 1940. In 1942 she retired as an Emeritus Professor and settled in Chichester. Here she took on a voluntary role as honorary archivist to the Bishop of Chichester.<sup>36</sup>

She joined Sussex Archaeological Society in 1943 and was elected to its council. She also became a council member for the Sussex Record Society. Ill health made it impossible for her to continue on the council after 1948, but she continued in her position as the honorary local secretary for Chichester. In 1950 she became too ill to continue this position and had to resign. In recognition of her distinguished career and her contribution to the Society she was elevated to the position of Vice-President. In this capacity she continued to promote the Society. She died in Littlehampton on June 25, 1961.<sup>37</sup>

These two women demonstrate how women appointed to be Vice-Presidents were able to contribute to the Society. They were able to use their titles and places in society to further the cause of archaeology in Sussex.

#### **ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS**

The second group of women were those who occupied active positions within the Society's framework. Miss Lucas worked in an administrative capacity as assistant secretary to the museum committee during the 1930s and 1940s and Miss Petronelle Crouch was assistant curator to the museum from 1947–1948. However, it was within council and executive positions that women were able to be most active in the Society. Eight women occupied eleven of these positions;

two women, Miss Cooper and Miss Holgate, held more than one position. Miss Marion Cooper was a member of the Council from 1921 to 1929. She held the position of Society Honorary General Secretary for 17 years. She also had a position on the editorial committee and was a local honorary secretary for Cuckfield. Miss Mary S. Holgate was elected to council in 1924 and remained a member for 16 years. In 1929 she became the editor of the Society's *Sussex Notes and Queries* and held the position until her death in 1940. Other notable women who served on the Council between 1900–1950 were Dr Hilda Johnstone, already outlined for her work as a Vice-President, and Miss K. M. E. Murray.

#### **Marion Cooper**

Marion Cooper was the daughter of the Reverend Canon James Hugh Cooper, who became the Vicar of Cuckfield, Sussex in 1888. His interest in the antiquities and history of the local area led him to become a member of the Society in 1897 and he became Chairman of the Council in 1903. However, it was not until after his death in 1909 that Marion became a member of the Society.

In 1912 she was appointed Local Honorary Secretary for Cuckfield. In 1918 she contributed one article to the *Collections*, 'A perambulation of Cuckfield 1629'. Another short report entitled 'Finds in Cuckfield' appeared as a note in volume 63.<sup>38</sup> In 1921 she became the first woman in the Society to be elected to Council and in 1929 she was the first woman to be elected General Honorary Secretary of the Society,<sup>39</sup> a position she held for 17 years. In recognition of her years of service the Society nominated her for election as a fellow to the Society of Antiquaries and she was elected on March 8, 1945 and admitted May 31, 1945.<sup>40</sup>

In 1946 she was forced to resign as Secretary

Table 7. Women who held active positions within the Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950.

<b>NAME</b>	<b>POSITION</b>
<b>Group Two</b>	
Miss Marion Cooper	Hon. Gen. Secretary. Council Member
Miss Mary S. Holgate	Editor, <i>Sussex N &amp; Q</i> . Council Member
Miss Harvey-Smith	Council Member
Dr Hilda Johnstone	Council Member
The Hon. Mrs Whistler	Council Member
The Hon. Sylvia Fletcher Moulton	Council Member
Miss E.J. Courthorp	Council Member
Miss K. M. E. Murray	Council Member
Miss C. Lucas	Assistant Secretary to Museum Committee
Miss Petronelle Crouch	Assistant Curator

owing to ill health and the Society found it hard to find a successor; finally the demanding position had to be shared amongst two people.<sup>41</sup> She died 2nd September, 1951 and received an obituary written by F. B. Stevens which acknowledged her many contributions to the Society.<sup>42</sup>

Marion Cooper is a good example of how women could pursue their interest in local history and archaeology through the Society and also contribute to the discipline by filling influential positions such as council member and secretary to the Society.

### Miss Mary S. Holgate

Mary S. Holgate moved to Sussex in 1900. Her father and brothers were barristers. The family lived at Ardingly where Mary studied and became an authority on local history. In 1905 she joined Sussex Archaeological Society, where she received encouragement from L. F. Salzman and C. H. Chalmers, both influential members. In 1924 she was elected to the council and in 1929 became the temporary editor of the Society's publication *Notes and Queries*, a position that became permanent and which she held until sickness in 1940 prevented her from continuing.<sup>43</sup> Over the years she contributed a number of articles on documentary sources and local records to the *Collections*.<sup>44</sup>

She was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on February 9, 1933, and was noted as having exhibited some artefacts found at Ardingly, to the Society on January 13, 1935.<sup>45</sup> She was also a member of the Sussex Record Society from 1919 and served on its council from 1927 to 1940. She died May 5, 1940. Her obituary states that she was active

within the community where she served on many boards and councils dealing with educational, ecclesiastical, nursing and local government matters.<sup>46</sup>

Mary Holgate was an educated woman who sought to further her interest in local history by joining the Society. Her contribution as editor of the *Sussex Notes and Queries* helped her to be involved with her studies on a regular basis.

The contributions of Marion Cooper and Mary S. Holgate to the Society were immense. However, because no permanent memorial exists to perpetuate their memory, their work remains less known today.

### Elisabeth Murray

Miss K. M. E. Murray was born in Cambridge 1909. Her father was an Inspector of Schools and her grandfather the founding editor of the *Oxford Dictionary*. She was educated at Colchester County High School and attended Somerville College where she graduated in 1931. She spent time as a research scholar and gained a B.Litt. in 1933. She excavated in Samaria with the British School of Archaeology and then took a job as a tutor in history at Girton, where she served in various positions over ten years. In 1948 she took a position as principal at the Bishop Otter teacher-training college in Chichester and stayed until 1970. After retiring she became a member of Chichester District Council from 1973–87, and served as chairman of the planning committee.<sup>47</sup>

Her contributions to the archaeology of Sussex were extensive. She was elected to the council of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1950, she served as chairman from 1964 until 1977 and was elected

President from 1977–1980. She was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. She served as chairman of Chichester Excavation Committee from 1964–77 and was deeply involved with the development of the archaeological site at Fishbourne. As a tribute to her work the Murray room was named after her. She died in February 1998.<sup>48</sup>

Along with Dr Hilda Johnstone these three women demonstrate how women were able to be actively involved with the running of the Society. No obvious barriers appear to have constrained them in their work for it. However, all four women were single and were,

Table 8. Women who served as local honorary secretaries for the Sussex Archaeological Society 1900–1950.

NAME	POSITION
<b>Group Three</b>	
Miss Marion Cooper	Local Honorary Secretary, Cuckfield
Mrs G. W. Eustace	Local Honorary Secretary, Arundel
Mrs Randall	Local Honorary Secretary, Midhurst
Miss Marian Frost	Local Honorary Secretary, Worthing
Miss Tudor	Local Honorary Secretary, Fernhurst
Mrs T. Helme	Local Honorary Secretary, Lindfield
Mrs Murry Phelps	Local Honorary Secretary, Mayfield
Mrs Odell	Local Honorary Secretary, Ticehurst
Miss Snewin	Local Honorary Secretary, Worthing
Miss G. M. White (Mrs Clark)	Local Honorary Secretary, Selsey
Mrs Chalmers	Local Honorary Secretary, Horsted Keynes
Mrs Garnett Janion	Local Honorary Secretary, Horsted Keynes
Miss E. Gerard	Local Honorary Secretary, Worthing
The Hon. Mrs Whistler	Local Honorary Secretary, Battle
Dr Hilda Johnstone	Local Honorary Secretary, Chichester

therefore, possibly more able to commit themselves to the tasks on hand than if they had had family commitments.

#### LOCAL HONORARY SECRETARIES

The third group of women consists of those who served as local honorary secretaries. These positions involved collecting the Society's subscriptions within their local area and reporting on activities which could affect the archaeology within the region. Fifteen women were identified as having held these positions over the 50-year period. The longest serving of the 15 included Mrs Randall of Midhurst who served from 1910–1936, Mrs Eustace of Arundel who served from 1908–1925, and Miss Marion Frost, secretary of Worthing Archaeological Society, from 1921–1936. The most notable of them was Miss Mollie White (Mrs Grahame Clark) who served as a local honorary secretary of Selsey, from 1933 to 1936.

#### Mollie White/Clark

Mollie White was educated at Girton College, Cambridge. She read Classics from 1928–1931 to gain a BA and completed a fourth year to obtain the Diploma in Archaeology and Anthropology. She joined the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1930 and in the following years assisted her father, W. S. White, in setting up a museum for Chichester in rooms above the fishmarket in North Street. This museum was later moved to the Friary and dispersed during the Second World War. In 1932 she became the local honorary secretary for Selsey and held the position until after her marriage in 1936.<sup>49</sup>

Her involvement in archaeology continued with her joining the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1932 and assisting Ian C. Hannah to excavate the walls at Chichester in 1933.<sup>50</sup> She contributed two articles on Sussex to the *Antiquaries Journal* in 1934 and in the following year wrote articles for both the *Antiquaries Journal* and the *Collections*.<sup>51</sup>

At the annual general meeting of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1935 she read a paper on the Roman amphitheatre at Chichester, and illustrated it with lantern slides. A paper on this subject was then published in the *Antiquaries Journal*.<sup>52</sup> In 1936 she married fellow-archaeologist Grahame Clark. She contributed one further paper to the *Collections* in 1939 on Roman artefacts from

the cemetery at Chichester.<sup>53</sup> Her work as an archaeologist was thorough and tribute has been paid to it by A. E. Wilson and F. G. Aldsworth.<sup>54</sup>

After she married, Mollie Clark moved to Cambridge where her husband's career lay. For his services to archaeology, Grahame Clark was knighted in 1992 and she received the title Lady Clark. Grahame Clark died in 1995, but is survived by Lady Mollie.

#### CONCLUSION

The women in these three groups demonstrate that women were able to occupy many positions within a county archaeological society between 1900–1950. Although the contributions of these women have been important, their work belongs within the realm of local history and local archaeology and as such has, like that of many men in this area, received less recognition. As discussed in Diaz-Andreu & Stig Sørensen, the history of archaeology is the result of a selective process that has omitted much of the social development of the discipline.<sup>55</sup>

The perception investigated by this research was that the historiography of British archaeology had failed to acknowledge or recognize the contributions of women to the discipline. This article has shown that there are women who can be identified and acknowledged. That they have never received attention may be due to our past perception of what history should be about and of the types of research carried out to support such ideas. Other contributing factors can be related to the small number of articles published by women in archaeological journals, the areas in which women tended to specialize and to society's past perception of what a woman's role was.

By documenting the presence of women in the Sussex Archaeological Society and acknowledging their roles, this article has contributed to a broader knowledge of our discipline's history.

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