

Mediating the Past: BBC Radio Archaeology Broadcasting, 1922-1966

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Abstract

The advent of BBC radio broadcasting in 1922 created a new opportunity for communicating archaeology. Accessing archive material from the BBC Written Archives at Caversham, and referencing scholarship from the disciplines of media research, archaeological historiography and public history, the project addresses the nature of Talks radio archaeology broadcasts from the BBC's inception until 1966. During this period when both archaeology and radio broadcasting were developing as professions, archaeologists were sought for their expert contribution to radio content, and radio increasingly acted as a catalyst for the promotion of the professional archaeological identity. From the earliest days of regular broadcasting, archaeologists were present in an educational role, and showed themselves aware of radio's potential as a platform for public relations and fund-raising. The interwar period saw archaeology portrayed on radio through the lens of the outdoor movement, and as part of the BBC's science communication policy. Wartime radio programmes with archaeological themes contributed to BBC policy in relation to education, propaganda and reconstruction. Archaeologists continued to have a regular place in the radio schedules in the post-war period, contributing expert knowledge of progress in research and scientific methods. At the same time radio producers harnessed developments in sound technology to find new ways of mediating complex archaeological information for public presentation, until in the mid-1960s the focus for archaeological broadcasting moved to television. The research throws new light on the early years of BBC radio, and on the nature of the Third Programme and the Home Service, and highlights the potential of radio studies to contribute to the historiography of archaeology. Overall the study reveals the central role of radio in the public communication of archaeology, and demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between the developing professions of archaeology and radio production.

TABLE OF CONTENTS	Page number
Abstract	2
List of Figures	6
Acknowledgements / Dedications	7
Introduction	8
Introducing Archaeology Programmes on BBC Radio	
Literature Review	
i. The Cultural Mission of the BBC	
ii. Archaeology and Radio	
iii. Defining Archaeology	
iv. Archaeology in Popular Culture	
v. The Development of the Modern Discipline of Archaeology	
vi. The Professionalisation of Archaeology	
vii. Communicating Archaeology to the Public	
viii. Translating Archaeology into Sound	
Research Questions	
Scope of the Thesis	
Research Methods	
Thesis Structure	
Chapter One: A Developing Profession – The Rise of Archaeology Experts on BBC Radio	43
Introduction	
1.1 Defining Professionalism and the Societal Role of Public Intellectuals	
1.2 Professionalising Archaeology: Interwar British Archaeologists in their Cultural Context	
1.3 Archaeological Networks and The Creation of a Professional Identity	
1.4 The Interface Between Professional Archaeologists and BBC Producers	
Conclusion	
Chapter Two: Broadcasting the Archaeology of Empire - Radio Archaeology for Education, Entertainment and Fundraising, 1924 -1930	75
Introduction	
2.1 The Public Impact of Archaeology During the 1920s	
2.2 Archaeologists and the British Broadcasting Company	
2.3 Overview of Archaeology Talks Output in the First Five Years	
2.4 Leonard Woolley and His Interactions with BBC Talks Producers	
2.5 Archaeologists, the BBC and the Bible	
2.6 Hilda Petrie and Her Use of Radio for Public Relations and Fund-raising	
Conclusion	

Chapter Three: 1930s Radio Archaeology and the Professional Archaeological Identity 116

Introduction

3.1 Versions of Identity: Archaeological Radio Broadcasts from the National Museum of Wales

3.2 Radio Archaeology and the 'Outdoor Movement'

3.3 The Role of Archaeologists in the BBC's Science Policy

3.4 Countering the "ingenious crank". Defining the Professional Practice of Archaeology Through the Lens of Radio

Conclusion

Chapter Four: Education, Propaganda and Reconstruction – The Role of BBC
Radio Archaeology Programmes in the Second World War 167

Introduction

4.1 Setting the Context for Wartime Archaeological Radio

4.2 Professional Archaeologists and the Impact of the Second World War

4.3 Rhoda Power, Dina Dobson, and the Schools Radio Serial *How Things Began*

4.4 Archaeology on the BBC Overseas Service

4.5 Education for Repatriation – Archaeology on Forces Radio

4.6 Post-War Reconstruction, Archaeology, and BBC Radio

Conclusion

Chapter Five: Archaeology Programmes in the Immediate Post-War Period
and the 1950s 216

Introduction

5.1 Setting the Scene for Post-War Radio

5.2 Archaeologists on the Home Service

5.3 Developing Collaborations between Professional Archaeologists and BBC Producers

5.4 BBC Producers Seek to Attract the 'Stars' of the Archaeological World

5.5 Glyn Daniel, Peter Laslett and Their Influence On Third Programme Archaeology

5.6 The BBC as a Patron of Archaeology: Third Programme Sponsorship of Archaeological Excavations

Conclusion

Chapter Six: Radio Archaeology Comes of Age – *The Archaeologist*, 1946-1966 266

Introduction

6.1 Developing *The Archaeologist* Radio Series – the Collaboration Between Glyn Daniel and Gilbert Phelps

6.2 *The Archaeologist* Evolves: Ensuring Topicality

6.3 Reviewing the First Two Series of *The Archaeologist*

6.4 The Development of *The Archaeologist* Under Producer John Irving

6.5 The End of *The Archaeologist*

Conclusion

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusions	300
Bibliography	313
Appendices:	
Appendix 1. List of Programmes Extracted from <i>Radio Times</i> via BBC Genome Online Database	
Appendix 2. Bar Charts of Archaeology-Themed Broadcasts	
Appendix 3. List of Files Consulted at the BBC Written Archives, Caversham	
Appendix 4. Archaeology Scripts Recorded on BBC WAC Index Cards	

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	O.G.S. Crawford at Maiden Castle	66
Figure 2	Interior of BBC Bournemouth Wireless Studio	86
Figure 3	Leonard Woolley on site at Ur	98
Figure 4	<i>Radio Times</i> listing with Ur	99
Figure 5	Hilda Petrie on site in Egypt	110
Figure 6	Cyril Fox at the National Museum of Wales	129
Figure 7	Jacquetta Hawkes at chambered tomb	138
Figure 8	Stuart Piggott and Gordon Childe	145
Figure 9	Dorothy Garrod in 1937	154
Figure 10	Gordon Childe at Skara Brae	160
Figure 11	Rhoda Power	182
Figure 12	Rhoda Power in 1945	183
Figure 13	Dina Dobson with map	185
Figure 14	Schools radio history lesson with sound effects	186
Figure 15	Dina Dobson and Bryan O'Neill	190
Figure 16	Council for British Archaeology propaganda poster	211
Figure 17	Audrey Russell reporting	234
Figure 18	<i>Radio Times</i> listing with Roman pot	238
Figure 19	Kathleen Kenyon	240
Figure 20	Mortimer Wheeler on the cover of <i>Radio Times</i>	247
Figure 21	Glyn Daniel and colleagues at the microphone	251
Figure 22	Peter Laslett	253
Figure 23	Leonie Cohn	258
Figure 24	Gilbert Phelps	280
Figure 25	<i>Radio Times</i> listing with pick and shovel	286
Figure 26	<i>Radio Times</i> listing with Gordon Childe	293

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Introduction

Introducing Archaeology Programmes on BBC Radio

The beginning of regular BBC radio broadcasting on 14th November 1922 coincided almost exactly with one of the most famous archaeological discoveries of all time – that of the tomb of the Egyptian King Tutankhamun, interred around 1323 BC. The story of this excavation is firmly linked in the public imagination with perceptions of the excitement and romance of archaeology. It was evidently on 26th November 1922 that the sealed doorway to Tutankhamun’s tomb was first breached, and reports of the extreme richness of the burial assemblage quickly became an international media and cultural phenomenon. An influential report in *The Times* newspaper, on 30th November 1922, trumpeted the news that “This afternoon Lord Carnarvon and Mr Howard Carter revealed to a large company what promises to be the most sensational Egyptological discovery of the century”. The article went on to detail the sheer richness of the tomb and “the treasure within”.¹ This initial report quickly led to a tidal wave of media interest, and this public enthusiasm for the archaeology of Egypt was carried forward into the ensuing years. The 1924 British Empire exhibition at Wembley provided a reconstruction of the tomb in its amusements park section, which further served to fuel public interest in Egyptology.²

Themes echoing the style and symbolism of the Tutankhamun find quickly manifested themselves in every aspect of popular culture - a phenomenon which has been characterised as “Tutmania”.³ This was not the first time that Egyptian themes had been influential in Western culture.⁴ Egyptian style had been evidenced in the West since at least Roman times,

¹ Headlined: “An Egyptian Treasure. Great Find at Thebes. Lord Carnarvon’s Long Quest. (From our Cairo correspondent).” *The Times* newspaper, issue 43202, pp.13-14, 30th November 1922.

² Frayling, C., 1992. *The face of Tutankhamun*. London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 32-33; MacKenzie, J.M., ed., 1986. *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 7-8.

³ Frayling 1992, 224.

⁴ Champion, T., 2003. Beyond Egyptology: Egypt in 19th and 20th century archaeology and anthropology. In Ucko, P. and Champion, T., eds. *The wisdom of ancient Egypt: changing visions through the ages*. London: UCL Press, 161-185; Champion, T., 2003. Egypt and the diffusion of culture. In Jeffreys, D., ed. *Views of ancient Egypt since Napoleon Bonaparte: imperialism, colonialism and modern appropriations*. London: UCL Press, 127-145; Carruthers, W., ed., 2015. *Histories of Egyptology. Interdisciplinary methods*. Abingdon: Routledge; Gange, D., 2013. *Dialogues with the dead: Egyptology in British culture and religion, 1822-1922*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

and had been a continuous tradition since the early Renaissance. Egypt-influenced designs had last enjoyed a particular flowering during the nineteenth century. The difference in 1922 was that this time the influences of advertising and mass entertainment culture meant that the 'craze' was even more pronounced.⁵ In the public imagination, the Tutankhamun excavation became a conduit for the expression of aspects of the human imagination concerned with exoticism, luxury, sensuality and mystery, and the subject of Ancient Egypt quickly became a staple of early radio lectures. It would, however, be misleading to state that Egyptological themes completely dominated the airwaves. Less well-known, but even more influential on radio, was the work of archaeologists in the area then known as Mesopotamia - modern-day Iraq - where archaeological discoveries during the early 1920s had proved equally spectacular to those in Egypt.⁶ Finds such as these "opened the eyes of a vast public to the fascination and glamour of the past".⁷

The interwar period was crucially important in the development of archaeology and the creation of the modern academic discipline. The 1920s saw a blossoming of British field archaeology, and this was the era during which many of the characteristics of the modern archaeological profession first came into being.⁸ Both the development of archaeology as a profession, and the birth of the BBC, arose as a result of socio-economic movements which led to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century developments in education and the franchise.⁹ The so-called "Golden Years" of radio and the "Golden Generation" of British archaeologists coincided in chronological terms.¹⁰ Young archaeologists such as Stuart Piggott, Grahame Clark, and Jacquetta Hawkes were all active in the field, and this period saw

⁵ Ucko and Champion 2003, 21-22; Frayling 1992, 18-19.

⁶ Bacon, E., 1976. *The Great Archaeologists and their discoveries as originally reported in the pages of the Illustrated London News*. London: Secker and Warburg, 12-13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸ Carr, L., 2012. *Tessa Verney Wheeler: women and archaeology before World War Two*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 147; Hauser, K., 2008. *Bloody old Britain: O.G.S. Crawford and the archaeology of modern life*. London: Granta Books, 72-73; Hudson, K., 1981. *A social history of archaeology. The British experience*. Hongkong: The Macmillan Press, 127-154; Stout, A., 2008. *Creating prehistory. Druids, ley hunters and archaeologists in pre-war Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 17-48.

⁹ Bailey, M., 2007. Rethinking public service broadcasting: the historical limits to publicness. In Butsch, R., ed. *Media and public spheres*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 96-108; LeMahieu, D.L., 1988. *A culture for democracy: mass communication and the cultivated mind in Britain between the wars*. Oxford: Clarendon.

¹⁰ Briggs, A., 1995. *The history of broadcasting in the United Kingdom, volume 2. The golden age of wireless, 1927-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Diaz-Andreu, M., Price, M. and Gosden, C., 2009. Christopher Hawkes: his archive and networks in British and European archaeology. *The Antiquaries Journal* 89, 2009, 1-22.

an unprecedented number of field monuments being subjected to excavation.¹¹ Together with colleagues from a slightly older generation, such as Cyril Fox, Gordon Childe and Mortimer Wheeler, they comprised an informal professional network which would help to transform the practice of British archaeology.¹² Central to this new wave of activity was an emphasis on the development of scientific techniques of excavation, survey and finds analysis.

Archaeology holds an enduring fascination in the public mind. Archaeological themes have, since at least the mid-nineteenth century, regularly featured in popular representations of the past, with aspects of archaeology manifesting themselves in art, literature, fashion and entertainment. This thesis examines the representation and production of archaeology on BBC radio, from the beginning of regular BBC radio broadcasting in 1922, to the mid-1960s. The commonly-held view is that archaeology was given its first mass media airing via the television programme *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral*, first broadcast on BBC television in 1952.¹³ Yet it was on radio that archaeologists first took the opportunity to communicate with the British public via a mass medium, it was radio which provided the setting for a steady stream of archaeological programming, and it was radio rather than television which first fed the public imagination with the excitement of archaeology.

BBC radio broadcasts had a major cultural impact on many areas of British life.¹⁴ Depending on the extent to which archaeology programmes were present on radio, it therefore follows logically that some of the cultural impact of the BBC must have come about through the medium of archaeology. So, to what extent were archaeologists active in broadcasting, and what form did their radio voices take? Why did they wish to broadcast, and why did the BBC encourage their radio presence? How was radio used as a way of delineating and publicising the new disciplinary identity of archaeologists? Was there an overarching policy regarding

¹¹ Hauser 2008, 95-96.

¹² Stout 2008, 165.

¹³ Perry, S., 2017. Archaeology on television, 1937. *Public Archaeology*, 16:1, 3-18.

¹⁴ Chignell, H., 2011. *Public issue radio. Talks, news and current affairs in the twentieth century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 11-12; Hendy, D., 2013. *Public service broadcasting*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 7-26; Scannell, P. and Cardiff, D., 1991. *A social history of British broadcasting, 1922-1939. Serving the nation*. Oxford, Cambridge Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 12-13; Pegg, M., 1983. *Broadcasting and society, 1918-1939*. London: Croom Helm, 1-5.

radio archaeology, and if so, how did this change over time? What happened when the two new, and developing, professions of archaeology and radio broadcasting coincided?

Having opened up a rich seam of possibilities for research, it is now necessary to provide further contextual information, and to lay out the theoretical framework for the research.

Before moving on to survey the literature underpinning the study, it is relevant to draw attention to the personal perspective of the author, as a qualified archaeologist who undertook her first archaeological excavation at the age of eighteen, graduated in BA Honours Archaeology from the University of York, and subsequently spent many years as a field archaeologist. The pursuit of archaeology was always accompanied by a transistor radio, which, when dig conditions allowed, sometimes made it into the trench, so that tasks such as section-drawing would be accomplished to the strains of Radio 4. This combined passion for archaeology and radio adds a unique perspective to the discussions that follow.

Literature Review

This section lays out the context for the research, and delineates the areas of scholarship to which the present research contributes, situated as it is in radio studies, the historiography of archaeology, and social history. After a brief introduction to the cultural context of the BBC, the extent of existing literature for the radio presence of archaeologists is considered. There follows an introduction to the nature and development of archaeology as a discipline, its place in popular culture, the process through which it was professionalised, and its communication to the public. Finally, in this introductory literature review, archaeology's potential to be conveyed through the medium of sound is addressed.

i. The Cultural Mission of the BBC

The study primarily focuses on the area of radio broadcasting characterised as Talks.¹⁵ Archaeology content formed part of the Talks strand of programming, and this thesis demonstrates the presence of archaeology radio programmes from at least 1924. As outlined

¹⁵ The convention is that *Talks* as a department is capitalised, whereas its output of *talks* is not. See Chignell 2011, 6.

by Chignell, “it was in the output labelled ‘talks’ that the BBC addressed the political, social and economic issues of the day and provided some sort of account of the public world inhabited by listeners”.¹⁶ Talks initially took up a relatively small proportion of broadcast time, with news and talks together forming around 20% of the output.¹⁷ Seminal histories of the BBC such as Briggs, and Scannell and Cardiff, describe the existence of a full programme of talks from the 1920s onwards, though they make virtually no mention of broadcasts with archaeological content.¹⁸

The character of early radio was personified by the concept of “public service” broadcasting, the principles of which comprised availability to all, universality of appeal, service to the public sphere, and a commitment to education.¹⁹ Radio was a new tool with which to bring education to the British populace. John Reith (the first Director-General) and the BBC board were concerned to provide a service which would not only entertain, but would bring culture and education, at a time when it was widely assumed that many were under-educated.²⁰ For the first decade or so of the BBC’s existence, Reith exercised a high degree of control over broadcast policy.²¹

The ideas of Matthew Arnold, a key cultural commentator of the mid-Victorian period, were highly influential on the world view held by Reith, and therefore directly affected the cultural landscape of the early BBC. It has been noted that *Broadcast over Britain* - Reith’s 1924 statement of his philosophy of broadcasting - is “studded with explicit references and thinly veiled allusions to Arnold’s *Culture and Anarchy*”.²² Reith’s ethical standpoint, and that of

¹⁶ Ibid., 9.

¹⁷ Ibid., 13-16; Hendy 2013, 61.

¹⁸ Briggs 1995; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 153-178.

¹⁹ Tracey, M., 1998. *The decline and fall of public service broadcasting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 26-32.

²⁰ Briggs 1965, 53-56; Chignell 2011, 13; Crisell, A., 2002. *An introductory history of British broadcasting*, 2nd edition. London and New York: Routledge, 33-35; Curran, J., 2002. *Media and power*. London: Routledge, 18-19; LeMahieu 1988, 273-274; Lewis, P.M. and Booth, J., 1989. *The invisible medium. Public, commercial and community radio*. Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 68-69.

²¹ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 17.

²² Avery, T., 2006. *Radio modernism: literature, ethics and the BBC, 1922-1938*. Ashgate: Aldershot, 16. Avery refers here to Reith, J.C.W., 1924. *Broadcast over Britain*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. See also Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 9-10, and Yusuf, S., 2014. *Broadcasting buildings: architecture on the wireless, 1927-1945*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, note 24 on page 286, where it is claimed that the first acknowledged connection between Arnold’s 1869 essay, and Reith’s policies, occurred in the Annan Report of 1977.

other influential early BBC managers, can be characterised as a concern to bring the best of cultural content to the British people.²³ These ideas originated in philosophies put forward by American broadcasters such as David Sarnoff, though the commercial route taken in the USA, and the perceived chaos of early American broadcasting influenced British managers to organise matters differently.²⁴ Hendy reminds us that Reith's standpoint was not as inflexible as is often assumed, in that he emphasised the need to provide different types of programmes which appealed to a diverse range of people.²⁵ Bailey outlines the context for the origins of public service broadcasting at this time when "a more intelligent and enlightened electorate" was seen as essential to the regulation of a civilised and educated democracy.²⁶ Jones notes that radio was regarded by many intellectuals as a means of educating a public poorly-versed in democratic citizenship in the aftermath of the First World War.²⁷ An emphasis on education formed a key part of this civilising mission, and accordingly from 1924 the BBC demonstrated a deep commitment to education.²⁸ Archaeology programmes featured in the Adult Education radio timetable, and in Schools broadcasting.²⁹ It can be seen that archaeological themes aligned well with the BBC's mission to "educate, inform and entertain".³⁰

As part of its public service remit, the BBC was concerned in much of its output with programmes reflecting upon British cultural and national identity, and what it meant to be a citizen of Britain.³¹ Potter argues that radio was used as an agent of cultural diplomacy, to

²³ Hendy 2013, 20-26; LeMahieu, D.L., 1994. John Reith 1889-1971. Entrepreneur of collectivism. In Pedersen, P. and Mandler, S., eds. *After the Victorians. Private conscience and public duty in modern Britain*. London: Routledge, 189-206.

²⁴ Crisell 2002, 16-17; Hendy 2013, 7 and 19; Hilmes, M., 1997. *Radio voices. American broadcasting, 1922-1952*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 7-10.

²⁵ Hendy 2013, 23.

²⁶ Bailey 2007, 103.

²⁷ Jones, A., 2011. Mary Adams and the producer's role in early BBC science broadcasts. *Public Understanding of Science*, 1-16, p. 3.

²⁸ Bailey 2007, 103-8.

²⁹ Briggs 1965. *The history of broadcasting in the United Kingdom, volume 2. The golden age of wireless, 1927-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 142.

³⁰ The origin of this phrase has been attributed to David Sarnoff, first commercial manager of the Marconi Company in America – see Briggs, A., 1985. *The BBC. The first fifty years*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 18.

³¹ Hajkowski, T., 2010. *The BBC and national identity in Britain, 1922-53*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 6; Kumar, K., 2003. *The making of English national identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Miller, D., 1995. Reflections on British national identity. *New Community* 21, 2, 153-166; Milne, A. and Verdugo, R.R., eds., 2016. *National identity: theory and research*. Charlotte, NC; Information Age Publishing, 1-7; Powell, D., 2002. *Nationhood and identity. The British state since 1800*. London and New York: I.B.

encourage enthusiasm for British imperial rule, and to project “Britishness”.³² Other media commentators such as Taylor and MacKenzie describe the propagandising role of radio in projecting Britain’s image to the rest of the world, the nature of its imperial broadcasting in the Reithian years, and the extent to which this was universally approved of within the BBC, and amongst the public.³³ Hajkowski broadens the discussion with his argument that “the BBC constructed Britishness as an inclusive, pluralistic identity and that the Corporation created spaces for the expression of multiple national identities in Britain”.³⁴ Archaeological debates often centre upon notions of national and cultural identity, partly because so much work within the discipline is bound up with the attempt to understand cultural change, and therefore in this sense archaeology was clearly a suitable topic for radio, as it fitted in with the BBC’s mission as a public service broadcaster. It would be surprising, therefore, if archaeology did not regularly feature in the radio schedules. This research aims to address the current information deficit regarding broadcasting archaeologists, and to place their radio contribution firmly in the historical account in relation to the cultural mission of the BBC.

ii. Archaeology and Radio

Early histories of the BBC describe a steady stream of experts arriving at Savoy Hill to broadcast radio talks.³⁵ Archaeologists were amongst these expert broadcasters, but their contributions remain largely un-evidenced in the literature. In their introductory chapter on *Archaeology and the Media*, Clack and Brittain discuss the many and varying ways in which archaeological information has been presented by “storytelling the past”, and note the potential for future research in archaeology on the radio.³⁶ There is, however, no further discussion of the topic, apart from brief references to the broadcasts of Cyril Fox and his staff

Tauris, 175-176; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 277-279; Smith, A.D., 1991. *National identity*. London: Penguin Books.

³² Potter, S.J., 2012. *Broadcasting empire. The BBC and the British world, 1922-1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 6-7.

³³ MacKenzie, J.M., 1986. ‘In touch with the infinite’. The BBC and the Empire, 1923-1953. In MacKenzie, 165-191; Taylor, P.M., 2008. *The projection of Britain: British overseas publicity and propaganda, 1919-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 66 and 110-114.

³⁴ Hajkowski 2010, 236.

³⁵ For example, Lewis, C.A., 1924. *Broadcasting from within*. London: George Newnes; Matheson, H., 1933. *Broadcasting*. London: Thornton Butterworth.

³⁶ Clack, T. and Brittain, M., eds., 2007. *Archaeology and the media*. California: Left Coast Press, 11-65. See in particular p.14.

from the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, from the 1930s onwards, and to the series *The Archaeologist* in the 1950s.³⁷

Whilst they are a valuable source of information for the careers and activities of professional archaeologists, autobiographies and biographies rarely refer to their subjects' radio contributions. Even when there is evidence that individual archaeologists were making frequent radio appearances, this mostly remains unmentioned in autobiographical and biographical accounts. It is extremely unusual to find accounts from professional archaeologists which make specific mention of radio, giving the impression that they did not regard their radio work as being of any particular significance. O.G.S. Crawford (best known for developing the specialism of landscape archaeology, for being amongst the first to use aerial photography for archaeological research, and for founding the seminal journal *Antiquity*) refers briefly to broadcasting "from Savoy Hill" on two occasions in 1927, though he furnishes no further detail of his interactions with the BBC.³⁸ Archaeologist Leonard Woolley was a frequent contributor to Talks radio during the 1920s, and used a series of six radio broadcasts as the basis for his best-selling publication *Digging up the Past*.³⁹ The preface to his autobiography notes that some of the content is based on BBC radio talks, though Woolley is silent as far as any specific detail of his BBC Talks connections is concerned.⁴⁰

Schools broadcasts regularly featured archaeological themes, and there is some supporting literature which evidences the role of experts in this connection. Rhoda Power's pre-eminence in the field of history broadcasting for young people has been acknowledged, and her prolific work as a radio scriptwriter and producer in history is described by Berg, and Murphy.⁴¹ Palmer references Power's work on the production of the Schools archaeology programme *How Things Began* (first broadcast in 1941).⁴² Corbishley makes brief reference

³⁷ Ibid.,14. In reality Cyril Fox's Cardiff broadcasts began in 1925.

³⁸ Crawford, O.G.S., 1955. *Said and done: the autobiography of an archaeologist*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 182-183.

³⁹ Woolley, L., 1930. *Digging up the past*. London: Penguin Books.

⁴⁰ Woolley, L., 1962. *As I seem to remember*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

⁴¹ Berg, M.,1996. *A woman in history. Eileen Power, 1889-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 231-2; Briggs 1965, 182; Murphy, K., 2016. *Behind the wireless. A history of early women at the BBC*. Palgrave Macmillan: London, 135-137.

⁴² Palmer, R., 1947. *School broadcasting in Britain*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.

to archaeologist Dina Dobson's radio contribution to *How Things Began*, though her work remains under-represented in the literature.⁴³

Further examples of this radio silence apply in the case of Mortimer Wheeler and Glyn Daniel, both frequent contributors to radio and television archaeology. Wheeler's first radio broadcast took place in 1953, though his subsequent frequent radio work is not reflected in the literature about his life. His biographer, Jacquetta Hawkes, alludes only briefly to his radio work on the Third Programme and the BBC Overseas Service.⁴⁴ Wheeler does not mention his radio career in his autobiographies, despite remarking on "an age when the Press and the BBC are clamouring for archaeological news",⁴⁵ and including a whole section in his book *Archaeology From the Earth* on "speaking to and writing for the General Public".⁴⁶

Accounts of the introduction of archaeology into broadcast media almost invariably foreground the role of television.⁴⁷ The popularity of the television programme *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* goes a long way to explaining the predominant view, manifested in the literature, that it was via television that archaeology first came to the airwaves.⁴⁸ This programme, in which a panel of experts was tasked with identifying a variety of archaeological artefacts, while talking about them entertainingly, quickly became extremely popular with viewers, with one of its main participants, the flamboyant Mortimer Wheeler, being voted 1954 BBC Television Personality of the Year for his contribution, while Daniel took the title the following year.⁴⁹ In her paper discussing the origins of archaeology on television, which she traces back to the late 1930s, Sara Perry attributes the misapprehension that media

⁴³ Corbishley, M., 2011. *Pinning down the past. Archaeology, heritage and education today*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 48.

⁴⁴ Hawkes, J., 1982. *Mortimer Wheeler. Adventurer in archaeology*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1982, 303-304.

⁴⁵ Wheeler 1958a., 206.

⁴⁶ Wheeler 1956b., 221-224.

⁴⁷ Daniel, G., Archaeology and television. *Antiquity* volume 28, issue 112, 1st January 1954, 201-205; Daniel, G., 1975. *A hundred and fifty years of archaeology*, 2nd edition. London: Duckworth, 376; Kulik, K., 2007. A short history of archaeological communication. In Clack and Brittain, 116; Moser, S., 2009. Archaeological representation: the consumption and creation of the past. In Cunliffe, B., Gosden, C. and Joyce, R.A., eds. *The Oxford handbook of archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1048-1077; Sutcliffe, R., 1978, ed. *Chronicle – essays from ten years of television archaeology*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.

⁴⁸ Clack and Brittain 2007, 14; Kulik 2007. In Clack and Brittain, 116; Morgan, C., 2014. Archaeology and the moving image. *Public Archaeology* 13:4, 323-344; Perry 2017.

⁴⁹ Daniel, G., 1986. *Some small harvest. The memoirs of Glyn Daniel*. London: Thames and Hudson, 246-259; Hawkes 1982, 301.

archaeology arose with *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* largely to the pronouncements of its host, Glyn Daniel.⁵⁰ She quotes Daniel as opining that in the early 1950s he had been “assured [...] that dull subjects like archaeology with dull professional exponents could not recommend themselves to the BBC planners of programmes”.⁵¹ Since Daniel held prestigious academic posts at Cambridge University, and was for many years the editor of the influential archaeological journal *Antiquity*, his word carried considerable authority. It seems that Daniel’s statement as to the lack of BBC interest in archaeology became accepted as fact, whereas, as Perry records, archaeologists had been pursued by BBC producers since at least 1937. Talks producer Mary Adams encouraged Wheeler to publicise the Maiden Castle excavations via television, not long after the service had launched, though without success.⁵²

Discussions of radio “invisibility” help to illuminate the reasons for the omission of archaeological radio history in the literature.⁵³ Lewis speculates that the lack of awareness of the value of radio history in general can partly be explained by “the dominance of the visual over the aural in our culture, as well as the sheer glamour and economic weight of film and television”.⁵⁴ Following this long neglect of the role of archaeology on radio, there are signs of a growing awareness of the potential for study in this area, and researchers are increasingly exploring the role of radio in the history of archaeology, and its use as a public forum for communicating archaeology. Amara Thornton has noted the importance of the development of radio technology in providing a new means for the projection of archaeological narratives to the public, with radio talks during the 1920s “reinforcing a key message of the archaeologist as a cross-cultural and international communicator”, and emphasising archaeology’s exoticism, as well as its role in scientific research.⁵⁵ Thornton’s analysis links these early broadcasting activities with developments in archaeological publishing during the

⁵⁰ Perry 2017.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4; Daniel 1954, 201.

⁵² Perry 2017, 6-7. In the early days of television, producers continued to be designated “Talks” producers, in a continuation of radio practice.

⁵³ Hilmes 1997, xiv-xv; Lewis and Booth 1989; Scannell, P., 1991. *Broadcast talk*. London, California, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

⁵⁴ Lewis, P., 2000. Introduction to British radio studies. *Journal of Radio Studies*, volume 7, no 1, 153-160, p.156.

⁵⁵ Thornton, A., 2018. *Archaeologists in print. Publishing for the people*. London: UCL Press, 41-45, quotation p.42.

same period, which was making its own significant contribution to the construction of the professional archaeological identity.

Researchers such as Lydia Carr, H  l  ne Maloigne, Pamela Smith, Adam Stout and Amara Thornton have produced accounts of the activities of archaeologists as public intellectuals, analysing the development of the discipline in the context of social and cultural history.⁵⁶ Whilst most of these authors often foreground the role of archaeological women in the public communication of archaeology, it has been observed that Stout's work pays scant attention to the important contribution of female archaeologists. It has been claimed that this emphasis on the activities of a restricted group of male archaeologists, to the exclusion of the many female practitioners and less 'orthodox' males active in the profession, presents a skewed picture of disciplinary developments.⁵⁷ Stout's work does, however, add valuable nuggets of information in an area of archaeological historiography which has lacked analysis, as well as providing a fresh perspective through which to consider the period when many of the key British archaeologists of the twentieth century were beginning to exercise their influence in the public sphere. There remains a deficit in the literature as to the treatment of archaeology on radio, and its mediation into a public performance. Before further examination of the public representation of archaeology, it is necessary to understand something of its nature as a discipline.

⁵⁶ Carr 2012; Maloigne, H., 2020. *Striking the imagination through the eye: relating the archaeology of Mesopotamia to the British public, 1920-1939*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University College London; Smith, P.J., 2009. *A "splendid idiosyncrasy": prehistory at Cambridge, 1915-1950*. BAR British Series 485; Stout 2008; Thornton 2018.

⁵⁷ Smith, P.J., 2009. Review article: Creating prehistory. Druids, ley hunters and archaeologists in pre-war Britain, by Adam Stout. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, volume 19, issue 3, October 2009, 459-460; Seymour, D.J., 2011. *SAS Bulletin. Newsletter of the Society For Archaeological Sciences*, volume 34, number 4, winter 2011, 28-30. Seymour also takes exception to Stout's emphasis on the cultural factors underlying the development of British archaeology, dismissing this as a "well-worn theme", thereby discounting the merits to be found in his close analysis of certain key aspects of interwar archaeology.

iii. Defining Archaeology

Archaeology is unique in that it encapsulates all other disciplines, and is informed by scholarship from the arts, humanities and sciences.⁵⁸ The discipline as a whole can therefore be categorised either as an art or as a science.⁵⁹ Being such a diverse subject, it is difficult to offer a definitive definition, but key to any attempted definition of the discipline is an emphasis on materiality. Rahtz defined archaeology as “the study of *things*, tangible objects which can be seen and measured; what is broadly described as material culture. This is the physical manifestation of human activities – rubbish, treasure, buildings and graves”.⁶⁰ Helpful and succinct though the latter definition is, other definitions of archaeology are equally valid, including the broad statement that “Archaeology is what archaeologists do”.⁶¹ The modern study of archaeology is a product of the European Enlightenment movement, and it is entirely plausible to argue that its existence has only become possible as a result of the world view and philosophical standpoints which originated in seventeenth century Europe.⁶²

Down the centuries archaeology has been used for nationalistic ends, sometimes in a benign context - for example, for “national myth-making”, but often in more sinister ways, for political and nationalistic purposes.⁶³ Merriman notes that “People use the past in many

⁵⁸ Daniel 1975, 310 and 352-360; Dark, K.R., 1995. *Theoretical archaeology*. London: Duckworth; Renfrew, C. and Bahn, P.G., 2012. *Archaeology: theories, methods and practice*, 6th edition. London: Thames and Hudson, 12-18.

⁵⁹ Boast, R., 2009. The formative century, 1860-1960. In Cunliffe et. al., 47-70; Daniel, G., 1967. *The origins and growth of archaeology*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 13-32; Kristiansen, K., 2009. The discipline of archaeology. In Cunliffe et. al., 3-46; Rahtz, P., 1991. *Invitation to archaeology*, 2nd edition. Oxford UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1; Renfrew, C., and Bahn, P.G., 2012. *Archaeology: theories, methods and practice*, 6th edition. London: Thames and Hudson, 12-13; Thomas, R.M., 2004. Archaeology and authority in the twenty-first century. In Merriman, N., ed. *Public archaeology*. Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 191-201; Trigger, B.G., 2006. *A history of archaeological thought*, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 28-29.

⁶⁰ Rahtz 1991, 1.

⁶¹ Clarke, D., 1973. Archaeology: the loss of innocence. *Antiquity* volume 47, issue 185, March 1973, 6-18, quotation p. 6.

⁶² Thomas, J., 2004. *Archaeology and modernity*. London: Routledge, 1-54; Pollock, S. and Bernbeck, R., 2005. *Archaeologies of the middle east: critical perspectives*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1.

⁶³ Atkinson, J.A., Banks, I. and O’Sullivan, J., eds., 1996. *Nationalism and archaeology*. Glasgow: Scottish Archaeological Forum; Champion, T., 1996. Three nations or one? Britain and the national use of the past. In Diaz-Andreu, M. and Champion, T., eds. *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe*. London: UCL Press, 119-145; Darvill, T., 2003. Public archaeology: a European perspective. In Bintliff, J., ed. *A companion to archaeology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 409-434; Fowler, D.D., 1987. Uses of the past; archaeology in the service of

varied and creative ways to suit their own needs and their own feelings about their position in the world”, and highlights “the malleability of the past”, which can lead to its distortion for political propaganda purposes, noting that “it is possible to analyse history, and the past in general, as a form of unconscious discourse about the present, which may reveal just as much, if not more, about current concerns as it reveals about the past”.⁶⁴ Darvill outlines the idea that “the past gets out of date very quickly...”, referring to the phenomenon by which differing archaeological interpretations are developed, and subsequently superseded by alternative explanations.⁶⁵ The outputs of archaeologists are inevitably filtered through the lens of their own world views.⁶⁶

iv. Archaeology in Popular Culture

Since this thesis addresses the intersection of archaeology and media culture, it is important to gain a sense of where archaeology sits in relation to its representation in the public imagination. Russell’s exploration of the ideas underlying stereotypical representations of archaeologists is a useful starting-point, and he delineates a number of recurring themes that characterise the public understanding of archaeology and the archaeologist: the archaeologist as detective, as explorer or adventurer, as tomb-raider and as eccentric bookworm.⁶⁷ Moshenska notes that popular representations of archaeology were already

the state. In Murray, T. and Evans, C., eds., 2008. *Histories of archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 93-119; Gathercole, P. and Lowenthal, D., eds., 1990. *The politics of the past*. London: Unwin Hyman; Rahtz 1991, 24-40; Shnirel’man, V.A., 2013. Nationalism and archaeology. *Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia*, 52 (2), 113-32; Sommer, U., 2017. Archaeology and nationalism. In Moshenska, G., ed., 2017. *Key concepts in public archaeology*. London: UCL Press, 166-186.

⁶⁴ Merriman, N., 1991. *Beyond the glass case. The past, the heritage and the public in Britain*. Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 19 and 131; Howell, R., 2000. The demolition of the Roman tetrapylon in Caerleon: an erasure of memory? *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19 (4), 387-395.

⁶⁵ Darvill, T., 2009. Reeling in the years. The past in the present. In Hunter, J. and Ralston, I., eds. *The Archaeology of Britain. An introduction from earliest times to the twenty-first century*, 2nd edition. London and New York: Routledge, 410-432.

⁶⁶ Darvill, T., 1995. Value systems in archaeology. In Cooper et. al., 40-50; Dobres, M.A. and Robb, J.E., eds., 2000. *Agency in Archaeology*. London and New York: Routledge; Fagan, B.M., 2001. *Grahame Clark. An intellectual life of an archaeologist*. Oxford: Westview Press, 5; Hawkes, J., 1967. God in the Machine. *Antiquity* volume 41, issue 163, September 1967, 174-180; Pearce, S., ed., 2007. *Visions of antiquity: the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1; Piggott, S., 2007 (first published 1965). *Ancient Europe*. Edinburgh University Press / Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick and London, 5; Pollard, J., 2008. The construction of prehistoric Britain. In Pollard, J., ed. *Prehistoric Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 6.

⁶⁷ Russell, M., 2002. ‘No more heroes any more’: The dangerous world of the pop culture archaeologist. In Russell, M., ed. *Digging holes in popular culture: archaeology and science fiction*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 38-54.

embedded in the national culture by at least the early nineteenth century, and examines the resultant common stereotypes, emphasising the importance for the archaeology profession of engaging with the character of its public image, not least because “popular culture in all its diverse forms is likely to be the means by which the vast majority of people encounter archaeological themes and ideas for the first time”.⁶⁸ These stereotypical representations of archaeology are liable to give rise to some controversy, not least amongst those members of the archaeology profession who would prefer to present the public with research-based archaeological information, with all its nuances and complexities.⁶⁹ Conversely, Ascherson examines the mutually-beneficial collaboration which has for many years existed between archaeologists and the media, often resulting in the communication of simplified or sensationalised versions of the past.⁷⁰

Holtorf’s essay on the meaning of archaeology in contemporary culture emphasises the way in which archaeology has public appeal not only through its intrinsic interest, but also because for many people, it can satisfy basic human needs in the sense of supplying a range of metaphorical meanings - for example, to experience an imagined idyllic past, or to participate in an adventure. Thus, “it is a particular experience in the present that accounts for peoples’ interest in the past”.⁷¹ As Holtorf goes on to say, archaeology is often invoked as a means of storytelling and entertainment, and as a way of reflecting on one’s own concerns. He makes the important point that the vast majority of people are not concerned as to whether the archaeological information they are provided with is accurate, or “truthful” in archaeological terms - they just want to enjoy a good story, or revel in aspects such as the “adventure” of archaeology, noting that:

Humans have always drawn on a rich supply of metaphors and prejudices that provided guidance and visions for their lives. Arguably, the world is too complex for

⁶⁸ Moshenska, G., 2017. Archaeologists in popular culture. In Moshenska, ed., 151-165.

⁶⁹ See for example Catling, C., 2019. Stonehenge bounces back. *Current Archaeology*, issue 347, February 2019, 62. Catling describes the artist Jeremy Deller’s bouncy castle version of Stonehenge, first exhibited in the 2012 Glasgow International Festival of Visual Art, as “an arbitrary and facile artistic response to a monument that deserves better”.

⁷⁰ Ascherson, N., 2004. Archaeology and the British media. In Merriman, N., ed. *Public archaeology*. Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 145-158.

⁷¹ Holtorf, C., 2007. *Archaeology is a brand! The meaning of archaeology in contemporary culture*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 4.

everybody to assess all of it on its own merits. Social psychologists have long understood that every society and every age needs to provide specific “short-cuts” for making the unfamiliar familiar.⁷²

Holtorf defines four main perspectives through which archaeology is commonly viewed by the public: the archaeologist as adventurer, as detective and scholar, as the source of profound revelations, and as a caretaker of the past.⁷³ It will be seen later in the thesis that certain of the portrayals of archaeologists on radio fall into these categories.

v. The Development of the Modern Discipline of Archaeology

In order to contextualise the way in which the discipline of archaeology has developed, it is important to have some awareness of the history of attitudes to deep archaeological time, and of the way in which the past has been encountered, wondered at and evoked. Schnapp, in his examination of the ways in which humankind has, from antiquity, interacted with archaeological remains, notes that “[h]owever far back we look, the monument as an object of interest has appealed just as much to the imagination as to reason”.⁷⁴ Archaeological remains have for long been used to emphasise and strengthen claims to land and leadership. The earliest identified archaeological dig is often cited as having been carried out by the Late Babylonian ruler King Nabonidus (556-539 BC), in connection with religious and dynastic claims.⁷⁵ The phenomenon whereby the past is evoked as an aid to achieving the ambitions of the present is no less relevant today.⁷⁶

Despite this long history of contemplation of the past, it was not until the sixteenth century that meaningful progress was made in developing proper chronologies or any scientific understanding of the archaeological materials encountered. The roots of the modern study

⁷² Ibid.,10-11.

⁷³ Ibid.,103.

⁷⁴ Schnapp, A., 1996. *The discovery of the past*. London: British Museum Press, 13; Matthews, R., 2003. *The archaeology of Mesopotamia. Theories and approaches*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 5.

⁷⁵ Trigger 2006, 44.

⁷⁶ Bahn, P.G., 1996. *The Cambridge illustrated history of archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1; Samuel, R., 1998. *Theatres of memory, volume 1: Past and present in contemporary culture*. London: Verso; Samuel, R., 1999. Resurrectionism. In Boswell, D. and Evans, J., eds. *Representing the nation: a reader. Histories, heritage and museums*. London and New York: Routledge, 163-184.

of archaeology lay in the Renaissance, though Biblical notions of time still predominated. In 1650 James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, laid out his historical chronology based on genealogies presented in the Bible, calculating that the world began in 4004 B.C. This meant that by his scheme, all of geological and archaeological time had to be compressed into an impossibly short timescale.⁷⁷ This belief remained highly influential until the nineteenth century, and had the effect of limiting the development of archaeological thought. In the mid-nineteenth century the recognition of the existence of archaeological stratigraphy by the French archaeologist Boucher de Perthes, opened up the potential for understanding archaeological sequences.⁷⁸ 1859 saw official recognition of the antiquity of man, and the publication of Charles Darwin's theory expressed in *On The Origin of Species* (first published in that year). The work of Darwin and other theorists around this time meant that the societal and intellectual conditions were now in place for real headway to be made in understanding the history of humankind, as informed by its material remains. Finally, the way was clear for the development of the discipline of archaeology, and the advent of scientific excavation.

Many of the practices and standards which remain crucial to the professional practice of excavation, such as rigorous recording techniques, stratigraphical theory and consistent methods of finds evaluation, were laid down for the first time by Dorset landowner General Augustus Pitt-Rivers.⁷⁹ Subsequent archaeologists - notably Flinders Petrie - took these principles and applied them to their research. Petrie was known for his high standards of excavation, in an era when scientific standards were adhered to by few other Egyptologists. His work was innovative in that he recorded the plans of his excavations and noted where major finds had been made, although he only rarely recorded stratigraphic sections.⁸⁰ Thus practices previously associated with the search for the past - such as collector of antiquities, and treasure-hunter⁸¹ - gradually developed into the discipline of archaeology, in which

⁷⁷ Darvill, T., 2010. *Prehistoric Britain*, 2nd edition. Abingdon: Routledge, 4; Daniel 1975, 27.

⁷⁸ Schnapp 1996, 312; Daniel 1975, 28; Green, S., 1981. *Prehistorian. A biography of V. Gordon Childe*. Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 16; Crawford, O.G.S., 1960. (First published 1953.) *Archaeology in the field*. London: Phoenix House, 26-27.

⁷⁹ Bradley, R., 2014. Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers. In Fagan, B.M., ed. *The great archaeologists*. London: Thames and Hudson, 130-133; Fagan, B.M., 2003. *Archaeologists: explorers of the human past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 74-77; Thurley, S., 2013. *The men from the ministry. How Britain saved its heritage*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 107-109.

⁸⁰ Trigger 2006, 69.

⁸¹ Russell 2002, 38-54.

excavation is carried out through the systematic removal of material deposits, ideally in reverse order to the sequence of deposition.⁸² Fagan notes that “[t]he modern era of excavation began in the 1920s and 30s, when science and systematic recording, especially of features and chronological sequences, moved to centre stage”.⁸³ These developments were happening at the precise time when domestic radio was increasingly becoming an everyday part of British life, and this formed an important new means by which archaeologists could place themselves into the public forum.

vi. The Professionalisation of Archaeology

The current research addresses the era during which archaeology was developing as a profession in its own right. The expansion of professional occupations is a phenomenon linked to the development of the industrial economy and the concomitant expansion of education and rise of the middle classes. During the mid-twentieth century, measures were increasingly put in place to control and monitor participation in archaeological practice. A central theme of this thesis is the way in which the rise of archaeology as a distinct profession impacted on BBC radio broadcasting, and vice versa. At this point it is helpful to consider the context for developments which will be discussed in the first chapter of the thesis.

The professional archaeological identity was a long time in the making. The pursuit of archaeology was, in its earliest days, the exclusive business of the leisured classes and interested amateurs,⁸⁴ and the contribution of natural history and geological societies in developing the discipline of archaeology is well-documented.⁸⁵ Despite the progress in archaeological techniques made since the early nineteenth century, by the 1920s the discipline had in some senses advanced little from Victorian days, and it did not yet exist as a

⁸² Barker, P., 1977. *Techniques of archaeological excavation*. London: Batsford; Fagan 2014, 123; Matthews 2003, 43; Renfrew and Bahn 2012, 33-37.

⁸³ Fagan 2014, 123; Fagan, B.M., 2003. *Archaeology. A brief introduction*, 8th edition. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 19-22.

⁸⁴ Hudson 1981, 12.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-14; Moore, D., 2001. Cambrian meetings 1847-1997. A society's contribution in a changing archaeological scene. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, volume CXLVII, (147) 1998, 3-55; Schofield, J., 2011. A history of archaeology in Great Britain. In Schofield, J., Carman, J. and Belford, P. *Archaeological practice in Great Britain: a heritage handbook*. World Archaeological Congress Cultural Heritage Manual Series, 25-40 – see in particular pp.30-31.

discrete profession. The subject retained many of the characteristics of antiquarianism, and the excavation of archaeological sites was still often carried out with little effort made to analyse the significance of their geographical position, or to attempt to draw connections with other sites of the same nature.⁸⁶ There remained an overarching emphasis on the collection and classification of artefacts for their own sake, rather than to provide contextual and dating evidence for archaeological sites.⁸⁷ British archaeology remained for the most part the domain of moneyed, private individuals. As class and money are closely inter-connected with educational attainment, these factors must be taken into account in any study of the impact of archaeology in the media of the first half of the twentieth century.⁸⁸ Class is also relevant in terms of public encounters with interpretations of the past. Merriman describes the way in which until relatively recently, museums were associated with the educated bourgeoisie and the aristocracy.⁸⁹

A comprehensive account of the social and cultural meaning underlying the practice of twentieth century archaeology has yet to be written, and for the purposes of this thesis it has been necessary to mine a wide range of archaeological literature in an attempt to glean the necessary insights. Nuggets of relevant information can occasionally be found in the introductory sections, prefaces and footnotes of literature summarising developments in archaeological research.⁹⁰ There remains a deficit of information regarding the history of the profession of archaeology, in terms of the motives, guiding philosophies and actions of its participants. Daniel's work in the historiography of archaeology remains an important source,

⁸⁶ Everill, P., 2009. *The invisible diggers. A study of British commercial archaeology*. Heritage Research Series no. 1. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 25; Hudson 1981, 43-68.

⁸⁷ Casson, S., 1930. *Archaeology*. London: Ernest Benn, 7-8; Clark, G., 1989. *Prehistory at Cambridge and beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2; Scott-Fox, C., 2002. *Cyril Fox. Archaeologist Extraordinary*. Exeter: Oxbow Books, 32-33.

⁸⁸ Cannadine, D., 2000. *Class in Britain*. London: Penguin; Gunn, S. and Bell, R., 2003. *The middle classes: their rise and sprawl*. London: Phoenix; Hudson 1981; Kulik 2007, 113; Merriman 1991; McGuire, R.H. and Walker, M., 1999. Class confrontations in archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* volume 33, number 1, Confronting Class. Society for Historical Archaeology, 159-183; Wheeler, R.E.M., 1958. Crawford and *Antiquity*. *Antiquity* volume 32, issue 125, March 1958, 3-4.

⁸⁹ Merriman 1991.

⁹⁰ For example, Crawford, O.G.S., 1960. *Archaeology in the field*. London: Phoenix House. This textbook on techniques of archaeological fieldwork, first published in 1953, contains valuable insights into the world of professional archaeology. Mortimer Wheeler's preface to the 1930 publication *London in Roman times*, London Museum Catalogues: number 3. Preface, 3-5 is similarly useful, as is Moore, D., 1976. Cambrian antiquity: precursors of the prehistorians. In Boon, G.C. and Lewis, J.M. *Welsh antiquity. Essays mainly on prehistoric topics presented to J.N Savory upon his retirement as Keeper of Archaeology*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 193-221.

though inevitably dated in some respects, and focused on disciplinary developments rather than social and cultural factors.⁹¹ Recent years have seen a new interest in researching the frequently underplayed and forgotten role of female archaeologists, and the work of authors such as Carr, Champion, Diaz-Andreu and Sorensen has been important here.⁹² Thornton has analysed the factors at work regarding personal networks within archaeology during the period of its early professionalisation, delineating the role of archaeology as a major contributor to British cultural life.⁹³

During the late 1920s and 30s, archaeology developed from being reliant on patronage, and moved to a more professional footing.⁹⁴ There was an increasing recognition that the state must bear some responsibility for the protection of heritage.⁹⁵ Due in large part to a relatively small group of committed professionals, great strides were made in the development of archaeology as a modern, science-based subject, in which finds were systematically used for dating, and sites and monuments were assigned meaning through analysis of their place in the landscape. The growth in opportunities for limited numbers of people to study archaeology at university, may be viewed in context as one of the characteristics of professions, with the development of formalized systems of training in order to impart the knowledge and values appropriate to professional practice.⁹⁶ Kulik outlines the major changes between the 1920s and 1950s, during which the discipline of archaeology developed “the first

⁹¹ Daniel 1967; Daniel 1975; Daniel, G., 1981. *A short history of archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson.

⁹² Carr 2012; Champion, S., 1998. Women in British archaeology, visible and invisible. In Diaz-Andreu, M. and Sorensen, M.L.S., eds. *Excavating women: a history of women in European archaeology*. London, USA and Canada: Routledge, 175-197; Leach, S., 2013. A review of Tessa Verney Wheeler: women and archaeology before World War Two. *Bulletin of the history of archaeology*, 23 (2): 5, 1-2.

⁹³ Thornton, A., 2015. Social networks in the history of archaeology. Placing archaeology in its context. In Eberhardt, G. and Link, F., eds. *Historiographical approaches to past archaeological research*. Berlin: Edition Topoi, 69-94.

⁹⁴ Barker, G., 2007. Changing roles and agendas: the society of antiquaries and the professionalization of archaeology, 1950-2000. In Pearce, 383-384; Wheeler, M., 1956. *Archaeology from the earth*. Harmondsworth: Penguin; Wheeler, M., 1958. *Still digging. Adventures in archaeology*. London: Pan Books.

⁹⁵ Champion, T., 1996. Protecting the monuments: archaeological legislation from the 1882 act to PPG16. In Hunter, M., ed. *Preserving the past. The rise of heritage in modern Britain*. Stroud, Glos: Alan Sutton Publishing, 38-56; Stout, A., 2004. *Choosing a past: the politics of prehistory in pre-war Britain*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales Lampeter, 42-48. Stout attempts to quantify “state-sponsored” archaeology, and notes the lack of detailed information which makes this difficult to achieve. See also Thurley 2013, 84-122.

⁹⁶ Elliott, P., 1972. *The sociology of the professions*. London and Basingstoke, Macmillan, 43-44.

full generation of academically-trained archaeologists” and saw “the initial establishment of many of the profession’s organisations, boundaries and practices”.⁹⁷

In tandem with the slow opening up of opportunities to join the archaeological profession, the role of the amateur in British archaeological practice remained essential, and the contribution of amateur archaeologists must be acknowledged in any account of the development of the discipline.⁹⁸ Hutton describes the way in which the professionalisation of archaeology between 1940 and 1960 affected the role of the amateur, and he links this with the growth of ‘alternative’ archaeologies, noting that in order to have a ‘fringe’, it is first necessary to have a profession.⁹⁹ Taylor’s analysis of the amateur/professional dichotomy in archaeology also stresses this point.¹⁰⁰ Schadla-Hall examines the difficulties of defining ‘alternative’ or ‘pseudo’ archaeology.¹⁰¹ Debates on the extent to which pseudo-archaeologies should be tolerated because they entertain and engage the public, and discussion of “Who owns the past?” remain current.¹⁰² Certain modern-day archaeologists have argued that an acceptance of, and willingness to engage with the ‘lunatic fringes’ of archaeology, is necessary.¹⁰³ In his exploration of the process by which the discipline of prehistory developed in the interwar period, Stout demonstrates that it closely intersected with schools of thought which were viewed by contemporary archaeologists as non-orthodox, and eccentric.¹⁰⁴ Druidism, and the study of so-called ‘ley-lines’ are two such imaginings of prehistory.¹⁰⁵ Notions of “sanctioned and non-sanctioned” approaches to the

⁹⁷ Kulik 2007, 116. See also McAdam, E., 1995. Trying to make it happen. In Cooper, M.A., Firth, A., Carman, J. and Wheatley, D., eds. *Managing archaeology*. London: Routledge, 89-100.

⁹⁸ Hudson 1981, 153-154; Rahtz, P.A., ed., 1974. *Rescue archaeology*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 274-279.

⁹⁹ Hutton, R., 2013. *Pagan Britain*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 134-143.

¹⁰⁰ Taylor, B., 1995. Amateurs, professionals and the knowledge of archaeology. *The British Journal of Sociology*, volume 46, number 3, September 1995, 499-508.

¹⁰¹ Schadla-Hall, T., 1999. Editorial: Public archaeology. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 2:2, 147-158;

Schadla-Hall, T., 2004. The comforts of unreason. The importance and relevance of alternative archaeology. In Merriman, 255-271.

¹⁰² Bender, B., Hamilton, S. and Tilley, C., 2007. *Stone worlds. Narrative and reflexivity in landscape archaeology*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press; Chippindale, C., 1990. *Who owns Stonehenge?* London: Batsford; Flemming, N.C., 2006. The attraction of non-rational archaeological hypotheses. The individual and sociological factors. In Fagan, G. G., ed. *Archaeological fantasies. How pseudoarchaeology misrepresents the past and misleads the public*. London and New York: Routledge, 47-70.

¹⁰³ Darvill, T., 2002b. ‘It’s better to dig than dance’: archaeological method and theory in *Antiquity*, 1927-2002. *Antiquity* volume 76, issue 294, 1094-1101; Hutton 2013; Moshenska, G., 2017. Alternative archaeologies. In Moshenska, ed., 122-137; Rahtz 1991, 106-135; Schadla-Hall 2004.

¹⁰⁴ Stout 2004.

¹⁰⁵ See Stout 2008, 115-154 for druidism, and 173-217 for ley-lines.

past are also discussed by Merriman.¹⁰⁶ It can be argued that certain modes of ‘alternative’ archaeology are at root manifestations of national identity, and Edensor notes that

Goddess and tree worship, druidic rites and pagan sites are celebrated as epitomizing the spirit of a pre-Christian Britain, as containing alternative origins of a national spirit in contrast to ‘official’ Christian and over-rationalist constructions of national identity.¹⁰⁷

Piccini considers notions of archaeological “truth” in portrayals of archaeology in the media, and the extent to which the provision of accurate information matters.¹⁰⁸ The concept of archaeological accuracy must be considered in the context of the needs of radio, where producers mediated and framed the information presented to the public for their own particular purposes.¹⁰⁹

vii. Communicating Archaeology to the Public

For the majority of archaeologists, the education of the public is an important factor for its own sake, but in purely practical terms, professional archaeologists have always needed to communicate with the general public for two key reasons - in order to make known their findings, and to raise money in order to carry out further work.¹¹⁰ Previous to 1922 and the advent of regular radio broadcasts, the main ways to communicate archaeological findings and debates to an increasingly archaeology-aware and interested public had been via exhibitions and “lantern slide” lectures,¹¹¹ through the publication of popular books, newspapers and periodicals such as the *Illustrated London News*,¹¹² and via day excursions

¹⁰⁶ Merriman 1991, 96; Merriman, N., 2004. Introduction: diversity and dissonance in public archaeology. *In* Merriman, 5-6.

¹⁰⁷ Edensor, T., 2002. *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Oxford: Berg, 4.

¹⁰⁸ Piccini, A., 2007. Faking it: why the truth is so important for TV archaeology. *In* Clack and Brittain, 221-236.

¹⁰⁹ Jones 2011; Hendy 2013, 75.

¹¹⁰ Hudson 1981, 99-126; Rahtz 1991, 15-17; Thornton, A., 2013. “a certain faculty for extricating cash”. Collective sponsorship in late 19th century and early 20th century British archaeology. *Present Pasts*, 5 (1), 1-12.

¹¹¹ MacKenzie, J.M., 1984. *Propaganda and Empire. The manipulation of British public opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 32-33.

¹¹² Bacon 1976, 12; Daniel 1975, 311; Sorrell, J. and Sorrell, M., 2018. *Alan Sorrell. The man who created Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 112-13; Weller, T., 2008. Preserving knowledge through popular

run by archaeological societies.¹¹³ Originating around the time of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the annual London archaeology exhibitions formed a mechanism for interaction between the public and archaeologists.¹¹⁴ In due course, cinema newsreel also became a source of archaeological entertainment, as “newsreels pushed archaeology into the limelight” from at least the 1920s.¹¹⁵ The first archaeology-themed films can be traced to 1897.¹¹⁶

What evidence is there for public interest in archaeology? Whilst there is an extensive literature discussing public attitudes to archaeology in contemporary times, accounts considering this with regard to the early years of the twentieth century, are thin on the ground.¹¹⁷ Daniel’s essay on the public communication of archaeology examines the reasons for its enduring popular appeal, concluding that “the pleasure of prehistory” rests largely in its potential to produce artefacts of artistic beauty, thus enhancing our own civilisation.¹¹⁸ Certainly, there was a view that by the early 1930s, the inclusion of archaeological features sold newspapers, that people flocked to archaeology-themed exhibitions, and that “the man in the street is greatly interested in it”.¹¹⁹ Hudson’s account evoking social history remains a useful attestation for public participation in archaeology during the period covered by this research.¹²⁰

Victorian periodicals: an examination of *The Penny Magazine* and the *Illustrated London News*, 1842-1843. *Library History* 24:3, 200-207.

¹¹³ Hudson 1981, 39-48; Kulik 2007, 112-115.

¹¹⁴ Thornton, A., 2015a. Exhibition season: annual archaeological exhibitions in London, 1880s-1930s. *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, 25 (1), part 2.

¹¹⁵ Rogers, K., 2019. *Off the record: archaeology and documentary filmmaking*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 138.

¹¹⁶ Perry 2017, 6.

¹¹⁷ Some of the more informative accounts on the role of archaeology in contemporary society include: Aston, M., 2012. Publicising archaeology in Britain in the late twentieth century. In Skeates, R., McDavid, C. and Carman, J., eds. *The Oxford handbook of public archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 443-460; Fowler, P.J., 1992. *The past in contemporary society. Then, now*. London and New York: Routledge; Moshenska, G., 2009. What is public archaeology? *Present Pasts*, volume 1, 46-48; Moshenska, G., 2017. Introduction: public archaeology as practice and scholarship where archaeology meets the world. In Moshenska, ed., 1-13; Schadla-Hall, T., 2006. Public archaeology in the twenty-first century. In Layton, P., Shennan, S. and Stone, P., eds. *A future for archaeology. The past in the present*. London: UCL Press, 75-82; Stone, P.G., 1989. Interpretations and uses of the past in modern Britain and Europe. Why are people interested in the past? Do the experts know or care? A plea for further study. In Layton, R., ed. *Who needs the past? Indigenous values and archaeology*. London: Unwin Hyman, 195-206.

¹¹⁸ Daniel, G., 1988. Prehistory and the public. In Daniel, G. and Renfrew, C. *The idea of prehistory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 136-156, quotation p. 155.

¹¹⁹ Randall-Maclver, D., 1933. *Antiquity* volume 7, issue 25, March 1933, 5-20, quotation p.14.

¹²⁰ Hudson 1981 – see in particular chapters 1 and 2, 15-68.

More recently, accounts examining the interface between archaeologists and popular culture have significantly added to scholarship in this area. Thornton delineates the way in which the popular book market was an important vehicle through which archaeology could be understood by the public.¹²¹ H  l  ne Maloigne’s work on the public presentation of Mesopotamian archaeology focuses on the years between 1920 and 1939, and examines the use of newspapers, radio and books in the presentation of archaeological narratives, showing that archaeologists had developed a thorough understanding of the value of contributing to these media forms, in order to communicate with the public, and with their peers.¹²² Maloigne’s analysis confirms the central place of archaeology within popular culture during the interwar period. Focusing in particular on the public interactions of archaeologist Leonard Woolley, the account provides a valuable underpinning discussion of the socio-cultural contexts within which Woolley and his contemporaries in Mesopotamian archaeology operated in terms of the complex assumptions and attitudes regarding race, sex and gender which influenced their interpretations.¹²³

The work most closely aligns with the concerns of the present thesis through its section examining the contribution of radio to the popularisation of archaeology.¹²⁴ An overview of archaeological radio programmes in the 1920s and 30s provides fresh insights into the activities of broadcasting archaeologists, and precedes a detailed discussion of Leonard Woolley’s radio presence.¹²⁵ Maloigne draws out the inter-media relationship between publishing and radio, whereby archaeologists such as Woolley could benefit from their exposure in the press, and on radio, to enter the popular book market.¹²⁶ A further theme explored is the potential of radio for boundary setting with regard to the developing discipline of archaeology. Maloigne describes the way in which the actions of radio producers such as Hilda Matheson exercised control on the frequency and nature of broadcasts undertaken by subject experts such as Woolley.¹²⁷ It is argued that radio therefore played an important role in the professionalisation of archaeology, by providing a platform which contributed to the

¹²¹ Thornton 2018.

¹²² Maloigne 2020.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 57-87.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 113-140.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 126-131; 133-139

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 122-124.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 131-133; 136-137.

setting of disciplinary boundaries. (This theme of radio as a mode of boundary setting or 'gatekeeping' is also explored in the present discussion, in chapters one and three.) The scope of the present thesis allows further exploration of the nature of Woolley's radio work and his interactions with BBC producers, as well as the impact of an array of broadcasting archaeologists from the interwar period to the mid-1960s, as BBC producers developed their expertise in the presentation of archaeology through sound, and archaeologists became increasingly aware of the value of radio as an interface with the public.

During the interwar period, social developments which supported easier access to the countryside also helped to stimulate interest in archaeology. Developments in transport and additional leisure time brought enhanced opportunities for people to travel to the countryside, and there was a robust movement whereby the British population increasingly engaged with their landscape for reasons of health and fitness, appreciation of nature and education.¹²⁸ This period saw the formation of influential organisations such as the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (1926), the Youth Hostels Association (1930), and the Ramblers Association (1935) which facilitated enjoyment of the countryside by denizens of the towns and suburbs, so that "[m]ass mobility and tourism were already well under way by the time of the outbreak of the Second World War and were a primary factor in the democratisation of the landscape and the heritage".¹²⁹ The increasing availability of new forms of motor transport such as coaches and charabancs, and growing private car ownership, as well as moves towards additional leisure time, were influential in opening up the countryside to the working and middle-classes.¹³⁰ This new mobility brought a marked increase in visitors to certain focal points in the landscape - for example, in 1901 around 4,000 people visited Stonehenge per year, whereas in 1929 annual visitor numbers were up to 100,000.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Howkins, A., 1986. The discovery of rural England. In Colls, R. and Dodds, P., eds. *Englishness: politics and culture, 1880-1920*. London: Croom Helm, 85-111; Howkins, A., 2003. *The death of rural England. A social history of the countryside since 1900*. London and New York: Routledge, 103-106; Matless, D., 1998. Taking pleasure in England: landscape and citizenship in the 1940s. In Weight and Beach, 181-204.

¹²⁹ Rowley, T., 2006. Romanticism and recreation. In Cunliffe, B., ed. *England's landscape: the West*. London: Collins/English Heritage, 225-244.

¹³⁰ Kumar 2003, 230; Powell 2002, 176-177; Pugh, M., 2009. *We danced all night. A social history of Britain between the wars*. London: Vintage Books, 243-244; Stevenson, J., 1984. *The Pelican social history of Britain. British society 1914-1945*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 390-394 and 408; Thurley 2013, 148-150.

¹³¹ Pugh 2009, 251-252.

The railways had previously made such excursions possible, but now local historical and archaeological societies were able to visit sites and monuments rather more easily. On 26th September 1925, the archaeologist Cyril Fox led the Third Summer Meeting of the Cardiff Naturalists Society on a charabanc visit in Mid Glamorgan, South Wales, taking in Coity castle and church, the church at nearby Llangrallo (Coychurch), and Penllyn castle. The party of around a hundred members later took tea at the Duke of Wellington Hotel in Cowbridge.¹³² The author Rudyard Kipling expressed a particular enthusiasm for the possibilities brought about by car ownership, writing that “the chief end of my car [...] is the discovery of England [...] the car is a time machine on which one can slip from one century to another”.¹³³ It can be seen that there was potentially a keen audience for radio archaeology.

Between the 1920s and the 1950s, changes to the way in which British archaeology was funded had a very significant effect on the nature of archaeologists’ interaction with the public, with British taxpayers increasingly becoming the ‘patrons’ of archaeological work.¹³⁴ Mortimer Wheeler was one of the first beneficiaries of this new mode of public patronage. Moshenska and Schadla-Hall analyse his public relations work during the excavations at Maiden Castle in Dorset (1934-1937), describing Wheeler’s “pioneering efforts in public archaeology, and in particular his efforts to make the archaeological process itself visible and comprehensible to the general public”.¹³⁵

Radio provided a new medium through which archaeology experts could assert their professional identity, and carve out a space for themselves in the public sphere. The nature of this professional identity relates to the question of which versions of archaeology, and which ‘stories’ of the past, broadcasting archaeologists would choose to communicate to the British public. As noted by Holtorf:

¹³² *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists Society*, volume LVIII, 1925.

¹³³ Thorold, P., 2003. *The motoring age: the automobile and Britain 1896-1939*. London: Profile Books, 89.

¹³⁴ Kulik 2007, 118.

¹³⁵ Moshenska, G. and Schadla-Hall, T., 2011. Mortimer Wheeler’s theatre of the past. *Journal of Public Archaeology*, volume 10, issue 1, 46-55, quotation p.47.

most of professional archaeology is not in the business of education but in storytelling. Archaeologists, like others who have tales to tell about the past, are “sophisticated storytellers” and as such they are “performers on a public stage”.¹³⁶

Holtorf goes on to argue for the importance of paying due attention to the meta-narratives underlying the public communication of archaeology, as a means to understand the role of archaeology in the wider world.¹³⁷

What was different about radio, as opposed to previous ways of promulgating archaeology to the public? Wireless technology brought with it very new possibilities for mass communication. One obvious factor was the sheer number of people who could be reached at any one time.¹³⁸ Radio quickly became universally available, and therefore the potential for the citizenry of Britain to hear about archaeology was greatly increased. Previously, only particular publics were privileged with certain information, but now a newly-democratised public had been created.¹³⁹ Radio historians have emphasised its power to bring together the listening public.¹⁴⁰ Radio had the effect of developing an “imagined community”, and contributing to a kind of collective national identity, and was therefore a factor in the evolution of the modern nation state.¹⁴¹ Due to its intimate nature, “concepts that were once associated with living persons” were embodied by radio.¹⁴² Broadcast directly into domestic settings, radio became an additional way in which a feeling of community could be evoked, in a sort of “fusion of sound and citizenship”.¹⁴³ An additional quality was brought by the fact that the speaker could not see or hear the audience, so that it was at the same time a very

¹³⁶ Holtorf 2007,144, quoting Fagan 2002. Epilogue. In Little, B.J., ed. *Public benefits of archaeology*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 253-260, quotation p.254.

¹³⁷ Holtorf, C., 2010. Meta-stories of archaeology. *World Archaeology*, 42:3, 381-393.

¹³⁸ Peters, J.D., 1999. *Speaking into the air. A history of the idea of communication*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 103-105; Street, S., 2012. *The poetry of radio. The colour of sound*. London and New York: Routledge, 27.

¹³⁹ Anderson, B., 1986. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso; Hendy 2013, 22; Hilmes 1997, xiii-xviii; LeMahieu 1988; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 7-15, 277-279; Webster, W., 2005. *Englishness and empire, 1939-1965*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 5.

¹⁴⁰ Chignell, H., 2009. *Key concepts in radio studies*. London: Sage, 81-5; Hilmes 1997, 11-13; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 277-303.

¹⁴¹ Anderson 1986.

¹⁴² Hartley, J., 2000. Radiocracy: sound and citizenship. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 3 (2), 2000,153-159, quotation p.154.

¹⁴³ Ibid.,158.

public, and a very private medium.¹⁴⁴ The fact that radio of course involves the voice encourages an intimate style of presentation, through which something of the character of the speaker can be suggested.¹⁴⁵ Radio differed from printed materials in that whilst newspapers and periodicals could convey factual information very efficiently, radio presentations could evince emotion in the listener. The act of listening was more passive than the effort required to engage with written text, and therefore the radio presenter had to make an effort to gain, and to retain attention, to limit the amount of specialist information imparted, and to repeat content, as does an orator.¹⁴⁶

viii. Translating Archaeology into Sound

How could the highly visual and visceral topic of archaeology be portrayed in a sound-only medium?¹⁴⁷ The study of archaeology relies by its very nature on the observation of subtle changes in landscape morphology, the dispersal of settlements in the landscape, the visual signs of the ‘lumps and bumps’ created by human activity. During the process of excavation, the interpretation of soil colour, texture and mode of deposition are key. Recording techniques involve the drawing of plans and sections, the mapping of landscape features, and the use of photography. In all these aspects, the visual is of fundamental importance, and the materiality of things is central to the very subject of archaeology. How, therefore, can such a fundamentally visual study be translated into the aural?

Crissell puts forward the view that radio is a “blind medium”, using this as a starting-point for analysis of its strengths and weaknesses.¹⁴⁸ By contrast, Chignell argues for the significant extent to which radio references the visual, in that it relies on the attributes of imagination and memory in order for the listener to make sense of its content.¹⁴⁹ Shingler and Wieringa

¹⁴⁴ Peters 1999, 212-218; Bailey 2007, 107.

¹⁴⁵ Potter 2012, 64; Street 2012, 33.

¹⁴⁶ Yusaf 2014, 71.

¹⁴⁷ Chignell 2009, 67-71; Crissell, A., 1994. *Understanding radio*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 3-16; Hilmes M., 2013. The new materiality of radio. Sounds on screens. In Loviglio, J. and Hilmes, M., eds. *Radio's new wave. Global sound in the digital era*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 43-61; Madsen, V., 2013. “Your ears are a portal to another world”: the new radio documentary imagination and the digital domain.” In Loviglio and Hilmes 2013, 126-144; Lewis and Booth 1989; Johnstone, P., 1957. *Buried treasure*. London: Phoenix House, 40.

¹⁴⁸ Crissell 1994, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Chignell 2009, 67-71.

take issue with the restrictive view of radio as a purely audio medium, and prefer to emphasise its potential advantages, in that its “lack of visuals” can lead to a greater degree of immersion in programme content, and a more intimate listening experience.¹⁵⁰ Crook evokes the importance of memory, imagination, experience and emotion, in the process of radio listening. Though Crook’s argument is situated in the world of radio drama, the same principles apply to the evocation of the spoken word to convey archaeological information, which taps just as directly into the world of imagination.¹⁵¹ Similarly, Street emphasises the potential of radio to appeal to the creative imagination, and its power to evoke emotion in the listener.¹⁵² Yusaf, in her discussion of the history of architecture on the radio, refers to “the oxymoronic relationship between the placelessness of radiophony and the situatedness of architecture,” and demonstrates that radio was successfully used as a means of conveying the subject matter of architecture, a topic which in its dually ephemeral and visual nature, has much in common with archaeology.¹⁵³

It may even be the case that the stories, narratives and philosophies which bring archaeology alive are in many ways most successfully communicated via radio. Without the distraction of the visual, the listener’s imagination can be more easily engaged. In this connection, the problem may be considered from a contemporary perspective, with reference to the 2010 BBC Radio 4 series, *A History of the World in 100 Objects*. Describing the “lively debate” which took place amongst museum professionals and radio producers regarding the impossibility or otherwise of presenting archaeological objects on a radio programme, Neil MacGregor writes that

Our BBC colleagues were confident. They knew that to imagine a thing is to appropriate it in a very particular way, that every listener would make the object under discussion their own and in consequence make their own history.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Shingler, M. and Wieringa, C., 1998. *On air. Methods and meanings of radio*. London: Arnold, 74-81.

¹⁵¹ Crook, T., 1999. *Radio drama. Theory and practice*. London and New York: Routledge, 53-69; Wallace, J., 2004. *Digging the dirt. The archaeological imagination*. London: Duckworth.

¹⁵² Street 2012, 29-32.

¹⁵³ Yusaf 2014, xvi. and 71-75.

¹⁵⁴ MacGregor, N., 2015. *A history of the world in 100 objects*. London: Penguin/Postscript Books, xiv.

The example of this model of broadcast excellence amply demonstrates that archaeological information can successfully be translated into radio content, and that through the use of expert contributors, carefully-crafted scripts and evocative music, it is possible effectively to convey archaeology via radio.

Research Questions

The following central research questions naturally emerge from the debates presented above:

- How did archaeology-themed radio programmes fit within the cultural remit and mission of the BBC?
- In what ways did BBC radio act as a catalyst for the emergence and definition of the professional identity of archaeologists?
- How did the public intellectual role of professional archaeologists manifest itself through radio programmes?
- What was the nature of the interactions between archaeology experts and BBC producers?
- To what extent was BBC radio broadcasting influential on the development of the profession of archaeology?

Scope of the Thesis

The thesis focuses on public representations of archaeology as portrayed on BBC radio between the years 1922 and 1966. The broad timespan for the project was chosen because it allows room to reveal insights through considering radio programmes in the dynamic context of cultural and societal trends over time. The adoption of this broad-brush approach

represents a challenge in covering all the required ground, whilst allowing room to be sufficiently analytical. It is believed that the value of an analysis of developments over time outweighs these disadvantages, and that the emergent findings justify this approach. The archaeologists studied are restricted to those who had interactions with the BBC.

The project is focused primarily on Talks radio, as the Talks department was the main source of archaeological radio content for much of the period covered. As the account moves into the 1940s, certain of the broadcasts discussed fall into the category of features, and magazine programmes.¹⁵⁵ Notably, *The Archaeologist* - the longest-running archaeology-themed radio programme, which ran between 1946 and 1966 and is the focus of chapter six - began its life with a talks format, before morphing into a magazine programme. By 1966, the primary focus of archaeological broadcasting was turning to television, and this therefore forms an appropriate end point for the study.

The study does not attempt to define the number of people listening to radio archaeology. Audience figures are a poor indicator of the significance of particular programmes, with some of the most impactful presentations having had extremely restricted audiences.¹⁵⁶ Many of the programmes discussed would have had low audience numbers, but since the objective is to examine the radio presence of archaeology experts, this is not of central significance in this context. It is not practically possible to quantify definitively the number of archaeology programmes broadcast on radio between 1922 and 1966. An indicative list of archaeology programmes and their dates of broadcast was compiled as a core part of the research process, and a summary version of this list is provided in Appendix 1, with the full data represented in the form of bar charts in Appendix 2.

¹⁵⁵ The radio feature is defined as a factual radio genre, often shaped by the artistic values of a single producer, and having elements of creativity, often combining actuality, dramatization, music and the spoken word. See Chignell 2009, 22-26 and Potter 2012, glossary, x. The magazine programme is “a style of speech radio programme in which the content is divided up into short items or features” – see Chignell 2009, 30-32.

¹⁵⁶ Chignell, H., 2019. *British radio drama, 1945-63*. New York, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 7.

Research Methods

The bulk of the research material consists of original archive content from the BBC Written Archives at Caversham (hereafter BBC WAC). Sources of information include BBC internal memoranda and reports, personal correspondence between expert contributors and radio producers, production ephemera, and programme scripts. Media historians such as Chignell, Games, Hajkowski and Skoog have shown how analysis of this type of material can be marshalled in order to gain historical insights, and the work of such commentators provides a methodological basis for use of these archive materials.¹⁵⁷ (See Appendix 3 for a list of the files consulted.)

As this is a project centred on radio, the research design was, from the outset, to concentrate on archive material held in BBC WAC. It is important, however, to note that there are many other archive sources for the history of British archaeology, and initial scoping out of certain of these resources was carried out. The personal archive of Jacquetta Hawkes is held at the J.B. Priestley Library, University of Bradford, and is particularly well-curated, so that a listing of the materials held is available on the internet. This was thoroughly checked for any material relevant to the project. It was concluded that the likelihood of gaining insights into Hawkes's radio career from this source was relatively low, and that it did not merit further investigation for the purposes of this project. The extensive personal archive for Cyril Fox, held at the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru), Aberystwyth, was investigated during a scoping visit. Although it quickly became clear that there is great potential to illuminate important aspects of Fox's contribution to British archaeology through recourse to this archive, no evidence for his radio work was found. This was a relatively brief visit, and to coin a well-worn archaeological aphorism, 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence', but it was decided that, taking into account the usual time constraints, further investigation of the Cyril Fox archive would not be advantageous for the current project.

¹⁵⁷ Examples include: Chignell 2011; Games, S., 2015. *Pevsner: the BBC years. Listening to the visual arts*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing; Hajkowski 2010; Skoog, K., 2017. Neither worker nor housewife but citizen: BBC Woman's Hour 1946-1955. *Women's History Review*, 26 (6), 953-974.

Selected case studies are presented throughout the thesis. The use of case studies is an accepted technique of historical research.¹⁵⁸ The research makes extensive use of the information to be found in biographies, in relation to both media history and archaeological historiography. Hendy's work on the contribution of biography to media history, and Givens's paper on the use of biography in writing archaeological historiography, provide theoretical underpinning in this respect.¹⁵⁹

As applicable when using any archive, it is important to maintain a critical perspective with regard to the limitations of the material, which represent only a partial record, and which must be counterbalanced by the use of other sources. Issues of bias and interpretation must also be acknowledged.¹⁶⁰ Briggs's paper on writing broadcasting history outlines the limitations of documentary evidence, such as vital documents being missing or inaccessible.¹⁶¹ Cigognetti describes the factors whereby archive policy and organisation may not tally with the needs of researchers, noting that archives are often "made for internal use only and every archive has its own rules, often unintelligible to researchers".¹⁶² This cautionary article was written in relation to television archives, but is equally applicable to radio research.

The *Radio Times*, the BBC's weekly listings magazine, first issued on 28th September 1923, is the primary resource through which the existence of historically-broadcast radio programmes is evidenced. *Genome*, the BBC's online database for the *Radio Times*, is an extremely valuable research tool, though it cannot be assumed that every programme is recorded there, and it is necessary to be aware of potential gaps in the record. An important additional source of

¹⁵⁸ Corner, J., 2003. Finding data, reading patterns, telling stories: issues in the historiography of television. *Media, Culture and Society*, volume 25. London: Sage Publications, 273-280; Priest, S.H., 2010. *Doing media history. An introduction*. California: Sage.

¹⁵⁹ Givens, D.R., 1992. The role of biography in writing the history of archaeology. In Murray, T. and Evans, C., eds., 2008. *Histories of archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 177-193; Hendy, D., 2012. Biography and the emotions as a missing 'narrative' in media history. *Media History*, 18:3-4, 361-378.

¹⁶⁰ Howell, R. and Prevenier, W., 2001. *From reliable sources. An introduction to historical methods*. New York: Cornell University Press; King, M.T., 2012. Working with/in the archives. In Gunn, S. and Faire, L. *Research methods for history*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 13-29.

¹⁶¹ Briggs, A., 1980. Problems and possibilities in the writing of broadcasting history. *Media, Culture and Society* 1980, 2, 5-13.

¹⁶² Cigognetti, L., 2001. Historians and TV archives. In Roberts, G. and Taylor, P.M., eds. *The historian, television and television history*. Luton: University of Luton Press, 33-38, see p.36.

information for broadcasts is *The Listener* magazine, the BBC cultural publication, first published on 16th January 1929, and accessible in searchable format via the Cengage online database.

The research is also informed by analysis of radio scripts held in the form of microfilm in BBC WAC, and occasionally drawn from contributor files. Relatively few scripts survive from the 1920s, though from the 1930s onwards extant scripts are more plentiful. It must be noted that certain scripts listed as being available on microfilm seem not to have survived in reality. (See Appendix 4 for a list of archaeology scripts held in BBC WAC on index cards of various age and legibility, typed up for the purposes of this research.) Valuable historical sources though they are, radio scripts are limited in terms of what they can tell us about styles of speech and delivery. Very few recorded radio programmes exist until the late 1930s, and therefore in attempting to understand the nature of these programmes the researcher is often very reliant on the traces of programme production details preserved in the archives. For instances where scripts do not survive, it is often possible to refer to articles in *The Listener* magazine. Scripts were used to work up *Listener* features, and whilst these may have been finessed in some respects, the written articles are accepted to provide a fairly accurate indication of the words spoken on radio.¹⁶³

In this study of the aural medium of radio, it is important to address the issue of listening to sound archive. An initial scoping visit to the BBC sound archives held in the British Library was intended to be followed up by further visits, in order to gather an impression of the sonic qualities of some of the programmes featured in the research. The potential value of listening to surviving broadcasts in addition to studying the written evidence left in their wake, is acknowledged. World events in the form of a pandemic conspired to disrupt this element of the research, though the impact of this was mitigated by the fact that the project does not primarily focus on investigation of the sonic qualities of the broadcasts.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Chignell 2011, 13.

¹⁶⁴ The strategies used by radio researchers in order to listen to surviving programmes are discussed by Chignell (2019, 3), who also notes the future potential for improving research access to BBC sound recordings.

Thesis Structure

Chapter one provides an overview of the development of the professions, and the societal role of the public intellectual. The growth of archaeology as a profession is then discussed, as are the defining characteristics of the emerging archaeological identity. The chapter moves on to examine the new profession of BBC producer, and sets the context for interactions between professional archaeologists and BBC radio producers.

Chapter two focuses on the decade of the 1920s, and examines the presence of archaeology during the early days of the BBC. Archive evidence reveals new detail of interactions between BBC producers and professional archaeologists, when archaeology was broadcast for education and entertainment. It is shown that certain key personalities from the world of archaeology quickly recognised the potential of the new mass medium of radio, and its value for publicity and fund-raising.

Chapter three examines the growing contribution of radio archaeologists during the 1930s, setting this in the context of their developing professional presence. The interdependence of archaeology and the BBC is evidenced through the participation of professional archaeologists in empire-themed broadcasts. Archaeology was also presented via the lens of the countryside movement. Archaeologists contributed to the BBC's science broadcasting remit, allowing them opportunities to communicate with and educate the public about their work, and to underline their professional credentials via radio.

Chapter four discusses archaeology's role in radio education, propaganda and reconstruction during wartime. A case study of the Schools programme, *How Things Began*, demonstrates the continuing presence of radio archaeology in education, and examines the contribution of archaeologists in preparing programme scripts. Archaeology's role on the BBC Overseas Service is then profiled, and its place in Forces education during demobilisation is delineated. Professional archaeologists are evidenced lobbying BBC managers in aid of their agenda for the future of archaeology in the context of post-war reconstruction.

Chapter five considers the continuing radio presence of archaeologists in the post-war period, and discusses their contribution to Home Service broadcasts, and on the newly formed Third Programme. The nature of Home Service archaeology programmes, impacted by new techniques of presentation and production, is analysed. The prominent role of a group of Cambridge University academics in developing archaeology on the Third Programme is discussed. The encouragement of eminent archaeologists to broadcast on radio, and innovative plans for Third Programme sponsorship of an excavation are documented.

Chapter six comprises a case study of the BBC radio magazine programme, *The Archaeologist*, first broadcast on the Third Programme in October 1946, and forming a regular radio presence until the mid-1960s. This chapter examines the origins of the series and delineates the changing nature of its presentation and content throughout the two decades of its existence. The contribution of regional producers is highlighted, until the growing popularity of television impacted on radio archaeology.

Finally, chapter seven brings together the debates and themes explored in the thesis, delineates its original contribution to knowledge, and suggests avenues for future research.

Chapter One

A Developing Profession – The Rise of Archaeology Experts on BBC Radio

Introduction

The early to middle years of the twentieth century were a transformational era in the profession of archaeology, when a network of influential young archaeologists began to make a major impact on British archaeological research and practice. This generation were concerned to stamp professionalism on the discipline, by moving away from “romantic” conceptions of archaeology, and towards a new emphasis on archaeology as a professional discipline with standards and protocols in its practice, carried out to a proscribed, peer-reviewed standard. Acceptance within the group of archaeological professionals conferred authority on certain individuals to put themselves forward as experts in the field. One significant way in which they asserted this authority was via BBC radio broadcasts. Radio was a powerful, and far-reaching, medium which archaeologists could access in order to raise the profile of their discipline.

Having outlined the background to the formation of the professions and the advent of the public intellectual, this chapter discusses the development of the archaeology profession, the growth in provision of archaeology education within British universities, and the manner in which archaeologists received their professional training. It is relevant to examine what archaeologists of this period meant when they spoke about professionalising the discipline, as this would influence the nature of the material presented on radio. The discussion then moves on to consider the institutions, structures and networks within which archaeologists worked. An examination of the social and cultural milieu from which our subjects emerged helps to place them within their cultural context.

The nature of the interactions between professional archaeologists and BBC radio producers is then addressed. The role of the archaeologist as public intellectual is considered in relation to the cultural context of the BBC, and the profession of radio production. During the interwar

period both groups – archaeologists and producers – were emerging as professionals in their own right. What were the defining characteristics of the professional archaeological identity? What was the nature of the emerging profession of radio producer? An understanding of these influential factors sets the scene for further examination of the interfaces and interactions between archaeologists and radio professionals.

The new medium of radio led to the establishment of a mutually-beneficial relationship that advantaged both professional archaeologists, and the institution of the BBC. Archaeologists were able to access a powerful platform through which to display and develop their professional credibility, and producers could call on an array of ‘experts’ with which to build programme content, and effectively bolster the authority of the BBC. During the earliest days of talks radio, expert broadcasters often had to be persuaded to appear on air.¹⁶⁵ Archaeologists who wished to connect with the public, and to publicise their research projects, came to recognise the advantage of cultivating BBC connections, and mutually advantageous working relationships developed between archaeologists and producers.

1.1 Defining Professionalism and the Societal Role of Public Intellectuals

During the interwar period, archaeologists were busy laying down the rules for their profession. Professional conformity required agreed processes of inclusion and exclusion, and the delineation of what counted as professional archaeology.¹⁶⁶ As noted by the historian of archaeology Adam Stout,

Professionalisation was about establishing a set of common ground-rules; setting standards (and epistemological values) in a process of deciding what counted as archaeology and what did not.¹⁶⁷

Aspects of this process were enacted via BBC radio, as the important practical work carried out during the 1920s started to be communicated to the British public via radio. At the same

¹⁶⁵ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 154.

¹⁶⁶ Stout 2008, 4-5.

¹⁶⁷ Stout 2004, 47-48.

time as archaeologists were becoming broadcasters, developments within their discipline meant that it was moving towards something akin to a profession. The concept of a profession has been defined as “an occupation that controls its own work, organised by a special set of institutions sustained in part by a particular ideology of expertise and service”.¹⁶⁸ An important attribute for the professions is the notion of the possession of a body of abstract knowledge upon which is based claims for the exclusive right to control specific work activities.¹⁶⁹

The legitimation of professional authority relies on the following factors: specialised training in a field of knowledge which is based on rational, scientific grounds, a knowledge of which is usually acquired by formal education and apprenticeship; autonomy for the community of practitioners to decide and regulate their own standards of practice; and an element of commitment to the public communication of professional knowledge.¹⁷⁰ The role of technical language in professions is also pertinent, in that the use of specialist terms adds cohesion, as well as acting as a mechanism to exclude those who are not privy to the body of knowledge owned by a particular profession.¹⁷¹ A key attribute of professionalism is the presence of ‘gatekeeping’ mechanisms in order to ensure control over the specialist body of knowledge, to safeguard appropriate standards of practice, and to prevent the incursion of non-specialists.¹⁷²

A further key characteristic of professions is their assertion of the right to arbitrate on the performance of their work, in that only fellow professionals are viewed as competent to evaluate this. A particular occupation holds a monopoly over its practice, or at least attempts to do so.¹⁷³ Periods in which it is claimed that charlatanry is rife in a profession and must be

¹⁶⁸ Freidson, E., 2013. *Professionalism reborn: theory, prophecy and policy*. Hoboken: Wiley, introduction.

¹⁶⁹ Abbott, A., 1988. *The system of professions: an essay on the division of expert labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 8; Rubinstein, W.D., 1977. Wealth, elites and class structure in Britain. *Past and Present* 76, August 1977, 99-126. See in particular note 54, p.122.

¹⁷⁰ Starr, P., 1984. *The social transformation of American medicine*. New York: Basic Books, 15; Sullivan, W., 1995. *Work and integrity. The crisis and promise of professionalism in North America*. New York: HarperCollins, 2.

¹⁷¹ Hudson, K., 1978. *The jargon of the professions*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan.

¹⁷² Burns, T., 1977. *The BBC: public institution and private world*. Macmillan, London, 122-132; Jones 2010, 51-52.

¹⁷³ Johnson, T.J., 1981. *Professions and power*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 45 and 57.

prevented, tend to be just those periods when a profession is attempting to establish itself. The attributes of professionalism which have just been described all applied to the group of archaeologists under discussion.

Contemporary archaeologist and academic Timothy Darvill's definition of professionalism in archaeology emphasises the factors of shared values and standards, mutual recognition of skills and experience, and participation in education, training and professional development programmes. This definition also foregrounds the central role of communication, both between fellow professionals, and with the wider world.¹⁷⁴ As Darvill states,

a 'profession' is a vocation or calling that usually involves applying some branch of advanced learning or science for the general social good. [...] A 'professional' is someone who belongs to a recognized profession, which is usually their main paid occupation and provides their living, who has the skills and experience in carrying out the work, and who adheres to its established methods and standards".¹⁷⁵

Archaeologists appearing on radio have been described above as "public intellectuals", and it is therefore relevant also to discuss what is meant by this term, and to consider how the concept of intellectualism originated. The role of the intellectual in modern societies can be traced back to the growing division of labour and increasing complexity of organisations which accompanied the rise of capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁷⁶ Key characteristics of professionalised societies include: an overall improvement in living standards; increasing numbers employed in intellectually-demanding occupations; the growth in professional hierarchies within organs of the state and large corporations; the possibility of recruitment by merit and professionally-trained expertise; the expansion of

¹⁷⁴ Darvill, T., 2012. Archaeology as a profession. In Skeates et al., eds. *The Oxford handbook of archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 373-394. See in particular 374-381.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 375.

¹⁷⁶ Excerpt from Durkheim, E., 1964. *The division of labour in society*. New York: Free Press. In Thompson, K. and Tunstall, J. eds., 1971. *Sociological perspectives*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 94-105; Stones, R., 1998. *Key sociological thinkers*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 46-58; Eyerman, R., 1994. *Between culture and politics: intellectuals in modern society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 16; Excerpts from Weber, M., 1946. *Essays in sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. In Thompson, K. and Tunstall, J. eds., 1971, 250-264; Stones 1998, 34-45; Thompson, J.B., 1995. *The media and modernity. A social theory of the media*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 45.

higher education; the possibility of female equality; and the growth of state administration.¹⁷⁷ Economic status became an important mechanism for exercising power and control, and there was an increase in the proportion of highly-educated people.¹⁷⁸ The twentieth century expansion of university education and the continued development of professional, technical and scientific occupations led to a growth in the number of intellectuals in industrial societies. At the same time, an increasingly literate population provided a market for the cultural products produced by intellectuals.¹⁷⁹ Intellectuals can be defined as “persons who, occupationally, are involved chiefly in the production of ideas - scholars, artists, reporters, performers in the arts, scientists [...] students”.¹⁸⁰

Nicholas Garnham, in his consideration of the roles and functions of media producers, characterised the media as a “process of symbol production and circulation”, and intellectuals as “specialists in symbolic production and transmission”.¹⁸¹ Garnham argued that since our knowledge of the world is increasingly mediated through so-called experts and intellectuals, it is important to analyse how producers of knowledge are chosen and trained, and why they think and act in certain ways.¹⁸² These perspectives were influenced by the work of the Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci, who is commonly cited in discussion of the role of the intellectual in society. Gramsci argued that all human beings can be regarded as intellectuals - in other words that they constantly apply rational thought, analysis and imagination to everyday interactions with their material environment and fellow humans. Therefore, rather than focusing solely on the discrete activities carried out by intellectuals, it was in Gramsci’s view more meaningful to consider the system of social relations within which intellectuals

¹⁷⁷ Perkin, H.J., 2002. *The rise of professional society: England since 1880*. London and New York: Routledge, xi-xii.

¹⁷⁸ Elliott 1972; Johnson 1981; Turner, B.S. and Samson, C., 1995. *Medical power and social knowledge*, 2nd edition. London; Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 124-125; Larson, M.S., 1977. *The rise of professionalism: a sociological analysis*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 8; Said, E., 1996. *Representations of the intellectual*. New York: Vintage Books.

¹⁷⁹ Bottomore 1993, *Elites and society*, 2nd edition. London and New York: Routledge, 52-57; Brym, R.J., 1980. *Intellectuals and politics*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 11; LeMahieu 1988; Sowell, T., 2011. *Intellectuals and society*. New York, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Basic Books, 1-36; Thompson 1995, 59-60.

¹⁸⁰ Brym 1980, 12.

¹⁸¹ Garnham, N., 2000. *Emancipation, the media and modernity. Arguments about the media and social theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 82-83.

¹⁸² Garnham 2000, 82-108; Gramsci, A., 1971. The Intellectuals. (First published in 1947). In Hoare, Q. and Nowell Smith, G., eds. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 5-23.

operate.¹⁸³ The increasing demand for intellectual labour during the first half of the twentieth century led to concerns regarding the ways in which intellectuals should act in the context of mass media.¹⁸⁴

No longer constrained by the interests of ecclesiastical or courtly patrons, modern intellectuals are required to present their skills in the marketplace. This need for public meeting and discussion is one of the social conditions necessary for the crystallisation of an intellectual identity, and intellectuals have manifested their public identity within settings such as political parties, newspapers, salons and coffee houses, clubs and professional societies.¹⁸⁵ The responsibilities of the modern public intellectual tend to be influenced and constrained by factors such as university affiliations, political allegiances, and lobby groups.¹⁸⁶ Archaeologists took their place in the post-First World War social movement towards professionalisation, which affected British society across a range of areas. During the first half of the twentieth century debates on the societal role of intellectuals were often framed in terms of high, low or middlebrow, the core issue being the relationship of intellectuals to the literate public.¹⁸⁷

The institution of the BBC provided one of the social settings needed for the formation of an intellectual identity, in that it provided a suitable platform from which intellectuals could communicate their ideas to the public. If radio was used as one means of developing the professional archaeological identity, what exactly is meant by the latter? As discussed previously, the concept refers to the different ways in which archaeological practitioners put forward or manifested their personas, in order to assert their role in the world.¹⁸⁸ This definition could apply either to portrayal of the archaeologist as an individual, or as identified within the group of professional practitioners of archaeology as a whole. According to Grahame Lock, public intellectuals have typically viewed their task as “requiring them to be,

¹⁸³ Garnham 2000, 86; Gramsci 1971, 5-23.

¹⁸⁴ Eyerman 1994, 189-198.

¹⁸⁵ Brym 1980, 11-12.

¹⁸⁶ Shils, E., 1990. Intellectuals and responsibility. In Maclean, I., Montefiore, A. and Winch, P. *The political responsibility of intellectuals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 257-306.

¹⁸⁷ Cuddy-Keane, M., 2003. *Virginia Woolf, the intellectual, and the public sphere*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2-21.

¹⁸⁸ Ascherson 2004, 145-158; Holtorf 2007; Russell 2002, 40-51.

so to speak, in two places at the same time: with and inside the world of the masses, and yet outside of it too, in the world of ideas".¹⁸⁹ Public intellectuals tend to engage in the fields of academia, the public and politics, and to have a concern with the active dissemination of their knowledge.¹⁹⁰ There is also a 'cultural sense' for the role of public intellectual, in which those who possess cultural authority use their acknowledged expert position or achievement in order to address a broader, and non-specialist public. Under this definition, the public intellectual acquires a certain standing in society which provides the permission, and the opportunities, to address a wider public than their immediate expertise would ordinarily allow.¹⁹¹ It can be seen that the roles of expert archaeologists who engaged with radio would fall into this category of public intellectual. In his analysis of the way in which British academics influenced public education through their contribution to BBC Talks radio, the educationalist David Smith noted that

[w]orking through the medium of the BBC some university academics became, in effect, creative agents in the interpretation and delivery of the Corporation's mission to provide for the educational and cultural needs of the nation.¹⁹²

Smith went on to describe the central role played by university academics in the delivery of the BBC's post-war imperative to provide an accessible diet of information on topics ranging between the arts, science, literature, education, politics and religion, and to emphasise the key contribution made by academics to the country's intellectual life and to the government's reconstruction agenda in the post-war period.¹⁹³ Archaeological intellectuals were firmly in the midst of this movement, in that many of them moved beyond the boundaries of their university roles by communicating archaeological knowledge and theories via the medium of radio.

¹⁸⁹ Lock, G., 1990. The intellectual and the imitation of the masses. In Maclean, I., Montefiore, A. and Winch, P. *The political responsibility of intellectuals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 143-160, quotation p.153. See also Yusaf 2014, for the comparative example of the BBC providing a new platform for professional architects, and architects using radio to create a need for their professional services.

¹⁹⁰ Schweiger, M., 2008. Conceptualising a public intellectual: the case of Otto Bauer. In Eliaeson, S. and Kalleberg, R., eds. *Academics as public intellectuals*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar, 111-130, see p. 111.

¹⁹¹ Collini, S, 2006. *Absent minds. Intellectuals in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 47.

¹⁹² Smith, D.N., 2013. Academics, the 'cultural third mission' and the BBC: forgotten histories of knowledge creation, transformation and impact. *Studies in Higher Education* 38:5, 663-677, quotation p.665.

¹⁹³ Smith 2013, 667.

Mid-twentieth century archaeologists certainly had a lot of material to impart. This was a very exciting time to be working in archaeology, and the new generation of archaeologists regarded themselves as well-equipped to resolve the necessary detail, in terms of the classification and dating of monuments, pottery typologies, and construction of an archaeological narrative that would explain the chronology of the British landscape once and for all. The cultural historian Kitty Hauser refers to the prevailing notion during this era that if only enough pieces of individual evidence were available, the whole picture of British archaeology could be resolved. This is of course very far from the way in which archaeological information is viewed in contemporary times. As Hauser notes,

[t]he idea of history as a massive jigsaw puzzle could hardly sound more misguided to modern archaeologists and historians. Few believe in the big picture any more, let alone in our ability to piece it together. The most we can do is try to make sense of fragmentary evidence, never forgetting that the story we tell about it is always contingent, is always going to be affected by our particular standpoint, is only one of many possible stories.¹⁹⁴

Archaeological interpretations inevitably changed very significantly in later years, but the research work of this period nevertheless served to push the subject forward in important ways. Stout draws attention to the happy accident of the small group working in the discipline at this time, coinciding to take over the British archaeological establishment:

Disciplinary authority was established not through any mysterious process of scientific inevitability, but through the energy, determination and shrewdness of committed individuals with a common sense of purpose. Their success was a product not only of systematic institutional 'infiltration', but also the same sweet, if vulgar, oxygen of publicity that fanned the aspirations of their 'romantic' opponents.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Hauser 2008, 45. Hauser was here referring specifically to Crawford's 1921 publication, *Man and His Past*.

¹⁹⁵ Stout 2004, 287.

At exactly the same time as these developments were taking place in archaeology, BBC producers were in search of experts to appear on radio. During its early years the new organisation needed to develop its 'cultural capital'. The latter concept was developed in the writings of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Cultural capital refers to the phenomenon of aesthetic distinctions in the construction of social hierarchies, especially in relation to the "habitus" or domestic sphere. Academics studying media have found the concept of cultural capital helpful to invoke in relation to forms such as radio and television, as it provides a framework within which to analyse these relatively new media forms.¹⁹⁶ Radio needed to establish its intellectual and cultural credentials, and it was advantageous for the BBC to be associated with professional experts and cultural commentators, in that they brought a certain kudos to the organisation, and cemented its role at the heart of the nation.¹⁹⁷ The accessibility of radio, and the fact that it was able to reach increasing numbers of listeners, meant that here was a new opportunity for archaeological broadcasters to engage with the wider British public, and for their messages to be conveyed to a mass audience. Before looking more closely at the archaeological presence on radio, the following sections will lay the groundwork by exploring the cultural context within which archaeology professionals operated.

1.2 Professionalising Archaeology: Interwar British Archaeologists in their Cultural Context

The new emphasis on the use of scientific methods in archaeology mirrored the contemporary interest in science which was manifested in wider society, with a surge of interest in popular science throughout the decade of the 1930s.¹⁹⁸ What is regarded as 'scientific' tends to be defined by the powerful in society, and therefore there is a degree of subjectivity encased in the notion of scientific respectability. As noted by Stout, "scientific archaeology was palpably dynamic and sure of itself. In a time of social crisis and uncertainty, these were very appealing qualities".¹⁹⁹ As we have seen, the prominent British field

¹⁹⁶ Bourdieu's most notable publication in this respect was *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, translated into English in 1984. See Seiter, E., 1999. *Television and new media audiences*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 24-28.

¹⁹⁷ Chignell 2011, 36.

¹⁹⁸ Stout 2008, 231.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 232.

archaeologists of this time demonstrated a new determination to separate themselves from the world of the amateur, and the practices of antiquarians and those with ‘fringe’ interests which did not fall under the umbrella of what was increasingly being delineated as mainstream archaeological practice.²⁰⁰ It has been argued that for all the insistence of this group of archaeologists on their new approaches, the application of science to archaeology had in reality largely been developed by the early years of the twentieth century.²⁰¹ Rather, the key contribution of the reformers was to establish a system of formal controls so that henceforth archaeology would be carried out by a restricted cadre of trained individuals who worked according to professional standards.²⁰²

What, then, did interwar archaeologists mean when they referred to *scientific archaeology*? The scientific approach was typified by a concern to formulate professional standards and to develop new working practices and protocols.²⁰³ There was “a revolution in archaeological technique”²⁰⁴, and archaeologists would henceforth carry out their activities in ways which were based on fieldwork, excavation using stratigraphic principles, and the observation of facts.²⁰⁵ The antiquarian practice of collecting for its own sake was firmly rejected.²⁰⁶ There were now clear criteria which must be applied before practitioners could claim authority, comprising specialist training prior to excavation, full recording and publication of sites dug, a central role for museums, and the application of techniques taken from developed sciences, such as geology, climatology and palaeobotany.²⁰⁷

This was also the period during which theory was increasingly applied to the study of the past, and the idea of archaeological cultures began to be discussed in relation to British, and European, archaeology. Culture-historical approaches, which viewed assemblages of artefacts as correlating with human cultures, would dominate the archaeological discourse

²⁰⁰ Matless, D., 2016, *Landscape and Englishness*. London: Reaktion Books, 119. Matless discusses O.G.S. Crawford’s dismissal of the popular, but baseless, theory of ley lines, as promulgated in Alfred Watkins’s publications such as *Early British Trackways* and *The Old Straight Track* (Hereford, 1922).

²⁰¹ Fagan 2003, 19; Trigger 2006, 565.

²⁰² Stout 2004, 28.

²⁰³ Smith 2009, 1-7; Fagan 2003, 19-22.

²⁰⁴ Daniel, G. and Renfrew, C., 1988. *The idea of prehistory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 67.

²⁰⁵ Crawford, O.G.S., 1927. Editorial notes. *Antiquity* volume 1, issue 1, March 1927, 1-4.

²⁰⁶ Crawford, O.G.S., 1932. The dialectical process in the history of science. *Sociological Review* 24, 165-173.

²⁰⁷ Randall-Maclver 1933, 5-20.

for the first half of the twentieth century.²⁰⁸ In many ways this represented the imposition of features of the modern nation-state on past societies.²⁰⁹ For all the claims of the radicalising new group of archaeologists to be new brooms sweeping out the dusty old practices of their predecessors, their theory reflected the humanist and scientific grand narratives developed in the nineteenth century.²¹⁰ Archaeological scholarship was based firmly within the values of enlightenment science, in which the world was viewed as a rational and understandable entity, and the over-arching theory relied on “progressive social evolution”.²¹¹ It has been argued that the viewpoint of interwar archaeologists rested upon “a series of very simplistic grand narratives”, within which there was scant awareness that knowledge may be socially-constructed.²¹² This is not to denigrate the progress made in British archaeology during this period, and the work carried out made an important contribution to the study of the past, a contribution which continues to have a major influence on the discipline down to the present day.

The nature of the discipline of archaeology as either a science, or an art, has long been debated.²¹³ A key characteristic of the scientific method is that its findings can be verified through experimentation and testing.²¹⁴ The scientific process is concerned with the attainment of absolute, objective truths, which can be tested and replicated.²¹⁵ The concept of accurate measurement is therefore essential to the practice of science.²¹⁶ The application of scientific methods to archaeology first became possible as a result of the development of ‘experimental philosophy’ during the Renaissance, when observation and experiment began to be applied as the basis for inductive reasoning.²¹⁷ However, the use of scientific methods requires the available data to be of sufficient quality and abundance, a situation which is not

²⁰⁸ Trigger 2006, 242. Culture-historical approaches were most notably developed by archaeological theorist Gordon Childe in his seminal publications, the first of which - *The Dawn of European Civilization* - was published in 1925.

²⁰⁹ Thomas 2004, 111-116; Trigger 2006, 241-248.

²¹⁰ Stout 2008, 19.

²¹¹ Stout 2004, 130.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 90-92.

²¹³ Dark 1995, 21-24.

²¹⁴ Coudart, A., 2006. Is archaeology a science, an art or a collection of individual experiments...? *Archaeological Dialogues* 13 (2). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 132-138. [Online.] <https://www.cambridge.org/core>.

²¹⁵ Gribbin, J., 2002. *Science - a history, 1543-2001*. London: Allen Lane, 614.

²¹⁶ Parfitt, A., Price, D. and Weeks, M., 2005. *A measure of everything*. Buffalo, New York: Firefly Books, 6-13.

²¹⁷ Thomas 2004, 10-14.

consistently the case when dealing with archaeological information. In archaeological fieldwork each piece of data is gathered in unique circumstances, meaning that observations can rarely be replicated.²¹⁸

In his discussion of the role of theory in archaeology, Dark draws attention to the close linkages between archaeology and other disciplines, and posits the idea that because archaeology draws on many diverse areas of knowledge, this was influential in the search for the archaeological disciplinary identity.²¹⁹ Archaeology was a very new academic subject compared with disciplines such as history or philosophy, and the connection to other areas of scientific endeavour may have served to lend the topic of archaeology a certain academic respectability.²²⁰ Liden and Erickson describe the application of science to archaeology from the nineteenth century onwards.²²¹ In subsequent years archaeologists increasingly sought to apply scientific techniques to their research. In announcing themselves as practitioners of science, archaeologists such as O.G.S. Crawford and his contemporaries were in some ways seeking the status for archaeology, and by extension for themselves, that could come by association with the 'hard' sciences. From the 1920s onwards, the important theoretical contributions made in the realm of British archaeology did much to confirm the discipline as being worthy of academic respect.²²²

For Crawford's generation, to be perceived as people of science meant to differentiate themselves from the antiquarian and the amateur. So exactly what did Crawford and his compatriots regard as 'scientific' about their methods? One example of the application of science was the culture-historical approach. Developed in large part by Gordon Childe, this came to dominate archaeology in the first half of the twentieth century, and was based on the close study of material evidence. The approach was rooted in the study of

²¹⁸ Coudart 2006, 137- 138; Darvill, T., 2002. *The concise Oxford dictionary of archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Darvill's entry for "scientific method" states that "Grossly simplified, this means making an observation, developing an idea to explain the observation, turning the idea into a theoretical proposition or hypothesis, and then testing the theory against further observations made in a way that is replicable. [...] For many archaeologists any use of the scientific method as an objective route to knowledge about the past is extremely implausible".

²¹⁹ Dark 1995, 15.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

²²¹ Liden, K. and Eriksson, G., 2013. Archaeology vs. archaeological science. Do we have a case? *Current Swedish Archaeology*, volume 21, January 2013, 11-20. See in particular pp. 12-13.

²²² Dark 1995, 6-7.

archaeological data, in order to interpret this information via the application of ‘common sense’, and to construct hypotheses about past human activity. Dependent on a descriptive - otherwise known as an “empirical” - approach, this method tended to describe, rather than attempt to explain, the reasons for cultural change.²²³ It was believed that the totality of history could eventually be revealed through the appliance of scientific methods, a viewpoint which in hindsight often failed to acknowledge the predominant Western upper-middle class lens through which the world was viewed in many accounts.²²⁴ Arguably the major contribution in the 1920s and 30s in terms of scientific method was the increasing emphasis on a sound methodology for archaeological excavation, whereby all features and finds were rigorously recorded, producing a record which could be referred to by future researchers.²²⁵

By the 1960s, archaeological research began to be dominated by the concept of “new archaeology”, also termed “processual archaeology”. One of the latter’s main methodological contributions was an increased emphasis on scientific rigour in the process of excavation, such as the standard use of an explicit research design.²²⁶ The “hypothetico-deductive” (hard reasoning) approaches predominant in processual archaeology meant that a hypothesis was formed, and then data sought in order to test this hypothesis. This would supposedly lead to the formation of a set of universal laws and principles through which human activity could be understood.²²⁷ However, such an approach failed to take sufficient account of the fact that human behaviour is influenced by many locally different cultural forms, themselves full of adaptations and contradictions, which resist simplistic explanation.²²⁸

Notwithstanding the major complexities of interpreting archaeological data, scientific methods have continued to make an extremely significant contribution to archaeology, helping to move the discipline forward. For example, techniques of metallurgical science

²²³ Ibid., 33.

²²⁴ Hauser 2008, 46-49.

²²⁵ Renfrew and Bahn 2012, 33-34.

²²⁶ Gamble, C., 2001. *Archaeology. The basics*. London: Routledge, 46-48.

²²⁷ Clarke 1973; Dark 1995, 9-10 and 20-22.

²²⁸ Coudart 2006, 138; Gamble 2001, 67.

contribute key information on the production and use of metal tools and other artefacts,²²⁹ geophysics and remote sensing aid in the discovery of archaeological sites and provide data on the potential nature of features,²³⁰ and developments in anthropological science have played an important role in illuminating issues such as the role of conflict in prehistoric societies.²³¹ Sorensen refers to a so-called “Scientific Turn” in archaeology, outlining concerns that an increasing emphasis on quantitative methods challenges archaeology’s place within the humanities.²³² In Sorensen’s view there is often an assumption that scientific data “speaks for itself”, whereas without careful interpretation within the framework of cultural context, even a large data-set fails to add anything to our knowledge of the past. Sorensen argues that the solution is for archaeologists to continue to develop improved methodologies which question the meaning of the data.²³³ Andrews and Doonan, in their discussion of the role of archaeometry (i.e. the application of sciences such as physics, chemistry and biology to archaeology) note that “[a]rchaeology in Britain has traditionally been placed as an historical humanity, removed from the faculties of pure and applied sciences”.²³⁴ The modern practice of archaeology draws on a diversity of scientific disciplines, disregarding traditional disciplinary boundaries in order to maximise the possibility of understanding the past.²³⁵ Andrews and Doonan refer to the occasionally troubled working relationship between practitioners who have been trained in the humanities, and those with a scientific background, arguing that the traditional placement of archaeology as a historical humanity has tended to place barriers between the two groups, often leading to a lack of integration in the discipline.²³⁶

The true nature of the pursuit of archaeology remains a lively source of discussion. For example, Dark examines the image of archaeologists as technicians, artists, and producers

²²⁹ Andrews, K. and Doonan, R., 2003. *Test tubes and trowels. Using science in archaeology*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 35-75.

²³⁰ Clark, A., 2003. *Seeing beneath the soil: prospecting methods in archaeology*. London: Routledge.

²³¹ Smith, M., 2017. *Mortal wounds: the human skeleton as evidence for conflict in the past*. Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military.

²³² Sorensen, T.F., 2017. The two cultures and a world apart: archaeology and science at a new crossroads. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 2017, volume 50, number 2, 101-115.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 112.

²³⁴ Andrews and Doonan 2003, 22.

²³⁵ Shanks, M., 2012. *The Archaeological Imagination*. Left Coast Press: Walnut Creek, California, 12-16.

²³⁶ Andrews and Doonan 2003, 22-23.

of literature, and even raises the notion of archaeology as a sport.²³⁷ Shanks and McGuire argue for the identity of archaeology as a craft, stating that “The crafting of archaeological knowledge, like any scientific enterprise, requires great skill and creativity”. In their view, “archaeologists craft facts out of a chaotic welter of conflicting and confused observations” so that “the discipline of archaeology [...] cannot be reduced to a set of abstract rules and procedures that may then be applied to the “real” world of archaeological data [...], and the pieces of the puzzle do not come in fixed shapes that only allow a single solution”.²³⁸ This view is reiterated by many contemporary archaeologists, who acknowledge the impossibility of producing an objective archaeological record, due to the fact that data interpretation is inevitably skewed by the socio-cultural background of those carrying out the work.²³⁹ As noted by Thomas, “[t]he production of knowledge about the past on an archaeological site is a collective interpretive labour, which involves the ‘working’ of a set of social relationships between people and things”.²⁴⁰ Archaeological interpretation continues to rely on the attempt to imagine the intentions of people in the past, and how these led to actions which left physical traces of their presence.²⁴¹ This ‘search for intention’ remains a distinctly non-scientific aspect of the discipline, and means that archaeology inevitably remains in great part a subjective pursuit.

It is now necessary to consider what constituted an appropriate training in order to practise as a professional archaeologist. The existence of formal programmes of training was key to the development of a robust professional identity.²⁴² At the start of the 1920s, British universities lacked any system of training to assure competence in excavation and recording techniques. It was even considered somewhat eccentric for any academic to pursue archaeology, as many of the best classical scholars and historians traditionally preferred to work on documents.²⁴³ Archaeology still for the most part lacked a formal system of

²³⁷ Dark 1995, 24-26.

²³⁸ Shanks, M. and McGuire, R.H., 1996. The craft of archaeology. *American Antiquity*, volume 61, number 1, January 1996. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 75-88, quotations pages 78-9.

²³⁹ Dark 1995, 25; Thomas 2004, 72-77.

²⁴⁰ Thomas 2004, 76.

²⁴¹ Hodder, I. and Hutson, S., 2003. *Reading the past: current approaches to interpretation in archaeology*, 3rd edition. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-19.

²⁴² Elliott 1972, 43-44.

²⁴³ Hudson 1981, 129-30.

professional accreditation, which was a cause of concern amongst some practitioners.²⁴⁴ The development of degree courses in archaeology was an important factor, as without proper academic recognition, it remained extremely difficult for anyone to become a professional. In 1930, Stanley Casson, Reader in Classical Archaeology in Oxford University, noted that only recently had universities taken up the teaching of archaeology, commenting that “[t]he belief is still prevalent in some learned circles that archaeology has to do only with “pots and pans...”²⁴⁵ The number of archaeologists occupying professional posts remained vanishingly small, and there were very few opportunities to gain an education in archaeology.²⁴⁶ Hudson notes that

It is very difficult to arrive at a reliable estimate of how many ‘students’ of archaeology there were at any given time during the 1920s and 1930s. [...] In 1930 there may possibly have been fifty young men and women who fell within this category and in 1939, on the outbreak of war, possibly a hundred.²⁴⁷

Stout confirms the difficulty of attaining precise information on university archaeology teaching during the 1920s and 30s, to the extent that archaeology formed “an unmeasurable component of an unknowable number of courses”.²⁴⁸ What is known for certain is that the interwar period saw a growing demand for university courses teaching the new techniques of science-based archaeology, and significant developments in the teaching of prehistory.²⁴⁹ The formal teaching of archaeology was dominated by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where the syllabus was still restrictive in terms of archaeology content, with a marked emphasis on anthropology as applied to classical forms of archaeology.²⁵⁰ Cambridge University was the first to teach archaeology at undergraduate level, introducing its prehistoric archaeology course in 1927.²⁵¹ Oxford had offered a diploma in classical

²⁴⁴ Stout 2008, 29.

²⁴⁵ Casson 1930, 26.

²⁴⁶ Carr 2012, 147; Levine, P., 1986. *The amateur and the professional: antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 31; Trigger 1980, 60.

²⁴⁷ Hudson 1981, 130.

²⁴⁸ Stout 2004, 43.

²⁴⁹ The academic development of early mediaeval archaeology would have to await its moment until the 1950s -see Gerrard, C., 2003. *Medieval archaeology. Understanding traditions and contemporary approaches*. London: Routledge; Smith 2009, interview with John Hurst, 149-153.

²⁵⁰ Daniel 1975, 31 and 328; Fagan 2001, 13-16; Stout 2004, 40.

²⁵¹ Clark 1989, 30-58; Smith 2009; Stout 2008, 31-35.

archaeology since 1907, but only offered archaeology as a postgraduate option.²⁵² Neither Oxford or Cambridge provided an opportunity to receive training in the techniques of archaeological excavation as an integral part of their courses. Even more restrictively, although women were first admitted to study at Oxford and Cambridge during the nineteenth century, degrees were not awarded to Oxford's female students until 1920, and it was 1948 before Cambridge University allowed women to graduate.²⁵³

A few other universities offered archaeology degrees. The University of Aberdeen had established a Professorship in History and Archaeology in 1903. Liverpool University had been teaching archaeology since 1904, with an emphasis on Egyptology.²⁵⁴ Edinburgh University had founded the Abercromby chair in Prehistoric Archaeology in 1916, and this became a significant centre for the development of prehistory. Even so, few professional archaeologists of this era studied archaeology at university, and many of the key individuals had often come to the subject via degree courses which were peripheral to archaeology. For example, Mortimer Wheeler graduated in Classical Studies at the University of London, and was awarded a studentship in archaeology partly as a result of his early contacts with practical archaeologists.²⁵⁵ O.G.S. Crawford initially read Classics (at that time termed "Greats") at Oxford University, but changed to a Geography diploma when he realised that this would more suitably support his aspirations towards a career in prehistoric archaeology.²⁵⁶

By the 1930s, archaeology had finally begun to be regarded as "a respectable academic subject".²⁵⁷ Access to an archaeological education long remained restricted to those from wealthy, or at least upper middle-class backgrounds.²⁵⁸ The few lectureships in archaeology that were available generated a relatively low salary, and well into the 1950s there remained an expectation that many entrants into academia would be able to rely on a private income

²⁵² Thornton 2018, 21-27.

²⁵³ Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973. *A social history of education in England*. London: Methuen, 403-404; Thornton 2018, 214.

²⁵⁴ Stout 2008, 29; Thornton 2018, 27.

²⁵⁵ Hawkes 1982, 40-50.

²⁵⁶ Bowden, M., 2001. Mapping the past: O.G.S. Crawford and the development of landscape studies. *Landscapes*, 2:2, 29-45, see p. 30; Crawford 1955, 33-35; Freeman, P., 2007. *The best training-ground for archaeologists: Francis Haverfield and the invention of Romano-British archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 391; Higgins, C., 2014. *Under another sky. Journeys in Roman Britain*. London: Vintage, 75-92.

²⁵⁷ Hawkes 1982, 263; Thornton 2018, 212.

²⁵⁸ Perkin 2002, 249.

to supplement their wages. This is illustrated in an episode regarding a vacant lectureship during the tenure of Grahame Clark as Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge University. Clark suggested that one of his former students, who was not keen to apply for the lectureship as he already held a better-paid appointment in London, could rely on his private income, and it is recounted that “the young man replied coldly, ‘My private income is nil’.”²⁵⁹ The relatively low pay of university lecturers may also partly explain the impetus behind the broadcasting activities of some archaeologists, who could supplement their wages by providing radio talks.

As the university sector continued to expand, there were increasing opportunities for students to gain excavation training and experience, and 1934 saw the establishment of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. Founded by Tessa Verney Wheeler and Mortimer Wheeler, the Institute aimed to train a new generation of archaeologists in scientific excavation techniques.²⁶⁰ It has been estimated that 80% of all the archaeologists of the interwar period were trained by Wheeler.²⁶¹ The importance of Tessa Verney Wheeler’s contribution in training up-and-coming archaeologists has also been emphasised.²⁶²

Archaeologists had previously learnt their trade from competent excavators of the preceding generation, such as Flinders Petrie and General Pitt-Rivers.²⁶³ Mortimer Wheeler first learnt excavation techniques at the 1913 Wroxeter excavation season whilst he was a student.²⁶⁴ Jacquetta Hawkes, who studied for a degree in Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University from 1929, gained her first excavation experience by participating in the Camulodunum excavation at Colchester during her time as an undergraduate.²⁶⁵ Cyril Fox was largely self-taught.²⁶⁶ Others were trained by amateur archaeologists. Many members of this generation, such as Stuart Piggott, Grahame Clark and Charles Phillips, learnt their basic

²⁵⁹ Daniel 1986, 212.

²⁶⁰ Carr 2012, 146-149; Evans, J., 1956. *A history of the Society of Antiquaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 418-19; Green 1981, 106; Stout 2008, 29-31; Wilson, D.M., 2002. *The British Museum. A history*. London: The British Museum Press, 246.

²⁶¹ Hudson 1981, 130.

²⁶² Carr 2012, 149-155 and 219-222.

²⁶³ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [Online]. Garstang, John. Article by Gurney, O.R., revised by P.W.M. Freeman; Thornton 2018, 27.

²⁶⁴ Hawkes 1982, 40-50.

²⁶⁵ Finn, C., 2016. *A Life Online: Jacquetta Hawkes, archaeopoet (1910-1996)*.

<http://humanitieslab.stanford.edu/ChristineFinn/Home>, 28-33.

²⁶⁶ Scott-Fox 2002, 27-45.

excavation skills under Dr E.C. Curwen, a medical doctor who co-ordinated excavation work on the hillfort known as The Trundle, in the Sussex chalk downs, applying methods perfected by Pitt-Rivers. The latter project is illustrative of the continuing influence of amateur excavators, many of whom demonstrated a high level of technical excellence.²⁶⁷

Even up to the Second World War there were very few paid posts for archaeologists. It has been said of Wheeler and Fox, who would become so important in the discipline, that they were “looking for a professional job where the profession had yet to be created”.²⁶⁸ Those jobs that did exist tended to involve museum curation rather than excavation and survey, and even these consisted of only a handful of posts, the majority of which were part-time.²⁶⁹ Both men proceeded to build their careers through taking roles as museum curators, and carrying out fieldwork in their vacations.²⁷⁰ The influence of the ‘old boys’ network’ was still dominant, whereby personal recommendation exercised considerable influence in the few archaeological appointments that existed. In this respect, the archaeological establishment was commensurate with the BBC, which was “awash with men who had found their way to its doors through ‘influence’”.²⁷¹

The continuing expansion of the museum sector provided some professional development opportunities for female archaeologists.²⁷² Even so, the archaeological establishment was still largely staffed by men. The key disciplinary institution remained the Society of Antiquaries (first established in 1717), entry to which was regarded as an important badge of professional credibility.²⁷³ It was not until 1920 that members voted to admit the first female members, and even then, this was primarily through the pressure of the 1919 Sex Disqualification

²⁶⁷ Clark 1989, 50; Daniel, G. and Chippindale, C., eds., 1989. *The Pastmasters: eleven modern pioneers of archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson, 22-23; Phillips, C.W., 1987. *My life in archaeology*. Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 30-32; Smith 2009, 45. Stuart Piggott notes the considerable contribution of field-working General Medical Practitioners to the development of archaeology in the early decades of the twentieth century – see Piggott, S., 1986. Review of Levine 1986. *Antiquity volume* 60, issue 230, November 1986, 236-237.

²⁶⁸ Scott-Fox 2002, 32.

²⁶⁹ Stout 2004, 42-43; Stout 2008, 17.

²⁷⁰ Scott-Fox 2002, 55-56; Hawkes 1982, 76-102; Wheeler 1958a., 56-65.

²⁷¹ Murphy 2016, 253.

²⁷² Thornton 2018, 29; Sheppard, K., 2014. Margaret Alice Murray and archaeological training in the classroom: preparing Petrie’s pups. *In* Carruthers 2015, 113-125.

²⁷³ Carr 2012, 126-129; Darvill 2010, 4; Pearce 2007.

Removal Act. For most of its history the Antiquaries was run on lines which had much in common with the “gentlemen’s” clubs.²⁷⁴ The fact that so few women archaeologists were admitted acted as a serious bar to their advancement.²⁷⁵ When in 1943 the excavation report for the hillfort site of Maiden Castle was published by the Society of Antiquaries, the preface indicated that Kathleen Kenyon was the only woman on the research committee, out of twenty-two men.²⁷⁶ It is notable that key female archaeologists such as Kathleen Kenyon, Jacquetta Hawkes and Dorothy Garrod all had fathers who held very eminent roles in academic specialities, and were therefore able to fund educational opportunities and to arrange for professional doors to be opened, in a manner which was not available to many other women who must have aspired to work in archaeology at this time. This is certainly not to denigrate the achievements of these knowledgeable and skilled archaeological women, but they would no doubt have been joined at the top of their profession by many more female colleagues, had the opportunities existed.²⁷⁷

The discussion will now move on to consider the way in which a relatively small group of reforming archaeologists exercised their influence upon the individuals previously dominating British archaeology, and therefore began to claim authority within the discipline. Through working within existing influential structures such as the Society of Antiquaries, and the established Cambridge University hierarchy, the young generation of British archaeologists changed the established system from within, “infiltrating” existing institutions in order to move the discipline forward on a professional footing.²⁷⁸ As Wheeler remarked, “[t]he first task in 1926 was clear enough: to prepare the ground by infiltration [...] it is difficult to visualize the primitive state of archaeological technique and teaching in the early and mid ‘twenties’”.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ Evans 1956, 389; Pearce 2007.

²⁷⁵ Carr 2012, 126-129.

²⁷⁶ Wheeler, R.E.M., 1943. Maiden Castle, Dorset. *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, no. xii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Preface.

²⁷⁷ For Kenyon’s background see Davis, M., 2014. Kathleen Kenyon, 1906-78. Excavating Jericho. *In* Fagan 2014, 220-3 and Fagan 2003a, 140-141; for Hawkes, see Finn 2016, 13-24; for Garrod, see Smith 2009, 70-71.

²⁷⁸ Stout 2008, 25 and 47-48.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 24-29; Wheeler 1958a., 75.

Despite its importance within the discipline, by the early 1920s the Society of Antiquaries had developed the reputation of being a staid institution.²⁸⁰ Moreover, its members were seemingly uninterested in encouraging competent practical archaeology, to the extent that “[i]n the mid-twenties of the present century, the conventional centre of antiquarian studies was still dominated by the dilettante and the brass-rubber”.²⁸¹ There was therefore a marked break between the old guard represented by the Society of Antiquaries, and “the rising party of the archaeologists, who had mud on their boots, potsherds in their pockets and ‘science’ on their lips”.²⁸² Partly through pressure from the new group of young professionals, the Antiquaries was gradually persuaded to admit increasing numbers of new members.²⁸³

A further instance of this establishment ‘infiltration’ was the process by which in 1935 they took over control of the constitution and board of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia (PSEA), with its resultant change of name to the Prehistoric Society. The PSEA was one of the most long-standing of the local archaeology societies which had been such an important factor in the development of British archaeology during the previous century. In existence since 1908, it had a reputation for having become parochial and intellectually-restricted.²⁸⁴ In later years Stuart Piggott emphasised, and possibly mythologised, his role in this ‘coup’, when he described his part in “a conscious and concerted effort to professionalize prehistory for its own good”.²⁸⁵ This is significant for our purposes because the Prehistoric Society was extremely important in the history of the discipline and in the foundation of the modern archaeology curriculum at Cambridge University. And in turn, as will be shown later in this account, the Cambridge curriculum, and staff of the Cambridge archaeology department, were highly influential on BBC radio archaeology.

As the new generation of archaeologists began to operate within the existing structures of British archaeology, it has been noted that they themselves became part of the established

²⁸⁰ Carr 2012, 125-129.

²⁸¹ Wheeler 1958a., 3

²⁸² Hawkes 1982, 125.

²⁸³ Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 23-4; Fox, A., 2000. *Aileen – A pioneering archaeologist. The autobiography of Aileen Fox*. Leominster: Gracewing, 58; Hawkes 1982, 124-126; Stout 2008, 25-26.

²⁸⁴ Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 26; Fagan 2001, 60-64; Stout 2008, 38-40.

²⁸⁵ Piggott, S., 1963. Archaeology and Prehistory: Presidential Address. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 29, December 1963, 1-16; Smith, P.J. 1999. “The Coup”: How did the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia become the Prehistoric Society? *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65, 1999, 465-470.

norms through which archaeology was practised. Stout reflects that “[a]ccess to this small elite of paid professionals was by an unsurprising combination of mild nepotism, professional recommendation and, in the case of Cambridge, faculty politics”, and concludes that “this blend of patronage and connection suggests that the embryonic profession of archaeology was already a microcosm of ‘the Establishment’”.²⁸⁶ Professional archaeology remained an overwhelmingly elite pursuit, and therefore its practitioners had much in common in terms of background and education with those recruited as BBC producers. For archaeologists, the BBC was another establishment body worthy of ‘infiltration’. Through joining the group of expert contributors to BBC talks, a mutually convenient exchange took place, whereby archaeologists were vested in the authority and communicative power of the BBC, and the BBC gained access to specialist knowledge. This power-exchange, which contributed to the development of the discipline’s collective authoritative voice, was an important motivating factor for the participation of the archaeological community in radio broadcasts.

1.3 Archaeological Networks and The Creation of a Professional Identity

Referred to by O.G.S. Crawford as “the heroic band of the interwar decades”, the network dominating British archaeology during this period operated as a fairly close-knit group. The phrase seems to have originated in a letter from Crawford to Christopher Hawkes.²⁸⁷ The precise membership and sociology of Crawford’s so-called “heroic band” is impossible to define with any exactitude, but is generally assumed to include the active field archaeologists of the day who were concerned to challenge the normal practices of the archaeological establishment. Members of the heroic band included Cyril Fox, Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes, Mortimer Wheeler, Stuart Piggott, Kathleen Kenyon, Grahame Clark and W.F. (“Peter”) Grimes, all of whom went on to make radio broadcasts.²⁸⁸ In considering the formation of the professional archaeological identity, Crawford himself was particularly influential. The work of O.G.S. Crawford²⁸⁹ was pivotal to the development of modern

²⁸⁶ Stout 2004, 44 and 47.

²⁸⁷ This is cited in Stout 2008, p.18: Crawford, O.G.S., 1940. Letter to Christopher Hawkes, 18th December 1940, *Hawkes MSS* 8.

²⁸⁸ Stout 2004, 47-48; Stout 2008, 18.

²⁸⁹ Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford (1884-1957) is conventionally referred to as “O.G.S. Crawford” in archaeological literature, and this practice is adhered to here. Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 36; Hauser 2008, 71-72; Wheeler, R.E.M., 1958. Crawford and *Antiquity*. *Antiquity* volume 32, issue 125, March 1958, 3-4.

archaeology, its status as a discipline, and its popularity with the general public.²⁹⁰ Many members of this generation of archaeologists expressed themselves to have been greatly influenced early in their careers by their encounters with Crawford. Crawford's enthusiasm and encouragement led to his reputation as a type of "uncle" to many British archaeologists of this era.²⁹¹

One of Crawford's most significant contributions was the foundation of the independently published journal *Antiquity*, which helped to define and delineate the boundaries of the discipline of archaeology.²⁹² Crawford's perspectives were highly influential on the nature of the archaeological interpretations developed during this era, and his work therefore impacted on the nature of the accounts broadcast on BBC radio. Crawford's own broadcasting career was somewhat patchy, and therefore his importance to the development of the archaeological identity is not reflected in his radio career. Although Crawford was one of the first professional archaeologists to appear on BBC radio, his individual impact on broadcasting was minimal. Crawford's first radio appearance was on 8th August 1927, when he spoke about Stonehenge. The only remaining evidence for this talk seems to be the note on a hand-written script index card preserved in BBC WAC.²⁹³ In October of the same year Crawford broadcast on the excavation of the controversial site of Glozel in central France.²⁹⁴ After these initial appearances Crawford did not feature again on radio until towards the end of his career, when he gave a series of talks, some on archaeological themes, and others on more eccentric topics.²⁹⁵ When, in the early years of the Third Programme, Crawford was asked to present on aerial photography, he "had declined on the grounds that he disapproved of broadcasting and that scholars should not waste their time in such meretricious activities".²⁹⁶ Evidence is lacking as to why Crawford held this opinion, but it may have been the case that submission

²⁹⁰ Phillips 1987, 15; Stout 2008, 20-24.

²⁹¹ Fagan 2001, 9; Smith 2009, 45.

²⁹² Stout 2004, 20-24.

²⁹³ Although in theory Crawford's "Stonehenge" script should still exist, it has not proved possible to locate this. For a full list of archaeology scripts recorded on BBC WAC index cards, see Appendix 4.

²⁹⁴ Crawford 1955, 180-182. See also Vayson de Pradenne, A., 1930. The Glozel forgeries. *Antiquity* volume 4, issue 14, June 1930, 201-222.

²⁹⁵ In his later years Crawford presented a Third Programme talk entitled "The Eye Goddess", in which he proposed a connection between the Mesopotamian cult of Ishtar and the later megalithic cults of Western Europe. *Radio Times* issue 1687, 9th March 1956, p.3; and a Home Service talk on "The Language of Cats". *Radio Times* issue 1760, 2nd August 1957, p. 28.

²⁹⁶ Daniel 1986, 245-246.

to the editorial control of BBC producers would have felt difficult for someone with his highly independent personality.



Figure 1. O.G.S. Crawford visiting the Maiden Castle excavation in 1934.

Crawford is pictured on the right, next to Mortimer Wheeler.

Source: *Collections of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*.

©Dorset County Museum, with permission.

From 1920, Crawford was employed as Archaeological Officer with the Ordnance Survey, a role which he had largely carved out for himself, and which provided the context within which he could work on the project of mapping the archaeology of the British landscape.²⁹⁷ It was largely Crawford's insights gained by the meticulous recording of features viewed through aerial photography which led to the understanding that the current form of the British landscape is the product of the activities of numerous generations. Aerial archaeology is the process of using light aircraft to take photographs giving an overview of the landscape and revealing topographical features and outlines valuable to the archaeologist, such as variations in cereal crops, indicating aspects of human settlement.²⁹⁸ Crawford famously wrote that "The surface of England is a palimpsest, a document that has been written on and erased over and over again; and it is the business of the field archaeologist to decipher it".²⁹⁹ Although he

²⁹⁷ Bowden 2001, 29-45, see pp. 32-33; Crawford 1955, 154-174; Thurley 2013, 149.

²⁹⁸ Crawford O.G.S. and Keiller, A., 1928. *Wessex from the air*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Daniel 1967, 285-90; Hunter and Ralston 2009, 4-5.

²⁹⁹ Crawford 1960, 53.

could be described as something of a self-publicist, Crawford (fig. 1) undoubtedly played a critical role in the establishment of authority in this previously unregulated field.³⁰⁰

Antiquity was founded by Crawford in 1927, with the intention of providing accurate information to a public thirsty for archaeological information, but not always well-served by the mainstream press in terms of the quality of its reporting on the subject.³⁰¹ This was not the first journal seeking to present reliable archaeological information in a style which would appeal to both archaeologists and laypersons – for example, *the Antiquary* had been launched in the mid-1880s with a similar remit.³⁰² *Antiquity* provided “a sort of running commentary on current work”, and publicised the work of archaeologists amongst the intelligentsia.³⁰³ Crawford was both editor and publisher of *Antiquity*, and was not averse to featuring contentious topics in an attempt to broaden the journal’s readership, though it managed to combine a popular edge with the reputation for providing good-quality archaeological information.³⁰⁴ The journal has been described as an “invisible college”.³⁰⁵ It also had a political dimension, in that the promulgation of archaeology to the public via its pages was in many ways commensurate with the predominant mid-Victorian and Edwardian humanistic philosophies of cultural transmission to the ‘masses’.³⁰⁶ The cultural geographer Matless has linked its formation to the burgeoning popularity during this period of open-air pursuits such as orienteering, which had aspects in common with the developing practice of field archaeology.³⁰⁷

Antiquity also appealed to the network of professional archaeologists, themselves regular contributors to the journal, and it therefore quickly became a sort of trade journal for those who had “the right ideas about archaeology”.³⁰⁸ Notwithstanding his stance on the primacy of maintaining high standards of professional practice, Crawford was not always consistent in

³⁰⁰ Bowden 2001, 29-45; Hauser 2008, 72-73.

³⁰¹ Bowden 2001, 36-37; Crawford 1955, 175-200; Hauser 2008, 91-113.

³⁰² Freeman 2007, 610-612; Stout 2008, 287.

³⁰³ Stout 2008, 23.

³⁰⁴ Daniel 1975, 312; Green 1981, 78; Hauser 2008, 112-113; Stout 2008, 22-24; Wheeler 1958b., 3-4; Wheeler 1958a., 4; Hawkes, J., 1951. A quarter century of *Antiquity*. *Antiquity* volume 25, December 1951, 171-173.

³⁰⁵ Stout 2008, 18-19.

³⁰⁶ Avery 2006, 16.

³⁰⁷ Matless 2016, 115-17.

³⁰⁸ Stout 2008, 23.

his own adherence to these standards. For example, he kept no records of a trench he excavated at Stonehenge in 1923.³⁰⁹ As for those who favoured alternative, what might be characterised as ‘fringe’ interpretations, they were soundly dismissed by Crawford as promoting “crankeries”. This standpoint was held equally firmly by *Antiquity’s* second editor, Glyn Daniel, who succeeded Crawford in 1958. Daniel was similarly concerned to make it very clear what counted as acceptable professional practice, and what in his judgement should be regarded as ‘lunatic fringe’, remarking that “So many people want to be comforted by unreason”.³¹⁰ The laying down of professional boundaries was extremely important for the future of the discipline, and the journal *Antiquity* played a central role in this signalling of a new determination to outline archaeology’s professional credentials.

Although no subscription lists exist for the journal, it is known that an initial circulation of 1,270 copies of the first issue was sent out, and subscriber numbers continued to grow at least over the next decade.³¹¹ Published four times a year, *Antiquity* provided updates on recent excavation work, and on new archaeological scholarship. Its importance therefore lay partly in the role it played in defining and promulgating scientific archaeology, and partly in the fact that it presented Crawford’s archaeological perspectives to a large number of members of the literate middle classes.³¹² In publicising archaeology to the interested layperson, it broadened the number of people who shared an informed understanding of the past, and therefore helped to establish the concept of an archaeological profession. Crawford’s work on *Antiquity* achieved much to develop archaeology as a subject familiar to the reading public. It can be assumed that the readership was a predominantly middle-class one, as a subscription to the journal represented a considerable expense. A note in *The Listener* magazine during 1932 records that *Antiquity* cost 5 shillings and 6 pence per issue, equivalent to approximately £12.59 in contemporary times.³¹³ The popularity of archaeology

³⁰⁹ Barber, M., 2016. Capturing the material invisible: O.G.S. Crawford, ghosts and the Stonehenge Avenue. *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, 26(1):6, 1-23.

³¹⁰ *Antiquity* volume 44, issue 176, December 1970. The phrase “comforted by unreason” seems to originate in a popular publication analysing the psychological reasons underlying belief in phenomena which are un-evidenced and scientifically unproven – Crawshay-Williams, R., 1947. *The comforts of unreason. A study of the motives behind irrational thought*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

³¹¹ Stout 2008, 22; Hauser 2008, 91-113.

³¹² Stout 2008, 23.

³¹³ *The Listener*, volume 8, issue 190, 31st August 1932, 300; National Archives Currency Converter [online], accessed 25th April 2020.

continued to grow throughout the rest of the decade, aided by increasing government support for heritage, which through the Office of Works provided a framework for the display of ancient monuments to the public, providing yet firmer ground upon which professional archaeologists could practise their craft.³¹⁴ By 1940, Crawford could justifiably assert that “archaeology is no longer merely a hobby but a branch of science with techniques of its own, and that the pursuit of archaeology requires study and training; it has become a skilled profession”.³¹⁵

1.4 The Interface Between Professional Archaeologists and BBC Producers

At the same time as archaeologists were delineating their role, the new profession of radio producer was also developing. The women and men charged with creating radio programmes during the early years of the BBC had no previous blueprint for the job. As practitioners within a new organisation, whose precise type had never existed before, it was up to them to construct and develop ways of carrying out the role. Radio historian Kate Murphy gives a flavour of the duties of the BBC radio producer of the fledgling BBC:

The job of Talks Assistant at the BBC (the title given to talks producers from 1925) was multifaceted and involved, amongst other responsibilities, finding pertinent topics for broadcast, booking suitable guests, discussing with contributors the process of writing for radio, checking and advising on manuscripts, organising rehearsals and overseeing the final delivery of the talks in the studio.³¹⁶

The job of radio producer was regarded as a high-status profession in its own right, an occupation with “a distinctively intellectual character”.³¹⁷ Recruitment would be restricted to those who could demonstrate the highest calibre of education and intellect.³¹⁸

³¹⁴ Thurley 2013, 25, 97-98 and 161.

³¹⁵ Crawford, O.G.S., 1940. Editorial notes. *Antiquity* volume 14, issue 54, June 1940, 113-6, quotation p.14; Stout 2008, 36.

³¹⁶ Murphy 2016, 191.

³¹⁷ Hendy 2013, 73.

³¹⁸ Bailey 2007, 101; Kumar, K., 1975. Holding the middle ground: the BBC, the public and the professional broadcaster. *Sociology* volume 9, number 1, January 1975, 67-88.

Reith's views on the role of the broadcast producer are laid out in his response to a conference he attended in America in the spring of 1931, on the theme of educational broadcasting.³¹⁹ Reith is clear that he regards broadcast production as a distinctive specialism, and that one of the main roles of the producer is to edit material for broadcast.³²⁰ Educationalists could not be awarded full control of broadcast content, since they did not possess "that flair for selection and presentation which was essential for effective broadcasting".³²¹

The role of producer was regarded as an elite position, and one that required individuals who were comfortable in dealing with intellectuals.³²² The vast majority of Talks Assistants were either graduates of one of the elite universities, or were drawn from social circles closely attached to the universities of Oxford or Cambridge.³²³ Despite this often privileged background, the producer's role was essentially a low-profile one in which scholarly content, information and ideas were digested and mediated into relatable content for the lay audience. The title of 'Talks Assistant' implied that the producer's role involved minimal editorial interference, and it was important to preserve this impression in order to maintain good relations with expert contributors.³²⁴ It was this light touch which was represented in the "hidden labour" of programme production.³²⁵ Hilda Matheson, writing in 1933, was clear on the qualities needed for a successful Talks producer, which she characterised as centring as much on sympathy to new ideas and personalities as on producers' knowledge of their own subject area. Producers must be able to appreciate the potential of material to be translated into the medium of radio, but "above all they must have an interest in human nature in its most varied shapes".³²⁶ For producer Lionel Fielden, a contemporary of Matheson's in the

³¹⁹ Reith, J.C.W., 1949. *Into the wind*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 145-146.

³²⁰ Mary Somerville is believed to have been the first producer to request modifications to a script, and talks rehearsals, in 1925. See Murphy 2016, 222.

³²¹ Reith 1949, 146.

³²² *Ibid.*, 70-76.

³²³ Burns 1977, 42-46; Chignell, H., 2004. *BBC Radio 4's Analysis, 1970-1983: a selective history and case study of BBC current affairs radio*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Bournemouth University, 38-41 and 128-130; Games 2015, 50-51; Hendy 2013, 73-74; Lambert, R.S., 1940. *Ariel and all his quality: an impression of the BBC from within*. London: Gollancz; Murphy 2016, 157; Smith 2013, 671-673; Yusaf 2014, 11-12.

³²⁴ Cardiff, D., 1980. The serious and the popular: aspects of the evolution of style in the radio talk, 1928-1939. *Media, Culture and Society* 2, 29-47 – see p.34.

³²⁵ Hendy 2013, 75.

³²⁶ Matheson 1933, 51.

early days of the Talks department, the chief attribute required was the ability to identify trends, ideas and people ripe to feature on air, accompanied by a consistent ear for new cultural output and personalities which would make suitable broadcast material.³²⁷ Talks producer Stephen Bonarjee also drew attention to the human factor, emphasising the need of the producer to like people. Referring to producers as “the midwives of radio”, he noted that their role was “to foster the creative activity of others, by placing at their disposal our own professional skill and experience”.³²⁸

Since the majority of Talks producers had been educated at elite universities, they therefore shared a common educational background with many of the expert contributors to the activities of the Talks department. This shared background meant that the BBC was a natural place for archaeological experts to frequent. There were additional synergies between intellectuals and radio producers, in that the concept of peer review played a role for both. The sociologist Tom Burns concluded that the label of what made a broadcaster ‘professional’ was closely concerned with a system of peer approval, both formal and informal. Burns, whose investigations into the concept of professionalism took place in the context of the BBC of the 1960s and 70s, concluded that up until the 1950s “Reithian” values of public service were dominant, but that as the corporation became increasingly specialised, professional values came to the fore.³²⁹ Under Burns’s interpretation, between the 1920s and the 1950s broadcasting as an occupation was dominated by the ethos of public service, in which the central concern was with “public betterment”, whereas it was not until the 1960s that the BBC fully transitioned to a culture of professionalism.³³⁰ The work of later researchers, such as Murphy and Skoog, and the insights presented in this thesis, demonstrate in contradiction to Burns that a culture of professionalism had already developed in the early days of broadcasting, in co-existence with the ethos of public service broadcasting.³³¹

³²⁷ Fielden, L., 1960. *The natural bent*. London: Andre Deutsch, 10.

³²⁸ Wythenshaw, Lord S., 1953. *The BBC from within*. London: Victor Gollancz. Bonarjee’s News Chronicle article of November 1952 is reproduced here, 173-174.

³²⁹ Burns 1977, 125-126; Hood, S., 1979. Book review: Burns, T., 1977. The BBC: public institution and private world. *Media, Culture and Society*, volume 1, issue 2, April 1979, 221-232.

³³⁰ Burns 1977, 122-132.

³³¹ See, for example, Murphy 2016, 115-188; Skoog 2010, 130-186.

The BBC of the 1920s and 30s encouraged a distinct emphasis on the role of producers in filtering and ‘gatekeeping’ who was qualified to come to the microphone, and both speakers and Talks Assistants were expected to have an appropriate level of expertise before they were allowed either to broadcast or to produce talks.³³² The importance in Talks department culture of attracting speakers of sufficient calibre would persist for many years.³³³ The priority was to find expert contributors who could deliver on the Reithian mission of the BBC, in an entertaining manner. In view of the challenges of producing a quality broadcast, it was not surprising that there was sometimes a tension between the technical accounts which broadcasting archaeologists wished to relay, and the ‘radiogenic’ broadcasts which BBC producers needed to achieve.³³⁴

How, then, did producers locate these expert speakers? For the early days of radio in particular, there is a distinct lack of evidence as to how producers and expert contributors made initial contact. The London clubs formed a common cultural space which both groups used for professional networking, and these must therefore have been influential on possibilities for meeting and cultivating potential radio contributors. Both archaeologists and producers were members of London “gentlemen’s” clubs, and clubs are often mentioned in passing within correspondence between archaeologists and BBC personnel.³³⁵ Clubs had an important role in elite, professional life, providing a discrete networking space bounded by largely unwritten rules and conventions, and excluding those not deemed suitable for entry.³³⁶ They provided a range of practical facilities, a meeting place, and a location within which to network. It has been noted that “the club can be viewed as a pre-made social set”.³³⁷ The BBC encouraged club membership for its producers, and even paid for this. Female BBC producers were sometimes club members - for example, Hilda Matheson was a member of

³³² Jones 2010, 100-102.

³³³ Chignell 2004, 80-81; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 166.

³³⁴ See Chignell 2009, 93-94, for the concept of “radiogenic”.

³³⁵ For example, producer Lorna Moore wrote to Kathleen Kenyon from the Langham Hotel, Regent Street, London, on the award of Kenyon’s CBE. BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Kathleen Kenyon Personal File, Talks, 1944-1962/letter Moore to Kenyon, 1st January 1954; and Glyn Daniel regularly wrote to BBC producers from the United University Club, 1 Suffolk Street, London SW1. BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Dr Glyn Daniel, Talks File 2, 1954-1962/letter Daniel to Gottlieb, 26th November 1955.

³³⁶ Milne-Smith, A., 2009. Club talk: gossip, masculinity and oral communities in late nineteenth-century London. *Gender and History*, volume 21, number 1, April 2009, 86-106.

³³⁷ Taddei, A., 1999. London clubs in the late nineteenth century. *University of Oxford Discussion Papers in Economic and Social History*, number 28, April 1999, 13-18.

the Albermarle - though there does seem to be some doubt as to the extent to which female BBC staff felt the same attachment to club culture as their male counterparts.³³⁸

It can be seen that both archaeologists and radio producers were for the most part drawn from an elite group of individuals who were in receipt of social and educational privileges. Both constituencies tended to come from similar university-educated backgrounds, had often attended elite universities, and were familiar with 'club' culture. The impetus to professionalise was common to both groups, so that in many ways their aims converged. There was a requirement for broadcast content which was suitable for transmission in terms of the cultural remit of BBC producers. Developments in their discipline meant that archaeologists needed opportunities to communicate with the wider public. Conditions were therefore right for the growth of a closer association between the two professional groups, and there were mutual benefits to be had in collaborating.

Conclusion

The emerging establishment of the archaeological profession in the early to middle years of the twentieth century coincided with the establishment of radio broadcasting. Within this historical moment, the BBC provided a key forum for archaeologists to appear in the public sphere. The societal and cultural context within which both archaeologists and radio producers operated is pivotal to this study. The preceding discussion has provided an outline of the characteristics of the professions and the role of the intellectual in society, before moving on to consider concepts of professionalism in relation to the BBC, and to archaeology. This chapter therefore lays the groundwork in order to address the research questions arising from the connections between archaeology-themed radio programmes and the BBC's cultural remit, and the public intellectual role of archaeologists in relation to BBC radio broadcasting.

To what extent were producers guided, or bounded, by any defined BBC policy to develop archaeology radio content? There is little evidence for overarching planning by BBC managers in relation to archaeology radio content. Producers acted with considerable autonomy, and

³³⁸ Murphy 2016, 158-159.

worked on programme ideas which they felt had the potential to be interesting, and for which they could find suitable contributors. This factor of the individual autonomy of producers has previously been noted.³³⁹ Archaeology formed part of the array of liberal arts of which the educated person was expected to have some knowledge, and it was therefore natural that archaeology content would feature on radio.³⁴⁰ Within this broad remit, the provision of archaeology programmes was largely dependent upon the interests of individual BBC producers, and the motivation of the archaeological personalities willing to join the array of public intellectuals appearing on radio. For the most part, specific policy decisions to feature archaeology content are lacking, although there were certain instances when there was a corporate decision to seek out archaeological contributors, and these occasions are highlighted in the following chapters.

Whether through the motivation of individual producers and archaeologists, or more rarely, as a result of corporate objectives, archaeology was set to make its presence felt upon the world of the radio listener. It is now time to begin to examine in further detail some of the ways in which archaeology experts and BBC Talks producers came together to collaborate on the production of radio programmes. The next chapter - the first of the historical chapters forming the bulk of the thesis - moves on to discuss the nature of radio archaeology programmes during the decade of the 1920s, and the evidence for the presence in BBC radio studios of the first broadcasting archaeologists.

³³⁹ Hajkowski 2010, 25; Hendy, D., 2014. The Great War and British broadcasting: emotional life in the creation of the BBC. *New Formations*, 82, 82-99, p.86; Jones 2010, 119.

³⁴⁰ Lawson, J. and Silver, H., 1973. *A social history of education in England*. London: Methuen and Co., 330-331.

Chapter Two

Broadcasting the Archaeology of Empire - Radio Archaeology for Education, Entertainment and Fundraising, 1924 -1930

Introduction

From the earliest days of broadcasting, archaeological programmes had an important place on radio, in line with the BBC's public remit in terms of education. There were other factors at play, however, and it will be demonstrated during this chapter that there quickly grew up close and complex connections between the public face of archaeology, and the British Broadcasting Company. Key personalities from the world of archaeology quickly recognised the value of the new mass medium of radio, for the purposes of sponsorship and fund-raising. Through focusing on these early radio appearances, it is possible to gain insights into the public presentation of archaeology, and the ways in which archaeologists were inventing themselves in the imagination of the British people.

A major reason for archaeologists' engagement in public communication was that, in an era when archaeology was not publicly-funded, it was necessary to raise funds to carry out further research. Archaeologists had already shown themselves to be adept at tapping in to public interest in archaeology, in order to publicise their work, and thereby to gain funding. The narratives presented by archaeologists often invoked the excitement of their discoveries made in 'exotic' overseas locations, and the allure of revealing long-forgotten and mysterious civilisations. From 1922 radio provided a new platform which archaeologists could use in order to communicate with their public. In this way therefore, two new and growing professions - that of the archaeologist and that of the radio producer - began to develop a symbiotic relationship.

In order to gain an understanding of the role of these early archaeological programmes, it is necessary to consider the complex mix of factors which came together to affect the nature of the radio offering. Key factors included the character of the archaeology being practised during the 1920s, the funding models for archaeological excavation at this time, the public

personas presented by archaeologists, and the consequent scripting of archaeological information into a radio performance.³⁴¹ This chapter will therefore commence with a consideration of the impact of archaeology in the public sphere, after which it will drill down into the early evidence for interactions between archaeologists and the BBC. Following an overview of archaeology talks during the first years of broadcasting, the discussion will move on to present two case studies, analysing in further detail the radio work of two of the earliest professional archaeologists to appear on the medium. Through examining the interaction of archaeologist Leonard Woolley with BBC producers, fresh light is thrown on his role as a public intellectual. This is followed by an account of the radio work of pioneering archaeologist Hilda Petrie, who was one of the first experts to imagine the power of radio to communicate with the public.

2.1 The Public Impact of Archaeology During the 1920s

During the interwar period, the British Empire remained a highly influential factor in British life.³⁴² Mackenzie has demonstrated the many ways in which manifestations of imperialism remained dominant within British society, noting that “there is ample evidence to suggest that the role of Britain as a world power deriving from its unique imperial status continued to be projected to the British public after the First World War”.³⁴³ The practice of archaeology was “integrally linked to imperial systems”, and it was the infrastructures associated with British imperial expansion - manifested in its road, rail and communication networks - which made possible the large-scale excavations in locations such as the near and middle east, which characterised this period.³⁴⁴ In addition to facilitating this excavation activity, the framework of empire brought about new possibilities for leisure travel to archaeological sites abroad. Public access to travel via steamship and railway, and developments in tourism, meant that

³⁴¹ For a list of archaeology talks, reconstructed from the evidence of the *Radio Times* by using the searchable database *BBC Genome*, see Appendix 1.

³⁴² Darwin, J., 2009. *The empire project. The rise and fall of the British world system, 1830-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-20; MacKenzie 1984; MacKenzie 1986, 5-8.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁴⁴ Thornton 2018, 15. The terms “middle” and “near” east were themselves coined with a Western bias - see Pollock and Bernbeck, 3 and note 2, p. 8: “The Near and Middle East designations quickly became conflated in popular parlance, and *Near East* has fallen out of common usage, except among scholars of the ancient world”.

during the late-nineteenth century, the journey to exotic locations had become feasible for a significant proportion of the public.³⁴⁵

The services of travel companies such as Thomas Cook enabled the traveller with sufficient funds to reach far-flung locations, and to explore the cultural heritage of countries colonised by the British. This movement formed part of the imperial impetus to study, to map and to taxonomise the globe.³⁴⁶ The study of antiquities fitted into this milieu, and there was a strong sense that to reveal the existence of sophisticated former civilisations was a further achievement of empire. Radio formed a new means of communicating such findings to an archaeologically-interested British public. “For the British, being imperial was being modern,” and by using radio, the most modern means of communication, exciting new findings could be relayed to those without the financial means to travel abroad.³⁴⁷

The growth of archaeological research, much of it focused in the Near East, was symptomatic of a popular fascination with past civilisations that continued into the interwar years.³⁴⁸ The excitement generated by the find of Tutankhamun’s tomb in the Valley of the Kings near Luxor in November 1922, led to so many people turning up at the excavations that measures had to be taken to control the flow of visitors, as they were beginning to hamper the conduct of the excavations.³⁴⁹ A further example of the mobility of travellers during this period is provided in the autobiography of the novelist and archaeology enthusiast, Agatha Christie. In 1930 Christie journeyed relatively easily by train to visit the excavations at Ur, and went on to travel widely in the region.³⁵⁰ As the archaeologist Jacquetta Hawkes noted:

Nor at that time was archaeology weighed down with science and laborious technique. It was a world where one mounted a Pullman at Victoria [...] was waved

³⁴⁵ Thornton 2018, 21 and 32, and notes.

³⁴⁶ Richards, T., 1993. *The imperial archive. Knowledge and the fantasy of Empire*. London: Verso; Mackenzie, J.M., 2005. Empires of travel: British guide books and cultural imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. In Walton, J.K., ed. *Histories of tourism: representation, identity and conflict*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Channel View Publications, 19-38; Thornton 2018, 40 and note 117; Watts, R., 2009. Educating empire and social change in nineteenth century England. *Paedagogica Historica* 45:6, 773-786.

³⁴⁷ MacKenzie 2005, 20.

³⁴⁸ Overy 2009, *The morbid age: Britain between the wars*. London: Allen Lane, 33.

³⁴⁹ Frayling 1992, 26-28.

³⁵⁰ Christie, A., 2011. (First published 1977.) *Agatha Christie: an autobiography*. London: Harper-Collins, 374-377.

away by crowds of relatives, at Calais caught the Orient Express to Istanbul, and so arrived at last in a Syria where good order, good food and generous permits for digging were provided by the French.³⁵¹

Much of the actual digging work in the overseas excavations was accomplished by a paid local workforce. Archaeological fieldwork was an expensive process, and the costs continued to mount up during the subsequent analysis and transport of the finds, and the publication of excavation reports. An integral part of the funding model was therefore the constant drumming-up of public interest in archaeological activity. During the nineteenth century antiquities had been transported to the west on a huge scale, and this practice was still in operation in the early twentieth century, albeit as part of a system which was somewhat more sophisticated than the previous looting activities. Archaeologists pursued their research by exploiting the opportunities made available by imperial contacts and infrastructure. Some archaeologists participated in a system whereby portable antiquities were transported to wealthy subscribers in Britain, in exchange for donations, which raised funds for further excavation work.³⁵² During the 1920s many projects were still funded by this model, whereby archaeologists cultivated relationships with wealthy and well-connected individuals, in what has been described as “an early example of crowd funding”.³⁵³ The wealthy aristocratic connoisseurs who had previously sponsored excavations were increasingly replaced by middle class sponsors who had made their money in trade or industry. As archaeology became more professionalised, financial backing from museums and universities increasingly came to the fore.³⁵⁴ There was often a financial shortfall, so for many archaeologists, effective public engagement was a requirement in order to fund the expensive practice of excavation. Practical archaeologists needed to communicate with all potential audiences, whether they were composed of the wealthy elite, or the archaeologically-interested middle and working-classes.

³⁵¹ Hawkes, J., 1946. Foreword to Christie, A., 1990. (First published 1946.) *Come, tell me how you live – an archaeological memoir*. London: Harper-Collins.

³⁵² Thornton 2013, 1-12.

³⁵³ Sparks, R., 2013. Publicising Petrie: financing fieldwork in British mandate Palestine (1926-1938). *Present Pasts*, 5(1):2, 1-15, quotation p.2.

³⁵⁴ Millerman, A.J., 2015. *The spinning of Ur*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 97-98; Wilson, D.M., 2002. *The British Museum. A history*. London: The British Museum Press, 217.

For members of the public wishing to engage with archaeology, at least within London there were plentiful opportunities to visit archaeology talks and exhibitions. Thornton has described the annual archaeological exhibitions held during the 'Season', whereby well-connected and moneyed individuals could attend in order to network with those of similar status, marvel at the latest archaeological discoveries, and possibly cement their enthusiasm by subscribing to the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund.³⁵⁵ Egyptologist Flinders Petrie was particularly adept at this type of publicity, and from the 1880s had held yearly exhibitions showcasing finds from his excavations, accompanied by lavish catalogues, lectures, plans and photographs. Nor were these events restricted to the well-off, and exhibitions at the Society of Antiquaries, and the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, formed popular venues for local workers to visit during their lunch breaks. The challenge of hot climates meant that the excavation season in near and middle eastern areas lasted from around late November to May, with the London exhibitions typically taking place between July and September. After the disruption of the First World War, the annual exhibition season was slow to pick up again, but by 1921 regular shows exhibiting Egyptian finds had resumed.³⁵⁶

An additional factor of great relevance to the public face of archaeology during this period was the world of publishing. The growth of literacy in the preceding century had contributed to a keen market in archaeological publishing.³⁵⁷ In her examination of archaeological publishing, Thornton delineates the connections between archaeological excavation, and the generation of fresh content for the publishing world.³⁵⁸ Professor James Baikie's popular 1927 book entitled *The Glamour of the Near East Excavation* encapsulates something of the atmosphere of this time, when the discipline of archaeology was poised between antiquarianism and the development of a scientific approach. Baikie moves seamlessly from his section entitled "the lure of treasure hunting" to a description of the "aims of modern excavation", stating that:

³⁵⁵ Thornton, A., 2015a.; Thornton 2018, 31.

³⁵⁶ Thornton 2015a., 6.

³⁵⁷ Weller, T., 2008. Preserving knowledge through popular Victorian periodicals: an examination of *The Penny Magazine* and the *Illustrated London News*, 1842-1843. *Library History*, 24:3, 200-207; Rose, A., 2010. *The intellectual life of the British working classes*, 2nd edition. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 187-236.

³⁵⁸ Thornton 2018, 3.

the modern pursuit of knowledge [...] has led to the development of a form of treasure hunting whose story ought to be still more fascinating than that of any mere search for gold or jewels. Its scene is laid [...] in the most richly storied lands of the romantic Orient.³⁵⁹

Radio therefore tapped in to an existing public interest in archaeology, with particular appeal invoked through archaeological narratives based on research and adventure in exotic lands. There were close connections between publishing and radio content, and much of the published content regarding developments in archaeology was later featured on radio. Radio further democratised the flow of archaeological information, meaning that from the early 1920s, the interested individual could participate in the excitement of archaeology from the comfort of their own living-room.

2.2 Archaeologists and the British Broadcasting Company

Following the advent of regular radio broadcasting by the British Broadcasting Company on 14th November 1922, radio listening quickly took off in the public imagination.³⁶⁰ Numbers of radio listeners during these early years are not known definitively, but the rapid growth in the number of licences issued in the early 1920s indicates the popularity of the new service.³⁶¹ A key concern for those tasked with organising radio provision was the practical problem of bringing radio broadcasts to as many inhabitants of Britain as possible.³⁶² This was addressed by establishing radio stations in the main centres of population, in a system characterised as “local broadcasting”.³⁶³ The situation was to change during the late 1920s, when a more centralised system was created, but when regular broadcasting began, staff based in the

³⁵⁹ Baikie, J., 1927. *The glamour of the Near East excavation*. London: Seeley, Service and Co., 18.

³⁶⁰ Chignell 2011, 7; Crissell, A., 2005, 18; Hennessey, B.A., 1996. *Savoy Hill: the early years of British broadcasting*. Trowbridge, Wilts: Ian Henry Publications; Street, S., 2005. *A concise history of British radio, 1922-2002*. Tiverton, Devon: Kelly Publications, 27-28; Yass, M., 1975. *Britain between the world wars, 1918-1939*. London: Wayland, 53-54.

³⁶¹ Pegg 1983, 6-8; Street 2005, 39.

³⁶² Hajkowski 2010, 115-116.

³⁶³ Scannell, P., 1993. The origins of BBC regional policy. In Harvey, S. and Robins, K., eds. *The regions, the nations and the BBC*. London: BFI Publishing, 27-37. Scannell defines the system of local broadcasting as operating between 1923 and 1926, and specifies (p.28) that the local stations produced around six hours of their own broadcast material every day.

‘main stations’ of Birmingham, Manchester, Cardiff, Newcastle, Bournemouth, Aberdeen, Glasgow and London, had independent responsibility for creating programmes.³⁶⁴

The initial allocation of wavelengths by the government allowed for only a limited number of transmission stations to cover the whole of Britain.³⁶⁵ Each of the local stations covered only about twenty miles in radius,³⁶⁶ and there were major technical challenges in providing an adequate signal.³⁶⁷ These reception difficulties were exacerbated by the fact that the wireless sets used by listeners differed widely in quality, to the extent that Chief Engineer Peter Eckersley later remarked that “[w]ith a super signal from a transmitter in the same town something faintly resembling a receiver could get something faintly resembling a programme”.³⁶⁸

Station directors were appointed by John Reith and his staff based in London, but at the very start of the service there was little central control, and broadcast content was entirely the responsibility of the regional station directors and their staff. This led to a closely reciprocal relationship with listeners, with the use of radio as a sort of audio noticeboard for local activities and events,³⁶⁹ often presented in an atmosphere of “informal jollity”.³⁷⁰ It was largely for reasons of finance that this structure of local autonomy did not last long. By 1923 the officials of the British Broadcasting Company had realised that the locally based service would be too complicated and expensive to run. The solution was to link the radio stations together through the Post Office’s land lines, via ‘relay stations’, which would make it possible for any site to broadcast programmes produced by other stations. This system of “simultaneous broadcasting”, or “SB” as it was dubbed by the *Radio Times*, began to be introduced in August 1923.³⁷¹ It was originally intended that relay stations would pick up

³⁶⁴ Davies 1994, 6. A ninth station was opened in Belfast in October 1924 – see Davies 1994, 15.

³⁶⁵ Davies, J., 1994. *Broadcasting and the BBC in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 3-4; Linfoot, M., 2011. *A history of BBC local radio in England c. 1960-1980*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Westminster, 8-10; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 304-5.

³⁶⁶ Eckersley, P.P., 1941. *The power behind the microphone*. London: Jonathan Cape, 68; Linfoot 2011, 9.

³⁶⁷ Davies 1994, 14-16; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 356-358.

³⁶⁸ Eckersley 1941, 117. Peter Eckersley was Chief Engineer for the BBC from 1923, until his forced resignation in 1929. Reith disapproved of Eckersley having been cited as co-respondent in a divorce case – see Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 317-318.

³⁶⁹ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 369-70.

³⁷⁰ Davies 1994, 19.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 17-18; Hajkowski 2010, 116; Pegg 1983, 18; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 305-7.

programmes from their nearest main station, but it transpired that an unintended consequence of simultaneous broadcasting was that the London station became dominant.³⁷²

As the concept of London as the main provider of programmes developed, the staff of the London 'local' station began to be submerged into Head Office.³⁷³ Director-General John Reith's vision for broadcasting was evolving, so that he increasingly viewed the BBC as "a national institution providing a national broadcasting service".³⁷⁴ This metropolitan centralised control was a gradual process which unfolded during the remainder of the 1920s, and for a time, local stations continued to be responsible for much broadcast content. For example, 60% of the Cardiff station's output during the first week of June 1926 was produced there, with the rest being provided by simultaneous broadcast from London.³⁷⁵ Broadcasting therefore operated as a dual system, with the 'National' service originating in London, and the 'Regional' services emanating from the provinces. Talks and lectures formed part of the menu of programming from the earliest days of broadcasting.³⁷⁶ At this point all talks were scripted and delivered live, in the style of formal lectures. Evidence is lacking as to the exact style of delivery, as the technology was not yet available to record these programmes.³⁷⁷

By the 1920s, the development of the discipline of archaeology from amateur to professional status had led to opportunities for archaeological training in higher education, and some salaried positions in universities, museums and funded excavations.³⁷⁸ This in turn led to new perceptions of the identity of archaeologists in popular culture, and some of these perceptions were promulgated via the mass medium of radio. Even at this early stage, certain archaeological personalities recognised the opportunity offered by radio, in building the public profile of the archaeological profession, and thereby creating opportunities which would aid in their future research work.

³⁷² Scannell 1993, 28.

³⁷³ Davies 1994, 18-19.

³⁷⁴ Scannell 1993, 30.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

³⁷⁶ Briggs 1985, 3-106; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 153-5; Chignell 2011, 10.

³⁷⁷ Chignell 2009, 11; Davies 1994, 10-11.

³⁷⁸ Thornton 2018, 20-21.

An undated document in BBC WAC provides a glimpse into how some of the early archaeology Talks content came about. The document, written by Ralph Wade, the first Programme Assistant employed by the BBC, is entitled “History of Education and Talks Organisation”.³⁷⁹ Wade writes that:

Looking back to early 1923, it is difficult to revisualise the humble beginnings of the existing Talks organisation. In those days to have only one talk a week was not unusual, and the difficulty of obtaining the interest and assistance of the highest authorities was far greater than is the case today. The size of our audience at that time, and the relatively small interest taken in broadcasting did not attract many persons to face the microphone, always excepting those who were cranks or had axes to grind.[...] In those days one of the methods to secure speakers was to scan the pages of such books as “Who’s Who” and write to each likely individual, putting before him, or her, the interest and advantages of broadcasting a talk, and offering the opportunity of coming to Marconi House (later Savoy Hill) to deliver such an address.[...] It must have been about the middle of 1923 that the first approach was made by the BBC to the Authorities in charge of the Museums, Art Galleries etc., and the immediate co-operation which was forthcoming is, as it were, the basis of the present day series of Official Talks on a variety of subjects which are such a popular and useful feature in the Talks Syllabus.³⁸⁰

On the same page is a neat pencilled note which reads “Footnote by A.R. Burrows: The approach to the authorities in charge of museums was made early in 1923, as it was felt that here we would find men experienced in interesting the public”. It is intriguing to have this information directly from Arthur Burrows, who according to Asa Briggs was the first voice heard on BBC radio, was the first Director of Programmes, and played a central role in the early history of public service radio.³⁸¹ Moreover, this demonstrates a high-level policy decision in the very earliest months of the BBC’s existence to approach experts who could

³⁷⁹ Murphy 2016, 22; Briggs 1985, 62.

³⁸⁰ BBC/WAC/R13/419/1. Departmental Talks Division, Talks Department 1923-1929. The document is undated, but seems to have been written around 1924.

³⁸¹ Burrows, A.R., 1924. *The story of broadcasting*. London: Cassell; Briggs 1985, 37; Lewis 1924, 26; Hendy 2013, 12-13 and 19-20.

provide archaeology-themed talks. It is also significant that Burrows was clear that educational talks must be interesting, showing an early commitment to ensuring accessible content for listeners. In a long memorandum dealing primarily with musical and dramatic presentations, Burrows notes that:

In view of the development of the educational side of broadcasting, we shall do well to keep our S.B. [simultaneous broadcast] and, in fact, all our programmes as light as possible on the entertainment side, otherwise there is bound to be a decline in public interest.³⁸²

The developing archaeological profession needed publicity, and it was fortuitous for the discipline that during this same period the Talks department was keen to attract new expert speakers. There was also the pressure, particularly acute in the early years while the organisation was building its reputation, of the urgent requirement to fill airtime.³⁸³ A number of evocative autobiographies written during the 1920s reflect the somewhat chaotic and amateurish feel of broadcasting at this time when the bureaucratic structures of the later BBC had yet to evolve. Cecil Lewis, employed as “Organiser of Programmes” for the British Broadcasting Company, describes the pressures of arranging this early broadcast content during the era of simultaneous broadcasting, remarking that “Anybody wanting a really maddening jigsaw to solve ought to come and try it”.³⁸⁴ In his description of “Building a Programme” Lewis discusses the placement of talks, of which he recounts there were usually two each evening, each lasting for ten or fifteen minutes, and generally placed either directly before or after the news bulletin, which was initially fixed at 7pm.³⁸⁵ Scheduling arrangements

³⁸² BBC/WAC/R34/609. Policy, Programme Planning, 1923-1926, 1929, 1931-1937/memorandum Burrows (Director of Programmes) to Controller, 8th September 1924.

³⁸³ Lewis 1924, 28.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 67. For the early years of simultaneous broadcasting, see also Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 305-307; Briggs, A., 1961. *The history of broadcasting in the United Kingdom, volume 1. The birth of broadcasting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 223-224; Briggs 1995, 25-26, 29 and passim; Mackenzie 1986, 167-168; and Pegg 1983, 18-31. When the earliest archaeology radio programmes were broadcast, BBC radio was already operating simultaneous broadcasting from all transmitters. The first Daventry transmitter (5XX) opened in 1925, after which national broadcasting became possible. In 1927 a new high-powered transmitter at Daventry (5GB) made possible a limited regional choice of programmes. In reality, however, the ‘regional’ stations generally relayed programmes from London, and only carried regional programmes for a limited amount of air time.

³⁸⁵ Lewis 1924, 103-109.

were still under trial, as seen in correspondence indicating talks at 7.15pm and at 9.15pm (preceding the 9.30pm news), or alternatively a “concert and talks three times a week” at 9.45pm.³⁸⁶ The need to adapt to listeners’ leisure habits in summertime led to “a special campaign to off-set the summer slump”, with talks scheduled in the run-up to a 10pm news bulletin.³⁸⁷

2.3 Overview of Archaeology Talks Output in the First Five Years

The discussion will now move on to provide a flavour of the type of archaeological talks provided in these early years of radio. Our knowledge of the nature of talks output during the years of the British Broadcasting Company is limited, though it is possible to add to the picture.³⁸⁸ At this point provision of archaeological broadcasts was somewhat patchy and haphazard. It was clear that Talks organisers welcomed archaeological speakers, but content was dependent on which individuals could be encouraged to broadcast, rather than on any overarching plan. Likely speakers were drawn from those who, as seen above, were sourced from institutions such as museums and art galleries, or who had published popular books with archaeological themes.³⁸⁹

The first archaeology talk that can be identified was broadcast on Saturday 2nd February 1924 at 6.15pm.³⁹⁰ The only evidence for this first programme is the listings information recorded in the *Radio Times*.³⁹¹ Entitled *Mesopotamia*, it comprised a talk under the umbrella title of *Scholar’s Half-Hour*. A recurrent series, themes in *Scholar’s Half-Hour* ranged widely across literature, musical appreciation, geography and history, nature and science, and archaeology. The talk was delivered by a certain J. Scattergood, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and was broadcast from the radio station at Bournemouth – 6BM, (fig. 2). Technical

³⁸⁶ BBC/WAC/R34/609. Policy, Programme Planning, 1923-1926, 1929, 1931-1937/memorandum “Captain Lewis” to “All Stations, copy Mr Reith”, 22nd August 1923.

³⁸⁷ BBC/WAC/R34/609. Policy, Programme Planning, 1923-1926, 1929, 1931-1937/memorandum Assistant Controller and Director of Programmes (Burrows) to Controller and Chief Engineer, 10th April 1924.

³⁸⁸ Chignell 2011, 9-10.

³⁸⁹ Thornton 2018, 20-127.

³⁹⁰ This was even before the radio licence fee scheme was introduced, on 1st July 1924. See Pegg 1983, 21.

³⁹¹ *Radio Times* issue 18, 25th January 1924.

restrictions on transmission distances meant that in the early 1920s, transmitters were situated in the centre of urban areas, and broadcasts were produced locally at each station.³⁹²



Figure 2. The BBC's Bournemouth radio studio, from which a talk entitled “Mesopotamia” was broadcast in February 1924. ©Alwyn Ladell, with permission.

The Reverend James Smith, broadcasting from 2BD Aberdeen, provided talks on *Ancient Egypt* and *The Land of Egypt* in May and October 1924. Both were early evening broadcasts, and badged as “Talks to Scholars”. At 6.30pm on 31st July 1924, J.A Petch, M.A., based at 2ZY Manchester, spoke about *Cradles of Civilisation – Egypt*. This formed part of a series of talks on *The Growth of Civilisation*, and Petch was an active practical archaeologist working in northern England and Wales.³⁹³ By contrast, Arthur Weigall, who presented a talk on *Ancient Egypt* as part of London *Scholars' Half-Hour* at 4pm on 27th February 1925, was a trained archaeologist, journalist, author and one-time Inspector-General of Antiquities in Egypt, who had received his archaeological training from Flinders Petrie, and had been present to report for the press on the opening of the Tutankhamun tomb.³⁹⁴ The rich discoveries at this site had

³⁹² The Bournemouth radio station was opened on 17th October 1923 – see Davies 1994, 15. It was situated in Vernal's Buildings, 72 Holdenhurst Road, Bournemouth. The Victorian building in which the radio station was housed has since been demolished, and now lies under the car park of the Ocean 80 Building (formerly the Abbey Life Building). Alwyn Ladell, personal communication, 4th February 2022; Mate, S.J., 1927. Sidney J. Mate's Bournemouth Business Directory and Year Book for 1927. Westbourne, Dorset: Mate, S.J., 372; Professor Seán Street, personal communication, 5th April 2019.

³⁹³ Kendrick, T.D. and Hawkes, C.F.C., 1932. *Archaeology in England and Wales, 1914-1931*. London: Routledge, 227.

³⁹⁴ Drower, M.S., 1985. *Flinders Petrie*. London: Victor Gollancz, 265-267 and 311; Frayling 1992, 36.

given rise to a surge of archaeological publishing, designed to meet the public demand for information, and it is reasonable to assume that certain early broadcasters such as Weigall were identified as likely candidates for radio as a result of their popular publications and journalism. Weigall had published two books on Egyptological themes in 1923, and later brought out a popular comic book about his experiences in Egypt.³⁹⁵

During April and October 1925, a Mr R.L. Sloley spoke about *School Life in Ancient Egypt* and *Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt* on the London Station. On the latter occasion, the broadcast formed the interval talk in an early evening programme otherwise devoted to “light orchestral” music. At this time in radio history it is apparent that, as noted by previous commentators, the talks are of lesser importance than the music.³⁹⁶ Orchestral and military music predominated, and this emphasis on music in the radio schedules is reflected in the placement of many of the archaeology talks. For example, in July 1925 the *Radio Times* records a talk on *Prehistoric Egypt* from Mr F. Leslie-Carter (Member of the Egyptian Exploration Society), mentioned in the same listing as “The Station Military Band conducted by W. A. Clarke. Cliff Martell (Pianoforte)”.³⁹⁷ In August 1925 Mrs Richard Berry provided a talk on *Egypt*, listed in the same billing as “Orchestra – relayed from the Electric Theatre: Musical Director, D.C. Ronald”.³⁹⁸

Leslie-Carter is worthy of further mention as presenting a series of programmes emanating in the Birmingham region during the summer of 1925, all on Egyptological themes, and culminating in a “Radio Fantasy” entitled *Cameos of Egypt*. These broadcasts were dominated by musical content, ranging from solo singers, to violin music, to military bands, evidently interspersed with excerpts of speech evoking aspects of ancient Egypt. It would be intriguing to know their exact format, but regrettably the traces preserved in the *Radio Times* are the

³⁹⁵ Weigall also published content on British archaeology – for example, his 1926 title *Wanderings in Roman Britain*. London: Thornton Butterworth – see Stout 2008, 216-217; Thornton 2018, 11, 43 and 120-122; Weigall, A., 1933. *Laura was my camel*. London: Thornton Butterworth.

³⁹⁶ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 181-223; Chignell 2011, 9.

³⁹⁷ *Radio Times* issue 96, 24th July 1925. Referred to in the *Radio Times* at different times as W., F. and H. Leslie-Carter, his given name was in fact “William”. An ex-army major, William Leslie-Carter is to be distinguished from the well-known Egyptologist Howard Carter, who did not make his radio appearance until May 1936, in a programme entitled *Scrapbook for 1924*, in which Howard Carter presented a section on King Tutankhamun’s tomb. See *Radio Times* issue 660, 22nd May 1936.

³⁹⁸ *Radio Times* issue 97, 31st July 1925.

only available evidence left to us, and it is not now possible to recover the exact format of these imaginative presentations.³⁹⁹

The Schools service, which first began regular radio output in October 1924, started to cover archaeological themes soon afterwards.⁴⁰⁰ A Schools programme entitled *Legends of Ancient Egypt* (presented by F.H. Brooksbank) was broadcast as early as February 1925. Schools coverage often focused on archaeology which was local to its listeners, at least in the sense that it had a British emphasis – for example, there were broadcasts on *The Bronze Age* and *The Iron Age*, presented by a Miss A. Selby, speaking from 5NG Nottingham, in May and June 1925. On 22nd October 1924, C.H.B. Quennell presented on *Everyday Life in the New Stone, Bronze and Early Iron Ages*, in a simultaneous broadcast from London. Marjorie and Charles Quennell had published a popular account of prehistory in 1922.⁴⁰¹ These examples demonstrate the presence of radio archaeology in the early days of the British Broadcasting Company's existence, though the paucity of archive evidence makes it difficult to add any detail as to the exact nature of these talks.

The majority of radio content during this early period featured two cornerstones of popular archaeology - Egypt and Mesopotamia. The referencing of Egyptian themes as a way of evoking the “exotic east” had been a constant theme in British culture during the nineteenth century.⁴⁰² In view of the dominance of the Tutankhamun story in popular culture at this time, it may have been assumed that Egyptological themes would have dominated early talks coverage. Whilst many talks about Egypt were broadcast, they were presented by a diverse group of individuals, and it is noticeable that there was no single individual promulgating Egyptology. This further confirms the observation that provision was somewhat haphazard at this stage. One reason for the lack of a consistent radio presence on Egyptian themes may have been that the protagonists of the Tutankhamun excavation had no need to court

³⁹⁹ *Radio Times* issue 104, 18th September 1925.

⁴⁰⁰ Crisell 2002, 41.

⁴⁰¹ Quennell, M. and Quennell, C.H.B., 1922. *Everyday life in the new stone, bronze and early iron ages*. London: Batsford; Stout 2008, 210.

⁴⁰² Moser, S., 2015. Legacies of engagement. The multiple manifestations of ancient Egypt in public discourse. In Carruthers, ed., *Histories of Egyptology. Interdisciplinary methods*. Abingdon: Routledge, 242-252; Reid, D.M., 2015. Remembering and forgetting Tutankhamun. Imperial and national rhythms of archaeology, 1922-1972. In Carruthers, 157-173; Ucko and Champion 2003.

publicity via radio, sponsored as the work was by the vast financial resources of Lord Carnarvon of Highclere.⁴⁰³ An additional factor was that Howard Carter, the Tutankhamun project's archaeological expert, had a reputation for being an extremely private man who wished to concentrate solely on excavation work, and shunned publicity.⁴⁰⁴

For a relatively short period it looked as if there would be a regular radio advocate for the archaeology of ancient Egypt. Professor T.E. Peet of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology made a series of broadcasts about ancient Egypt between March 1926 and February 1928.⁴⁰⁵ The Liverpool Institute was active in Egyptological research, and Peet made an important scholarly contribution to the discipline of Egyptology.⁴⁰⁶ His presence on radio is consistent with the BBC's policy of contacting British universities to seek suitable experts who could write specialist radio scripts. For a brief period Peet was a consistent radio voice, though shortly after taking up a professorship at Oxford during the early 1930s, he died very suddenly, and the potential for a regular broadcaster on Egyptology was lost. Something of his impact remains in the quantitative evidence for archaeological broadcasts, which shows a distinct peak of activity in the mid-1920s, and specifically in 1926 (see Appendix 2). The large number of programmes during this year must in part be the result of Peet's radio talks. Another factor at play was that the peak of interest in the 'exotic' East, and specifically in Egyptology and Mesopotamian archaeology, was making its presence felt on radio, giving rise to a plethora of broadcasts. Many of these programmes were evidently of brief duration, snatches of exotica sandwiched between the more dominant musical output of the era. But nonetheless, their existence no doubt made an impact, and represented an opportunity which would have been noticed by professional archaeologists.

With this brief overview of the earliest days of Talks radio, it has been demonstrated that there was a strong archaeological presence on radio from the outset. Whilst the record remains fragmentary, the assertion that little can be known of the activities of the British

⁴⁰³ Colla, E., 2007. *Conflicted antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian modernity*. Duke University Press, 192; Millerman 2015, 20.

⁴⁰⁴ Shaw, G.J., 2014. Howard Carter, 1874-1939. Finding Tutankhamun. In Fagan, 100-105.

⁴⁰⁵ For example, Peet's talk on "The Life of an Excavator in Egypt", broadcast on Friday 5th March 1926 at 7.40pm, is listed in *Radio Times* issue 127, 26th February 1926.

⁴⁰⁶ Lewis, C., 2016. Inaugural lectures in Egyptology: T.E. Peet and his pupil W.B. Emery. *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, 26 (1), 9; Peet, T.E. Obituary. (Author unknown.) *Nature* 134, 962, 22nd December 1934.

Broadcasting Company in the years prior to 1927, and that “the character of broadcasting in its very first few years is now long forgotten” already becomes less applicable.⁴⁰⁷ The discussion will now move on to examine the evidence for the archaeologist Leonard Woolley’s interactions with BBC producers. Even at this early stage in the BBC’s institutional history a mutually useful exchange was in play between radio programme-makers and archaeologists.

2.4 Leonard Woolley and His Interactions With BBC Talks Producers

10pm on Tuesday 8th July 1924 saw a simultaneous broadcast from London, relayed to the Manchester, Newcastle, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Bournemouth stations. The speaker was Leonard Woolley, and he presented a lecture on *Excavations in Babylonia*.⁴⁰⁸ This talk represents the first of Woolley’s frequent radio appearances over the next four decades.⁴⁰⁹ The work of Flinders Petrie and his associates had for many years ensured that Egypt remained familiar in the public mind. By contrast, the archaeology of Mesopotamia had been accorded less prominence.⁴¹⁰ This was also due to the phenomenon whereby Egyptian themes equated in the public mind with all things modern and fashionable.⁴¹¹ However, it was the archaeology of Mesopotamia which would in many ways dominate the archaeological radio coverage of the 1920s. This was largely due to the public communication priorities of Woolley, and his ability to make archaeology relatable to a wide range of audiences.⁴¹² Woolley was well-aware that he was competing for funding with the doyens of Egyptian archaeology such as Flinders Petrie, and this formed an additional impetus to provide entertaining radio accounts of his work at Ur, in modern-day southern Iraq.⁴¹³ When

⁴⁰⁷ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 304.

⁴⁰⁸ *Radio Times* issue 41, 4th July 1924. In some early radio talks Woolley used the term “Babylonia” to refer to the area of Mesopotamia as a whole, as at certain times in its history Babylon was regarded as the capital of the Babylonian empire. See Leick, G., 2003. *The Babylonians*. London and New York: Routledge, 85.

⁴⁰⁹ During the 1940s Woolley presented radio content regarding the recovery of artefacts during the war, and continued to work with Home Service and Third Programme producers such as Gilbert Phelps and Michael Stephens throughout the 1950s, being occasionally asked to contribute to scripts on Ur, as is evidenced by correspondence in his personal file - BBC/WAC: R. Cont. 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962. A Home Service talk entitled *Far and Wide: recordings of Sir Leonard Woolley, the archaeologist, recounting some of his adventures*, on 26th April 1960 was his last radio appearance. See *Radio Times* issue 1902, 22nd April 1960.

⁴¹⁰ Frayling 1992, 22-23.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10-26, 224.

⁴¹² Maloigne 2020.

⁴¹³ Millerman 2015, 89.

Woolley's work began to be publicised, through a combination of publications, exhibitions and radio broadcasts, the archaeology of Mesopotamia regained popularity in the public arena.⁴¹⁴

Leonard Woolley has been described as a "skilled raconteur, fluent writer and brilliant excavator".⁴¹⁵ He has been invoked as a "shaper of the adventurer stereotype" of archaeologist, whose activities "helped strengthen the stereotype for a public hungry for 'Boy's Own' style adventure in exotic locations".⁴¹⁶ Colleague and Assyriologist, Max Mallowan, described him as "an incomparable showman, a man of knowledge endowed with a vivid imagination which sometimes got the better of him...".⁴¹⁷ Woolley contributed greatly to the public image of archaeology through his accessible books describing his excavations.⁴¹⁸ He was also the first prominent archaeological radio personality, an attribute gained through his evocative accounts of his excavation at Ur 'of the Chaldees', an ancient Sumerian tell site dating from at least the mid-third millennium BC.⁴¹⁹ As there was no state funding for archaeology during this period, press coverage was key, and Woolley had been able to garner publicity from publishing articles in *The Times* newspaper and the popular periodical the *Illustrated London News*, which regularly reported the results of the Ur excavations, covering it in at least thirty separate features.⁴²⁰ The advent of radio represented a further opportunity to highlight his archaeological activities to the public, and therefore to develop and maintain popular support for further work.

⁴¹⁴ During the 1840s the archaeologist Layard's discovery of clay tablets containing cuneiform script had formed a dramatic demonstration of the vast antiquity of Near Eastern civilisation, and had opened up the possibilities for further research into the highly sophisticated prehistoric city states of the "Fertile Crescent", a term coined by the American archaeologist Breasted in 1916 - see Breasted, J., 1935. *Ancient times: a history of the early world*. London: Ginn and Company, 128. A further flurry of public interest arose in the 1870s, following publicity around a clay tablet from Nineveh which recorded part of a Babylonian story similar to the biblical account of Noah's flood - see Trigger 2006, 158. Following these archaeological coups, public interest in the area had waned somewhat, although there was continued investigation into the history and archaeology of Mesopotamia - see Matthews 2003, 12.

⁴¹⁵ Oates, J., 2014. Leonard Woolley, 1880-1960. Excavator of Ur. In Fagan, 143-146, quotation p.143.

⁴¹⁶ Russell 2002, 40.

⁴¹⁷ Mallowan, M., 1977. *Mallowan's memoirs*. London: Collins.

⁴¹⁸ Woolley, L., 1929, *Ur of the Chaldees: a record of seven years of excavation*. Benn: London; Woolley 1930; Woolley, L., 1938. *Ur of the Chaldees: seven years of excavation*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin; Woolley, L., 1946. *Ur: the first phases*. London: Penguin Books.

⁴¹⁹ Zettler and Horne 1998, 9-19.

⁴²⁰ Lyon, I., 1968. *Window on the world: The Illustrated London News Review*, 1968. London: Michael Joseph; Bacon 1976, 12 and 252-256; Daniel 1975, 31; Winstone 1990. *Woolley of Ur: the life of Sir Leonard Woolley*, 147; Zettler and Horne 1998, 9.

Woolley claimed to have stumbled into his vocation when, having taken a degree in theology at New College, Oxford, the college warden suggested that he would make a suitable archaeologist.⁴²¹ After time spent as assistant keeper at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and a brief training in excavation on Hadrian's Wall, Woolley's career in Near Eastern archaeology began.⁴²² He spent some five years excavating in the Sudan, and was then appointed Director of Excavations at the Hittite city of Carchemish, situated where the Syrian-Turkish border now runs. It was at this site that Woolley developed the techniques and strategies for large-scale excavation which would inform his subsequent career. After serving as an intelligence officer in the First World War, and two years as a prisoner of war held by the Turks, he returned to Carchemish in 1922. The excavations there soon ceased owing to unsettled political conditions in the area. At the same time, excavation activity in Iraq was resuming under the British mandate, and the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum proposed a joint excavation to work on *Tell el Mukkayer*, believed by some to be the biblical city Ur 'of the Chaldees'.⁴²³

Mesopotamian archaeology has its roots in the colonial past of Western political powers, and the practice of archaeology in this region is "heavily rooted in the story of Western political interest in the Middle East".⁴²⁴ Although the area had been referred to since at least the tenth century by the local inhabitants as Iraq, the name *Mesopotamia* had increasingly been used by mid-nineteenth century Europeans.⁴²⁵ The name is therefore freighted with politically-charged and contested meanings. Having its origin in the Greek for "between the rivers" - the Tigris and Euphrates - the term is nowadays used to refer to the territory of the Republic of Iraq, also taking in areas of northeast Syria, southeast Turkey, and west Iran.⁴²⁶ Competing political interests following the turmoil of the First World War meant that the politics of the area were highly volatile, due to the complexities of the ancient Arabic tribal systems, and the

⁴²¹ Woolley, L., 1953. *Spadework: adventures in archaeology*. London: White Lion Publishers, 11; Winstone 1990, 15-16.

⁴²² Thornton 2018, 29.

⁴²³ Romer, J., 1988. *Testament. The Bible and history*. Guild Publishing: Michael O'Mara Books, 27; Thornton 2018, 41.

⁴²⁴ Matthews 2003, 5.

⁴²⁵ Millerman 2015, 33-34.

⁴²⁶ Leick 2003, 5; Matthews 2003, 5-6; Howell, G., 2006. *Gertrude Bell. Queen of the desert, shaper of nations*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 277.

role played by the Western powers in the area. After the First World War the British were highly influential in attempting to create new states out of the power vacuum left by the departing (Turkish) Ottoman Empire. This was an area rich in archaeology, with a reputation for being the “cradle of civilisation”. The practice of archaeology in Mesopotamia was interlinked with political complexities, in that the cultural artefacts of archaeology were often marshalled in order to underpin the competing national identities at play.⁴²⁷

Woolley’s discoveries revealed the complexity of the city of Ur in many of its phases, and his deep excavations in part of the city threw light for the first time on prehistoric settlement in Lower Mesopotamia.⁴²⁸ His excavations of the Sumerian royal cemetery led to the discovery of astonishingly rich finds of gold and lapis lazuli jewellery, finely-crafted furniture and sophisticated musical instruments, which together with the evidence of human sacrifice from the so-called “Death pit” captured the public imagination.

Woolley and his team excavated at Ur until 1934, carrying out twelve seasons of excavation, often with minimal funding, uncovering the great ziggurat, excavating entire city precincts and revealing some of the richest treasures of the Sumerian civilisation ever found. The unusual splendour of many of the objects revealed by Woolley at Ur, which in Mesopotamian archaeology have not been matched before or since in terms of sheer sophistication and beauty, afforded him a fine opportunity to lobby for further support to continue his research.⁴²⁹ He was also a skilled communicator, an attribute which was demonstrated via his written work and his public lectures. His friend Agatha Christie wrote that:

Leonard Woolley saw with the eye of imagination: the place was as real to him as it had been in 1500 BC, or a few thousand years earlier. Wherever he happened to be, he could make it come alive. While he was speaking I felt in my mind no doubt whatever that the house on the corner had been Abraham’s. It was his reconstruction of the past and he believed in it, and anyone who listened to him believed in it also.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Howell 2006, 277-301.

⁴²⁸ Woolley, L., 1927. The excavations at Ur, 1926-7. *Antiquaries Journal*, volume vii, no. 4., October 1927; Zettler and Horne 1998, 9-19.

⁴²⁹ Romer 1988, 28.

⁴³⁰ Christie 2011, 376.

Throughout the conduct of the Ur excavation, Woolley was a regular contributor to Talks radio, and his entertaining and evocative broadcasting style helped to relay the excitement of the Ur excavation to the British radio audience. Previous literature has shown that Woolley for many years ran “a deliberate, targeted and highly choreographed publicity campaign [...] to raise funding for an excavation constantly threatened with closure” and that he made extensive use of a range of media as part of a conscious strategy to place the Ur excavations firmly in the public consciousness.⁴³¹ As noted by Thornton, during this period Woolley was “building a regular slot for publicising his activities and establishing himself as a BBC radio regular”.⁴³² Between 1924 and 1928 Woolley delivered a radio lecture every summer, to coincide with the annual exhibition of finds from the site at the British Museum, where radio listeners could view some of the finds from Ur in person.⁴³³

Woolley’s first radio talks were arranged by J.C. Stobart, Director of Education and Organiser of Talks for the British Broadcasting Company, who contacted him through his role at the British Museum.⁴³⁴ Having been informed that Woolley was back in England, Stobart noted that “I am, therefore, writing now to express the hope that you will give us another of your interesting Talks on your recent excavations”.⁴³⁵ Woolley’s swift reply confirmed that “I expect to be in town all July and part of August: I could take on any dates in July that might suit and could arrange for August though the latter would I must say be less convenient”.⁴³⁶ The relative reluctance to broadcast later in the summer was presumably due to Woolley’s priority during late summer to prepare for the forthcoming excavation season. In the event, Woolley’s next talk was arranged for Tuesday 21st July 1925 at 10.10pm. A subsequent letter requested Woolley to provide the script three or four days in advance, and confirmed that

⁴³¹ Millerman 2015, 17.

⁴³² Thornton 2018, 43.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 43-44. See also *The Listener*, volume 2, issue 30, 7th August 1929, note on p.197: “Many of our readers have doubtless visited the splendid exhibition now on view at the British Museum of the treasures unearthed at Ur of the Chaldees. Special interest, therefore, attaches to the forthcoming broadcast by Mr Leonard Woolley, in August 28, on *The Royal Tombs and the Flood*. This talk will last 45 minutes, beginning at 10pm.”

⁴³⁴ Briggs 1985, 59; Bailey 2007, 96-108. See p.103 for Stobart.

⁴³⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962. Unsigned letter, 25th May 1925, to Woolley, care of the British Museum, which signs off “Yours sincerely, For the BRITISH BROADCASTING [*sic*] Company Limited”.

⁴³⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Woolley to Stobart, 29th May 1925.

under what were already the “usual conditions”, the talk was expected to last for fifteen minutes. Woolley had negotiated his fee up from the initially-offered five guineas, to eight guineas, evidencing the fact that personal financial incentive also played a role in his participation on radio.⁴³⁷

The title of “The Moon-God’s Temple, from Abraham to Belshazzar” was chosen by Stobart from Woolley’s suggestions as being most likely to appeal to “the Man-in-the-street”.⁴³⁸ The script survives on file, and is evocative of the scale of Woolley’s endeavours:

The Ziggurat was a huge tower of solid brickwork, over two hundred feet long, which rose up in a series of terraces each smaller than the one below, and had upon its topmost terrace a little shrine dedicated to the Moon God who was the patron deity of Ur.⁴³⁹

At the end of the broadcast there was an appeal for financial support towards the British Museum’s excavation fund “on the chance that something might be done to bring the matter before your large public”.⁴⁴⁰

Later in 1925, Woolley worked with the BBC to publicise his forthcoming lecture at the Kingsway Hall, on the excavation work carried out at Ur to date. Stating that “the lecture is to promote interest in and to raise funds for the British Museum’s part in the expedition”, Woolley enquired whether it was possible for the BBC to advertise his lecture in their local news slot. He assured Stobart that

You will understand that I am not financially interested in this - it is simply an effort to get subscriptions for the Museum, - and I remember that when the Museum started

⁴³⁷ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/unsigned letter on behalf of the British Broadcasting Company, 2nd June 1925.

⁴³⁸ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Stobart to Woolley, 9th June 1925.

⁴³⁹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/Radio Talk Script, “Ur of the Chaldees”, Woolley, Leonard, 21st July 1925.

⁴⁴⁰ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Woolley to Stobart, 16th July 1925.

its course of Sunday afternoon lectures the BBC broadcast the fact with excellent results.⁴⁴¹

Stobart was not entirely acquiescent with Woolley's request, stating that such notices had to be kept to a bare minimum, and "our only excuse would be that we had been asked by an important institution like the British Museum".⁴⁴² (Woolley was employed by the British Museum on a freelance basis.⁴⁴³) At any rate, it can be seen that Woolley had already become an established radio presence, and that the new radio service had begun to play a role in fund-raising for archaeological research.

In due course Talks producer Hilda Matheson took over from Stobart as the primary BBC contact for Woolley. Matheson was one of the earliest BBC producers to realise the potential contribution of professional experts to the cultural life of the nation. The broadcasts Matheson created in liaison with Leonard Woolley form a prime example of her work in this respect.⁴⁴⁴ The importance of Matheson in the development of the radio talk is well-attested.⁴⁴⁵ Joining the BBC in September 1926 as Assistant in Education to Stobart, she arrived in the organisation just at the time when a separate Talks Department was being formed, and was appointed Director of the Talks Section in January 1927. Matheson made it her mission to develop radio talks which would connect with, and interest the listeners. She wrote detailed accounts of her philosophies in developing the intimacy of the format, as well as championing rehearsals for all talks, in the good practice pamphlet she produced soon after the formation of the Talks Section, and in her book examining the potential of the new medium of radio.⁴⁴⁶ As Chignell notes in his discussion of the significant changes which Matheson introduced to Talks radio, "[f]undamental to the intimate mode was the

⁴⁴¹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962. Letter Woolley to Stobart, 16th September 1925. The Kingsway Hall in Holborne, London, had been built in 1912 and was a popular venue for public meetings and lectures.

⁴⁴² BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962. Letter Stobart to Woolley, 21st September 1925.

⁴⁴³ Wilson 2002, 220.

⁴⁴⁴ Matheson 1933.

⁴⁴⁵ Chignell 2011, 11-16; Murphy 2016, 168-175; Higgins, C., 2015. *This new noise: the extraordinary birth and troubled life of the BBC*. London: Guardian Books, 16-36; Hunter, F., 2000. Hilda Matheson and the BBC, 1926-1940. In Mitchell, C., ed. *Women and radio: airing differences*. London and New York: Routledge, 41-47; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 153-155.

⁴⁴⁶ Matheson, H., c.1927. *Broadcast talks and lectures: suggestions to speakers*. London: BBC; Matheson 1933.

recognition that the declamatory style of the public lecture, for example the sermon or the political speech, was not an appropriate mode of address for the studio microphone".⁴⁴⁷

Matheson injected a fresh impetus into the way in which BBC talks were arranged, scripted and delivered. Scannell and Cardiff remark that "When Hilda Matheson took up her post wireless talks were regarded as an inferior kind of entertainment, a poor relation to the more lively parts of programme output such as variety, plays and music", and they go on to note an amusing comment from the *BBC Handbook* for 1928, which evidently addressed a perception that talks were at this time not particularly popular with the listening public. Contrary to popular surmise, the article declared, it was not the policy of the BBC "wantonly and arbitrarily to cut the audience off in the middle of a delightful concert, and announce a talk by Professor Haxan on Prehistoric Crustaceans without any rhyme or reason".⁴⁴⁸

By the late 1920s, Woolley's reports on the Ur investigation formed a regular component of the radio timetable. This was also the period of Matheson's ascendancy in the Talks department, during which she was instrumental in developing Talks into one of the most important sections of radio. As Murphy expresses it, "The section she inherited was bland, timid and amateurish, she created a department that was vibrant, challenging and professional".⁴⁴⁹ Part of the way in which Matheson achieved this was through her interaction with archaeological speakers such as Woolley. A substantial amount of archive evidence survives, revealing the BBC's role in Woolley's publicity round, and the interplay between Woolley, Matheson and other talks producers. Insights can be gained into Woolley's practice as professional archaeologist and public intellectual, as we see him moving between his practical excavation work overseas (fig.3), his duties back at his base in the British Museum in London, and the BBC radio studios.

⁴⁴⁷ Chignell 2011, 13.

⁴⁴⁸ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 161.

⁴⁴⁹ Murphy 2016, 168-169.



Figure 3. Woolley on site in Mesopotamia.
©The Trustees of the British Museum, with permission.

Matheson first contacted Woolley in the summer of 1927, stating that “Mr Stobart has passed on your letter to me, as I am now responsible for arranging general talks”.⁴⁵⁰ She was soon writing to Woolley to assure him that one of his recent talks had “aroused a very great deal of interest”, and to inform him that she had suggested to the BBC’s Education Department that they might like to approach him with a view to giving some radio talks to secondary schools if these could be fitted in before his next visit to Mesopotamia.⁴⁵¹ Matheson was supported in her role by Talks Assistant Lance Sieveking, and correspondence shows Sieveking encouraging Woolley to flesh out a recent script:

Could you elaborate it a little, perhaps with a few more examples of things which you have found [*sic*]. The description of the Gaming Board, and the silver belt and vanity case are just the kind of things that our listeners particularly appreciate.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Matheson, “Talks Director” to Woolley, 1st June 1927.

⁴⁵¹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Matheson to Woolley, 7th July 1927.

⁴⁵² BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Sieveking to Woolley, 30th June 1927. For Sieveking see Murphy 2016, 170-171.

Woolley's talks about Ur were evidently very popular (fig.4), and Matheson was often to be found assuring him that "There is undoubtedly a very great deal of interest among listeners in your work there".⁴⁵³ Woolley's biographer remarks that his broadcasts "were an immediate success and gave a new dimension to the popularity of archaeology among the general public".⁴⁵⁴ (It must be noted, however, that there is a lack of concrete evidence regarding the extent of popularity of individual radio programmes during this period, since it was not until 1937 that formal attempts were made to research listener opinions.⁴⁵⁵)

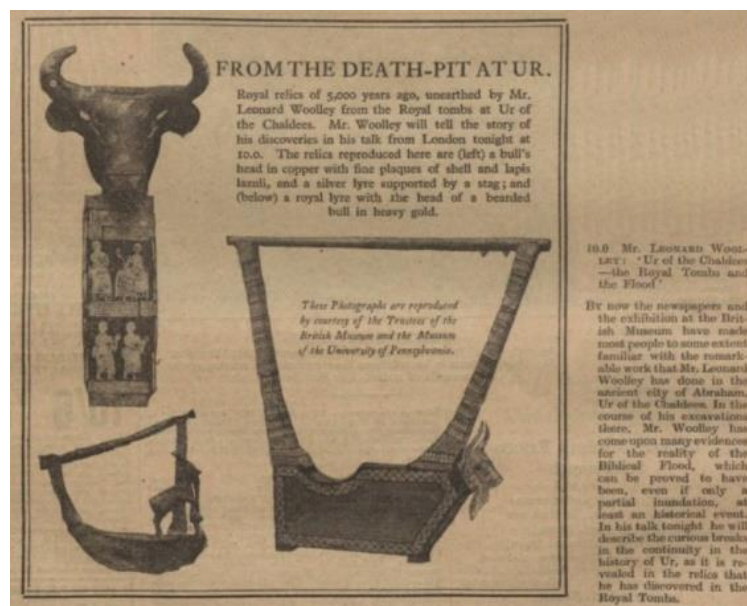


Figure 4. Certain of the exciting finds from Ur were pictured in the *Radio Times*, in a feature advertising Woolley's broadcast talk "The Royal Tombs and the Flood".

Source: *Radio Times* issue 308, 23rd August 1929, 28.

Something of the excitement of these early days of broadcasting is conveyed when Matheson remarked to Woolley after one of his broadcasts that "I had hoped that I might be able to get to the studio on Wednesday night, but I could not get rid of my guests, who all wanted to stay and listen to your talk on my wireless set".⁴⁵⁶ Woolley's position firmly in the group of public intellectuals being courted by the BBC at this time is evidenced in Stobart's comment that "Miss Matheson tells me that Mr Woolley is really in a very high category absolutely

⁴⁵³ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Matheson to Woolley, 19th April 1928; Letter Matheson to Woolley, 16th September 1929.

⁴⁵⁴ Winstone 1990, 2 and 147.

⁴⁵⁵ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 234 and 376-377; Street 2005, 59.

⁴⁵⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Matheson to Woolley, 30th August 1929.

comparable with Oliver Lodge and such like".⁴⁵⁷ Lodge, another valued expert contributor to BBC radio, was a well-known physicist, renowned for having publicly demonstrated in 1894 the transmission of Morse code signals via electromagnetic waves.⁴⁵⁸ The fact that Woolley was being compared with Lodge indicates the high regard in which Woolley was held both for his archaeological work, and as a radio contributor. Around this time Woolley featured along with other experts and cultural commentators in the BBC's Third Annual Report, further evidencing his role as a radio stalwart.⁴⁵⁹

One of the reasons for Matheson's success as a talks producer was her wide set of social contacts and her openness to new broadcast talent, and this is evident in her interactions with Woolley.⁴⁶⁰ Matheson had been at Oxford University with Woolley's wife Katherine, and in response to Woolley's suggestion that Katherine could potentially offer an entertaining and humorous radio talk on camp life on the Ur excavation, Matheson remarked that she would like to give her "a try-out on the microphone".⁴⁶¹ The plan did not, however, come to fruition as the fee on offer was too low to tempt Katherine to broadcast.⁴⁶² We can also witness Matheson's encouragement of new broadcast techniques and practices coming in to play in her interactions with Woolley. For example, due to the extent of his popularity, in August 1929 Woolley was contracted to deliver a radio talk lasting three quarters of an hour (as opposed to the more standard radio talk of fifteen minutes, or half an hour at most). Matheson described the experience of Professor Eddington, another recent speaker, who had found that during his hour-long lecture

sitting at a desk he became almost hypnotised with his own voice, and tended to fall into a completely "reading" tone, but that standing at a reading desk he could more

⁴⁵⁷ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/memorandum between Lambert, Stobart and Eckersley, 12th May 1928. Stobart's comment is in a hand-written note added to this memo.

⁴⁵⁸ Oliver Lodge, 1851-1940, was an eminent physicist, inventor and academic who pioneered wireless telegraphy. See Hendy 2013, 8; Street 2005, 13; and Street 2012, 27.

⁴⁵⁹ Thornton 2018, 43-44; BBC, Third Annual Report, 1929, 6.

⁴⁶⁰ Murphy 2016, 169.

⁴⁶¹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Matheson to Woolley, 24th April 1928. See Carney, M., 1999. *Stoker: the life of Hilda Matheson, OBE, 1888-1940*. Llangynog: Michael Carney, 6-9, for Matheson's time at Oxford University.

⁴⁶² BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/memorandum Matheson to R. Eckersley, 10th July 1929.

easily imagine himself addressing an audience, and could therefore maintain a more conversational inflection.⁴⁶³

Matheson floated the idea that Woolley may like to stand to deliver his talk. Woolley opted to take up her suggestion, using a piece of recently-acquired kit described as “the new music stand”.⁴⁶⁴

The period 1929 to 1930 was a particularly fruitful one for Woolley in publicity terms, in that during this period he presented a six-part radio series entitled *Digging up the Past*. Part of Woolley’s concern was that a “special talk” he was to present on the season’s finds must be timed to take place just before the opening of his latest British Museum exhibition.⁴⁶⁵ To this end, Matheson and Woolley even corresponded by telegram and letter while he was carrying out fieldwork in Iraq, in order to plan the series.⁴⁶⁶ Although no scripts or sound archive survive for *Digging up the Past*, it is possible from transcripts reproduced in *The Listener* to discern the accessible style of these broadcasts. The *Listener* evidence is particularly evocative of the excitement of the discoveries, and the sheer quality of the finds from Ur, and Woolley leaves the radio listener in no doubt of the contribution of his work at Ur to the canon of great archaeological sites. In *Treasures of the Grave*, he described the experience of entering a preserved tomb, which had been robbed in antiquity:

We, entering by the door, would find everything apparently undisturbed; the painted clay vases, the bronze bowls, the glass bottles and the toilet-box of wood inlaid with ivory were all in their places, the body stretched out orderly and in peace.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Matheson to Woolley, 21st August 1929. Matheson evidently refers here to the eminent theoretical physicist and astrophysicist A.S. Eddington, University of Cambridge, who earlier the same year broadcast his National Lecture on the theme of “Matter in Interstellar Space”. See *Radio Times* issue 289, Monday 15th April 1929, 21.20; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [Online.] Eddington, Sir Arthur Stanley. Article by Kilminster, C.W.

⁴⁶⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/typed note, Matheson to Mr Chilman, 23rd August 1929.

⁴⁶⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Woolley to Matheson, 27th January 1930.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ *The Listener*, issue 79, 16th July 1930, 89.

In other parts of his scripts Woolley relayed the detailed steps involved in archaeological investigation, and emphasised the importance of scientific process in archaeology. This type of presentation was quite novel in terms of radio broadcasting, and Talks Assistant Sieveking wrote to Woolley to express regret that he had not been able to meet him in person during the series, noting that “It was rather a new venture for us to experiment with a full series on archaeology...”⁴⁶⁸ Woolley’s presentations remained popular for a long time, and even by 1933, Talks Assistant Lionel Fielden noted that an offer from Woolley to broadcast should not be passed up: “I don’t think we should miss Woolley: he is an extraordinarily good talker”.⁴⁶⁹ Woolley maintained an intermittent presence on radio until the 1960s, becoming something of a public personality, in part due to his familiarity as a popular speaker in the early days. His later broadcasts were not always focused on archaeology per se, and often consisted of entertaining and quirky accounts of people and events connected with his long career of travel and excavation.⁴⁷⁰

2.5 Archaeologists, the BBC and the Bible

In addition to Matheson’s patronage, Woolley also enjoyed the support of BBC managers senior to Matheson – in particular BBC Chairman Lord Gainford. Gainford was an important figure in the earliest days of the BBC, having been appointed its first Chairman in August 1922.⁴⁷¹ Between 1929 and 1931 Gainford wrote on several occasions to BBC managers, including Reith himself, in support of Woolley and his publicity drive. For example, in July 1929 Gainford invited Roger Eckersley (Organiser of Programmes)⁴⁷² to lunch with the Woolleys, who had recently returned from Ur, at his home in Cavendish Square. Gainford remarked that they “deserve, I think, some further publicity, as their discoveries in connection with the life in 3,500 B.C. are of great public interest, and possibly it might be worthwhile to secure Mr Woolley again for a Talk”.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁸ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Sieveking to Woolley, 30th July 1930.

⁴⁶⁹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/memorandum Fielden to “Director-General” (John Reith), 15th March 1933.

⁴⁷⁰ Woolley 1962, 8.

⁴⁷¹ Briggs 1985, 38-9; Street 2005, 28.

⁴⁷² Briggs 1985, 60.

⁴⁷³ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Gainford to R.Eckersley, 9th July 1929.

Gainford also lobbied both Reith and Eckersley to donate funds to Woolley so that he could continue his research, and supported Woolley when occasional disputes arose regarding the amount of payment due for his radio broadcasts.⁴⁷⁴ In a note to Charles Carpendale (who effectively deputised for Reith at this time) he stated that Woolley was one of the best “antiquarians” and lecturers of the age, and that he and his wife “earn nothing when not digging at Ur apart from their writing and broadcasts”.⁴⁷⁵ This type of support evidences Woolley’s skill at appealing to the section of the public represented by well-off upper and middle-class individuals such as the Gainfords, who could potentially fund excavation activity. The support of senior BBC managers must also have been influential in the institution’s donation of £52.10s to the Ur fund, administered by the British Museum.⁴⁷⁶ This is the equivalent of approximately £2,500 in today’s money.⁴⁷⁷ Gainford was not Woolley’s only management backer, and additional correspondence from 1931 shows the extent of the support which he enjoyed from other personalities amongst the senior echelons of the BBC.

In his letters in support of Woolley, Gainford made specific mention of the Abrahamic connection, which clearly appealed to him. From the beginning of his work at Ur, Woolley linked the site with the idea that this was the ‘Ur of the Chaldees’ mentioned in the Bible, and interpreted by biblical scholars as the birthplace of the prophet Abraham.⁴⁷⁸ During the 1920s, scholarship considered the dates of Abraham’s lifetime to be around 1800 BC, and by labelling some of the houses he excavated as “houses from the time of Abraham”, Woolley in effect created his own circular system of proof, while at the same time situating his work firmly within a mid-nineteenth century intellectual framework.⁴⁷⁹ This biblical linkage gave

⁴⁷⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Gainford to Reith, 20th June 1930; BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Gainford to Carpendale, 22nd May 1931. Certain exchanges around this time may also reflect the tensions that were gathering between Eckersley and Matheson, and Reith and Matheson, regarding the future development of the Talks department. See Murphy 2016, 172-173. Murphy describes the way in which these clashes led to Matheson’s eventual departure from the Talks department in October 1931.

⁴⁷⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/handwritten note, Gainford to Carpendale, 28th May 1930. For Carpendale see Murphy 2016, 23.

⁴⁷⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962/letter Secretary of the British Museum to Matheson, 9th July 1930, thanking the BBC for the donation.

⁴⁷⁷ National Archives Currency Converter [online], accessed 3rd April 2021.

⁴⁷⁸ Keller, W., 1956, *The Bible as history*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 31. Ur is named in Genesis, 11:28, 11:31 and 15:7.

⁴⁷⁹ Romer 1988, 28-30; Matthews 2003,15.

Woolley a perfect storyline on which to rest the interpretation of his excavations, and to exploit “the potency of the Bible as a marketing tool”.⁴⁸⁰ As well as appealing to the British public, biblical narratives were greatly influential with American donors, and it has been said that “Americans would contribute to a Biblical excavation, but not that of a heathen temple...”.⁴⁸¹

When, in part of the Ur excavation, Woolley found a huge band of natural river silt, this further fed in to the interpretation that this was evidence for the biblical flood. The archaeologists of this era did not necessarily believe that these interpretations were true, but they did make for impactful public relations material, and compelling radio content.⁴⁸² By enhancing the biblical connections of Ur, Woolley appealed to a generation of individuals such as Gainford and Reith who had been brought up under the influence of biblical narratives.⁴⁸³ Many radio listeners of this era would have been subject to a common system of education, and as a result were familiar with the stories contained in the Bible.⁴⁸⁴ The ancient civilisations of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and the relation of these territories to Bible stories, had held an important place within the world-view of Victorian England, and these interpretations still held sway in popular imagination during the 1920s. The culture of church attendance and Bible education in schools meant that people tended to have a relatively extensive knowledge of the Bible, and ensured that “the Bible lands were real in a way that the territory and cultures of classical Greece and Rome were not. With places like Nineveh and Jerusalem and Babylon, and people like Nebuchadnezzar they were among friends”.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ Thornton 2018, 22.

⁴⁸¹ Drower 1985, 296.

⁴⁸² Millerman 2015, 158-181.

⁴⁸³ Hendy 2013, 20-21; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 5 and 232.

⁴⁸⁴ Green, S.J.D., 2011. *Towards a social history of religion in modern Britain: secularization theory, religious change and the fate of protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 6, 11; Jackson, R., 2004. *Rethinking religious education and plurality: issues in diversity and pedagogy*. London and New York: Routledge Falmer, 5; Lawson and Silver 1973, 271; Roach, J., 1991. *Secondary education in England 1970-1902: public activity and private enterprise*. London and New York: Routledge, 31-32; Thorne, S., 1997. “The conversion of Englishmen and the conversion of the world inseparable.” *Missionary imperialism and the language of class in early industrial Britain*. In Cooper, F. and Stoler, A.L., eds. *Tensions of empire. Colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 238-262 – see p. 239.

⁴⁸⁵ Hudson 1981, 74.

Biblical interpretations also held sway to an extent within the academic community, despite the scientific advances of the previous centuries.⁴⁸⁶ Certain scholars interpreted the Mesopotamian past within a historical trajectory defined by the Bible, and cultural development was seen as moving from East to West, via Greece and Rome. In 1870 the Society of Biblical Archaeology was formed as an umbrella organisation for those working on archaeological projects in the near and middle east. One of its founder members, Samuel Birch, was Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, demonstrating that the Society had the support of many within the archaeological establishment of the day, and that the British Museum itself had an interest in fieldwork which pursued literal interpretations of Bible stories.⁴⁸⁷ Somewhat paradoxically, just at the time when debates about evolution and the Bible's authorship were impacting upon intellectual life in Europe, archaeologists were beginning to find evidence of the world as depicted in the Bible, leading to a new interest in biblical archaeology.⁴⁸⁸ There was also a political edge to these developments, in that the linkage of the bible lands to colonial areas served to suit imperial agendas.⁴⁸⁹

By using narratives of the Holy Land as a way to gain the attention of this Bible-educated public, Woolley helped to attract the interest of those who were willing to pay to attend public exhibitions and perhaps even to purchase artefacts, as well as tapping the potential of wealthy donors. There was the additional factor that any emphasis on religious content during broadcast talks fitted well with the prevailing culture within the BBC, which has been characterised as paternalistic, and concerned to maintain high standards of broadcast content.⁴⁹⁰ Commentators on early radio have attested to the strong emphasis on Christianity as a central tenet of the BBC in these early days, which was largely a result of Reith's firm influence on the culture of the organisation. Scannell and Cardiff refer to Reith's "religious

⁴⁸⁶ Romer 1988, 334-343; Wood, M., 1985. *In search of the Trojan war*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 50-51.

⁴⁸⁷ Thornton 2018, 21-22; Millerman 2015, 18.

⁴⁸⁸ Bahn 1996, 67; Davis, T.W., 2004. *Shifting sands: the rise and fall of Biblical archaeology*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 3-46; Gange, D. and Ledger Lomas, M., eds., 2013. *Cities of God: the Bible and archaeology in nineteenth-century Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-38; Hjelm, I. and Thompson, T.L., eds., 2016. *History, archaeology and the Bible forty years after "historicity"*. *Changing perspectives 6*. London and New York: Routledge, 1-7; Renfrew and Bahn 2012, 73; Romer 1988, 71 and 340.

⁴⁸⁹ Liverani, M., 2005. 'Imperialism'. In Pollock, S. and Bernbeck, R., eds. *Archaeologies of the middle east: critical perspectives*. Malden, MA; Blackwell, 223-239; Diaz-Andreu, M., 2007. *A world history of nineteenth-century archaeology, colonialism and the past*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 131-166.

⁴⁹⁰ Chignell 2011, 8-9; LeMahieu 1994, 189-206 and 197; Potter 2012, 6, 23-24 and 36-37.

zeal” and “strict sabbatarianism”.⁴⁹¹ Reith’s personal character and cultural values strongly influenced the nature of radio. The dominance of Christian beliefs meant that the biblical narratives offered by archaeologists such as Woolley represented appropriate broadcast material as far as Reith and other BBC managers were concerned.

It can be seen that radio formed a key part in the carefully-planned campaign of public relations and marketing carried out by Leonard Woolley with regard to the public presentation of his research at Ur. There was a mutually beneficial exchange between Woolley and senior BBC managers and producers, which ensured that the receipt of publicity for archaeological activity was rewarded with broadcast content. Together with an accessible and imaginative style of delivery which transferred well to the intimacy of sound, this ensured Woolley’s prominent role in the history of Talks radio. The discussion will now move on to consider the broadcasts of another archaeologist of this period who was quick to understand the opportunity presented by radio.

2.6 Hilda Petrie and Her Use of Radio for Public Relations and Fund-raising

Hilda Petrie was one of the earliest archaeological women to realise and exploit the mass communications potential of radio for the marketing of archaeology. Her broadcasts were clearly driven by a commercial imperative. Hilda Petrie’s contribution to the discipline of archaeology has until recent years been overshadowed by that of her husband, Flinders Petrie. The central contribution of Egyptologist Flinders Petrie’s work was in pottery seriation – the meticulous ordering of vast numbers of pottery sherds into chronological sequences, enabling the formulation of a dating scheme for Egyptian prehistory, a scheme which remains valid in many respects to this day.⁴⁹² Less well-known, though increasingly credited in recent years, is Hilda Petrie’s work as an archaeologist. Born Hilda Umlin, into a well-off family, she had met Petrie when she carried out some illustration work for him at University College London. Petrie having eventually persuaded her to marry him in 1896, the partnership proved

⁴⁹¹ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 5 and 232; Street, S., 2006. *Crossing the ether: pre-war public service radio and commercial competition in the UK*. Eastleigh: John Libbey Publishing, 59 and 139-140.

⁴⁹² Daniel 1975, 135-6; Drower 1985, 252; Fagan 2003, 78-81; Fagan 2014, 139; Matthews 2003, 12; Romer 1988, 64-65.

a successful one, professionally as well as personally. Hilda was a constant companion to her husband on his overseas excavations from the very start of their marriage, and proved herself adept at site survey and planning, finds recording, epigraphy, illustration, editing of texts and the process of excavation itself.⁴⁹³ The practical bedrock on which her husband's research could flourish, Hilda was credited by Flinders Petrie in his memoirs, in the dedication, which reads "to my wife, on whose toil most of my work has depended".⁴⁹⁴

Recent research has done much to correct the balance regarding the contribution of archaeological women to the discipline, and to foreground Hilda Petrie's contribution as one of the "first pioneering generation of women archaeologists".⁴⁹⁵ Historian Lydia Carr has described the way in which participation in archaeological fieldwork enabled Hilda Petrie to live a far less constrained life than would conventionally have been possible for an upper middle-class woman during this period.⁴⁹⁶ In common with many of the women who were active in archaeology, Hilda Petrie's contribution to early-twentieth century archaeology is hard to quantify, partly because she rarely put her name to the many publications recording Flinders Petrie's excavation work.⁴⁹⁷ The Victorian conventions around 'family propriety' discouraged this, as to publish under her own name would have represented competition to the professional role of her husband.⁴⁹⁸ It is clear, however, that Hilda Petrie was integral to her husband's programme of international research. Far from being merely a 'professional wife', Hilda Petrie was a multi-skilled archaeologist in her own right.⁴⁹⁹ Self-funded for much of his career, Flinders Petrie's habitual practice was to run his excavations in an extremely austere manner, with expenses cut to the bone, in order to channel all available funds into the actual work of excavation.⁵⁰⁰ Even with a very basic lifestyle, the process of excavation

⁴⁹³ Drower 1985, 268; Fagan 2014, 137; Stevenson, A., ed., 2015. *The Petrie museum of Egyptian archaeology. Characters and collections*. London: UCL Press, 102.

⁴⁹⁴ Petrie, W.M.F., 1931. *Seventy years in archaeology*. London: Marston and Co.

⁴⁹⁵ Root, M.C., 2006. Introduction. Women of the field, defining the gendered experience. In Cohen, G.M. and Joukowsky, M., eds. *Breaking ground: pioneering women archaeologists*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1-33; Cohen and Joukowsky 2006, 17; Champion 1998, 75-197; Stevenson 2015, 102.

⁴⁹⁶ Carr 2012, 53-54. The freedom archaeology could offer to Victorian and Edwardian women is also documented in Murray, M., 1963. *My first hundred years*. London: William Kimber, 116-119.

⁴⁹⁷ Bahn 1996a., 356; Carr 2012, 14-15; Champion 1998, 178; Dever, N., 2004. They also dug! Archaeologists' wives and their stories. *Journal of Near Eastern Archaeology*, volume 67, no. 3, Sept 2004, 162-173. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Thornton 2018, 31.

⁴⁹⁸ Carr 2012, 54-55.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8 and 15.

⁵⁰⁰ Bahn 1996, 148-149; Fagan 2014, 136-7.

still had considerable expenses. It was Hilda Petrie who managed the funding model which enabled research to continue, and who clearly realised the fund-raising potential of the new medium of radio.⁵⁰¹

At this point it is apposite to highlight the work of an associate of the Petries', who also played a role in radio archaeology. Margaret Murray is another of the archaeological women of this period whose contribution has been relatively neglected.⁵⁰² Murray held a lectureship at University College London, was a competent excavator and draughtswoman, and made original contributions to Egyptological research, as well as taking on much of the teaching and administration in UCL's department of Egyptology while Flinders Petrie worked in the field.⁵⁰³ When assisting the Petries on their excavations, she found that dig life afforded freedoms not available in upper middle-class British society.⁵⁰⁴ An episode which Murray recounts in her autobiography is illustrative of this, whereby Murray, Hilda Petrie, and a Miss Eckenstein, went on a "midnight expedition" to investigate a disturbance at their excavation site. Linking arms: "...we three women joined hands and danced with a great variety of fancy steps all the way from the camp to the dig", thereby shocking some of their male colleagues.⁵⁰⁵ When requested to contribute to a radio programme entitled *Pioneers of Progress*, focusing on her contribution as the first female lecturer in Egyptology, Murray exclaimed "I cannot think that anything so commonplace and unadventurous as my career could possibly interest anyone".⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰¹ Sparks 2013, 1-15.

⁵⁰² Whitehouse, R., 2013. Margaret Murray (1863-1963): pioneer Egyptologist, feminist and first female archaeology lecturer. *Archaeology International* 16 (2012-13), 120-127. Margaret Murray was a known BBC contact from at least 1939, and scripted a number of radio talks from 1942 onwards, often in the Asian and Indian services, on themes such as the city of Petra in Jordan, and Egyptological subjects. She also featured on *Woman's Hour* in September 1949, and provided reminiscences of the life of her mentor Flinders Petrie in a 1953 Third Programme broadcast. Her final radio appearance was in 1960 when producer Leonard Cottrell interviewed her for a programme entitled *Conversations with Dr Margaret Murray*. Cottrell pitched a further interview to his bosses, though Murray died before this could be recorded.

⁵⁰³ As noted by Whitehouse (2013, p.120) Margaret Murray was therefore the first female lecturer in archaeology in Britain. See also Carr 2012, 11-12 and passim; Thornton 2018, 70-71.

⁵⁰⁴ Murray notes that "My first experience of field archaeology was in the winter of 1902-3". Murray 1963, 115.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵⁰⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Margaret Murray Personal File, (Speaker File 1), 1942-1962/letter Murray to Charlotte Haldane, Talks Producer Indian section, 15th May 1944.

The Petries had for long been associated with the Egypt Exploration Fund, which had been established in 1882 in order to examine Egypt's ancient sites.⁵⁰⁷ Through use of the model outlined above, the Fund obtained its money by a system of "collective sponsorship", which depended upon attracting the interest of wealthy donors, and middle-class subscribers, through a combination of information-exchange in the form of lantern-slide lectures, sale of artefacts, opportunities to attend exhibitions, published pamphlets and newspaper articles.⁵⁰⁸ In this way a network of individuals motivated by the prospect of cultural enrichment, or at least, the satisfaction of engaging in philanthropy, could be relied upon to fund overseas excavation activity. An obvious disadvantage of such a system was that it relied on regular interaction with the public in order to maintain their interest and ensure the funding stream. Rachael Thyrza Sparks has provided a detailed account of the Petries' fundraising activity, emphasising that their work was "often overshadowed by the constant pressure of fundraising".⁵⁰⁹

By 1926, a growing Egyptian nationalism and the ending of the British protectorate led to reluctance to see artefacts transported to Europe and America, and changes in Egyptian antiquities laws.⁵¹⁰ This meant that after many years it was no longer viable for the Petries to continue to excavate in Egypt (fig.5), and the decision was made to relocate activities to Palestine, by then governed under the British mandate. Palestine's British-run Department of Antiquities would allow the type of favourable division of artefacts upon which the Petries' long-standing sponsorship model operated. Continuing to emphasise the glamour of their finds in Egyptological terms, they branded the new site as "Egypt over the border", in what Sparks aptly describes as "a brilliant piece of spin".⁵¹¹

The Petries skilfully marketed this move to Palestine by using the new medium of radio as a publicity tool. Hilda Petrie's radio work clearly indicates that she had observed its power to drum up interest in the research carried out by herself and Flinders Petrie, and to draw new members into the subscription model. Moreover, she did this by making a specific

⁵⁰⁷ Bahn 1996, 148.

⁵⁰⁸ Thornton 2013.

⁵⁰⁹ Sparks 2013, 1.

⁵¹⁰ Drower 1985, 355-356.

⁵¹¹ Sparks 2013, 3.

connection between their excavation sites and the settings and characters of the Bible. There was already a strong association in the public mind with Flinders Petrie's discoveries and biblical references, and during the late 1920s and early 1930s Hilda Petrie wrote a string of newspaper articles linking the archaeological sites upon which she and her husband were working, with Old Testament locations and personalities.⁵¹² These biblical associations were also invoked in her radio broadcasts.



Figure 5. Hilda Petrie was an active field archaeologist, and one of the first expert broadcasters engaged by the BBC. ©*Egypt Exploration Society*, with permission.

It is not clear how Hilda Petrie initially “came to the microphone”. Billed in the *Radio Times* for her 1925 broadcast as “Lady Petrie”, Flinders Petrie having received his knighthood for services to archaeology in 1923,⁵¹³ Hilda Petrie was clearly at this point in her life someone with excellent connections, and a member of the societal elite which Hilda Matheson was keen to encourage to Savoy Hill to broadcast. It is reasonable to speculate that the two Hildas, Petrie and Matheson, would have met somewhere on the London social circuit of the 1920s. Sparks makes brief mention of Hilda's radio broadcasts in 1929 and 1930, linking them with the Petries' move of their digging operations to Palestine. However, the evidence of the *Radio Times* shows the presence of Hilda Petrie on BBC radio from as early as 13th October 1925, when she delivered a talk with the title of “Recent discoveries in Egypt”. Delivered from 2LO

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 15-16.

⁵¹³ Drower 1985, 358.

London, and relayed by simultaneous broadcast to “all stations”, the talk could be heard via transmitters based in Bournemouth, Manchester, Aberdeen, Birmingham, Belfast and Newcastle.⁵¹⁴ Coming only three years after the advent of regular radio broadcasts, this adds to the impression of Hilda Petrie as a person with initiative and drive, willing to engage with the new technology of radio in order to pursue research goals.

The timing of the broadcast in October fitted in with the Petries’ yearly publicity and fund-raising campaign. In common with the other talks from this early period of British radio, this would have gone out live; at this point the technology did not exist to record Hilda Petrie’s words. Since this was before publication of *The Listener* began, and in the absence of surviving archive evidence, it is not possible to reconstruct what was said during this 1925 talk. The time at which the broadcast was transmitted is worthy of comment. The most prestigious talks took place in the evening, which was regarded as the time when the most listeners were at home.⁵¹⁵ This presentation in October 1925 was broadcast at 10pm, which was on the borderline between “peak time” and the point in the day when few of the public would still be listening.

Hilda Petrie’s next radio appearance was in December 1929, when she presented the first of a series of three fifteen-minute broadcasts. This talk (airing at 7pm on 17th December) was entitled “The Lords of the Philistines”, and the content was billed in the *Radio Times* as “Excavating a Biblical City”.⁵¹⁶ The broadcast took place shortly after the Petries had relocated their research activities to Palestine. Hilda Petrie’s publicity drives had previously been organised around the seasonal excavation trips, whereby the winter would be spent digging overseas (when the climate in the Near East was cooler and more conducive to fieldwork), and her summer London visits coinciding with the “social season”, when potential donors were likely to be in town. The timing of these talks, in December and May, differs slightly from the previous routine, and seems to indicate the extra efforts being put into fundraising after the Petries changed their focus of work to Palestine. *The Listener* declared that:

⁵¹⁴ *Radio Times* issue 107, 9th October 1925.

⁵¹⁵ Murphy 2016, 223.

⁵¹⁶ *Radio Times* issue 324, 13th December 1929.

Lady Petrie, who is remaining in England this winter, is organising a campaign to raise funds for Sir Flinders Petrie's excavating expedition to Beth-Pelet in Palestine. [...] In this expedition Sir Flinders hopes to discover some important relics of Old Testament history, as he believes that he has located the site of the headquarters of David's bodyguard.⁵¹⁷

Hilda Petrie skilfully invoked biblical interpretations in order to emphasise the importance of the work being carried out, and therefore to raise funds to ensure the continuation of excavation activity. Hilda Petrie delivered the final broadcast in this series at 6pm on 19th May 1930, in a talk entitled "New Discoveries in Palestine", which went out on the National Programme. We have a good indication of what was said, as a transcript of the talk is reproduced in *The Listener* magazine.⁵¹⁸ Petrie identified the "Shepherd Kings" of the Bible with the Hyksos, one of "the wandering people of Central Asia".⁵¹⁹ The talk began in a lyrical style:

The month of May is the most exciting time of the year in archaeology, for now the expeditions come home, bearing their harvest with them. The British School of Egyptian Archaeology went on with an excavation begun the previous season and rounded up the history of a Biblical site lying between Gaza and Beersheba, in the wilderness of Edom.⁵²⁰

There was a poignant reminder that certain of the audience had first-hand experience of these locations, through war rather than leisure travel, when Petrie remarked that "Many a British Tommy knows 'dear old Tell Fara' on Allenby's line of defence".⁵²¹ The talk ended with a confident statement that the two-hundred scarabs found in excavating the Hyksos tombs in the plain below the tell, had allowed the Hyksos period in Palestine to be dated to 2375-

⁵¹⁷ "The Listener's Choice for New Week." *The Listener*, volume 2, number 48, 11th December 1929, 798.

⁵¹⁸ *The Listener*, "The Home of the Shepherd Kings", volume 3, issue 72, 28th May 1930, 942.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid. *Edom* was one of the ancient kingdoms of the Transjordan region, and covered an area which equates approximately to the modern Israel and Jordan. Thompson, T.L., ed., 2003. *Jerusalem in ancient history and tradition*. London and New York: T and T Clark, 5; Barton, J., 2012. *A history of the Bible. The book and its faiths*. UK: Penguin Books, 23.

⁵²¹ *The Listener*, volume 3, issue 72, 28th May 1930, 942.

1597 BC, and that “Facts and dates which have long been a stumbling-block fall into line, and become reconciled”.⁵²² *The Listener* helpfully informed readers that in order to accompany the radio programme with a visual representation “A coloured model of the Hyksos camp will be on view for three weeks from July 9 at University College, Gower Street”.⁵²³ This opportunity therefore linked the sonic world of radio with the exhibition scene, allowing an opportunity for the public to view a physical representation of these excavated tombs from a far-away location. The radio presence of Hilda Petrie between 1925 and 1930 shows that even in the first decade of broadcasting, the radio had become part of the armoury of public communication tools used by archaeologists in order to publicise their work, and by extension, versions of their professional personas.

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated within this chapter that from the beginning of regular broadcasting on the BBC, archaeologists were an assertive and vibrant presence in radio talks, and that certain of them were adept in exploiting the mass communication potential of radio. Already radio had become a key part of the communication strategies of professional archaeologists, and had taken its place in the array of media to be accessed in order to promulgate their research to the British public. Radio brought archaeology into the domestic space, and was therefore instrumental in developing the role of professional archaeologists as public intellectuals, from as early as the decade of the 1920s.

Analysis of the broadcast careers of Leonard Woolley and Hilda Petrie provides a window on aspects of Talks radio which have not previously featured in the published literature. This chapter has also thrown new light on the interactions of producers J.C. Stobart and Hilda Matheson with these expert archaeological contributors. The account therefore adds to our knowledge of the nature and functioning of the Talks department, and the activities of key producers during these early days of the BBC.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Ibid.

Whilst education was undoubtedly one motivating factor which led archaeologists to speak on the radio, perhaps a more pressing concern was the drive to raise financial sponsorship. As has been seen, both Leonard Woolley and Hilda Petrie invoked biblical interpretations of archaeology in their radio talks, in the hope of generating enthusiasm for their work, and thereby gaining new sponsors to support future excavation activity. The biblical narratives they presented, and linked with their excavation work, appealed to the educated middle-classes of this period, for whom the Bible had been an important part of their education. Moreover, the biblical content of these presentations also appealed to radio managers and producers, and fitted in well with the overall tone and organisational culture which they had set. The style of the archaeological interpretations presented during this period was commensurate with the cultural values of the institution of the BBC. There was therefore already a synergy between the BBC and the archaeologists. The latter needed to ensure continued opportunities for airtime, in order to encourage public engagement which could lead to financial sponsorship, and BBC managers needed suitable broadcast content. In terms of the BBC's impact on the profession of archaeology, the chapter has shown that archaeologists were adapting to the existence of radio by presenting their findings in ways which would appeal to listeners, and which would therefore help to ensure opportunities for future broadcasts. Already at the earliest point in its existence, the important role played by BBC radio in relation to the newly-emerging discipline of archaeology was becoming evident.

Finally, the chapter contributes new knowledge to the historiography of archaeology. Recent study of archaeological women has highlighted the phenomenon whereby many women who were very active in archaeological fieldwork have had their contribution overshadowed by the work of their husbands. Hilda Petrie is one such personality whose archaeological role has not previously been fully credited. The evidence of her radio contribution highlights her extremely proactive role in the world of archaeology, and shows that she was at the forefront of the fund-raising efforts which made it possible for her husband to continue his excavation activities.

The discussion will now move on to consider the way in which in the ensuing decade archaeologists were a growing presence on radio, and how their radio activities interfaced with certain of the cultural and political changes taking place in the Britain of the 1930s. These

societal developments included themes of imperialism and monarchy, the burgeoning outdoor movement, and the continuing consolidation of the profession of archaeology. Archaeologists would increasingly use broadcasting in order to promulgate their ideas, and for some the regular production of radio scripts would become a normal part of their professional practice. The following chapter presents four case studies which, in addition to fleshing out the picture of archaeology content on 1930s radio, demonstrate some ways in which it could be advantageous for professional archaeologists to use radio as a platform for public communication. As far as BBC managers were concerned, archaeology content remained an appropriate subject area for talks which listeners would find informative and entertaining. However, in the context of the developing public profile of archaeology as a profession, there were occasional difficulties when conceptions of exactly what constituted archaeology, and who should be speaking about it on the radio, differed.

Chapter Three

1930s Radio Archaeology and the Professional Archaeological Identity

Introduction

During the decade of the 1930s, the professional archaeological voice became an increasingly stronger radio presence. This period saw the advent of broadcast careers for many archaeological experts who would go on to make regular radio appearances in the succeeding decades. The interwar period has been described as bringing a “democratisation of culture”, with the new availability of a wide variety of information not previously accessible to the average British citizen.⁵²⁴ A letter from a listener who lived near Leeds in West Yorkshire, illustrates the way in which radio had begun to broaden access to ideas and knowledge for many listeners:

I beg to express my gratitude for the talks provided during the last few months.

I (like many others) have no possibility of intercourse with such people as have given the talks, and it has been a real delight to hear the original and vigorous thought propounded. They somehow have made the world seem bigger.⁵²⁵

This decade also witnessed a new emphasis on the archaeology of Britain. Thanks in large part to the activities of the new wave of professional archaeologists, there was a growing realisation that it was not necessary to journey to exotic lands for archaeological excitements, and that the land of Britain itself had a rich and complex archaeology waiting to be discovered.⁵²⁶ This new interest in the British landscape was reflected in the radio schedules. The decade saw an increasing predominance of programmes concentrating on the archaeology of Britain. During the 1920s, only twenty-one broadcasts had British archaeology as their theme. Though fewer archaeology programmes were broadcast overall in the 1930s, at least thirty-three talks profiled British archaeology. Half of these broadcasts concentrated

⁵²⁴ LeMahieu 1988, 273-292.

⁵²⁵ BBC WAC/R41/209/1. Programme Correspondence Section, Talks File 1, 1929-1938/ letter from listener F. Monkhouse of Scholes, near Leeds, to John Reith, 29th December 1931.

⁵²⁶ Thurley 2013, 97-98 and 161.

on the archaeology of Wales, reflecting its important contribution to disciplinary developments during this period.⁵²⁷ By 1933, the dominant voice of Leonard Woolley would be joined by fellow professionals such as Cyril Fox, broadcasting from Cardiff, but also by that of amateur archaeologist S.E. Winbolt, whose good practice bridged the divide between amateur and professional. Towards the end of the decade, notably by 1937, professionals were ensuring that their radio presence was felt, and the airwaves were increasingly used as an outlet for their authoritative collective voice, (see Appendices 1 and 2).

The BBC's monopoly on broadcasting was by now apparently assured, and its central position in national life was becoming more secure.⁵²⁸ The move to the purpose-built Broadcasting House in May 1932 underlined the fact that as an institution the BBC was rapidly expanding, and gaining legitimacy from association with the voices of eminent speakers, so that "cultural life was increasingly enacted through radio".⁵²⁹ This was also a period of reorganisation, during which the National and Regional programmes were consolidated, and programme planning placed on a more consistent footing.⁵³⁰ The National and Regional programmes had started to come into operation from the end of the 1920s, displacing the original single network service, and replacing the "friendly informality" of local broadcasting with a new centralised service, in which London held a key position.⁵³¹ This development was consistent with the move to centralisation in other large organisations such as the railways, and the electricity grid.⁵³² In 1933, the BBC's regional structure could be summarised thus:

[A] Head Office and five provincial Regions – Midland Region, North Region, Scottish Region, West Region, and Belfast. The Head Office includes the administration of a sixth Region – the London Region – which supplies the National programme as well as

⁵²⁷ For the decade of the 1920s, 89 archaeology programmes have been identified. For the decade of the 1930s, there are approximately 59 programmes in total. (These figures do not include repeats.) This data is based on information compiled from BBC Genome, and indicated in Appendix 1.

⁵²⁸ Chignell 2011, 36-38.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 36; Street 2005, 45-47.

⁵³⁰ Briggs 1985, 131-138; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 17-18.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 320. The official start date for the beginning of the Regional scheme was 9th March 1930 – see Street 2005, 50.

⁵³² Pegg 1983, 23-24.

the London Regional programme. The provincial centres supply the Regional programme for their own Regions.⁵³³

The original impetus behind this reorganisation lay in reasons of bureaucratic and technical practicality, rather than any particular plan to support regional broadcasting.⁵³⁴ After all, “broadcasting [...] was, and remains a local or, at most, regional service, in technical terms”.⁵³⁵ There had already been considerable adjustment to the original broadcast infrastructure, with the introduction of ‘relay stations’ from as early as 1924, in order to address difficulties with reception of the signal from the ‘main’ stations.⁵³⁶ By the early 1930s it was more practical and economical to have a smaller number of high-powered transmitters covering the whole country, rather than continuing to rely on the original radio stations based in towns and cities. The relocation of some transmitters would ensure the best broadcast quality possible, standards of reception still being a common problem during the 1930s.⁵³⁷ There was also a shortage of available wavelengths, a problem which needed to be addressed on an international level,⁵³⁸ and it was not feasible to continue with “twenty different stations on twenty different wavelengths”.⁵³⁹

In addition to these practical reasons to reorganise, there was the aspiration to provide an alternative to the single broadcast channel of the early days. The shortage of wavelengths meant that it was not yet possible to provide multiple alternative programmes, but at least all listeners would now have some choice.⁵⁴⁰ It is important to note that the location of the new transmitters, and therefore the make-up of the BBC Regions, was guided by geographical and administrative priorities rather than reflecting local cultural characteristics.⁵⁴¹ Certain of the areas delineated, such as the North and West Regions, were very extensive in size, meaning that they had little cultural coherence in real terms.⁵⁴²

⁵³³ *BBC Yearbook 1933*. Broadcasting House, London: The British Broadcasting Corporation, 4.

⁵³⁴ Briggs 1985, 131-4; Pegg 1983, 23; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 318 and 321-322.

⁵³⁵ Burns 1977, 21.

⁵³⁶ Eckersley 1941, 68-72.

⁵³⁷ Pegg 1983, 40; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 358.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 318-320; Hajkowski 2010, 116.

⁵³⁹ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 318.

⁵⁴⁰ Eckersley 1941, 115-116.

⁵⁴¹ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 321-322.

⁵⁴² Linfoot 2011, 11; Pegg 1983, 23.

Regional sensitivities occasionally manifested themselves through radio. One example of this was the dispute in the early days of the relay “experiment” over whether the citizens of Sheffield should receive radio programmes relayed from Manchester.⁵⁴³ The Manchester relay was no sooner set up than the civic authorities of Sheffield decided that they would prefer to take programmes from London, rather than from their closely situated neighbours just the other side of the Pennines.⁵⁴⁴ As Chief Engineer Peter Eckersley put it, “This meant a longer telephone wire but a shorter argument, so the Sheffield relay station was arranged to relay the London programmes”.⁵⁴⁵ There was also a decade-long controversy over the character of the radio service for Wales. The proposal put forward in the latter part of the 1920s had amalgamated Wales and the west of England into a single West Region, as the preferred solution to the practical problem of where to site the transmitter in order to maximise reception.⁵⁴⁶ However, the provision of a discrete broadcasting service centred in Wales was regarded by many to be vitally important for the quality of broadcasts received by Welsh citizens, as well as being intimately bound up with the preservation and continuing development of Welsh language and culture.⁵⁴⁷ The lobbyist’s demands for a Welsh broadcast service were strenuously resisted by Reith for a long time, but were ultimately granted, with the institution in 1937 of the Wales Region with its own transmitter and wavelength.⁵⁴⁸

In a general sense the regional structure did allow BBC managers to exploit the enhanced possibilities to introduce regional flavour and themes into broadcast content. The three main English regions - West, Midland and North - displayed different attributes, and regionally produced programmes often reflected distinctive local interests and concerns.⁵⁴⁹ These were in part a reflection of local characteristics, but also resulted from the personal interests of individual regional producers.⁵⁵⁰ In many ways this was a time of increasing control from

⁵⁴³ Eckersley 1941, 69-70; Scannell and Cardiff, 305.

⁵⁴⁴ Eckersley 1941, 69-70.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁴⁶ *BBC Yearbook 1933*, 65-68; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 321-2.

⁵⁴⁷ BBC/WAC/R34/427/1. Policy. Inauguration of Welsh Region, 1928-1931. Files 1a and 1b; Davies, J., 1993. *A history of Wales*. London: Penguin Books, 564-5; Davies 1994, 39-100.

⁵⁴⁸ Briggs 1965, 321-323; Davies 1994, 80-81; Hajkowski 2010, 119-120 and 179-182.

⁵⁴⁹ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 333-337.

⁵⁵⁰ Linfoot 2011, 11; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 333-334.

headquarters in London on matters of programme style, content and budget.⁵⁵¹ Developments were more nuanced than this, however. The move towards centralisation was most marked between 1928 and 1932.⁵⁵² In the ensuing years, the policy to centralise output began to be regarded as short-sighted. New management structures and directives were accompanied by the recognition that a “metropolitan bias” should not be allowed to dominate programme output, that the regions could offer distinctive programming, and that there was a responsibility to represent the views and interests of the British population as a whole.⁵⁵³ There was a great deal of support for the autonomy of regional producers from certain senior managers, and this was instrumental in encouraging and supporting the creative output which flowed from the regions.⁵⁵⁴

By early 1930, the whole of the population had a choice of listening, from either the London-based National Programme, or one of the regions, based in a small number of provincial production centres.⁵⁵⁵ At the same time, the BBC’s position was not as monopolistic as traditional accounts assume; in reality there was already a great deal of competition from commercial broadcasters.⁵⁵⁶ This had the effect of encouraging a more entertaining diet of programmes, in an effort to appeal to a broader range of listeners, and to attempt to differentiate between types of audience.⁵⁵⁷ An increasing awareness of the need to take the views of listeners into account led to the introduction of audience research in 1936, which had the effect of modifying the relationship between the BBC and the public.⁵⁵⁸ This was the heyday of radio Adult Education, and the accumulated experience of educational provision added to the conviction that a radio talk was to be distinguished from a lecture. As Talks Assistant Roger Wilson remarked:

⁵⁵¹ Briggs 1985, 146-149; Hajkowski 2010, 117-118; Pegg 1983, 34-35; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 155-158.

⁵⁵² Hajkowski 2010, 111-112.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 119; Scannell 1993, 32-34.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

⁵⁵⁵ Jones 2010, 66-67; Pegg 1983, 22-35; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 304-332.

⁵⁵⁶ Street, S., 2000. BBC Sunday policy and audience response, 1930-1945. *Journal of Radio Studies*, volume 7, number 1, 161-179; Street 2006.

⁵⁵⁷ Bailey 2007, 96-108; Briggs 1985, 129-130; Cardiff 1980, 29-47; Scannell, P. and Cardiff, D., 1982. Public service broadcasting before the war. In Waites, B., Bennett, T. and Martin, G., eds. *Popular culture: past and present*. Beckenham: Croom Helm/Open University, 161-188 - see 180-183.

⁵⁵⁸ Cardiff 1980, 35; Nicholas, S., 2006. The good servant: the origins and development of BBC Listener Research 1936-1950. [Online.] <https://boa.microform.digital/collections/6/view>. Last updated: 27 February 2008; Pegg 1983, 109-146; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 375-380.

You and I know that a university lecture is just about as dull a thing as can possibly be, but the BBC has shown people that serious things can be made alive and interesting without any cheapness of presentation, and now that people are coming to know this they are tuning in joyfully.⁵⁵⁹

Characteristic of these years was an underlying concern with matters relating to Britain's imperial legacy, and this was conveyed in the radio output. The ongoing effects of decolonisation meant that the British Empire continued to be a source of reflection and concern for the British national identity. The Empire Broadcasting Service commenced in October 1932, transmitting frequent coverage of ceremony and sport, adding to the general impression of "the BBC as some sort of audio diary marking national events".⁵⁶⁰ One way in which these preoccupations manifested themselves was through the lens of the archaeology of Wales, and this chapter analyses an instance whereby the powerful tropes of imperial power, monarchy and Welsh nationhood, were blended and presented on radio. The account then moves on to examine the ways in which the enjoyment of Britain's archaeology was linked via radio to the "outdoor movement" which rose to prominence during this decade.

Archaeology was increasingly manifesting itself as a recognised discipline. It was important to the archaeological identity that its members presented themselves as scientific practitioners. The professional aspirations of archaeologists aligned with developments in BBC policy with regard to the provision of adult education, whereby a range of subject specialists were required to broadcast educational content.⁵⁶¹ As Hilda Matheson noted, the public were increasingly using radio "as a means of keeping in touch with the world of thought and ideas, of books, music, drama and science".⁵⁶² Through educational programming, radio could help address the perceived need for improved access to learning for the British populace, many of whom were coping with the effects of poverty and unemployment.⁵⁶³ The appointment of at

⁵⁵⁹ BBC/WAC/R51/144. Talks, English Countryside (and its Heritage), 1936/Midland Region memorandum Roger Wilson (Talks Assistant) to E.G. Francis (Education Officer), 12th May 1936.

⁵⁶⁰ Potter 2012, 59; quotation from Chignell 2011, 37.

⁵⁶¹ Matheson 1933, 193-201.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 193.

⁵⁶³ Lawson and Silver 1973, 385-6

least one specialist science producer to the BBC at this time (Mary Adams, who joined in 1930) indicates that attention was being paid to science coverage on radio.⁵⁶⁴

This chapter examines some instances whereby expert contributors presented broadcasts which linked archaeology with the scientific process. There was an emerging consensus amongst archaeologists that their discipline should be presented on radio only by experts who were properly qualified to discuss the subject. The chapter examines an instance whereby this claim to professional status was enacted through interactions between archaeologists and BBC managers. The thorny question of which personalities were deemed to have the authority to broadcast on archaeological themes was manifested in a very public dispute between an expert contributor, and Talks department managers.

3.1 Versions of Identity: Archaeological Radio Broadcasts from the National Museum of Wales

The work of the National Museum of Wales was a source of regular archaeological broadcasts during the interwar period. Museums formed an important base for the practice of archaeology at this time, and therefore also played a key role in the professionalisation agenda.⁵⁶⁵ The aftermath of the First World War gave rise to a renewed emphasis upon the formation of professionally-curated museums.⁵⁶⁶ The National Museum, situated in the Welsh capital of Cardiff, had a central role in the development of British archaeology during this period, and the Museum was regarded as a stepping-stone to professional success.⁵⁶⁷ Archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler had been the first Keeper of Archaeology, and subsequently Museum Director, and was succeeded in the roles by his contemporary Cyril Fox.⁵⁶⁸ Fox

⁵⁶⁴ Jones 2011. Jones notes (p.1) that Adams did not necessarily regard science-themed radio talks as educational in themselves, but rather saw them as a stimulant for listeners to seek further information on science topics.

⁵⁶⁵ Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 24.

⁵⁶⁶ Davies 1993, 303, 344-346; Evans, J. and Boswell, D., eds., 1999. *Representing the nation: a reader. Histories, heritage and museums*. London: Routledge; Knell, S.J. et al., 2011. *National museums. New studies from around the world*. Abingdon: Routledge; Macdonald, S., ed., 2006. *A companion to museum studies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing; Moore 2001, 3-55; Walsh, K., 1992. *The representation of the past. Museums and heritage in the post-modern world*. London: Routledge; Williams 1985, 162-167.

⁵⁶⁷ Daniel, G., 1983. *The national museum of Wales as a mirror of ancient Wales. A 75th anniversary lecture*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales; Ward, A., 2008. *Archaeology, heritage and identity: the creation and development of a national museum in Wales*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Cardiff University, 92-175.

⁵⁶⁸ Ward 2008, 142-209. Wheeler was Keeper of Archaeology, and subsequently Museum Director, between 1920 and 1926. Fox succeeded Wheeler as Keeper in 1924, and became Director in 1926.

carried out many broadcasts on the archaeology of Wales, and they form part of the history of the development of Welsh national identity in the interwar period.

The growth of the Welsh middle class and rising prosperity during the Edwardian period had led to an increasing nationalist awareness.⁵⁶⁹ The disruption of the First World War brought profound changes, such as a large-scale movement of people away from the country, and the decline of the landed gentry, and this led to a new phase of self-examination and a questioning of the social order.⁵⁷⁰ The early to mid-1920s also saw a new concern about the role of the emerging nation of Wales within Britain and the wider world. The debate was intimately connected with the nature of Britain as an imperial power, and the diminishing influence of empire. At the same time as the British imperial project was beginning to wane, the assertion of Welsh national identity became an increasingly significant factor. The rediscovery of the nation's literary, musical and archaeological heritage played out simultaneously with an increasing permeation into Welsh life of aspects of popular culture imported from England and America.⁵⁷¹

Despite severe economic depression for many inhabitants of Wales during the interwar period, there remained a growing middle-class constituent able to indulge in the new entertainments of the age, radio amongst them.⁵⁷² By the early 1920s the city of Cardiff and its adjacent coastal strip towards the west was home to around 50% of the population. Together with the growth of Cardiff as an administrative centre from 1914 onwards, this meant that when the BBC was setting up its radio stations, Cardiff was a natural home for its Welsh activities. The Cardiff radio station opened on 13th February 1923.⁵⁷³ Wales was also well-provided with archaeological institutions, cultural establishments being a key way in which the nation expressed its identity. The National Museum of Wales at Cardiff, granted its

⁵⁶⁹ Morgan, K.O., 1982. *Rebirth of a nation. Wales 1880-1980*. Oxford: Oxford University Press / University of Wales Press, 129-132.

⁵⁷⁰ Davies 1993, 578-80.

⁵⁷¹ Smith, D., 1988. Wales between the wars. In Herbert, T. and Jones, G.E., eds. *Wales between the wars*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1-12; Davies 1993, 562-563.

⁵⁷² Davies 1993, 559.

⁵⁷³ Williams, G.A., 1985. *When was Wales? A history of the Welsh*. London: Penguin Books, 223; Morgan, P., 1968. *Background to Wales. A course of studies in modern Welsh life*. Llandybie, Carmarthenshire: Christopher Davies Publishers, 66-67.

Royal Charter in 1907, acted as a modern institution for a city and nation concerned to mark its place as a cosmopolitan player in the imperial context.⁵⁷⁴

The time was ripe for archaeology experts to move in and bring their professional expertise to bear on the situation in Wales. The depredations of the First World War had left their mark on the Museum's organisation, and by the time Mortimer Wheeler was appointed as Keeper of Archaeology in 1920, the collections had been neglected for some years and were "stored in a murky suite in the City Library".⁵⁷⁵ With characteristic energy, Wheeler set about resolving the situation, fulfilling his brief to provide the people of Wales with a museum which was fit for purpose, and which would contribute to public understanding of the Welsh identity, through the medium of archaeology.⁵⁷⁶ Wheeler's impact was such that the National Museum of Wales at Cardiff would play an important part in the emergence of British archaeology as a professional discipline.⁵⁷⁷

In addition to his work on improving the museum displays, Wheeler set up a programme of 'outreach' involving excavations around Wales, so that the profile of Welsh archaeology and its professional practice was raised.⁵⁷⁸ Part of Wheeler's plan for renewal had been to persuade his friend and colleague Cyril Fox to move from Cambridgeshire to Wales to join him, and upon Wheeler's appointment as Museum Director in 1924, Fox took up the post of Keeper of Archaeology. By 1926, Wheeler had moved to take up the Keepership at the London Museum, and Fox succeeded him as Director of the National Museum of Wales.⁵⁷⁹ Fox had become established as one of the foremost archaeologists of the day, having built his

⁵⁷⁴ Bassett, D., 2002. The National Museum of Wales. A brief sketch of its nature, foundation and early history. In Scott-Fox, C. *Cyril Fox. Archaeologist Extraordinary*. Exeter: Oxbow Books, 217-224; Nash-Williams, V.E., ed., 1949. *One hundred years of Welsh archaeology, 1846-1946*. Cambrian Archaeological Association; Osmond, J., ed., 2007. *Myths, memories and futures. The national library and national museum in the story of Wales*. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh affairs; Scott-Fox 2002, 62-65.

⁵⁷⁵ Wheeler 1956a., 64; Carr 2012, 91-93.

⁵⁷⁶ Carr 2012, 88-91; Morgan 1968, 86-88; Morgan, P., 1983. From a death to a view: the hunt for the Welsh past in the romantic period. In Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T., eds. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 43-100; Wheeler, R.E.M., 1925. *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Wheeler 1956a., 63-73. Wheeler noted that when he moved on from the post there had been some pressure to replace him with a candidate with a Welsh background, but that he was keen to encourage Fox to apply for the post - see Foster, I.L., Alcock, L. and Fox, C., 1963. *Culture and environment: essays in honour of Sir Cyril Fox*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Ward 2008, 142-144.

⁵⁷⁸ Stout 2008, 167-170.

⁵⁷⁹ Hawkes 1982, 99-100; Scott-Fox 2002, 65-67; Ward 2008, 142-209; Wheeler 1958a., 71-75.

archaeological reputation on his publication *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923), which broke new ground in science-based archaeology.⁵⁸⁰ In his 1932 publication *The Personality of Britain* Fox sought to gain a fresh understanding of British prehistory through reference to archaeological evidence as recorded on maps.⁵⁸¹ The use of techniques of cartography was innovative, in that it encouraged spatial awareness in a discipline “notoriously object-fixated and site-centred”.⁵⁸² Written in Fox’s characteristically accessible and engaging style, *The Personality of Britain* is theoretically rooted in the invasion hypothesis prevalent at the time.⁵⁸³ Whilst they have been superseded in many respects, Fox’s ideas were extremely influential on the archaeology of the interwar period.⁵⁸⁴ In his subsequent publications Fox specialised in a style of imaginative reconstruction based on excavation results which was relatively novel at this period, and helped to build his reputation as someone who could take the raw data drawn from archaeological excavation and create compelling narratives of the past.⁵⁸⁵ Fox defended this type of creative interpretation, stating that:

the large and growing public interest in the early history of the Principality makes one demand on the archaeologist. It is that after measuring, weighing, and restoring the dry bones, he shall endeavour to breathe into them the breath of life. It is a demand entirely justifiable. Our ultimate aim must be the reconstruction of the life of man in Wales in pre-historic times.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁰ Scott-Fox 2002, 40-44; Smith 2009, 2 and 37.

⁵⁸¹ Hunter and Ralston 2009, 151.

⁵⁸² Stout 2008, 20.

⁵⁸³ Fox, C., 1943. (First published in 1932.) *The personality of Britain. Its influence on inhabitant and invader in prehistoric and early historic times*, 4th edition. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 90. The book originated from a public lecture given by Fox – see Scott-Fox 2002, 211. The *invasion hypothesis*, which largely dominated Western archaeological thought during the first half of the twentieth century, put forward the theory that migration and invasion were the driving forces behind cultural change. See Renfrew and Bahn 2012, 463-464.

⁵⁸⁴ Darvill 2010, 13; Hunter and Ralston 2009, 8.

⁵⁸⁵ Fox, C, 1959. *Life and death in the Bronze Age. An archaeologist’s fieldwork*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Scott-Fox 2002, 76; Sorrell, J. and Sorrell, M., 2018. *Alan Sorrell. The man who created Roman Britain*. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 117-118; Ward 2008, 176-207. Fox’s creativity is demonstrated in his interpretation of the burial practices revealed through excavation of the Bronze Age barrow at Ysceifiog in Flintshire, N. Wales, in 1925. See Ward 2008, 179-190.

⁵⁸⁶ Fox, C., 1926. The Ysceifiog Circle and Barrow. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, volume LXXXI, June 1926, 48-75.

Fox's qualities as an engaging and imaginative lecturer contributed to his propensity to be a suitable radio broadcaster. It was noted that "[h]e had the supreme tutorial gift of thinking aloud in an exciting way and so involving listeners in the development of his own absorbing thoughts".⁵⁸⁷ John Davies, in his account of the role of the BBC in Wales, notes Fox's interest in broadcasting, and describes his close involvement with arrangements for music broadcasting in the early days of the Cardiff station, relaying that Fox "offered the almost completed main building of the museum, with its excellent acoustics, as a centre for concerts, provided they were free".⁵⁸⁸ There was precedent for broadcasting having taken place from the museum premises themselves, as from 1924 onwards Isaac J. Williams, Keeper of the Department of Art, had made regular broadcasts from the museum, in a series entitled *5WA's Five O'Clocks*.⁵⁸⁹ These early talks consisted of musical interludes introduced by Williams, and the following year Williams broadcast a Schools series on archaeological themes.⁵⁹⁰

Cyril Fox also made regular appearances on regional and Schools radio, his first evidenced broadcast being in December 1925, in a Schools programme entitled *How Wales Helped to Build Stonehenge*.⁵⁹¹ From early 1930 Fox began to use radio as a means to advertise his work at the Museum of Wales to the wider public. At this time Fox was also engaged in broader debates regarding the use of the Welsh countryside, as is shown through his work in support of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Wales.⁵⁹² In the early 1930s Fox made a series of broadcasts on the theme of landscape and preservation. The preservationist movement was gaining support in Wales, in response to the effects of increasing industrial impact on the landscape. The concepts discussed by preservationists interfaced with the concerns of archaeologists as to how to present and preserve the legacy of the past.⁵⁹³ There were also political interlinkages between the public use of the historic environment, and the emergence

⁵⁸⁷ Personal letter from Nowell Myres to Scott-Fox in 1986, quoted in Scott-Fox 2002, 211.

⁵⁸⁸ Davies 1994, 21-22.

⁵⁸⁹ For example, *5WA's Five O'Clocks* broadcast on 27th March 1924 consisted of "Vocal and instrumental artistes and Talks to Women" – see *Radio Times* issue 26, 21st March 1924.

⁵⁹⁰ For example, "Arts and Craft in the Bronze Age" was broadcast on 16th June 1925 – see *Radio Times* issue 90, 12th June 1925.

⁵⁹¹ *Radio Times* issue 115, 4th December 1925.

⁵⁹² Gruffudd, R.P., 1989. *Landscape and nationhood: tradition and modernity in rural Wales, 1900-1950*.

Unpublished PhD thesis, Loughborough University of Technology, 49.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 21-101.

of Wales as a modern nation state.⁵⁹⁴ On Thursday 6th March 1930 Fox spoke on the theme of *The Preservation of Ancient Wales*.⁵⁹⁵ Later that year (21st October 1930) he discussed *The Field Work of the National Museum of Wales*, as part of a series badged “Research on Land and Sea”.⁵⁹⁶ On 7th January 1933, Fox’s theme was *A visit to the National Museum of Wales*, which formed part of a series entitled “Western Week-end” and the next year, he presented a mid-evening talk (7.45pm on 3rd July 1934) entitled *The Need of a Folk Museum for Britain*.⁵⁹⁷

Although it has not been possible to source scripts for these broadcasts, the content of the *Preservation* talk can be surmised, as Fox wrote an article on the same theme, which attests to his interests in recording past life-ways, and in preventing the loss of Welsh landscape and archaeology to the effects of industrialisation.⁵⁹⁸ Fox’s radio work clearly dovetailed with his concerns as a professional archaeologist, responsible through his role for representing and interpreting Welsh national identity. These broadcasts were early examples in a long-standing radio career. The discussion will now move on to focus on a broadcast occasion in which Fox participated, which illustrates the place of archaeology in Empire broadcasting, and contributed to both the cultural authority of the BBC, and the professional authority of Cyril Fox.

Formal Opening of East Wing Extensions, National Museum of Wales (October 1932)

The interdependent relationship between the BBC and Fox, in his role as Museum Director, was clearly on display on the occasion of what the *Radio Times* billed as “The Formal Opening of the East Wing Extensions, National Museum of Wales”.⁵⁹⁹ The East Wing extension was in part built to house the new Folk Culture Gallery of the Museum, an area intended to showcase local Welsh culture. In common with other ‘folk’ displays of this era, the format of the exhibition was controversial. Debates centred around the extent to which Wales should be

⁵⁹⁴ Ward 2008, 210-247. For the politics of preservationism see also Yusaf 2014, 178-185 and Matless 2016, 48-54.

⁵⁹⁵ *Radio Times* issue 335, 2nd March 1930.

⁵⁹⁶ *Radio Times* issue 368, 19th October 1930. The *Radio Times* record suggests that this was part of a series, in that it bills the programme as *Research on Land and Sea 1 – the interest and importance of field work*.

⁵⁹⁷ *Radio Times* issue 483, 30th December 1932; *Radio Times* issue 561, 29th June 1934.

⁵⁹⁸ Fox, C., 1930. The preservation of ancient Wales. In (editor unknown) *The Welsh Housing and Development Year Book 1930*: 75-8; Ward 2008, 216-217.

⁵⁹⁹ *Radio Times*, issue 473, 21st October 1932.

represented as having a 'traditional' folk culture, or as an emergent modern nation.⁶⁰⁰ Before discussing the broadcast and its significance, it is necessary to highlight the background to the BBC's empire-themed broadcasts. During the 1920s and 30s broadcasts focusing on imperial themes were extremely common. Hajkowski's work on the imperial ethos as promulgated by BBC talks highlights the way in which:

Imperial national history formed a cultural milieu from which the BBC drew stories, characters and locations for broadcasts. In turning to imperial history for program material the BBC continually reproduced an "imperial myth". By the interwar period the myth lost some of its militaristic edge, but it remained central to the British world-view.⁶⁰¹

Broadcasts often featured ceremonial occasions as an expression of British national identity.⁶⁰² As noted by MacKenzie, a historian specialising in the deep-seated effects of empire in British culture, "[t]he entire broadcasting philosophy between the wars [...] tended towards reaching a 'national' audience and laying emphasis on national ritual and royal events".⁶⁰³ Royal occasions were invoked as "a national cultural cement", in order to draw the country together and personify unity of purpose.⁶⁰⁴ The extent to which programmes with imperial themes actually appealed to the interwar radio listener is subject to debate, though there is no doubt as to their prevalence in the radio schedules.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁰ Stratton, M., 1996. Open-air and industrial museums: windows onto a lost world or graveyards for unloved buildings? In Hunter, M., ed. *Preserving the past. The rise of heritage in modern Britain*. Stroud, Glos: Alan Sutton Publishing, 156-176.

⁶⁰¹ Hajkowski 2010, 35.

⁶⁰² MacKenzie 1986, 165-191; BBC Yearbook 1930.

⁶⁰³ MacKenzie 1986, 168.

⁶⁰⁴ Chaney, D., 1983. A symbolic mirror of ourselves: civic ritual in mass society. *Media, Culture and Society* 1983, 5, 119-135; Nicholas, S., 1998. From John Bull to John Citizen: images of national identity and citizenship on the wartime BBC. In Weight, R. and Beach, A., eds. *The right to belong: citizenship and national identity in Britain, 1930-1960*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 36-58, quotation p.39.

⁶⁰⁵ Briggs 1985, 140-141; Constantine, S., 1986. 'Bringing the Empire alive.' The Empire Marketing Board and imperial propaganda, 1926-1933. In MacKenzie, 192-231; Mangan, J.A., 1986. The grit of our forefathers. Invented traditions, propaganda and imperialism. In MacKenzie, 113-139; Potter 2012, 63-4; Porter, B., 2004. *The absent-minded imperialists: empire, society and culture in Britain*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 255-282.

The elaborate East Wing opening ceremony which took place on 25th October 1932, in the presence of His Royal Highness the Prince George (later Duke of Kent), dominated the Welsh Regional radio schedule for the afternoon, and was relayed from the National Museum (fig.6).⁶⁰⁶ Prince George was the son of King George V and Queen Mary. This was not the first occasion at the Museum involving archaeology and royalty. On 21st April 1927, the King and Queen had attended the official opening ceremony of the new entrance hall. After the presentation of Fox to the King, and the royal party's visit to the Museum, the carriage procession had departed for a civic reception.⁶⁰⁷



Figure 6. Cyril Fox at the official opening of the East Wing, National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, 1932, an occasion which was afforded extensive coverage on BBC radio. Fox is pictured far left, and Prince George far right.

Source: Western Mail and Echo, 1932.

The present occasion involved an intensive amount of preparation for staff, and especially for Fox as Museum Director, the occasion having been “planned with military precision and [...] impeccable – even the weather followed the plan”.⁶⁰⁸ Radio station 5WA Cardiff covered the

⁶⁰⁶ *Radio Times* issue 473, Southern. 21st October 1932. Formal Opening of the East Wing Extensions, National Museum of Wales by H.R.H. Prince George, Cardiff Western Region, Tuesday 25th October 1932, 2.30pm.

⁶⁰⁷ Scott-Fox 2002, 96.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

ceremony in detail, and the broadcast, commencing at 2.30pm, continued until 4pm. The carriage-borne royal party were greeted on the museum steps by the welcoming committee, which included the President of the National Museum of Wales, Sir William Reardon Smith, Baronet, and were read the address of welcome by Cyril Fox. The party were then shown around the exhibits in the new wing, and Prince George declared the new galleries and lecture theatre open. The ceremonial also included the presentation of a bronze statuette to the Prince, the singing of the Welsh and English national anthems, a programme of music from a choral society and orchestra, and prayers led by the Archdruid and the Archbishop of Wales. Here was a major BBC radio broadcast, where notions of Welsh identity, imperialism and royalty were conflated and portrayed via radio, and where archaeology was central to the occasion.

In covering the 1932 opening of the new archaeology gallery as a major broadcast occasion, BBC radio was in effect harnessing the ancient past of Wales in order to symbolise a future for the Welsh nation, in which Wales was portrayed firmly as a component part of the kingdom of Britain. Such ceremonies exemplified occasions when the royal family was marshalled in its role as representative of the British state, in rituals invoking imperial order and power.⁶⁰⁹ At the same time, Cyril Fox could use the platform of the BBC to place his discipline in the public eye, whilst the BBC could gain cultural kudos from the exchange. By aligning with the projected values of 'King, Country and Empire', the burgeoning archaeology establishment could become part of this narrative, and was able to claim some of their authority for itself.⁶¹⁰

3.2 Radio Archaeology and the 'Outdoor Movement'

The discussion will now move on to consider another of the dominant cultural movements of the period which impacted on radio portrayals of archaeology, and which linked equally strongly to the changing role of Britain within its empire. One of the distinctive cultural tropes

⁶⁰⁹ Cannadine, D., 1983. The context, performance and meaning of ritual: the British monarchy and the 'invention of tradition', c. 1820-1977. *In* Hobsbawm and Ranger, 101-164; Ward 2008, 1-23.

⁶¹⁰ Nicholas, S., 2002. Being British: creeds and cultures. *In* Robbins, K., ed., *The British Isles 1901-1951*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 103-135.

of the interwar years - itself in part a legacy of imperialism - was a renewed emphasis on ideas of national identity as they related to the British, and often specifically the English, countryside.⁶¹¹ The phenomenon has been referred to as “one of the fundamental tendencies within the established public culture of the interwar years”,⁶¹² and had its origins in the effects of war, political upheaval and economic uncertainty, leading to the need to retreat to the calm and tranquillity of the countryside, which represented a seemingly timeless and more secure world.⁶¹³ This new emphasis on the countryside was harnessed for political purposes, and

[a] sort of ‘national ruralism’ developed, the British (English) equivalent to more voracious nationalisms elsewhere. It was arguably the cultural dynamic of the National Government, fostering consensus around nostalgia; and archaeology had a clear role in this.⁶¹⁴

The phase also coincided with increased leisure opportunities in the countryside. The 1930s saw a surge in domestic tourism, partly due to a rise in car ownership and opportunities for leisure time. This also contributed to a new emphasis on local archaeology, history and folklore, and a certain turning inwards to sources of rural mystique and myth perceived to be rooted within the land of Britain itself.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹¹ Chase, M., 1989. This is no claptrap: this is our heritage. In Shaw, C. and Chase, M., eds. *The imagined past: history and nostalgia*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 128-146; Lowenthal, D., 1991. British national identity and the English landscape. *Rural History* 1991, 2 (2), 205-230; Lowenthal, D., 1994. European and English landscapes as national symbols. In Hooson, D., ed. *Geography and national identity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 15-38; Miller, S., 1995. Urban dreams and rural reality: land and landscape in English culture, 1920-45. *Rural History* 6 (1), 89-102; Pugh 2009, 276-281; Street 2006, 67-8; Wiener, M.J., 1985. *English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit, 1850-1980*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 46-80.

⁶¹² Wright, P., 1985. *On living in an old country: the national past in contemporary Britain*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 104. The movement also manifested itself in popular literature such as H.V. Morton’s *In Search of England* (1927), J.B. Priestley’s *English Journey* (1933), and H.J. Massingham’s *The Face of Britain: English Downland* (1936), and in railway poster art - see Cook, B., 1987. *The Britain of Brian Cook*. London: Batsford.

⁶¹³ Kumar 2003, 230; Marr, A., 2008. *A history of modern Britain*. London: Pan Macmillan, xix-xxii; Morris, R., 2007. Breathing the future: the antiquaries and conservation of the landscape, 1850-1950, 331-334; Pugh 2009, 276.

⁶¹⁴ Stout 2008, 224-225.

⁶¹⁵ Hauser 2008, 10-12 and 97-101; Dorson, R.M., 1968. *The British folklorists. A history*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 392-441.

In his consideration of landscape and citizenship in the interwar period, the cultural geographer David Matless described the way in which “[b]etween 1918 and 1939 open-air leisure in England took on a new scale and scope [...] the vision of a new, ordered Englishness extended to matters of landscape and citizenship”.⁶¹⁶ The debate was bound up with political considerations including the use of landscape as a public space, and discussions regarding the extent to which constituents of the newly-democratised populace should be permitted to use the countryside. There was a perceived need to train a public alienated from its rural inheritance due to years of industrial development, in the ways of the countryside now that they were relatively affluent enough to engage with the countryside in leisure mode.⁶¹⁷ From the mid-1930s the Shell Guides to the British counties provided a window on a countryside opening up to an increasingly eclectic range of day-trippers. Originating from a suggestion by poet and architectural conservationist John Betjeman to a Shell oil publicity manager, the guides were intended to aid travellers in understanding the rural scene.⁶¹⁸ Presented in an easily portable format with expertly written prose and attractive sepia-toned photographs, the Guides had the dual role of advertising the Shell oil company’s petrol at a time of keen competition from other providers, thus identifying Shell with the values of countryside conservation and rural nostalgia.⁶¹⁹

The formation of new pressure groups such as the *Ramblers’ Association* and the *Youth Hostels Association* helped to open up access to the countryside for the middle and working classes.⁶²⁰ Linked with the new class consciousness arising from developments in socialism and communism, the countryside movement and ‘the right to roam’ sometimes resulted in “militant rambling”⁶²¹ whereby visiting the countryside became a way of asserting the right to reclaim landscapes for the ordinary working person.⁶²²

⁶¹⁶ Matless 2016, 94-95. See also Stout 2008, 225, who refers to the archaeological past being harnessed for the cause of “English civilisation”, and to the “deep symbiosis between archaeologists, conservationist and planners”.

⁶¹⁷ Gardiner, J., 2010. *The Thirties: an intimate history*. London: Harper Press, 245-6; Matless 2016, 95-97.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 247-249.

⁶¹⁹ Matless 2016, 97; Wright 1985, 61-68.

⁶²⁰ Pugh 2009, 278.

⁶²¹ Gardiner 2010a., 252-254; Matless 2016, 106.

⁶²² Gardiner 2010a., 243-256; Lowerson, J., 1980. Battles for the countryside. In Gloversmith, F., ed. *Class, culture and social change: a new view of the 1930s*. Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press, 258-280; Samuel, R., 1998. *Theatres of memory, volume 2: Island stories; unravelling Britain*. London: Verso, 132-152; Stevenson 1984, 236-237; Wright 1985, 81-92.

There is also an argument that this revival of interest in the British landscape originated partly in societal concerns with Britain's place in a post-war world of imperial decline, and that new conceptions of English national identity developed as a result of the diminished role of the British Empire after the First World War. It has been claimed that the countryside movement was in part a response to the imminent collapse of British imperial power, leading to a questioning of traditional values.⁶²³ By this interpretation, the loss of imperial power encouraged a new focus on the British homeland, which was manifested in a variety of cultural forms, including archaeology. As the historiographer of folklore, Richard Dorson, noted, “[w]ith the gradual shrinkage of Empire the splendid colonial laboratory of folklore dwindled”, and was replaced by a renewed interest in the country lore and traditions of the homeland itself.⁶²⁴ The ‘countryside turn’ was influential on the way in which the discipline of archaeology was perceived, and practised, and the new interest in “the folkloric” impacted on certain archaeological interpretations. This era therefore saw a fresh appreciation of what could be achieved by a close analysis of the familiar and lived-in British landscape.⁶²⁵ It was natural that radio producers would also be influenced by the countryside movement, and they responded with the production of radio travelogues, which became an extremely popular strand of radio.⁶²⁶ The BBC itself reinforced and promoted this particularly British preoccupation with the countryside, and *The Listener* featured a section entitled “Out of Doors”, but had no section specifically covering urban life.⁶²⁷

Archaeology-themed programmes had a part to play in radio content responding to this renewed public interest in countryside matters. A confidential memorandum discussing “Projected Talks Arrangements” provides a rare insight into the place of archaeology talks in forthcoming plans for the Regions in 1931. In addition to featuring topics of general public

⁶²³ Esty, J., 2004. *A shrinking island. Modernism and national culture in England*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 10 and 16.

⁶²⁴ Dorson 1968, 440.

⁶²⁵ Thornton 2018, 211-12; Stout 2008, 5.

⁶²⁶ Yusaf 2014, 175-177.

⁶²⁷ Wiener 1985, 74 and note 147, p.187.

interest, Regional Directors were asked to prioritise “Talks on local history, literature, personalities, sport, scenery, archaeology, etc., which are of mainly regional interest”.⁶²⁸

The inclusion of archaeology in this list of potential topics seems to indicate that, having had confirmation of the interest generated by archaeology when it featured on the National Programme, BBC managers viewed local archaeology as a potential way of attracting regional audiences. Importantly, the BBC was developing a new awareness of its public image, and was increasingly concerned to respond to listener concerns and opinion.

1935 saw the appointment to the management board of a figure whose input to programme planning would have a knock-on effect on the radio presence of archaeology.⁶²⁹ Stephen Tallents had built his reputation through his work in the Empire Marketing Board, and with his influential publication *The Projection of England*. Tallents argued that if Britain was to maintain its influential role in the world, and to contribute to the maintenance of peace and national understanding, it was essential to project its national personality, and to put forward positive images of British culture and society.⁶³⁰ Tallents was given the key role of Controller of Public Relations. A man of considerable energy, innovative ideas and strong opinions, he immediately began to influence programming, and his input was influential on the radio presence of archaeology. Policy discussions during this period show that BBC managers had themselves been influenced by the ‘countryside turn’, and were looking for ways to promote responsible use of the countryside:

Taking it for granted that a continuance of propaganda in the form we have hitherto given it may be calculated to prove “irritating”, it was suggested and generally agreed that [...] further forms of such propaganda should be divorced from the news, and

⁶²⁸ BBC WAC/R41/209/1. Programme Correspondence Section, Talks File 1, 1929-1938/confidential memorandum from the Director of Programmes to all Regions, 7th November 1930 – Projected Talks Arrangements, January/April 1931.

⁶²⁹ Briggs 1985, 145-50.

⁶³⁰ Tallents, S., 1932. *The projection of England*. London: Faber and Faber. See also Anthony, S., 2012. *Public relations and the making of modern Britain. Stephen Tallents and the birth of a progressive media profession*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press; Taylor, P.M., 1999. *British propaganda in the twentieth century – selling democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 66-87; Taylor 2008, 110-121; McLaine, I., 1979. *Ministry of morale: home front morale and the Ministry of Information in World War Two*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 13; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [Online.] Tallents, Sir Stephen George. Article by Constantine, S., 23rd September 2004.

interpolated in the middle of, or just before, programmes calculated to have a large audience, such as variety.⁶³¹

Tallents's contribution listed the issues needing to be addressed, and referred to the part that archaeology had to play in enticing the public outdoors, as part of

the proper use of guides and notes on rail, motor and bicycle journeys, and on walks. Something on the same lines might be done for holidays – bringing in amongst other points the Ancient Monuments work of the Office of Works, which Sir Patrick Duff⁶³² is anxious to get better known. Here the A.A. are already helping.⁶³³

In a way which would seem curious to us nowadays, the topic of “Ancient Monuments” is here linked with a diversity of concerns around use of the countryside. In addition to reflecting prevailing social and political concerns around preservationism, this indicates that archaeology was in some ways yet to emerge as a distinctive topic in its own right, at least as far as BBC programme planners were concerned. The presentation of archaeology in a ‘touristic’ context is a distinctive attribute here, as is its role in the BBC’s countryside propaganda agenda.

Where to Find The Past (May-June 1933)

The 1933 broadcasts by amateur archaeologist S.E. Winbolt, provide a flavour of the style of radio archaeology designed to introduce the curious radio listener to the origins of “deep England”. Winbolt’s four-part radio series entitled *Where To Find The Past* was broadcast on the Regional Programme during May and June of 1933, and would accompany the radio listener interested in taking a scenic trip into lesser-known aspects of the British countryside.

⁶³¹ BBC/WAC/R51/425. Talks, Preservation of the Countryside, 1935/memorandum Coatman to Gladstone Murray, 16th October 1935. John Coatman had been appointed as Chief News Editor in July 1934 (see Briggs 1985, 118-119), and W.E. Gladstone Murray, Assistant Controller (Programmes), was a long-standing member of BBC management (see Briggs 1985, 58 and 147).

⁶³² Sir Patrick Duff was Permanent Secretary at the Office of Works between 1933 and 1941. See Thurley 2013, 86 and 154.

⁶³³ BBC/WAC/R51/425. Talks, Preservation of the Countryside, 1935/memorandum Tallents to Gladstone Murray, 4th November 1935. This three-page memorandum covers concerns as diverse as littering, road etiquette, design excellence, and “the improvement of English cooking”.

An indication of Winbolt's style of radio presentation can be gained through reference to the regular *Listener* articles he wrote between 1930 and 1933, summarising the previous six months or so of excavation activity throughout both summer and winter seasons, and focusing predominantly on southern England.⁶³⁴ He explained the interest in learning about the archaeological remains to be found in the British countryside, remarking that:

During the year the stream of British archaeology has been running in full spate. Excavators have been unusually busy, and an expert friend half plaintively writes to me, "When will the earth have peace?" [...] What fascinating work it is, this writing of our undocumented history with the spade!⁶³⁵

Winbolt's enthusiasm conveys the growing level of activity in archaeological research during this period, with increasing opportunities for interested amateurs to become involved in practical archaeology. A schoolteacher by training, Winbolt was a prolific author who had produced textbooks and academic publications based on his practical archaeological work. He had also published in popular touristic strands such as the Penguin paperback series of *Guides to Britain* and the Bell tourist guides, within which "his directions are useful both to motorist and to pedestrian; and his style is friendly and reasonable".⁶³⁶ He "had a gift for the popular exposition of archaeology", which must have contributed to the quality of his radio broadcasts.⁶³⁷ A keen practitioner of archaeology in his spare time, Winbolt represented the amateur constituency upon which much archaeological research in Britain still rested.⁶³⁸ Although lacking in formal archaeological education, Winbolt was interested in the provision

⁶³⁴ Winbolt, S.E. "The Winter's Work in Excavating England", *The Listener*, volume 5, issue 123, 20th May 1931, 844-845; "The Summer's Archaeology in England". *The Listener*, volume 6, issue 148, 11th November 1931, 810-812; "The Winter's Archaeology in England". *The Listener*, volume 7, issue 169, 6th April 1932, 491-494; "The Past Summer's Archaeology in England". *The Listener*, volume 8, issue 198, 26th October 1932, 590-594; "A Winter's Work With The Spade". *The Listener*, volume 9, issue 221, 5th April 1933, 526-528; "The Summer's Digging". *The Listener*, volume 10, issue 246, 27th September 1933, 458-461.

⁶³⁵ Winbolt, S.E. "Archaeology in Great Britain, 1930." *The Listener*, volume 4, issue 94, 29th October 1930, 694.

⁶³⁶ Margary, I., 1944. Mr S.E. Winbolt. Obituary. *Nature* 153, 518, 29th April 1944; quotation from a book review of one of Winbolt's publications, *The Listener*, volume 1, issue 22, 12th June 1929, 821.

⁶³⁷ Margary 1944.

⁶³⁸ Hudson, K., 1981, 127-154.

of improved training in archaeological techniques, illustrating the growing consensus around the need to introduce professional standards to the discipline.⁶³⁹

Ancient Britain Out of Doors (April 1935)

Professional archaeologists were also in demand to script radio programmes influenced by the cultural lens of the outdoor movement. When, at 7.30pm on 1st April 1935, the National Programme broadcast a new item entitled *Ancient Britain Out of Doors*, this reflected the contemporary preoccupation with the British countryside and how the public should engage with it. The *Radio Times* stated that:

This evening Jacquetta Hawkes is to open the series, which is designed not so much for those interested in antiquities as for the legion of walkers who through the summer months explore little-known spots in Britain.⁶⁴⁰

Broadcast at the height of the interwar interest in the British countryside, the programme's title is clearly suggestive of contemporary debates on what the countryside was for, and how it should be used. The first programme in this three-part series, "Digging up the Past", was sandwiched in the schedules between a celebration of music from Bach, and the light singing of the *Fol-De-Rols Seaside Summer Show*. The *Radio Times* listing noted that:

The evidence as to how Ancient Britons lived lies just as much out of doors as in libraries or museums. We find stone circles, and dolmens or cromlechs, and various other structures from prehistoric times: in fact, every invader left something behind

⁶³⁹ In a letter to *The Times* newspaper, issue 44033, p.14, Thursday 6th August 1925, headed "Archaeology As A Profession", Winbolt wrote that "There are sites in this country asking for the digging, but they are not likely to be investigated so long as present conditions obtain. [...] Archaeological excavation today is too exacting a business to be undertaken by well-meaning, but half-baked, amateurs. These words are prompted mainly by a most lively sense of the writer's own egregious blunders and shortcomings on the field of pick and spade, some of which might have been prevented by serving an apprenticeship". Winbolt's proposed solution to this situation was the institution of a system of training and regulation for archaeologists, and the establishment of a "professional hierarchy", the names of qualified practitioners to be recorded in an official register administered by the Society of Antiquaries or similar body.

⁶⁴⁰ *Radio Times* issue 600, 29th March 1935. *Ancient Britain Out of Doors* number 1, National Programme Daventry, 1st April 1935, 7.30pm.

him.[...] Some idea of ancient Britain, as revealed by this relic and that, will make these walks more interesting.⁶⁴¹

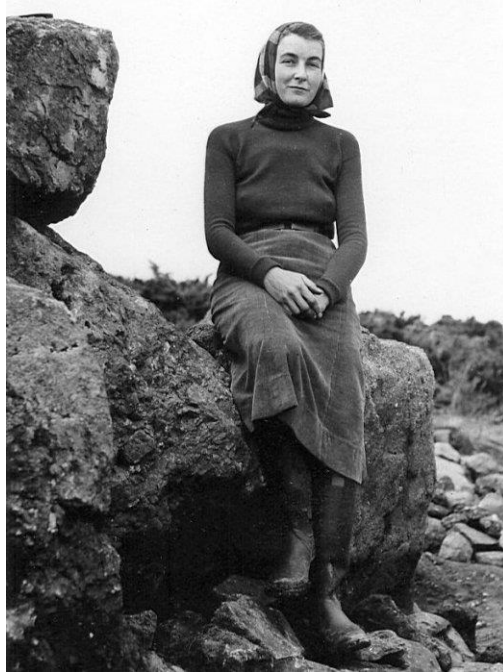


Figure 7. Jacquetta Hawkes at the Harristown passage tomb, County Waterford, Ireland, where she directed excavations in 1939.

©The Jacquetta Hawkes Archive, Special Collections, University of Bradford, with permission.

The choice of young archaeologist Jacquetta Hawkes (fig.7) as the presenter is worthy of further discussion. Hawkes had graduated in 1932 with a first-class degree in Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University. Shortly after graduating, she had married the archaeologist Christopher Hawkes, who was busy making a name for himself at the British Museum.⁶⁴² In the year previous to the broadcast of *Ancient Britain Out of Doors* Jacquetta Hawkes had published two well-received academic papers.⁶⁴³ Added to some valuable excavation experience working with Cambridge archaeologist Dorothy Garrod at Mount Carmel in Palestine, she had already demonstrated her abilities as an independent academic, and would therefore have been an attractive proposition for Talks producers seeking

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Webster, D.B., 1991. *Hawkeseye. The early life of Christopher Hawkes*. Stroud: Allan Sutton; Wilson 2002, 236.

⁶⁴³ Hawkes, J., 1934. Aspects of the Chalcolithic periods in Western Europe. *Antiquity* volume 8, issue 29, March 1934, 24-42; Hawkes, J., 1935. The place of origin of the Windmill Hill Culture. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, volume 1, 1935, 127-129.

archaeological experts for radio appearances.⁶⁴⁴ It is not clear how Hawkes first came to broadcasting, though it seems likely that in view of the fact that throughout the following decades she regularly pitched programme ideas to BBC producers, this first approach to radio may have been initiated by Hawkes herself. She proceeded to become one of the most prolific archaeological broadcasters of the twentieth century, producing radio scripts with a distinctively imaginative style.⁶⁴⁵

For the second broadcast in the series - entitled "Before the Romans" - Hawkes was joined by Stuart Piggott, who was working as assistant director at the excavations of the huge Neolithic henge monument of Avebury in Wiltshire.⁶⁴⁶ Piggott would go on to become one of the leading field archaeologists of his generation as the recognised authority for the Neolithic period in Britain, and an active radio contributor. The *Radio Times* write-up provides an indication of the style and content of the broadcast:

Last week Jacquetta Hawkes introduced this series, which is designed to explain some of the relics that ancient Britons and the various invaders of Britain left behind them – relics in the shape of walls and ruins and ditches, stone structures and so forth, which are to be met with in every corner of the land by those on holiday walks. For this series is designed for holiday makers rather than antiquarians. In every county and almost every yard of England is England's history. This evening Jacquetta Hawkes will discuss some of these things with Stuart Piggott, and they will deal with relics left previous to the coming of the Romans. Types of remains; burial mounds and customs; forts and

⁶⁴⁴ Cooke, R., 2013. *Her brilliant career. Ten extraordinary women of the fifties*. London: Virago Press, Routledge, 226-228; Finn 2016, 25-50; Macfarlane, R., 2016. *Landmarks*. London: Penguin, 266-278; Smith 2009, 80.

⁶⁴⁵ Hawkes's biographer Christine Finn fittingly describes her as "archaeology's maverick" – Finn 2016, 10. In her willingness to build on the archaeological evidence through speculative interpretations and imaginative reconstructions, Hawkes's approach is prescient of what would later be characterised "post-processual" archaeological theory, whereby it is acknowledged that there is no single and provable way to interpret the past – see Bahn, P., 1996. *Archaeology. A very short introduction*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 67-68. For Hawkes's distinctive contribution to scholarship and literature see also Hawkes, J., 1951a. *A land*. London: The Cresset Press; Lorimer, H., 2012. *Memoirs for the earth: Jacquetta Hawkes's literary experiments in deep time*. *Cultural Geographies*, January 2012, volume 19, no. 1. Special issue: Narrating landscape and environment (January 2012), 87-106; Macfarlane, R., 2012. *Introduction to Hawkes, J., A Land, 1951*. London: Harper-Collins, vii-xxvii; Renfrew, C., 2003. *Figuring it out. The parallel visions of artists and archaeologists*. London: Thames and Hudson, note 9, p.199.

⁶⁴⁶ Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 20-33; Fagan 2014, 265-267.

settlements; chalk-cut figures – the earliest British one, the White Horse in Berkshire. Next week, in a discussion, Jacquetta Hawkes will deal with post-Roman Britain.⁶⁴⁷

The third and final programme in the series featured Jacquetta Hawkes and fellow archaeologist Nowell Myres in conversation about the Roman impact on the British landscape, with Hawkes leading the discussion.⁶⁴⁸

Jacquetta Hawkes and Stuart Piggott were already acquainted, and Piggott was a close friend and colleague of her husband, Iron Age specialist Christopher Hawkes. When *Ancient Britain Out of Doors* was broadcast, Piggott was employed by Alexander Keiller, a wealthy marmalade magnate, amateur archaeologist and sponsor of the Avebury excavations at which Piggott worked between 1933 and 1938.⁶⁴⁹ Jacquetta Hawkes's archaeological interests dovetailed closely with those of Piggott (fig 7). Both studied the prehistoric occupation of Wiltshire, and Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes must have visited the Avebury dig, not least because Windmill Hill, subject of her own landscape studies, was situated in the close vicinity. Extant in the archive is a single letter dealing with the production of *Ancient Britain Out of Doors*. On 4th April 1935 Roger Wilson, BBC Talks Assistant, wrote to Stuart Piggott, care of Keiller's London address. This letter attests that Jacquetta Hawkes had written the script which was to be delivered by herself and Piggott, and that she had suggested a rehearsal for this live programme on the afternoon of the day of broadcast. The allocated programme slot was for half an hour, and Roger Wilson had concerns that the script was a little short, adding that "It may be necessary to lengthen it a little, so if you could be prepared for this it would be a great help".⁶⁵⁰ Although BBC WAC records indicate that the scripts for *Ancient Britain Out of Doors* exist on microfilm, they do not seem to have survived. Luckily, an article in *The Listener* preserves a transcript of the second programme in the series, the format of which was a

⁶⁴⁷ *Radio Times* issue 601, 5th April 1935. *Ancient Britain Out of Doors* number 2, National Programme Daventry, Monday 8th April 1935, 7.30pm.

⁶⁴⁸ *Radio Times* issue 602, 12th April 1935. *Ancient Britain Out of Doors* number 3, National Programme Daventry, 15th April 1935. Nowell Myres was an archaeologist and librarian at the Bodleian Library in Oxford – see Wheeler 1956a., 69.

⁶⁴⁹ Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 25-26; Fagan 2014, 265.

⁶⁵⁰ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Stuart Piggott Personal File, 1935-1962/letter Wilson to Piggott, 4th April 1935.

seemingly relaxed (but scripted) conversation between Hawkes and Piggott.⁶⁵¹ The broadcast was introduced by Jacquetta Hawkes:

JH: There are quantities of antiquities, dating from the New Stone Age onwards, which anyone walking in the country can see, aren't there?

SP: Good heavens, yes. Practically everywhere in Britain where the country is naturally open and hasn't been cultivated too much you can find prehistoric burial places or settlements, defended towns or farms – even the outlines of abandoned fields that were growing corn in about 450 B.C. – (when Socrates was a young man) or going back farther still, elaborate ceremonial tombs that were built on British moorlands four thousand years ago – at a time when the Sphinx was practically a novelty in Egypt.⁶⁵²

With Hawkes acting as curious questioner to Piggott's expert, there followed a thorough account of certain of the prehistoric monuments of Britain.⁶⁵³ At the conclusion of the broadcast, Hawkes exclaimed: "Thanks very much. You have made me feel I must go home and start planning a walking holiday at once".⁶⁵⁴ Although presented in the *Radio Times* advertising copy as a broadcast which would be of interest to walkers rather than those interested in antiquities, the content was predominantly archaeological. The presentational style of the programme demonstrates BBC producers' priority to be mindful of appealing to the interests of their listeners, in contrast with the more formal style of talks broadcast prior to the 1930s. Hence the item was aimed at a public enthused by leisure and outdoor activity, and Hawkes's detailed archaeological script was topped and tailed with conversational snippets which fitted this narrative.

⁶⁵¹ Hawkes, J. and Piggott, S. "Britain Before the Romans." *The Listener*, volume 13, number 326, 10th April 1935, 620-622.

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ Hawkes was in reality more qualified than Piggott to assume the 'expert' role, as she obtained a first-class Honours degree in Archaeology and Anthropology from the University of Cambridge in 1932, whereas Piggott did not gain a professional qualification until 1936, when he graduated with a Diploma in Archaeology from the Institute of Archaeology of London University, after one year of study. See Finn 2016, 29-36; Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 26.

⁶⁵⁴ Hawkes, J. and Piggott, S. "Britain Before the Romans." *The Listener*, volume 13, number 326, 10th April 1935, 620-622.

As has been seen, a long-standing priority for BBC talks managers was to source “speakers whose qualification is a broadcasting personality rather than outstanding academic qualifications”.⁶⁵⁵ The search for entertaining specialist broadcasters was ongoing, and in February 1939, BBC managers had met with staff from key London museums, to discuss suitable candidates to deliver heritage-themed talks.⁶⁵⁶ The personalities put forward included “Stanley Casson (?too highbrow), C.F.C. Hawkes (very good broadcaster; British Museum archaeologist), John Betjeman (?too facetious)”.⁶⁵⁷ None of the suggested names seemed to inspire Talks manager George Barnes, who indicated that he was “not particularly attracted to any of the above”.⁶⁵⁸ It was declared that the aspiration was to find “a practised broadcaster, a man of taste and scholarship, and a ready interpreter to the public...”.⁶⁵⁹ It can be argued that the young Stuart Piggott would come to embody this elusive person, as by the late 1930s Piggott had become a regular presenter of archaeological radio.

Piggott’s career was also on the rise, and the summer of 1939 found him employed as part of the team carrying out the hurried excavation of “mound one” at Sutton Hoo, resulting in the discovery of one of the finest assemblages of Anglo-Saxon grave goods ever found. The excavation was redolent with signifiers of past nationhood, implicit in the site’s interpretation as a seventh-century royal boat burial.⁶⁶⁰ On 26th August 1939 the excavations at Sutton Hoo drew to a close, but due to the interruption of the Second World War it would be many years

⁶⁵⁵ BBC/WAC/R51/144. Talks, English Countryside (and its Heritage), 1936/memorandum Francis to Wilson, 25th May 1936.

⁶⁵⁶ Present at this meeting were Dr R.E. Mortimer Wheeler, Keeper and Secretary, The London Museums; Dr W.E. Swinton, British Museum; Sir Eric Maclagan, Director, Victoria and Albert Museum; Mrs Marjorie Quennell, Curator, Geffrye Museum, London; and an un-named representative of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich.

⁶⁵⁷ BBC/WAC/ R51/334. Talks, Museums, Feb-Sept 1939/memorandum V. Alford to Director of Talks, 24th April 1939.

⁶⁵⁸ BBC/WAC/ R51/334. Talks, Museums, Feb-Sept 1939/memorandum V. Alford to Director of Talks, 24th April 1939, handwritten note added by George Barnes, also 24th April 1939.

⁶⁵⁹ BBC/WAC/ R51/334. Talks, Museums, Feb-Sept 1939/memorandum V. Alford to Director of Talks, memorandum 24th April 1939.

⁶⁶⁰ Bruce-Mitford, R., 1972. *The Sutton Hoo ship-burial*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 17-18, 84-87 and plate 6; Carver, M., 1998. *Sutton Hoo. Burial ground of kings?* London: The British Museum Press, 1-24; Carver, M., 2005. *Sutton Hoo. A seventh-century princely burial ground and its context*. London: The British Museum Press, 3-7.

before details of the site emerged into the public gaze. It was not until 1957 that conditions were in place for a radio broadcast detailing the stunning finds.⁶⁶¹

How To Look At The Past (August 1939)

During the August of 1939 Stuart Piggott (fig. 8) presented *How To Look At The Past*. Broadcast on the Western Regional Programme, and delivered in a chatty, informal style, this evening talk was designed to explain the appeal of archaeology to the layperson. Piggott noted that:

You're bound to come across some signs of man's activity in remote times in almost any part of south-western England, either by seeing burial mounds or hut circles or hill-forts when walking or motoring, or by visiting excavations which may be going on, or even, if you're very brave and determined, going into museums. I want to help you to make some sense out of the things you see, to be able roughly to relate them to some sort of historical scheme that will make them have an added significance. It's not difficult, and is well worth trying.⁶⁶²

The bulk of the time was taken up with an account of the sites and monuments that could be seen by the day tripper on Salisbury Plain and other archaeologically-rich areas of southern England:

Finally, I'd like to add a word about excavations. Visitors to excavations become more frequent every year, but many I'm afraid don't grasp the idea behind them. Excavations aren't jolly holiday camps for bright young things, as some people seem to think, nor are they done for the purpose of digging up relics. They are undertaken as pieces of scientific research, and may be quite as delicate as a chemist's experiment in his lab., and are done to obtain knowledge on some particular point or other.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶¹ At 7.15pm on Tuesday 8th October 1957 on Network Three, an edition of magazine programme *The Archaeologist* entitled "The Sutton Hoo Burial Ship" featured excavation director Charles Phillips in discussion with specialists in the Anglo-Saxon period.

⁶⁶² BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "How To Look At The Past", Piggott, Stuart, Western Regional Programme, Wednesday 30th August 1939 at 7.30pm. The repeat, on 31st August, was transmitted at 1pm.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

Here Piggott was at pains to emphasise the scientific nature of excavation, and to underline that the process demanded specialist training and application, which could not be provided by the dilettante digger on vacation. In closing, Piggott suggested visiting Dorchester Museum to further understand “how an excavation is done”, thus encouraging the listening public to engage with the work carried out at Maiden Castle in the recent high-profile excavations of the mid-1930s.⁶⁶⁴ In this way Piggott connected the information put across in his radio presentation with the opportunity for the travelling public to engage with finds from the site of this prehistoric hillfort.

The programmes examined so far in this section were designed to have a light and friendly style of presentation, which was not particularly scholarly. There is an element in which archaeologists were present in the persona of countryside guide, and as a portal through which the listener could learn the appropriate way to visit and engage with landscape. This style of broadcast has also been identified as having been presented by architects and town-planners during this same period, in which the notion of heritage was marshalled “to suit the consumerist and inattentive society that was created in great part by the time-and space-altering technology of radio”.⁶⁶⁵ In this type of radio presentation the tourist was “an amateur discoverer who complemented the expert”.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁴ Maiden Castle was one of the first publicly-presented excavations, and the Wheelers’ techniques developed the process of excavation as carried out in a scientific manner. See Carr 2012, 218-222; Moshenska and Schadla-Hall 2011; Stout 2008, 217-225.

⁶⁶⁵ Yusaf 2014, 148-193, quotation p.193. For example, see *Radio Times* issue 560, 22nd June 1934. *Along the Roman Roads*, presented by architect G.M. Boumphrey, National Programme, Friday 29th June 1934, 7.30pm.

⁶⁶⁶ Yusaf 2014, 193.

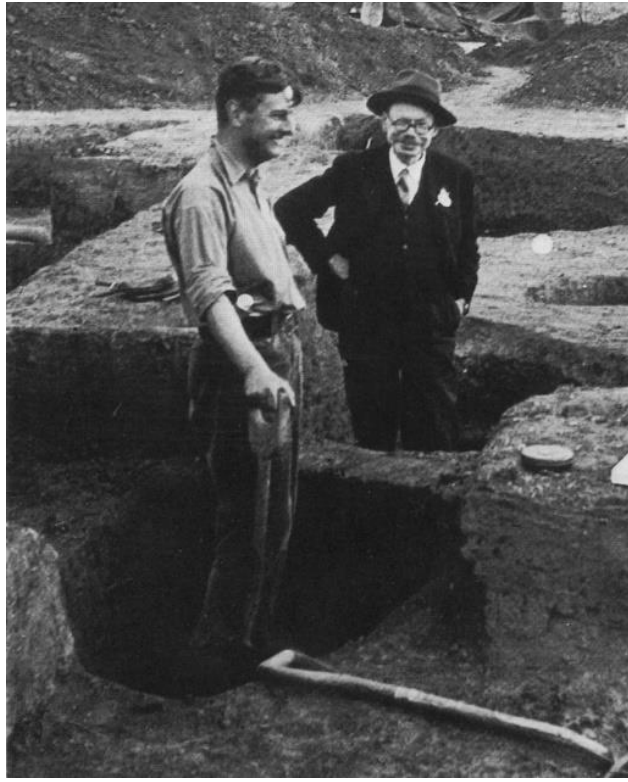


Figure 8. Stuart Piggott (left) and Gordon Childe at Dorchester-on Thames, 1946.
©The Stuart Piggott Archive, reproduced courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford,
with permission.

Digging For History (May 1937)

By contrast, in 1937 came *Digging for History*, a series of 12 fortnightly talks broadcast on the Regional programme. The BBC perceived a continuing public demand for programmes with archaeological content, reflecting the increasing formalisation of professional archaeology. Titles of the individual programmes suggest that here is a more seriously archaeological style of broadcast, and one which witnesses professional archaeologists' increasing engagement with radio. During the series Gordon Childe presented "Life in a Stone Age Village", on his recent excavations at the prehistoric village of Skara Brae, and V.E. Nash-Williams spoke about his research at the legionary fortress of Caerleon in South Wales. *Digging for History* is therefore the first series reflecting the professional archaeological work being carried out. The *Radio Times* listing informed the listener that the series would be presented by specialists "working either at home or abroad", and that "While the contributors are authorities in their own field, the talks will appeal to those who have little or no special knowledge but who wish

to see how history comes alive again in the relics of distant civilisations".⁶⁶⁷ Whilst there was a preponderance of Scottish material in this series, there were also contributions on archaeological sites in Wales, as well as the classical contexts of Palestine, Egypt and Greece.

It was becoming more common for archaeological voices to make themselves known through the platform of radio, and scholarly individuals such as Stuart Piggott and Gordon Childe were becoming increasingly assertive on the topic of their professional expertise. Their presence also suited BBC producers, keen to foster the authoritative tone they could bring to radio output. The discussion will now move on to consider further examples of broadcasts in which archaeology experts were portrayed as people of science, responsible for conducting their research in formalised, rule-driven ways appropriate to members of a respected profession, and in this way playing their part in BBC science coverage.

3.3 The Role of Archaeologists in the BBC's Science Policy

Recent scholarship has thrown light on developments in science broadcasting, and the views of key producers and planners regarding the role of science on BBC radio.⁶⁶⁸ Radio, with its wide listenership, could play an important part in bringing science topics to the attention of the public.⁶⁶⁹ During the 1920s and 30s a number of eminent British scientists supported the view that science was underused in public life, and that scientific advances were not being fully applied in order to improve the lives of working people. Western European conceptions of science as having a broad applicability to society date back to at least the 16th century. Subsequently, a philosophical standpoint developed which held that science could be applied to resolve social problems through the application of rational, scientific principles. From these ideas grew the belief that through public education and the popularisation of science, society could be changed for the better.⁶⁷⁰ The First World War had demonstrated the destructive potential of technology, leading to a degree of societal disenchantment with science. It was

⁶⁶⁷ *Radio Times* issue 712, 21st May 1937. *Digging for History* number 1- Archaeology in Scotland, J.S. Richardson, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Western Regional Programme, 23rd May 1937, 5.30pm.

⁶⁶⁸ Jones 2010, 143-149; Jones, A., 2016a. Science, the BBC and the 'Two Cultures'. In Medhurst, J., Nicholas, S. and O'Malley, T., eds. *Broadcasting in the UK and US in the 1950s. Historical perspectives*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 101-120.

⁶⁶⁹ Jones 2010, 22-23.

⁶⁷⁰ Gribbin 2002, 385.

held that this public rejection of science needed to be countered with improved science education. This “social relations of science” movement reached its apogee in the 1930s, when an influential publication by J.D. Bernal (*The Social Relations of Science*, 1939) argued for the unlimited potential of science to contribute to societal progress, once society was freed from the dominance of capitalism.⁶⁷¹

Archaeologist Gordon Childe was at the centre of these intellectual discourses, and formed part of the set of young scientists who met under the umbrella of the “Tots and Quots” society.⁶⁷² This was a dining club formed in 1931, which regularly convened at Pagani’s restaurant in Great Portland Street, London, throughout the 1930s, and was a platform for discussion of the societal application of scientific knowledge. Questions such as how to resolve the economic slump and the resultant severe unemployment were much-discussed topics of debate amongst the intelligentsia, and scientists were at the forefront of these discussions, many of them believing that scientific methods would reveal solutions which inexpert and uninformed politicians had failed to produce. Childe’s interest in the public face of science is attested by his presence at the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), held at Cambridge between 17th and 24th August 1938.⁶⁷³ Childe was president of the Anthropology section of the BAAS, and one of the scheduled evening talks at this meeting was “The educational significance of the cinema and wireless”. Here we see a debate regarding education and the media taking place at the BAAS, in the presence of an archaeology professional.

During this period John Garstang, Professor in the Methods and Practice of Archaeology at the Liverpool Institute, was busy pursuing programmes of archaeological excavation in the Sudan and Egypt.⁶⁷⁴ When back in his home country, he also prioritised some visits to the

⁶⁷¹ Brown, A., 2005. *J.D. Bernal. The sage of science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Gardiner 2010a., 188-194; Jones 2010, 21-23; Jones, A., 2016b. J.G. Crowther’s war: institutional strife at the BBC and the British Council. *British Society for the History of Science*, 49 (2), June 2016, 259-278. See pp.266-267 for the social relations of science movement.

⁶⁷² Gardiner 2010a., 189-90. The name “Tots and Quots” originated in the phrase in the Roman poet Terence’s *Phormio*: “Quot homines, tot sententiae”, which translates as “So many men, so many opinions”; Green 1981, 74-75; Hill-Andrews, O., 2015. *Interpreting science. J.G. Crowther and the making of interwar British culture*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 12-13.

⁶⁷³ *The Times* newspaper, issue 48064, p.7, Thursday 4th August 1938.

⁶⁷⁴ Bahn 1996, 151; Garnett, A., 2015. John Rankin and John Garstang: Funding Egyptology in a pioneering age. In Orsenigo, C., Patrizia, P. and Quirke, S., eds. *Forming material Egypt: Proceedings of the International*

BBC's studios to report on his activities abroad. Garstang was one of the key personalities influencing the organisation and infrastructure of archaeology and tourism in pre-British mandate Palestine, and in the early mandate period.⁶⁷⁵ Archaeology was one element of the 'marketing' of British activities in Palestine, and must therefore be viewed in its social context as part of interwar political and colonial activity in the region. The practice of archaeology was still linked with opportunities for travel made possible by colonial infrastructure, in what has been aptly referred to as "the intersection of archaeology, politics and tourism".⁶⁷⁶ Tourism in Palestine was popular during the 1930s.⁶⁷⁷ Certain members of Garstang's radio audience would be able to visit in person, but if many others lacked the necessary financial resources, they could now at least travel in their imaginations through the magic of radio. Garstang was adept at using various forms of mass media in order to publicise his work. In pre-radio days, he had co-operated with Reuters news agency, *The Times* newspaper and the *Illustrated London News* in order to publicise the Meroe excavations.⁶⁷⁸ He was also a pioneer in scientific archaeology.⁶⁷⁹ With the growing popularity of radio, he began to use broadcasting as a way of placing his archaeological activities in the public forum. At the same time, archaeology content slotted well into the remit of BBC science education. Garstang's 1937 radio lecture, *Discoveries in Bible Lands*, focused on excavation work at Jericho.⁶⁸⁰ In the spring of the following year there began a talks series covering his research into the archaeology of Palestine.⁶⁸¹

Conference, London, 20-21 May 2013. Libreria Antiquaria Pontremoli, 95-104; Rutland, F.P., 2014. *The lost gallery: John Garstang and Turkey – a postcolonial reading*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool – see chapters 1, 3 and 4.

⁶⁷⁵ Romer 1988, 66-69; Rutland 2014; Thornton 2018, 85-89. With the ending of the Ottoman empire, at the close of the First World War, the League of Nations handed the area to the British to administer.

⁶⁷⁶ Thornton, A., 2012. Tents, tours and treks: archaeologists, antiquities services, and tourism in mandate Palestine and Transjordan. *Public Archaeology*, 11:4, 195-216. See in particular page 205.

⁶⁷⁷ Thornton 2012, 204 and 211.

⁶⁷⁸ Thornton 2018, 89-90. For example, the discovery of the well-preserved "Meroe head", part of a bronze statue of the Roman emperor Augustus, which came to light during the second season of excavation at Meroe in 1910, had provided a focus for publicity.

⁶⁷⁹ Garnett 2015.

⁶⁸⁰ *Radio Times*, issue 713, 28th May 1937, 27; Romer 1988, 66-69.

⁶⁸¹ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "Hittite Excavations", Garstang, John, Regional Programme, 10pm on 21st March 1938; BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *Exploring Bible Lands* - "The Neighbourlands of Canaan", Garstang, John, National Programme, 5pm on Sunday 2nd April 1938; BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *Exploring Bible Lands* – "Discoveries in Palestine", Garstang, John, National Programme, 5pm on 1st May 1938. This group of scripts form some of the earliest archaeology scripts held in BBC WAC, and were also reproduced in *The Listener*. The BBC contributor file for Garstang lacks material concerning these early broadcasts, and the first correspondence on file dates from 1948.

Digging Up The Past (September 1938)

During the autumn of 1938 Garstang delivered the first of a talks series which set out to provide a vivid picture of the reality of life on a dig, and to explain how the process of excavation worked in practice, thus furnishing listeners with clear information on the precise processes of archaeological excavation, as well as conveying a flavour of life in the field:

The question most frequently asked after talks and lectures is “How do you know where to dig?” [...] I would ask you to consider: “How does a surgeon know where to operate?” In likening the work of the professional archaeologist to that of a surgeon, there could be no clearer comparison to evoke, in terms of the need for professional competence.⁶⁸²

The talks had arisen in response to listener requests to learn more about the detailed process of archaeological excavation.⁶⁸³ Drawing on familiar tropes around the excitement of archaeology as part of exploration and exotica, Garstang at the same time emphasised the importance of following the set protocols and processes adhered to by professional, disciplined practitioners of the art of excavation. He did reference the excitement of making chance finds, such as two jars filled with gold nuggets - “A good haul that!” - but his primary purpose was to emphasise the skilled nature of the archaeologist’s task:

For the most part the excavator’s work today is based on method, rigorously and patiently pursued, unrelieved by the excitement of chance finds [...] The day of the pioneer explorer is now practically over.⁶⁸⁴

Sections on “How We Dig” and “The Digger’s Day” detail the day-to-day processes of digging, survey, pottery washing and photography, which remain familiar to any practical archaeologist down to the present day. Interesting period detail is provided for the work of

⁶⁸² BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *Digging Up The Past* number 1: “How It is Done”, Garstang, John, National Programme, 11th September 1938 at 4.45pm. A version of the talk was also published in *The Listener*.

⁶⁸³ *Radio Times*, issue 780, 9th September 1938.

⁶⁸⁴ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *Digging Up The Past* number 1: “How It is Done”, Garstang, John, National Programme, 11th September 1938 at 4.45pm.

soil removal through a system of overhead carriers suspended on wire ropes, or via light railways. Notable also is the credit given to the role of women on the dig, and to the key pastoral and practical part played by “the Director’s wife”.⁶⁸⁵

Garstang’s radio scripts were presented in an accessible and radiogenic way, which at the same time put forward his persona as an expert practitioner of the developing science of archaeology, whereby excavation was carried out in rational ways, bounded by standard rules and scientific methods. Further insight into Garstang’s views can be gained through the letter sent from his base at the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, to *The Times* newspaper and published under the heading “Archaeology as a Profession”. This laid out his views on the need for paid posts in archaeology, emphasising the dearth of trained excavators available to tackle the work available in the Near East, and noting that “The general interest aroused by the discovery of Tutankhamen’s tomb has probably made it apparent to all that excavation is now a science not to be undertaken without adequate preparation”.⁶⁸⁶ Through radio Garstang could promulgate his professional archaeological identity as a man of science, whilst at the same time maintaining the public profile of his archaeological work. As far as the BBC was concerned, his presentations fulfilled the need for content which would engage the listener, and the priorities of both parties were therefore satisfied. The account now moves on to consider the debut to radio of a fellow professional archaeologist whose working life as a pioneering female academic presented particular challenges in the male-dominated environment of Cambridge University. In facilitating Dorothy Garrod’s entry to broadcasting, BBC managers demonstrated their interest in featuring this archaeologist at the top of her profession.

Science Review (May 1939)

Dorothy Garrod’s debut broadcast was billed as episode 11 in the *Science Review* series. The programme announcement stated:

⁶⁸⁵ For Marie Garstang, see TrowelBlazers. [Online.] <http://www.trowelblazers.com/marie-garstang>.

⁶⁸⁶ *The Times* newspaper, issue 44004, p. 12, Friday 3rd July 1925. Garstang’s letter led to further correspondence from, amongst others, S.E. Winbolt, whose letter expressing the view that excavation should be organised on the basis of a professional hierarchy of trained diggers was remarkably prescient of the situation which had arisen by the 1960s: *The Times* newspaper, issue 44033, p.14, Thursday 6th August 1925.

This is the National programme. This evening's contributions to our fortnightly programme of Topical Science come from very different fields. O.F. Brown of the department of Scientific and Industrial Research is here to tell you about the applications of a new form of electricity, and in the studio with him is Dorothy Garrod, the first woman to be appointed to a professorship in either Oxford or Cambridge. Miss Garrod's recent appointment to the Disney Professorship of Archaeology in Cambridge follows on very important contributions she has made to our knowledge of Early Man, many of them by field work in the near East and Southern Europe. Here she is to speak about her Science.⁶⁸⁷

There is no BBC contributor file for Garrod, and it has not yet been possible to clarify the exact circumstances in which her May 1939 broadcast arose. It must be said, however, that it is significant that this radio talk was presented just at the time when Garrod was made Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge in May 1939.⁶⁸⁸ Garrod was the first female professor to be appointed in any discipline, and the first prehistorian ever elected to a professorship at either Cambridge or Oxford.⁶⁸⁹ She also represented one of a new generation of female archaeologists, instrumental in encouraging students to see archaeology as a normal subject for women to pursue.⁶⁹⁰ Garrod's broadcast was an ideal fit with the BBC's coverage of scientific themes. It has been noted that following the phasing out of BBC Adult Education provision around 1935, and the managerial difficulties in the Talks department, the second half of the 1930s had seen fewer talks on the theme of science and society. This "topical treatment of science" was finally reinstated in 1939.⁶⁹¹

Garrod's key contribution to prehistoric archaeology rests on her seminal research in the archaeology of the Palaeolithic period.⁶⁹² Her excavations during the late 1920s and '30s,

⁶⁸⁷ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *Science Review* number 11, Garrod, Dorothy, National Programme, 31st May 1939. The programme was repeated on 3rd June 1939.

⁶⁸⁸ Daniel 1986, 97-100; Smith 2009, 88-90.

⁶⁸⁹ Davies, W., 2014. Davies, W., 2014. Dorothy Garrod, 1892-1968. Mount Carmel and Cro-Magnons. *In* Fagan, 202-5; Fagan 2003, 139; Smith 2009, 69.

⁶⁹⁰ Carr 2012, 150 and 250.

⁶⁹¹ Jones 2010, 124-5 and 128.

⁶⁹² The Palaeolithic spans the three and a half million years of human evolution from the advanced hominids to the end of the last glaciation around 11,000 years ago. See Darvill 2002a., entry for "Palaeolithic". The vast

culminating in her work at the Mount Carmel caves in a part of Palestine which now lies in modern-day Israel, added greatly to knowledge of anatomically-modern humans.⁶⁹³ The excavations were carried out with a predominantly-female team, which was very unusual at this period.⁶⁹⁴ In addition to a contingent of archaeology students and graduates from Britain (including Jacquetta Hawkes), the workforce was composed of a high proportion of local Palestinian women.⁶⁹⁵

Garrod was pursuing her career at a time when opportunities in the professions had opened up for women, following the legislative and social changes resulting from the First World War.⁶⁹⁶ This situation was mirrored in the interwar BBC, which in many respects provided a very positive working environment for women.⁶⁹⁷ In the similarly elite institution of Cambridge University, however, Garrod was subject to considerable difficulties in the working environment. Whilst the Electors for the professorship seem overwhelmingly to have backed Garrod's appointment, regarding her as the most suitably-qualified candidate, once she was in post it was paradoxically the case that the Cambridge constitution simply was not set up to accommodate a female professor, at this time when women were not yet allowed to be full members of the University.⁶⁹⁸ The prevailing masculinised culture within the Cambridge establishment often served to disadvantage the career trajectories of female academics.⁶⁹⁹ It

time span of the Palaeolithic is divided by archaeologists into "Lower", "Middle" and "Upper" sections. The Lower Palaeolithic of the Near East is currently dated as beginning around 100,000 to 90,000 years B.P. (before present). See Fagan, B.M., ed., 1996. *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, section by Roe, D.A. and Sinclair, A., 552-556. Davies (2014, p.205) notes that Garrod was able to identify a cultural sequence spanning around 500,000 years from the Lower to the Upper Palaeolithic. This remains the reference sequence for Palaeolithic archaeology for the entire Levant, and her excavations (published in 1937 with her collaborator Dorothea Bate) revealed evidence of Neanderthals and early modern humans that contributed greatly to interpretations of the course of human evolution.

⁶⁹³ Bar-Yosef, O. and Callandar, J., 2006. Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod, 1892-1968. In Cohen and Joukowsky, 380-424; Murray, T., ed., 2001. *Encyclopedia of archaeology: the great archaeologists, volume 1*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 410-412; Clark 1989, 44-48 and 91; Darvill 2010, xviii; Fagan 2003, 136-139; Smith 2009, 69-88.

⁶⁹⁴ Davies 2014, 205.

⁶⁹⁵ Smith 2009, 78-88. Certain of the Palestinian women developed considerable digging expertise. The villages where many of Garrod's female workforce originated were destroyed in the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict.

⁶⁹⁶ Pugh 2009, 183-186. The First World War had brought a heavy personal cost to Garrod, who lost three brothers to the conflict – see Smith 2009, 71.

⁶⁹⁷ Murphy 2016, 153-6.

⁶⁹⁸ Smith 2009, 88-91.

⁶⁹⁹ Cowman, K. and Jackson, L., eds., 2005. *Women and work culture in Britain, 1850-1950*. Aldershot: Ashgate; Horn, P., 1995. *Women in the 1920s*. Stroud, Glos: Alan Sutton Publishing, 58-61; Pedersen, J.S., 1996. *Review of Dyhouse, C., 1995. No distinction of sex? Women in British universities, 1870-1939*. [Online.] H-Albion, H-Net Reviews; Pugh 2009, 185.

has been claimed that, notwithstanding the power and kudos of professorship, Garrod felt disarmed by the power dynamics at work within the archaeology department, and in common with other female academics, often felt alienated from the male-dominated university hierarchy.⁷⁰⁰ This discomfort in the arena of college politics was in stark contrast to her reputation as a highly-competent excavation director, skilled in the leadership and pastoral care of those who worked for her in the field. The very fact that a woman had been appointed professor, at a time when women were still not allowed full rights to graduate, later led to major changes in the university constitution.⁷⁰¹ There is a frustrating lack of evidence with regard to Garrod's own perspective on her appointment, though it is known that there was something of a flurry of interest amongst the Cambridge University community (fig.9). A variety of views were generated amongst the different constituencies, ranging from excitement and optimism amongst the small number of women students, to a continued apathy amongst the male majority of undergraduates, and members of the University management, regarding the place of women at Cambridge.⁷⁰² It can be surmised that the controversial nature of Garrod's appointment to professor would have come to the notice of BBC producers via the press, and by personal communication, and that this was the catalyst for their invitation to her to present a radio talk.⁷⁰³

⁷⁰⁰ Smith 2009, 92-100.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., 88 and 91.

⁷⁰² Ibid., 90-94.

⁷⁰³ *The Times* had carried regular updates on Garrod's research over the previous decade, and in May 1939 a brief article reported on her elevation to professor – *The Times* newspaper, issue 48299, p. 14, Monday 8th May 1939.



Figure 9. Garrod at the International Symposium on Early Man, Philadelphia, March 1937.
Source: Smithsonian Institution Archives, copyright-free.

Garrod's 1939 radio lecture was highly factual in style, with little concession to the layperson. At the start of the broadcast, however, she added some informal touches, perhaps in an attempt to help listeners to relate to the intellectually challenging content, which dealt with timespans as far back as the last Ice Age, the beginning of which was at that time believed to date to around one million years ago:

One of the questions I'm most often asked by people who have a general interest in prehistoric archaeology is, "How do you know where to dig?" Well, that's the question I'm going to try and answer and I'll try to tell you too what we expect to find in our digging and the kind of information we can get from it about our Stone Age ancestors.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰⁴ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *Science Review* number 11, Garrod, Dorothy, National Programme, 31st May 1939.

The remainder of the talk consisted of description of the type of contexts, such as caves, and gravel beds, in which the remains of early humans had been found. In retaining a purely factual, somewhat intellectually dry style, Garrod's talk was in some ways contrary to the prevailing developments in speech radio, at a time when increasing efforts were being made to make programmes entertaining for the listener.⁷⁰⁵ The mode of presentation may have mirrored what we know of her lecturing style when teaching at Cambridge. Historiographer of archaeology Pamela Jane Smith notes that "The unremitting boredom and uniform dullness of her presentations are remembered by many".⁷⁰⁶ Garrod may have felt that a more informal tone would undermine her authority as a professor. As a pioneer in the role, she is likely to have felt guarded about giving any opportunity for criticism that she was not deserving of the office. Garrod never became a frequent broadcaster, partly because she lacked the will to adopt an entertaining persona, but also because she clearly prioritised her academic work. It remains important to place her radio work in the historical record, and to foreground her contribution as one of the first professional archaeological women to be heard on radio. A naturally gentle and retiring personality, she tended to be more interested in pursuing her research, and developing the purely academic side of her career, than in the public projection of her work.⁷⁰⁷ Following the broadcast on the occasion of attaining her professorship, she seems not to have appeared on radio until 1946, when she participated in the first series of *The Archaeologist*. Garrod's broadcasts evidence the interaction of this leading woman academic with BBC producers, and infill a missing portion of historiographical information, as well as contributing to a fuller picture of radio history. The scheduling of this 1939 science talk reflects well on the BBC, in that it showcases a woman at the top of her profession, at a time when this was still relatively unusual. The chapter will now move on to consider the developing role of radio as a gatekeeping mechanism in terms of disciplinary boundaries, thus contributing to the definition of what counted as archaeology, and what did not.

⁷⁰⁵ Scannell and Cardiff 1982, 180-183.

⁷⁰⁶ Smith 2009, 96.

⁷⁰⁷ Carr, 2012, 150; Caton Thompson, G., 1969. Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod, 1892-1968. Obituary, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LV, 339-361; Daniel 1986, 99-100; Smith 2009, 74-88.

3.4 Countering the “ingenious crank”. Defining the Professional Practice of Archaeology Through the Lens of Radio

During the 1930s, radio became something of a testing-ground for the validity of archaeological research and information. As discussed in chapter one, it is a characteristic of professions that they invoke methods of “gatekeeping” in order to preserve their disciplinary boundaries. The systems of peer review which are one of the characteristics by which professions are defined, began to be carried out through the lens of radio. Interactions during 1937 and 1938 between Childe and BBC managers provide an instance of this emerging phenomenon. The eminent archaeological theorist Gordon Childe (fig 10.) would go on to become a relatively prolific radio broadcaster, but the twenty-year association between Childe and the BBC did not start off on the best of terms. Following the broadcast of a series of three talks entitled *The Unchronicled Past*, presented by antiquarian John Foster Forbes, BBC managers became embroiled in a dispute with Childe, which hinged on their perceived failure to have consulted expert commentators on the subject-matter discussed. At this point a brief recap of the organisational context for the Talks department at this time is appropriate. Following Hilda Matheson’s departure from the BBC in the autumn of 1931, there had followed a few years of expansion under her successor as Talks Director, Charles Siepmann.⁷⁰⁸ By the mid-1930s, however, the appointment of Director of Talks, Richard Maconachie, had seen a retreat into “institutional complacency and creative conformity”.⁷⁰⁹ It was claimed that the Talks department had become one of the unhappiest places within the BBC to work during this period.⁷¹⁰

At this time Gordon Childe’s career was at its height.⁷¹¹ His public profile was such that he had become extremely well-respected within the archaeology profession and within sections

⁷⁰⁸ Scannell and Cardiff 1991,155-6.

⁷⁰⁹ Nicholas, S., 2016. Now the war is over: Negotiating the BBC’s wartime legacy in post-war Britain. In Medhurst, J., Nicholas, S. and O’Malley, T., eds., 2016. *Broadcasting in the UK and US in the 1950s. Historical perspectives*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 9-28, quotation p.10. See also Chignell 2011, 19-24 and 205; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 69 and 160-1. For Maconachie see Briggs 1995, 148-9 and Hajkowski 2010, 25-6.

⁷¹⁰ Fielden 1960, 115-18; Scannell and Cardiff 1982, 170-1; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 161.

⁷¹¹ For profiles of Childe’s career see Green 1981; Trigger, B.G., 1980. *Gordon Childe. Revolutions in archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson; and Patterson, T.C. and Orser, C.E., eds., 2004. *Foundations of social archaeology: selected writings of V. Gordon Childe*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1-23. Childe was largely responsible for formulating the theory of archaeological cultures, based on artefactual evidence, and

of the wider public, having published a series of seminal books which were both validated within the profession and popular with “the bookstall public”.⁷¹² Childe had the reputation of having an eccentric personality, whilst at the same time being popular with his students and peers, and he was possessed of a certain dry wit⁷¹³, which often comes across in his correspondence with the BBC. Childe had made his first radio appearance that same year of 1937, when he presented a talk in the series *Digging For History*, on the Regional Programme.⁷¹⁴ John Foster Forbes had also written a number of popular publications. It is known that Forbes was in the habit of writing to the BBC, and it is likely that he contacted them in order to offer his services as a broadcaster. Forbes, a former army intelligence officer and school teacher, held a long-standing interest in the prehistory of his home county of Aberdeen.⁷¹⁵ Having later relocated to the south of England, he had developed wide-ranging interests in so-called “earth mysteries”, publishing a number of books on the topic, and associating with individuals with similar interests.⁷¹⁶ Forbes’s radio talks, broadcast under the umbrella title *The Unchronicled Past* during the autumn of 1937, relayed versions of the past which were not drawn from scientifically-attested archaeological research, being rooted instead in theories of diffusionism, which were becoming increasingly discredited at this time.⁷¹⁷ In the broadcasts, based on his publication of the same name, Forbes spoke of the Ancient Egyptians travelling to Britain in search of gold and precious stones, Avebury stone circle originally having the shape of a giant serpent, and Neolithic man living in pits in the

was one of the foremost original thinkers in the discipline, capable of synthesizing huge amounts of data, which enabled him to construct an overarching theory for the development of human cultures.

⁷¹² Gardiner 2010a., 189.

⁷¹³ Green 1981, 106-118.

⁷¹⁴ *Radio Times*, issue 718, 2nd July 1937. “Digging for History”, *Life in a Stone Age Village*, broadcast at 4pm on Sunday 4th July 1937.

⁷¹⁵ The few biographical details available on John Foster Forbes are drawn from research by Patrick Benham: [Online.] mybrightonandhove.org.uk/people/peopchar/colourful-characters-8. The fact that Forbes wrote to at least one BBC producer is recounted in the description of his sending them the only manuscript of his book on the underground rivers of London, which was allegedly subsequently lost.

⁷¹⁶ Three of Forbes’s publications are included in the selected reading list in a popular “alternative archaeology” publication of modern times – Bord, J. and Bord, C., 1978. *Mysterious Britain*. St Albans: Granada. The Forbes publications recommended are: *The Unchronicled Past*, Simpkin Marshall, 1938; *Ages Not So Dark*, The Council for Prehistoric Research, 1939; and *Giants of Britain*, Thomas’s Publications, 1945.

⁷¹⁷ This England – 4000 Years Ago. The *Listener*, Wednesday 15th September 1937, p. 563, issue 453; Monuments of the Stone Age. The *Listener*, Wednesday 22nd September 1937, p. 621, issue 454; Circles and Hieroglyphs. The *Listener*, Wednesday 6th October 1937, p. 737, issue 456. For the theory of diffusionism, whereby between c.1911 and the 1930s Egypt was viewed as the origin of all world civilisations, see Champion 2003a.,183 and Stout 2008, 199.

ground.⁷¹⁸ Forbes' lectures therefore offered an account which lacked the evidential base which was now beginning to be expected by professional practitioners of archaeology, and a significant section of the educated public.

The issue was quickly picked up by archaeologists. Alexander Keiller (the independent amateur archaeologist who employed Stuart Piggott) wrote to the editor of *The Listener* to express his disappointment, noting that:

Hardly a single sentence of this quasi-archaeological discourse is susceptible to archaeological proof, while many of Mr Foster Forbes' assertions are in direct contradiction to current knowledge and indeed demonstrable fact.⁷¹⁹

In Keiller's view, if the BBC were to sponsor such talks, the scripts "should be submitted to some competent and representative body such as the Society of Antiquaries of London or the Prehistoric Society, for editorial consideration".⁷²⁰ Keiller's words were mild in comparison with the action taken by Gordon Childe, who wrote to John Reith to express his disbelief that the BBC had allowed Forbes such free rein on the airwaves. Childe was in this way exerting his authority as an expert contributor to BBC radio. He was not about to let an alleged dilettante such as Forbes disrupt the public perception of archaeology, and the professional kudos gained by archaeologists in recent years. In October 1937, a letter landed on the Director-General's desk, from the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Edinburgh:

Sir. Allow me to enter an emphatic protest against the broadcasting under the title *The Unchronicled Past* of a travesty of the results of scientific prehistory by a doubtless

⁷¹⁸ For further insight into John Foster Forbes's opinions and practices see Bord and Bord 1978, 33, 46, 77 and 85. The section on Glastonbury Tor, p.85, recounts that "In 1945 John Foster Forbes, antiquarian, and Iris Campbell, psychometrist, visited the Tor to record the impressions that Miss Campbell could receive, in order to throw more light on its early history. They found that the rites being practised there were designed to restore bird and flower life forms to a more complete condition. [...] The ritual involved a dance of circular motion, moving sunwise and upwards round the spiral path. A tremendous vortex of power was produced which, on an etheric level, created a canopy of a 'glazed substance'." See also Hayman, R., 1997. *Riddles in stone. Myths, archaeology and the ancient Britons*. London: The Hambleton Press, 215.

⁷¹⁹ *The Listener*, volume 18, issue 455, Wednesday 29th September 1937, p. 685.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*

ingenious crank who has evidently not taken the trouble to master the admittedly tedious literature in which the conclusions of archaeology and comparative philology are enshrined. Incalculable harm has thereby been done to a discipline which the patient labours of trained investigators have slowly raised to the status of a science.⁷²¹

Childe went on to remark that

If your organisation took the elementary precaution of consulting recognised authorities, the catastrophes could be avoided and the British public would find that the truth is just as exciting and romantic as the groundless speculations of Forbes.⁷²²

Childe also referred to Forbes's talks in a speech to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, referring to "talks which have been broadcast by that monopolistic organ of the state the BBC [...] and the damage that immensely powerful instrument of propaganda can effect if usurped by a crank".⁷²³ Not content merely with registering his grievance against the BBC in this public forum, Childe also wrote to former Prime Minister and MP for Hampstead, Ramsay MacDonald.⁷²⁴ In response MacDonald contacted Reith to say that he had heard about the debacle, noting that he had found "a good deal of talk about it amongst certain circles", and suggesting that Childe be given the opportunity to give his own radio talk.⁷²⁵ The initial BBC response to this high-level campaign of letter-writing from Childe was for managers to emphasise that the BBC did not itself agree with the "old-fashioned and heretical" views contained in Forbes's talks, and that they had tried to get the talks checked by "an orthodox and up-to-date expert", but that the arrangement had fallen through.⁷²⁶ At this stage, PR Controller Stephen Tallents was drafted in to help smooth things over. Known for his expertise in damage limitation, Tallents was presumably brought in

⁷²¹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Childe to Reith, 8th October 1937.

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ *The Times* newspaper, issue 48080, p. 12, Tuesday 23rd August 1938.

⁷²⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Childe to MacDonald, 8th October 1937.

⁷²⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letters MacDonald to Reith, 18th and 23rd October 1937.

⁷²⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Tallents to Childe, 13th October 1937. It is not conclusive who the expert archaeologist was, but there is an implication in a BBC internal memorandum also dated 13th October 1937, from Maconachie to D.J. Whitley (Tallents' assistant), that it was Stanley Casson. Casson was a specialist in classical archaeology, based for much of his career in the British School at Athens.

because managers were concerned about the implications of failing to pay attention to the requirements of expert contributors such as Childe. Tallents suggested that professional archaeologists be asked to present a talks series, an opportunity which Maconachie referred to “as a step towards ‘putting matters right’”.⁷²⁷

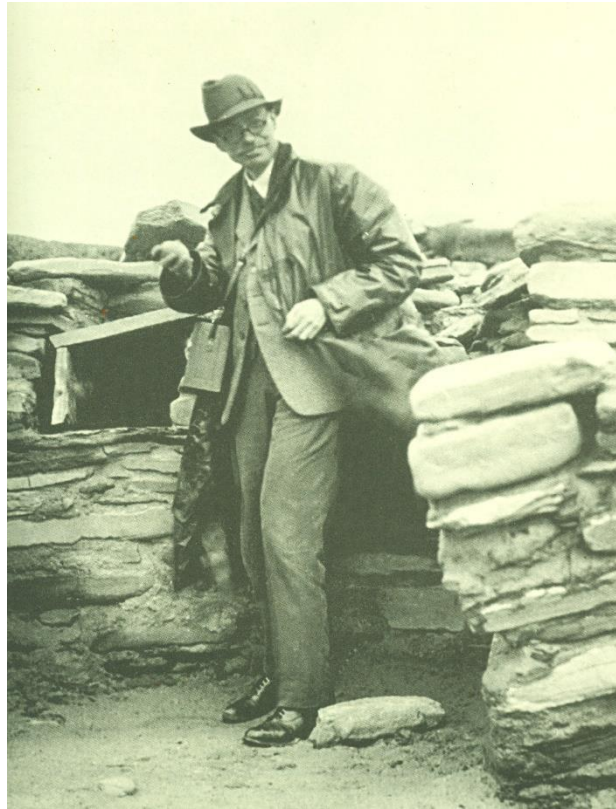


Figure 10. Gordon Childe built his career on his theoretical expertise, and is pictured here in 1930 at one of the few sites he excavated - the prehistoric settlement of Skara Brae, Orkney.
©Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, with permission.

After some reluctance, and further letters of complaint to the BBC, at the end of November 1937, Childe scripted a talk entitled *Chronicles in Stone*, in which he broadcast his own account of prehistory, based on peer-reviewed research.⁷²⁸ Childe declined the opportunity to present the second of the talks in the planned series, and suggested his colleague and friend Piggott instead.⁷²⁹ *Stone and Bronze – Some Aspects of Culture in Prehistory* was presented by Stuart Piggott, “a distinguished member of the younger school of British

⁷²⁷ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/memorandum, Maconachie to D.J. Whitley, 13th October 1937.

⁷²⁸ *Chronicles in Stone*, broadcast Friday 26th November 1937, 18.45pm, Regional Programme. *Radio Times* issue 738, 19th November 1937.

⁷²⁹ *Stone and Bronze*, broadcast Monday 6th December 1937, 18.40pm, Regional Programme. *Radio Times* issue 740, 3rd December 1937.

archaeologists, who has done important fieldwork in this country and is already an authority of international standing on Neolithic theories".⁷³⁰ Both Childe's and Piggott's talks were produced by Christopher Salmon, who had a background in producing content on philosophy and adult education.⁷³¹ BBC managers privately exhibited a certain resentment at having to address the professional archaeological agenda, and Salmon remarked that "At any rate, we can wash our hands now of the archaeologists".⁷³² A hand-written note added to the same memo by Maconachie replies somewhat impolitely, "Thanks. R.I.P."

A further instance whereby the archaeology establishment banded together in order to delineate what constituted academically-valid archaeology occurred in 1957, when a broadcast was planned on the topic of the work carried out by T.C. (Tom) Lethbridge. Lethbridge, a graduate of Cambridge University and specialist in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, operated on the fringes of professionalised archaeology, and throughout his career also pursued interests in dowsing and paranormal phenomena.⁷³³ Lethbridge was a controversial figure, and never accepted to be a 'proper' archaeologist.⁷³⁴ This was in part because Lethbridge chose actively to dissociate himself from the world of professional archaeology. After attending Trinity College Cambridge, Lethbridge was appointed to the post of Honorary Curator of Anglo-Saxon antiquities in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. During this period he taught Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon archaeology at the University⁷³⁵, conducted excavations under the aegis of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and published extensively, building a reputation as an archaeologist with a "distinguished if fairly unspectacular reputation".⁷³⁶ He had a wide circle of friends amongst fellow archaeologists, including Cyril Fox and Christopher Hawkes.⁷³⁷ However, Lethbridge departed from the accepted practices of professional archaeologists in his methodological approaches. By the

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Cardiff 1980, 44.

⁷³² BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/memorandum Salmon to Maconachie, 26th November 1937.

⁷³³ Welbourn, T., 2010. The buried gods of Gogmagog. *British Archaeology* (112). York: Council for British Archaeology, 38-41; Welbourn, T., 2011. *T.C. Lethbridge: the man who saw the future*. Winchester and Washington: O-Books.

⁷³⁴ Finneran, N., 2003. A "divine" purpose? The legacy of T.C. Lethbridge. *Folklore*, volume 114, number 1, April 2003, 107-113.

⁷³⁵ Smith 2009, 157.

⁷³⁶ Finneran 2003, 108.

⁷³⁷ Daniel, G., 1972. Editorial. *Antiquity* volume 46, issue 181, March 1972, 5-6; Scott-Fox 2002, 36, 38, 208.

late 1940s he had begun to produce a string of publications aimed at a wider, popular audience, promulgating views which differed markedly from those accepted in mainstream archaeology, and which were in many ways more closely aligned with the 'earth mysteries' movement which emerged in the 1960s.⁷³⁸ This aspect of his work led to Lethbridge being regarded as something of a "maverick archaeologist".⁷³⁹ His obituary in *Antiquity* describes him as "a colourful, stimulating, provocative and often controversial figure in British archaeology", and credits him with bringing an imaginative approach to archaeological interpretations, which certainly breathed life into the topic, but which placed him well outside the establishment.⁷⁴⁰ Historian Ronald Hutton notes that:

his status as a scholar never really rose above that of an unusually lively local antiquary. In large part this was his choice; he prided himself upon his character of an upper-class dilettante, with a private income and a contempt for professionalism in all fields.⁷⁴¹

One of Lethbridge's projects involved an investigation of Wandlebury Hill in Cambridgeshire, where he claimed through the technique of "sounding" - probing with steel rods - to have identified the outline of a series of figures cut into the underlying bedrock, being the alleged remains of a prehistoric tableaux representing the gods of the sun and moon.⁷⁴²

It was proposed to work up a Third Programme broadcast on the subject, with Lethbridge in conversation with two other archaeologists, for which W.F. Grimes and Stuart Piggott were suggested.⁷⁴³ In the event, the broadcast never took place, due in large part to the lack of

⁷³⁸ Finneran 2003, 108-110; Hayman 1997, 216. Lethbridge's views were evidently influenced by the perspectives of modernism, with its re-evaluation of the cultural legacy of the nineteenth century, and its interest in new forms of expression and consciousness – see Stevenson 1984, 412-414. Stevenson notes of modernism (p.412) that "several of its features were absorbed into the British cultural scene, frequently grafted on to more traditional concerns".

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁷⁴⁰ Daniel 1972, 5.

⁷⁴¹ Hutton, R., 1999. *The triumph of the moon. A history of modern pagan witchcraft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 274-5, quotation p. 274.

⁷⁴² Lethbridge, T.C., 1957. *Gogmagog: the buried gods*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

⁷⁴³ R Cont 1. Talks, Stuart Piggott Personal File, File 1, 1935-1962/letter Grimble to Piggott, 3rd June 1957.

support it received from fellow professionals, who were concerned about the archaeological validity of Lethbridge's work.⁷⁴⁴ As Piggott remarked:

I am in a very difficult position with regard to Lethbridge's alleged discoveries, as with Grimes, I am on the investigating committee of the Council of British Archaeology [*sic*]. My own feeling is that the subject is not one for a Third Programme discussion. [...] I think on the whole it would be much better to drop it.⁷⁴⁵

The CBA investigating committee referred to by Piggott never conclusively resolved the issue, and the commission eventually compromised by issuing two reports, one validating Lethbridge's results, and the other deeming them not academically valid.⁷⁴⁶ Having ascertained that Grimes was also not happy about the proposed broadcast, Piggott wrote again urging Talks producer Ian Grimble "to drop the idea altogether," and confirming that he could not take part.⁷⁴⁷ Radio had once more acted as a boundary-setting mechanism for the delineation of the professional practice of archaeology.

Conclusion

During the decade of the 1930s, archaeologists were becoming an increasingly familiar radio presence. In this respect alone, radio was impacting on the profession of archaeology, in the sense that a growing number of archaeologists were prioritising the production of radio scripts. Time spent in radio-related activities - whether writing scripts, liaising with producers, travelling to the studios, rehearsing, and making the broadcasts themselves - was now regarded as an important part of their work. Radio was therefore clearly viewed, at least by some archaeologists, as a useful medium for projecting the public face of the profession. Analysis of the exact nature of certain of these broadcasts has revealed some insights which

⁷⁴⁴ Finneran (2003, p.108) views "the Gogmagog controversy as the main departure point in Lethbridge's academic career".

⁷⁴⁵ R Cont 1. Talks, Stuart Piggott Personal File, File 1, 1935-1962/letter Piggott to Grimble, 6th June 1957.

⁷⁴⁶ Finneran 2003, 109.

⁷⁴⁷ R Cont 1. Talks, Stuart Piggott Personal File, File 1, 1935-1962/letter Piggott to Grimble, 13th June 1957. Ian Grimble joined the BBC as a producer in 1955, and later became a historian and broadcaster. Grimble was of Scottish heritage, and was educated at Balliol College, Oxford University. From the 1960s he began writing and presenting for television and built a reputation as a skilled communicator of history, specialising in the history and heritage of Scotland. Obituary, Dr Ian Grimble. *The Herald* newspaper. [Online.] Author anonymous. Heraldscotland.com/news/12671849.dr-ian-grimble. Accessed 18th November 2021.

help to address the questions posed at the start of this discussion, regarding BBC policy and culture, and how these related to the professional priorities of archaeologists.

It has been demonstrated in this chapter that during the 1930s, policy towards the inclusion of archaeology in the timetable became more planned and directed, and that the topic fed into certain quasi-political themes. Archaeologists and talks producers collaborated to create radio versions of the past which suited their diverse agendas. Thus, at the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, archaeologist Cyril Fox and colleagues played a role in underpinning imperial narratives surrounding nationhood and the portrayal of the national past, in a complex blend of royal and imperial ritual and ceremonial. The BBC was able to bolster its central role in the cultural life of the nation through the provision of royal ceremonial, whilst archaeologists gained professional standing by associating themselves with this prestigious broadcast occasion. This event fitted well with the BBC's self-appointed role as marker of royal occasions and national events in the cultural life of the nation. At the same time, for Cyril Fox, associating himself with the prestigious institutions of the royal family, and the BBC, was a way of bolstering the status of his discipline.

Socio-political factors were also at play when the lens of the countryside movement began to influence the presence of archaeologists on radio. Archaeology was invoked as an activity through which the public could enjoy the great outdoors. Radio archaeologists such as Jacquetta Hawkes and Stuart Piggott therefore played a part in the cultural phenomenon of the countryside movement, which itself had underlying political causes. Debates around preservationism, and the way in which the countryside was engaged with, exploited and encroached upon, played a central role in the public discourse. At this period during which undercurrents of totalitarianism were developing in Europe, it was perhaps inevitable that the topic of archaeology would be drawn into the forum of politics and propaganda.

The presentation of archaeology as one reason to go for a countryside ramble was commensurate with the style of many broadcasts at this time, with radio travelogues being a common format. For the BBC, archaeology represented suitable content for its regional output, as listeners could relate to its connections with familiar locales. It is interesting to note that though the radio series entitled *Ancient Britain Out of Doors* was presented through

this lens, and Hawkes and Piggott began and ended their talk with light-hearted comment regarding countryside visiting, they filled the bulk of the time with robust archaeological information. Once again, BBC priorities and the professional interests of the archaeologists, operated in convenient combination.

The decade also saw the BBC's inclusion of archaeology in the radio timetables as part of their output of science broadcasts, and one component in their contribution to science education. Talks producers continued to refer to the museums in order to source archaeology content, as they had in the previous decade, but in addition they began to work more closely with the universities. This came about due to the expansion of teaching of archaeology at university level, which therefore began to influence radio content. Radio provided a forum within which to present archaeology as a serious science in its own right. Archaeological content provided by academics such as John Garstang and Dorothy Garrod was therefore used to contribute to the broader aims of the BBC's science communication policy. For an archaeologist such as John Garstang, radio broadcasts were an opportunity to talk to a wider public about his professional practice, and to project himself as a man of science. Dorothy Garrod may not have chosen to appear on radio as frequently as some other members of her profession, but her talk in May 1939 was scripted in a way which confirmed her persona as a woman of science. Radio can once more be seen to have served as a vehicle for the expression of the professional archaeological identity.

Finally, the chapter examined ways in which the professional and the amateur were distinguished, via the lens of radio. Through their increasing involvement in broadcasting, archaeological personalities both implicitly and explicitly demanded recognition for their professional credentials. The contrast between amateur and professional became more clearly delineated in the radio talks of this decade, in itself indicative of the boundaries of the discipline of archaeology being emphasised via the medium of radio. Keen amateur archaeologist S.E. Winbolt's broadcasts evidently presented archaeological excavation as an expanding leisure activity in which visitors to the countryside were encouraged to take an interest. As far as Gordon Childe was concerned, one of his earliest broadcasts was precipitated by a dispute with BBC managers regarding their radio portrayal of his discipline. Through his explicit demand for recognition that there were both correct and markedly

incorrect ways of dealing with archaeology content on radio, Childe assertively emphasised his professional status. This examination of the nature of archaeological radio during the 1930s has taken us some way towards understanding the manifestation of the public intellectual role of archaeologists through radio programmes. It has also provided some clear instances of the role of radio as a catalyst for the definition of the professional identity of archaeologists. Radio had become an important platform upon which the assertion of archaeology as a distinctive, complex, and scientific profession, could take place.

As the decade drew to a close the shadow of war began to exert its presence, and on 3rd September 1939 war was declared. Despite this profound interruption to the normal rhythms of life, archaeology remained a vibrant radio presence during the Second World War. This wartime radio content is the theme of the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Education, Propaganda and Reconstruction – The Role of BBC Radio Archaeology Programmes in the Second World War

Introduction

On 1st September 1939, two days before war was declared, a government directive required the closure of the television transmitter at Alexandra Palace, due to concerns that it could be used as a direction finder for enemy aircraft.⁷⁴⁸ In the immediate pre-war period, improved reception and more affordable sets had meant that television was just beginning to become more accessible and popular amongst the British public. It was, however, as Briggs noted “historically fitting that television should be silenced when war broke out, for the Second World War [...] was a war not of images but of words”.⁷⁴⁹ Certain of the words used to wage war via BBC radio were archaeological, and professional archaeologists played a part in this “war of words”. Scripts with archaeological content were broadcast on the Schools strand, the Overseas Service and on Forces radio. Archaeologists took their place amongst the public intellectuals contributing to the national conversation during wartime. Examination of the contribution of archaeologists can therefore provide a fresh perspective on Talks radio content during the Second World War. Archaeology retained its educative role in the Schools series, *How Things Began*, in which complex archaeological ideas were presented to school children, whilst attempting to bring these concepts to life and make them vivid for young listeners through the introduction of innovative radio techniques.

Archaeological themes were marshalled as part of pro-British propaganda on the Overseas Service, and in response to the perceived need for enhanced science education. The topic of archaeology formed part of the BBC’s international output, as one element of cultural propaganda, and the versions of Britishness which were relayed to the wider world. Archaeological radio content also contributed to government policies to educate the citizen army during the process of demobilisation. With the return of peace, archaeologists would

⁷⁴⁸ Briggs 1985, 169-171.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

liaise with BBC producers to publicise their plans for the discipline during post-war reconstruction initiatives. This chapter therefore contributes to the research questions underpinning the thesis by considering further evidence for the role which the BBC carved out for itself. How did this role impact on archaeology-themed programmes during wartime, and what effect did the conflict have on the archaeological radio identity?

4.1 Setting the Context for Wartime Archaeological Radio

To understand the context for the themes introduced in this chapter, it is necessary to have a brief overview of the economic, cultural and political developments leading up to the outbreak of war. Discussions of what constituted “civilisation” had been a dominant theme in cultural discourse during the 1920s and 30s, due in large part to the continuing societal impact of the First World War. Pedersen and Mandler have referred to “the moral certitudes and convictions of the late Victorian urban gentry and the growing intellectual, political and cultural doubts that engulfed this class on the eve of the Second World War”.⁷⁵⁰ The historian Richard Overy argued that the interwar period was dominated by cultural tropes of crisis, leading many to fear a dystopian future of economic failure, racial degeneration and the collapse of civilisation.⁷⁵¹ Overy’s influential text analysed the effects on society of the First World War and its aftermath, which in many peoples’ eyes had served to undo centuries of civilisation. In his partial rebuttal to Overy’s analysis, Eric Hobsbawm took issue with this standpoint, noting that “emotions in history are neither chronologically stable nor socially homogeneous”.⁷⁵² Even so, Overy’s argument remains sustainable. Societal pressures such as the rise of totalitarianism in Europe, and the impact of the Great Depression inevitably exerted their effects on the public intellectual discourse.

From the start, the war against Nazi Germany was presented as a struggle against the ‘forces of darkness’ that threatened civilised society...”.⁷⁵³ The threat was a very real one, and

⁷⁵⁰ Pedersen and Mandler 1994, 31.

⁷⁵¹ Overy 2009.

⁷⁵² Hobsbawm, E., 2014. *Fractured times. Culture and society in the twentieth century*. London: Abacus, 159-168, p.160.

⁷⁵³ Morgan, D. and Evans, M., 1993. *The battle for Britain: citizenship and ideology in the Second World War*. London: Routledge, 3.

following the defeat of the allied forces in spring 1940, and the military isolation of Britain from Western Europe, the prospect of a Nazi invasion loomed for more than a year.⁷⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, texts written during this period show a very prevalent interest in concepts of civilisation, and of what made one human.⁷⁵⁵ Throughout the late 1930s and 40s themes revolving around the state of the world, and the future prospects for humankind, crop up regularly in radio presentations ranging from architecture to drama.⁷⁵⁶ In his paper on the emotional effects of the First World War on those concerned with the early formation of the BBC, David Hendy refers to the prevailing “post-war anxieties about a world out of kilter [...] in many different aspects of life and thought” during the interwar period.⁷⁵⁷ The prevailing mood also manifested itself in the writings of archaeologists, such as Grahame Clark’s 1946 meditation on the development of cities, and their civilising influence.⁷⁵⁸ In the foreword to his Maiden Castle excavation report, written in August 1941 “at a time when the future is more than ordinarily imponderable”, Mortimer Wheeler informed the reader that “The manuscript has been prepared for printing amidst the watches of the War. [...] The wreckage of the present has in these days been more instant to my mind than the wreckage of the past, and *inter arma* I have no heart for studentship”.⁷⁵⁹

While the country was on a war footing, and for many the anxiety of an unimaginable future dominated daily life, aspects of citizenship naturally became particularly pertinent. As meditations on what it meant to be human, and the nature of society, impacted on wartime radio it is necessary to examine the concept of citizenship, and the related concepts of morale and propaganda, to consider the ways in which these were defined during wartime. A familiar

⁷⁵⁴ Boyce, R. and Maiolo, J.A., eds., 2003. *The origins of World War Two: the debate continues*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan; Bungay, S., 2000. *The most dangerous enemy. A history of the Battle of Britain*. London: Aurum Press, 27-54; Rose, S.O., 2003. *Which people’s war? National identity and citizenship in wartime Britain, 1939-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1.

⁷⁵⁵ Ifversen, J., 2002. The crisis of European civilization after 1918. In Spiering, M. and Wintle, M., eds. *Ideas of Europe since 1914. The legacy of the First World War*. Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave MacMillan, 14-31; Orwell, G., 1941. *The lion and the unicorn*. The Penguin essays of George Orwell. London: Penguin, 138-188.

⁷⁵⁶ For example, in 1939 Talks producers approached eminent architect Henry Goodhart-Rendell to script a series on “The Civilized Man” or “The Art of Living”, to which Goodhart-Rendell replied that he would like to work on “interesting a large audience in the real values of civilization” – Yusuf 2014, 43. A further example is producer Nesta Pain’s feature programme *So This Is Man!* – broadcast 16th March 1945 on the Home Service, which mused on the nature of physicality and consciousness – see *Radio Times* issue 1119, 9th March 1945.

⁷⁵⁷ Hendy 2014, 97-98.

⁷⁵⁸ Clark, J.G.D., 1946. *From savagery to civilisation*. London: Cobbett Press.

⁷⁵⁹ Wheeler 1943. See also Stout 2008, 222-225, for Wheeler, Clark, and concepts of civilisation in archaeology.

trope in descriptions of the conflict of 1939 to 1945 is that the nation stood united against the threat of Fascism, and shared a collective view of the conflict as ‘the people’s war’.⁷⁶⁰ There is, however, a great deal of scholarship which contradicts this somewhat simplistic picture of national unity during wartime, and which offers a more nuanced interpretation emphasising many more complex opinions and imperatives amongst the British population regarding their attitudes to the war.⁷⁶¹ Concepts of citizenship and national identity were closely intertwined, and the British national identity of the 1940s itself comprised multiple strands and complexities.⁷⁶² Whilst acknowledging that “[c]itizenship is one of the most ambiguous concepts in contemporary academic parlance”, Sonya Rose argues that during the Second World War debates on citizenship often focused on concepts of morality and ethical behaviour, and that views of good citizenship were influenced by differences of class and gender.⁷⁶³ At this time of national emergency, good citizenship revolved around “actively expressing a commitment to the nation by voluntarily fulfilling obligations and willingly contributing to the welfare of the community”.⁷⁶⁴ Appeals to notions of good citizenship were often invoked in government propaganda which, in a changed focus from the value of individual liberties, now emphasised obligations centred on high moral standards, the stability and order of the domestic sphere, a commitment to voluntary service, and the fulfilment of the state-regulated responsibilities of military defence.⁷⁶⁵

One overarching theme implicit in wartime radio propaganda was the importance of ‘responsible citizenship’. Responsible citizenship meant having an active involvement in public and political life, and an awareness of civic responsibility.⁷⁶⁶ A further strand of programming displayed a version of national identity which was overtly patriotic and

⁷⁶⁰ Calder, A., 1992. *The people’s war: Britain 1939-45*. London: Pimlico, 138.

⁷⁶¹ Calder, A., 1992. *The myth of the Blitz*. London: Pimlico; Fennell 2019. *Fighting the people’s war: the British and Commonwealth armies and the Second World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 52; Kynaston, D., 2007. *Austerity Britain, 1945-51*. London: Bloomsbury, 5-59; Mansell, J.G., 2016. *The age of noise in Britain: hearing modernity*. Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 145-181; Rose 2003, 2-7.

⁷⁶² Weight and Beach 1998, 1.

⁷⁶³ Rose 2003, 14-20 and 71-150, quotation p. 15.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁷⁶⁵ Calder 1992a., 240-1; Rose 2003, 108 and 138. See also Chapman, J., 1998. *The British at war. Cinema, state and propaganda, 1939-1945*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 41-45 for the character of government wartime propaganda.

⁷⁶⁶ Nicholas 1998, 40; Skoog, K., 2010. *The ‘responsible’ woman: the BBC and women’s radio, 1945-1955*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Westminster, 236-7.

imperialistic, and sought to evoke the ancient roots of Britain's freedoms. This type of broadcast quickly began to be criticised for its jingoistic tone, and following the retreat at Dunkirk, there was a move towards radio content which rather than relying on an old-fashioned patriotism, emphasised the stoicism and endurance of the British people.⁷⁶⁷ J.B. Priestley's radio series of *Postscripts to the News*, which ran for a relatively brief period on the Home Service between 1940 and 1941, is regularly cited in radio historiography as representing the way the British wished to see themselves at this time of national peril. Building on the success of his lyrical and reflective travel book, *English Journey*, published in 1934, which evoked images of a mythologised England of rural nostalgia and deep history, and portraying himself as 'a man of the people', Priestley's broadcasts were undoubtedly popular with the public.⁷⁶⁸ Sian Nicholas has argued that a range of radio programmes from the late 1930s onwards demonstrate the BBC's progression from attempting to boost morale by evoking images of the solidity of 'John Bull' to a more complex portrayal of active citizenship, capable of making a contribution to post-war reconstruction.⁷⁶⁹ The BBC's influence on planning for the post-war world is also emphasised by commentators such as Donnelly, who notes that radio on topics covering post-war social and economic planning could prove cheering, and aid morale.⁷⁷⁰ Ian McLaine's account of the role of morale in the Second World War acknowledges the difficulty of formulating a definitive definition of the concept, but emphasises the centrality of behaviour and action. If participants are carrying out the actions required by a central authority, wartime morale can be said to be good, regardless of what is privately said and thought by the participants.⁷⁷¹

One way of attempting to influence morale was the use of propaganda. The term "propaganda" has many negative associations, stemming in part from its use during the First World War, and Nazi and Fascist usage in the 1930s, although it has more neutral undertones in European languages other than English, where it translates as "publicity" or

⁷⁶⁷ Nicholas 1998, 38 and passim.

⁷⁶⁸ Briggs 1985, 191-2; Chignell 2011, 42-48; Curran and Seaton 2010, 136-138; Nicholas, S., 1995. Sly demagogues and wartime radio: J.B. Priestley and the BBC. *Twentieth Century British History*, volume 6, issue 3, 247-266; Priestley, J.B., 1934. *English Journey*. London: Heinemann; Waters, C., 1994. J.B. Priestley 1894-1984. Englishness and the politics of nostalgia. In Pedersen and Mandler, 208-226.

⁷⁶⁹ Nicholas 1998, 36-58.

⁷⁷⁰ Donnelly, M., 1999. *Britain in the Second World War*. London and New York: Routledge, 77.

⁷⁷¹ McLaine 1979, 8-10.

“promotion”.⁷⁷² Subject specialist Philip Taylor defined propaganda as “Any information, ideas, doctrines or special appeals disseminated to influence the opinion, emotions, attitudes or behaviour of any specified group in order to benefit the sponsor, either directly or indirectly”.⁷⁷³ During wartime, propaganda has a role in encouraging socio-cultural cohesion – itself an aspect of citizenship – whereby the ideal outcome for government is that citizens are united in the same views and aspirations, and all citizens feel included in the effort to attain “victory”. Due to the large number of people it could reach at any one time, radio was a powerful propaganda tool.⁷⁷⁴ It was evident that radio would play a central role in wartime morale – as Curran and Seaton have noted, “Modern wars change the status of entertainment: leisure is seen as an aspect of ‘public morale’”.⁷⁷⁵ The role of propaganda in the wartime BBC, and the extent to which radio contributors consciously propagandised in response to government and BBC policy imperatives, remains a contested topic. Perceptions of truth and propaganda varied depending on the standpoint of the participants.⁷⁷⁶

Influenced by the ‘Home Propaganda’ needs of the Ministry of Information, much radio coverage at the start of the war was concerned with practical matters such as evacuation, health, air raid precautions and food.⁷⁷⁷ Whilst BBC managers refused to act as a propaganda arm of government, and their wartime propaganda strategy did not consist of a single official line, there is no doubt that cultural propaganda was a central element of the BBC’s wartime policy.⁷⁷⁸ Cultural propaganda can be defined as the dissemination of cultural products, including educational activities, as part of a long-term process designed to promote an enhanced understanding for a particular country and its ways of life and thought. The aim of cultural propaganda is to create sympathy and understanding for the sponsoring nation, on a long-term basis.⁷⁷⁹ Potter notes that “[t]he British world was presented as sharing a history,

⁷⁷² Corse, E., 2013. *A battle for neutral Europe: British cultural propaganda during the Second World War*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 5.

⁷⁷³ Taylor 1981, 4-5; Taylor 1999, xii; Taylor, P.M., 2003. Propaganda. In Boyce, R. and Maiolo, 342-359.

⁷⁷⁴ Chignell 2009, 177.

⁷⁷⁵ Curran, J. and Seaton, J., 2010. *Power without responsibility. The press, broadcasting and the internet in Britain*, 7th edition. London: Routledge, 155.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., 175-178; Crissell 2002, 65-66; Hendy 2013, 36; Street 2005, 82.

⁷⁷⁷ Briggs 1970, 159-161; Nicholas, S., 1996. *The echo of war. Home front propaganda and the wartime BBC, 1939-45*. Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 70-107.

⁷⁷⁸ Briggs 1985, 175-178; Crissell 2002, 58-67.

⁷⁷⁹ See Corse 2013, chapter 2, page 5 and passim. for definitions of and theories relating to cultural propaganda. See also Donnelly 1999, 76; Lambert, R.S., 1938. *Propaganda*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons

a usable past which could help justify and motivate the imperial war effort,” and confirms that the BBC sought assistance from external writers, academic advisers, speakers, artists and critics, as contributors to radio content which conveyed positive images of British culture to the wider world.⁷⁸⁰ Hajkowski emphasises the ways in which BBC producers developed strategies to educate, inform and interest the British public in their empire, as a means of trying to encourage cohesion amongst the scattered territories under British rule.⁷⁸¹ Nicholas shows that the wartime British public were provided by the BBC with a great deal of pro-empire propaganda, which was sometimes criticised by listeners as being patronizing, as stereotyping inhabitants of the British overseas territories, or merely not being entertaining enough.⁷⁸² However clumsy certain radio content may have appeared to listeners, the BBC felt it important to remind people why the war was being fought, and what was at stake. Radio broadcasts espousing British values were one way of contributing to the war effort. The propaganda of this period tended to be ‘low-key’ in nature, with the emphasis on presenting representations of Britishness in a mode of gentle persuasion, rather than attempting to enforce British policy in forceful or bombastic ways.⁷⁸³ It is demonstrated here that archaeology content formed part of the wartime radio output of cultural propaganda.

Before moving on to consider the specific ways in which archaeology was evoked in wartime broadcasts, it is necessary to set the scene by considering the impact of the outbreak of war on members of the archaeological profession.

4.2 Professional Archaeologists and the Impact of the Second World War

The lives of many archaeology professionals of this generation had already been impacted by the First World War, either on a direct personal basis, or through the effects of war during

Ltd; MacKenzie, J.M., 1984. *Propaganda and empire. The manipulation of British public opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Potter, S.J., 2018. Broadcasting Britishness during the second world war: radio and the British world. *History of Global Arms Transfer*, 5 (2018), 49-58; Robertson, E., 2008. ‘I get a real kick out of Big Ben’: BBC versions of Britishness on the Empire and General Overseas Service, 1932-1948. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, volume 28, number 4, 459-473.

⁷⁸⁰ Potter 2018, 57.

⁷⁸¹ Hajkowski, T., 2002. The BBC, the Empire and the Second World War, 1939-1945. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 22:2, 135-155; Hajkowski 2010, 50-53.

⁷⁸² Nicholas, S., 2003. *Brushing up your empire. Dominion and colonial propaganda on the BBC's home services, 1939-45*. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, volume 31, issue 2, 207-230.

⁷⁸³ Corse 2013, 5-7.

their childhoods. The outbreak of hostilities in September 1939 meant that war would now exercise a significant influence on their professional lives. The threat of war had already begun to affect the work of British archaeologists previous to this. Practitioners such as Cyril Fox found that from the mid to late 1930s, much of their excavation work arose as a result of War Ministry imperatives. The building of arsenals, tank defences and other war-related activity had meant that their skills were needed in order to dig and record archaeological sites prior to these developments.⁷⁸⁴

The start of the conflict led to a slow-down in digging activity, and to the co-option of archaeology professionals into war work, as well as, in many cases, a considerable effect on their personal lives. O.G.S. Crawford, having witnessed the loss of much valuable archive material from the Ordnance Survey offices in Southampton during the bombing raids of November 1940, including his personal archive of maps and field notes, was seconded to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England (RCHM) for 'special duties' involving the photographic documentation of Southampton for the National Buildings Record.⁷⁸⁵ Jacquetta Hawkes worked as an administrative civil servant in the War Cabinet, for the Crown Film Unit at the Ministry of Education, which operated under the aegis of the Ministry of Information, and (from January 1941) for the Post-War Reconstruction Secretariat. Later in the war she and her then husband, the prehistorian Christopher Hawkes, jointly published a popular volume entitled *Prehistoric Britain*. The Prelude referred to beginning the book in 1940, when "a German victory seemed almost certain", and of "preparing to write about the deepest roots of a civilization whose topmost shoots were perhaps soon to be hacked off", adding that "prehistorians had spent much learning and ingenuity on reconstructing thousand-year-old stories of continental invasions of Britain. In 1940 we awaited a practical demonstration in modern form".⁷⁸⁶

Mortimer Wheeler, already an experienced soldier following his trench warfare experience in the First World War, fought in Italy and North Africa, commanding an anti-aircraft battery at

⁷⁸⁴ HMSO, 1949. *War and archaeology in Britain. The excavation of ancient sites and the preservation of historic buildings*. London: The Ministry of Works, for His Majesty's Stationery Office.

⁷⁸⁵ Hauser 2008, 226-233.

⁷⁸⁶ Hawkes, C. and Hawkes, J., 1944. *Prehistoric Britain*. London: Pelican, 11.

the Battles of El Alamein in the desert war against General Rommel.⁷⁸⁷ Gordon Childe, on the other hand, although all too aware of what he referred to as “the forthcoming catastrophe”, had an archaeologically-active war, publishing a large number of books and papers, and carrying out surveying duties for the RCHM (Scotland) on monuments judged to be in danger either from bombing or military training.⁷⁸⁸ Many members of the archaeological establishment were posted to RAF Medmenham, a war-requisitioned country house near Marlow in Buckinghamshire, where their observational and mapping skills made them perfect candidates for recruitment into Air Ministry intelligence, and the secret work of interpreting enemy activities through the close examination of aerial photographs.⁷⁸⁹ Glyn Daniel was apparently the first Cambridge University archaeologist to work at Medmenham, and Dorothy Garrod was recruited in 1942. Stuart Piggott and Grahame Clark were also amongst those who spent some of their war years at Medmenham.⁷⁹⁰ The interruption of war was not always disadvantageous to the practice of archaeology – Piggott and Daniel were later posted to India for air photo-intelligence duties, and therefore found that they often had opportunities to combine war work and the identification of archaeological sites.⁷⁹¹ Wheeler was able during his war service to visit Egypt, and to observe the archaeology of Libya, and following his desert service diverted to India to contribute his expertise to the Archaeological Survey of India.⁷⁹² Such opportunities enabled some individuals to broaden their horizons and develop geographical perspectives and language skills which would benefit their future work.⁷⁹³ Leonard Woolley, already an intrepid traveller, combined war work and broadcasting, contributing in 1944 to a radio talk entitled *Works of Art in the Firing Line*. This described his activities as Archaeological Adviser, part of a team responsible for rescuing works of art and archaeological treasures which were under threat of destruction.⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁸⁷ Hawkes 1982, 196-229; Wheeler 1958a., 108-129.

⁷⁸⁸ Green 1981, 87-89.

⁷⁸⁹ Babington Smith, C., 1958. *Evidence in camera. The story of photographic intelligence in World War Two*. London: Chatto and Windus; Downing, T., 2012. *Spies in the sky. The secret battle for aerial intelligence during World War Two*. London: Abacus, 99; Moshenska, G., 2012. *The archaeology of the Second World War. Uncovering Britain's wartime heritage*. Barnsley, S. Yorks.: Pen and Sword, 10-11.

⁷⁹⁰ Daniel 1986, 108-137; Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 28-29; Smith 2009, 95.

⁷⁹¹ Daniel 1986, 144-178; Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 28-9.

⁷⁹² Wheeler 1958a., 156-195.

⁷⁹³ Bahn 1996, 210.

⁷⁹⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962. The programme was broadcast on 9th March 1945 in the Pacific Service, adapted from a previous Home Service version broadcast on 23rd February 1945. Originally prepared for the Overseas series *Britain Speaks* in 1944, the delay was due to initial War Office reluctance to release information on the department's activities.

In order to analyse the wartime contribution of the radio archaeologists, it is first necessary to set the context for their broadcasts. In common with other organisations who had been monitoring the progress of European politics, the BBC had been planning for war since at least the mid-1930s. Reith wrote a memorandum on “The Position of the BBC in War” as early as July 1935.⁷⁹⁵ Upon war being declared, the National and Regional Programmes were discontinued, and replaced by the BBC Home Service, which began broadcasting on 1st September 1939, and provided a varied schedule of news, talks, drama and variety, and classical and light music.⁷⁹⁶ There followed a brief period when some individuals advocated a government take-over of radio services for the duration of hostilities, or argued that broadcasting should even cease altogether, and in this early phase of the war, there was uncertainty as to the role of the BBC.⁷⁹⁷ Churchill himself apparently spoke of the BBC as “an enemy within the gates, doing more harm than good”.⁷⁹⁸ Uncertainty as to the role of the government, and specifically the Ministry of Information, in relation to the BBC, meant that radio talks planned before the start of the war were in many cases abandoned. The Talks Department was reduced in size, and for a time it was possible that it may even have been shut down, on the basis that it was not needed, or amalgamated with News provision.⁷⁹⁹ In the event, it was agreed that it was important for the Corporation to retain its independence, albeit whilst developing close links with the Ministry of Information. The latter was reorganised in 1940, with Reith himself - now departed from his role as BBC Director-General - having a brief spell as Minister of Information.⁸⁰⁰

Despite the initial period of uncertainty, the BBC came into its own during the war, by broadening its popular appeal, to become an essential element of life on the ‘home front’. This was the period during which radio news established itself as an essential service.⁸⁰¹ The

⁷⁹⁵ Briggs 1985, 175.

⁷⁹⁶ Nicholas 2003, footnote 15, p. 227.

⁷⁹⁷ Gardiner, J., 2010. *The Blitz. The British under attack*. London: HarperCollins, 170-173; Taylor 1999, 158.

⁷⁹⁸ Reith 1949, 438.

⁷⁹⁹ “The amalgamation of Talks Department with News provides [...] for all necessary censorship of scripts.” BBC/WAC/R34/266. Policy. Broadcasting in War Time, 1938-1939/secret memorandum Director of Programme Planning to Controller (PR), 17th June 1938. See also Briggs, A., 1970. *The history of broadcasting in the United Kingdom, volume 3. The war of words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 96-97 and 117; Games 2015, 24-25.

⁸⁰⁰ Briggs 1970, 330-3; Briggs 1985, 179.

⁸⁰¹ Curran and Seaton 2010, 139-140; Chignell 2011, 48-56; Nicholas 1996, 6-7 and chapter 6, 190-227.

adoption of more informal broadcast styles and a greater variety of regional accents amongst broadcasters meant that the BBC became more representative of its audience, and this contributed to its wartime reputation as a force for cohesion at this period of national emergency.⁸⁰² It also quickly became apparent that wartime conditions had changed the very function of radio, from being an essentially private facility, to the assumption of an enhanced role as a communal, public amenity upon which the British public relied for reports on the war effort, in addition to light entertainment.⁸⁰³

The role of the Talks Department in particular was strengthened, and as early as 1940 Talks was seen as an essential element of the wartime BBC.⁸⁰⁴ Scannell and Cardiff have noted that in certain respects, the BBC mission of “Reithian” cultural uplift may have been further strengthened by the war.⁸⁰⁵ By early 1941, Talks and Features producers were at liberty to broadcast any programme they wished, provided that nothing harmful to national security was put out.⁸⁰⁶ Upon the declaration of war, due to fears that London was in immediate danger of bombing raids, BBC staff had been dispersed from London to safer provincial centres, - for example, the Talks department moved to Bristol, and School broadcasts to Evesham.⁸⁰⁷ Also at this early stage of the war, all radio transmission was synchronised to one wavelength, meaning that when one transmitter could not be used due to the presence of German bombers, another could be substituted. This new network - the Home Service - eventually became part of the BBC’s post-war arrangements. A further development of the ‘Phoney War’ phase was the creation of the Forces Programme, which began experimental transmissions on 7th January 1940, and started broadcasting with a regular 11am to 11pm presence in February of that year, providing ‘light’ content to the thousands of service men and women based in Britain, as well as to the British Expeditionary Forces.⁸⁰⁸ The service also quickly became extremely popular with civilians, to the extent that by 1941, sixty per cent of

⁸⁰² Curran and Seaton 2010, 142-143; Nicholas 2016, 10-11; Nicholas, S., 1999. *The people’s radio: the BBC and its audience, 1939-45*. In Hayes, N. and Hill, J., eds. *Millions like us? British culture in the Second World War*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 62-92, pp. 72-3.

⁸⁰³ Nicholas 1999, 63.

⁸⁰⁴ Games 2015, 23.

⁸⁰⁵ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 7.

⁸⁰⁶ Briggs 1970, 341.

⁸⁰⁷ Briggs 1985, 175; Chignell 2011, 39-40.

⁸⁰⁸ Briggs 1985, 175-6, 186-7; Briggs 1970, 128-129; Calder 1992a, 65; Chignell 2011, 41; Donnelly 1999, 77-78; Nicholas 2003, footnote 15, 227; Street 2005, 71-73. For the ‘Phoney War’, used to refer to the apparently uneventful initial period of the war, which ended in April 1940, see Calder 1992a., 50-57.

the civilian public was tuning in to the Forces Programme in preference to the Home Service.⁸⁰⁹ This was a very significant development, representing a complete contrast with Reithian principles of ‘mixed’ scheduling. The BBC realised that an essential requirement in wartime would be the provision of light entertainment and background listening, and “[p]roviding the public with what it wanted had become central to the Corporation’s plans”.⁸¹⁰ The formation of the Overseas Service (previously the Empire Service) in December 1939 was a further important development, and direct government funding of the Overseas Service brought significant expansion.⁸¹¹

In November 1939, the heads of the major BBC departments met to report on their ideas and plans for wartime broadcasting.⁸¹² Whilst some complained that they had not had time to think ahead, already at this early stage of the war, Schools producers had a robust plan in mind for future programmes. It was noted that school children were engrossed by the war, but it was regarded as inappropriate to overtly propagandise by giving them detailed information about the progress of the hostilities. Instead, the preferred plan was to “turn emergency into adventure”.⁸¹³ In compliance with this strategy was an archaeology-themed series overseen by Head of Schools Broadcasting Mary Somerville, entitled *How Things Began*. The thesis now moves on to examine the inception and production of this serial.

4.3 Rhoda Power, Dina Dobson, and the Schools Radio Serial

How Things Began (January 1942)

Analysis of the production of the Schools series, *How Things Began*, throws light on the nature of the collaboration between an archaeological expert - Dr Dina Dobson - and the BBC scriptwriter and producer, Rhoda Power. *How Things Began* exemplifies the efforts of radio producers to bring archaeology to school children in an understandable and accessible way,

⁸⁰⁹ Briggs 1970, 114-28; Nicholas 1999, 70-71; Potter 2012, 127.

⁸¹⁰ Crissell 2002, 60; Nicholas 2016, 10; Nicholas 1998, 52-53. The Forces Programme was converted to the General Forces Programme (which incorporated the General Overseas Service) in February 1944, and in 1946 it was relaunched as the BBC Light Programme. See Nicholas 2003, footnote 15, 227; Street 2006, 187-189. Quotation from Curran and Seaton 2010, 154-155.

⁸¹¹ Briggs 1985, 181-182; Hajkowski 2010, 11; Jones 2016b., 269-270.

⁸¹² Briggs 1970, 106.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, 115-117.

and to attempt to ensure that whilst young listeners were given plentiful hard archaeological information, it was imparted in a way which was entertaining.

Wartime factors such as evacuation, the closure of inner-city schools due to the danger of aerial bombardment, transfers to war work for women teachers, and the conscription of male teachers, all brought serious disruption to schooling.⁸¹⁴ In spite of these negative effects of the war, there were some positive developments in educational provision around this time. The Spens Report, issued on 30th December 1938, had brought the first major changes to educational provision in many years, and set the tone for future education policy.⁸¹⁵ Advocating the tripartite concept of technical, grammar and modern schools, the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen, and free secondary education for all, the Spens Report also acknowledged the importance of progressive methods of teaching, the need to encourage intellectual curiosity amongst pupils, and the aspiration to rebalance the burden of assessment. There was to be less use of examinations, and an enhanced emphasis on school children being brought in touch with the world around them, and taught more about the society in which they lived.⁸¹⁶ Concerns from educational bodies and central government regarding the poor quality of history teaching led to an impetus to restructure the curriculum, in a move away from the arid emphasis on force-feeding dates and events. There was a new interest in relating history to children's own experiences, and in the use of the past as a means of teaching citizenship and the principles of democracy.⁸¹⁷ These educational developments influenced BBC Schools radio policy. At exactly the same time, the stresses brought by wartime conditions, with overloaded teachers dealing with large classes, led to the increased

⁸¹⁴ Calder 1992a., 47-50, 225; Elliott, B.J., The impact of the Second World War upon history teaching in Britain. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 26:2, 153-163; McKibbin, R., 1998. *Classes and cultures in England, 1918-51*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 20. McKibbin describes the "disintegration" of education during the Second World War; Palmer, R., 1947. *School broadcasting in Britain*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation The preface, written by Sir Henry Richards, Chairman of the Central Council for School Broadcasting, refers to "the tragic interruption of the war years", 7.

⁸¹⁵ The Hadow Report of 1926, which introduced secondary education for all, had been the last major piece of legislation in this respect. Education went on to play a part in the progressive consensus for post-war social change enshrined in the Beveridge Report - see Stevenson 1984, 260-265. The 1944 Butler Act further strengthened educational provision for school children, and enshrined the system of state education which remains in effect today.

⁸¹⁶ Lawson and Silver 1973, 397-401; Pugh 2009, 215; Stevenson 1984, 259-260.

⁸¹⁷ Elliott 1994, 154-160.

uptake of radio in schools, and encouraged a renewed concern with the quality of radio education.⁸¹⁸

At the start of the war, the uncertainty regarding arrangements in the Talks Department was reflected in the scant offering of Schools archaeology broadcasts. A talk by Cyril Fox, entitled *Let's Go To The Museum*, delivered on 15th December 1939, constitutes the only evidence for archaeology provision for schools until the advent of *How Things Began*.⁸¹⁹ This new series represented a major initiative to improve matters. *How Things Began* provided archaeological information to school children aged between 10 and 14, and originated in an idea from Patrick Thornhill, a BBC Education Officer, to “give vivid glimpses of life from early geological times onwards”.⁸²⁰ There was a general view amongst BBC education staff that a science-based series giving a broad perspective on human evolution and societal development was long overdue.⁸²¹ Broadcast on the Schools Home Service, each episode would be twenty minutes in length, and would air mid-morning. Titled *Through the Ages* at the planning stage, subsequently the new name of *How Things Began* was settled on.

Richard Palmer, a former Lecturer in Education at the University of Liverpool, was responsible for overseeing the production of *How Things Began*, as part of his role in producing science programmes on radio. This was in addition to his management of the School Broadcasting programme, which he had joined in 1940.⁸²² He describes *How Things Began* as “an example of a ‘cross-bred series’ – one which cuts across the barriers between the subjects of the school curriculum”.⁸²³ Mapping on to term one of the school year, and beginning “unequivocally as science – tracing the early stages of life on the earth, from the remote Cambrian to the relatively recent Ice Age”, by the second term the curriculum would cover prehistory, the beginnings of agriculture, early progress in making tools and weapons, the development of pottery and clothing, and the phenomena of art and magic.

⁸¹⁸ It is estimated that prior to 1939 only 10,000 schools had used radio, whereas by 1945 more than 14,000 had done so – see Elliott 1994, 160.

⁸¹⁹ *Radio Times* issue 845, 8th December 1939.

⁸²⁰ BBC/WAC/R16/422/1/Education: General/*How Things Began* series summary, undated; Palmer 1947, 110.

⁸²¹ BBC/WAC/R16/422/1/Education: General/memorandum Palmer to Somerville, 22nd March 1941.

⁸²² Palmer 1947, 8.

⁸²³ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

Term three took the narrative forward to the development of metallurgy and the growth of near Eastern civilizations.⁸²⁴ Palmer describes the intention to “enrich children’s experience of the present-day world [...] by dramatization, eye-witness description, and other devices which give the illusion of ‘being there’”, and “to provide expert help to teachers in subjects in which they are not specialists”.⁸²⁵ He was in no doubt that children were inherently interested in finding out more about palaeontology and archaeology, but noted that “it is not an easy matter to reconstruct scenes from the past so that they make their points as teaching and as drama, and with a strict regard for scientific truth”.⁸²⁶ In addition to these practical considerations, Palmer expressed a more philosophical purpose. In March 1941, in a long memo considering the educational value of *How Things Began*, he expressed the view that “For many people [...] a realisation of the huge time scale of human evolution and the tremendous changes witnessed, effects a release of the mind from short-term prejudices”.⁸²⁷ Palmer was of course only one of a team, and a large number of other Talks Assistants, scriptwriters and producers were also active in the production of history and archaeology talks for school children. Pre-eminent amongst these were Mary Somerville and Rhoda Power, a prolific scriptwriter and producer. Both women were interested in the use of innovative techniques of presentation in order to engage their young listeners’ interest.

Somerville had been instrumental in the so-called “Kent experiment” in 1927, when in the early days of Schools broadcasting a panel of educationalists and BBC staff undertook a programme of school visits “to find out what was really happening at the listening-end”.⁸²⁸ Somerville (appointed Head of School Broadcasting in February 1929) had realised that school radio broadcasts often failed to inspire children, and that it was necessary to use new techniques of scripting, editing and sound effects, to improve the experience for pupils, and to fully maximise the educational opportunities brought by radio.⁸²⁹ Somerville now

⁸²⁴ Palmer 1947, 107-108.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 22-23.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., 109.

⁸²⁷ BBC/WAC/R16/422/1/Education: General/memorandum Palmer to Thornhill, 22nd March 1941.

⁸²⁸ Schools broadcasting commenced in October 1924, and by 1927 some 3,000 schools used radio as a means of education. See Crisell 2002, 41; Crook, D., 2007. School broadcasting in the United Kingdom: an exploratory history. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Volume 39, issue 3, 217-226; Somerville, M., 1947. How school broadcasting grew up. In Palmer 1947, 9-16, quotation p.9.

⁸²⁹ Briggs 1965, 185-226; Murphy 2016, 161-162; Palmer 1947, 17-18; Somerville 1947, 9-16.

encouraged producer Rhoda Power to turn her energy and talents to the production of a new archaeological serial.⁸³⁰



Figure 11. Rhoda Power was a prolific writer of radio scripts, specialising in broadcasts with historical content, and pioneering the technique of ‘dramatic interludes’ on Schools radio. In addition to her extensive experience of radio production, she was also a skilled broadcaster.

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On *How Things Began*, Power (figs.11 and 12) collaborated with, amongst other archaeological professionals, Dr Dina Dobson. Coupled with the concern to entertain school children was a firm belief in the importance of historical accuracy, aided by the close involvement of a succession of experts in the production of scripts, a practice which was well-accepted within the BBC by this time.⁸³¹ Of course, it could not be assumed that experts necessarily made good scriptwriters. The original writing team for *How Things Began*, comprising Patrick Thornhill and Dorothy Davison, a Manchester-based surgeon who had written two elementary anthropology books, was not regarded a success. Palmer expressed the view in a memo to Somerville that if the weaknesses in the script were not addressed “it’ll be a flop”.⁸³² In June 1941 Somerville divulged to Dobson that “We are having some difficulty over the first term, as Miss Davison and Patrick Thornhill’s trial scripts show that it will be

⁸³⁰ Berg 1996, 231-232; Briggs 1965, 182; Murphy 2016, 135-137.

⁸³¹ Briggs 1965, 200; Pedersen and Mandler 1994, 5.

⁸³² BBC/WAC/R16/422/1, Education: General/memorandum Palmer to Somerville, 29th May 1941.

quite impossible to use them as creative writers”.⁸³³ This forthright admission seems to indicate that Somerville and Power could see the potential in spending time with Dina Dobson and supporting her in working up scripts.

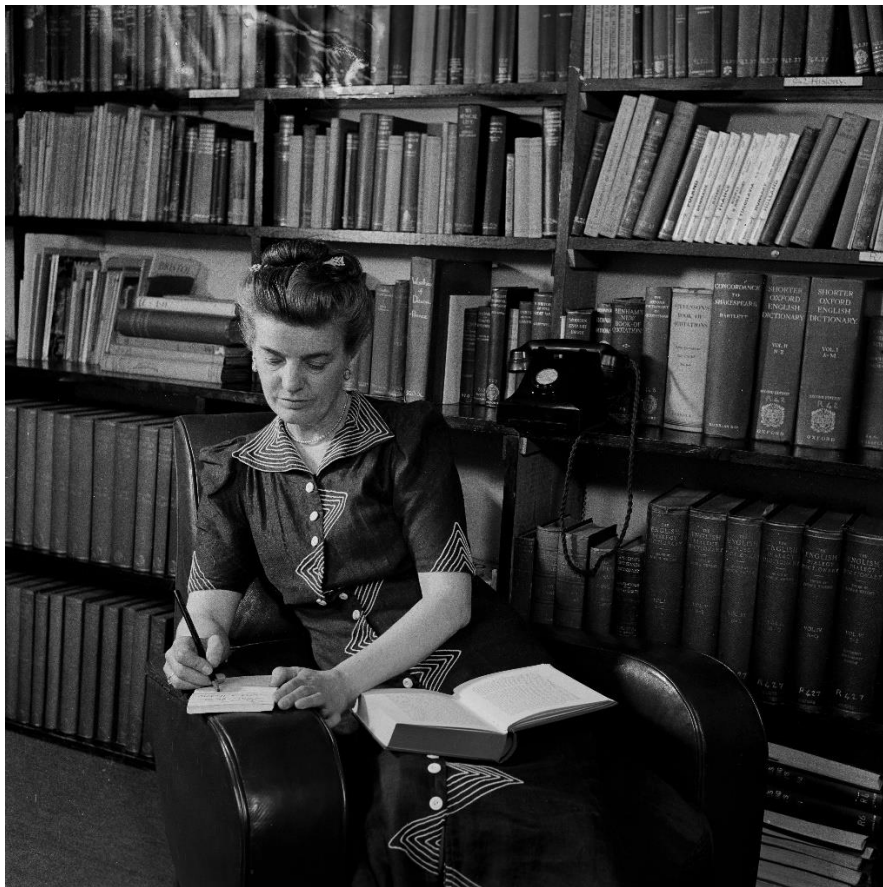


Figure 12. Rhoda Power, photographed on 1st June 1945.

©BBC Photographic Archive, with permission.

Dr Dina Portway Dobson was a Cambridge-educated archaeologist and historian, a founder member of Bristol University Speleological Society and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (fig. 13). In 1931 she had published the seminal volume on the archaeology of Somerset.⁸³⁴ Significantly, she had worked for a time as a teacher, and she therefore had a well-developed understanding of the nuances of teaching and the needs of school children.⁸³⁵ One of the first

⁸³³ BBC/WAC/R Cont.1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/letter Somerville to Dobson, 6th June 1941.

The first edition of *How Things Began*, scripted by Honor Wyatt, and “planned with the help of Dorothy Davison and Patrick Thornhill”, was broadcast on 24th September 1941 – see *Radio Times* issue 938, 19th September 1941.

⁸³⁴ Aston, M. and Burrow, I., 1982. *The archaeology of Somerset. A review to 1500AD*. Bridgewater, Somerset: Somerset County Council, 1-2; Corbishley 2011, 48; Dobson, D., 1931. *The archaeology of Somerset*. London: Methuen; Rahtz, P., 2001. *Living archaeology*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 52-53.

⁸³⁵ Frost, F., 1968. *Obituary – Dina Portway Dobson-Hinton, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., Vice-President, Wessex Cave Club, 1936-68*. Wessex Cave Club Journal number 118, volume 10, 98, August 1968; Lloyd, O.C., 1968. *Obituary*

educationalists to appreciate the potential of radio in schools, she was a committed enthusiast for the use of radio in teaching. In 1928 the Council of the Historical Association had set up a committee to survey the views of educationalists who had trialled teaching through radio. Some teachers and local education authorities had been completely opposed to its use.⁸³⁶ By contrast Dobson published a paper in the *History* journal, which demonstrated her understanding that the new medium required novel teaching techniques, and noted that “the value of such lessons is very much enhanced by certain obvious and simple safeguards and observances, the use of which depends upon experience and painstaking effort and co-operation on the part of the broadcaster and the class teacher”.⁸³⁷ Whilst acknowledging the many issues to be overcome, such as poor radio reception and a low-quality classroom environment, she nevertheless grasped the potential for radio to contribute to lessons. Dobson was already aware of Rhoda Power’s radio work, noting that “the use by such broadcasters as Miss Rhoda Power of music and singing, bugle calls and other such accessories which are completely out of the reach of small schools, has been pronounced to be very successful by many teachers...”.⁸³⁸

- Dina Portway Dobson-Hinton, Litt.D., F.S.A. *University of Bristol Speleological Society Proceedings*, 11 (3), 205-206.

⁸³⁶ Briggs 1965, 189; Dobson, D. P., 1950. *The teaching of pre-history in schools*. Historical Association. London: George Philip and Son.

⁸³⁷ Dobson, D., 1930. Wireless lessons in history. *History*, volume 15/57, 34-38. Oxford: Blackwell, 38.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, 35-37.



Figure 13. Dina Dobson was experienced in both teaching and practical archaeology. An early advocate of the use of radio in education, she collaborated with BBC producers to script content for Schools radio.

Source: The Philip Rahtz Slide Collection, University of York – Creative Commons.

In 1940 the Schools Department had relocated to Bristol, a move which may have helped to bring Dobson to the attention of the BBC, located as she was both personally and professionally in the Avon region. The frequent exchange of letters between April 1941 and February 1942 indicates that Dina Dobson and Rhoda Power quickly formed an efficient team for the production of scripts with archaeological themes, collaborating together on a *How Things Began* script entitled “Near-man discovers fire and makes tools”. Over the course of the next year, they developed a fruitful working relationship. The device for each programme was that two children, Tom and Polly, would pay a weekly visit to their local museum, to meet the museum curator. At some point in the narrative, the curator would morph into the “BBC observer from the past”, and a dramatised section would follow, intended to convey the listener in their imagination back into prehistory.⁸³⁹ The significance of the “BBC observer” is that, in a recent development of wartime news reporting, BBC radio reporters in the field had

⁸³⁹ Palmer 1947, 109.

begun to be called “observers”.⁸⁴⁰ By invoking the character of the BBC observer, the script writers were appealing to the experience of many school children who would have heard the wartime radio reports which adults used as a source of information on the progress of the war. In another acknowledgement of the conflict, at an early stage of planning there was much discussion as to the merit of introducing the character of “the injured airman”, who Tom and Polly would question about archaeology. This was a further attempt to appeal to the listening children’s own experience of life on the home front, though after much discussion it was decided not to use the airman character in the scripts.⁸⁴¹ Later, other relatable characters were introduced – children George and Alice, and an older individual named Jim. In such ways the writers of *How Things Began* attempted to frame archaeology content in real-life contexts, and to create dramatised sections which the listening children would find entertaining and exciting, whilst at the same time imparting good quality information (fig.14).



Figure 14. Producing sound effects for a Schools radio history lesson. On the far right is producer Rhoda Power, and next to her Mary Somerville, Head of Schools Broadcasting.
©BBC Photographic Archive, with permission.

⁸⁴⁰ Nicholas, S., 2005. War report (BBC 1944-5), and the birth of the BBC war correspondent. In Connelly, M. and Welch, D., eds. *War and the media, reportage and propaganda, 1900-2003*. London and New York, Tauris, 139-161.

⁸⁴¹ BBC /WAC /R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/memorandum Power to Somerville, 6th November 1941.

There were at first concerns that Dobson's scripts were not successful. Referring to the script for the episode on "Houses and Homes", Palmer complained that whilst the simplicity of the style was attractive, when spoken the sentences "will come over like a succession of machine-gun bursts", and he goes on to note that "a lack of intimacy" was the chief fault in the script.⁸⁴² Power acknowledged this concern, commenting that "running commentaries of the observer type are a bit stark anyhow – much depends on how they are put over – but she is a bit too abrupt if the final script is like this".⁸⁴³ Mary Somerville maintained general oversight, at one point vetoing Dobson's "device of pots talking to one another", in her script on pottery production, on the basis that it was too juvenile for the teenage target audience.⁸⁴⁴ Power did not hesitate to raise detailed criticisms with Dobson, even remarking with regard to her script covering the domestication of the dog, that "At the moment it isn't what I should describe as 'radio'", and going on to provide an extremely detailed breakdown as to why some of the scripts were not yet suitable.⁸⁴⁵ Dobson showed herself well able to take this criticism, and by September 1941 was writing to Power with "sketches for four more broadcasts, for your secretary to wrestle with", remarking that "I have heaps to go on with if you think I am going along the right lines. I am much enjoying it".⁸⁴⁶

The first of Dina Dobson's scripts was broadcast at 11.40am on Wednesday 21st January 1942.⁸⁴⁷ Some scripts were presented by Dobson in person, as is evidenced when Power noted that "You will find when you yourself are coming to the microphone I have broken your story with questions from the children. This seemed to me to give some variety to the treatment".⁸⁴⁸ Other scripts were delivered by actors. From at least 1927 professional actors had been employed in dramatic interludes on radio, where resources allowed.⁸⁴⁹ The care taken over sound effects is seen in Rhoda Power's request to a sound technician based at BBC Bristol:

⁸⁴² BBC /WAC /R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/memorandum Palmer to Power, 25th September 1941.

⁸⁴³ BBC /WAC /R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/undated note in reply to the above, Power to Palmer.

⁸⁴⁴ BBC /WAC /R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/letter Power to Dobson, 26th November 1941.

⁸⁴⁵ BBC /WAC / R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/letter Power to Dobson, 29th September 1941.

⁸⁴⁶ BBC/WAC/ R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-62/letter Dobson to Power, 8th September 1941.

⁸⁴⁷ *Radio Times* issue 955, 16th January 1942. "Near-Man discovers fire and makes tools. Tom and Polly go to the Pleistocene room in their local museum."

⁸⁴⁸ BBC/WAC/ R Cont. 1/12-13. Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-62/letter Power to Dobson, 26th November 1941.

⁸⁴⁹ Somerville 1947, 12-13.

I find I shall need another recording. This time it will be Primitive Men Horse Hunting. We shall need a terrific galloping and stampede of horses whinnying, and excited shouts of the hunters – rather savage shouts. It should start simply with the galloping of the horses as they have to come right up to where the hunters are hiding. After that the shouts can begin.⁸⁵⁰

An extract from a 1943 edition of *How Things Began* is indicative of the style of the finished broadcast:

GEORGE: Oh, I see. So there were three stages were there – ape men, near men, and real men? [...]

JIM: Well, we're not so sure about that, George. It's rather more likely that the near men and ourselves are cousins [...]

OBSERVER: But the father stands for a moment on his ledge, holding the burning stick [...] In the quiet evening light it shines with a defiant brightness on the ape-man's face. It's a wonderful picture – the flame throws a tremendous shadow of the man over the family by the fire, and he himself, holding his blazing torch is looking out over the darkening world with all its known and unknown dangers, as if to say "Oh yes, I know we quarrel among ourselves, but we belong to each other and all you evil things that threaten to destroy my little family – you shall not pass".⁸⁵¹

All the scripts for *How Things Began* were checked by teachers, who provided detailed feedback, often asking for clarification on archaeological terminology which they anticipated the children may find confusing, or would require further information on.⁸⁵² Since the late 1920s the BBC had issued additional material such as charts and pamphlets to schools, to support teachers with broadcast content.⁸⁵³ Plans were also made to tie in the timing and

⁸⁵⁰ BBC/WAC/R16/422/1 Education: General - Schools Programmes. *How Things Began*, File 1, 1941-1946/memorandum Power to Mr D. Allan, Bristol, 31st December 1942.

⁸⁵¹ BBC/WAC/R16/422/1 Education: General - Schools Programmes. *How Things Began*, File 1, 1941-1946. Extract from script broadcast 8th December 1943.

⁸⁵² BBC/WAC/ R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-62/letter Power to Dobson, 8th December 1941. "As you know, Miss Starmer-Smith and Miss Foulger, the two teachers on our staff, see all scripts."

⁸⁵³ Briggs 1965, 195; Murphy 2016, 162.

themes of the broadcasts with local museum displays, so that children could physically engage with some of the artefacts referred to, such as pottery, prehistoric axe heads and other archaeological materials.⁸⁵⁴ Since the early days of Schools radio it had been acknowledged that an important way of checking the quality and success of broadcasts was for programme-makers to directly engage with pupils. Power and Dobson made personal visits to schools, both together and individually. After one school visit, Dobson remarked “I much enjoyed hearing the *How Things Began* lesson on Wednesday with senior boys – but thought it much more difficult than the earlier ones. But they seemed to understand it”.⁸⁵⁵

There was also an extensive schedule of surveys, using strategies such as asking teachers to send in postcards giving feedback. The detail and complexity of some of the archaeological information being presented was certainly challenging for young listeners, and in one set of feedback it was reported that “the 8-12 year olds find words like ‘Palaeolithic’ rather hard”, and that most of the children had confused “Pleistocene” with “plasticene”.⁸⁵⁶ Despite such difficulties the series proved popular. Soon after the first episode of the series aired, Patrick Thornhill was able to confirm that “I think from my enquiries up to now that the series is going well and has justified the experiment”.⁸⁵⁷ Previous *How Things Began* episodes had different writers, but it was evident that Dobson’s scripts also played well, and their perceived quality is confirmed by the fact that they were repeated for many years. Richard Palmer later noted that “Some major alterations were made on the basis of our experience during the first year. Since then, changes have been few”.⁸⁵⁸ Subsequent editions of *How Things Began* were scripted by archaeologist Jacquetta Hawkes, and Rhoda Power remained involved in modifying and updating the scripts into the 1950s. The eventual success of the series is borne out by the fact that certain episodes were repeated annually until 1965.

⁸⁵⁴ Palmer 1947, 110.

⁸⁵⁵ BBC /WAC / R Cont. 1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/letter Dobson to Power, 17th October 1941.

⁸⁵⁶ BBC /WAC /S68/6/2/Special Collections, Rhoda Power, *How Things Began*, 1947, report entitled “Summary of criticisms and suggestions made on *How Things Began*, Spring term 1950”.

⁸⁵⁷ BBC /WAC /Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/memorandum Thornhill to Power, 31st October 1941.

⁸⁵⁸ Palmer 1947, 107.



Figure 15. Dina Dobson at Moreton in the Chew Valley, 1953, in advance of the Chew Valley Lake excavations, accompanied by Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Bryan O'Neil.

Source: The Philip Rahtz Slide Collection, University of York – Creative Commons.

How Things Began originated at a time when government policy had adopted a new focus on the democratisation of school provision in Britain, with the aspiration to improve the availability of education to all children. In the production of this series, BBC managers were therefore responding to recent developments in government education policy. The archive material referenced here provides original insights into the collaboration between two professional women - Rhoda Power and Dina Dobson (fig.15) - who worked with energy, commitment and enthusiasm to push the boundaries of radio archaeology, equipping their young listeners with the knowledge to adopt a broad perspective on what it meant to be human, whilst constantly aspiring to achieve this in an accessible and entertaining way. The discussion will now move on to consider evidence for the role of archaeological broadcasts on the BBC Overseas Service, and to discuss the reasons for their presence.

4.4 Archaeology on the BBC Overseas Service

A distinctive strand of programming during these years involved professional archaeologists scripting radio talks for the Overseas Service. The talks in question tended to frame archaeology in the context of its contribution to scientific progress, with the overarching theme being the progress made by humankind over the millennia in becoming ever more

‘civilised’. This section of the thesis will investigate the reasons why these broadcasts were made. It is notable that certain of these programmes were conceived and broadcast in the immediate post-war period. Representative of the on-going effects of the conflict, they are therefore discussed in this section. The impact of political developments arising from the disruption did not cease as soon as the war ended.

Britain’s wartime national identity was intimately bound up with its role as an imperial power.⁸⁵⁹ BBC radio therefore played a part in public discourses around Britain’s relationship with the colonies in encouraging democracy, and projecting notions of Britain as a benevolent and paternalistic imperial power.⁸⁶⁰ The extent to which colonial unity really existed is of course debatable, and it has been noted that “[e]ven Colonial Office officials referred to the colonial empire as a ‘convenient myth’”.⁸⁶¹ The BBC Overseas Service was the direct heir of the Empire Service, and broadcast to Britain’s colonial territories, incorporating the North America, Africa, Pacific and Eastern Services.⁸⁶² Nicholas notes that “[...] beyond the home front [...] the BBC’s wartime overseas services, the most heavily controlled element of the BBC’s entire wartime output, gained an unprecedented reputation for telling the truth to the nations of occupied Europe and beyond”.⁸⁶³ Whether relaying “truth” or propaganda, the BBC undoubtedly had a role in the production of cultural propaganda, or what is sometimes referred to as ‘soft power’. Soft power has been defined as the aspiration to get what is wanted through attraction rather than coercion, and one applicable method is the use of a country’s culture to represent its political ideals and policies.⁸⁶⁴

Archive evidence gives a strong impression of the BBC’s belief, at least amongst certain of its senior managers, in the importance of projecting versions of Britishness abroad, as part of the war effort. Assistant Director of European Broadcasts, Douglas (D.E.) Ritchie, laid out his ideas on the matter in a detailed confidential memorandum entitled “Britain’s Right To

⁸⁵⁹ Rose 2003, 239-284.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., 271-3.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., 274.

⁸⁶² Briggs 1970, 345-8; Nicholas 2003, footnote 15, 227; Potter 2018. The BBC’s Empire Service had been introduced in 1932.

⁸⁶³ Nicholas 2016, 11.

⁸⁶⁴ Corse 2013, 9-10. As relayed by Corse (p.9), the theory of ‘soft power’ was first defined by Joseph S. Nye, in his 2004 publication *Soft Power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 7.

Speak”, which advocated the formation of a committee “to work out the plan of campaign” to develop suitable topics for talks:

The short-term aim is to assist the Allied forces to impose their will on the Axis countries and as quickly as possible at the cost of as few lives as possible. The long-term aim is to assist the British Government to impose their will on all countries and to win the peace, that is to bring about an ordered civilization which is in accordance with British ideas, British values, and British needs. [...] Extremely careful long-term planning is needed and the development of a new technique by which we can permeate our whole culture with “Britishness”.⁸⁶⁵

Ritchie’s report sparked lively discussion as to the best approach to the projection agenda, with certain of his fellow managers regarding the “imposing of will” as somewhat reminiscent of their Nazi opponents. Ritchie was, however, supported in his suggested strategy by Assistant Controller of European Services, Harman Grisewood, who commented emphatically that:

It seems to me that British quality is an essential point. There is quality in our soil and therefore quality in our bone. We understand “the best”. Cream, ham, Raleigh cycles, cloth, locomotives, etc. We have led the world in quality”.⁸⁶⁶

The involvement of other senior BBC staff members such as Tangye Lean, who clearly regarded his BBC role as to specialise in matters of propaganda, and wrote about his experiences in this context even while the war was still in progress, further demonstrates that matters of propaganda were at the forefront of the BBC’s wartime policy initiatives.⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶⁵ BBC/WAC/ R34/622. Policy, Projection of Britain, 1941-1946/confidential report, “Britain’s Right To Speak”, D.E. Ritchie, 10th May 1942, [emphasis in original]. Asa Briggs recounts the way in which BBC propaganda initiatives during the early years of the war were not necessarily aligned with the preferred approach of army Chiefs of Staff – see Briggs 1985, 196-198.

⁸⁶⁶ BBC/WAC/ R34/622. Policy, Projection of Britain, 1941-1946/memorandum Grisewood to Ritchie, 29th August 1942.

⁸⁶⁷ BBC/WAC/ R34/622. Policy, Projection of Britain, 1941-1946/confidential note by Tangye Lean, 20th May 1942, in which Lean wrote: “Projection of Britain”. I have been offered this semi-specialist task and should be glad to take it.”; Lean, E.T., 1943. *Voices in the darkness. The story of the European radio war*. London: Secker and Warburg.

As far as archaeology professionals were concerned, talks on the Overseas Service represented a further opportunity to promulgate recent research in their field, and to present their expert knowledge on a world stage. As a discipline which attempts to understand the origins and functioning of human society and what it is to be 'civilised', archaeology was naturally evoked during wartime. It could provide a broad perspective on what it meant to be human, a concern that permeated public debate. Radio archaeology could therefore contribute to the BBC's policy to project Britishness to its overseas territories. An additional factor at play was that, as noted in the previous chapter, the interwar years had seen an active public debate regarding the role of science in society, and this topic continued to be a question of concern. During the early 1940s, senior Talks radio producers regarded the BBC as having a special role in providing education on science topics. Early in 1942 George Barnes (Director of Talks) had initiated an internal review of BBC science broadcasting, following lobbying from the scientific community regarding the perceived lack of coverage of science topics.⁸⁶⁸ In his contribution to this review Richard Palmer of the Education Division proposed that science broadcasting should be promoted in support of "everyday citizenship".⁸⁶⁹ Palmer noted that many people, especially young women, were using technical instruments or processes as part of their war service, and that the application of scientific principles would help in practical matters such as nutrition and disease prevention, in line with Ministry of Food and Ministry of Health imperatives.⁸⁷⁰ Mary Somerville also contributed to the review, emphasising her view of "science as part of a common heritage", and identifying three main groups of listener based on educational attainment: the well-informed, the less well-educated, and

the uninformed and uneducated man (and woman) in the street who are to be found in all classes of the community and who retard social progress in all departments of life when co-operation depends on the acceptance of scientific principles.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁸ Jones 2010, 147-153.

⁸⁶⁹ BBC/WAC/R51/52/3, Richard Palmer, *Broadcast Science*, 2nd March 1942. Cited in Jones 2010, 148-149. Palmer also referred in his report to the use of dramatic applications by the Schools Department, which he notes sought to place science in its social and historical context.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷¹ BBC/WAC/R51/523/3/memorandum Mary Somerville to Director of Talks, 3rd March 1942. Cited in Jones 2010, 149-150.

Here Somerville was clearly stating her view that an important role of the BBC was to contribute to an improved knowledge of science amongst the average British citizen. As a result of Barnes's review, the decision was taken to expand science content on the radio, and many additional speakers were identified and approached to broadcast on the subject.⁸⁷² Gordon Childe was already a familiar contributor to Talks radio, and it was natural that his services as an intellectual interested in and well-practised in the public understanding of science, should be called upon.

The Birth of Science (June 1942)

Early in 1942, Childe collaborated with Talks Assistant Eric Blair (already well-known by his pen name as journalist and novelist George Orwell), to produce a series of radio programmes with a science theme, to be broadcast on the Eastern Overseas Service. Blair was briefly employed by the BBC as a Talks Producer in the Indian Section.⁸⁷³ Blair contacted key bodies within the scientific establishment, such as the Scientific Committee of the British Council, in order to ask for advice.⁸⁷⁴ Childe's radio talk entitled *The Birth of Science* was recorded in London on 28th May 1942, and broadcast in the Eastern Overseas Service at 11.15 GMT on 2nd June 1942. The lecture would form the first of a series of six scientific talks. It is significant that the other presentations in the series were to be made by eminent scientists of the day such as J.D. Bernal, who spoke *On the Beginnings of Modern Science*, and J.G. Crowther, who presented on *Science in the USSR*. Crowther was one of the most active science writers and popularisers, a member of the Scientific Committee of the British Council, and lobbyist of the BBC on science matters.⁸⁷⁵ Childe and Crowther were part of the same intellectual set and admired each other's work, having met at the 1917 Club in Soho, which was frequented by

⁸⁷² Ibid., 152-153.

⁸⁷³ Orwell was employed as a BBC Talks Assistant from August 1941 to September 1943. Crick, B.R., 1980. *George Orwell: A life*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 281-287. Crick recounts (p. 281) that "for two precious years his talents were mainly wasted [...] in producing cultural programmes for intellectuals in India and South-East Asia, heard by few and unlikely to have influenced even them".

⁸⁷⁴ Jones 2010, 149.

⁸⁷⁵ Hill-Andrews 2015; Jones 2010, 89-96 and 137-140; Jones 2016b.; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [Online.] Crowther, J.G. Article by Gregory, J.

many of the intelligentsia, and had the reputation of a venue attracting those tending towards a leftist view of politics.⁸⁷⁶

Eric Blair first sought Childe's contribution to his planned programme in late March 1942, noting that "I have given as the title *The Birth of Science*, intending it to be an account of how what we now mean by science arose out of magic or in contra-distinction to magic".⁸⁷⁷ Childe agreed to participate, but asked for details of the type of content required.⁸⁷⁸ Blair clarified that he was requested to cover "the discoveries of the Egyptians, the Caldees, the Indians, the Greeks and so forth, and Professor Bernal told me that you were much the best person for this purpose".⁸⁷⁹ It is interesting to see that as part of his preparation for this broadcast, Eric Blair had consulted the science public intellectual J.D. Bernal.⁸⁸⁰ Bernal would have recommended Childe as a suitable script consultant as he and Childe had a common interest in science communication. Later, upon receipt of the completed script, Blair confirmed that he "found it most interesting; it is just what I want".⁸⁸¹ As evidenced in his late-1930s interactions with the BBC, Childe could be a difficult contributor for BBC producers to manage, but this collaboration with Blair seems to have been uneventful.

We Speak to India: Prehistoric Europe (October 1941)

Earlier in the war, Jacquetta Hawkes had scripted a 12-minute talk for the BBC's Asian service, on the topic of "Prehistoric Europe". This formed part of a series entitled "Women Generally Speaking", and contributed to a strand entitled "We Speak To India".⁸⁸² A further example of the BBC's use of soft power to remind its audience of perceived links between Britain and its imperial outposts, the broadcast took place in 1941, in the early stages of the war. It is by contrast notable that certain Overseas Services talks with archaeological themes were broadcast in the late 1940s, when the war had already drawn to a close. This may be explained

⁸⁷⁶ Green 1981, 41-42.

⁸⁷⁷ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954, 26th March 1942.

⁸⁷⁸ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Childe to Blair, 28th March 1942.

⁸⁷⁹ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Blair to Childe, 1st April 1942.

⁸⁸⁰ As noted in chapter three of this thesis, Bernal was well-known for his book "The Social Relations of Science", published in 1939, which argued for the potential of science to enhance society.

⁸⁸¹ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Blair to Childe, 14th May 1942.

⁸⁸² BBC/WAC/ Jacquetta Hawkes. Contributors: Talks, File 1, 1939-1962/Talks booking contract, Z.A. Bokhari (Indian Section) to Empire Programme Executive, 15th October 1941.

by considering the wider context of political change brought about by the conflict. Although it seemed at first that one impact of the war had been a strengthening of the imperial system, in the long-term “the ultimate cost of defending the British Empire during the Second World War was the Empire itself”.⁸⁸³ The war led to a shift in the balance of world power, which would take many years to play out, and indicated the beginning of decolonisation.⁸⁸⁴ The claim of India to independence in August 1947 was shortly followed by that of Israel, Burma and Ceylon in 1948.⁸⁸⁵ Whilst it was obvious that major political developments had been set in train by the war, the seismic changes taking place on the world stage were not necessarily seen as irreversible until the 1950s.⁸⁸⁶ It was therefore natural that the BBC would continue with its policy of cultural propaganda during the immediate post-war period, in view of Britain’s customary role as a powerful influence in global politics, although in reality its power was on the wane.

Calling Australia (November 1945) / Australians in Britain (June 1946)

The political ramifications of a world in turmoil continued into the immediate post-war period, and related concerns over Britain’s relationship with its colonies did not abruptly cease as soon as the conflict was over. Not long after the end of the war, Gordon Childe made a series of broadcasts on the Pacific Service. John Gough, Pacific Programme Organiser, initially wrote to Childe at the Athenaeum, a private members’ club in Pall Mall, London, traditionally favoured by intellectuals with an interest in literature, engineering and science. Gough wished to enquire whether Childe would be interested in providing a talk in the series entitled *Calling Australia*. The first programme consisted of a recorded lecture broadcast between 7.30 and 7.45 GMT on 6th November 1945.⁸⁸⁷ Childe’s origins lay in Australia, and when producer E.J. Davy contacted him with the transmission details, she noted that “you

⁸⁸³ Jeffery, K., 1999. The Second World War. In Brown, J.M. and Louis, Wm. R., 1999. *The Oxford history of the British Empire. The twentieth century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 306-328, quotation p.327.

⁸⁸⁴ Louis, Wm. R., 1999. The dissolution of the British Empire. In Brown, J.M. and Louis, Wm. R. *The Oxford history of the British Empire. The twentieth century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 329-356 – see p.354.

⁸⁸⁵ Brown, J.M., 1999. India. In Brown and Louis, 421-446; for Israel see Brown and Louis 1999, 409-410; for Burma, 483-484; for Ceylon, 464.

⁸⁸⁶ Potter 2012, 1.

⁸⁸⁷ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, “Calling Australia”, Childe, Gordon, Pacific Service, 6th November 1945.

wanted to let your people know the date of broadcast".⁸⁸⁸ Childe's script evoked prehistory as a way of thinking about recent scientific progress, and discussed the nature of civilisation and humankind, as well as confirming his commitment to the public communication of archaeology:

I have tried to set forth some conclusions [...] in cheap and simple books.⁸⁸⁹ For I am convinced that the time has come when we archaeologists can and should make our results accessible to the general public. [...] The main business of a professional archaeologist like me is to discover fresh facts either by examining anew the vast body of data collected but not yet digested, or by digging up more bits of the past.⁸⁹⁰

It may be surmised that, in view of his Australian origins, Childe had a personal interest in contributing to the maintenance of links with his home country. Following the broadcast Davy contacted Childe to say "You will probably like to have this copy of *London Calling* – our overseas magazine – in which your talk to Australia has been printed. I hope your sisters heard your broadcast and recognised your voice after so many years".⁸⁹¹ The following year Childe delivered a talk for the Pacific Service in a strand titled *Australians in Britain*, and subtitled "The Purpose of Archaeology". The lecture began:

People are liable to think archaeology a dull and useless subject and to picture archaeologists as queer cranks wasting their time on dusty stones and mouldering ruins. I want to suggest that this popular notion is based on a misconception of what the archaeologist is getting at.⁸⁹²

⁸⁸⁸ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Davy to Childe, 8th October 1945; Green 1981, 13.

⁸⁸⁹ Green 1981, 98 and 102. Childe's two books aimed at the general public, *Man Makes Himself* (1936) and *What Happened in History* (1942) were published as Penguin paperbacks, and were described by Childe as "a concrete and readable demonstration designed for the bookstall public that history as generally understood can be extracted from archaeological data". Childe, V.G., 1958. Retrospect. *Antiquity* volume 32, issue 126, June 1958, 69-74, cited in Green 1981, 98.

⁸⁹⁰ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "Calling Australia", Childe, Gordon, Pacific Service, 6th November 1945.

Childe's duties as Professor at Edinburgh University included responsibilities for the museum displays at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (Edinburgh), as indicated in the talk described here, and when producers wrote to him using the address of the Museum, e.g. Clow to Childe, 26th July 1945.

⁸⁹¹ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Davy to Childe, 20th November 1945.

⁸⁹² BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "The Purpose of Archaeology", Childe, Gordon, Pacific Service, 14th June 1946.

These talks were based on Childe's interpretation of European prehistory, which relied on an overarching narrative interpreting humankind's progress as becoming ever more 'civilised'. They were also clearly an opportunity for him to contrast the modern face of archaeology with outmoded perceptions of the pursuit. In a broader sense, Childe's broadcasts were commensurate with the BBC's wartime policy to underline links between the colonies and Britain. The ending of the conflict meant that it was even more relevant to maintain these links, as part of setting down a marker for Britain's role in the post-war world, when Britain needed to maintain its position as a world power in a rapidly changing political situation. Here is once more seen an alignment between the motives of archaeological professionals and the priorities of BBC policy, this time in the context of colonial propaganda.

The Study of Mankind (October-December 1946)

Shortly after taking up a new post as Director of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, Childe presented the tenth talk in the series *The Study of Mankind*, produced by Sunday Wilshin, and broadcast on the Eastern Overseas Service on 5th December 1946.⁸⁹³ Childe used this presentation to refute the use of archaeology by extreme right-wing elements. Having described the broad sweep of human history, and emphasised the technological progress made since the Ice Ages, Childe concluded his lecture by noting that the archaeological evidence demonstrated the inaccuracy of Nazi-held beliefs in the supremacy of a single race: "it supplies the historical refutation of that doctrine of national exclusiveness that was distinctive of Hitlerism".⁸⁹⁴

Other key archaeologists also wrote scripts for *The Study of Mankind*. Jacquetta Hawkes provided number seven in the series, on the theme of "Prehistory".⁸⁹⁵ Consistent with her original and imaginative conception of archaeology, Hawkes brought a different perspective

⁸⁹³ Green 1981, 104-106 (Childe at the Institute of Archaeology); Sunday Wilshin replaced Eric Blair (George Orwell) when he left his post as a Talks Producer in 1943. Academic citations are absent - Wilshin's BBC career has not yet been afforded due attention in the literature.

⁸⁹⁴ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "The Study of Mankind", number 10, Childe, Gordon, Eastern Overseas Service, 5th December 1946.

⁸⁹⁵ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "The Study of Mankind- Prehistory", Hawkes, Jacquetta, Eastern Overseas Service, 3.15pm on 14th October 1946.

to bear on the nature of prehistory, stating that “in my opinion, the prehistorian should study man as a spiritual being – the subject falls among the arts and is not, as some would have it, a science in the generally accepted sense of that word”. The talk ended with a comment which would shortly seem naïve in view of the forthcoming ‘radiocarbon revolution’, which led to a wholesale re-evaluation of archaeological timescales:

Prehistory is still a young subject, still rather uncouth. But now that most of its hack-work has been done, already it is turning to the more human and subtler problems of social and economic affairs; soon it will do much more to interpret the early history of religion and art. The whole process is a continuous one – man’s restless mind has reached a stage of heightened self-consciousness when it must turn back to recapture its own beginnings.⁸⁹⁶

For *The Study of Mankind* number nine, the environmental prehistorian Grahame Clark discussed industrial development in Britain, in a talk broadcast on 28th November 1946. Clark’s lecture began with a reminder of the industrial might of Britain:

When we think of Britain it is usually as one of the great workshops of the world – in wartime one of the great arsenals – the cradle of large-scale production based on machine-power, the home of a densely settled population of factory workers, a veritable forcing-house of scientific discovery and technological progress.⁸⁹⁷

Clark went on to link this modern industrial heritage with the needs of people in the past by detailing aspects of housing, transport, husbandry and fishing, in terms which attempted to transport the listener back in time:

If, at the end of the last century, you had visited the Essex side of the Thames Estuary and examined the lines baited with lob-worm and laid down on the foreshore at low water to catch flounders, you would have noticed that, while most fishermen had

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁷ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, “The Study of Mankind”, number 9, Clark, Grahame, Easter Overseas Service, 28th November 1946.

adopted steel hooks some still preferred to use short lengths of blackthorn or whitethorn, each with a prominent spine, a form of hook, or more properly of gorge, which carries us back to the earliest days of fishing.⁸⁹⁸

All the talks in *The Study of Mankind* had in common a very broad perspective on archaeological timescales, which considered the evidence for human activity on earth over a vast sweep of time. Talks of this nature contributed to the projection of positive imagery of British life and its proud history, which formed a part of the BBC's propaganda strategy at this time of global instability and profound change.

In summary, a variety of factors converged to influence the talks described in this section. Arising in part from practical considerations due to Britain's war-time footing, intellectuals stressed the importance of improving knowledge of science amongst the British populace. BBC policy reflected these concerns, and as a topic which could generate informative talks on the role of science in society, the subject of archaeology fitted the remit perfectly. In their role as science communicators, archaeologists therefore had an important part to play. At the same time, the delivery of such talks confirmed their role as practitioners of a developing science-based discipline, and therefore helped to convey their professional authority. An additional factor was that in reaction to the politics of wartime, BBC producers required programmes which relayed the cohesive aspects of Britishness, and projected the perception of Britain's powerful place in the world. Through scripting radio talks discussing the nature of humankind and the progress of civilisation, archaeologists contributed to this narrative, and played a part in relaying versions of Britishness to listeners in its overseas territories. The discussion will now move on to consider the role of archaeological radio talks in contemplating the type of future which lay in store in the post-war world closer to home.

4.5 Education for Repatriation – Archaeology on Forces Radio

Archaeology content also found a place in the schedules of Forces Educational radio, as part of government plans to prepare the citizen army for return to civilian life. Over the course of

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid.

the Second World War the British army absorbed nearly three million soldiers, three-quarters of whom were conscripts. They came from a wide variety of occupational groups and social backgrounds, and the military authorities were confronted with the task of moulding these civilians into an effective fighting force.⁸⁹⁹ Recent work by the war studies historian, Jonathan Fennell, considers why discussions of citizenship were so important at this time. Fennell emphasises that the vast majority of the army was made up of “citizen soldiers”, and that therefore the act of enlisting was loaded with meaning about soldiers’ duties as citizens.⁹⁰⁰ For this reason alone, the way in which soldiers, their families and their communities were treated by the state during the war was extremely important for morale. The vast majority of British army soldiers were from working-class or lower-middle class backgrounds, and many of them had experienced the economic depression of the 1930s. There was a strong awareness that for ordinary British citizens, the outcome of the First World War had been a return to harsh economic conditions rather than to ‘a land fit for heroes’, and there was a determination this time to ensure that post-war Britain was a more egalitarian nation, with improved social conditions.⁹⁰¹ There were extremely close links between morale on the home front and amongst the fighting troops, to the extent that “winning the war depended on civilian morale as well as army morale”.⁹⁰² Fennell defines morale as “the willingness of an individual or group to engage in an action required by an authority or institution”, noting that high morale can apply even when the subjects are miserable and apparently disengaged, as long as they are actively working towards the aims of those directing operations.⁹⁰³

Prior to the Second World War, army education had merely consisted of instruction in basic literacy and numeracy, but this was deemed insufficient for a fighting force consisting of amateur citizen-soldiers.⁹⁰⁴ It was now regarded as a government responsibility to equip

⁸⁹⁹ Crang, J.A., 2000. *The British army and the people’s war, 1939-1945*. Manchester: M.U.P.; Morgan and Evans 1993, 3: “To a mostly conscript, working-class army, the war was legitimated by appealing to common beliefs in justice, equality and democracy...”.

⁹⁰⁰ Fennell 2019, 91.

⁹⁰¹ Allport, A., 2016. *Browned off and bloody-minded: the British soldier goes to war, 1939-1945*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 288 and 292-3; Fennell 2019, 19, 39-42 and 693-695.

⁹⁰² Fennell 2019, 252.

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 707-708.

⁹⁰⁴ MacKenzie, S.P., 1992. *Politics and military morale: current affairs and citizenship education in the British army, 1914-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Summerfield, P., 1981. Education and politics in the British armed forces in the Second World War. *International Review of Social History*, volume 26, issue 2, August 1981, 133-158.

returning soldiers with the knowledge and skills to function well in society once they were repatriated. There was the additional factor that explaining Allied war aims was difficult as long as the common soldier lacked knowledge of the world and Britain's place in it. It was therefore decided by senior members of the military that there was a need for basic civics education. During the summer of 1941 the Army Bureau of Current Affairs was established with the mandate of producing a regular supply of pamphlets, news sheets and posters which regimental officers could use as the basis for leading a compulsory hour of civic studies and current affairs education each week.⁹⁰⁵ By the end of 1942 the scheme was expanded through a programme organised by the Army Education Corps.⁹⁰⁶ The scheme was controversial, with some disquiet over the consequences of current affairs discussions in the forces. During the summer of 1943 Churchill ordered an inquiry into alleged political bias.⁹⁰⁷ An educated army was likely to lead to enhanced post-war expectations and demands, and the concept of educating the troops in preparation for a society which was built on informed choice and participation did not meet with universal approval.

The role of Forces Educational Broadcasting in this programme of citizenship education was developed as a result of interest from the War Office, from around May 1943, when it was suggested that radio should be used for general educational purposes during the demobilisation period. BBC Talks Assistant Norman Luker was charged with coordinating the provision of these radio talks. Luker was concerned to ensure that the content was of a suitable level, having appropriate educational content for an audience of mixed ability, whilst at the same time being sufficiently entertaining:

Men unwillingly in uniform, in unattractive surroundings, thinking of home or the last Betty Grable film, will listen profitably only to something quite first rate: there must seem to them some compelling reason for being gathered round a loud speaker. Educational films that merely supplement the ordinary instruction, however good, are

⁹⁰⁵ Calder 1992a., 250-251.

⁹⁰⁶ Allport 2016, 278-281.

⁹⁰⁷ Watson, D., 1994. Where do we go from here? Education, theatre and politics in the British army, 1942-1945. *Labour History Review* 59: 3, 57-67.

most often an excuse for a quiet sleep – and to listen attentively is more difficult than to watch.⁹⁰⁸

The role of radio archaeology content in the demobilisation process will now be considered, through focusing on the collaboration of archaeologist Gordon Childe and producer Archibald Clow in scripting educational talks to entertain and engage this new audience of citizen-soldiers.

Man Takes Over (October-November 1945)

Towards the end of 1945 Professor Gordon Childe presented a series of Forces Educational Broadcasts with the portentous and confident title of *Man Takes Over*. The war in Europe had ended on 8th May 1945, but the process of demobilisation would take place only gradually. More than four million British servicemen and women would be returned to Britain between June 1945 and January 1947.⁹⁰⁹ Broadcasts such as *Man Takes Over* formed one component in government plans to prepare the soldiery for their transition into civilian life. Produced by Dr Archibald Clow of the BBC Services Educational Unit, series planning commenced in the summer of 1945, when Clow contacted Childe to ask if he would be interested in writing six twenty-minute science-based talks on Man's place in nature. They would form part of an ambitious series of talks provided by a variety of academics, which would take the listener through history from the origins of the Earth, to the beginnings of human society. Clow was newly arrived at the BBC, having been hired as a result of his reputation for a commitment to education on the value of science and its civilising benefits.⁹¹⁰ His functionalist approach, which matched education with creativity, was potentially a good fit with Childe's reputation as a synthesiser of archaeological data, melded with output which was understandable for the general public.⁹¹¹ In August 1945 Clow and Childe met in the University club at Edinburgh

⁹⁰⁸ BBC/WAC/R51/537/1. Talks. S.E.B. – Education During Demobilisation, 1940-1944/N.G. Luker to Assistant Controller (H.), 14th October 1944. Norman Luker was at this time also training as a navigator in Bomber Command, and in later years was appointed Director of Talks – see Briggs 1970, 52 and 707-8.

⁹⁰⁹ Kynaston 2007, 97; Morgan and Evans 1993, 98.

⁹¹⁰ Jones 2016a., 112-114; Keller, J.R., 2017. *A scientific impresario. Archie Clow, science communication and BBC radio, 1945-1970*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine, 60-83.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 83; Trigger 1980, 13-14.

to discuss the project, and thereafter Childe commenced writing the scripts. Later that month Clow wrote to Childe expressing some anxieties over the format of the talks, remarking

I must confess that I am just a little nervous about our being able to sustain interest in our special audience over the whole six 20 minute periods. I am sure you will agree that it would be most unfortunate if interest were to flag. What is your own reaction?⁹¹²

Clow's suggestion that a discussion format should be used was not taken up by Childe, who duly produced six scripts on the themes of agriculture, metallurgy, writing and mathematics, iron tools, Greek science and machine technology. Prior to broadcast, engaging sub-titles such as *Man's Mastery Over Nature*, *New Ways of Living* and *The Effect of Cheap Iron Tools* were formulated, and they were recorded in Edinburgh for transmission on the Light Services Educational programme on Wednesday mornings between 17th October and 21st November 1945, at 10.40am. A copy of the script for *Man's Mastery Over Nature* survives in the archive. Written in a plain and factual manner, it was evidently designed by Childe to impart as much information as possible in the broadcast time available. When sending the first of Childe's scripts to experienced fellow producer Harry Hoggan of the Programme Services Department, who was providing technical support for the recording, Clow remarked "I think it is an excellent script and the only thing that remains to be done is to get him to put it over in a lively manner. I am quite certain that the script will nearly put itself across".⁹¹³ Over the next couple of weeks Clow's enthusiasm waned somewhat, and he again wrote to Childe with concerns:

The whole difficulty, I think, turned upon the script being really too full for the 20 minutes that we have available and that, coupled with the fact that they seemed to lack direction somehow, gave a rather wuzzy effect at the listening end. [...] I do hope that you enjoy giving these broadcasts – I certainly have despite the feeling of

⁹¹² BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Clow to Childe, 20th August 1945.

⁹¹³ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/memorandum Clow to Hoggan, 10th October 1945. See Keller 2017, 212, for further detail on Harry Hogan.

uncertainty that I had as to whether the first two had really got the material over to our Forces audience.⁹¹⁴

By the time Childe's fifth script was sent to Edinburgh, Clow complained that

I have put in a great deal of work on it to try and simplify it, but there are still a lot of terms like "geographical proximity" (equal to being near), and "commercial intercourse" (equal to trade).[...] The fault all along with Childe has been that his scripts are so packed with material that on listening one's mind becomes overloaded with detail and then the general drift of the script becomes obscure.⁹¹⁵

Harry Hoggan also became involved in advising Childe where scripts required to be simplified for radio presentation, noting that Childe was very amenable to suggestions to alterations, though he was uncertain how far he could push him to comply.⁹¹⁶ There were also radiogenic issues with the quality of Childe's voice, and the producers tried ways of mitigating the "whistle" in his speech, by the "little dodge" of encouraging Childe "to talk across the mike at about 45 degrees".⁹¹⁷ Despite these minor difficulties, Clow and Childe evidently had a genial enough relationship. In late November 1945, Childe wrote:

Dear Mr Clow. I'm afraid my rather highbrow talks have caused you a lot of trouble and even when your edition has come to hand we've had to make rather drastic cuts. Anyhow I must thank you very much for the trouble you've taken. I don't know why the last three which I'd typed before I sent them in needed so much cutting for I had tried out the length reading them aloud to the sheep on the hills around Crawford.⁹¹⁸

Clow's reply was equally droll:

⁹¹⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Clow to Childe, 1st November 1945.

⁹¹⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/memorandum Clow to Hoggan, 9th November 1945.

⁹¹⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/memorandum Hoggan to Clow, 14th November 1945.

⁹¹⁷ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/memorandum Clow to Hoggan, 1st November 1945. Childe's biographer notes that his voice had "slightly metallic or reedy tones" - Green 1981, 62.

⁹¹⁸ BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/letter Childe to Clow, 23rd November 1945.

Personally I enjoyed them but perhaps for our Forces listeners they may have been just rather full. You see, it is an almost invariable rule that what the sheep of Crawford will absorb in fifteen minutes, requires at least twenty for the usual BBC audience.⁹¹⁹

Clow's humorous reply belies his consistent aim as a producer to simplify complex information, and to encourage his expert contributors to produce accessible radio content that would appeal to the listener. This section has shown that archaeologists played a direct role in contributing to BBC policy in citizenship education, as they played a part in government plans for repatriation of the large army of citizen-soldiers. Archaeologists were also engaged in the consideration of important issues around the future of their own discipline in the post-war world.

4.6 Post-War Reconstruction, Archaeology, and BBC Radio

Substantial bomb damage of historic cities such as London, Southampton, Exeter, Bristol and Winchester prompted attention to be paid to their archaeological remains prior to redevelopment. The concerns of archaeologists fitted with general imperatives to consider the state of the country going forward. Post-war reconstruction had become a pressing concern from an early stage of the war, even while the conflict was far from over. Prompted by the bombing of Coventry in November 1940, conservationist Clough Williams-Ellis remarked to John Reith that aerial bombardment might be advantageous, clearing the way for urban renewal, a view which was shared by other members of the intelligentsia.⁹²⁰ Such opinions were redolent of a general atmosphere of optimism regarding the possibilities for regeneration of urban environments once the war had ended. In January 1941, even while British towns and cities were still being bombed, *Picture Post* magazine ran a special issue entitled *A Plan for Britain*. The magazine put forward the view that at the end of the 1914 - 1918 war, the country had no plan in place for provision of welfare, and called for "a fairer, pleasanter, happier, more beautiful Britain than our own".⁹²¹ The publication of the Beveridge

⁹¹⁹BBC/WAC/R Cont. 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954/Clow to Childe, 26th November 1945.

⁹²⁰ Morris 2007, 341.

⁹²¹ *Picture Post*, 4th January 1941, quoted in Kynaston 2007, 20.

Report in December 1942, drawn up by the economist and civil servant Sir William Beveridge, laid out the foundations for a post-war welfare state.⁹²² The report immediately had a significant public impact, being debated in the House of Commons and offered plentiful publicity by the BBC, reflecting public concerns about reconstruction plans following the physical destruction of the Blitz, and the aspirations expressed in Beveridge's report.⁹²³ Already an occasional radio contributor on the popular programme, the *Brains Trust*, Beveridge broadcast about the report's content the day after it appeared, and also took part in a radio discussion on the matter shortly afterwards.⁹²⁴ In November 1943 the post of Minister of Reconstruction was created in the War Cabinet.⁹²⁵ In developments which mirrored these political moves to look towards a post-war Britain, the imperative to improve future protection of archaeological sites was recognised well before the end of the war.

Bombs and Archaeology (July 1943)

When the archaeologist Philip Corder spoke on the theme of *Bombs and Archaeology* on Saturday 24th July 1943 he was, through his radio script, confronting some of the central concerns of the era. Corder's broadcast commenced by focusing on the violence of war, but soon moved on to consider the possibility of positive outcomes which would serve to counterbalance the destructive results of the unfolding tragedy:

Bombs have smashed up Coventry Cathedral, York Guildhall, the Assembly Rooms at Bath, and many of London's city churches, designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Countless dignified and beautiful houses of a later date have also been ruined. It's a long list and a very depressing one. But, at the same time, bombs have given us what we never expected - an extraordinary opportunity for learning about our past.⁹²⁶

Corder continued:

⁹²² Calder 1992a., 525-536; Jones 2010, 152; Kynaston 2007, 21.

⁹²³ Hajkowski 2010, 53 and 59.

⁹²⁴ Briggs 1970, 606-15; Nicholas 1998, 48. For the *Brains Trust* see Calder 1992a., 364-6.

⁹²⁵ Calder 1992a., 535.

⁹²⁶ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "Bombs and Archaeology", Corder, Philip, Forces Programme, 24th July 1943.

Let's take London for a start. As a result of enemy action, some 100 acres of Roman London - that's about a third of the Roman city, I suppose - have been cleared of buildings. About 100 acres, never revealed before and never likely to be revealed again, are available for scientific examination, if only we can undertake it before the whole area is buried again, perhaps for ever, by the new London that is being planned.⁹²⁷

That a programme about the archaeological excavation of bombed British cities was transmitted on the Forces Programme raises some interesting questions as to what the BBC sought to achieve in broadcasting this content. As previously noted, Forces radio, introduced early in the war as light entertainment provision for the troops, had proved a popular addition to the choice of listening for many members of the British public. Through reference to the destruction wrought in English cities by Nazi bombing, Corder was making a patriotic appeal to listeners, to think about the new environments that would be created once the war had ended, and to turn their minds to preparation for the post-war world. In its detail regarding the science of excavation, the presentation was designed to be educative, as well as including a morale-raising element through its reference to the future.

A further aspect to the broadcast throws a tantalising glimpse on the politics at play in the world of archaeology in the context of reconstruction planning. At the time of his broadcast Philip Corder was Acting Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, and therefore held a relatively powerful position at the heart of the archaeological establishment. His colleague Bryan O'Neill, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in England, was proactive in facilitating research on the archaeology of London, by supporting trial excavations taking advantage of the large open areas of the city now available as a result of bomb damage in the London blitz.⁹²⁸ He was therefore acutely aware of the "unprecedented archaeological opportunity" these represented.⁹²⁹ As a civil servant, O'Neill was constrained from public campaigning or eliciting government funds to support excavation work, but he could be influential in other

⁹²⁷ Ibid.

⁹²⁸ Gerrard 2003, 87-9; Thurley 2013, 203-4; Morris 2007, 344-345; Wheeler, R.E. M., 1944. The rebuilding of London. *Antiquity* volume 18, issue 71, September 1944, 151-2.

⁹²⁹ Thurley 2013, 344.

ways. Correspondence held in the National Archives suggests that Corder and O'Neill worked together on the content of *Bombs and Archaeology*, and there is even an implication that O'Neill may have written the script.⁹³⁰ By means of his radio broadcast Corder was able to lobby public opinion in support of plans for a major programme of excavation work in the post-war period. Through appealing to the wide listenership of Forces radio, he could harness the power of radio to help raise the profile of his discipline.

The talk went on to discuss the national importance of preserving historic sites as “our possessions – an essential part of Britain”, and stressed the scientific credentials of the new breed of archaeologist poised to spring into action in bombed towns as soon as wartime conditions allowed:

Modern excavation, you see, is not just a matter of clearing the soil and the rubbish which in hundreds or thousands of years have hidden what you want to get at. Modern excavation is a science that demands considerable training, and special gifts. In fact, the modern excavator, under normal conditions, does to his ancient site much what a surgeon would do when he operates on you. He makes his cuts at carefully chosen points, and so tries to get a cross-section of the history of his site, or else he peels off layer upon layer of accumulated debris, and learns, as it were, to read the story backwards.⁹³¹

Shortly after Corder's radio broadcast a gathering took place which was to prove very significant for the governance of professional archaeology in the post-war period. The *Conference on the Future of Archaeology*, held at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London in August 1943, was an exceptional opportunity to plan for the post-war future, and represented something of a turning-point in the public role of archaeology.⁹³² Many eminent archaeologists of different nationalities, displaced by the war, or interned in the UK, were able to attend. In his opening address, Sir Charles Peers, Institute of Archaeology Chairman,

⁹³⁰ Morris 2007, 344-345.

⁹³¹ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, “Bombs and Archaeology”, Corder, Philip, Forces Programme, 24th July 1943.

⁹³² *Conference on the Future of Archaeology held at the University of London, Institute of Archaeology, August 6th to 8th, 1943*. London: Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper No.5; Moshenska, G., 2013. Reflections on the 1943 ‘Conference on the future of archaeology.’ *Archaeology International* 16, 128-139; Stout 2008, 43-45.

declared “Do not look on archaeology as merely a digging into the past; it is a science of how to manage the future”.⁹³³ The 282 attendees discussed topics including the need for more systematic recording techniques, increased use of laboratory analysis, improved training, and more posts for professional archaeologists. In his conference presentation, Grahame Clark explicitly enlisted the role of archaeology in post-war reconstruction, demanding that “the process of deculturalisation must be arrested and men made conscious once more of their heritage as cultural beings”.⁹³⁴ In later years archaeologist Aileen Fox vividly described her experience of the conference, noting that “It was the first occasion for four years that so many archaeologists had been able to get together and the atmosphere was exhilarating. I left inspired by a sense of missionary zeal and a feeling that there were good times ahead”.⁹³⁵

Foremost in the Conference agenda was the formation of the Council for British Archaeology (the CBA). Founded in March 1944 (fig.16) to promote the interests of British archaeology, the CBA in a sense marked the “nationalisation of archaeology”.⁹³⁶ It would be misleading to claim that all constituents of the profession were convinced of the need for a new national body, but there was overall enthusiasm for the project.⁹³⁷ Archaeologists realised that urban reconstruction represented a valuable opportunity. The time was ripe to introduce mechanisms which prevented the destruction of archaeological evidence before it could be properly examined and recorded. The political and legal framework surrounding archaeology had previously viewed the re-development of urban infrastructure as a more important priority than archaeological research. The support of the British public was essential to the success of the new enterprise of the CBA, and it was therefore necessary to educate the public as to why they should care about archaeology.⁹³⁸

⁹³³ *Conference on the Future of Archaeology*, 5.

⁹³⁴ Clark adapted his conference presentation into a journal article - Clark, J.G.D., 1943. Education and the study of man. *Antiquity* volume 17, issue 67, September 1943, 113-121.

⁹³⁵ Fox, A., 1944. The place of archaeology in British education. *Antiquity* volume 18, issue 71, September 1944, 153-157; Fox 2000, 100.

⁹³⁶ Fox 1944, 100; Thurley 2013, 202-203.

⁹³⁷ Stout 2008, 42-44.

⁹³⁸ Darvill 2009, 412; Morris 2007, 346-348; Thomas, S., 2013. Brian Hope-Taylor, the Council for British Archaeology, and ‘the need for adequate archaeological propaganda’. *Public Archaeology* 12:2, 101-116.



Figure 16. Unpublished draft design intended for a leaflet or poster, entitled “Father Time has Buried a Jigsaw”. Produced by artist and archaeologist Brian Hope-Taylor for a planned campaign of pro-archaeology propaganda, shortly after the CBA was formed in 1944.

Source: Thomas 2013, 109, photographed by Laura Sole.

©Archive of the Council for British Archaeology, with permission.

On 17th April 1944 Kathleen Kenyon, practical archaeologist, academic at the Institute of Archaeology, and Secretary of the recently instituted Council for British Archaeology wrote to Geoffrey Grigson (Talks Producer, West Region) to lobby BBC support in the aspiration to improve the professional standing of the archaeological discipline:

Mr Philip Corder has suggested that I should get in touch with you in connection with the newly-formed Council for British Archaeology. [...] The object of the Council is to bring the full weight of expert archaeological opinion to bear on the authorities concerned in connection with archaeological remains affected by rebuilding and development.

The Council has also the long-term aim of ensuring the adequate recognition which Archaeology can make to education and kindred subjects. It is, of course, most important that we should obtain widespread publicity for the work of the Council, in order that it should be clear, when we are dealing with the appropriate Ministries,

that we have got a wide measure of public support. In this matter the BBC would be able to afford us very great assistance.⁹³⁹

Kenyon's letter was indicative of a growing determination within representatives of the archaeological profession to foreground their role in public life. The letter engendered a helpful response from Grigson, who reported that he had passed her letter to George Barnes, Director of Talks, and asked to be kept informed "of interesting developments, projects and discoveries which might make the basis of a talk", and "the names of any other enterprising and sound archaeologists living and working down here in the West".⁹⁴⁰

Kenyon was not the only archaeologist to lobby the BBC during this period. On the morning of 14th September 1944, Professor Daryll Forde, Director of the International African Institute in London, telephoned Sir Richard Maconachie, Director of Talks, and later the same day followed up with a letter. The object of this correspondence was to note the forthcoming *Conference on Problems and Prospects of European Archaeology*.⁹⁴¹ Maconachie replied that his schedules were already full and that this was very short notice.⁹⁴² Forde, not deterred by this somewhat lukewarm response, remained keen to note that a radio item focused on the conference "might be used to point up the fact that academic as well as political co-operation in Europe is receiving serious thought", adding that Kathleen Kenyon would be happy to provide the BBC with reports on "outstanding topics" from each of the two days of the conference.⁹⁴³ This offer seems not to have been taken up by the BBC but the salient point is that archaeologists regarded the organisation as sufficiently influential to lobby in support of their aims to improve public engagement with archaeology. Kenyon's and Forde's efforts were indicative of a growing determination within the archaeological profession to foreground its role in public life. Professional archaeologists were putting down a marker for the future of their discipline, as they prepared for the post-war world.

⁹³⁹ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1955/ Kenyon to Grigson, 17th April 1944.

⁹⁴⁰ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1955/Grigson to Kenyon, 19th April 1944.

⁹⁴¹ The *Conference on Problems and Prospects of European Archaeology* took place over the weekend of 16th-17th September 1944 at the Institute of Archaeology in London.

⁹⁴² BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1955/letter Maconachie to Forde, 14th September 1944.

⁹⁴³ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1955/letter Forde to Maconachie, 14th September 1944.

Conclusion

This evidence for the presence of archaeologists on radio during the 1940s reveals new perspectives on their role as public intellectuals. Radio archaeology had always had a place in the BBC's educational broadcasts, but this role was strengthened during wartime. The pressures of war highlighted the potential of BBC radio to contribute to civil society, and further established its place at the heart of British life. Radio content scripted by archaeologists contributed to this development in a number of important ways. Archaeological personalities took their place alongside other public intellectuals in playing a part in the BBC's war effort.

Archaeologists and producers collaborated in Schools radio, aspiring through careful scripting and innovative techniques to produce lively and entertaining radio, conveying detailed archaeological information in the aspiration to engage and entertain young listeners. Coinciding with government education policy to strengthen civics education, Schools archaeology broadcasts were an opportunity for producers to develop fresh and innovative ways to make archaeology relevant, and to attempt to bring the topic alive through the medium of sound. In working with radio professionals to script and deliver broadcasts, archaeologists were at the heart of these initiatives. The case study examining the interactions of archaeologist Dina Dobson with producers Rhoda Power and Mary Somerville throws new light on the amount of thought and planning which went into the production of educational radio for school children, as well as providing a detailed account of the type of working relationships which operated between BBC producers and archaeological subject experts such as Dobson. The presence of archaeologists was becoming an increasingly familiar part of the radio landscape, as they consolidated their role as public intellectuals within the sphere of broadcasting.

The expansion of the role of the Overseas Service during the war meant that archaeologists were instrumental in radio developments in this respect also. Their presence on the Overseas Service contributed to BBC policy to project pro-British propaganda, with the aim of reminding listeners in Britain's international territories of their obligations to present a cohesive front in opposition against the threat of Nazism. The subject of archaeology was

particularly applicable in this context, forming a lens through which the BBC and its contributors could think about the state of the nation, and the wider world, at this time of societal stress. It was shown during this chapter that the Overseas Service became a new site for the exercise of the role of archaeologist as public intellectual, as personalities such as Gordon Childe, Jacquetta Hawkes and Grahame Clark showed that they could contribute their expertise to the national discussion on the nature of civilisation and society, and humankind's future in the post-war world. In this way, they were shown to have had a role in BBC cultural propaganda.

Through Forces Radio, archaeologists formed part of the government programme of civics education for adults. Archaeology-themed talks contributed to the educational radio fare of the troops being prepared for repatriation and the return to civilian life. In the context of demobilisation, an awareness of humankind's role in the world was viewed as contributing to the diet of essential knowledge for the responsible citizen. Archaeology was the perfect topic through which to impart a broad perspective on human affairs, and to help individual members of the citizen army prepare to resume their role in post-war society. The discussion has contributed to knowledge of the intricacies of talks production for Forces Educational radio through detailing the collaboration of producer Archibald Clow and subject expert Gordon Childe, in their preparation of the series *Man Takes Over*. The BBC's role in education and cultural propaganda in support of the repatriation of troops, and the place of archaeology content in this, was therefore demonstrated.

Finally, radio archaeology was invoked in relation to plans for urban reconstruction and the post-war programme of research through excavation. Professional archaeologists showed themselves well-aware of the potential for publicity through radio, and of its power to influence public opinion. BBC interest in archaeology could encourage positive public perceptions, and positive views of archaeology would in turn aid future excavation work. Public support for archaeology would also help to consolidate the framework within which the archaeological establishment planned to operate in the post-war world. In all these respects, therefore, the evidence presented in this chapter has further addressed the project's aims to examine the relationships between the BBC's cultural mission and archaeologists, and the emergence of the professional archaeological identity via radio.

Through their broadcasts, individual archaeologists were exerting a collective effect on the discipline of archaeology itself, increasing its public profile and asserting the right of its practitioners to play a proactive role in the public discourse.

Having demonstrated the significant role of archaeology in the wartime radio landscape, the next chapter will move on to consider the nature of radio provision in the decade of the 1950s, and the potential for archaeology to feature in the national discussion once peace had resumed.

Chapter Five

Archaeology Programmes in the Immediate Post-War Period and the 1950s

Introduction

The ending of the Second World War in Europe in September 1945 meant that fieldwork could now get back on a more routine footing. Archaeological activity had not ceased during the war, and many rescue excavations were carried out on the sites of proposed airfields and ordnance factories.⁹⁴⁴ This activity ensured a continued awareness of archaeology, which remained popular with the British public, and in some respects enjoyed a resurgence. This renewed interest in the archaeological heritage was addressed by the BBC in a wide variety of radio programming. The era saw ever-closer working relationships between archaeologists and BBC producers. From the jaunty offerings of the Home Service, to the output of the academically-oriented Third Programme, the late 1940s and 1950s were a period during which the British public were well-served with archaeological radio content. Sixty discrete archaeology programmes were broadcast between the close of the war and the end of the decade of the 1950s (as opposed to thirty-one during the war years).

In this chapter, an overview of the revamped structure of post-war radio is followed by an examination of archaeology content on the Home Service. The archaeological work being carried out in the bomb-damaged areas meant that post-war reconstruction initiatives boosted archaeology's presence on the radio. Archaeologists had many new and interesting finds to communicate. The continued strong presence of archaeologists on post-war radio, and the new organisational structures within the BBC, encouraged fresh and innovative formats for the presentation of archaeology. Radio therefore continued to play an important role in the emergence of archaeologists as public figures, and this chapter will delineate emerging versions of their identity as archaeological adventurer, hard-working excavator and even radio 'star'.

⁹⁴⁴ Thurley 2013, 199-200.

The account considers the evidence for increasing specialisation in archaeology content amongst BBC producers, and the proactive role of the North and West Regions in generating archaeology-themed radio content. The lessons learned in wartime broadcasting brought new techniques of programme-making, and presenters who had learned their craft as radio war correspondents moved into the realms of archaeology. The BBC showed themselves keen to attract the top archaeologists to radio, and the discussion considers the way in which these key experts were encouraged to broadcast, thus expanding further on the research aim to understand the exact nature of interactions between subject experts and producers.

This chapter also analyses the impact of the newly formed Third Programme on radio archaeology. Its inauguration in September 1946 formed an additional platform through which the archaeological profession could contribute to the cultural life of the nation, and archaeological broadcasters were well-placed to provide the type of intellectually challenging content required by Third Programme producers. A network of academics associated with Cambridge University exercised great influence, the focus of their efforts being the serial programme *The Archaeologist*, first broadcast in October 1946. The discussion concludes by examining the circumstances in which Third Programme managers took the innovative step of sponsoring an international archaeological excavation, with the aim of originating the BBC's own broadcast content. Through lending their support to excavation activity in Malta, BBC producers were directly influential on a seminal area of archaeological research during this period. These developments constitute further evidence for the consideration of the research questions focusing on the cultural mission of the BBC, and the way in which BBC policy could impact very directly on the practice of British archaeology.

5.1 Setting the Scene for Post-War Radio

In many ways the BBC had experienced a 'good war' both in terms of its contribution to the war effort, and its enhanced standing in British society, and the institution therefore entered peacetime with an aura of confidence.⁹⁴⁵ More nuanced arguments have highlighted the contradiction that the popularity of wartime programming was succeeded by a more

⁹⁴⁵ Briggs 1970; Chignell 2011, 39-56; Collini 2006, 437-438; McKibbin 1998, 468; Potter 2012, 144 and 148.

selective, and in some ways more elitist structure in the post-war era.⁹⁴⁶ At the end of the war, BBC radio was reorganised into a revised arrangement deemed suitable for peacetime and reconstruction, with the institution of a new tripartite structure forming a 'pyramid' of programming styles. In a major reversal of the policy of "Reithian universalism" which had been in place since the formation of the BBC, and due in large part to the impetus of the new Director-General, Sir William Haley, appointed in 1944, the decision was taken to split from the ethos of 'mixed programming'. The Light Service, successor of the wartime Forces Programme, would provide easy listening, mainly musical, material. The Home Service, which during the war had taken over the offering of the former National broadcasts, would remain substantially unmodified. The refurbished Home and Light services came on air on 29th July 1945.⁹⁴⁷ The Third Programme – the really significant innovation at this time – was instituted in order to provide a platform for radio content of cultural excellence and challenging intellectual content.⁹⁴⁸ The formation of the Third Programme is reflective of the post-war determination for British society to equip itself with knowledge, for the new world to be constructed.⁹⁴⁹

The concept of a cultural and intellectual radio service had been periodically discussed for many years, but had not previously come to fruition, largely because it cut across the long-standing philosophy of providing a unified service, with no distinction made between types of listener. The Third Programme finally came into being at 6pm on 29th September 1946.⁹⁵⁰ The new arrangements for radio delivery reflected societal changes that had been accelerated during wartime. The war had encouraged a move away from the old class-bound Britain, and an increased emphasis on the value of education for all, so that there were links between this social idealism, and the ambitions of Third Programme producers.⁹⁵¹ A large proportion of the

⁹⁴⁶ Nicholas 2016, 9-28. See also Nicholas 1998, 36-58 and Scannell and Cardiff 1982, 186-187.

⁹⁴⁷ Carpenter, H., 1996. *The envy of the world: fifty years of the BBC Third Programme and Radio 3, 1946-1996*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 10; Hendy, D., 2008. *Life on air: a history of Radio Four*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 27-28; Nicholas 2016, 15.

⁹⁴⁸ Bridson, D.G., 1971. *Prospero and Ariel. The rise and fall of radio: a personal recollection*. London: Victor Gollancz, 177-201; Games 2015, 50-52.

⁹⁴⁹ Marwick, A., 1994. The arts, books, media and entertainments in Britain since 1945. In Obelkevich, J. and Catterall, P., eds., 1994. *Understanding post-war British society*. London and New York: Routledge, 179-191, see in particular pp.180-182.

⁹⁵⁰ Carpenter 1996, 4-5 and 12-13; Hendy 2013, 59; Whitehead, K., 1989. *The Third Programme: a literary history*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 7-9; Scannell and Cardiff 1982.

⁹⁵¹ Whitehead 1989, 11-12.

population had recently had the experience of serving in the forces alongside people from classes other than their own, and this had the effect of opening up society to new possibilities and less rigid attitudes regarding societal hierarchies. The impetus to develop the Third Programme in some ways originated in the same popular movement that swept the Labour Party to power in Britain's first post-war election. Alongside this there had been a growth in public interest in the arts during the war.⁹⁵² There was also the element of increasing pressure from commercial European radio stations, which meant that it was convenient to separate 'cultural' content from 'entertainment', in an attempt to retain listeners to the BBC.⁹⁵³ These combined factors meant that the time was ripe for the provision of an additional radio option which was exclusively committed to the concept of cultural uplift. The idea was that the high culture presented on the Third Programme would "trickle down" to listeners lower in the metaphorical pyramid of programming.⁹⁵⁴ As Collini notes, "[t]he style of the original Third Programme clearly reflected the mixture of intellectual confidence and social responsibility characteristic of certain sections of the educated class in the middle of the twentieth century".⁹⁵⁵ Archaeology formed an ideal vehicle through which to express the values of the Third Programme, with its remit to develop the intellectual life of the nation. For the many professional archaeologists broadcasting during this time, the new service formed a new platform upon which they could communicate their recent research, in a style which could fully engage with the complex detail often required for their subject-matter.

Wartime destruction had led to enhanced opportunities for field archaeologists. As a result of the effects of the bombing, and the subsequent demolition of damaged buildings, large urban areas had become accessible for archaeological investigation, prior to reconstruction.⁹⁵⁶ There was great potential to carry out large-scale excavations in these previously inaccessible areas. Work to reconstruct the bomb-damaged cities would lead to

⁹⁵² Briggs 1995, 60; Carpenter 1996, 14; Games 2015, 50; Marwick, A., 1991. *Culture in Britain since 1945*. Oxford UK and Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 13-49; Whitehead 1989, 10-11; Weight, R., 1998. 'Building a new British culture': the Arts Centre movement, 1943-53. *In* Weight and Beach, 157-180. Weight (p.165) addresses the extent to which there really was a growth in interest in the arts during this period.

⁹⁵³ Whitehead 1989, 1-2.

⁹⁵⁴ Briggs, A., 1979. *The history of broadcasting in the United Kingdom, volume 4. Sound and vision*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 77; Collini 2006, 437-450; Whitehead 1989, 16-17.

⁹⁵⁵ Collini 2006, 448.

⁹⁵⁶ For example, within London, bombing had destroyed buildings in more than 50 of the 350 acres comprising the mediaeval area of the City of London – see Grimes 1968, 1.

further finds, increased public awareness of Britain's buried past, and to some extent, an upsurge in interest in archaeology amongst the British public.⁹⁵⁷ The realisation that post-war building would potentially destroy a great deal of archaeology meant that there was an additional imperative behind moves for the archaeology profession to work together to regulate and organise its activities. Rebuilding efforts often led to the further destruction of established townscapes, and this in itself sparked a new concern with conserving historic remains. "Preservationism" became an increasingly strong movement during the post-war period, with a growing public awareness that the material remains of the past might be worth preserving.⁹⁵⁸

A characteristic tendency of post-war Britain was the evocation of past traditions as a way to reflect on visions of the future, and major public events of this period demonstrate this recurrent theme. The Queen's Coronation of June 1953 was presented as "a return to the future", whereby evocations of the past, and hoped-for versions of the future, were blended together in the narratives presented.⁹⁵⁹ The 1951 Festival of Britain represented a simultaneous look to the past and to the future, and was a major public event through which the country's move into the exciting post-war world would be celebrated.⁹⁶⁰ Archaeological consultants were closely involved in planning sections of the display, and Jacquetta Hawkes was appointed as Archaeology Advisor to the Festival, where she oversaw the production of the *People of Britain* section of the exhibition, in liaison with other prominent archaeologists.⁹⁶¹

⁹⁵⁷ Darvill 2009, 412; Longworth, I. and Cherry, J., eds., 1986. *Archaeology in Britain since 1945*. London: British Museum Publications, 77; Harrison, B., 2009. *Seeking a role: the United Kingdom 1951-1970*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 126-128; Biddle, M., 1974. The future of the urban past. In Rahtz, 95-112; Thornton 2018, 268.

⁹⁵⁸ Jones, B., 1984. *Past imperfect: the story of rescue archaeology*. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1-30; Thurley 2013, 200.

⁹⁵⁹ Conekin, B., Mort, F. and Waters, C., eds., 1999. *Moments of modernity. Reconstructing Britain, 1945-1964*. London and New York: Rivers Oram Press; Royle, E., 1994. Trends in post-war British social history. In Obelkevich and Catterall, 9-18, quotation p. 9.

⁹⁶⁰ Banham, M. and Hillier, B., 1976. *A tonic to the nation: The Festival of Britain 1951*. London: Thames and Hudson; Heinonen, A., 2015. A tonic to the Empire? The 1951 Festival of Britain and the Empire-Commonwealth. *Britain and the World* 8.1, 76-99; Turner, B., 2011. *Beacon for change. How the 1951 Festival of Britain shaped the modern age*. London: Aurum Press.

⁹⁶¹ Conekin, B., 2003. *'The autobiography of a nation.'* *The 1951 Festival of Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 80-111; Finn 2016, 73; Hawkes, J., 1951. The origin of the British people: archaeology and the Festival of Britain. *Antiquity* volume 25, issue 97, March 1951, 4-8.

The BBC would devote a sizeable proportion of its schedule to the Festival, often featuring aspects of the past as a way of evoking thoughts of the future. It has been estimated that there were in total some 2,700 Festival-related broadcasts.⁹⁶² It is noticeable that most of this content channelling the past revolved around history rather than archaeology. Attempts by Jacquetta Hawkes to interest Mary Somerville in potential broadcasts based on her recent publications were unsuccessful. In September 1950, Hawkes wrote to Somerville with a script proposal:

I find myself thinking of the possibility of some broadcast talks on a subject related, though only indirectly, with the first of my two books. This is a rather odd affair, to be called *A Land*. [...] When one comes to think of it, all this relates to the Land and People theme of the Festival?⁹⁶³

Somerville's reply was decisive in its rejection, noting that "There are no spaces in the present Home and Light schedules for this kind of material, and your idea did not commend it to any of the Third Programme producers with whom I discussed it on Monday".⁹⁶⁴ Script suggestions by the geographer and landscape archaeologist William Hoskins, who later regularly broadcast on the Third Programme, were also rejected by Somerville during this period. Looking back into the distant past, at this time of new beginnings, was evidently not viewed as desirable – at least, not in relation to BBC coverage of the Festival of Britain. A wide variety of historical themes were featured, together with talks reflecting many and various aspects of British identity. For example, the series *The Heritage of Britain* was declared to be "an equivalent in the sound medium of the South Bank Exhibition to be held during the Festival of Britain".⁹⁶⁵ Programmes specifically addressing archaeological topics are, however, conspicuous by their absence. Despite a commitment to thorough coverage of Festival themes, with the involvement of many of the foremost cultural commentators of

⁹⁶² Conekin 2003, 86.

⁹⁶³ BBC/WAC/Jacquetta Hawkes. Contributors: Talks, File 1, 1939-1962/letter Hawkes to Somerville, 30th September 1950. Hawkes's best-selling book *A Land* has been described as "Jacquetta Hawkes's seminal work, and a classic piece of British nature writing...". Macfarlane 2012, Introduction to Hawkes, J. *A Land*, 1951. See also Cooke 2013, 243-244.

⁹⁶⁴ BBC/WAC/Jacquetta Hawkes. Contributors: Talks, File 1, 1939-1962/letter Somerville to Hawkes, 4th October 1950.

⁹⁶⁵ BBC/WAC/R51/684. Talks series, Heritage of Britain, 1950-1952/memorandum General Overseas Service Organiser to Paul Johnstone, Senior Talks Producer Overseas Talks, et. al., 12th October 1950.

the day, there is a marked absence of archaeology professionals.⁹⁶⁶ The extent to which this reflected Somerville's own preference, or BBC policy as a whole, is uncertain.

At this time of "Democracy, youth and optimism..." radio content on science was often foregrounded.⁹⁶⁷ The push to rebuild the physical structures of a society disrupted by years of war was combined with a growing interest in the contribution which science could make during peacetime, and "'Democracy' and 'science' became the watchwords of this promising new world".⁹⁶⁸ New scientific techniques were also impacting on the archaeological world, with further significant progress being made in the application of scientific methods to archaeology. Foremost in this movement was the Cambridge academic and archaeologist Grahame Clark.⁹⁶⁹

Clark was in the process of building his reputation upon his highly original research which emphasised an ecological approach to the study of the British Mesolithic.⁹⁷⁰ An adept professional operator, Clark was skilled at ensuring that his public profile enhanced his research agenda. He has been described as "an intellectual entrepreneur who believed firmly that his own self-promotion would benefit the archaeological enterprise as a whole".⁹⁷¹ Clark was enthusiastic about, and adept at, using radio as a platform to put forward his new archaeology of the Mesolithic and his ideas on civilisation and the origins of society. His radio appearances must also have contributed to raising his public profile, and would have done no harm to his career progress. (Upon Dorothy Garrod's retirement in 1952 Clark would succeed to the Disney Chair of Archaeology at Cambridge.⁹⁷²)

Clark's research centered around the potential of environmental techniques to reveal new information on Mesolithic and early Bronze Age Britain. Through his work with the Fenland

⁹⁶⁶ BBC/WAC/R34/363. Policy, Festival of Britain, 1949-1951; BBC/WAC/R51/171. Talks, Festival of Britain, 1949-1951 and BBC/WAC/R34/364. Policy, Festival of Britain. The BBC's Contribution, 1951.

⁹⁶⁷ Webster 2005, 7.

⁹⁶⁸ Morgan and Evans 1993, introduction; Sinfield, A., 1989. *Literature, politics and culture in post-war Britain*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 6-12.

⁹⁶⁹ Barker, G., 2014. Grahame Clark. In Fagan, 225-228; Fagan 2003, 153-156; Smith 2009, 39-68.

⁹⁷⁰ Clark, J.G.D., 1932. *The Mesolithic age in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Fagan 2001, 145-168; Mithen, S., 2003. *After the ice. A global human history, 20,000-5,000 B.C.* London: Orion Books, 134-142.

⁹⁷¹ Smith 2009, 97.

⁹⁷² *Ibid.*, vi.

Research Committee during the 1930s he had pioneered techniques such as pollen analysis and dendrochronology in the Cambridgeshire peat bogs.⁹⁷³ In 1949 he presented a radio lecture which combined his personal interest in the potential of science to inform archaeological research, with the realisation that the Second World War had brought new opportunities for archaeologists.⁹⁷⁴ *War and Archaeology* was broadcast on the General Overseas Service and the Pacific and North American Services in May 1949 as part of the series *Science Review*. Clark commented that:

I suppose few people would naturally connect war with archaeology. Yet one of the results of war, especially of modern war, is to multiply the chances of learning more about the early history of mankind, especially the unwritten past.⁹⁷⁵

After explaining the ways in which the level of new construction activity during wartime meant that a great deal of archaeology had been discovered and disturbed, Clark remarked “Yet in all the flurry, due regard was paid to the claims of antiquity, to the age-old heritage which, after all, we were defending”.⁹⁷⁶ He went on to describe the enthusiasm of the volunteer diggers who had recently come forward to work in the bomb-damaged cities of Canterbury, Exeter and London, as part of an appeal to carry out archaeological excavations in advance of urban reconstruction. This was a time of taking stock, for archaeologists as much as the population of Britain as a whole, and of reflection on the effects of the disruption of war, combined with the need to move forward into the bright new future made possible by the return of peace.

5.2 Archaeologists on the Home Service

The 1950s was a fruitful time for archaeology on the Home Service. Archaeological content continued to have a place for reasons of entertainment and public interest, and as part of the

⁹⁷³ Smith 1999; Smith, P.J., 1997. Grahame Clark’s new archaeology: the Fenland Research Committee and Cambridge prehistory in the 1930s. *Antiquity* volume 71, issue 271, March 1997, 11-30.

⁹⁷⁴ H.M.S.O., 1949.

⁹⁷⁵ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, “War and Archaeology”, *Science Review*, Clark, Grahame, Overseas Service, Pacific Service and North American Service, 30th and 31st May 1949.

⁹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

remit to provide a diet of programmes which would cater to the 'middle ground' of British radio listeners.⁹⁷⁷ The new tripartite structure of radio incorporated the existing Home Service, which now increasingly hosted topical and descriptive talks. Home Service content was often presented in a style that aimed to address the interests and concerns of the average listener.⁹⁷⁸

The World Goes By (June 1946)

As part of this concern to reflect 'real lives', in the late 1930s the Talks department had introduced the magazine programme *The World Goes By*.⁹⁷⁹ The post-war period saw archaeology increasingly being presented as part of radio magazine formats, whereby content was divided up into short items or features. Presented in an informal and up-beat style, and adopting the format of ten-minute slots dealing with discrete topics, *The World Goes By* was anchored by a single host who introduced the subjects to be covered, and conducted light and entertaining interviews with the guest presenters. Archaeological themes cropped up fairly regularly in *The World Goes By*, no doubt influenced by the activities of archaeologists working on former bomb sites, which could be easily viewed in the centre of London.⁹⁸⁰ At this time when archaeology was again enjoying a popular resurgence, the 1946 series of *The World Goes By* identified recent events in the world of archaeology as one of the topics likely to appeal to listeners.⁹⁸¹ Following a brief portrait of the Premier of the Punjab, and a report on the first International Ocean Yacht race, the half-hour edition of *The World Goes By* broadcast from 6.30pm on 20th June 1946 featured as its third item a slot on the excavation of Roman remains in London. The archaeological contributor on this occasion was Major Gordon Home, an expert on the archaeology of London, and already an experienced

⁹⁷⁷ Collini 2006, 443; Briggs 1979, 63; Potter 2012, 148.

⁹⁷⁸ Cardiff 1980, 34-36; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 174-7.

⁹⁷⁹ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 124, 175, 378.

⁹⁸⁰ In the summer of 1949 a whole episode of *The World Goes By* was dedicated to archaeology: BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "Archaeological School", Matheson, Sylvia, Home Service, 31st August 1949.

⁹⁸¹ The contemporary archaeologist Professor Barry Cunliffe refers to "Those of us whose interests were kindled and nurtured by the remarkable wave of popular archaeology in the 1950s..." - Sorrell, A., ed. M. Sorrell, 1981. *Reconstructing the past*. London: Batsford, 7, 198.

broadcaster, having presented a six-part radio series in 1928.⁹⁸² Introducing his interviewee, the host David Lloyd James remarked that:

I asked him to come along because now that one has time and the inclination to look into the great vacant spaces that have resulted from the bombing of London it's frequently occurred to me [...] to wonder how much may be turned up that throws light on the past of the city.⁹⁸³

Major Home described the exciting potential to add to existing knowledge of the plan of Roman London, and the nature of its public buildings, as a result of wartime bombing. Home noted the need to use "experienced men" to excavate, and emphasised that this work could reveal much new information "provided that it's carried out under the supervision of experienced archaeologists". The interview ended with Home stating that four sites had been selected for investigation by the Society of Antiquaries of London: "One is in Billiter Street and there Mr W.F. Grimes, Keeper of London Museum, is in charge. He has very wide experience of archaeological fieldwork of all descriptions".⁹⁸⁴

W.F. ("Peter") Grimes was at this point one of the most experienced British field archaeologists. His work in post-war London to excavate and record the archaeological traces of the city, on sites which had been exposed by wartime bombing, formed one of the seminal urban archaeological digs of the post-war period.⁹⁸⁵ Examination of his broadcasting career shows that he was also an active protagonist of public engagement via radio. Grimes's radio career originated on the Regional Programme in his home country of Wales, when whilst honing his craft through a myriad of excavations from Pembrokeshire to Glamorgan, he also found time to appear on Talks radio. In *Discovering Wales* (1936), Grimes had presented on

⁹⁸² *Radio Times* issue 260, 21st September 1928. *Life in Roman Britain* part 1, Major Gordon Home, 2LO London, 7.25pm, Thursday 27th September 1928. He had also published on the archaeology of London: Home, G., 1948, *Roman London, AD 43-457*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

⁹⁸³ BBC/WAC/Transcript of programme as broadcast, *The World Goes By*, Home Service, 20th June 1946.

⁹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁵ Carver, M., 1987. *Underneath English towns. Interpreting urban archaeology*. London: Batsford, 30 and 103-4; Gill, W.J., 2000. William F. Grimes: The making of a prehistorian. *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, 10:1, May 2000, 1-8; Grimes, W.F., 1968. *The excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Between 1946 and 1962, Grimes co-ordinated an extensive programme of archaeological excavation within the area of the City of London.

the archaeology of Pembrokeshire, and subsequently scripted a programme with the controversial title of *Does Stonehenge Belong To Wales?* (1938). By 1939, Grimes was tasked with presenting a whole series on the Welsh Regional Programme on the topic of *How To Read The Welsh Countryside*, with themes ranging from tracks and roads, to defended sites, to cave archaeology.⁹⁸⁶

In 1945 Grimes took up the prestigious role of Keeper of London Museum, recently vacated by Mortimer Wheeler, which meant that he was ideally placed to play a central role in the post-war archaeological excavations in the capital. In a letter dated 20th November 1947, Grimes's words convey a vivid flavour of London life during "the new Elizabethan age".⁹⁸⁷ Communicating with the features radio producer Jenifer Wayne, who had contacted him for advice in relation to her forthcoming programme on Roman Britain, Grimes exclaimed:

The air is rent with the screams of the populace: I find the atmosphere engendered by a royal wedding much less conducive to work than the din of my concrete breakers in the city, and propose to retire thither with all possible speed!⁹⁸⁸

Archaeology is an Adventure (September 1949)

After a brief hiatus, during which he was presumably adapting to his new museum responsibilities, Grimes reappeared on radio. September 1949 saw the advent on the Midland Home Service of a new series of archaeology-themed programmes with the engaging title of *Archaeology is an Adventure*. Produced by Paul Humphreys, and broadcast live in the 10pm slot on Friday evenings, the series featured leading archaeologists of the day, with the ambitious aim of covering the whole sweep of British archaeology from hunter-gatherer times to the mediaeval period in just six 15-minute programmes. Grimes's talk dealt with the complex theme of life in Neolithic Britain, and he likened the period, which is characterised

⁹⁸⁶ *Radio Times* issue 820, 16th June 1939. *How to Read the Welsh Countryside*, number 1. W.F. Grimes, Regional Programme, Thursday 22 June 1939, 6.45 pm.

⁹⁸⁷ McKibbin 1998, 535; Obelkevich and Catterall 1994, 9.

⁹⁸⁸ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology Files 1 and 2, 1944-1954/letter Grimes to Wayne, 20th November 1947. Grimes wrote on the day of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Philip Mountbatten. The letter is written on paper embossed with the address of Lancaster House, St James, where the London Museum was based until shortly after the Second World War.

by the first evidence of farming, to “nothing less than an industrial revolution”.⁹⁸⁹ The bulk of the talk focused on the group of burial monuments grouped as the ‘Cotswold Long Barrows’ – “Without question the outstanding antiquities of this period in the whole of the Midlands”.⁹⁹⁰ Grimes closed with the hope that soon a Neolithic settlement-site would be found, remarking that “this will be an exciting event when it happens”, and commending O.G.S. Crawford’s “admirable book” to accompany a visit to “not only some of the finest antiquities but also some of the loveliest country in England”.⁹⁹¹

Also appearing on *Archaeology is an Adventure* was eminent archaeologist Kathleen Kenyon. Kenyon’s lecture on *The Roman Midlands* began with talk of treasure: “Some lucky people really do have adventures in making archaeological finds”.⁹⁹² In mentioning the recently-discovered Mildenhall hoard, Kenyon was invoking one of the most dramatic finds of Roman silver ever made in Britain, which served to add a certain sheen to the talk. Kenyon went on to give a practical account of the origin of Roman towns, warning that “The fact is that archaeologists in this country do not expect, or really even want, to find treasure”.⁹⁹³ The talk ended with a look to possibilities for future research:

There is much left to be discovered and we may of course look for some spectacular finds in the future. For more will be learnt by the patient piecing together of evidence slowly and laboriously acquired. [...] all knowledge which shows how the people of these islands lived 2,000 years ago must be exciting to those with imagination.⁹⁹⁴

5.3 Developing Collaborations between Professional Archaeologists and BBC Producers

At this point the emergence of producers specialising in archaeological radio content can increasingly be discerned. The Regional scheme had been reintroduced after the War, and the important contribution of the Regions in the development of talks formats has been

⁹⁸⁹ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, “Archaeology is an Adventure”, Grimes, W.F., Home Service, 7th October 1949.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁹¹ Here Grimes referred to O.G.S. Crawford’s 1925 publication, *The Long Barrows of the Cotswolds*.

⁹⁹² BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, “Archaeology is an Adventure”, Kenyon, Kathleen, Home Service, 28th October 1949.

⁹⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

emphasised.⁹⁹⁵ This was a period during which policy encouraged a new emphasis on regionalism, whereby producers were expected to collaborate with fellow producers situated in the BBC's regional territories. The policy had originated in a 1947 paper by Director-General William Haley, specifying the need for improved integration of National and Regional services.⁹⁹⁶ In practice this meant a new emphasis on radio content that was generated in areas other than London, and an awareness of the potential for quality content to originate in the work of skilled radio practitioners based in different parts of Britain.⁹⁹⁷ Archaeology, being a subject which is naturally rooted in landscape, and which literally resides in the soil of geographically different parts of the country, lent itself to regional interpretation. Producers from BBC North Region seemed to have a particular feel for archaeological content, and their work was characterised by a concern for high standards of information provision and archaeological accuracy, coupled with imaginative attempts to bring archaeological material to life for the listener.

North Region Talks producer, Graham Miller, would later work on the 1956 series entitled *Six Archaeological Mysteries*, which featured leading archaeologists such as Stuart Piggott, Professor Christopher Hawkes of Oxford University, and Eric Birley of Durham University.⁹⁹⁸ In 1950 Miller, based at the BBC's Manchester headquarters, began his preparation for a one-off programme entitled *Digging For History*.

Digging For History (February 1951)

The title *Digging For History* had first been used in the late 1930s, when it had been attached to a series on the Western Regional programme, which focused on a different archaeological site in each episode. Its revival, albeit in a modified format all these years later, had its origins in a suggestion by Liverpool University-based archaeologist and academic Dr Terence (T.G.E.) Powell. Graham Miller had the previous year produced a programme on the excavations at

⁹⁹⁵ Chignell 2011, 58; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 333-334.

⁹⁹⁶ Briggs 1979, 132-134.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., 108 and 548-549.

⁹⁹⁸ *Radio Times* issue 1710, 17th August 1956. *Six Archaeological Mysteries*, number 1. Who Built the Bleasdale Circle? Home Service North, 20th August 1956, 7.15pm. Graham Miller would later become Head of Programmes in the North Region – see Hendy 2008, 55.

Seamer in North Yorkshire, featuring Grahame Clark and environmental archaeologist Harry Godwin.⁹⁹⁹ Clark had subsequently suggested that Miller may find it useful to get in touch with Powell. After some discussion regarding future programme ideas, Miller concluded that the best potential for a radio programme lay in Powell's suggestion of a sort of "Northern archaeological review" of recent work.¹⁰⁰⁰

Miller was able to take advantage of the fact that by now, due in large part to the work of the CBA in formalising archaeological training, it was possible to access an annually-published Calendar of Excavations. This no doubt aided Miller in his production work. He wrote to a wide-ranging group of field archaeologists active on northern British prehistoric sites, contacting excavators in Derbyshire, Northumbria, Lancashire, Cumbria and Yorkshire, to persuade them to write excerpts for the broadcast. He also worked hard to develop contacts with various museums and local archaeological societies in northern England, as well as the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle, and academics based at Northern universities.¹⁰⁰¹ The twenty-minute presentation eventually came to fruition in the form of a pre-recorded programme, broadcast on the Northern and Northern Ireland Home Services at 7.30pm on 9th February 1951. Comprising contributions from Grahame Clark, currently on his second season at Star Carr, Scarborough-based archaeologist John Moore, on his work at Flamborough Head, and Cambridge archaeologist Clare Fell, who spoke on recent research on the prehistoric axe factories of Langdale in the Lake District, it was presented by Terence Powell.¹⁰⁰² Talks department publicity material trumpeted that:

Every year archaeologists make a score or more of new discoveries that throw fresh light upon the North's most ancient past [...] Many of the secrets so unearthed by archaeologists are never widely publicised [...] But in Digging For History an attempt will be made for the first time to present some of these discoveries to a wider

⁹⁹⁹ *Radio Times* issue 1389, 26 May 1950. 'The Seamer Story': an archaeological feature. Home Service North, Friday 2nd June 1950, 6.40pm. For environmental archaeologist and founder member of the Fenland Research Committee, Harry Godwin, see Smith 2009, 49-53 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁰⁰ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/letter Powell to Miller, 28th July 1950.

¹⁰⁰¹ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/correspondence, Miller to a variety of archaeologists, during 1950 and 1951.

¹⁰⁰² Clare Fell was Assistant Curator of the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology between 1948 and 1953. See Smith 2009, 2 and 98.

audience. The programme takes the form of a Northern archaeological newsletter for 1950...¹⁰⁰³

The information presented was intended to be intelligible by the non-specialist listener. As Miller remarked, in an aside which seems indicative of the opening-up of archaeology to a wider constituency, “I don’t think one can take it for granted that listeners will be familiar with archaeological ages and periods”.¹⁰⁰⁴

Miller had a special trick up his sleeve in his plan to ensure that the presentation appealed to Home Service listeners. This was to reproduce the music made by an Iron Age musical instrument which had been interred in a Bronze Age burial mound at Seaty Hill, Malham, Yorkshire. Known as the “Malham Pipe”, or alternatively the “Raistrick Pipe” after its excavator, the industrial archaeologist and Dalesman, Arthur Raistrick, the instrument resided in Leeds Museum. Miller arranged for the goat-bone pipe to be fitted by museum specialists from Huddersfield with a plasticene mouthpiece which made it playable again, paid for a musician named Eric Todd to reproduce the eight-note scale it produced, and arranged for one minute of atmospheric “prehistoric” music to be included in the programme.

A Listener Research Report indicates that there was some comment from members of the public that the talk was too technical and academic, but it seemed that three-quarters of the small reporting panel were interested in the content, and wanted to hear more about archaeological discoveries. Some panel members disliked Terence Powell’s voice, with one describing it as “distinctly arid”. Overall, however, the Report recorded “an appreciation index of 65, suggesting a favourable reaction”.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰³ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/Talks Department, Manchester, publicity flyer, 29th January 1951.

¹⁰⁰⁴ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/undated letter Miller to Powell, circa January 1951.

¹⁰⁰⁵ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/Listener Research Report, *Digging For History*.

Listener Research Reports often indicated average percentages for listener appreciation scores, and this particular form notes that “the current average for talks in the North and Northern Ireland Home Services is 61”.

One of the sites featured on *Digging For History* - Star Carr, in the East Yorkshire Wolds - would subsequently prove to be hugely significant in the archaeology of Mesolithic Britain.¹⁰⁰⁶ Site director Grahame Clark, a Lecturer in Archaeology at Cambridge University, had been working at Star Carr since 1949. The discovery of preserved Mesolithic deposits, together with Clark's realisation of the potential of the site, would go on to revolutionise the study of the Mesolithic period. It was at Star Carr that the potential of environmental approaches to archaeology was first demonstrated.¹⁰⁰⁷ An additional reason for the site's significance was that the first Mesolithic radiocarbon date from Europe came from Star Carr.¹⁰⁰⁸ It was during this precise period that the new technique of radiocarbon dating was beginning to have an impact on practical archaeology. Developed during the Second World War by the American scientist Willard Libby, and first publicised in 1947, radiocarbon dating for the first time made it possible to obtain absolute, rather than merely relative, dates for archaeological materials. This ability to obtain actual dates for archaeological contexts meant that archaeologists were no longer dependent on typological studies for dating. The new dates coming in meant that in many respects the carefully-constructed narrative of the past fifty years or so of archaeological research was about to be turned on its head.¹⁰⁰⁹ In a casually-worded letter written during the preparation of the radio programme *Digging For History*, Clark shared a key nugget of information with producer Graham Miller:

The averages of two radio-carbon tests of samples of birch wood by the Institute of Nuclear Studies at Chicago University gives [*sic*] a date within the range 7,538 +/- 350 years B.C. That is for what it is worth. We hope to make further tests in Cambridge to arrive at a more definitive result.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁶ Dark, P., 2000. Revised 'absolute' dating of the early Mesolithic site of Star Carr, North Yorkshire, in light of changes in the Early Holocene tree ring chronology. *Antiquity* volume 74, issue 284, June 2000, 304-307; Fagan 2001, 146-168; Mithen 2003, 134-142; Pitts, M., 2019. *Digging up Britain*. London: Thames and Hudson, 169-194.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Clark, J.G.D., 1954. *Excavations at Star Carr*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Council for British Archaeology (2012). *Archaeological Site Index to Radiocarbon Dates from Great Britain and Ireland*. York: Archaeology Data Service. <https://doi.org/10.5284/1017767> - Science, 113, 1951, 113; Fagan 2001, 157.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Clark 1989, 84-89; Daniel 1975, 357-8; Dark 2000; Pollard, J., 2011. The Neolithic: 50 years' work on nearly two millennia. In Whimster, R., ed. *The new antiquarians: 50 years of archaeological innovation in Wessex*. CBA Research Report 166. York: Council for British Archaeology, 38-40; Renfrew, C., 1973. *Before civilization: the radiocarbon revolution and prehistoric Europe*. London: Cape; Renfrew and Bahn 2012, 37.

¹⁰¹⁰ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/letter Clark to Miller, 23rd January 1951.

This low-key, but historically momentous, announcement from Clark to Miller is clearly indicative of the BBC's close association with cutting-edge archaeological research during this period. The impact of radiocarbon dating on the world of archaeology cannot be overstated, and its ramifications are still being felt today. The fact that the first radiocarbon date ever to be obtained was shared with a BBC producer shortly after its receipt by Grahame Clark demonstrates the close working relations between radio-makers and professional archaeologists.

The discussion will now move on to examine a broadcast which directly highlights the influence and impact of the Second World War on the radio presentation of archaeology. Following the end of the conflict, a group of former war correspondents brought their expertise in live reportage and the techniques of outside broadcasting, to radio archaeology.

The Present Looks at the Past (July 1952)

Commentators describe some of the modern methods used to discover how and where our forebears lived. Charles Gardner from an aircraft gives the aerial view of ancient remains near Peterborough; Frank Gillard watches a hamlet of the dark ages being excavated in Cornwall; and David Lloyd James describes the work of reconstruction at the British Museum Laboratory. The programme is introduced by Audrey Russell from the Society of Antiquaries in London.¹⁰¹¹

Broadcast live on the Home Service in July 1952, and repeated in October of that year, the *The Present Looks at the Past* was a feature programme which emanated from the Outside Broadcast department. For each of the four locations covered, a different presenter was to interview an archaeologist at work, in order to showcase "Modern methods used to unravel the mysteries of the past".¹⁰¹² An interview between Audrey Russell and Philip Corder,

¹⁰¹¹ BBC/WAC/R30/2,329/1 OBS. *The Present Looks At The Past*. Radio Times programme announcement.

¹⁰¹² BBC/WAC/R30/2,329/1 OBS. *The Present Looks At The Past*. Radio Times programme announcement for the repeat broadcast on 31st October 1952, at 4.30pm. The broadcast was on this occasion sandwiched between *Orchestral Hour* and *Children's Hour*.

President of the Archaeological Institute, at the Society of Antiquaries in Piccadilly, central London, would kick off the broadcast. Audrey Russell's work as the first female war reporter, and subsequently as a stalwart of post-war actuality reporting, has been highlighted.¹⁰¹³ In her own account of her wartime career and post-war work in the Outside Broadcast department, and as a reporter on royal occasions, Russell outlined her career trajectory.¹⁰¹⁴ The radio evocation of vividness and immediacy which Russell had been able to develop through her experience of interviewing witnesses of Nazi bombing at 'Hellfire Corner' in Dover, and Antwerp in Belgium, have been described.¹⁰¹⁵ These same techniques could now be brought to the presentation of recent research in archaeology.

In preparation for the broadcast Russell worked assiduously to cultivate links with representatives of the key archaeological authorities, including the Society of Antiquaries, the British Museum, the CBA and the Ministry of Works, and to identify suitable archaeological sites to feature.¹⁰¹⁶ Amongst the experts consulted were a range of top specialists including scientist Harold Plenderleith of the British Museum Research Laboratory, and archaeologist Rupert Bruce-Mitford, engaged at that time in the excavation of the early mediaeval site of Mawgan Porth in Cornwall. A De Haviland aeroplane was chartered for the section in which aerial photography expert J.K. St-Joseph was interviewed passing over a historic landscape near Peterborough.¹⁰¹⁷

¹⁰¹³ Nicholas 2005, 139-161. See p.150 for Audrey Russell.

¹⁰¹⁴ Russell, A., 1984. *A certain voice*. Bolton: Ross Anderson Publications, 29-103.

¹⁰¹⁵ Skoog, K., 2018. A sensory experience. BBC correspondent Audrey Russell reporting (and remembering) the Second World War. In Cronqvist, M. and Sturfelt, L., eds. *War remains: mediations of suffering and death in the era of the World Wars*. Kriterium: Gothenburg, 87-110.

¹⁰¹⁶ BBC/WAC/R30/2,329/1 OBS. *The Present Looks At The Past*. On file are many letters evidencing the work which Audrey Russell put into contacting and cultivating possible participants in the programme.

¹⁰¹⁷ BBC/WAC/R30/2,329/1 OBS. *The Present Looks At The Past*.



Figure 17. Audrey Russell brought her experience of war reporting and vox pops to bear on the presentation of archaeological radio, through the 1952 outside broadcast *The Present Looks At The Past*. ©BBC Photographic Archive, with permission.

It is important to note that in preparing the groundwork for *The Present Looks At The Past* Russell was not only acting as a presenter, but clearly also carried out the work of a producer. This represents a new insight into the role of this accomplished woman of the BBC, who has previously been noted for her reporting work alone (fig. 17). In addition to providing this fresh perspective on Russell's production role, *The Present Looks At The Past* is significant in that it combined the skills of a team who had previously contributed to live reportage during the war years, at a time when the very notion of live war reporting was completely novel, and

was being developed by presenters such as these.¹⁰¹⁸ Charles Gardner's live commentary on a Battle of Britain dogfight over the English Channel in July 1940 became a classic of wartime reportage, despite its controversial jingoistic style.¹⁰¹⁹ Gardner had later joined the RAF, and reported from the Far East. Frank Gillard had reported from the Dieppe raid, during the D-Day landings, and at Arnhem, and was the first to contribute live broadcasts to *War Report*, which by the latter stages of the war had become hugely popular with the British public, and regularly drew a listenership of between 10 and 15 million.¹⁰²⁰ A key reason for its popularity was the combination of live, eye-witness commentary and sound actuality, which "brought the fighting front into the home with a directness and immediacy never before experienced".¹⁰²¹ A compelling and novel aspect of *War Report* was the sound of the voices of wartime, whether emanating from serving troops, liberated civilians, or news observers themselves. Many of these BBC voices had been present on radio in pre-war days, and now these same familiar voices were bringing news of recent archaeological work to Home Service listeners. Together with experienced announcer David Lloyd James, the team would bring the outside broadcasting expertise developed during the conflict to help to convey the excitement of archaeology.¹⁰²²

The presence of four presenters, broadcasting live in multiple different locations, would inevitably have presented some technical challenges. The BBC were by no means new to the techniques of outside broadcast, and had been presenting "OBs" from the early days of regular broadcasting.¹⁰²³ The requirements of reporting during the war years had encouraged considerable improvements in the technical aspects of outside broadcasting. Whereas recording technology started off being "brutally cumbersome", and reliant on 'mobile' recording vans which were more akin to heavy trucks, by the later stages of the conflict there had been important developments in portable recording equipment.¹⁰²⁴ This technological progress meant that by the 1950s programmes were increasingly broadcast on location,

¹⁰¹⁸ Nicholas 2005.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid., 143; Russell 1984, 66.

¹⁰²⁰ Nicholas 2005, 155.

¹⁰²¹ Ibid, 155.

¹⁰²² David Lloyd James (son of Arthur Lloyd James, doyen of BBC spoken English) later became the BBC's Head of Presentation (Announcing) – see Briggs, A., 1995. *The history of broadcasting in the UK, volume 5. Competition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 734.

¹⁰²³ BBC Yearbook 1930, Savoy Hill, London: BBC; Street 2006, 115-134.

¹⁰²⁴ Nicholas 2005, 145 and 150-151.

opening up new possibilities for the use of presentational formats which could more closely engage the listener, by bringing enhanced immediacy and a sense of “liveness”.¹⁰²⁵ As Gillard himself stated on his return to BBC Bristol in July 1945, it was his intention to “get away from the artificial atmosphere of the studio as much as possible and take the microphone among the people. We have learnt a lot about recording during the war, and this knowledge will be put to good use”.¹⁰²⁶

Combined with description of the innovative techniques through which archaeological research could be approached, *The Present Looks At The Past* would have made for compelling radio. The broadcast evidently proved popular with listeners, with some members of the Listener Research panel commenting that they would like to listen to more archaeology on the airwaves, especially if its presentation was of an equally high quality.¹⁰²⁷ A scribbled note on the Listener Research Report itself reads “Miss A Russell. Can we have another suggestion?”, which is surely indicative of management approval for the enterprise.¹⁰²⁸

In later years Frank Gillard held the post of Controller, West Region, and from his base at Bristol conceived an idea to send his experienced producer of archaeology content, John Irving, out to Malta wielding a portable tape-recorder.¹⁰²⁹ The plan was for Irving to prepare a short documentary demonstrating “how an overseas ‘dig’ is arranged, what special problems have to be dealt with, and so on, and which would give a picture of archaeologists ‘on the job’”.¹⁰³⁰ No doubt calling in ex-wartime links, Gillard suggested that this could be achieved “quite cheaply”, as he had a plan to liaise with the Royal Air Force to fly Irving to and from Malta as part of another operation.¹⁰³¹ In the event, the plan had to be abandoned due to the prohibitive cost of travel, and the RAF liaison plan did not come to fruition.¹⁰³² That

¹⁰²⁵ Briggs 1979, 570 and 581-582; Crook 1999, 65-6; Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 123; Street 2006, 134.

¹⁰²⁶ Briggs 1979, 97.

¹⁰²⁷ BBC/WAC/R30/2,329/1 OBS. *The Present Looks At The Past*. Listener Research Report, LR/52/1460. The appreciation index for the broadcast was 74 (the average for Outside Broadcasts on the Home Service being stated as 66).

¹⁰²⁸ Though it is not possible to be conclusive, the note seems to have been written by Joly de Lotbiniere, Director of Outside Broadcasting. See Russell 1984, 66.

¹⁰²⁹ Frank Gillard ultimately became Director of Radio – see Nicholas 2005, 157 and Chignell 2011, 202.

¹⁰³⁰ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gillard to Holme, 5th March 1954.

¹⁰³¹ See Nicholas 2005, 154 and Russell 1984, 54. Gillard was known for his ability to forge friendship links with individuals of all ranks, including Field Marshall Montgomery.

¹⁰³² BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gillard to Holme, 2nd April 1954.

Gillard thought of such a plan in the first place is indicative of the continuing influence of the travel possibilities discovered by this generation during their war service, and of the new opportunities for international travel which came into play at this time.¹⁰³³

Roman Britain (February - March 1956), and
The How and Why of Archaeology (August 1956)

The extent of Home Service commitment to archaeological programming is indicated by the plan to give “an extensive treatment to Roman Britain” during the first quarter of 1956.¹⁰³⁴ The project originated in work carried out by producer John Irving on the Third Programme, in relation to *The Archaeologist*. When preparing for quiz editions of the series, Irving had recorded that the vast majority of listeners’ questions clustered on the subject of Roman Britain.¹⁰³⁵ It was perceived that there was an unaddressed popular interest in the topic,¹⁰³⁶ and Ronald Lewin, Chief Assistant, Home Service Planning, therefore suggested that the Home Service should run an entire series on Roman Britain, with the aim of addressing “the plain man’s questions”.¹⁰³⁷ There followed a coordinated effort by the Features department, the Further Education department, who produced pamphlets to support the broadcasts, and Home Service Talks, to liaise with leading experts. The latter included Mortimer Wheeler, President of the Society of Antiquaries, and John Morris, Lecturer in Ancient History at University College, London. The eight broadcasts took the form of scripted discussions between the subject specialists, who approached the topic from different angles. Chaired by Mortimer Wheeler, themes included “Who Were the Britons?”, “The Army of Occupation”, and “Government and Towns”.¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³³ Harrison, B., 2009. *Seeking a role: the United Kingdom, 1951-1970*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 85.

¹⁰³⁴ BBC/WAC/R51/7541. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964/memorandum Ronald Lewin, Chief Assistant, Home Service Planning, to Leonard Cottrell, 29th July 1955. There is also evidence, in a memo from Watkin-Jones to L. Cottrell, dated 2nd August 1955, of simultaneous planning for radio and television coverage of archaeology projects at this time.

¹⁰³⁵ Roman archaeology tended to dominate the discipline during the middle years of the twentieth century, to the exclusion of other periods equally deserving of research input. See Jones 1984, 11. For the development of the speciality of Mediaeval archaeology after 1945 see Gerrard 2003, 95-132 and Thurley 2013, 217 and 225-227.

¹⁰³⁶ BBC/WAC/R51/7541. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964/ memorandum Lewin to Irving, 24th June 1955.

¹⁰³⁷ BBC/WAC/ R51/7541. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964/undated planning document, circa summer 1955.

¹⁰³⁸ *Radio Times*, issue 1682, 3rd February 1956 at 7.30pm. Roman Britain number 1 – “Who Were the Britons?”

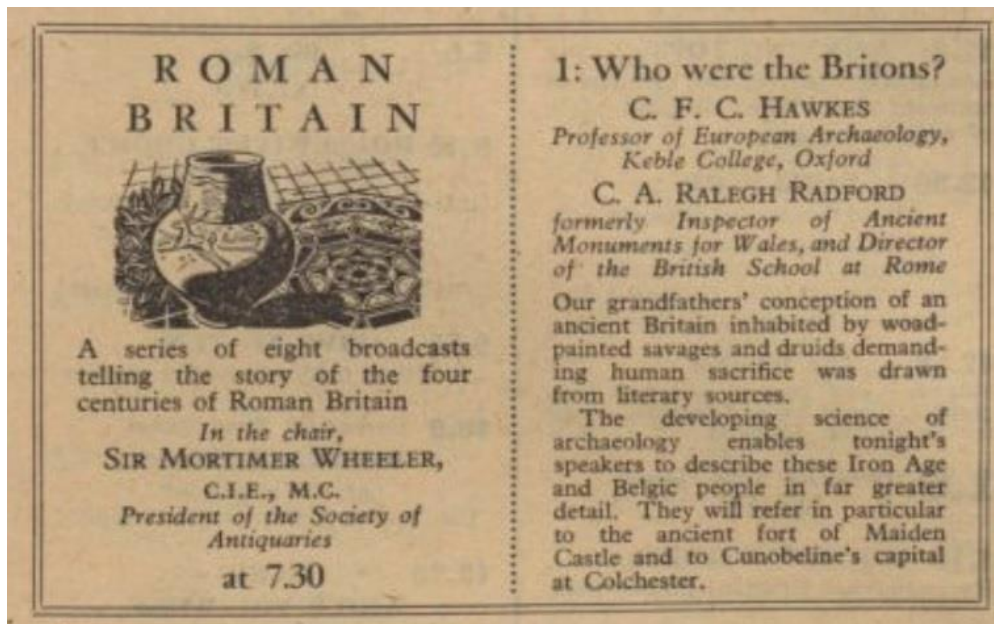


Figure 18. Listings information for the major Home Service series on Roman Britain, chaired by Mortimer Wheeler. Source: *Radio Times* issue 1682, 3rd February 1956, 24.

The series (fig.18) proved so popular that the BBC subsequently received a large number of letters with listeners' questions, and in the spring of 1956 a further programme was planned. A press release stated that "So many listeners wrote to the BBC following the recent highly successful series of talks on Roman Britain, to ask how archaeological work was carried out, that it was decided to broadcast a follow-up programme".¹⁰³⁹ Provisionally titled *The Archaeologist Digs A Site*, this was broadcast on the Home Service on 21st August 1956 from 10.15pm to 11pm under the title *The How and Why of Archaeology*.¹⁰⁴⁰ Focusing on the training dig run by Nottingham University on the Roman site at Great Casterton in Rutlandshire, recommended by Wheeler and the Romanist Ian Richmond as a suitable venue, the broadcast described the day to day work of this group of students and lecturers, in what was one of the earliest training excavations ever run.¹⁰⁴¹ This was a time when expanding excavation work, and resultant growing opportunities for public participation in archaeology, were impacting on radio coverage. The responsiveness of producers to listener feedback in

¹⁰³⁹ BBC/WAC/ R51/7541. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964/ "Broadcasting News" produced for *The Times Education Supplement*, 1st August 1956.

¹⁰⁴⁰ BBC/WAC/ R51/7541. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964/talks proposal form, Janet Walters, 5th April 1956.

¹⁰⁴¹ BBC/WAC/ R51/7541. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964/memorandum, Janet Walters to Miss J.T. Rowe, 31st July 1956. Contributors to the broadcast included Maurice Barley, Extra-Mural Department, Nottingham University; Philip Corder, President of the Royal Archaeological Institute; John Gillam, King's College, Durham, and Graham Webster, Extra-Mural Department, Birmingham University.

this instance highlights the growing influence of audience participation upon the focus of archaeology broadcasts.

5.4 BBC Producers Seek to Attract the ‘Stars’ of the Archaeological World

This was a period during which BBC producers made considerable efforts to attract the leading archaeologists to broadcast, and there is ample evidence of the aspiration to attract the ‘stars’ of the archaeological world to the microphone. Kathleen Kenyon was one of the prominent archaeologists whom the BBC were keen to attract. One of the leading archaeologists of the twentieth century, Kathleen Kenyon’s excavation career was forged mainly in the Middle East (fig. 19), where she carried out important excavations at locations such as Jerusalem and Jericho.¹⁰⁴² She had largely been responsible for holding together the workings of the Institute of Archaeology during the war years, where she deputised for her former mentor Mortimer Wheeler.¹⁰⁴³ During this same period (as seen earlier in this account) she was instrumental in the formation of the Council for British Archaeology. Her CBA role involved public liaison in the cause of popularising archaeology – for example, in 1947 she was engaged in writing publicity material encouraging volunteer participation on the dig at the bombed-out Marshalsea Prison site in Southwark, London.¹⁰⁴⁴ Radio was an additional publicity tool, affording her a public voice which facilitated her proselytising mission regarding the value of archaeology in society. As she began to pursue her own excavations in the early 1950s, in the interludes when she was based in Britain Kenyon carved out time to script and present radio talks. She presented, for example, on her work at Sabratha (January 1949 and November 1951), and on the *Excavations at Wroxeter* (September 1952), as part of the Home Service’s *Midlands Miscellany*.¹⁰⁴⁵

¹⁰⁴² Carr 2012, 153-154 and passim; Davis 2014, 220-3; Dever, W.G., 2006. Kathleen Kenyon, 1906-1978. In Cohen and Joukowsky, 525-553; Fagan 2003, 140-3; Kenyon, K., 1957. *Digging up Jericho*. London: Ernest Benn Ltd.

¹⁰⁴³ Meheux, K., 2018. ‘An awfully nice job’: Kathleen Kenyon as Secretary and Acting Director of the University of London Institute of Archaeology, 1935-1948. *Archaeology International*, 21(1), 122-140.

¹⁰⁴⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Kathleen Kenyon Personal File, Talks, 1944-1962/CBA publicity material- Excavations at Southwark – 24th March 1947; Kenyon, K., 1952. *Beginning in archaeology*. London: Phoenix House.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Radio Times* issue 1504, 5th September 1952.



Figure 19. Kathleen Kenyon led the Jericho excavations in her capacity as Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

Source: UCL Institute of Archaeology, Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Licence.

In November 1951, producer Lorna Moore (working in liaison with fellow producer Leonie Cohn) contacted Kenyon with a proposal for three talks on her “expedition” to work on the complex site of Neolithic Jericho, in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.¹⁰⁴⁶ Two talks were duly broadcast on the Home Service during March and April 1952, and provided an opportunity for Kenyon to describe her work in the field:

¹⁰⁴⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Kathleen Kenyon Personal File, Talks, 1944-1962/note Archie Gordon (production assistant) to Cohn, 15th November 1951: “I have spoken to Lorna and her proposal is to have three programmes by Miss Kathleen Kenyon in connection with an expedition which is just going out...”. Producer Lorna Moore joined the Third Programme around 1952, but at this point evidently still worked for the Home Service – see Games 2015, 60.

[...] modern archaeological methods can solve what is in many ways a gigantic detective problem for, like detectives, we use the clues left in the houses and on the ground to find out what has happened. [...] A visitor to the tell, and there are many for every tourist in Jordan wants to see the famous site of Jericho, will find us hard at work applying these methods of archaeological deduction and adapting them to the problems in hand.

As he or she climbs up the steep side of the tell and comes over the summit the visitor will see a number of groups, each busy on a particular task. Some are shifting large deposits of soil where we are excavating the great defences of the city. Others are at work with trowel and brush carefully cleaning delicate objects.¹⁰⁴⁷

A third broadcast entitled *Jericho Before Joshua*, was aired on the Third Programme in May 1953.¹⁰⁴⁸ It seems that Kenyon's need to combine the pressures of fieldwork with her responsibilities back in Britain delayed the production of part three of the series. By the time the next Jericho broadcast went out, Lorna Moore had moved to work for the Third. At the start of the 1954 season of excavation, she wrote to Kenyon at Jericho, to congratulate her on the award of a CBE. Notwithstanding her recent honour, Kenyon's reply vividly conveys the lack of glamour in dig life as routinely experienced by the practical archaeologist:

At least it is a help to face the usual contretemps of the beginning of a season, of which the worst is the very recent occupation of our dig house by a man with typhoid so at the moment we are in temporary and inconvenient quarters, but I hope things will settle down soon.¹⁰⁴⁹

In 1954 Kenyon acted as consultant on a Schools series of talks on the theme of the archaeology of the Holy Land, being responsible for suggesting the subject-matter, speakers

¹⁰⁴⁷ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, "Digging up Jericho", Kenyon, Kathleen, Home Service, 2nd April 1952. The script notes that "The talk was recorded for the BBC by the Hashemite Jordan Broadcasting Service".

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Radio Times* issue 1540, 15th May 1953.

¹⁰⁴⁹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Kathleen Kenyon Personal File, Talks, 1944-1962/letter Kenyon to Moore, 8th January 1954.

and supporting literature, as well as presenting two of the talks herself.¹⁰⁵⁰ She remained in demand for Third Programme talks about her excavation work in Palestine, Jericho and Jerusalem, into the mid-1960s. In common with archaeologists Margaret Murray, Jacquetta Hawkes, and Mortimer Wheeler, Kenyon also appeared on *Woman's Hour*, a production of the Light Programme, being "Guest of the Week" on 7th November 1956.¹⁰⁵¹ This presence on the most listened-to radio platform placed archaeologists firmly at the centre of broadcasting activity, and underlined their role as public intellectuals.¹⁰⁵² The intent of *Woman's Hour* producers to foster the role of listeners as critical and engaged citizens, with an awareness of the outside world, has been outlined.¹⁰⁵³ Through their appearances on *Woman's Hour*, archaeologists played a part in this aspiration.

Moving on to the radio debut of a personality who remains an icon of media archaeology, archive evidence shows that it was Third Programme producers who were instrumental in first persuading Mortimer Wheeler to broadcast. Wheeler's reputation as one of the foremost archaeologists of the day, and as an excellent public communicator, meant that he was seen as an extremely desirable character to bring to the microphone, and an obvious candidate to appear on the Third Programme. Accounts of Wheeler's media contribution invariably mention his television reputation, and for many viewers in the early days of television, Wheeler's appearances on *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* were compelling viewing.¹⁰⁵⁴ This account shows, however, that previous to his television career, radio producers had recognised Wheeler's 'star quality', and were making strenuous efforts to persuade him to broadcast. Wheeler had developed a somewhat flamboyant public persona, honed over many years of fund-raising for excavations, and in his university lecturing and museum career. In 1947, however, he was yet to appear on radio. Wheeler's entry to broadcasting is significant in that to this day he retains the reputation of being the first archaeologist generally known

¹⁰⁵⁰ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Kathleen Kenyon Personal File, Talks, 1944-1962/letter Madeline Mitchell (Talks Booking Manager) to Kenyon, 26th May 1954. Archaeologist of the Near East Max Mallowan also spoke in this series.

¹⁰⁵¹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Kathleen Kenyon Personal File, Talks, 1944-1962/Antony Derville (Woman's Hour Producer) to Kenyon, 7th September 1956.

¹⁰⁵² The Light Programme had the largest audience overall, regularly attracting two-thirds of listeners. See Hendy 2008, 27 and McKibbin 1998, 471.

¹⁰⁵³ Murphy 2016, 259; Skoog 2010, 155-158; Skoog, K., 2014. Striving for editorial autonomy and internal recognition: BBC Woman's Hour. In Andrews, M. and McNamara, S., eds. *Women and the media: feminism and femininity in Britain, 1900 to the present*. London: Routledge, 192-217.

¹⁰⁵⁴ For example, Russell 2019, 332; for *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* see Perry 2017, 3-4.

to the British public, lauded for his ability to interpret the results of his research in a way which brought the past vividly alive.¹⁰⁵⁵

A complex character, opinions within and outside the world of archaeology were divided as to Wheeler's personal and professional merits.¹⁰⁵⁶ Certain Cambridge archaeologists allegedly thought Wheeler "a cad and a bounder",¹⁰⁵⁷ and BBC stalwart Harold Nicolson was clearly not a fan. Writing to his wife Vita Sackville-West on 1st June 1960, Nicolson described a conversation with Wheeler at a reception at the American Embassy in London:

I told Wheeler that I regarded him as a traitor to sacred Greece for extolling the harsh Romans. "I do it", he said, "with my tongue in my cheek." Now people ought not to discuss and expound such serious subjects unless sincerely. I always thought Wheeler a fraud.¹⁰⁵⁸

Already by the 1930s Wheeler's research findings were being questioned, and certain of his interpretations, notably the so-called 'war cemetery' at Maiden Castle, were already viewed as fanciful, designed to play to a wider public rather than to accurately reflect the evidence revealed through excavation.¹⁰⁵⁹ It is possible that he was the "candidate from outside" viewed as unsuitable for consideration for the Cambridge professorship subsequently awarded to Dorothy Garrod.¹⁰⁶⁰ He had, however, been responsible for training most of the field archaeologists of his generation and reforming key aspects of the profession, so that his role at the centre of the archaeological establishment was assured.¹⁰⁶¹ Moreover, his talent for public communication made him irresistible broadcast material. Despite his propensity for self-publicity, Wheeler was apparently in no particular rush to make his radio debut. By the spring of 1947, when producer Peter Laslett first launched his campaign of persuasion,

¹⁰⁵⁵ Russell 2002, 43.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Carver, M., 2014. Mortimer Wheeler, 1890-1976 and Philip Barker, 1920-2001. Maestros of archaeological excavation. *In* Fagan 2014, 152-157. See 155-156 for "Wheeler's Legacy"; Hawkes 1982, 8-10.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Stout 2008, 33.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Nicolson, N., ed., 1992. *Vita and Harold. The letters of Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson*. London: Phoenix, 431.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Carr 2012, 235-236; Hawkes 1982, 173-177; Hudson 1981, 67; Russell, M., 2019. Mythmakers of Maiden Castle: breaking the siege mentality of an Iron Age hillfort. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 38 (3), 2019, 325-342 – see in particular p.336; Freeman 2007, 560-561.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Smith 2009, 89.

¹⁰⁶¹ Carr 2012, 17-18 and 245-6; Hawkes 1982, 4-9.

Wheeler had for three years held the role of Director-General of Archaeology in India, as part of the post-war delegation to bring improved professional standards to the continent's archaeology.¹⁰⁶² On 24th April 1947 Laslett wrote to Wheeler, asking him to collaborate in the making of a radio programme about his Indian discoveries. Presumably having received no answer, a couple of months later Laslett repeated his request:

I am writing to invite you to talk in the BBC Third Programme on your discovery of the remains of a Roman port in India. You must be well aware of the sensation made by your article on this subject in the 'Times' Literary Supplement earlier this year, and we are very anxious indeed that you should talk to our Third Programme audience about it.¹⁰⁶³

At the same time Laslett contacted a certain G.G. Moseley, a BBC employee based in New Delhi, asking him to pass a copy of his letter on to Wheeler, and to use "the BBC bag" to send any reply: "I know this sounds very complicated but I am very anxious to get a first-class script".¹⁰⁶⁴ Laslett also offered Wheeler the opportunity of recording the hoped-for talk from New Delhi. It was more than a year before Laslett received an answer to his requests, when the elusive Wheeler replied to him commenting "I was rather afraid that my promised broadcast would raise its ugly head again", noting that he was just about to step onto a plane for North Africa, where he was due to travel to look at the excavations at Sabratha in Libya. Wheeler promised to get in touch on his return, though there is no evidence that he did.¹⁰⁶⁵ Three years later Third Programme producers were still in pursuit. At the height of his excavating career at this point, Wheeler was often to be found in the field.

It was planned that during August 1950 Wheeler would present a broadcast on the theme of *Camulodunum and Colchester*. Arrangements went as far as a Talks contract being issued, though Wheeler later made the unusual move of stepping down from his forthcoming

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., 230-261; Wheeler 1958a., 161-195.

¹⁰⁶³ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks. Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Laslett to Wheeler, 13th June 1947.

¹⁰⁶⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks. Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/memorandum Laslett to Moseley, 13th June 1947.

¹⁰⁶⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Wheeler to Laslett, 27th August 1948.

appearance, due to pressure of work during the summer digging season.¹⁰⁶⁶ Evidently spurred into action by the arrival of a confirmatory BBC memo, Wheeler wrote from his base at the Black Bear hotel in Wareham, where he was resident during the dig at Bindon Hill, an Iron Age period earthwork near Lulworth in Dorset.¹⁰⁶⁷ Cancelling the Colchester talk, Wheeler noted that “I am obliged to you for your invitation [...] I regret, however, that I am engaged upon work in a remote part of Dorset and cannot escape from it to broadcast or record at the present time”.¹⁰⁶⁸ Ronald Lewin, Organiser of Third Programme Talks, then wrote to Wheeler at the Black Bear to ask whether he would consider giving the talk later in the autumn, at which point Wheeler promised it after October, though once more, this did not transpire.¹⁰⁶⁹

Wheeler was at this point at the apogee of his excavation career, having been granted the opportunity by the Ancient Monuments Department to nominate a site for a research dig. He chose the spectacular network of earthworks at Stanwick in North Yorkshire.¹⁰⁷⁰ In January 1952 Harman Grisewood, Controller of the Third Programme, sought a meeting with Wheeler, in order to discuss possible future collaborations.¹⁰⁷¹ Wheeler was due to travel to America, as well as being preoccupied with the forthcoming Stanwick excavations, though he did suggest meeting up on his return in April.¹⁰⁷² Grisewood contacted him again at that point, suggesting lunch at the Athenaeum club, though it was by then too late for a talk to be planned, and another year went by without any success in arranging a Wheeler broadcast.¹⁰⁷³

In the event, it was not until May 1953 that Wheeler made his first radio appearance, and it was producer Gilbert Phelps who finally managed to bring him to air. The planned publication

¹⁰⁶⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/Talks booking requisition, 19th July 1950.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Hawkes 1982, 272.

¹⁰⁶⁸ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Wheeler to Talks Booking Section, 23rd July 1950.

¹⁰⁶⁹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Lewin to Wheeler, 26th July 1950; BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Wheeler to Lewin, 31st July 1950.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Hawkes 1982, 273.

¹⁰⁷¹ BBC WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Grisewood to Wheeler, 7th January 1952.

¹⁰⁷² BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Wheeler to Grisewood, 10th January 1952.

¹⁰⁷³ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Wheeler to Grisewood, 10th April 1952, and letter Grisewood to Wheeler, 15th April 1952.

of Crawford's seminal manual for practical archaeology, *Archaeology in the Field*, provided a suitable opportunity for another attempt to engage Wheeler with radio, and a committee decision was taken to approach him again.¹⁰⁷⁴ Describing himself as "the producer who has been most concerned with talks on archaeology on the Third Programme...", Phelps suggested a meeting over lunch and later clarified that:

I expect you are familiar with Third Programme talks. The "level" is very different, of course, from that of the Home Service. I don't think it far off the mark to say that we like our speakers to envisage a university senior common room type of audience, and it is not necessary to simplify or "talk down".¹⁰⁷⁵

By April 1953, having finally extracted a script from Wheeler, Phelps was concerned about its idiosyncratic "tone" in some respects. He was, however, hesitant to edit it, feeling that Wheeler was "not [...] a man to take kindly to suggestions for major alterations".¹⁰⁷⁶ Wheeler had the previous year received his knighthood, and Third Programme staff were perhaps a little intimidated by him as a result. There was also the factor that Wheeler could be challenging in his persona.¹⁰⁷⁷ Phelps wrote to Christopher Holme, Third Programme Chief Assistant, for guidance. "What I want to ask your advice on is whether I should be very ruthless! I don't want to risk losing a fish that took a lot of trouble to catch!"¹⁰⁷⁸ Holme responded with his view that the beginning of Wheeler's script was "a bit childish", but was reassuring that after some minor edits were made, "the risk of offending the knight may

¹⁰⁷⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/Talks Planning minute 117g (21st July 1952): "Sir Mortimer Wheeler to be invited to review *Archaeology in the Field* by O.G.S. Crawford".

¹⁰⁷⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Phelps to Wheeler, 21st July 1952 and letter Phelps to Wheeler, 2nd February 1953.

¹⁰⁷⁶ BBC WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/handwritten note Phelps to Holme, undated, but must have been written early in April 1953.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Wheeler has been described as "loud and outgoing, always dominating any space he inhabited", and as having a "larger-than-life personality" – Carr 2012, 81. Green (1981, 107) notes that "he was intolerant of others' shortcomings and could be very high-handed". It has been speculated that Wheeler's public persona may have arisen in part as a defensive mechanism to deal with his traumatic experiences in the trenches of World War One - Carr 2012, 83-87; Hawkes 1982, 6-8. See also Wheeler 1958a, 34-51. There is at the same time ample evidence of his capacity for friendship, and his propensity to offer valuable practical support to professional colleagues. See for example Carr 2012, 94-95; Hawkes 1982, 1-3, 8-11, 74-5, 84, 363-370; Smith 2009, 203.

¹⁰⁷⁸ BBC WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/handwritten note Phelps to Holme, undated, but must have been written early in April 1953.

disappear”.¹⁰⁷⁹ On Sunday 24th May at 11.05pm, Wheeler’s Third Programme review talk, entitled *O.G.S. Crawford and Field Archaeology*, went to air.¹⁰⁸⁰ Despite his apparent reluctance to become involved in radio broadcasting, and some initial concerns about his timings in the delivery of the talk, Wheeler evidently enjoyed the experience. After recording this first broadcast he wrote to Gilbert Phelps to say “It was a very real pleasure to me to meet you, and incidentally to learn from you”.¹⁰⁸¹

Once Wheeler took the plunge into radio work, he became a regular contributor, making frequent appearances in programmes such as *The Archaeologist* (fig.20). His biographer, Jacquetta Hawkes, commented that “he did not much like saying ‘No’ to the BBC. After all, he enjoyed the work, it swelled his earnings most satisfactorily and radio at least carried the archaeological world into many homes lacking television sets”.¹⁰⁸² From the mid-1950s Wheeler was also increasingly in demand for television, and he and broadcasting colleague Glyn Daniel became engaged in a busy whirl of media appearances.¹⁰⁸³

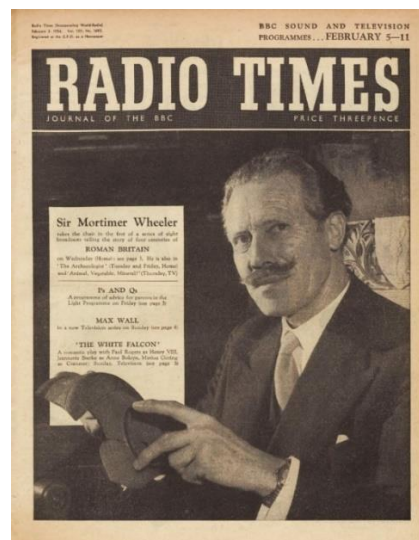


Figure 20. Once Mortimer Wheeler’s radio career commenced, he proved extremely popular with the listening public. Source: *BBC Radio Times* issue 1682, 3rd February 1956.

¹⁰⁷⁹ BBC WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/handwritten note Holme to Phelps, undated, but must have been written early in April 1953.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *Radio Times* issue 1540, 15th May 1953.

¹⁰⁸¹ BBC WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Wheeler to Phelps, 29th April 1953.

¹⁰⁸² Hawkes 1982, 303.

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.*, 303-8. The BBC WAC contributor files for Wheeler and Daniel evidence the sheer level of activity they undertook when they began to appear on television.

In the fullness of time, the Third Programme has gained a somewhat entrenched reputation as a “remorselessly intellectual” platform,¹⁰⁸⁴ which restricted its output of high culture to a tiny minority of listeners, and was ultimately too expensive to survive. It was certainly the case that even in its early days hardly anyone was listening.¹⁰⁸⁵ It has been argued that the post-war reorganisation of broadcasting tended to confirm cultural differences in terms of class, age and educational attainment, rather than to encourage the hoped-for cultural uplift which was the underlying philosophy behind the new structure.¹⁰⁸⁶ To put forward a contrary view, however, the Third did represent a genuine aspiration to bring the public the best of radio. In hindsight, television was poised to dominate the future of broadcasting, but it is important to acknowledge that in the post-war period the BBC continued to devote the majority of its attention to radio.¹⁰⁸⁷ At the time the Third Programme was instituted, “the wind of change began to blow through the stuffiness of Broadcasting House, on the Third Programme wavelength at least”.¹⁰⁸⁸ The very fact that there was a restricted listenership made it all the more valuable, in that it could therefore produce experimental work that had no other outlet, and was thus able to fully exploit the possibilities of radio.¹⁰⁸⁹ The creative opportunities offered by the Third have been recognised by radio researchers such as Chignell, who notes his “interest in the extremely innovative and experimental work of some writers and producers at a time when the BBC gave all the appearance of being very conservative and cautious”.¹⁰⁹⁰

The research presented here supports this more nuanced view of the Third Programme, and serves to balance the traditional view of its output as being staid and overly-intellectual. By highlighting some of the innovative practices of its contributors and producers, this section has showcased the atmosphere of energy and optimism surrounding programme production during this period. The discussion will now move on to consider the influence of university

¹⁰⁸⁴ Quotation from McKibbin 1998, 474.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Bridson, 177; Chignell 2011, 58; Ferris, P., 2006. What was the Third Programme? *The Oldie magazine*, December 2006, 12; Hendy 2008, 3.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Hendy 2008, 31.

¹⁰⁸⁷ McKibbin, 471.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Bridson 1971, 186

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 181-182.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Chignell 2019, 2.

academics on archaeology coverage on the Third Programme, and to examine some significant interactions between experts and producers.

5.5 Glyn Daniel, Peter Laslett and Their Influence On Third Programme Archaeology

From its inception, the contribution of the universities (predominantly Oxford and Cambridge) to Third Programme content was vitally important. Its first Controller, George Barnes, was Cambridge University-educated, and producers formed a network of intellectuals who had first met during their time at university.¹⁰⁹¹ Similarly, contributing experts in large part shared a common educational and social culture with their BBC contemporaries. The occasion when Third Programme producer Prudence Smith encountered some ideal broadcast material on an evening out, has been well-documented. Smith had been invited to dine at the home of the architect and academic Michael Ventris and his wife Bets, also an architect. Smith's visit happened to coincide with the very evening when Ventris finally made the break-through which he and other linguists had been working on for many years, in deciphering the archaic form of Greek known as "Linear B". Taking her opportunity, Smith encouraged Ventris to break the news of this hugely significant event in Mediterranean archaeology on radio. The resultant broadcast entitled *The Cretan Tablets* aired on the Third Programme on 1st July 1952.¹⁰⁹² It was precisely this type of highly-intellectual output which Third Programme producers were keen to pursue. Prudence Smith was a graduate of Oxford, but archaeology content on the Third was in many respects driven and underpinned by connections within Cambridge University.¹⁰⁹³

The collaboration between the Cambridge archaeologist Glyn Daniel, and the intellectual and BBC producer Peter Laslett, has not previously been highlighted. It is, however, key to understanding the development of archaeology content on the Third Programme. Both were driven by the imperative to communicate progress in the field of archaeology, and used the Third Programme to facilitate this. From 1946 the two kept up a regular correspondence

¹⁰⁹¹ Carpenter 1996, 10-11.

¹⁰⁹² *Radio Times* issue 1494, 27th June 1952; Carpenter 1996, 114-15; Collini 2006, 439; Fagan 2014, 186-9; Roberts, A., 2007. *A history of the English-speaking peoples since 1900*. New York: HarperCollins, 421-2.

¹⁰⁹³ Carpenter 1996, 112; Young, M., 2000. Obituary – Prudence Smith. *The Guardian* newspaper, 5th January 2000.

which reveals an enthusiasm for and commitment to the provision of radio archaeology, and a determination to bring others with them. Their interactions with the BBC indicate the central role that the universities, and in particular Cambridge University, played in facilitating archaeology content on the Third.

A further significant personality in the development of Third Programme archaeology was the BBC West talks producer Gilbert Phelps. In common with Daniel and Laslett, Phelps was an alumnus of St John's College Cambridge, and Daniel had met him there before the war.¹⁰⁹⁴ It was due to Phelps's initiative that archaeology came to be featured in detail in the BBC West region, and it was there that the major archaeological series *The Archaeologist* first aired (fig. 21). Correspondence from the late 1940s onwards demonstrates that Phelps collaborated closely with Glyn Daniel and Peter Laslett. Indeed, it was Phelps who first recommended Daniel to radio producers at the BBC in London, "as a much-recommended broadcaster on archaeology and kindred subjects".¹⁰⁹⁵ Phelps and his contribution to radio archaeology will be profiled in more detail in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Daniel 1986, 245.

¹⁰⁹⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/ letter Godfrey Talbot, Chief Reporter BBC London, to Daniel, 6th June 1947. The letter requested Daniel to consider scripting a three-minute talk on "ancient burial mounds", which he subsequently agreed to do.



Figure 21. (Left to right) Stuart Piggott, Glyn Daniel and Mortimer Wheeler, presenting a broadcast of *The Archaeologist* on 1st January 1955.

©BBC Photographic Archive, with permission.

Glyn Daniel had first presented on radio during his war service in India, so that by the time the Third Programme started he already had some broadcast experience.¹⁰⁹⁶ He held a long-standing interest in the public communication of archaeology, and radio was the perfect medium through which to put this into practice. By 1946 Daniel was making regular appearances on BBC Cardiff.¹⁰⁹⁷ His position as lecturer in archaeology at Cambridge meant that he could call on a wide network of archaeological contacts. Daniel's own research was in the field of prehistoric megaliths, and he had a strong track record of both practical and theoretical contributions to the discipline. He was also building a reputation as an expert in the historiography of archaeology, and therefore held a level of respect within the profession that must have contributed to his pivotal role in encouraging other archaeologists to engage with radio. It is evident that if Daniel thought it a good idea for his fellow professionals to

¹⁰⁹⁶ Daniel 1986, 245.

¹⁰⁹⁷ BBC/WAC/R.Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948; BBC/WAC/WA8/19/1. Daniel, Glyn (Dr), Talks, 1948-1959.

appear on radio, they were minded to do so. He was also an extremely sociable and gregarious character, a trait which was undoubtedly helpful in encouraging social contacts which could result in broadcast opportunities.¹⁰⁹⁸ In his autobiography Daniel made only scant reference to his radio archaeology work, although he did not hesitate to discuss his later television appearances.¹⁰⁹⁹ Daniel's significance in radio history rests on the fact that as well as hosting many broadcasts, he was in possession of a wide social and professional network, and was influential in encouraging other experts to engage with radio. Notwithstanding Mortimer Wheeler's reputation as the arch-communicator of public archaeology, the impact of Glyn Daniel's work was arguably of greater importance to the history of radio archaeology than was Wheeler's role.

Peter Laslett's career at this point was equally distinctive in that he was simultaneously working as a BBC producer and a Cambridge lecturer.¹¹⁰⁰ Laslett (fig. 22) had graduated with a double first from St John's College, following which his fledgling career as a historian was interrupted by the outbreak of war. Upon his return from war service in the navy he briefly worked as a researcher at Cambridge University, but finding the atmosphere there not to his liking, applied for a job in the Talks department, moving to work in the Third Programme shortly afterwards.¹¹⁰¹ Laslett could see the potential for archaeological radio broadcasting, and for the cutting-edge archaeological research being produced at Cambridge University, and elsewhere, to be communicated via radio. From the early days of the Third Programme, Laslett presented Third Programme managers with regular proposals for archaeology talks. Laslett and Daniel obviously shared a certain pride in the contribution they were making in encouraging the uptake of archaeology on the Third Programme. Correspondence during the

¹⁰⁹⁸ Smith 2009, 136. One of Smith's interviewees, the environmental archaeologist John Evans, noted the way in which Glyn Daniel preferred to offer supervisions to his PhD students in the local public house, rather than in more conventional style in his college office. Daniel's gregarious nature was also reflected in his position as steward for his Cambridge college, a role which he evidently carried out with great relish – see Daniel 1986, 181, 271 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Daniel 1986, 245-246.

¹¹⁰⁰ BBC/WAC/Oral History interview, Peter Laslett. Interview by Humphrey Carpenter, 7th February 1995, 14.

¹¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 5. Although he did not choose to share this when interviewed, Laslett's war duties involved working for the Government Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park, where he decoded Japanese naval intelligence, after which he was deployed to Washington, USA. Laslett's personal commitment to the 'philosophy' of the Third Programme was later demonstrated by his founding membership of the Third Programme Defence Society in 1957 (soon renamed the Sound Broadcasting Society), which was formed to lobby against BBC discussions in consideration of discontinuation of the Third Programme, when low listening figures meant that the existence of the Third had come under review. See Carpenter 1996, 171-177; Whitehead 1989, 216-223.

spring of 1947 is particularly revealing of the close working relationship that existed between the two men by this time. Laslett wrote:

My dear Glyn,

As you will see, I have become an exemplary hustler. I put up your tentative suggestions about Dorothy Garrod and Mortimer Wheeler to George Barnes as a concrete proposition and they have been accepted eagerly by the Third Programme. [...] I hope you don't mind my using you as an agent in this way: I am sure this will have to be extensively done if the Third Programme is to get the people who really ought to provide its talks. Much love, Peter.¹¹⁰²



Figure 22. Peter Laslett (on left), enthusiastic proponent of archaeological radio, at a press conference for the Sound Broadcasting Society, 18th July 1957.

Source: The Times Newspaper, 1957.

During this period Daniel would often personally speak to and pass letters to archaeological colleagues, in order to encourage them to broadcast on the Third Programme. Daniel's role in the partnership could be characterised as the "fixer", persuading fellow archaeology professionals to take the plunge into radio broadcasting. Daniel sometimes suggested adapted wording of Laslett's letters so that they read more appealingly to the personalities

¹¹⁰² BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Laslett to Daniel, 28th April 1947.

being targeted.¹¹⁰³ Writing to Dorothy Garrod at Newnham College, Cambridge, in the spring of 1947, Laslett said:

I am sending you this letter through Glyn Daniel to invite you to talk in the Third Programme on the cave-paintings which I believe you have just seen in France. The Third Programme is very anxious to have this talk from you. [...] Nothing has yet been broadcast from the BBC on this fascinating topic and we are very anxious to introduce into our programme talks from such distinguished archaeological scholars as yourself.¹¹⁰⁴

Laslett was, however, unsuccessful in tempting Professor Garrod back to the radio, remarking, "I am a little hurt that Dorothy Garrod should finally have decided not to broadcast on Lascaux".¹¹⁰⁵

Despite considerable overall success in encouraging a wide range of experts to the Third Programme, Daniel's response to plans to repeat three editions of *The Archaeologist* series first broadcast in autumn 1947 from BBC West, reveals his perception that archaeology on the Third Programme was not yet fulfilling its potential. His words also reveal a certain prejudice against its regional character:

It is a pity if archaeology on the Third is to be judged by purely regional presentations. Has the Third yet put across an archaeological talk series on its own? It is time we planned together for them a big series on Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization, using all the respected - good - archaeological speakers we can find.¹¹⁰⁶

¹¹⁰³ One example of this is found in BBC/WAC/R.Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Daniel to Laslett, 30th April 1947.

¹¹⁰⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Laslett to Garrod, 24th April 1947. The Lascaux cave paintings of the Dordogne region, south-west France, had recently been discovered.

¹¹⁰⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Laslett to Daniel, 3rd November 1947. The listener had to wait until 20th December 1952 before the Third Programme aired a talk on Lascaux entitled *The Abbe Breuil and Palaeolithic Art*, presented by Glyn Daniel.

¹¹⁰⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Daniel to Laslett, 4th July 1948.

During this same period Laslett frequently referred to his plans for a major radio archaeology project. In June 1948 he remarked that he was “toying with the idea of trying again for a major effort on archaeology...”, and a few weeks later mentioned “the serious archaeological proposal I still have under consideration”.¹¹⁰⁷ It is not clear what Laslett was planning, and nor is there any evidence that this project ever came to fruition.

The commitment of Daniel and Laslett to the promotion of archaeology on radio is evident, and they clearly formed a successful working relationship. This shared goal was underpinned by a mutual commitment to the public communication of knowledge. Throughout his career Daniel demonstrated a consistent belief in the importance of communicating archaeology to the public. Similarly, Laslett’s standpoint was that the Third Programme audience had a right to hear radio talks from the top individuals in their field, and he held a conviction in the value of modern media to facilitate access to education, noting that in the early days of the Third, “it did seem to get across the class barrier”.¹¹⁰⁸ He also viewed the existence of the Third Programme as highly influential in the establishment of the Open University.¹¹⁰⁹

In his subsequent career Laslett maintained this approach, and in his practice as a historian he specialised in demographic research, (a relatively novel approach at a time when the subject was still dominated by the ‘Great Men’ school of history), going on to make a central contribution to the foundation of the University of the Third Age.¹¹¹⁰ Laslett’s motivation was of course not entirely altruistic, and he readily admitted that his career as a historian gained added kudos from his association and contacts within the Third Programme establishment.¹¹¹¹ It can reasonably be claimed, however, that Laslett’s commitment to improving the accessibility of the study of history was, at least in part, initially developed through his collaboration with Glyn Daniel, during the production of archaeology broadcasts.

¹¹⁰⁷ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Laslett to Daniel, 29th June 1948; BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a, 1946-1948/letter Laslett to Daniel, 12th July 1948.

¹¹⁰⁸ BBC/WAC/Oral History interview, Peter Laslett. Interview by Humphrey Carpenter, 7th February 1995, 10-12 and 15-21, quotation p.18.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 18; Carpenter 1996, 263-4.

¹¹¹⁰ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [Online.] Laslett, (Thomas) Peter Ruffell. Article by Smith, R.

¹¹¹¹ BBC/WAC/Oral History interview, Peter Laslett, 14-15.

Moreover, the production details examined here suggest that the traditional view of the Third Programme as being formal and hide-bound in its aspirations to set a high cultural tone, may be misleading. Whilst its originators undoubtedly aspired for the Third to achieve an elevated intellectual level, certain Third Programme producers were motivated by a democratic impulse. Examination of the Third's archaeology offering indicates that its producers and expert contributors were in some cases more egalitarian, creative, and unconventional than has previously been portrayed. The next section adds to this argument by examining an instance when Third Programme producers pursued an innovative archaeological project.

5.6 The BBC as a Patron of Archaeology: Third Programme Sponsorship of Archaeological Excavations

During the early 1950s the idea was floated that the Third Programme should sponsor its own archaeological dig, with exclusive rights to broadcast programme content about the excavations, in return for financial sponsorship. Mortimer Wheeler was at the time engaged in running an excavation examining the dramatic prehistoric defences of Stanwick in North Yorkshire. As far BBC managers were concerned, here was an ideal opportunity to pursue their new project. On 26th November 1951 Prudence Smith wrote to Wheeler with regard to the possibility of Third Programme sponsorship for the Stanwick project:

The Third Programme is considering the possibility of sponsoring some relatively small-scale archaeological expedition, in this country or elsewhere. [...] We are anxious, of course, that any such undertaking should furnish material which we can broadcast in some way to hold the interest of the educated listener. For that reason it would perhaps be advisable for us to contribute towards some already existing and important undertaking, or to open a new phase of it.¹¹¹²

¹¹¹² BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Smith to Wheeler, 26th November 1951.

Wheeler's reply was swift - "Whether this can be organised or not I am a little doubtful, but shall be delighted to lunch with you in a spirit of optimism".¹¹¹³ At this meeting, Wheeler briefed Smith on the importance of the Stanwick defences, and expounded on his interpretation (heavily influenced as was his perennial practice, by his military background) that these were first-century fortifications constructed by the local Brigantes tribe to ward off the Roman invasion of Yorkshire.¹¹¹⁴ Harman Grisewood later contacted Wheeler, to encourage discussion of "the financial basis of our co-operation".¹¹¹⁵ As far as the BBC was concerned, they did have an informal agreement with Wheeler to collaborate in the Stanwick project, and the sum of £500 as their contribution, was discussed.¹¹¹⁶ The Stanwick collaboration would have been perfect for BBC purposes. In addition to the archaeological value of the site, and its strong historical links - for example, an account by the Roman historian Tacitus - Wheeler had a reputation as a skilled and engaging communicator, being described as "a first-rate speaker with an imaginative understanding".¹¹¹⁷ The perennially-busy Wheeler did not contact them as promised in order to finalise the deal, however, and the project lapsed. An additional factor which prevented the project going forward may have been Grisewood's removal as Third Programme Controller during the summer of 1952. The enthusiasm of producers for the project had remained keen, as is attested by Smith's statement to the new Controller of the Third, Christopher Holme, that she and Grisewood had made "fairly strenuous efforts to come to a conclusion about the broadcasting rights of the Stanwick excavations. It was a most attractive project from our point of view..."¹¹¹⁸

¹¹¹³ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Wheeler to Smith, 29th November 1951.

¹¹¹⁴ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/memorandum Smith to Grisewood, 10th December 1951.

¹¹¹⁵ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/letter Grisewood to Wheeler, 7th January 1952.

¹¹¹⁶ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/memorandum Grisewood to Acting Controller of the Third Programme, 18th August 1952.

¹¹¹⁷ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/memorandum Phelps to F.E.O. (Further Education Organiser), 14th July 1952.

¹¹¹⁸ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956/memorandum Smith to Holmes, 13th March 1953.



Figure 23. Third Programme producer Leonie Cohn, who often collaborated with archaeologist Stuart Piggott on radio broadcasts.
Source: Cohn/Findlay family archive, with permission.

The plan for Third Programme sponsorship of an excavation later re-surfaced, and the possibility of a formal sponsorship deal was aired at the Third Programme Committee on 11th January 1954. Following this discussion, Prudence Smith was tasked by Christopher Holme with looking into a collaboration with archaeologists working on the Mediterranean island of Malta. Smith was soon able to confirm that the sponsorship suggestion had originated under Harman Grisewood's watch, and that her fellow producer, Leonie Cohn, had already discussed the matter with Stuart Piggott. Cohn, who had joined the Third Programme in 1952 and was widely respected for her talent and knowledge, was one of the producers Piggott was most used to working with (fig 23). The two were familiar enough in each other's working relationship for Cohn to arrange a meeting together to discuss the Malta scheme while she was in hospital recovering from a minor medical procedure.¹¹¹⁹

Leonie Cohn also discussed the possible sponsorship deal with fellow Malta project member John Ward Perkins. Ward Perkins headed the British School at Rome, and although Malta was

¹¹¹⁹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Talks, Stuart Piggott Personal File, File 1, 1935-1962/letter Cohn to Piggott, 27th April 1953. For Leonie Cohn's background see Games 2015, 92-93.

not an obvious research target for him, he was “interested because it falls roughly in the British School’s orbit of interest”.¹¹²⁰ Ward Perkins’s collaborator, Piggott, was more engaged with the project, aligning as it did with his interests in the origins of Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures in Europe. The third archaeologist in the collaboration was Cambridge University environmentalist, John Evans. Arrangements were already in place for Piggott and Evans to conduct excavations in Malta between mid-March and mid-April 1954. The project formed a continuation of previous research on the archaeology of Malta, which had proved rich in Neolithic and Bronze Age remains. This was of particular relevance to interpretations of British archaeology at this time, when the prehistoric cultures of Britain were still widely assumed to have continental origins.¹¹²¹ It was planned to excavate a sizeable area on the island of Gozo, as well as carrying out a series of small test excavations on Malta itself.¹¹²² Third Programme producers did not initiate the work, but joined a project which had already been set up through archaeological networking. It would prove beneficial for their purposes if a suitable sponsorship deal could be struck, although the process evidently generated some practical difficulties. Holmes commented on some previous BBC letters and memoranda on the topic, which had been unearthed by Prudence Smith:

It is lucky that these have come to light or we might have looked rather foolish to our archaeologists. Clearly there is nothing further to be done except to devise some way of meeting the difficulty about the method of payment. I should have thought that in principle what we were doing was to buy the broadcasting rights of this expedition, and it seems to me more suitable that such a contract should be concluded with a responsible committee than with three individual speakers.¹¹²³

Following some negotiation, by February 1954 it was agreed that the BBC would fund the expedition in return for all broadcasting rights. Three separate radio talks were planned, one

¹¹²⁰ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/hand-written note, Prudence (Smith) to Christopher (Holmes), 15th January 1954.

¹¹²¹ This was in line with the still-influential theory of diffusionism, whereby it was believed that cultural developments such as the use of metals must have been brought to Britain from the Mediterranean world, rather than having developed locally.

¹¹²² Mifsud, A. and Ventura, C.S., eds., 1999. *Facets of Maltese prehistory*. Mosta, Malta: Prehistoric Society of Malta, 4-9. The Third Programme talks series is referred to on p. 9. See also pp. 4-5 for diffusionism and Malta.

¹¹²³ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Holmes to Smith, 25th January 1954.

each to be written and presented by the three expert archaeological participants. Limited publication rights in *The Listener* and other similar publications were also included in the deal, for the overall sum of £400.¹¹²⁴ A formal excavation committee was set up to administer the payments, with the Society of Antiquaries allowing their treasurer D.B. Harden, based at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, to act as treasurer for the Malta Excavation Committee.¹¹²⁵ It is certain that the contract was confirmed, as archive evidence shows the finalisation of the arrangements, and the payment of the agreed funds.¹¹²⁶ In a message to his Home Service colleague Frank Gillard, Holmes described his satisfaction with the deal:

The expedition will seek to obtain up-to-date information of the early Bronze Age sites there, and there is quite a prospect of interesting finds being made. As you will know, the Bronze Age is very much in the forefront of interest at present in Mediterranean archaeology, and this dig will tie in with quite a lot of work that has been going on elsewhere, so that we are likely to get value for money.¹¹²⁷

This dual concern for attaining quality, peer-reviewed archaeological information, allied with good value in budgetary terms, is echoed in a BBC policy document entitled *Proposal For Excavations in Prehistoric Sites in Malta*, which refers to “New excavations in Malta, carried out according to modern scientific standards, but at relatively small cost...”.¹¹²⁸ Even though the financial outlay was fairly insignificant for the BBC, the sum paid would undoubtedly have represented a valuable contribution to the expenses of running the Malta excavation. From the perspective of the archaeologists, it was worth having made the effort to carry out the contractual discussions involved. As far as their radio credentials were concerned, Ward Perkins had broadcast before, and by now Piggott had long been a radio regular, but John

¹¹²⁴ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Holmes to Miss Lorimer, Talks Booking department.

¹¹²⁵ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/letter Ward Perkins to Boswell, 17th March 1954.

¹¹²⁶ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Boswell, Talks Booking Manager, to Programme Accountant, 24th March 1954; BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/letter Boswell to fund treasurer D.B. Harden, 3rd August 1954.

¹¹²⁷ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Holmes to Head of West Regional Programmes (Frank Gillard), 9th February 1954. Holmes also specified to Gillard his expectation that if the material was used elsewhere (Gillard had noted a possible interest in using some of the Malta material in *The Archaeologist*), then he expected appropriate reimbursement to the Third Programme for this content sharing.

¹¹²⁸ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/typed project proposal, undated - presumably Jan/Feb 1954.

Evans was new to broadcasting. Despite some initial concern expressed by Piggott as to whether his colleague would be “a good natural speaker”, in the event he was deemed satisfactory.¹¹²⁹ The final talk in the series - *Malta in Prehistory* - scripted by Stuart Piggott and Prudence Smith, lauded the success of the expedition, with Piggott remarking:

it wasn't just the sunny, salty air and the Xaghra wine, though they certainly helped. It was the recognition that our theoretical archaeological methods, when put to the test of practical excavation, did in fact justify themselves, and that we were at last putting the prehistory of Malta on a really firm foundation.¹¹³⁰

This information on the Malta expedition has important implications for the history of the Third Programme, and contradicts the perception amongst some radio commentators that the Third was a cautious and conservative branch of post-war radio. Accounts of the Third Programme have often tended towards the view that “much of its output was characterized by a mannered pedantry and a distinctive academic parochialism”, that it was “too limited in appeal”, and “dry, tedious and bookish”.¹¹³¹ There was also throughout the life of the Third an element of uncertainty as to its intended audience, and a divide between its experimental nature and its role serving those who sought out high culture.¹¹³² The originality of thought evidenced here, when its managers were prepared to take the innovative action of donating funds towards an excavation, provides a fresh perspective, and shows the extent of collaboration between Third Programme producers and archaeologists. Research into Maltese archaeology was regarded as a priority by British archaeologists such as Stuart Piggott due to the area's perceived importance for interpretations of cultural change in

¹¹²⁹ BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Holmes to Smith, 4th February 1954; BBC/WAC/R51/24. Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Smith to Holmes, 20th April 1954.

¹¹³⁰ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, “Malta in Prehistory”, Piggott, Stuart, Third Programme, 25th July 1954.

The series comprised: “The Megalithic Temples of Malta”, 23rd May 1954, by John Ward-Perkins. Radio Times issue 1593, 21st May 1954; “The Excavations in Malta”, 18th July 1954, by John Evans. Radio Times issue 1601, 16th July 1954; “Malta in Prehistory”, 25th July 1954, by Stuart Piggott. Radio Times issue 1602, 23rd July 1954. Mortimer Wheeler refers to the series in the preface to *Still Digging*: “...radio [...] is, I understand, sponsoring a highly technical archaeological enterprise in the Mediterranean” - Wheeler 1956a. As attested in BBC/WAC/R51/754/1. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964, the suggestion of sponsoring a dig re-occurred in 1960. Managers vaguely remembered the previous occasion, though this time the idea was not taken forward, at least on radio, perhaps because by this time the focus was moving towards television.

¹¹³¹ Quotations Marwick 1991, 63; Whitehead 1989, 17-19; Whitehead, citing John Reith (18-19).

¹¹³² Chignell 2009, 180; Whitehead 1989, 17.

prehistory. In this era when diffusionism (the spread of cultural traits from one society to another) remained a common explanation for societal change, the Mediterranean was regarded as a potentially influential factor in British prehistory.¹¹³³ The Malta expedition sponsorship by the BBC therefore provides clear evidence that the activities of radio producers, and the influence of radio policy, could to some extent directly affect disciplinary developments in archaeology.

Further evidence of the Third's potential for innovation resides in the feature presentation, *The Romans in Britain*. Consideration of this broadcast shows that in addition to providing a platform for intellectual talks, the Third Programme could support the activities of producers who wished to explore the potential to portray archaeological narratives in new and experimental formats.

The Romans in Britain (November 1947)

Produced by Jenifer Wayne - an Oxford-educated talks producer with a particular interest in historical and archaeological topics - *The Romans in Britain* made use of actors, imaginative narrative techniques and sound effects in an attempt to convey archaeological information in a format which was both informative and entertaining.¹¹³⁴ Wayne thoroughly researched the archaeological content, contacting a variety of academic archaeologists and museum professionals, and reading widely around the subject.¹¹³⁵ Remarking that her preliminary research had found that "the best stories from the Archaeologists' point of view are pre-Roman", Wayne pitched a wide variety of suggestions for "a terrific set of programmes on world Archaeology", but concluded that for the moment she would like to concentrate on two one-hour programmes on pre-Roman and Roman Britain, and that "The extraordinary devices, habits and characters of Archaeologists themselves would come into both of

¹¹³³ See Darvill 2002a., entry for "diffusion (diffusionism)".

¹¹³⁴ L1/446. Left staff. Anne Jenifer Wayne, 18.08 1941 – 23.12 1950; R Cont 1. Jenifer Wayne, Scriptwriter, 1941-1962.

¹¹³⁵ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954. See correspondence October/November 1947 between Wayne and archaeology professionals.

these”.¹¹³⁶ Wayne originally had these ideas in mind for the Home Service, and producer Douglas Bridson was asked to discuss her suggestions with Home Service colleagues.¹¹³⁷ In the event, Wayne’s research resulted in a feature for the Third Programme, broadcast on 23rd November 1947 at 9.30pm, and featuring actor Derek Guyler as “the archaeologist”.

Fellow producer Gilbert Phelps later expressed his view that the programme was “a brilliant piece of radio”, and acknowledged that it had been popular with the public, but he felt that “it was not archaeology”, and should not have been broadcast on the Third Programme”.¹¹³⁸ The basis of Phelps’s objection seems to have been the features format, which in his opinion was not suitable for conveying archaeological detail to a standard ‘intellectual’ enough for the Third Programme. Glyn Daniel and Peter Laslett shared similar views, with Daniel commenting that the presentation was “a good, clever way of putting across stuff, but need you use that technique for the Third Programme Listener [*sic*]”.¹¹³⁹ The broadcast proved popular however, with the general public, drawing approving comments from the sampled listeners, and it was rebroadcast on the Home Service the following year.¹¹⁴⁰ Archaeologist W.F. Grimes confirmed that Wayne’s efforts had borne fruit in his household at least, commenting that “my twelve-year-old, who is a critical though not particularly intellectual youth, described it as ‘smashing’”.¹¹⁴¹ Tensions between those who felt that Third Programme output should be confined to presentations of intellectual character, and others who saw a broader remit for the Third, are on display here. This delineation in quality between ‘lighter’ Home Service styles of broadcast, as opposed to intellectual content for the Third Programme, was never that clear-cut, and there was in reality less distinction in styles of programme between Home and Third than has been assumed.

¹¹³⁶ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/ memorandum Wayne to Director of Talks, 26th June 1947.

¹¹³⁷ Ibid., handwritten note, undated.

¹¹³⁸ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/document written by Gilbert Phelps, entitled “Confidential Report on “The Archaeologist”. Undated, but evidently produced between 14th December 1947 and 25th February 1948, [emphasis in original].

¹¹³⁹ BBC/WAC/R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a), 1946-1948/letter Daniel to Laslett, 28th November 1947.

¹¹⁴⁰ The repeat drew an audience of 9%, and an appreciation index of 65, both of which were average for Home Service programmes. R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1955/Listener Research Report 15th March 1948; *Radio Times* issue 1272, 27th February 1948. *Roman Britain*, broadcast 29th February 1948, at 9.30pm.

¹¹⁴¹ R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1955/letter Grimes, London Museum, to Wayne, 20th September 1947.

Conclusion

It has been shown during this chapter that the thriving archaeology scene of the late 1940s and 50s was reflected on radio, as increasing numbers of archaeologists began to broadcast and to contribute radio scripts, for reasons of publicity, public engagement and education. Continued developments in the discipline of archaeology meant that the impetus for public communication, and the perceived value of radio as a platform for this interaction, remained. Radio producers showed themselves keen to attract individuals perceived to be at the top of their profession, to present on radio. Home Service archaeology was influenced by the effects of the war, when presenters who had honed their craft through war reporting began to put the techniques learned into use through broadcasts on archaeology, and in this way influenced the development of radio tone and style. It has also been demonstrated that the robust archaeology offering on the Home Service was often led by the Regions. It was no coincidence that on the notable occasion when Grahame Clark shared his first radiocarbon date with a colleague, it was a BBC regional producer he chose to share it with. As outlined above, this was Graham Miller of BBC North Region, and a major contributor to archaeology-themed radio. In all these respects the discussion here has added original insights to our knowledge of post-war radio, as well as providing further evidence in support of the argument that the time spent scripting archaeological radio and liaising with radio producers was influential on the professional practice of archaeology.

It has been conclusively demonstrated that archaeological talks and features retained their role in radio output, contributing in the ways outlined above to BBC policy in respect of topical and entertaining content for the Home Service, and adding to the distinctive flavour of regional programming. In addition to these developments in broadcast policy, it was during this period that an assertive collective voice for radio archaeology began to make itself heard in the form of a group of Cambridge academics who encouraged BBC managers to invest in its development.

Relatively plentiful though archaeology programmes on the Home Service were, its provision did depend on the whims of individual producers. It was the creation of the Third Programme which provided the conditions for the development of a long-standing commitment to expert

radio coverage of archaeology. For the select group of Cambridge University academics who strongly advocated for radio archaeology, and were in possession of the connections and the motivation to develop its sustained and consistent coverage, the Third Programme felt like a natural home. The collaboration of academic Glyn Daniel and BBC producer Peter Laslett in the planning and production of programmes, provides new insights into the close connection between Cambridge University and the BBC Talks department. The role of producers such as Prudence Smith in arranging BBC sponsorship of archaeological excavations in order to generate exclusive radio content, shows the BBC acting extremely pro-actively in the pursuit of archaeology content for radio. This section of the thesis has therefore thrown fresh light on the character and functioning of the Third Programme, and has further delineated the mutually-beneficial relationships between archaeologists and BBC producers. The evidence presented in this chapter has shown that radio broadcasting could sometimes influence the trajectory of archaeological research, as well as being influential on the development of the public face of archaeology.

It was also the case that radio was increasingly becoming a means by which archaeologists could communicate with their fellow professionals regarding new findings and developments in the discipline. One of the main strands through which this interaction took place was the series *The Archaeologist*, which between 1946 and the mid-1960s was the flagship radio serial through which the BBC covered archaeology. The next chapter therefore moves on to examine in more detail the contribution of BBC producers to the development of *The Archaeologist*, and to follow its trajectory as its style changed and adapted in response to production changes and external influences.

Chapter Six

Radio Archaeology Comes of Age – *The Archaeologist*, 1946-1966

Introduction

The post-war British archaeology scene deserved a radio presence which reflected its variety and vibrancy. The BBC's response to these developments rested in part on *The Archaeologist*, a serial programme which throughout its long run featured a steady stream of professional archaeologists active in Britain, and indeed the wider world. *The Archaeologist* was the main outlet for radio archaeology, in the years before the focus moved to television. *The Archaeologist* was first broadcast in the immediate post-war period, at a time when the archaeological community was emerging from the disruption of wartime, and beginning to lobby the government and the public for support. The series was an almost constant radio presence right through to 1966. It had its origins in the BBC West Region, and this chapter highlights the central role played by the BBC Regions in the presentation of radio archaeology. BBC producers are seen to have collaborated closely both with regional BBC production staff, and with locally-based archaeologists, in order to develop themes for *The Archaeologist*. In this respect, the chapter focuses on editions produced in liaison with teams from BBC North Region.

This chapter details the initial development of the series, and traces the changing nature of the radio presentation of archaeology across the period of its long run. The post-war restructuring of the radio service, including the innovation of the Third Programme and the reinstatement of the Home Service, meant that there were now more opportunities than ever before for the presentation of archaeology. *The Archaeologist* formed an important platform through which professional archaeologists could engage with radio listeners, during a period when there was considerable public interest in archaeology.

Close collaboration between BBC producers and professional archaeologists was required in order to bring *The Archaeologist* to fruition. The previous chapter described the emergence of BBC radio producers who specialised in working on archaeological content. This

phenomenon will now be further examined, through analysis of the evolution of *The Archaeologist*, and discussion of the contribution to the programme of academics Glyn Daniel and Peter Laslett, and producers Gilbert Phelps and John Irving. Phelps and Irving made a key contribution to radio archaeology during this period. Phelps was instrumental in developing the strand, and arguing for its inclusion in the Third Programme schedule. Irving produced the majority of *Archaeologist* programmes between 1953 and 1965, and therefore had a major influence on their style and format, going on to experiment with new ways of presenting archaeological information via sound. All these contributors had in common a commitment to providing radio archaeology in a format which was accessible, understandable, and entertaining. Through the chapter's close analysis of the way in which *The Archaeologist* was created, curated and produced, further evidence emerges to support one of the central arguments of the thesis that radio played an important role in the manifestation of archaeologists as public intellectuals, so that in this way broadcasting was influential on the development of the discipline of archaeology itself.

6.1 Developing *The Archaeologist* Radio Series – the Collaboration Between Glyn Daniel and Gilbert Phelps

The first edition of *The Archaeologist* was broadcast live on the Third Programme between 8.30pm and 8.45 on Sunday 13th October 1946, with a recorded early afternoon repeat on the West of England Home Service three days later. This introductory programme was presented by Glyn Daniel, on the theme “Why Archaeology?” and for this first series it would be a weekly fixture in the schedules.¹¹⁴² The broadcast began and ended with its distinctive theme tune. As the music faded away, the opening announcer read:

The music you have just heard was played on trumpets of the Bronze Age. It introduces *The Archaeologist*, a series of eight talks about the work of the archaeologist and his contributions to the history of men. Tonight, Glyn Daniel,

¹¹⁴² The talk was reproduced in *The Listener* magazine, 24th October 1946.

Cambridge University Lecturer in Archaeology, will introduce the series with a talk entitled “Why Archaeology?”¹¹⁴³

Listeners then heard the voice of presenter Glyn Daniel:

There was a time quite a lot of people looked upon archaeologists as peculiar persons with beards and long hair who spent all their time digging in the ground looking for treasure. “The senile playboys of science rooting in the rubbish heaps of antiquity...human magpies” – that’s how an American professor of anthropology once described them. Now, this is a very mistaken point of view. Archaeology is not a glamorous and expensive pastime for a few cranks. The archaeologist is a serious student of history. He is the modern maker of ancient history. His work is the scientific technique of exploring the past from its material remains.¹¹⁴⁴

From the outset, *The Archaeologist* set out its intention to present material denoting a move away from the antiquarianism of the past. The programme originated in the conviction of Talks producer Gilbert Phelps that archaeology could deliver the type of serious intellectual content which should feature on the Third Programme. Phelps was another of the Cambridge contacts who would prove so important to the provision of radio archaeology during this period. Phelps was a scion of the same Cambridge college - St Johns - where Daniel and Laslett had been educated, and were now professionally based.¹¹⁴⁵ Having graduated in English at Cambridge in the late 1930s, after a period carrying out research, lecturing and teaching, he took up a role as a Talks producer for BBC West Region, based in Bristol, in 1945.¹¹⁴⁶ Phelps is distinctive as a radio archaeology producer in that he articulated his philosophy of radio production, and wrote about what he was attempting to achieve. In the introduction to an edited collection of literary radio scripts which he had worked on, he put forward his views

¹¹⁴³ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *The Archaeologist*, number 1. *Why Archaeology?* Daniel, Glyn, Third Programme, 13th October 1946.

¹¹⁴⁴ Ibid. This initial script records that the opening and closing music ran for fully 25 seconds.

¹¹⁴⁵ That having attended the same Cambridge college was regarded as a meaningful bond is confirmed by the way in which Daniel refers to a fellow attendee at his college, St John’s, as a “Johnian” – Daniel 1986, 215.

¹¹⁴⁶ Waller, R., 1993. Obituary: Gilbert Phelps. *The Independent*. Friday 18th June 1993.

on the art of producing Talks radio.¹¹⁴⁷ Emphasising his philosophy that a quality radio script was fundamentally a good piece of writing, and that precision in the use of words, plus “integrity of thought and feeling” were of even more importance on the radio than in print, Phelps noted that:

The producer’s job is to help the speaker find his natural mode of utterance, and to bend his language into the contours of his personality. [...] for if a person speaks unnaturally, the odds are that he will write unnaturally, because he has not yet thought naturally.¹¹⁴⁸

Phelps also touched on the role of the Third Programme, and the advantage that this new service could be an independent means by which radio could purvey the highest standards of information. Liberated as they were from the necessity to court “popularisation”, Third Programme producers could develop their ideas with a fresh degree of intellectual freedom. While based at BBC West, Phelps was able to put forward his idea for a new archaeological magazine programme, in liaison with his archaeological advisor, Glyn Daniel.

Daniel was also crucially important to *The Archaeologist’s* initial development. Already an experienced broadcaster, his work with producer Peter Laslett had led to frequent archaeological radio contributions. Now Daniel’s wide professional contacts and sociable personal qualities would again come into play through his collaboration with Gilbert Phelps. In his autobiography, Daniel recounted the way in which the programme first came about. Phelps had devised an idea for a broadcast on the role of aerial photography in archaeology, and initially contacted O.G.S. Crawford. Crawford was not interested in participating, having taken the stance that he disapproved of broadcasting, and instead recommended Glyn Daniel for the task. Daniel had no such scruples, and declared himself only too pleased to have the opportunity to earn what was then the reasonable fee of £20.¹¹⁴⁹

¹¹⁴⁷ Phelps, G., ed., undated (presumed to have been published in 1947 or 1948.) *Living writers. Being critical studies broadcast in the BBC Third Programme*. Introductory essay on “The written and the spoken word”, by the editor. London: Sylvan Press, 14-27.

¹¹⁴⁸ Phelps 1947/1948, 23.

¹¹⁴⁹ Daniel 1986, 246.

The subsequent success of *The Archaeologist* undoubtedly made an important contribution to the establishment of radio broadcasting as an acceptable academic pursuit. Glyn Daniel's presence lent the stamp of academic authority to the enterprise, and encouraged the participation of key professionals from the world of archaeology. Daniel held the dual role of programme consultant and presenter, and the support he provided to Phelps as archaeological consultant was crucial to the programme's organisation. Daniel was actively concerned to encourage his fellow archaeological professionals to engage in broadcasting, and in 1948 published an article in which he urged them to provide "scripts and ideas and plans" to the BBC, stating that "This opportunity can be seized only by the combined efforts of Talks Producers and archaeologists with vision, and with faith in the place of the humanities in any scheme of liberal education".¹¹⁵⁰

Daniel had recently returned to Cambridge University after his war service, when he had served in photographic intelligence. He had had his first brief experience of radio presenting while stationed in India, broadcasting "The eyes of the RAF", a talk on aerial photography.¹¹⁵¹ It was also during his war service that he had met and struck up a close friendship with Stuart Piggott, with whom he would later regularly collaborate on radio.¹¹⁵² By 1946 Daniel was well-established as a researcher, lecturer and tutor. His radio career was also taking off, and from this time onwards he made regular appearances on radio, often on the Welsh Home Service, based in Cardiff.¹¹⁵³ Daniel was extremely committed to the public communication of archaeology; for example, in 1938 he had introduced a series of free extension lectures for the local populace of Cambridge.¹¹⁵⁴ His interest in bringing archaeology to a wider audience is further attested by the recollection of one of his PhD tutees, John Evans, who would go on to build a reputation as an expert in environmental archaeology. Evans wrote that during a supervision with Daniel during 1949, the latter had spoken about the importance of an

¹¹⁵⁰ Daniel, G., 1948. Archaeology and broadcasting. *The Archaeological News Letter*, no.2, May 1948, 4.

¹¹⁵¹ Daniel 1986, 245.

¹¹⁵² Daniel 1986, 144-178; Daniel and Chippindale 1989, 28-9.

¹¹⁵³ For example, during 1948 Daniel gave live radio talks from Cardiff entitled "Archaeology links Geology to History" (March) and "The Cromlechs of Wales" (September), as evidenced in BBC/WAC/WA8/19/1. Daniel, Glyn (Dr), Talks/letter Elwyn Evans, Talks Department, Wales, to Daniel, 24th March 1948, and BBC/WAC/WA8/19/1. Daniel, Glyn (Dr), Talks/letter Daniel to Evans, 8th April 1948. On one of these Welsh trips Daniel often travelled between Cambridge, his "in-laws'" home in Exeter, the Cardiff radio studios, and his parents' home in Llantwit Major.

¹¹⁵⁴ Smith 2009, 92.

academic maintaining a balance of activities, and that one of the activities which he intended to prioritise was the popularisation of archaeology “by means of such things as radio broadcasts”.¹¹⁵⁵ Having taken over the editorship of the journal *Antiquity* on the death of O.G.S. Crawford, Daniel concentrated on promoting the importance of evidence-based research.¹¹⁵⁶ He was therefore in an ideal position to capitalise on his broad range of professional contacts in order to consolidate his interest in the public communication of archaeology. In Glyn Daniel, radio archaeology had a strong advocate, possessing as he did the twin attributes of broadcasting skills, and solid subject knowledge.¹¹⁵⁷

Daniel described the origins of *The Archaeologist* in his 1954 *Antiquity* article, “Archaeology and Television”, asserting that:

Serious and sustained archaeological broadcasting began only after the end of the 1939-45 War. It was the result of the general purpose of the Third Programme and the particular endeavour of the West Region in the persons of Frank Gillard, Head of Programmes at Bristol, and Gilbert Phelps, one of the talks producers there. [...] it was not until *The Archaeologist* was created [...] that archaeology began to have a recognised and acceptable place in sound broadcasting [...] it was the existence of a regular series providing for the discussion of current discoveries, new techniques and new ideas and demanding thought on the part of producers and editors that, to my mind, really put archaeological broadcasting on the B.B.C. map.¹¹⁵⁸

As the present thesis clearly demonstrates, Daniel’s claim that *The Archaeologist* represented the beginning of radio archaeology, an assertion that is repeated in his autobiography, is not factually correct. Daniel’s autobiography does, however, provide useful insights into the origins of the series. He refers to Gilbert Phelps as “a sympathetic and enthusiastic producer”, and recounts the fact that he and Phelps planned the series and cast the speakers

¹¹⁵⁵ Evans, J.D., 1981. Glyn Daniel the person. In Evans, J.D., Cunliffe, B., Renfrew, C., eds., 1981. *Antiquity and man: essays in honour of Glyn Daniel*. London: Thames and Hudson, 233.

¹¹⁵⁶ Cunliffe, B., 1981. The public face of the past. In Evans, Cunliffe and Renfrew, 192-194; Daniel, G., 1992. *Writing for antiquity: an anthology of editorials from Antiquity*. London: Thames and Hudson; Peters, E., 1981. Archaeology and publishing. In Evans, Cunliffe and Renfrew, 199.

¹¹⁵⁷ Smith 2009, 92.

¹¹⁵⁸ Daniel 1954, 201.

together.¹¹⁵⁹ Daniel also reflects on his own views regarding the qualities required to make an effective broadcaster. Attributes he emphasises include subject knowledge, the desire to communicate, the ability to talk to an unseen audience and to write a script which sounded as if it had been produced extempore, the skills to “ad lib.”, and the ability to project a confident and sincere personality via radio.¹¹⁶⁰

A BBC Talks pamphlet accompanied the opening series of *The Archaeologist*, with the introductory text stating that:

It is some years since a series of talks was broadcast on this subject. The present series of eight talks at weekly or fortnightly intervals will concentrate on the human aspects of the subject. Each of the talks will stand by itself, but the series as a whole will present a picture of the scope and results of modern archaeological investigation. [...] The contributors include some of the most distinguished archaeologists of the day (Professors V. Gordon Childe, Christopher Hawkes and D.A.E. Garrod; Sir Cyril Fox and Dr J.G.D. Clark and Mrs Hawkes) and the series is planned in consultation with Dr Glyn Daniel, lecturer in archaeology in the University of Cambridge.¹¹⁶¹

A series of memoranda dating from the summer of 1946 allows us to trace the preparations for the new series. This was also the period during which planning for the new Third Programme, due to begin broadcasting in autumn 1946, was in full swing, and part of Phelps’s task was to persuade the newly-appointed Director of the Third Programme, George Barnes, of the merits of having a topical archaeology series as part of the new station’s output.¹¹⁶² Phelps had originally suggested a series of ten programmes, but by late June 1946 he was able to present Barnes with a revised scheme, in which the proposed number of talks had been reduced to eight, “in order to maintain a uniform standard”. As he reassured Barnes,

¹¹⁵⁹ Daniel 1986, 245.

¹¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 245-6.

¹¹⁶¹ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/undated and anonymous write-up for a Talks pamphlet.

¹¹⁶² For Barnes’s career see Carpenter 1996, 10-77.

All the proposed speakers have either broadcast successfully before, or have had some sort of voice test. Each of the talks can stand by itself, but as there are only eight, I feel confident that listeners could digest the whole series without any trouble. I do hope you will see your way to taking the series en bloc for the alternative programme...".¹¹⁶³

Barnes was preoccupied with the need to have content ready for the proposed start date for Third Programme transmissions on 1st October.¹¹⁶⁴ It was initially planned that *The Archaeologist* would be produced for transmission on the Regional Home Service, but as Frank Gillard, from his post as West Regional Programme Director, cheerfully notified him, "The Regional H.S. will be too full to carry this series, but we should be delighted for Phelps to produce it for the Third Programme. He will have plenty of time to work on it".¹¹⁶⁵

The involvement of Home Service management from the start is significant, and would influence the nature of the new series. The fact that it was not produced exclusively for the Third Programme meant that from the beginning it would have a more accessible and audience-friendly style. As noted earlier, when radio provision was reorganised for the post-war period, the Third Programme was formed as the venue for 'intellectual' programming, and the Home Service prioritised content which was both educational and entertaining.¹¹⁶⁶ Throughout its long run *The Archaeologist* was regularly shuttled between the Third Programme and the Home Service, giving the impression of some managerial uncertainty as to where best the programme would find its audience. The initial placement of *The Archaeologist* on the Third Programme was primarily influenced by a practical decision, due to the Home Service schedule already having been arranged. Despite its origins on the Third, for the majority of its existence *The Archaeologist* formed part of Home Service output.¹¹⁶⁷

¹¹⁶³ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to George Barnes, 28th June 1946.

¹¹⁶⁴ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum George Barnes to Gilbert Phelps, 3rd July 1946.

¹¹⁶⁵ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Frank Gillard to George Barnes, 11th July 1946. For Gillard's career see Chignell 2011, 202; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. [Online.] Gillard, Francis George [Frank]. Article by Smith, R.; Hendy 2008, 38.

¹¹⁶⁶ Briggs 1979, 5 and 63; Chignell 2011, 58; Hendy 2008, 27; Hendy 2013, 59

¹¹⁶⁷ The sequence of Home/Third presence for *The Archaeologist* runs thus: Late 1940s-Third; August 1947-Home;1952-Home;1958-Third;1964-Home, denoting 7.5 years on the Third Programme and 9 years on the Home Service.

The educational nature of archaeology fitted well with the Home Service remit to combine entertaining and informative broadcasting. As time moved on, the distinction between Home Service and Third Programme styles of presentation became less marked than in the early days of the new tripartite structure.

Barnes confirmed his willingness to take the series for transmission on the Third Programme, making clear that he was keen to limit the broadcasts to 15 minutes each in length, and to limit the production costs to no more than 15 guineas for each episode. He also specified that the talks would be broadcast on a set day each week, though not at a fixed time. This suggestion was consistent with Third Programme policy to avoid fixed times for programmes, a practice which later drew a certain amount of criticism.¹¹⁶⁸ Barnes did have some concerns as to whether *The Archaeologist's* tone would be suitable for the Third:

I am doubtful whether the series should run to ten, since I do not want the flavour of Adult Education, English Lit. etc. to pervade the Third Programme, and I want you to think of each talk as a stimulating introduction to the particular subject discussed. There is no reason why the examples chosen should not be taken mainly from the West.¹¹⁶⁹

Throughout the summer of 1946, Barnes continued to take a somewhat neutral stance on the planned programme format, at one point remarking:

I have heard a comment that your scheme is a very formal chronological one. Don't let it become a series of extension lectures. I have read Daniel's script and I am disappointed with it at present because he says so little – he leaves me nothing to go away and chew on. A common mistake when a learned man is compelled to treat a subject in so short a space is for him to say nothing but to imply everything, and,

¹¹⁶⁸ Carpenter 1996, 8-9. On this point, Etienne Amyot wrote to Phelps to confirm: "As the planning for the Third Programme is extremely elastic and we have to take into consideration full length programmes, many of them as OBs, in our first draft we can give only a specific day for these talks – the time given is subject to alteration". BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Etienne Amyot to Gilbert Phelps, 14th August 1946. Amyot held the post of Third Programme Assistant (Planning).

¹¹⁶⁹ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum George Barnes to Gilbert Phelps "through West Region Programme Director", 19th July 1946.

speaking for myself, I do not get the inferences. As regards his style, I think it lacks broadcast punch; there are no pictures; nor does he use the other broadcast device for attracting and maintaining interest, the device of narrative. I should like to see him develop both in the script.¹¹⁷⁰

The fact that Barnes wanted “pictures” via sound once more makes clear the consistent concern of producers to provide radio content which was at the same time entertaining, easily understandable, and educational. Phelps took on this criticism, and discussed it with Daniel. Both concluded that their suggested plan remained appropriate, though Daniel did modify his script, with the aim of making it less technical and more appealing for the lay listener. Barnes seemed to have had little enthusiasm for archaeology, an impression which is confirmed by a subsequent memorandum, expressing his misgivings on the “impersonal” elements of the topic, and putting forward the view that archaeology as a subject was very much a supplement to the overarching topic of history.¹¹⁷¹ In contrast with this somewhat lukewarm approach from the Controller of the Third Programme, Phelps’s enthusiasm for the new series continued to drive the project forward, and in August 1946 he informed Barnes of his preference that the programme should go out on a weekly basis. Themes in the first series consisted of “The Archaeologist at Work” (presented by Cyril Fox), “Dating the Past” (Graham Clark), “The Earliest Inhabitants” (Dorothy Garrod), “The First Farmers” (Stuart Piggott), “The Arrival of the Celts” (Jacquetta Hawkes), “The Roman Conquest” (Martin Charlesworth), and “Archaeology and History” (Gordon Childe).

Phelps felt that archaeological collaborators should be given considerable autonomy in script production, stating that “I believe it is a mistake to be too shy of the academics, and that it is best to give them their head – if they are also intelligent human beings”.¹¹⁷² He also had a creative idea with regard to the introductory music, which he suggested should be played

¹¹⁷⁰ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum George Barnes to Gilbert Phelps, 22nd August 1946. See Briggs 1979, 117-137 and 583, and Briggs 1985, 249-50, for BBC reorganisation in relation to Talks during this period. Barnes’s remark about having heard a comment presumably refers to William Haley, BBC Director-General and supporter of the Third Programme’s formation.

¹¹⁷¹ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum George Barnes to Gilbert Phelps, 20th September 1946.

¹¹⁷² BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to George Barnes, 22nd November 1946.

upon “Bronze Age Trumpets”. As he acknowledged, “There is no way of knowing, of course, exactly what they did play on these instruments, but I think it would be interesting to bring them in”.¹¹⁷³ The distinctive opening music, consisting of twenty seconds of recorded music which had been specially produced on a reconstructed Bronze Age lur imported from Scandinavia, was used to introduce broadcasts of *The Archaeologist* for many years. The transmission time for *The Archaeologist* had eventually been settled as 8.30-8.45pm on Sunday evenings, and this theme music must have taken its place as part of the familiar radio landscape for listeners.¹¹⁷⁴

6.2 *The Archaeologist* Evolves: Ensuring Topicality

By November 1946, Phelps and Barnes were in a position to reflect on the success of *The Archaeologist* so far. Both men seemed to share the opinion that Jacquetta Hawkes’s recent talk on the theme of “The First Farmers” had been “disappointing”.¹¹⁷⁵ Overall, however, the first series of *The Archaeologist* was evidently deemed successful enough for Barnes to approve Phelps to proceed with planning a further tranche of programmes. Whilst the first series of *The Archaeologist* had consisted of a series of talks, there would now be a change of format. The second series, broadcast between 2nd February and 14th December 1947, went out simultaneously on the West of England Home Service and the Third Programme.¹¹⁷⁶ Phelps shared his plans to produce a monthly magazine series, stating “I understand that

¹¹⁷³ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to George Barnes, copied to Etienne Amyot, 13th August 1946.

¹¹⁷⁴ These musical instruments, consisting of long blowing horns cast in bronze, have been found in archaeological contexts in Germany and Scandinavia. The choice of the lur was therefore an appropriate way to introduce discussion on prehistory.

¹¹⁷⁵ It is debatable whether this disappointment arose as much from male perceptions of the female voice, rather than being based on valid grounds for objection. A further example of this possibly prejudicial standpoint is seen in a memo from Gilbert Phelps to Peter Laslett where he refers to Aileen Fox as “a bad broadcaster” - BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to Peter Laslett, 18th April 1947. For a historical perspective on male prejudice against the female voice, including on BBC radio, see Karpf, A., 2006. *The human voice. The story of a remarkable talent*. London: Bloomsbury, 153-171.

¹¹⁷⁶ This is attested by, for example, *The Archaeologist* scripts for 2nd February 1947 and 24th August 1947, which record that it was transmitted on the West of England Home Service. Further corroboration is provided by Phelps’s note in his Confidential Report on *The Archaeologist*, which records that it was broadcast on both the Third Programme and on the West of England Home Service.

many very important excavations are pending".¹¹⁷⁷ Glyn Daniel was lined up to act as editor, with Phelps as overall manager.

This series was designed to place more emphasis on reporting forthcoming activities in the world of archaeology, surveying current archaeological excavations in Britain and throughout the world, and updating listeners on recent archaeological fieldwork. The series was also, as Daniel described it, "regional in execution and purpose".¹¹⁷⁸ As he reported in his introduction to the opening broadcast, there "will be a radio survey (to be broadcast every other month) of interesting archaeological topics and of recent or current archaeological investigations".¹¹⁷⁹ This change of presentational style brought the programme closer to a magazine format, in which there was more scope for impromptu discussion.¹¹⁸⁰ This also meant that it could be responsive to the lively activity in British archaeology, and could reflect the contemporary scene of growing numbers of excavations, and increasing opportunities for public involvement. The programme was to be pitched at the level of a learned journal, and expert archaeologists could therefore engage with the programme as a forum through which to publicise their recent research, and to discuss disciplinary developments with fellow professionals. The aspiration was clearly to retain the programme's quality of intellectual rigour, whilst at the same time ensuring that the content was accessible to the non-specialist listener. The new format would allow more time for discussion, listener interaction, and publicising the latest news and projects in the world of archaeology.

This new emphasis on topicality is vividly relayed in the script entitled "Summer Expeditions 1947", broadcast in May 1947, which described forthcoming excavations for that year. For this programme, archaeologists Leslie Grinsell and Rainbird Clarke joined museum professional John Bradford and host Glyn Daniel, to discuss West Country locations to visit during the summer:

¹¹⁷⁷ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memoranda Gilbert Phelps to George Barnes, 18th November 1946 and 22nd November 1946.

¹¹⁷⁸ Daniel 1948, 4.

¹¹⁷⁹ BBC/WAC script held on microfilm, *The Archaeologist*, series 2, number 1. "The Giant's Graves", broadcast on 2nd February 1947, at 2.40pm.

¹¹⁸⁰ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 167.

During the summer months many of you will be visiting parts of the west country far from your homes. Wherever you may be on holiday don't neglect the chance to see some of the archaeological remains.¹¹⁸¹

The first programme of series two – entitled “Giants’ Graves” – discussed recent research on the class of prehistoric monuments known as cromlechs or dolmens, and the contributors were Mrs E.M. Clifford, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and Professor Stuart Piggott. The series continued to attract a strong line-up of professional experts. During the spring of 1947, Phelps was excited to share with Laslett the news of a planned broadcast entitled “The First Cave Dwellers in the West”, scripted by Cambridge prehistorian Miles Burkitt and West Country archaeologist Dina Dobson.¹¹⁸² The programme comprised Dobson presenting recent discoveries regarding the activities of Palaeolithic humans in the Mendip Hills, and Burkitt speaking on the important early cave site of Kent’s Cavern in Torquay.¹¹⁸³ The proposed schedule for this second series also included programmes on topics such “Paganism in the West”, with Liverpool Professor of Archaeology Terence Powell, and “Stone and Wood Circles” with W.F. Grimes. The series was not exclusively studio-based, and also contained elements of outside broadcasting, including an edition featuring La Hougue Bie, one of Europe’s best-preserved Neolithic passage graves, with “what is perhaps the first actuality broadcast made from a megalith”.¹¹⁸⁴

For this second series of *The Archaeologist* there were also plans to entice Mortimer Wheeler, still in his role of Director General of Archaeology in India, to provide a talk, to be recorded in New Delhi, on the Maiden Castle excavations.¹¹⁸⁵ In the event, Phelps’s efforts to persuade

¹¹⁸¹ BBC/WAC/Radio Talk Script, *The Archaeologist*, “Summer Expeditions”, pre-recorded for transmission on Sunday 1st June 1947, at 10.38pm.

¹¹⁸² Miles Burkitt was the first lecturer in prehistory, and instrumental to the origins of archaeology teaching at Cambridge University. See Smith 2009, 15-37.

¹¹⁸³ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to Peter Laslett, 18th April 1947. Remarking that “I thought you’d like to know about this” Phelps noted the broadcast’s importance in relation to “the Victorian geological controversy”, by which he meant the nineteenth century dispute over the sequencing and classification of geological strata, and whether the *Silurian* or *Cambrian* system was correct.

¹¹⁸⁴ Daniel 1948, 2.

¹¹⁸⁵ The proposed talk entitled “Maiden Castle” is mentioned in Phelps’s suggested schedule of future talks - BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to George Barnes, 7th July 1947, and also in a further memorandum to Barnes dated 7th May - BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to Barnes.

Wheeler to the microphone were no more successful than Laslett's at around the same time. Overall, however, the ambitious planned schedule had the involvement of a wide range of practising British archaeologists including established broadcasters, and individuals who had come more recently to broadcasting.¹¹⁸⁶ The programme had found approval from within the archaeological profession itself, and Phelps was gratified to draw to the attention of his managers that *The Archaeologist* had been referred to by Cyril Fox in his Presidential Anniversary Address to the Society of Antiquaries, as an "able and authoritative" contribution to the newly-launched Third Programme.¹¹⁸⁷

During 1947 Laslett, Phelps and Daniel occasionally teamed up to plan broadcasts.¹¹⁸⁸ On at least one occasion the three met at Phelps's home near Bristol to discuss "Contacts, The Archaeologist, etc."¹¹⁸⁹ It is clear that Phelps continued to see himself as a pivotal contributor to radio archaeology, and his abilities as a producer were apparently well-regarded, at least by George Barnes. At the same time, Barnes evidently held a slightly patronising attitude towards the abilities of producers based in the Regions:

As for the archaeological plans, I have sketched my proposed scheme to Mr Barnes and he is right behind it. The major difficulty will in his opinion be the qualifications of the Regional Producers who, except yourself, he tells me, are not capable of putting on good local history or archaeology.¹¹⁹⁰

An anonymous pencil note added to the bottom of Phelps's schedule for future editions, which had been submitted to Barnes for approval, reads "Mr Barnes. I think Phelps is anxious not to be superseded by Peter Laslett as chief purveyor of Third Programme's archaeology!"¹¹⁹¹ There are hints in the correspondence that Phelps exhibited some

¹¹⁸⁶ Examples of new broadcasters at this time include Cecil Curwen, an amateur archaeologist known for his seminal contribution to the study of archaeology in Sussex, and Professor Emrys Bowen of Aberystwyth University.

¹¹⁸⁷ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Phelps to West Regional Programme Directors, and Barnes, 3rd December 1947.

¹¹⁸⁸ BBC/WAC/RCont 1 Talks, Glyn Daniel, File a, 1946-8/letter Glyn Daniel to Peter Laslett, 12th March 1947; BBC/WAC/RCont 1 Talks, Glyn Daniel, File 1a, 1946-8/letter Peter Laslett to Gilbert Phelps, 24th April 1947.

¹¹⁸⁹ BBC/WAC/ RCont 1 Talks, Glyn Daniel, File 1a, 1946-8/letter Gilbert Phelps to Peter Laslett, 12th June 1947.

¹¹⁹⁰ BBC/WAC/ RCont 1 Talks, Glyn Daniel, File 1a, 1946-8/letter Peter Laslett to Gilbert Phelps, 20th June 1947.

¹¹⁹¹ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gilbert Phelps to George Barnes, 7th July 1947.

professional jealousy in relation to Daniel and Laslett, regarding himself as the pre-eminent contributor to archaeological radio. This suggests in turn that there was a significant level of kudos to be gained in holding this position.

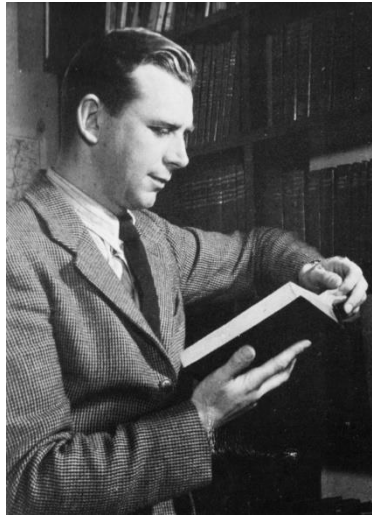


Figure 24. Third Programme producer Gilbert Phelps.
Source: BBC Talks Pamphlet. ©BBC WAC, with permission.

6.3 Reviewing the First Two Series of *The Archaeologist*

The discussion can now turn to some previously unpublished material which is revealing of the thoughts and motivations of Gilbert Phelps (fig.24) as he mulled over the success or otherwise of the first few years of *The Archaeologist*. To mark the conclusion of the second series, Phelps produced a confidential report detailing his views as to its degree of success to date, and his thoughts on the provision of radio archaeology as a whole. The report is undated, but it must have been written and disseminated between the end of series two in mid-December 1947, and late February 1948. The report reveals significant insights into Phelps's views on the role of the producer in the production of specialist subject-matter for radio. It is unusual to have such an explicit focus from a radio producer of this period regarding their role, let alone the work of the producer as it specifically related to radio archaeology. The report gives a good insight into the care taken by Phelps to consider aspects of the tone and style of the output over which he had oversight, and his concerns to ensure that it was connecting with the audience. Phelps began by expressing his view that "archaeology is a subject worth persevering with", and in an explicit acknowledgement of the institution's role in promoting archaeology, noted that "Apart from the fact that it is of great human and

imaginative interest, the BBC is fulfilling a valuable service in forwarding the interests of a comparatively new science".¹¹⁹²

He was, however, disappointed with the proportion of really successful broadcasts, and viewed the prevailing opinion that the producer should be "a mere midwife" in programme production as deplorable, expressing his firm belief that the producer must make a creative contribution to radio production. In his opinion, the ideal radio archaeology programme should include detailed narration of new and exciting discoveries, bold and historically-stimulating interpretation of this material, and imaginative insight and emotional response to the subject. Dorothy Garrod's programme was in his view particularly successful, as was Gordon Childe's. Overall, however, Phelps had concerns that the first series of *The Archaeologist* suffered from "an uncertainty of 'tone'", which he felt was partly due to his absence some of the time due to a serious bout of illness, but which was also a recognised difficulty when presenting scientific subjects. The solution, Phelps suggested, was for the producer of such specialised programmes to have sufficient time to engage with the subject-matter for themselves, and to think and read around the subject. Notwithstanding the acknowledged excellence of Glyn Daniel as programme consultant, it was Phelps's view that "the consultant should only be referred to in a strictly specialist capacity, or, again, there might be a "wobble" in the tone". Phelps's concern that inconsistencies in presentational style were confusing for the listener also chimes with discussions around production style and tone taking place in other radio contexts at this time. Talks producers often walked something of a tightrope between either confusing, or patronising listeners.¹¹⁹³

Phelps's analysis focused critically on the choice of presenter, which he felt was key to the success of the enterprise, and he lamented the difficulty of finding "enough sound archaeologists who are also good broadcasters".¹¹⁹⁴ In his view Jacquetta Hawkes and

¹¹⁹² BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/document written by Gilbert Phelps, entitled "Confidential Report on "The Archaeologist". Undated, but evidently produced between 14th December 1947 and 25th February 1948.

¹¹⁹³ Similar dilemmas were faced by contemporary producers in other departments of the BBC. See for example Skoog, 2010, 58-9; 111-12; 120-22, in relation to the tone and style of *Woman's Hour*.

¹¹⁹⁴ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/document written by Gilbert Phelps, entitled "Confidential Report on "The Archaeologist". Undated, but evidently produced between 14th December 1947 and 25th February 1948.

Christopher Hawkes “talked down” to listeners, and Grahame Clark was overly obsessed with detail. These concerns to strike the right balance between conveying information and ‘atmosphere’ remain central to the work of the contemporary radio producer. When a production is successful, the “radiogenic” qualities of particular voices can contribute content which is more successful in a sound than in a visual medium.¹¹⁹⁵ The process remains an intangible and mysterious one.¹¹⁹⁶

It is notable too that Phelps identified a difficulty which remains extremely pertinent to the communication of archaeology down to the present day, and lies in the tension between the obligation of archaeologists to respect the integrity of their evidence, whilst providing sufficient synthesis to lend meaning to the partial data sets with which they are obliged to work.¹¹⁹⁷ As Phelps expressed the issue:

On the whole they have not struck me as being intellectually in the first rank, and they seem to lack imaginative profundity, and above all, historical insight. They seem to work too much in a closed circle, and to be too concerned with details of dating, classification, etc. Time after time I was expecting, at the end of a script, to find some exciting summing up, a bold drawing together of the results of the investigation under discussion into some significant pattern. But time after time I was disappointed, and I honestly believe that most of our archaeologists are incapable of making really profound historical judgements.¹¹⁹⁸

Phelps observed that the presenting archaeologists were in his opinion sometimes “dimly aware” of these issues, but that in order to counter it they tended to become over-imaginative, not to mention “unbearably fey or skittish”, a charge he laid at the door of Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes. On the contrary, Phelps rated Dorothy Garrod and Gordon Childe as having superior intellects, feeling that of all the archaeological broadcasters

¹¹⁹⁵ Chignell 2009, 67-71 and 93-94; Yusaf 2014, 71-75.

¹¹⁹⁶ Street (2012) emphasises that certain radio programmes are able to appeal to the creative imagination in ways which are hard to define in a rational way, and thus evoke the qualities of poetry. See in particular pp.29-32.

¹¹⁹⁷ Cunliffe 1981. *In* Evans et. al., 192-194.

¹¹⁹⁸ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/document written by Gilbert Phelps, entitled “Confidential Report on *The Archaeologist*”.

he had worked with to date, only Childe was capable of “far-sighted and recondite synthesis”. Even in the case of Childe, however, Phelps had concerns that his tendencies to take a Marxist perspective interfered with his interpretation of the evidence. He noted his firm view that both Garrod and Childe ought to receive much more encouragement to broadcast. Stuart Piggott and Christopher Hawkes were, in Phelps’s opinion, potentially brilliant intellectuals, but exhibited a certain confusion of mind, and he did not feel that he was able to get the best out of them in their broadcasts. Phelps’s partial solution to the problem was to suggest the introduction as often as possible of “a first-rate historian” into archaeological programmes. Even taking into account his working knowledge of archaeology, Phelps evidently did not view archaeology as a discipline in its own right, which did not rely on historical data.

Phelps’s report was received calmly by W.M. Newton, Assistant Head of Talks, with thanks, and an assurance that he would use it to inform his future work.¹¹⁹⁹ By contrast, a handwritten note attached to Phelps’s Report, from Mary Somerville, Assistant Controller of Talks, reads “This report seems to me to contain a number of highly controversial statements about the functions of producers.[...] Would you [...] care to comment?”.¹²⁰⁰

Why Somerville viewed the report as a matter for such concern is not entirely clear, though it is interesting to note that following the run of programmes produced by Phelps, a decision seems to have been taken to rest *The Archaeologist* for a number of years. Phelps subsequently moved on to the role of Supervisor, Educational Talks, and remained a keen supporter of archaeology on radio, going on to pitch a variety of programmes with archaeological themes.¹²⁰¹ He continued to be consulted by Third Programme managers regarding archaeological content, a fact which further corroborates the centrality of his role in the production of radio archaeology.¹²⁰² Notwithstanding his doubts regarding the success

¹¹⁹⁹ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum W.M. Newton to Phelps, 26th February 1948.

¹²⁰⁰ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/handwritten note in ink, from Mary Somerville, 25th February 1948 to “HTD” (Home Talks Director). See Murphy 2016, 167, for Somerville’s role at this time.

¹²⁰¹ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Phelps to Controller of Talks, 14th December 1951.

¹²⁰² BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Phelps to Organiser, Third Programme Talks, 11th January 1951; BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/Memorandum Phelps to Controller of Talks, 3rd September 1951.

of the first two series of *The Archaeologist*, it was largely due to Phelps's energy, commitment and feel for radio that the programme became so well-established in the schedules.

6.4 The Development of *The Archaeologist* Under Producer John Irving

By the early 1950s, the continuing public popularity of archaeology, combined with the political climate within the Home Service, meant that the mood was suitable for a new run of *The Archaeologist*. The Beveridge Report on the future of broadcasting services, published in 1951, had confirmed the view that the BBC should continue its monopoly of broadcasting services.¹²⁰³ On the 8th July 1952 Frank Gillard contacted the Home Service Controller, suggesting a "revival" of *The Archaeologist*:

This confirms my offer of a quarterly Sunday evening twenty-minute feature [...] on archaeological matters. We ran this Feature for some years, with Glyn Daniel as Editor-Introducer. It made interesting listening.¹²⁰⁴

Gillard went on to enquire whether there was interest in taking *The Archaeologist* for the basic Home Service, in which case its coverage would be enlarged to include archaeology from the whole of Britain, commenting further that "The glossy weeklies (e.g. "Illustrated London News") seem to find a considerable public for archaeology. [...] I think it is a subject which might be equally welcome in our programmes".¹²⁰⁵

Programme planner Clare Lawson-Dick checked out the quality of previous recorded versions of the archaeologist, asking for discs to be sent from the West Region so that she and her assistant could listen.¹²⁰⁶ As a result of her research she evidently confirmed that archaeology would indeed be welcome on the Home Service. On 23rd July 1953 *The Archaeologist* returned

¹²⁰³ Briggs 1979, 372-392; Medhurst, J., 2016. Beveridge and broadcasting in the 1950s. *In* Medhurst et al., 29-47.

¹²⁰⁴ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gillard to Controller, Home Service, 8th July 1952. The role of Home Service Controller was held by Lindsay Wellington at this time – see Briggs 1979, 401 and Hendy 2008, 29.

¹²⁰⁵ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gillard to Controller, Home Service, 8th July 1952.

¹²⁰⁶ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Lawson-Dick to Assistant Controller, Home Service, 9th September 1952. For Clare Lawson-Dick's career see Murphy 2016, 48.

to the airwaves, with an edition featuring Terence Powell, Lecturer in Prehistoric Archaeology of Western Europe in the University of Liverpool, in a discussion on the prehistoric megalithic tombs of Wales. The programme saw the return of Glyn Daniel as series editor and host. The producer for this first programme of the new run was Alan Gibson, but he did not take up the role for long, and by December 1953 John Irving had been appointed as producer.¹²⁰⁷ Like Phelps before him, Irving was based at BBC Bristol. John Irving was to produce the programme for the next twelve years, and his contribution is highly significant, both in terms of longevity in the role and commitment to developing programme content.¹²⁰⁸ Irving brought a new energy to the series, and under his steerage *The Archaeologist*, now broadcast on a quarterly basis on the Home Service, became a standard media stopping-point for professional archaeologists.¹²⁰⁹ Irving introduced the practice of rotating expert programme consultants for each series, who worked with him to plan the schedule for the following year. In 1958, for example, the programme consultant was Stuart Piggott. A succession of excavation directors passed through the radio studios in order to report on their latest research, and to update the British public on the implications of their work for the archaeological scene. The aspiration remained the presentation of good quality information in a way which would remain entertaining for listeners. The standards of content remained high, providing a level of coverage and detail which was of consistently excellent quality in terms of archaeological information (fig.25).

The Archaeologist continued to tackle key developments in the discipline. In this vein, the broadcast on 4th June 1962 was entitled “Re-dating the British Neolithic”. This once again confronted the issue of crucial importance to the study of British prehistory (and indeed, to the careers of archaeologists such as Stuart Piggott) whereby, as the *Radio Times* introduction summarised, “[t]he perfection and systematic application of the technique of radiocarbon dating now make it likely that agriculture came to Britain 1,000 years earlier than had been

¹²⁰⁷ BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Gillard to Home Service Controller, 18th December 1953. Four twenty-minute magazine programmes were suggested. Producers other than Irving who worked on *The Archaeologist* included Alan Gibson, George Bruce, Kenneth Brown, John Blunden, Paul Humphreys and Michael Stephens.

¹²⁰⁸ See the brief biography for John H.B. Irving (1924-2016) at the Theatre collection, Irving family archive, University of Bristol. [Online.] <http://bristol.ac.uk/theatre-collection>.

¹²⁰⁹ The Home Service location is evidenced in BBC/WAC/ N8/1. Talks, Archaeology, 1950-54/memorandum from Reginald Jordan, Liverpool, 4th August 1953 to “HNRP”.

thought hitherto".¹²¹⁰ Introduced by archaeologist Gale Sieveking, speakers included Harold Barker of the British Museum for general context, Judith Turner of Cambridge University on pollen analysis, and Stuart Piggott on the archaeological implications of radiocarbon dating. Piggott's comments that the revised suggested date range of 2,620-2,630 B.C. for the construction of the henge monument of Durrington Walls "is archaeologically unacceptable" and "roughly a millennium too high!" remain a cogent indicator of the impact of radiocarbon dating on the world of archaeology.¹²¹¹ By 1962 Piggott had evidently come to terms with the implications of the new dates being generated.

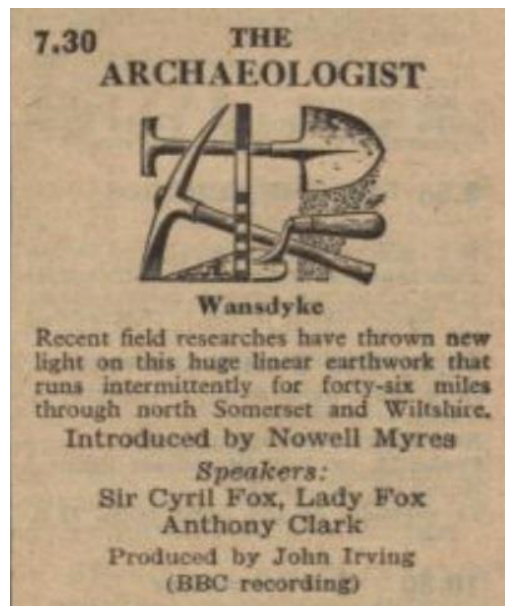


Figure 25. Listings information for *The Archaeologist* edition on Wansdyke, a putative Anglo-Saxon boundary ditch. The broadcast featured Cyril and Aileen Fox, amongst others.

Source: *Radio Times* issue 1829, 28th November 1958, 38.

During the spring of 1954, A.W. Coysh, Assistant Head of West Regional Programmes, wrote to the Home Service Controller to convey the full list of *Archaeologist* editions in development by Irving for the remainder of the year. Topics included talks on the stone circles of Avebury in Wiltshire, Deserted Villages and the current "Chew Stoke Emergency Excavation". Chew Stoke illustrated the importance of allowing time for excavation to take place in advance of large-scale development. It was not only in urban contexts that important archaeological evidence could be lost, but in a rural setting also. As Coysh wrote,

¹²¹⁰ *Radio Times* issue 2012, Monday 4th June 1962, 18.40. Gale Sieveking was the son of radio pioneer Lance Sieveking.

¹²¹¹ Editorial, 238-40, and Piggott's note on "The Radio-Carbon Date from Durrington Walls", *Antiquity* volume 33, issue 132, December 1959, 289-90.

We very much hope that the September programme may deal with some very interesting Roman finds which have been made in an old well in the Chew Valley, near Bristol, which is shortly to be flooded for a new reservoir. They include all kinds of relics from pottery and coins to leather sandals and inscriptions (yet to be deciphered) and I understand that experts regard these discoveries as the most important that have been made in Britain for very many years. We hope that our broadcast may provide the first release of this interesting information to the general public.¹²¹²

Coysh was correct to attribute such importance to the Chew Valley finds, as the site would later enter the archaeological literature as one of the first British “total landscape” excavations, and an early manifestation of the ‘rescue’ archaeology of the post-war decades. On 16th September 1954, Ministry of Works excavator Philip Rahtz, his archaeological colleague Ernest Greenfield, and Bristol Waterworks Company Staff Welfare Officer Mr F.C. Jones, visited the BBC Bristol studios to record a detailed account of the excavation so far. During the generous forty-five minutes allotted, the team were able to describe in considerable detail the nature of this densely occupied prehistoric and Roman site, and the excavation work they had carried out before the land was inundated in advance of the new reservoir. The programme forms a prime example of the type of detailed content regularly broadcast on *The Archaeologist*. Announcer Alan Wheatley closed the programme by noting that:

The Rescue Excavation in the Chew Valley was only one example of this type of work carried out all over the country by the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of Works. This year forty sites threatened by development are being excavated in this way. Later this year another programme in this series [...] will tell listeners about the identification and expert analysis of some of the objects found down the Roman well.¹²¹³

¹²¹² BBC/WAC/R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1954/memorandum Coysh to Controller, Home Service, 29th April 1954.

¹²¹³ BBC/WAC script BBC WAC script held on microfilm, *The Archaeologist*, “‘Rescue Excavation’ in the Chew Valley, Somerset”, broadcast 21st September 1954 at 22.15; Rahtz 2001, 62-70; Rahtz, P.A., and Greenfield, E., 1977. *Excavations at Chew Valley Lake, Somerset*. London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office. Professor Philip

Liason with local contacts such as Rahtz and Greenfield meant that *The Archaeologist* could provide detailed and up-to-date reports regarding recent research. As outlined in the previous chapter, the BBC regional stations had a highly influential role in the provision of archaeology-themed radio. Producers had recently again been encouraged by Programme Heads to collaborate with fellow Talks producers from the regions, confirming management commitment to fully exploit the programme content that could be sourced across the British Isles.¹²¹⁴ *The Archaeologist* forms a further example of the central role of the regions in the production of archaeological programming. The very nature of the discipline of archaeology, rooted as it is in landscape and geography, meant that the topic had a particular appeal for regional programming. Experts who had spent many years studying the archaeology and topography pertaining to their specialist area of study could provide vibrant material for radio presentations.

The Archaeologist's roots in the West of England Home Service continued to be reflected through Irving's oversight, based as he was at Plymouth, but the programme now increasingly received content from across other BBC regions. During the mid-1950s Regional producers regularly contacted Irving in order to offer programme ideas relating to their home regions. North Region in particular had since the 1930s held a reputation for innovative and distinctive factual programme-making, and this continued into the post-war period.¹²¹⁵ Irving collaborated with at least two fellow producers from North Region, who specialised in archaeological content. The first to be discussed here is Manchester Talks Producer Graham Miller. As seen in the previous chapter, Miller was already an experienced producer of archaeological radio, and was familiar with the network of field archaeologists active

Rahtz would later go on to establish the BA Honours degree in Archaeology at York University, from which the author graduated. This was Rahtz's first appearance on *The Archaeologist*, and he subsequently contributed to the show on at least three further occasions, as well as appearing on other archaeological radio programmes. Intriguingly, his broadcasting experience was not to the author's knowledge alluded to during his teaching sessions, and nor was it mentioned in his 1991 autobiography.

¹²¹⁴ BBC WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/memorandum Irving to Miller, 20th January 1954 and 29th April 1954.

¹²¹⁵ Scannell and Cardiff 1991, 333-335.

throughout the North of England.¹²¹⁶ In terms of his archaeological networks, Miller was therefore an extremely valuable contact.

In January 1954, John Irving contacted Miller in order to seek his guidance on the production of a forthcoming edition of *The Archaeologist*. Consultation with Glyn Daniel had led to the decision to produce a 45-minute edition focusing on Hadrian's Wall, and Irving sought Miller's guidance on certain aspects. As far as Irving was concerned, the programme could be:

Either a straightforward talks feature [...] or a somewhat more imaginative treatment re-enacting life as it must have been with the Garrison, or, indeed, it might be a combination of the two. [...] I shall value your advice on possible North Country script-writers, although I may wish to have a large hand in writing the script myself. [...] I would also value your advice on background reading.¹²¹⁷

Miller promptly provided Irving with advice on suitable experts - Ian Richmond for Roman Britain, Robin Birley on the Roman army and J.K. St-Joseph for aerial photography expertise - as well as fulsome suggestions for background reading. Miller did, however, have concerns about Irving's suggestion of imaginative presentational styles, in the perennial quest to communicate difficult subject-matter through an aural medium:

I'm glad that you're going to tackle the Wall, and will do all we can to help you. About treatment, I'm a bit doubtful if the featurised re-enactment would come off – it's so big a jump in time that even a writer like Naomi Mitcheson [*sic*] can't make the period's dialogue credible and free from whimsy-whamsy.¹²¹⁸

In an interesting illustration of the close involvement of producers in liaising with professional archaeologists to pick up on the local archaeology scene, the two went on to plan a

¹²¹⁶ Miller had also previously collaborated on archaeology programmes with Talks Producer Prudence Smith, as evidenced in correspondence in BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-54.

¹²¹⁷ BBC WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/memorandum Irving to Miller, 20th January 1954.

¹²¹⁸ BBC WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/memorandum Miller to Irving, 2nd February 1954. Naomi Mitchison (1897-1999) was a Scottish author, intellectual and campaigner. A prolific writer, she produced many novels with historical themes, as well as works of fantasy and science fiction. See Benton, J., 1992. *Naomi Mitchison. A biography*. London: Pandora Press.

reconnaissance visit to Hadrian's Wall, including a trip to Newcastle to call in person on Romanist Ian Richmond.

A second regional producer with whom Irving worked closely was BBC Manchester Talks producer Kenneth Brown, who was also experienced in working with archaeological experts.¹²¹⁹ Correspondence between Irving and Brown during the spring of 1958 provides further evidence for the degree of collaboration with North Region in the production of *The Archaeologist* during this period. For an edition entitled "Peat, Pollen and Prehistory in the Lake District", Irving entered into detailed correspondence with Brown after the programme had aired. Brown had asked Irving for "frank criticism" on the basis that the clearer he was on Irving's brief, the better they would work together. The edition was presented by Brian Blake, who was based at BBC Leeds. During the late 1950s, Irving regularly collaborated with both Brown and Blake, and the triumvirate obviously worked well together. Brian Blake was not solely a presenter, but also contributed to programme production. He evidently had practical experience of working on excavations, and this insight must have informed his work as a presenter.¹²²⁰ In response to Brown's request for feedback, Irving remarked that:

I listened this afternoon in full to the tape of this programme which you very kindly sent me. I am more than ever convinced that in Brian Blake you have an excellent narrator and middle man between the experts and general audience.¹²²¹

Irving did, however, have some criticisms of Blake's questioning technique, noting that "he fell into that maddening habit of half answering himself the question he was putting to the expert". Despite this minor reservation, overall Irving was of the view that, especially taking into account the technical nature of the subject-matter, the programme had been a success, and was clearly appreciative of the merits of having an archaeological practitioner as a presenter. For this particular edition, the programme was poised on a middle ground between

¹²¹⁹ For example, Kenneth Brown was also producing work with Stuart Piggott during this period. BBC WAC/N8/1. Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/memorandum Kenneth Brown to Stuart Piggott, 6th February 1958.

¹²²⁰ BBC/WAC/N8/64/1. Talks, *The Archaeologist* 1959/letter Blake to Brown, 29th October 1958. Blake suggests topics for next season's schedule of *The Archaeologist*, remarking that "I think that the north ought to have at least four". In this same letter Blake refers to "native work on the Wall" by archaeologist George Jobey and himself, from which it may be inferred that he was himself a practising archaeological fieldworker.

¹²²¹ BBC WAC/N8/1. Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/memorandum Irving to Brown, 7th March 1958.

being scripted and delivered off-the-cuff, for the reason that, as Brown had explained, one of the expert contributors – Donald Walker – had been “so technical as to be almost incomprehensible”.¹²²² Irving remarked to Brown that “I felt you managed the compromise between scripted and extemporary answers very well”.¹²²³ It can be seen that Brown was valued for his presentational skills in translating complex information into content which could be easily understood by listeners.

In January 1959 *The Archaeologist* focused on the city of York. The publicity write-up for “Roman York”, scheduled for broadcast on Tuesday January 6th, reported that:

For one of their “on-the-spot” descriptions, Herman Ramm and Brian Blake took a portable tape-recorder to the top of the Minster tower to capture both their conversation and the atmosphere of the old city.¹²²⁴

The programme featured a strong line-up of experts on the archaeology of York, including contributions from archaeological heavyweights such as Ian Richmond and local experts specialising in the history and archaeology of York, such as Herman Ramm and Peter Wenham. Regional producer Kenneth Brown devoted a great deal of thorough preparation to the production, visiting York for a number of preliminary visits. Following the broadcast John Irving, by now signing himself as “Producer in Charge, Plymouth”, wrote to presenter Brian Blake to comment on the broadcast, noting that he had listened with great interest and thought it successful overall. He felt that on a technical note, however, Blake could have made use of the “fade out and fade in” technique developed in features radio, when moving between locations, and the programme could have been improved with a little less description of the geography of York at the beginning, as it included “too much detail for the mind’s eye”. The balance between being sufficiently informative on complex archaeological detail, whilst at the same time producing radiogenic content, was a difficult one to strike. Irving ended on a positive note, stating:

¹²²² BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/memorandum Brown to Irving, 19th February 1958.

¹²²³ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/memorandum John Irving to Kenneth Brown, 7th March 1958.

¹²²⁴ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954/publicity write-up for the broadcast entitled “Roman York”, January 1959.

One thing you do manage to do very well, and that is to ask questions to which you obviously know the answer without making this exchange sound banal. Congratulations. I shall be sending my 1959 plans to Kenneth Brown and I hope we will be able to fit in some contributions from the North.¹²²⁵

In line with this consistent imperative to produce entertaining radio, John Irving showed himself concerned to branch out into fresh programme formats, and to develop imaginative techniques for the radio presentation of archaeological research. A good example of this aspect of his work is provided by the edition of *The Archaeologist* broadcast on Sunday 10th October 1954. For “The Far North in Prehistory” the BBC flew a group of members of the Prehistoric Society, including Stuart Piggott and Richard Atkinson, both based in the Archaeology Department at Edinburgh University, to Orkney and Caithness, in a scripted and pre-recorded outside broadcast. In conveying a vivid and evocative account of the distinctive archaeology of this area, the programme attempted also to transport the listener, in their imagination, to the skies above the far north of Scotland. The following script excerpt demonstrates something of the techniques used:

(DISC – INTERIOR AIRCRAFT ATMOSPHERE. STEWARD SAYS ‘FASTEN YOUR SEAT BELTS PLEASE’. FADE DOWN BEHIND.) 32 safety belts fitting snugly round [the middles of] 32 prehistorians. Professional and amateur. (GRAMS OUT). The young and the not so young, but all airborne with the same enthusiasm – the fascination of archaeology. (DISC – AIRCRAFT CRUISING. THEN DOWN BEHIND.) [...] The Grampians were sunk in cloud, but after an hour or so the layer beneath parted and there below we could pick out John O’Groats and the Pentland Firth. It would soon be time to land.¹²²⁶

The mid 1950s saw further adjustments to the format, such as the increasing use of panel discussions, whereby members of the public were invited to join in, by submitting their question on a postcard. There was a special programme in June 1958 to pay tribute to the life

¹²²⁵ BBC/WAC/N8/64/1.Talks, *The Archaeologist* 1959/letter Irving to Blake, 8th January 1959.

¹²²⁶ BBC/WAC script held on microfilm, *The Archaeologist*, “*The far north in prehistory*”, broadcast 12th October 1954.

and work of Gordon Childe, who had died unexpectedly in the October of the previous year (fig 26). The edition broadcast in the early evening of 7th May 1962 comprised a “Q and A” session with Professors Stuart Piggott and Richard Atkinson answering questions put to them by members of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, on the subject of “Salisbury Plain up to the end of the Bronze Age”.¹²²⁷ These changes were consistent with the shift over the previous decade or so from scripted radio talks and discussions, to presentations which were more informal in style, and often unscripted.¹²²⁸ The increasing popularity of television must also have influenced this movement towards more imaginative styles of presentation, in an attempt to stay relevant and entertaining. Many individuals working on radio were increasingly in demand to produce and present archaeology content for television, and television would soon be competing with radio for resources.



Figure 26. Listings information for a special edition of *The Archaeologist*, produced in commemoration of Gordon Childe. Source: *Radio Times* issue 1805, 13th June 1958.

¹²²⁷ *Radio Times* issue 2008, Monday 7th May 1962, 18.40.

¹²²⁸ Briggs 1979, 581-582; Chignell 2011, 64-67.

As well as producing *The Archaeologist*, Irving occasionally appeared as presenter during this period. Thus, the *Radio Times* billing for Monday 31st December 1962 announced “A monthly programme reflecting the current archaeological scene”, introduced by John Irving, and featuring archaeological experts Paul Ashbee and Leo Biek.¹²²⁹ Since the late 1950s, the programme’s content had grown more international in focus. Editions included one on archaeology in China, and another in which Mortimer Wheeler and French oceanographer and ecologist Jacques Cousteau discussed the potential for marine archaeology, and the finds generated during Cousteau’s research in the Bay of Marseilles.¹²³⁰ By early 1959 *The Archaeologist* had become a monthly fixture on Network Three, (as well as being repeated on the Home Service).¹²³¹ Network Three had been introduced as part of the 1957 ‘streamlining’ of the Third Programme.¹²³² Seemingly reflecting a widely-shared uncertainty as to the proper role of Network Three, there was general agreement regarding the difficulties of pitching a broadcast for the platform at the appropriate level. Kenneth Brown remarked that:

I personally believe in hitting a more popular and therefore intellectually rather lower level. But frankly I have never been able to find out what level Network III aims at, and as far as your series is concerned I have unfortunately (ashamed as I am to admit it!) only been able to hear one “*Archaeologist*” since it left the Home Service.¹²³³

It may have been the case that the series lacked the senior management support needed in order to ensure that it remained a viable offering. Uncertainty as to where to place *The Archaeologist* in the schedules seems to have combined with the increasing popularity of television, to lead to its eventual demise.

¹²²⁹ *Radio Times* issue 2042, Monday 31st December 1962, 18.40.

¹²³⁰ BBC/WAC script held on microfilm, *The Archaeologist*, “Submarine Archaeology”, broadcast 2nd March 1954.

¹²³¹ BBC/WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954. Letter John Irving to Kenneth Brown, 7th November 1958. In addition to discussing suggested programme content in this letter, Irving mentions that he is recommending four editions of *The Archaeologist* for repeats in the Home Service.

¹²³² Briggs 1985, 309-10. Briggs describes Network Three as “a service for minority audiences introduced in September 1957 [...] Chess, gardening and archaeology were amongst the interests catered for”. See also Carpenter 1996, 169-177; Whitehead 1989, 209-226.

¹²³³ BBC WAC/N8/1.Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954. Memorandum Kenneth Brown to John Irving, 19th February 1958.

6.5 The End of *The Archaeologist*

Long before archaeology became a subject for television programmes, the BBC successfully broadcast many archaeological sound talks and features. But this is a field where I think television has a great advantage over sound radio. So much archaeology depends on the evidence of material remains. Many words may fail to convey what a picture can do in an instant. With history, the boot is on the other foot. Ideas and written evidence are difficult television material. On sound, they are no problem.¹²³⁴

When the television producer Paul Johnstone wrote these words, *The Archaeologist* still had many years to run. By the late 1950s, however, there was a growing feeling in the air that the days of radio were numbered, and that the medium would soon lose its place as the main platform for the provision of archaeological programming. The development of television had been presaged for many years.¹²³⁵ As early as the late 1930s, archaeologists based at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, had collaborated with the BBC to produce a number of archaeology-themed broadcasts.¹²³⁶ By the end of the 1950s, the Home Service audience was dwindling fast. With the ever-growing popularity of television, radio had “lost its compulsiveness”.¹²³⁷ The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953, and the advent of Independent Television in 1955, had encouraged surges of public interest in television, and by March 1958 the number of combined television-and-radio licences in Britain overtook radio-only licences for the first time. By the early 1960s, television was clearly in the ascendant as the preferred mode of entertainment, particularly for evening consumption.¹²³⁸

¹²³⁴ Johnstone 1957, 40. Johnstone had previously worked in radio production before moving into television. He produced *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral*, and was instrumental in founding BBC Television’s Archaeology and History Unit. See Frontispiece, Johnstone 1957, and his Times Obituary, 17th March 1976.

¹²³⁵ Medhurst, J., 2017. What a hullabaloo! Launching BBC television in 1936 and BBC 2 in 1964. *Journal of British Cinema and Television*. [Online.] Eupublishing.com.; Medhurst, J., 2018. Mea maxima culpa: John Reith and the development of television. *Media History*, 25 (3), 292-306. See also Potter 2012, 146-7 and 172, for the coming of television; Dunlap, O.E., 1932: “The world is on the threshold of a great forward movement in mass communication – transmission and reception of sound and sight combined.”, cited in Peters 1999, 277.

¹²³⁶ Perry 2017.

¹²³⁷ Hendy 2008, 53.

¹²³⁸ Briggs 1979, 129; Chignell 2011, 59-60; Hendy 2008, 58; Lacey, K., 2016. From radio listening to television viewing in the 1950s. In Medhurst et. al., 49-69, see pp.51-52; O’Malley, T., 2016, Television, the Labour movement and the new left in the 1950s. In Medhurst et. al., 21-146, see pp.123-124.

Established archaeological communicators such as Wheeler and Daniel were increasingly in demand for television.¹²³⁹ The series *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral* (first broadcast in 1952) had quickly become extremely popular with the viewing public.¹²⁴⁰ By the late 1950s many radio professionals were considering a move into television, and although this represented a valuable career opportunity for some, it came at considerable personal cost for others. In a letter discussing expenses for the recent radio programme on Roman York, Brian Blake wrote somewhat wistfully “May I ask your advice on a personal matter, Kenneth? I think some day I ought to try to get a little T.V. experience – at least, I’d know then..”.¹²⁴¹

It has been claimed that there was, around 1965, something of a “turning away” from archaeology by the BBC, and this was certainly a time when resources were increasingly being channelled towards television.¹²⁴² 1966 saw the formation under the leadership of BBC2 Controller David Attenborough of a new Archaeology and History Unit, with Paul Johnstone as executive producer and Glyn Daniel as advisor.¹²⁴³ From the early years of the decade, John Irving had been contributing to both radio and television. He finally ceased work on *The Archaeologist* in 1965, and thereafter seems to have concentrated on making television. Irving joined producer Paul Johnstone to direct an edition of the new archaeology strand entitled *Chronicle*, which would run for the next twenty-five years as the flagship offering for television archaeology.¹²⁴⁴ After Irving’s departure from radio, *The Archaeologist* was moved once more to the Home Service. By 1966 the archaeological adviser was Barry Cunliffe, working with series producer Roger Laughton.¹²⁴⁵ It was around this time that the programme

¹²³⁹ BBC WAC contributor files for Daniel and Wheeler, for the late 1950s to early 1960s, clearly indicate their increasing amounts of television activity.

¹²⁴⁰ Jordan, P., 1986 *Archaeology and Television*. In Evans et. al., 207-213, see p.208.

¹²⁴¹ BBC WAC/N8/1.Talks, *Archaeology, 1950-1954*. Letter Brian Blake to Kenneth Brown, 7th December 1958.

¹²⁴² Briggs 1979, 235-236; Briggs 1985, 288-291 and 305; Chignell 2019, 2; Daniel 1986, 260.

¹²⁴³ Attenborough, D., 2009. [Online.] Oral history interview recorded 12th October 2009. Personal histories project, University of Cambridge, Sms.cam.ac.uk.

¹²⁴⁴ Henson, D., 2010. *Chronicle: a glimpse of TV heaven*. [Online.] *Viewfinder*, 20th June 2017, 14-15; Sutcliffe 1978; entry on John Irving in the International Movie Database. [Online.] (IMDb), imdb.com.

¹²⁴⁵ Cunliffe was appointed Professor of Archaeology in the newly opened Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, in 1966. Laughton later went on to produce the innovative 1979 television archaeology series *In Search of the Dark Ages*, presented by historian Michael Wood, and subsequently to manage the Media School, Bournemouth University.

was quietly dropped from the radio schedules. The very last edition of *The Archaeologist* aired on 21st August 1966.

Conclusion

This analysis of the development of the series *The Archaeologist* provides valuable insights into the creative process underlying the production of archaeological radio content. From the excavation activities associated with reconstruction work and the idealism of post-war archaeology, to the mid-1960s, when the discipline saw the emergence of “Rescue” archaeology and the formation of the first local-authority archaeology units, *The Archaeologist* was a regular radio presence. It formed something of a barometer for developments in the profession, as well as playing a major role in establishing archaeology as a staple presence on talks radio. In terms of the regularity of its transmission, and the quality of the archaeological information delivered by its expert participants, it could be argued that radio archaeology has not been as well-served since.

A consistent interest in producing accessible versions of radio archaeology meant that its first producer, Gilbert Phelps, spent much effort in trying to ‘translate’ complex archaeological information into something which resonated and was understood by listeners. The traditional talks format of the first series was superseded by more varied and agile modes of presentation, with the intention of bringing the activities of archaeologists before the public in ways which were entertaining and accessible, whilst at the same time relaying quality archaeological information. This aspiration to accessibility continued through the contribution of producer John Irving, who developed closer collaborations with regional archaeologists and producers. The evidence presented here has therefore thrown further light on the interactions between subject experts and those tasked with producing archaeological radio for the BBC. Radio is shown to have played an important part in shaping the notion that one of the responsibilities of the professional archaeologist is to communicate their research to the public. As *The Archaeologist* provided a regular platform for this public communication of archaeology, it had a role in familiarising the British public with archaeologists, and in this sense was therefore influential on the nature of the profession itself. There was also the additional factor that *The Archaeologist* was a vehicle through which

archaeologists could find out about each other's research activities. The value of this aspect of the programme, in helping to shape and contribute to future archaeological research, should not be underestimated. As outlined earlier in the thesis, the exercise of peer review is a key attribute for the development of a profession, and *The Archaeologist* provided a consistent site within which the exchange of information could take place. Between 1946, when *The Archaeologist* first aired, and 1966, when it ceased to be commissioned, the proportion of professional archaeologists contributing to it increased, giving the impression that 'anyone who was anyone' in the world of British archaeology had appeared. From the late 1950s it also attracted visits from a variety of practitioners from European and world archaeology. This aspect is itself testament to the major influence of radio on the archaeology profession's development and consolidation.

The latter years of *The Archaeologist* provide a window on the transition period from radio dominance to the coming of television. This phase saw the influence of new formats, some of which may have been suggested by techniques developed for television, and continued efforts to engage the audience. As archaeology became normalised as an interesting and important pursuit, professional archaeologists were increasingly inclined to view radio as a normal and necessary part of their work, and a valid platform through which to engage with the public. Technology was, however, moving on and the developing dominance of television meant that there were new and exciting ways to present archaeology, where visual images could be shown, rather than having to rely on the descriptive power of words. The content presented here contributes new insights into this period of transition between radio and television, and therefore adds to our knowledge of mid-twentieth century media history.

The analysis presented in this chapter has shown that from October 1946, when *The Archaeologist* was first broadcast in a primetime slot during the genesis of the Third Programme, to its demise in the mid-1960s, BBC radio managers and producers consistently viewed archaeology as a topic worthy of attention. This fact adds to the evidence already presented throughout the thesis which demonstrates that archaeology made a key contribution to the BBC's mission in the provision of educative radio programmes, mediated into entertaining formats. Through examining the archive evidence for programme planning and production, new insights have emerged with respect to the collaboration of BBC

producers with archaeology experts. The case for BBC radio's central role in the development of the discipline of archaeology, and its influence on the professional archaeological identity, has therefore been made.

Chapter Seven

Discussion and Conclusions

When, in the Britain of 1922, a daily radio service was made available, the possibility of bringing archaeology to a mass audience was created. The landscapes of the past began to play a role in the 'civilising' mission of radio, and a novel platform for thinking about archaeology was born. This thesis places radio in its appropriate role as a significant contributor to the public communication of archaeology, and delineates the presence of archaeologists at the centre of public discourse. Changing BBC policy as managers responded to social and political developments found archaeologists in an ideal position to contribute their ideas. The wide reach of radio afforded them a powerful collective voice, and the exciting possibilities of radio to bring archaeology into listeners' homes was enthusiastically embraced. The thesis contributes new knowledge in the field of public history, and adds fresh insights to the evolution of Talks radio, and the history of BBC radio as a whole. It has been demonstrated that radio was a key way for archaeologists to engage with the British public. The study of professional archaeologists in relation to radio can therefore no longer justifiably be neglected.

The existence of public service broadcasting, and significant developments in the discipline of archaeology, occurred in tandem due to interrelated socio-economic developments originating in late nineteenth and early twentieth century societal changes brought by the extension of the franchise and education, and the growth of the professions. The thesis has conclusively demonstrated the presence of professional archaeologists on radio, which meant that 'listening' to archaeology became possible. The professional archaeologist needs an audience, and through BBC radio, archaeologists and their public were connected. Many leading British archaeologists made regular visits to the BBC studios to deliver and record broadcasts, often over many years, spending a considerable number of hours in correspondence and discussion with BBC producers. The research has brought this valuable evidence of archaeological broadcasting into the light, to attempt to place it in its historical context, and to begin to analyse its meaning. What wider inferences can be drawn out from this archaeological presence on radio? Why did archaeologists choose to appear on radio?

Why did they perceive it to be advantageous to spend time and effort on writing and presenting radio scripts? When archaeologists joined the ranks of public intellectuals who began to engage with radio, how was the archaeological identity expressed? To what extent was it possible to throw light on the nature of the interactions between archaeology experts and BBC producers?

The thesis sets out the framework for a history of archaeology on the radio, and shows that BBC radio is an important historical source for understanding how archaeology has been communicated. The research has addressed a gap in knowledge in two hitherto distinct areas of scholarship - the history of BBC radio, and the historiography of archaeology. This cross-disciplinarity is one of the notable attributes of the project, which opens up potential avenues of enquiry in radio history, archaeology and its role in public life, and twentieth century social history in general.

The thesis makes original contributions to knowledge in the following ways:

- It explores in detail the part played by radio archaeology in public service broadcasting, and in the history of Talks radio. The research builds on the perception of radio as a democratising medium, and shows how radio helped to make archaeology accessible to the British public. It details the ways in which through the educational remit of the BBC, archaeology was mediated and presented so that complex ideas and knowledge were made entertaining and compelling for the listener. On a related theme, the thesis also presents original content with regard to the place of radio archaeology in the BBC's science communication policy.
- It provides an account of radio's role in the development of the professional archaeological identity, and the place of archaeologists as members of a formalised profession, as fund-raisers, as scientists and as public intellectuals. Archaeologists and BBC staff are shown to have worked in partnership, and to have had a mutually advantageous relationship.

- It gives original insights into radio's role in the national discourse on matters of national identity, citizenship and the nature of civilisation. It is shown that radio representations of archaeology often conveyed deeper sub-meanings and themes in relation to society and its functioning, and the account therefore discusses radio archaeology's role in aspects of BBC policies involving propaganda and national projection.
- The role of the BBC regional stations is shown to have been important in the development of radio archaeology. Regional producers and presenters played a key part in contributing innovative radio content on archaeological subjects, framed in ways which would appeal to listeners in the local regions, with a focus on localities and themes rooted in the history of their local areas. In this respect, the role of West Region and North Region producers is shown to have been particularly pertinent.
- It delineates the way in which radio acted as a platform for professional female archaeologists and producers to make their voices heard in the public sphere.

In terms of methodological innovation, this thesis shows that BBC radio constitutes an important source for public archaeology. It provides a new perspective on the activities of certain key archaeologists whose work continues to influence the discipline to the present day, demonstrating their role within this aspect of popular culture. The study confirms the value of radio as a depository of historical information and cultural insight, and shows that radio is therefore an important source for understanding the ways in which archaeology has been represented and presented to the public.

The thesis also highlights some interesting findings in terms of treatment and sound in radio archaeology, and the attempts made by archaeologists and broadcast professionals to explore new techniques and modes of presentation, with the aim of bringing archaeology to life for radio listeners. A consistent theme has been the use and development of production techniques which helped to convey archaeology content to the listener in sonically exciting and memorable ways. It has been demonstrated that producers and archaeologists worked hard to consider the best ways to present and interpret archaeology through the medium of

sound. The attention to matters of style, tone, sonic quality and presentation all contributed to making archaeology more accessible to listeners. It is evident that many of the techniques associated with the television portrayal of archaeology were initially developed for radio. Attention was consistently paid to evoking the imagination of listeners, and to aiding their understanding of complex concepts through careful scripting. Subsequent years brought the use of outside broadcast techniques, evocative sounds and music. This consideration of the sonic qualities of radio archaeology contributes to our understanding of the nature and importance of radio as a medium.

Five key research questions were posed at the start of this analysis, and these will now be restated, in order to conclude the discussion. The first of these research questions was to consider how archaeology-themed radio programmes fitted into the cultural remit and mission of the BBC. Following a contextual discussion of the relationship between archaeological radio, and the public intellectual role of archaeologists in relation to broadcast policy and the culture of the BBC, evidence was presented to show that as early as 1923, senior BBC staff had sought the help of museum professionals for their contribution to radio content, showing that there was already a perception that archaeology was appropriate subject matter for radio. Broadcasting brought archaeology to a mass audience, and moreover it brought it into the domestic sphere. Case studies of broadcasters Leonard Woolley and Hilda Petrie showed that at the same time as presenting archaeology as a source of interesting findings in exotic locations such as Mesopotamia and Palestine, the framing of their ideas in biblical narratives served to satisfy the public service broadcast remit to educate, inform and entertain. It was clearly demonstrated that from the earliest days of broadcasting a symbiotic relationship existed between radio producers and archaeologists. During the ensuing decade, archaeological radio continued to meet the BBC's cultural remit by contributing to broadcasts which laid emphasis on national ritual and royal events, radio travelogues and science-themed broadcasts.

Radio's educative role became particularly pertinent during the years of the Second World War, when archaeological themes had a central role in Schools radio. The case study of the collaboration between archaeologist Dina Dobson and BBC producers examined the production process for the radio series *How Things Began*. When archaeologists such as

Gordon Childe scripted and delivered radio talks for the BBC's Overseas Service, archaeological themes were marshalled in the projection of ideas of Britishness to the dominions and colonies, thereby contributing to aspects of BBC cultural propaganda. Presentations by professional archaeologists also had an important place in the timetable for Forces broadcasting, when radio talks formed part of the programme of educative and citizenship-themed talks for military personnel, and in this way contributed to BBC policy in support of the government's repatriation planning.

In the post-war period, archaeology was at the centre of radio timetables on the Home Service and the Third Programme. Archaeological topics contributed to BBC policy in respect of informative and topical content for the Home Service, and regularly featured in broadcasts for the BBC regions. The intellectual qualities of archaeology appealed to Third Programme producers, and fitted BBC aspirations to provide original broadcast content of high quality. It has therefore been demonstrated that throughout the period of study, archaeological radio was consistently marshalled in support of the cultural remit and mission of the BBC.

The next research question considered the ways in which BBC radio acted as a catalyst for the emergence and definition of the professional identity of archaeologists. It has been shown that the mediation of archaeology content into sound helped professional archaeologists to stake their claim in the public discourse, and to develop their presence as public intellectuals. Radio began to be used as a gatekeeping mechanism through which to determine the quality of archaeological information which was acceptable to feature on the BBC. The extent to which archaeological experts were consulted over this was sometimes a source of conflict. For example, the dispute whereby archaeologist Gordon Childe clashed very publicly with BBC managers during the late 1930s was shown to be symptomatic of radio as a filter to distinguish well-attested archaeological information from that which should be dismissed as of dubious quality in factual terms. In this way radio helped to delineate attributes of professionalism for the discipline of archaeology, and broadcasting archaeologists were aided in their aspiration to present themselves as men and women of science.

As the role of the universities became more predominant in the practice of archaeology, the relationship of archaeologist and broadcaster remained firmly intertwined, and radio

consistently provided a platform upon which academics and practitioners could speak. Archaeology broadcasts had a place in preparations for post-war societal reconstruction, and in developments to consolidate the establishment of archaeology as a responsibility of the state. BBC radio provided a platform for archaeologists to communicate their own agenda for public engagement, thus raising the profile of their discipline, and garnering public approval and enthusiasm for archaeology.

Closely related to the definition of the professional identity of archaeologists, the next research question posed considered the public intellectual role of archaeologists, and how this manifested itself through radio programmes. As the discipline increasingly moved on to a more professional footing radio provided opportunities for archaeologists to broadcast for reasons of publicity and fund-raising, and to portray themselves in varying roles such as adventurers in foreign lands, and detectives of the past. The Second World War saw the emergence of a role for archaeologists as commentators on broader matters via the lens of archaeology, when talks relating the events of the past to the future of humankind fulfilled the needs of BBC wartime policy on the Overseas Service, and on Forces radio. Moving into the 1950s, radio archaeologists remained in demand as subject experts, but could also appear in 'lighter' contexts, as commentators on day to day matters of interest to radio listeners, as well as in discussion about the intrinsic interest to be found in their own careers. Thus, for example, archaeologists appeared relatively frequently on the Light Programme's *Woman's Hour* during the 1950s and 60s.¹²⁴⁶

The thesis has highlighted that radio was an important platform which professional women could use in order to make their voices heard. Although not focused solely on gender, the research has highlighted the role of many women in scripting and producing radio content. The account of Dina Dobson's previously unexamined broadcasting work and her collaboration with BBC producers demonstrates the value of radio as a source of information for the activities of female archaeologists who have been lost to history. Radio may have afforded female archaeologists a voice that in some respects they lacked within the profession itself. The opportunities which the BBC offered to broadcasting archaeologists

¹²⁴⁶ The Light Programme is not a central focus of this thesis, though as briefly alluded to in chapter five, archaeologists' role on the Light Programme's *Woman's Hour* is worthy of note.

could be advantageous in raising the profile of a new wave of expert women. Archaeologists who have made an important contribution to British archaeology such as Jacquetta Hawkes and Kathleen Kenyon were shown to be extremely proactive on radio, as well as in the trench. Similarly, by featuring the archaeology-themed work of female producers who made important contributions to the production of archaeological radio, the thesis helps to foreground their contribution to BBC history and to archaeological historiography.

A further research aim was to examine the nature of the interactions between archaeology experts and BBC producers. Through close analysis of the evidence preserved in internal BBC memoranda, correspondence and scripts, valuable insights have been gained into the collaboration of archaeologists and producers in scripting archaeology talks. In this respect, a consistent function of the producer was to moderate the natural instincts of archaeologists to write scripts which were replete with complex archaeological information, and to support them in modifying their work in order to create 'radiogenic' programmes which would be enjoyed by the listener. Examination of the interactions of producer Hilda Matheson and archaeologist Leonard Woolley in the early days of broadcasting threw new light on the process of scripting archaeological information into talks which would appeal to listeners, and highlighted the role of producers as gatekeepers, in the sense that they held considerable power to decide who should be granted airtime.

Moving through the decades covered by the project, numerous examples of expert/producer interactions have featured. For example, one section of the discussion detailed the collaboration between producer Archibald Clow and archaeologist Gordon Childe, preserved in an occasionally humorous series of letters, as Clow persisted in his mission of deterring Childe from filling his scripts with details which threatened to overwhelm the listener. Fresh insights have also emerged regarding the interactions with archaeologists of producer Gilbert Phelps during the formative years of the Third Programme, and the creation of long-running series *The Archaeologist*, which provided a regular platform for the communication and discussion of research on the past. The central role in archaeology-themed radio of a group of Cambridge academics which included Phelps, as well as university academic and presenter Glyn Daniel, and producer Peter Laslett, revealed the level of commitment and effort expended on archaeological programming during the immediate post-war period, and on into

the 1950s and 60s. Examination of archive evidence similarly produced fresh insights into the efforts of Third Programme producers to encourage archaeological 'star' Mortimer Wheeler to make his first radio appearance. The archive also revealed the close collaboration between producer Leonie Cohn and prehistorian Stuart Piggott to create Third Programme broadcasts during the 1950s.

To briefly refocus the discussion to a local level, the research has uncovered original information regarding the nature of regional radio. The policy to encourage closer collaboration with regional producers during the mid-1950s has been fleshed out in further detail, and the extent to which archaeology remained a topic of interest to regional radio listeners confirmed. The work of North and West Region producers in collaborating with archaeologists to develop aspects of outside broadcasting and the presentation of archaeology in a regional context was a particular focus of this section of the research.

The final key research question examined the extent to which BBC radio broadcasting was influential on the development of the profession of archaeology. From the beginning of this account, archaeologists have been shown to have adapted to the existence of radio by presenting their findings in ways which would appeal to listeners, thereby developing their public profile, and becoming an increasingly familiar radio presence. With the growth of the professions in the interwar period, experts became ever more strongly established in the public sphere and increasingly contributed to the public discourse via radio. During the years when their discipline was crystallising as a distinct profession, archaeologists demonstrated a sophisticated awareness of the possibilities for publicity in a changing media landscape and clearly found it important to engage with radio as part of the assertion of their professional identity, to communicate the results of their research, and for reasons of publicity and fund-raising. It has clearly been demonstrated that radio was an important way in which archaeologists could address the public, in the years before the development of television. Archaeologists had previously used other media such as popular publishing, newspapers, lectures and exhibitions, but radio's particular quality was that it had 'mass' reach, meaning that its potential to interest and educate large numbers of the public made a significant impact on the public communication of archaeology. By scripting archaeology into sound, and therefore making information on the past more readily available, radio therefore helped to

normalise the place of archaeologists in the public discourse. This in turn was advantageous in the consolidation of the discipline of archaeology as a legitimate profession.

Radio also became a site for playing out tensions between the amateur and the professional practitioner, and in this way contributed to the boundary setting which is a key characteristic of the professions. During the Second World War the role of archaeologists as public intellectuals became consolidated, through their continued contribution to radio education, to wartime BBC cultural propaganda, and to narratives of reconstruction. The fact that individuals spoke on the Home Service, on Forces radio, and on the Overseas Service, meant that archaeological voices had an extensive reach within Britain and Europe, as well as in the colonies and dominions. All this individual activity amounted to an increasing collective presence for the profession of archaeology. Disciplinary developments continued to be played out via radio in what could be termed the heyday of radio archaeology during the late 1940s and 50s, when radio constituted a regular platform for the communication and discussion of research on the past. This period saw archaeologists continuing to have an important role on the Home Service, and developing an influential presence on the newly constituted Third Programme. The keen pursuit by BBC producers of archaeological programme content, and their efforts to connect with archaeology-interested audiences, culminated in the formal sponsorship of excavations on the Mediterranean island of Malta in 1954, in return for broadcasting rights. The Malta sponsorship was a unique event - though the BBC did attempt to sponsor other digs, the Malta project was the only one that seems to have come to fruition - but even so, this constituted a direct intervention into the practice of archaeology. This instance alone proves that BBC radio broadcasting must have had an impact on the discipline. Radio broadcasts also provided an opportunity for archaeologists to share research information with peers. Peer review is a further important aspect of the professions, and this aspect once more demonstrates the impact of radio on the discipline. It is therefore beyond doubt that in all the ways stated here BBC radio was influential on the development of the profession of archaeology.

This thesis represents an initial foray into territory where there is great scope for further research. It would be interesting to find out more about the contribution of certain BBC producers who worked with archaeologists to script material. In this respect Prudence Smith,

Leonie Cohn, Lorna Moore and Sunday Wilshin all made important contributions to the production of archaeological radio, and further research into their activities would add to what is known of the history of women who worked in radio production.

Dina Dobson's contribution to British archaeology merits further attention, and richly deserves more recognition. In addition to her own excavations and research she was a supportive mentor for many practical archaeologists at work in the twentieth century, and therefore made a most important contribution to the development of the discipline. It would be fascinating to find out more about this talented and tenacious archaeologist, educator and radio scriptwriter. She deserves further biographical information in the public domain, to add to the background detail which exists for her male counterparts.

There is potential for a research project focusing solely on archaeological women and radio, which would help to illuminate their contribution to archaeology and could add additional information to the ongoing movement to foreground the forgotten work of archaeological women.¹²⁴⁷ One such person is Jacquetta Hawkes, whose public engagement work merits further study. Hawkes had a long and varied radio career, in addition to which she was a constant media presence through her radio archaeology, her publications, film-making and television work, demonstrating her unique perspective on the interpretation and explanation of the past, and her passion to bring archaeology to the public.¹²⁴⁸ A dedicated study of Jacquetta Hawkes' radio contribution to the public communication of archaeology, together with an examination of her work in a broader cultural context, would potentially be very illuminating. Hawkes also had interests in politics - for example, from the 1950s she was a central figure in the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament - and this aspect of her activities, and their contribution to the history of the Cold War, would repay further analysis.

¹²⁴⁷ Diaz-Andreu and Sorensen 1998. *In* Diaz-Andreu and Sorensen eds., 1-28; Sorensen 1998. *In* Diaz-Andreu and Sorensen eds., 31-60.

¹²⁴⁸ Finn, C., 2000. Ways of telling: Jacquetta Hawkes as film-maker. *Antiquity* volume 74, issue 283, March 2000, 127-30.

Constraints of time and space meant that it was not possible in the current project to feature the radio career of the geographer and landscape historian, W.G. Hoskins. His unique ability to blend historical research and the study of landscape meant that his contribution to understanding the complex human-led processes which created the physical geography of Britain was extremely important. Whilst he did not train as an archaeologist, Hoskins nevertheless made a seminal contribution to the study of British archaeology.¹²⁴⁹ Hoskins's broadcast career began in the 1930s and subsequently flourished with the creation of the Home Service and the Third Programme, and plentiful archive exists in BBC WAC regarding Hoskins's radio work. Better-known for his contribution to television archaeology than radio, much of the research he later presented on television was initially prepared as radio scripts. Further analysis of the radio contribution of Hoskins and his collaborating producers would therefore potentially be fruitful. Hoskins's work was closely linked with the growing preservationist movement, and this leads on to the possibility of further research considering the role of archaeologists in its history. Whilst previous researchers have touched on this territory, a dedicated study of the social and political background of preservationism in relation to radio archaeologists may well be enlightening.¹²⁵⁰

Another topic ripe for more detailed research is the radio contribution of Leonard Cottrell. Cottrell was a prolific author of fiction and nonfiction works on archaeology, focusing on themes of Egypt, Greece and Iraq. He was also a successful BBC scriptwriter, who wrote and produced many archaeology-themed programmes. Cottrell's radio scripts centred in the main on features and drama, and as a key contributor to the interpretation of archaeology in the public arena his radio work deserves further analysis.

¹²⁴⁹ Beckett, J., 2011. W.G. Hoskins, the Victoria County History and the study of English local history. *Midland History*, 36 (1), 115-127; Chalklin, C.W. and Havinden, M.A., 1974. W.G. Hoskins: an appreciation. In Chalklin, C.W. and Havinden, M.A., eds., 1974. *Rural change and urban growth 1500-1800. Essays in English regional history in honour of W.G. Hoskins*. London and New York: Longman, xix-xxvi; Johnson, M.H., 2005. On the particularism of English landscape archaeology. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, volume 9 (2), 111-122; Matless, D., 1993. One man's England: W.G. Hoskins and the English culture of landscape. *Rural History* 4 (2). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 187-207; Meinig, D.W., 1979. Reading the landscape. An appreciation of W.G. Hoskins and J.B. Jackson. In Meinig, D.W., ed. *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes. Geographical essays*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 195-244; Phythian-Adams, C., 1992. Hoskins's England: a local historian of genius and the realisation of his theme. *Transactions of Leicestershire archaeology and history society*, LXVI (66), 143-159; Samuel 1998, 219 and 353; Wood, M., 2011. *The story of England*. London: Penguin, 403-404.

¹²⁵⁰ For example, Gruffudd 1989 and Ward 2008.

In view of the amount of surviving evidence for archaeological radio, it would be possible to carry out further research projects with a themed approach. For example, a study focusing on the radio presentation of Egyptology would no doubt have sufficient original material to support it. Likewise, the study of early mediaeval archaeology through the lens of radio has the potential to contribute to the history of the discipline, and given the current researcher's background in early mediaeval archaeology, future work in this area would be of great personal interest.

Finally, audience perceptions of archaeological radio content could potentially form an illuminating area of study in itself. An analysis of BBC WAC correspondence from the radio audience, in the form of listeners' letters, together with the evidence of material such as Listener Research Reports, could add to our knowledge of the reception of the public presentation of archaeology, and may provide insights into how these radio broadcasts were received by their audience. Since there is a deficit in the literature regarding public perceptions of archaeology, a study of this nature could usefully add to the historiography of the discipline.

To scholarship on the contribution of archaeologists to twentieth century social discourse must now be added enhanced recognition of their activities as broadcasters. Radio archaeologists presented themselves as foreign adventurers and explorers through time, revealers of lost civilisations, as educators, men and women of science, philosophers on the human condition, patient detectives, commentators on recent research, and contributors to contemporary debates. If "archaeology was an attraction and prehistory was popular long before Marconi invented the wireless and Sir George Barnes the Third Programme", it was an inevitability that archaeological themes would be of interest to listeners.¹²⁵¹ The intimacy of the human voice conveyed via radio provides a direct line to the imagination. Since, despite all the efforts of archaeologists, the past can only ever exist in our imagination, archaeology and radio combined in a potent blend.

¹²⁵¹ Daniel 1988, 138.

This account ends by evoking an autumn evening in 1941, when Mary Somerville motored down from London to meet with Dina Dobson at her home at Wrington in the rural outskirts of Bristol. Dobson had provided directions: “turn left by a tree surrounded with white railings [...] our house is before you – tall and yellow, with two bay trees in pots before it”.¹²⁵² Over supper the two discussed plans for a new Schools radio series, while Somerville’s young son Tim watched for trout passing through the stream at the bottom of the garden. One more interaction between archaeologist and producer, distinctive in that it took place away from a busy office, or a hushed radio studio, this scene can be reconstructed through evidence preserved in the BBC Written Archives. Through a myriad such collaborations, radio archaeology was created.

¹²⁵² BBC/WAC/R Cont.1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/letter Dobson to Somerville, 9th August 1941; BBC/WAC/R Cont.1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/memorandum Somerville to Dobson, 28th August 1941; BBC/WAC/R Cont.1/Dina Dobson Talks, 1941-1962/letter Dobson to Somerville, 1st September 1941.

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Appendix One

List of BBC Radio Archaeology Programmes

Information compiled from BBC *Radio Times* / BBC Genome online database.

This list is indicative only, and is not claimed to be comprehensive.

Repeats are not noted for the Schools programme *How Things Began*, as Genome records at least 858 entries for this programme alone, and it was regularly repeated up to 1965.

Title	Time and Date Broadcast	Presenter/Producer/Scriptwriter	Programme
Mesopotamia Scholar's Half-Hour	Saturday 2 nd February 1924, 18.15 Repeated 9 th February 1924	J. Scattergood, F.R.G.S.	6BM Bournemouth
Five O'Clocks Vocal and Instrumental Artistes and Talks to Women	27 th March 1924, 17.00	Mr Isaac J. Williams, Keeper of Art, National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff
Beginnings of History in Babylonia / Excavations in Babylonia	Tuesday 8 th April 1924, 22.00	Leonard Woolley S.B. from London.	2ZY Manchester, 5NO Newcastle, 5SC Glasgow, 2DB Aberdeen, 6BM Bournemouth etc.
Ancient Egypt Scholar's Half-Hour	Friday 9 th May 1924, 18.05	The Rev. James Smith, B.D.	2BD Aberdeen
Excavations in Babylonia / The Beginnings of History in Babylonia	Tuesday 8 th July 1924, 22.00 Repeated 22 nd July 1924	Leonard Woolley S.B. from London.	2ZY Manchester, 5NO Newcastle, 5SC Glasgow, 2DB Aberdeen, 6BM Bournemouth etc.
The Growth of Civilization (V.) Cradles of Civilisation – Egypt	Thursday 31 st July 1924, 18.30	Mr J.A. Petch, M.A. (Manchester).	2ZY Manchester

Ur of the Chaldees	Thursday 7 th August 1924, 20.10	Leonard Woolley S.B. to all stations.	5WA Cardiff
Everyday Life in the New Stone, Bronze and Early Iron Ages	Wednesday 22 nd October 1924, 19.00	Weather forecast and 1 st general news bulletin. Mr C.H.B. Quennell S.B. to other stations. Local news.	2LO London
The Land of Egypt Talk to Scholars	Tuesday 28 th October 1924, 18.40	Col. The Rev. James Smith, T.D., B.D., J.P. S.B. to Glasgow and Edinburgh.	2BD Aberdeen
Legends of Ancient Egypt Transmission to Schools	Friday 27 th February 1925, 15.15	By F.H. Brooksbank	2LO London
Ancient Egypt London Scholars' Half-Hour	Friday 27 th February 1925, 16.00	Mr Arthur Weigall	2LO London
School Life in Ancient Egypt	Wednesday 15 th April 1925, 19.35	Mr R.L. Sloley S.B. to other stations.	2LO London
The Bronze Age Transmission to Schools	Thursday 28 th May 1925, 15.25	Miss A. Selby	5NG Nottingham
The Iron Age Transmission to Schools	Thursday 11 th June 1925, 15.25	Miss A. Selby	5NG Nottingham
Arts and Craft in the Bronze Age School Transmission	Tuesday 16 th June 1925, 15.00	Mr Isaac J. Williams, Keeper of Art, National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff
The Moon-God's Temple, from Abraham to Belshazzar	Tuesday 21 st July 1925, 22.10	Leonard Woolley	2LO London
Prehistoric Egypt	Friday 31 st July 1925, 19.40	The Station Military Band, conducted by W.A. Clarke. Cliff Martell (Pianoforte). Mr F. Leslie Carter (Member of the Egyptian Exploration Society).	5IT Birmingham

Talk on Egypt	Monday 3 rd August 1925	By Mrs Richard Berry. Orchestra. Relayed from the Electric Theatre: Musical Director, D.C. Ronald.	6BM Bournemouth
Tutankhamen's Reign	Friday 21 st August 1925, 19.40	Mr H. Leslie Carter (Member of the Egypt Exploration Society). The Station Orchestra. Rose Myrtil (Contralto).	5IT Birmingham
The Late Egyptian Empire Period, 18 th to 30 th Dynasties	Friday 4 th September 1925, 19.40	Mr W. Leslie Carter (Member of the Egypt Exploration Society). Military Band Programme, The Band of H.M Royal Marines, (Plymouth Division) etc.	5IT Birmingham
Egypt from Roman Times to the Present Day	Friday 11 th September 1925, 19.40	Mr W. Leslie Carter (Member of the Egypt Exploration Society). Dorothy Bennett (Soprano), John Collinson (Tenor). The Decameron Dance Orchestra: Director Dan Carroll. Relayed from the Palais de Danse.	5IT Birmingham
Glimpses of Life in Ancient Egypt: 1. Arts and Crafts	Wednesday 23 rd September 1925, 19.40	Mr T. Russell Goddard, F.L.S., Curator of the Hancock Museum. Dale Smith (Baritone). The Station Orchestra: Conductor, Edward Clark.	5NO Newcastle
Radio Fantasy, No 8. "Cameos of Egypt"	Saturday 26 th September 1925, 20.00	Written by W. Leslie Carter. Music specially arranged by Joseph Lewis. 1.- Landing at Alexandria. 11.- In the Divan of a Senussi Sheik. 111.- El Aswad (The Scorpion). V1. – A Street of Old Cairo. V. – Ancient Egypt in 1500 B.C.	5IT Birmingham
Schools Transmission The Arts and Crafts of the Iron Age	Friday 2 nd October 1925, 15.15	Mr Isaac J. Williams	5WA Cardiff
Glimpses of Life in Ancient Egypt: (2) Social Life	Wednesday 7 th October 1925, 19.40	Mr T. Russell Goddard, F.L.S, Curator of the Hancock Museum.	5NO Newcastle

		Grace Angus (Soprano). John Collinson (Tenor). The Station Orchestra: Conductor, Edward Clark.	
Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt	Monday 12 th October 1925, 19.40	Mr R.W. Sloley S.B. to other Stations. Light Orchestral Programme. The Wireless Orchestra.	2LO London
Topical Talk: Recent Discoveries in Egypt	Tuesday 13 th October 1925, 22.00	Lady Petrie S.B. to all Stations. Local news.	2LO London
Schools Transmission The Arts and Crafts of the Iron Age	2 nd October 1925, 15.15	Isaac J. Williams	5WA Cardiff
Schools Transmission The Art and Craft Workers of Ancient Egypt	Friday 16 th October 1925, 15.15	Mr Isaac J. Williams, Keeper of Arts at the National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff
Egypt and the Nile	Friday 16 th October 1925, 19.00	Mr J. Boardman SB. from London. Boy Scouts' Local News Bulletin.	2ZY Manchester
Glimpses of Life in Ancient Egypt 3. The Making of Mummies	Wednesday 21 st October 1925	Mr T. Russell Goddard, F.L.S., Curator of the Hancock Museum.	5NO Newcastle
Schools Transmission How Wales helped to Build Stonehenge	Friday 11 December 1925, 15.15	Dr Cyril Fox, FSA, MA, Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales.	5WA, Cardiff
Schools Transmission Earthworks in England 1. Hill Forts and Their Builders	Monday 25 th January 1926, 15.15	Mr Cyril Fox, Keeper of Archaeology, the National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff
Travel Talk, Children of the Nile – 1. The Land of Egypt School Transmission (Seniors)	Monday 1 st February 1926, 15.25	Mr R.A. Wardlo, MSc.	2ZY Manchester
Mesopotamia	Friday 26 th February 1926, 19.40	Major-General Sir Harry Brooking, K.C.M.G., K.C.B.	6BM Bournemouth
The Life of an Excavator 3. Egypt	Friday 5 th March 1926, 19.40	Professor T.E. Peet	6LV Liverpool

Saxon Forts, Norman Castles, Homestead Moats Schools Transmission	Monday 22 March 1926, 15.15	Dr Cyril Fox, FSA, Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales. View listing in magazine.	5WA Cardiff
Ancient Egypt: the Burial of the Kings: On the Nature of Death and of the After-Life	Thursday 22 nd April 1926, 19.00	Professor T.E. Peet S.B. from Liverpool.	5WA Cardiff
Ancient Egypt, Tombs and their Development. S.B. from Liverpool	Thursday 6 th May 1926, 19.00	Professor T.E. Peet S.B. from Liverpool.	5IT Birmingham
Mesopotamia (2)	Thursday 13 th May 1926, 19.40	By Major-General Sir Harry Brooking, K.C.M.G., K.C.B.	6BM Bournemouth
Ancient Egypt: The Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, Part 1	Thursday 3 rd June 1926, 19.00	Professor T.E. Peet S.B. from Liverpool.	5IT Birmingham
Ancient Egypt: The Valley of the Tombs, Part 2	Thursday 17th June 1926, 19.00	Professor T.E. Peet S.B. from Liverpool.	2LO London
Ancient Egypt	Thursday 17th June 1926, 19.10 Repeated 1 st July 1926	Professor T.E. Peet S.B. from Liverpool.	6LV Liverpool
Recent excavations at Ur of the Chaldees	Thursday 15 th July 1926, 19.00	Leonard Woolley	2LO London, and regional stations
A Visit to Egypt	Wednesday 28 th July 1926, 19.00	The Reverend F. Keeling Scott S.B. from London.	2ZY Manchester
The Women of Egypt	Wednesday 11 th August 1926, 16.00	Mrs Brophy	6LV Liverpool
The Rt. Rev. L.H. Gwynne. D.D. Bishop of Egypt and the Sudan	Sunday 3 rd October 1926, 17.30	Dr Gwynne has spent over twenty-five years in Egypt and the Sudan, where he has had a very busy and adventurous career. During the war he served as	2LO London

		Chaplain with the Expeditionary Force in France. He is a brother of Mr H.A. Gwynne, the editor of the Morning Post.	
Transmission to Schools Everyday life in Wessex in Ancient Times – 3. The Bronze Age	Thursday 7 th October 1926, 15.00	Mr C.H.B. Quennell, F.R.I.B.A.	6BM Bournemouth
Street Characters in Egypt	Wednesday 13 th October 1926, 16.00	Afternoon Topics – Mrs C. Brophy.	6LV Liverpool
Broadcast to Schools Everyday Life in Wessex in Ancient Times – 4. The Early Iron Age	Thursday 14 th October 1926, 15.00	Mr C.H.B. Quennell	6BM Bournemouth
The Romans in Britain Broadcast to Schools	Monday 6 th December 1926	Dr Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff
Man and his Past – the Age of Bronze	Wednesday 8 th December 1926, 18.00	Mr E. K. Tratman	5WA Cardiff
Afternoon Topics Boys and Girls of Egypt	Wednesday 29 th December 1926, 16.00	Mrs C. Brophy	6LV Liverpool
The Yemen Province of Arabia Broadcast to Schools	Monday 7 th February 1927, 15.00	Lieut. Col. Jacob Arabia has been very prominent in the news ever since it became part of the war zone, and the interference in Arabian politics of the European Powers stirred up a hornet's nest that is still buzzing rather too angrily for the comfort of the diplomats. The Yemen province, which lies behind Aden, is at the quieter end of the country, but even there there were enough thrilling experiences, and Lt. Cl. Jacob, who was Chief Political Officer with the Aden Field Force during the first three years of the war, and then Advisor on S.W. Arabia to the High Commissioner in Egypt, had more than his share of them.	2LO London

Tales from the Old Testament	Sunday 20 th March 1927, 17.15	The Flight from Egypt, Exodus, xiv and xv.	2LO London
Broadcast to Schools: Mr R.A. Wardle	Wednesday 4 th May 1927, 15.25	The Romance of the Nile 1 – The Story of Nile Exploration. Although Mr Wardle is primarily a zoologist – Lecturer in Zoology at Manchester University – he spent his time on the Nile in studying not only, animals, but the habits and customs of the people. In these talks he will deal generally with the life and activities that centre round the great river that has brought fame and prosperity to Egypt.	2ZY Manchester
Everyday Things of the Past – the Bronze Age	Monday 9 th May 1927, 15.00	Marjorie and C.H.B. Quennell	2LO London
Everyday Things of the Past – the Early Iron Age	Monday 16 th May 1927, 15.15	Marjorie and C.H.B. Quennell	2LO London
A Visit to Egypt Thirty-Three Centuries Ago	Thursday 23 rd June 1927, 17.00	Mr A.C. Gronno Ever since the excavations at Luxor brought the wonders of ancient Egyptian civilization prominently before the public, archaeology has been a popular subject, especially where Egypt is concerned. Mr Gronno will satisfy a great many peoples' curiosity by describing Egypt as it was thirty-three centuries ago.	2ZY Manchester
Ur of the Chaldees	Monday 4 th July 1927, 21.20	Leonard Woolley. "Ur of the Chaldees", the city of Abraham and Belshazzar, was the seat of one of the oldest civilizations that we know. In this talk, Mr Woolley, who is just back from the scene, will tell of the latest discoveries made by the joint expedition organized by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.	2LO London
Market Day in Ancient Egypt	Friday 26 th August 1927, 17.00	Mr A.C. Gronno	2ZY Manchester
Excavations in the Principality: The Amphitheatre and Prysog Field at Caerleon	Thursday 15 th September 1927, 19.00	Dr Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff

Stonehenge	8 th August 1927	O.G.S. Crawford	
Glozel	10 th October 1927	O.G.S. Crawford	
The Holy Places of Mesopotamia	Saturday 24 th December 1927, 19.00	Mr Harold Tyrrell	2BE Belfast
Excavations in the Principality	Tuesday 4 th October 1927, 19.00	Dr Cyril Fox This is the second of the series of talks in which Dr Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales, deals with work carried out in the field during the past summer season at Carleon, Kenfig, Kanovium, Offa's Dyke, and other sites.	5WA Cardiff
Excavations in the Principality	Tuesday 18 th October 1927, 19.00	Dr Cyril Fox	5WA Cardiff
The People of Egypt	Friday 4 th November 1927, 17.15	The Children's Hour: Reading.	5PY Plymouth
Broadcast to Schools Children of Long Ago - Egypt	Thursday 19 th January 1928, 14.30	Mrs D. Portway Dobson	5WA Cardiff
Broadcast to Schools The Dawn of History 3. Egypt and the Early Tillers of the Soil	Friday 3 rd February 1928, 15.55	Professor T.E. Peet	2ZY Manchester
The Dawn of History 4. Egypt and the Empire	Friday 10 th February 1928, 16.00	Professor T.E. Peet	2ZY Manchester
Broadcast to Schools The Dawn of History 5. Mesopotamia – The Story of Two Famous Rivers	Friday 17 th February 1928, 15.55	Professor T.E. Peet	2ZY Manchester
Metals in the Use of Man 2. The Beginning of Iron	Friday 9 th March 1928, 19.25 Repeated 9 th May 1928	Professor C.H. Desch After bronze came iron, and the Iron Age, which began in the very dawn of history, is only closing now. In this talk Professor Desch will tell how the first iron worked was found in meteorites; how men learnt the smelting of iron, and used water-power to drive their forges, and how	2LO London

		accidentally they discovered how cast iron could be made.	
Byways of Ship-building 3. The Coming of the Iron Age	Tuesday 13 th March 1928, 19.00	Mr C.D. Jarrett Bell	5PY Plymouth
Buried Cities 2. The Holy Cities of Egypt	Tuesday 20 th March 1928, 19.00	Rev. F. Ives Cater	6ST Stoke
The Story of Buildings 2. By the Rivers of Egypt and Babylon Broadcast to Schools	Monday 7 th May 1928, 15.00	Mr J. E. Phythian	2ZY Manchester
Ur of the Chaldees	Tuesday 19 th June 1928, 22.30	Leonard Woolley	5GB (Experimental)
Travellers' Tales of Other Lands, 3. Egypt: Cairo and the Pyramids	Friday 12 th October 1928, 14.45	Miss Isabel Scott Moncrieff	5SC Glasgow
Travellers' Tales of Other Lands, 4. Egypt: Life in the Nile Delta	Friday 19 th October 1928, 14.45	Miss Isabel Scott Moncrieff	5SC Glasgow
The Tragic City of Mycenae	26 th March 1929	Stanley Casson	5XX Daventry
Ur of the Chaldees – the Royal Tombs and the Flood	Wednesday 28 th August 1929, 22.00	Leonard Woolley	2LO London and 5XX Daventry
Life in Roman Britain (A six-part series)	Thursday 27 th September 1928, 19.25	Gordon Home	2LO London
The Men of Old. Figures from Scotland's Past – 1. The Nameless Ones: the Men of the Stone Age and the Bronze Age	Monday 30 th September 1929, 15.05	Mr Robert L Mackie S.B. from Dundee	5SC Glasgow
The Lords of the Philistines	Tuesday 17 th December 1929, 19.00	Lady Petrie Recent Discoveries by Sir Flinders Petrie in Palestine. Interest in excavations increases every year. Few events of scholarly import have assumed the	5XX Daventry

		<p>degree of topical interest accorded by the general Press to, for instance, the unearthing of the tomb of King Tutankahmen. By the aid of these excavations, not only has our view of history been enlarged, but it has been rendered immensely more real, and we have learned that 'progress' after all is a relative term. In Egypt, most profitable field of research for the excavator, the long extension of our view, before written history, has largely been the work of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt under the direction of Sir Flinders Petrie. Recently, however, Sir Flinders and his party have moved their centre of activities across the Sinai Desert to the southern border of Palestine, where an Old Testament city, called Beth-Poleth, has been unearthed with more interesting results. It is of this ancient city that Lady Flinders Petrie, wife of the excavator, will speak this evening. Lady Petrie has hitherto accompanied her husband, but this year she is remaining behind to interest the public in this important work.</p>	
The Preservation of Ancient Wales	Thursday 6 th March 1930, 18.00	Dr Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales and a member of the Committee of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Wales.	SWA Cardiff
New Discoveries in Palestine	Monday 19 th May 1930, 18.00	Lady Petrie	National Programme
Digging Up The Past 1. Why dig up the past?	Wednesday 11 th June 1930, 19.25	Leonard Woolley	National Programme
Digging Up The Past 2. The archaeologist at work	Wednesday 18 th June 1930, 19.25	Leonard Woolley	National Programme
Digging Up The Past 3. Building up the past	Wednesday 25 th June 1930, 19.25	Leonard Woolley	National Programme
In the days of the flood: last year's work at Ur	30 th June 1930, 21.20	Leonard Woolley	National Programme

Town planners of antiquity		Leonard Woolley	National Programme
Digging Up The Past 4. The witness of bricks and mortar	Wednesday 2 nd July 1930, 19.25	Leonard Woolley	National Programme
Digging Up The Past 5. Treasures of the grave	Wednesday 9 th July 1930, 19.25	Leonard Woolley	National Programme
Digging Up The Past 6. Buried lives	Wednesday 16 th July 1930, 19.25	Leonard Woolley	National Programme
Research on Land and Sea 1. The Field Work of the National Museum of Wales	Tuesday 21 st October 1930, 18.00	Dr Cyril Fox, FSA, Director of the National Museum of Wales. The interest and importance of field work.	5WA Cardiff
A Welsh Interlude Early Chapters in the History of Wales 2. The Neolithic Age	Tuesday 28 th October 1930, 19.00	Mr Iorweth Peate, of the Department of Archaeology, National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff
Formal Opening of East Wing Extensions, National Museum of Wales	Tuesday 25 th October 1932, 14.30	Formal Opening of the East Wing Extensions, National Museum of Wales by HRH Prince George. Relayed from The National Museum of Wales (Sir William Reardon Smith, Baronet D.L.), etc.	5WA Cardiff
Western Week-End 1. A visit to the National Museum of Wales	Saturday 7 th January 1933, 10.45	Dr Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales.	5WA Cardiff
Recent Excavations at Ur	Tuesday 11 th April 1933, 18.50	Leonard Woolley	National Programme
Where To Find The Past, 1.	Sunday 11 th June 1933, 21.30	S.E. Winbolt	Regional Programme
Where To Find The Past, 2.	Tuesday 13 th June 1933, 21.30	S.E. Winbolt	Regional Programme
Where To Find The Past, 3.	Monday 19 th June 1933, 20.40	S.E. Winbolt	Regional Programme
Where To Find The Past, 4.	Monday 26 th June 1933, 20.40	S.E. Winbolt	Regional Programme

The Need of a Folk Museum for Britain	Tuesday 3 rd July 1934, 19.45	Cyril Fox, PhD, FSA. (From Bristol.)	Regional Programme
Ancient Britain Out of Doors 1. Digging up the Past	Monday 1 st April 1935, 19.30	Jacquetta Hawkes The evidence as to how Ancient Britons lived lies just as much out of doors as in libraries and museums. We find stone circles, and dolmens or cromlechs, and various other structures from prehistoric times: in fact, every invader left something behind him. This evening Jacquetta Hawkes is to open the series, which is designed not so much for those interested in antiquities as for the legion of walkers who through the summer months explore little-known spots in Britain. Some idea of ancient Britain, as revealed by this relic and that, will make these walks more interesting.	National Programme
Ancient Britain Out of Doors 2. Before the Romans	Monday 8 th April 1935, 19.30-20.00	Presenter: Stuart Piggott, in discussion with Jacquetta Hawkes. Last week Jacquetta Hawkes introduced this series, which is designed to explain some of the relics that ancient Britons and the various invaders of Britain left behind them – relics in the shape of walls and ruins and ditches, stone structures and so forth, which are to be met with in every corner of the land by those on holiday walks. For this series is designed for holiday makers rather than for antiquarians. In every county and almost every yard of England is England's history. This evening Jacquetta Hawkes will discuss some of these things with Stuart Piggott, and they will deal with relics left previous to the coming of the Romans. Types of remains; burial mounds and customs; forts and settlements; chalk-cut figures – the earliest British one, the White Horse in Berkshire. Next week, in a discussion, Jacquetta Hawkes will deal with post-Roman Britain.	National Programme
Ancient Britain Out of Doors 3. Rome and After	Monday 15 th April 1935, 19.30	Jacquetta Hawkes and Nowell Myres This evening, in the third and last broadcast in this series, Jacquetta Hawkes, who gave the introductory talk	National Programme

		<p>the week before last, is to bring Nowell Myres to the microphone and to put questions to him about relics left in Britain after the coming of the Romans. Everyone has heard of Roman Britain. But remains are no longer restricted to the earthen mounds and ditches of earlier ages. The skill of Roman architects and engineers is commemorated in the ruins of rich cities and country houses in our southern lowlands, as well as in the great military works of the north and west. Nowell Myres will distinguish between these two aspects, the civil and the military, and will describe what is most worth seeing in each. Finally he will have something to add about the barbarians who brought the four centuries of Roman rule in Britain to an end.</p>	
<p>Talk for Sixth Forms Recent excavations at Ur</p>	<p>7th May 1935, 15.35</p>	<p>Leonard Woolley</p>	<p>National Programme and Regional Programme</p>
<p>Discovering Wales 4.</p>	<p>Wednesday 20th May 1936, 22.00</p>	<p>“Pembrokeshire”, W.F. Grimes. Pembrokeshire is a county happily rich in historical as well as topographical interests. As an archaeologist and an enthusiast for this countryside, the speaker is eminently qualified to do justice to tonight’s subject.</p>	<p>Regional Programme</p>
<p>Scrapbook for 1924</p>	<p>Wednesday 27th May 1936, 19.00</p> <p>Repeated 28th May 1936</p>	<p>Miscellaneous items, including: A Year of Great Adventures Dr Howard Carter – King Tutankhamen’s Tomb.</p>	<p>Regional Programme</p>
<p>For the Schools Interlude. 2.5 Stories from World History Great Discoveries</p>	<p>Wednesday 30th September 1936, 14.00</p>	<p>Dramatic interlude written by Wray Hunt. Last week listeners were taken back to the Stone Age when men lived in caves and hunted and protected themselves against their enemies with weapons of flint. This afternoon the journey back will not be so distant – a mere 3,000 years instead of 12,000. Already man has found out how to melt and mould iron, and included in this broadcast will be a dramatic interlude showing life in a</p>	<p>National Programme</p>

		village of the Iron Age. Primitive though this life is, other inventions have made it much more comfortable than life in the Stone Age. The villagers know how to grow corn, for instance, how to keep cattle and sheep, to make pottery, and how to weave cloth.	
Discoveries in Bible Lands	Monday 31 st May 1937, 12.00	An introduction to Professor S.H. Hooke's talks on The Archaeological Background of the Old Testament. John Garstang, D.Sc., LL.D., Rankin Professor of Archaeology, University of Liverpool. During the last fifteen years Palestine has been an active centre of exploration. Gradually many of the old cities mentioned in the Bible have been brought to light, and the reality of many pages of Bible history has been established in this way. Dr Garstang will speak about some of these discoveries, in particular that of Jericho; the date of its fall forms the basis of Bible chronology.	National Programme
Digging For History (A fortnightly series of 12 episodes) 1. Archaeology in Scotland	21 st May 1937, 17.30	J.S. Richardson, Inspector of Ancient Monuments.	Western Regional Programme
Digging For History Life in a Stone Age Village – Skara Brae	Sunday 4 th July 1937, 16.00	Gordon Childe, Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Edinburgh.	Regional Programme
Digging For History: Excavation in Egypt	Sunday 29 th August 1937, 16.00	J. Grant MacDonald	Regional Programme
Digging For History Recent Excavations at the Fortress of Caerleon, S. Wales		V.E. Nash-Williams	Regional Programme
Digging For History Palestine			Regional Programme
Digging For History Egypt			Regional Programme

Digging For History Greece			Regional Programme
The Unchronicled Past: Archaeology	Friday 10 th September 1937, 22.00	John Foster Forbes	National Programme
The Unchronicled Past: The Bible in Stone	Friday 17 th September 1937, 22.00	John Foster Forbes	National Programme
The Unchronicled Past: Circles and Hieroglyphs	Wednesday 22 nd September 1937, 18.50	John Foster Forbes	National Programme
For the Schools Regional geography. The Near East. Digging up the Oldest Cities in the World	Thursday 30 th September 1937, 11.25	Ernest Mackay This is the second talk of a new series planned by Professor E. G. R. Taylor (who has also planned the Travel Talks course). The series covers a year, and will deal with the group of Western people to which we ourselves belong-those in Europe, the Mediterranean lands, and the Near East. Last week listeners heard talks about ' nature's boundaries ', by three men who have actually faced them-heat and thirst in the desert, storms at sea, and the Siberian winter. Today listeners are to hear some more first-hand experiences-those of a man who was engaged in excavation work at Kish, in the wilds of Mesopotamia, for the Oxford and Field Museum, Chicago, from 1922 to 1926, and has been excavating in India for the last seven years. At Kish Dr Mackay found a large cemetery nearly five thousand years old-but you will hear all about that.	
Chronicles in Stone	Friday 26 th November 1937, 18.45	Gordon Childe	Regional Programme
As Others See Us	Tuesday 30 th November 1937, 18.40	Henry Higgins The speakers in this series of talks are drawn from all walks of life, and their qualifications for speaking are the undoubted interest which they have shown in Wales and the Welsh people,	Regional Programme

		and their association with movements in Wales. They select their own aspects of Welsh life for comment, and are free to speak from a wholly personal standpoint. Henry Higgins, the fourth speaker in this series, is well known in North Wales as an archaeologist and public man. He will speak this evening of the character of the Welsh, and his talk will include some rather candid criticisms. His advice to English settlers in Wales is that they should learn the Welsh language, because in not doing so they miss a great deal. Everyone can appreciate the beauty of the Welsh countryside, but if they really want to enjoy life in Wales to the fullest extent, they must learn the language and get to know the people.	
Stone and Bronze	Monday 6 th December 1937, 18.40	A talk on some phases of culture in prehistoric Britain by Stuart Piggott. Recently listeners heard a talk by Professor Gordon Childe on 'Chronicles in Stone'; today's talk by Stuart Piggott follows it up. The speaker is a distinguished member of the younger school of British archaeologists, who has done important fieldwork in this country and is already an authority of international standing on Neolithic theories. He works at the Morven Institute of Archaeological Research at Avebury, and is the author of 'The Progress of Early Man', a story of man's remote past, published two years ago.	Regional Programme
Hittite Excavations	21 st March 1938, 22.00	John Garstang	National Programme
Exploring in Bible Lands 1. The Neighbours of Palestine	Sunday 24 th April 1938, 17.00	John Garstang, D.Sc., LL.D., John Rankin Professor of the Methods and Practice of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. To the Bible student few tasks prove more absorbing or exciting than to follow the fresh discoveries constantly made by the spade of the archaeologist in Bible Lands. Cities that were once little more than names to readers of the Old Testament have been brought to light, and the Bible narratives have acquired a fresh interest and meaning. Professor Garstang – who is to give two broadcast	National Programme

		talks, of which this is the first – is among those who can speak with first-hand knowledge and authority; and listeners will be helped to follow the talks more clearly if they have at hand a map of Western Asia such as is found in most Bibles.	
Exploring Bible Lands Fenced Cities of Palestine	Sunday 1 st May 1938, 17.00	John Garstang, D.Sc., LL.D., John Rankin Professor of the Methods and Practice of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool.	National Programme
Digging for History	Thursday 7 th July 1938, 22.10	Longshoremen of the West. W. F. Grimes and Roy Saunders	Regional Programme
From the Four Corners Cyprus	Wednesday 24 th August 1938, 10.45	J. R. Hilton Cyprus, where you can get excellent wine for two pence a bottle, where it is “scarcely possible to dig your back garden without turning up the fragments from five or six thousand years of successively breaking pots”, where the camels smoke cigarettes, and the principal river flows for only three days in the year - that is the particular corner of the earth listeners are to hear about this morning. It has a marvellous story, too, which the Stone-age men, the Bronze-age men, the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians and Phoenicians, the Greeks and Romans, the Arabs, the English (in Coeur-de-Lion's time), the Genoese, the Venetians, the Turks, and now the English again (thanks to Disraeli) have all played picturesque parts.	National Programme
Digging up the Past How it is Done 1.	Sunday 11 th September 1938, 17.00	The first of the series, illustrated by an archaeologist's experiences in the Near East by John Garstang, D.Sc., LL.D., John Rankin Professor of the Methods and Practice of Archaeology, in the University of Liverpool. Many listeners to previous archaeological talks have expressed a wish to know more about excavators' methods. In this series of talks, of which he is giving the first today, Professor John Garstang will tell them what they want to know. Drawing on his memories of forty years'	National Programme

		research work in the Near East-Egypt, the Sudan, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor – in amplification of his talks on “Discoveries in Bible Lands, broadcast earlier in the year, he will in today’s talk explain why, where, and how archaeologists dig, and give a brief account of a typical digger’s day.	
Digging Up the Past How it is Done 2.	Sunday 18 th September 1938, 17.00	By John Garstang, D.Sc., LL.D., John Rankin Professor of the Methods and Practice of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool.	National Programme
Does Stonehenge Belong to Wales?	Tuesday 20 th September 1938, 21.00	W. F. Grimes	Regional Programme
The Historical Geography of Wales 2. Men of the Bronze Age	Wednesday 5 th October 1938, 11.05	E.G. Bowen Two boys, playing, discovered a Bronze Age cairn on the crest of Mynydd Bach in central Cardiganshire. The remains that were found inside it have helped people to know where and when the Bronze Age folk lived in Wales. Mr Bowen will talk about it this morning with Professor Forde.	Regional Programme
For Schools. Interlude Historical Geography of Wales 3. Iron Age Forts	Wednesday 12 th October 1938, 11.00	E.G. Bowen The fort of the Iron Age at Pendinas, near Aberystwyth has recently been excavated. The director of the excavations will tell Mr Bowen what he found there.	Regional Programme
The Ancient Monuments of South Wales	Wednesday 24 th May 1939, 20.15	Sir Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales.	Regional Programme
Science Review, number 11.	31 st May 1939, 18.20 Repeated 3 rd June 1939	Professor Dorothy Garrod	National Programme
How to Read the Welsh Countryside 1. The Ancient Tracks and Roads	Thursday 22 nd June 1939, 18.45	W. F. Grimes	Regional Programme

How to Read the Welsh Countryside 2. Ancient Camps and Strongholds	Friday 14 th July 1939, 18.45	W. F. Grimes	Regional Programme
How to Read the Welsh Countryside 3. Caves	Saturday 5 th August 1939, 19.30	W. F. Grimes	Regional Programme
How To Look at the Past	Wednesday 30 th August 1939, 19.30 Repeated 31 st August 1939	Stuart Piggott, local secretary for Wessex, Prehistoric Society.	Western Regional Programme
For the Schools – Let’s Go To the Museum	Friday 15 December 1939, 14.00	A talk by Sir Cyril Fox, Director, National Museum of Wales.	Home Service
Women Generally Speaking – We Talk to India. Prehistoric Europe	15 th October 1941	Jacquetta Hawkes	Asian Service
How Things Began Near-Man discovers fire and makes tools	Wed 21 st January 1942, 11.40	By Dina Dobson. Tom and Polly go to the Pleistocene room in their local museum.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Near-Man lives in caves	Wed 28 th January 1942, 11.40	By Dina Dobson. The advance of the ice, and Mousterian man.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Real-Man at last	4 th February 1942, 11.40	By Dina Dobson. Cro-Magnon man and his contemporary animals.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Cave artists and magicians	Wed 11 th February 1942, 11.40	By Dina Dobson. Tom and Polly meet their friend Mr Wilson, the curator of the museum, and hear about Cro-Magnon man in Spain and France.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Times of change	18 th February 1942, 11.40	By Dina Dobson. Tom and Polly visit their friend, the curator of the museum, and hear about the age of transition, and the domestication of the dog.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Houses and neighbours	25 th February 1942, 11.00	By Dina Dobson. Tom and Polly visit the museum, and the curator tells them about the Neolithic peoples and their homes.	Schools: Home Service

How Things Began Men become farmers	Wednesday 4 th March 1942, 11.40	By Dina Dobson. Tom and Polly see more of the exhibits in the New Stone Age room of the museum, and Mr Wilson visits a New Stone Age village.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Spinning and weaving	Wednesday 18 th March 1942, 11.00	By Dina Dobson. Tom and Polly go to the museum, and hear how Neolithic men and women used the wool from their sheep to make clothes.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Men use metal	Wed 25 th March 1942, 11.40	By Dina Dobson. Tom and Polly go to the museum, where they learn about the discovery of metal and its importance	Schools: Home Service
The Birth of Science (a series of six talks by science experts) A Talk on Science	2 nd June 1942, 11.15	By Gordon Childe. Talks Producer Indian Section: Eric Blair (George Orwell).	Eastern Overseas Service
How Things Began Men draw pictures	Tues 2 nd February 1943, 11.20	By Dina Dobson and Rhoda Power. Cave artists of the Ice Age.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began The first corn bins	Tuesday 2 nd March 143, 11.00	By Rhoda Power. How men of the New Stone Age began to cultivate and store corn: the 'BBC Observer from the Past' visits a Neolithic village in Egypt. (BBC recording.)	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began The first farmyards	Wednesday 10 th March 1943, 11.00	By Rhoda Power. Continuing the story of the Neolithic Age.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Smiths provide new tools	Tuesday 11 th May 1943, 11.00	By Rhoda Power. The Bronze Age. Metal workers of the Ancient East (3500 B.C.).	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Metal workers on the move	Tuesday 22 nd June 1943, 11.00	By Rhoda Power. How travelling metal-workers opened up trade-routes in Bronze Age Europe: tinker's hoards; trade in gold, amber, salt, tools and jewels.	Schools: Home Service
Bombs and Archaeology	July 1943	Philip Corder	Forces Programme
From All Over Britain	5 th November 1943	Interview with Sir Cyril Fox, Welsh National Museum, Cardiff.	Cardiff Home Service
The Archaeologist in Wales	3 rd January 1944, 16.00	Talk on how history is made, by Sir Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales.	Home Service

How Things Began Men draw pictures and carve bone	Tuesday 8 th February 1944, 2.10	By Rhoda Power and Dina Dobson. Uncle Jim shows George and Alice some reproductions of cave art, and explains that the pictures were probably a form of magic to ensure the food supply. He tells how harpoons and fish-hooks helped to increase food for the Paleolithic kitchen front.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Learning to count and to measure	Tuesday 23 rd May 1944, 13.50	By Rhoda Power. How farming, metal-working, building and navigation needed careful measurement which led to arithmetic and geometry; the 'BBC Commentator from the Past' visits Ancient Egypt and sees a shadow clock and a nilometer in use.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Learning to write	2.10pm on Tuesday 30 th May 1944	By Rhoda Power.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began The First Seamen	Tuesday 13 th June 1944, 13.50	By Rhoda Power. The 'BBC Observer from the Past' describes the trading expedition sent by Queen Hatshepsut of Ancient Egypt. (BBC recording.)	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began The coming of iron	Tuesday 27 th June 1944, 14.10	By Rhoda Power.	Schools: Home Service
The Arts 4. Works of Art in the Firing Line	Friday 23 rd February 1945, 22.30	Leonard Woolley	Home Service
How Things Began Metal smiths at work	Tuesday 1 st May 1945, 13.50	By Rhoda Power. The "BBC Observer from the Past" visits a Sumerian city in the Bronze Age, and is present when Queen Shubad pays an official visit to her goldsmith.	Home Service
How Things Began The first seamen	Tuesday 8 th May 1945, 14.10	By Rhoda Power. Different kinds of water craft on the Euphrates: an Egyptian trading expedition in the days of Queen Hat-shep-sut. (BBC recording.)	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began Learning to count and measure	Tuesday 22 nd May 1945, 13.50	By Rhoda Power. How necessity became the mother of invention. The 'BBC Observer from the Past' visits Egypt when the Nile is rising and sees how the nilometer is used. (BBC recording.)	Schools: Home Service

How Things Began The People of Windmill Hill	Tuesday 12 th June 1945, 13.50	By Jacquetta Hawkes: how civilisation came to Britain. The BBC Observer from the Past visits a causewayed camp.	Schools: Home Service
How Things Began A Visit to Avebury	20 th June 1945	Script: Jacquetta Hawkes and Rhoda Power.	Schools: Home Service
Man Takes Over 1. Plants and Animals: the first of six talks on man's first steps in co-operation with nature	Wednesday 17 th October 1945, 10.40	Gordon Childe	Forces Educational / Light Programme
Man Takes Over 2. The Influence of Metals: the second of six talks on man's co-operation with nature	Wednesday 24 th October 1945, 10.40	Gordon Childe	Forces Educational Broadcast / Light Programme
Man Takes Over Six talks on man's co-operation with nature. 4. The Effect of Iron Tools	Wednesday 31 st October 1945, 10.40 Repeated November 1945	Gordon Childe	Forces Educational Broadcast / Light Programme
Caves and Coombes	Wednesday 24 th October 1945, 13.40	By Dina Dobson.	For Rural Schools: Home Service
Calling Australia	6 th November 1945	Gordon Childe	Pacific Service
The Effect of Cheap Iron Tools (in series of Forces Educational Broadcasts)	7 th November 1945	Gordon Childe	Light Programme (Services Educational)
Man Takes Over 5. New Ways of Living	Wednesday 14 th November 1945, 10.40	Gordon Childe	Light Programme
Man Takes Over 6. Machines and Social Orders	Wednesday 21 st November 1945, 10.40	Gordon Childe. Final talk of the series on man's co-operation with nature.	Light Programme
How Things Began The first stew pots	Tuesday 12 th March 1946, 14.10	By Rhoda Power. The 'BBC Observer from the Past' visits a Neolithic settlement in prehistoric Egypt, watches people making pottery, and sees the uses to which pots are put at a burial.	Schools: Home Service

Australians in Britain (series) The Purpose of Archaeology	14 th June 1946	Gordon Childe	Pacific Service
The World Goes By (magazine series) Item three: The Excavation of Roman Remains in London	20 th June 1946, 18.30	Gordon Home Hosted by David Lloyd James.	Home Service
How Things Began A Recent Discovery	Tuesday 2 nd July 1946, 14.10	Written for broadcasting by Rhoda Power. The early Iron Age, and a recent find in Anglesey. (BBC recording.)	Home Service
The Study of Mankind no. 7 Prehistory	10 th October 1946, 17.00	Presenter: Jacquetta Hawkes. Producer: Sunday Wilshin.	Eastern Overseas Service
The Archaeologist (series -first broadcast)	13 th October 1946, 20.30- 20.45	Presenter: Glyn Daniel. Producer: Gilbert Phelps.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist 4. The First Farmers	Sunday 3 rd November 1946, 18.45	Jacquetta Hawkes A series of eight talks about his work and his contributions to the history of men.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist 5. Stonehenge and the Bronze Age	Sunday 10 th November 1946, 19.00	A series of eight talks about his work and his contributions to the history of men. By Stuart Piggott, Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh.	Third Programme
The Study of Mankind, no. 9	28 th November 1946, 15.15	Presenter: Grahame Clark. Producer: Sunday Wilshin.	Eastern Overseas Service
The Archaeologist	Sunday 1 st December 1946, 18.45	Gordon Childe, Director of the Institute of Archaeology in the University of London.	Third Programme
A New Discovery in Egyptology	Monday 21 st April 1947, 22.45	Talk by Leonard Cottrell. Eye-witness account of a recent visit to the newly-opened Pyramid of Snefru at Dashur in Egypt.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist Romans in the West	April 1947	Presenter: Jacquetta Hawkes. Producer: Gilbert Phelps.	Third Programme
Week's Good Cause	Sunday 20 th April 1947, 20.25	Appeal on behalf of the Welsh Folk Museum, by Sir Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales. Contributions will be gratefully acknowledged and	Home Service

		should be addressed to (address removed).	
The Archaeologist	Tuesday 3 rd June 1947, 20.05	A new series about the archaeologist and his work. 1. Giant's Graves. A programme about the megalithic long barrows of the West Country. With Elsie M. Clifford FSA, and Professor Stuart Piggott.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist	Wednesday 4 th June 1947, 21.35	2. The Romans in the West. Rev M.P. Charlesworth on the Roman conquest and colonisation of the West Country, Aileen Fox on the blitzed sites of Exeter, and H.S.L. Dewar on the discovery of the Roman villa at Low Ham. Produced by Gilbert Phelps.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist 3. The first cave-dwellers in the West	Friday 6 th June 1947, 20.25	Dr Dina Dobson on recent discoveries about Palaeolithic Man in the Mendips; Miles Burkitt on Kent's Cavern at Torquay. Programme introduced by Glyn Daniel PhD. Produced by Gilbert Phelps.	Third Programme
Paganism in the West	27 th July 1947	T.G.E. Powell talks about heathen beliefs in the West Country before the arrival of Christianity, and their survival into Christian times. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Produced by Gilbert Phelps.	West of England Home Service
The Archaeologist 7. The Iron Age in the West	Sunday 24 th August 1947, 22.38	Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Produced by Gilbert Phelps.	Home Service
The Tomb Robbers of Thebes	Friday 29 th August 1947, 20.10 Repeated 20 th September and 5 th December 1947	A dissertation on the ancient art of tomb robbing, with dramatic illustrations from the reign of Rameses IX to the present day. Based on original documents, and including songs by the inhabitants of the Theban Necropolis recorded at Luxor by W.J.H. Barrett, with a commentary by Zakariya Ghoneim, Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt. Written and produced by Leonard Cottrell.	Third Programme
Ancient British Farmers in Wessex	21 st October 1947	A programme about the excavations at Woodbury, and the picture they give of Celtic rural life in Wessex. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. With Christopher Hawked and John Brailsford.	West of England Home Service

		Produced by Gilbert Phelps.	
The Romans In Britain	23 rd November 1947, 21.30	Featuring Derek Guyler as The Archaeologist. Produced by Jenifer Wayne.	Third Programme
Book Review	Saturday 14 th February 1948, 21.00	L.P. Kirwan, Director of the Royal Geographical Society, discusses the importance of those early British explorers and archaeologists whose work in Mesopotamia is described in "Foundations in the Dust" by Seton Lloyd.	Third Programme
How Things Began: The first potters (Neolithic Age)	Monday 1 st March 1948, 11.00	Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began: The first cloth makers. A visit to a Neolithic settlement	Monday 8 th March 1948, 11.00	10. The first cloth makers. Some of the oldest cloth was found in Egypt in a Neolithic village. In this programme you can hear how men of the New Stone Age first made this cloth. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
Strange World 3. Time and Chance	Wednesday 17 th March 1948	Glyn Daniel talks about the ways in which accident has revealed important archaeological discoveries.	Home Service
Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians	Saturday 27 th March 1948, 19.00	Archaeology links geology to history. A talk by Glyn Daniel.	Third Programme
How Things Began: The end of prehistoric Britain	Monday 5 th July 1948, 11.00	Script by Jacquetta Hawkes.	Schools: Home Service
Paganism in the West	Monday 19 th July 1948, 18.00	T.G.E. Powell talks about heathen beliefs in the West Country before the arrival of Christianity, and their survival into Christian times. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Produced by Gilbert Phelps. (Recording of the broadcast in the West of England Home Service on 27 th July 1947.)	Third Programme
Prehistoric Trade	Wednesday 21 st July 1948, 18.45	A programme about the prehistoric trade routes between the West Country and the Continent, with special reference to the ancient Cornish tin trade. With Stuart Piggott and T.G.E. Powell. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Produced by Gilbert Phelps.	Third Programme

Ancient British Farmers in Wessex	Friday 23 rd July 1948, 18.45	A programme about the excavations at Woodbury, and the picture they give of Celtic rural life in Wessex. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. With Christopher Hawked and John Brailsford. Produced by Gilbert Phelps. (Originally broadcast in the West of England Home Service on 21 st October 1947.)	Third Programme
The Cultural Landscape	Wednesday 11 th August 1948, 18.30	A talk by Glyn Daniel. Air photography helps archaeologist, historian and human geographer in the study of earlier civilisations.	Third Programme
Three Famous Archaeological Sites Talk about Avebury	Wednesday 1 st September 1948, 18.30	By Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
The Cromlechs of Wales	Thursday 2 nd September 1948, 20.00	Talk by Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
Three Famous Archaeological Sites Talk about Stoney Littleton	Wednesday 8 th September 1948, 18.30.	By Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
Three Famous Archaeological Sites Talk about Grimspound	Wednesday 15 th September 1948, 18.30	By Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
In Britain Now (A 4-minute script on the National Folk Museum of Wales)	20 th October 1948	Presenter: Iorweth Peate, Keeper, National Folk Museum of Wales, Cardiff.	SB Home
The Story of Pembrokeshire	Wednesday 3 rd November 1948, 19.15	Talk by W. F. Grimes.	Home Service
The Danish Exhibition and Prehistory	Monday 20 th December 1948, 19.50	Glyn Daniel recently visited the exhibition of Danish art treasures at the Victoria and Albert Museum. He speaks about the remarkable appreciation of prehistory which is apparent in this exhibition, and the reasons for it.	Third Programme

The Dawn of Welsh History	Tuesday 1st February 1949, 19.55	Talk by Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
The Dawn of Welsh History	Tuesday 8 th February 1949, 20.15	Talk by Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
The Dawn of Welsh History	15 th February 1949	Talk by Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
The Dawn of Welsh History	Tuesday 22 nd February 1949, 20.15	Talk by Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
The Tomb of Tutankhamen	Thursday 3 rd March 1949, 21.30	With Jack Hawkins as Howard Carter. A programme recalling the most romantic discovery in the history of Egyptology – the almost intact tomb of the Pharaoh Tutankhamen, who died over 1,300 years before Christ. Written, compiled, and produced by Leonard Cottrell. Technical assistance and advice by Professor P.E. Newberry. O.B.E., and Sir Alan Gardiner, D.Litt., F.B.A.	Home Service
Excavating London's Bombed Sites	Monday 11 April 1949, 22.40	Talk by W. F. Grimes, F.S.A., Director of the London Museum, who is one of the archaeologists supervising the diggings now going on in those areas of the city that were cleared by bombing.	Third Programme
The Tomb of Tutankhamen	Sunday 1 st May 1949, 16.00 Repeated 15 th January 1950	With Jack Hawkins as Howard Carter. A programme recalling the most romantic discovery in the history of Egyptology – the almost intact tomb of the Pharaoh Tutankhamen, who died over 1,300 years before Christ. Written, compiled, and produced by Leonard Cottrell. Technical assistance and advice by Professor P.E. Newberry. O.B.E., and Sir Alan Gardiner, D.Litt., F.B.A.	Home Service
Science Review (series) War and Archaeology	30 th May 1949 Repeated 31 st May 1949	Grahame Clark	General Overseas Service / Pacific and North American Services
Digging Up The Past	Wednesday 13 July 1949, 19.30	Thomas Woodroffe and W.F. Grimes, Director of the London Museum, investigate a mediaeval site in the	Home Service

		process of excavation near Cripplegate Church in the City of London.	
The World Goes By: Archaeological School	31 st August 1949	Presented by Sylvia Matheson.	Home Service
Woman's Hour	Monday 12 th September 1949, 14.00	Introduced by Olive Shapley. (Amongst other articles...) "Children of Ancient Egypt, by Dr Margaret Murray.	Light Programme
Archaeology is an Adventure (a six-part series) The First Farmers	Friday 7 th October 1949, 22.00	W F Grimes	Home Service
Archaeology is an Adventure The Roman Midlands	Friday 28 th October 1949, 22.00	Kathleen Kenyon	Home Service
The Heritage of Early Britain	Monday 5 th December 1949, 20.15	The prehistoric peoples, by Glyn Daniel.	Third Programme
The Lascaux Cave Paintings	Tuesday 17 th January 1950, 22.55	Presented by Glyn Daniel. Dr Daniel reviews two recent books on the subject	Third Programme
The Tell Harmal Excavations	10 th April 1950, 22.35 Repeated 25 th August 1950	Talk by Seton Lloyd, O.B.E., F.S.A., Director of the British Institute of Archaeology, Ankara. The speaker describes the excavations in Mesopotamia which have revealed remains of the ancient city-state of Eshnunna and which give a detailed picture of Babylonian life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries B.C. He speaks in particular about the Uw tablets found in the miniature city at Tell Harmal, and of their provisions for regulating civil life in Eshnunna.	Third Programme
Douglass Montgomery as Dr Reisner in "Mother of Cheops" An archaeological detective story	Tuesday 23 rd May 1950, 20.00	Written and produced by Leonard Cottrell. In 1924 the Harvard-Boston Expedition, under Dr Reisner, discovered the tomb of Queen Hetephras, mother of Cheops, builder of the Great Pyramid. This programme shows how Reisner's brilliant deduction brought to light a drama of Ancient Egypt.	Home Service

The Imperial Porphyry of Smoke Mountain	Friday 4 th August 1950, 18.40 Repeated 7 th December 1950	Talk by David Meredith. Fourteen years ago David Meredith and a colleague began their exploration of the Roman roads and quarry settlements in the Eastern Desert of Egypt. In this talk the speaker gives an account of the rich red porphyry so highly prized by the Romans, and of its only source – the quarries at the summit of Smoke Mountain.	Third Programme
Digging For History – A Northern archaeological newsletter	9 th February 1951, 19.30	Host: Terence Powell. Contributors: Grahame Clark, John Moore and Clare Fell.	Northern and N. Ireland Home Services
The Ionian Cities	Sunday 15 th April 1951, 21.55 Repeated 26 th September 1951	Talk by Seton Lloyd O.B.E., F.S.A, Director of the British Institute of Archaeology, Ankara. An account of a tour of some of the principal sites of Greek civilisation in Asia Minor: Ephesus, Pergamum, Miletus and Priene.	Third Programme
Nefertiti Lived Here	Wednesday 1 st August 1951, 9.30	Talk by Mary Chubb. Miss Chubb was appointed secretary-book-keeper to an archaeological expedition to Egypt, and despite the unromantic nature of the job she was responsible for unearthing various kinds of jewellery and a little sculptured head of a daughter of Nefertiti.	Home Service
The Evolution of Human Society	27 November 1951, 20:00 Repeated 28 th November 1951	Talk by Glyn Daniel, Lecturer in Archaeology in the University of Cambridge. In his recently published book "Social Evolution" Professor Gordon Childe examines the archaeological evidence for the evolution of human society and culture in prehistoric times. In this talk Dr Daniel discusses Professor Childe's arguments and conclusions and relates them to earlier writers on social evolution. To be repeated tomorrow.	Third Programme
Jericho	Wednesday 12 th March 1952, 22.30	Talk by Kathleen Kenyon. The site of ancient Jericho is at present the scene of new archaeological research intended to produce new evidence on the dating of the historic city. Before the expedition set to work Miss Kenyon, who is Director of the British School of Archaeology in	Home Service

		Jericho, recorded this description of the objects of the dig.	
For the Schools. Travel Talks. Famous Places: The Pyramids of Egypt	Friday 14 th March 1952, 14.00	Script written by Lawrence Kirwan.	Schools: Home Service
'Special Correspondent' Digging up Jericho	Wednesday 2 nd April 1952, 19.45	Talk by Kathleen Kenyon, Director of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, and Nancy Lord, Photographer to the Exhibition. Miss Kenyon and Miss Lord describe the site and the methods of work used in these excavations. They also speak of some important discoveries regarding the history of Jericho as a city.	Home Service
The Sin-Temples of Harran	Monday 21 st April 1952, 21.45 Repeated 25 th April 1952	Talk by Seton Lloyd O.B.E., Director of the British Institute of Archaeology, Ankara. Last summer an Anglo-Turkish party set out to examine on of the Harranian temples, where as late as the twelfth century AD the moon-god Sin was worshipped as he had been by the ancient Sumerians three thousand years earlier. Seton Lloyd, who directed the work in collaboration with the Turkish Antiquities Department, speaks of the significance of this curious religious survival, of the difficulties of the excavations, and of the discovery of a tablet bearing part of the Epic of Gilgamesh.	Third Programme
Social Evolution	Wednesday 23 rd April 1952, 21.00	Gordon Childe	Third Programme
Woman's Hour	Monday 19 th May 1952, 14:00	Jacquetta Hawkes. "Window on the World." Jacquetta Hawkes opens this week's window which looks out onto Britain.	Light Programme
Economic Prehistory	Tuesday 20 th May 1952, 20.30	Talk by Gordon Childe. The speaker is Director of the Institute of Archaeology and Professor of Prehistoric European Archaeology in the University of London. In this talk he considers the first steps in the creation of an economy adequate to the exploitation of the unique resources of our Continent in the light of Graham	Third Programme

		Clark's recent book "Prehistoric Europe: the Economic Basis".	
"Two Sides of the Mirror"	Thursday 22 nd May 1952, 23.30	Gordon Childe	Third Programme
The Present Looks At The Past	July 1952 Repeated 31 st October 1952, at 16.30	Produced and presented by Audrey Russell. Featuring Charles Gardner, Frank Gillard and David Lloyd James.	Home Service
Social Evolution	Tuesday 12 th August 1952, 18.00	Gordon Childe	Third Programme
The Archaeologist	Sunday 7 th September 1952, 22.10	A series of monthly programmes reviewing archaeological developments and discoveries in the British Isles. Edited and introduced by Glyn Daniel. In this edition Glyn Daniel discusses the scope and purpose of the programmes, and Stuart Piggott talks about recent work that has been done at the Aubrey Holes at Stonehenge. Produced by Alan Gibson.	Home Service
Midlands Miscellany	Wednesday 10 th September 1952, 22.05	A programme devoted to History, the Arts and kindred subjects. Kathleen Kenyon on new excavations at Wroxeter.	Midland Home Service
The Past Around Us	Monday 24 th November 1952, 19.30	A series of five programmes about local history. 2. Llantwit Major. Introduced by Glyn Daniel, with V.E. Nash-Williams, Emrys Bowen and William Rees.	Home Service
Abbe Breuil and Palaeolithic Art	Saturday 20 th December 1952, 22.10	Glyn Daniel reviews the Abbe Breuil's recently-published work <i>Four Hundred Years of Cave Art</i> .	Third Programme
A Page of History	Tuesday 30 th December 1952, 18.30	The Earliest Times, by Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
Myth or Legend?	Sunday 1 st February 1953, 11.15	A series of six talks introduced by Glyn Daniel, who speaks about 'Lyonesse'.	Home Service

The Archaeologist	Sunday 11 th January 1953, 22.10	Introduced by Glyn Daniel. With J.F.S. Stone, a research chemist, discussing the 'foreign stones' at Stonehenge.	Home Service
Myth or Legend?	Sunday 22 nd February 1953, 11.15	The Flood by Sir Leonard Woolley.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Sunday 12 th April 1953, 21.15	A series of quarterly programmes reviewing archaeological developments and discoveries in the British Isles. Edited and introduced by Glyn Daniel. Stanwick and the North of Britain at the Roman Conquest. M. Wheeler, Professor of Archaeology in the University of London, and Secretary of the British Academy. Produced by Alan Gibson.	Home Service
O.G.S. Crawford and Field Archaeology	Monday 18 th May 1953, 21.50 Repeated 24 th May 1953	Talk by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Provinces in the University of London. Sir Mortimer Wheeler describes the contributions made to modern archaeology by O.G.S. Crawford, and particularly his pioneer work on the study of man in his relationship to the landscape and in the use of aerial observation and photography in the study of prehistoric agriculture. He explains Dr Crawford's insistence on the importance of fieldwork, as set out in his recently published book "Archaeology in the Field".	Third Programme
Jericho Before Joshua	Saturday 23 rd May 1953, 18.45 Repeated 29 th June 1953	Talk by Kathleen Kenyon. Human skulls with features modelled in plaster were discovered in this year's archaeological excavations at Jericho. These and other remarkable finds suggest that Jericho was one of man's earliest permanent settlements. Dr Kenyon, who led the joint expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Oriental Research, describes some of the discoveries and examines the evidence they offer.	Third Programme
The Fall of Byzantium	Saturday 30th May 1953, 20.35	By Seton Lloyd, Director of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara. A talk on the Turkish view of the fall of Byzantium and in particular of the cultural traditions and monuments of the	Third Programme

		Seljuk Turks. Last of a group of three talks.	
Sir Flinders Petrie	Sunday 7 th June 1953, 17.35 Repeated 11 th June 1953	A memoir by Margaret Murray. Dr Murray, who studied Egyptology under Sir Flinders Petrie at the beginning of this century, has recorded her impressions of the man and his achievements. Petrie was born on June 3 rd , 1853.	Third Programme
The Tomb with the Bulls' Heads	Wednesday 17 th June 1953, 21.40	Talk by W.B. Emery, Professor of Egyptology in the University of London. Sir Flinders Petrie, the founder of scientific archaeological method in Egypt, was born a hundred years ago. Working in the Petrie tradition, the Egypt Exploration Society has recently re-opened excavations at North Saqqara and made a number of important finds, including a large First Dynasty tomb – probably of King Uadji (c. 32100 B.C.). Professor Emery, who directed the excavations, speaks of the light thrown by these finds on the origins of civilisation in Egypt.	Third Programme
Sir Flinders Petrie	Thursday 18 th June 1953, 21.10 Repeated 24 th June 1953	An appreciation by S.R.K. Glanville, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Herbert Thompson, Professor of Egyptology in the University. This is a shortened version of Professor Glanville's lecture given yesterday at University College, London, in celebration of the centenary of Petrie's birth. Sir Flinders Petrie was Edwards Professor of Egyptology at University College from 1892 to 1933.	Third Programme
Edward Lhwyd, 1660-1709	Thursday 25 th June 1953, 21.45	Talk by Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Barclodiad y Gawres and the Oldest Art in Wales	Thursday 23 rd July 1953, 22.25	A series of quarterly programmes reviewing archaeological developments and discoveries in the British Isles. Edited and introduced by Glyn Daniel, PhD, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge and Lecturer in Archaeology in the University. In this edition Dr Daniel introduces T.G.E. Powell, Lecturer in Prehistoric Archaeology of Western Europe in the University of Liverpool. Excavations were begun in 1952 and	Home Service

		completed in 1953 at Barclodiad y Gawres, a megalithic tomb in South-west Anglesey. In plan this tomb resembles one of the great Irish passage graves, and several of the walling stones were found to be covered with incised geometrical and schematic designs. With the engravings from Bryn Celli Ddu, also in Anglesey, these stones constitute the oldest art found in Wales. In this programme the speakers discuss the connections and origins of this art in the tombs of Ireland, France, Iberia and the West Mediterranean. Produced by Alan Gibeon.	
The Bull of Minos	Tuesday 18 th August 1953, 20.00	By Leonard Cottrell. Over half a century ago Sir Arthur Evans began to unearth the Palace of Knossos in Crete, legendary home of King Minos. Following on the work of the German archaeologist, Schliemann, Evans revealed that there had existed in the Eastern Mediterranean a rich and splendid civilisation contemporary with that of Ancient Egypt. This programme retells the story of the discovery and of how the ancient Greek legends were proved to rest on a basis of fact. Produced by Leonard Cottrell who writes on page 9.	Home Service
Annals of the Parish	Tuesday 25 th August 1953, 19.35	Talk by W.G. Hoskins. Since the appointment in 1533 of John Leland as King's Antiquary, the study of local records and local history has progressed in Great Britain until today it is almost universal. W.G. Hoskins, Reader in Economic History at Oxford, speaks of the importance of this increased interest in local history and of such publications as those issued in recent years by the Essex Record Office.	Third Programme
The Fall of Byzantium	Friday 11 th September 1953, 23.40 Repeated 24 th September 1953	By Seton Lloyd, Director of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara. Mr Lloyd speaks of the Turkish view of the fall of Byzantium and in particular of the cultural traditions and monuments of the Seljuk Turks. This is the last of a series of three talks commemorating the	Third Programme

		quincenary of the fall of Byzantium. (The recorded broadcast of May 30.)	
Our Concern with the Past	Monday 19 th October 1953, 20.15	Guest speaker: Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Excavations at Tara	Sunday 25 th October 1953, 22.30	Autumn number, 1953. Edited and introduced by Glyn Daniel, illustrated by recordings made at Tara by Professor Sean O’Riordan, University College Dublin, director of those excavations. Produced by John Irving.	Home Service
Children’s Hour For Younger Listeners How the First Letter Was Written	Monday 30 th November 1953, 17.00	Production by Josephine Plummer. ‘Once upon a time was a Neolithic man. He was not a Jute or an Angle, or even a Dravidian, which he might well have been Best Beloved, but never mind why. He was a Primitive and he lived only in a cave, and he wore very few clothes, and he couldn’t read and he couldn’t write and he didn’t want to, and, except when he was hungry, he was quite happy.’	Home Service
The Archaeologist Lake Dwellings in the British Isles	Sunday 13 th December 1953, 22.25 Repeated 15 th December 1953	Edited and introduced by Glyn Daniel. Includes an introduction by H. St George Gray, and a description by Professor E. E. Evans of Queens University Belfast of recent discoveries in N. Ireland. Dr Daniel also reviews current work at other sites in Britain and Ireland. Produced by John Irving.	Home Service
The Bull of Minos	Sunday 17 th January 1954, 21.30	By Leonard Cottrell. Over half a century ago Sir Arthur Evans began to unearth the Palace of Knossos in Crete, legendary home of King Minos. Following on the work of the German archaeologist, Schliemann, Evans revealed that there had existed in the Eastern Mediterranean a rich and splendid civilisation contemporary with that of Ancient Egypt. This programme retells the story of the discovery and of how the ancient Greek legends were proved to rest on a basis of fact. Produced by Leonard Cottrell who writes on page 9.	Home Service

For the Schools. Travel Talks: The New and the Old in Egypt	Friday 29 th January 1954, 14.00	Francis Noel-Baker describes a journey along the Nile, and a visit to Tutankhamen's tomb.	Schools: Home Service
The Archaeologist Submarine Archaeology	Tuesday 2 nd March 1954	Discussion between Sir Mortimer Wheeler, and the editor of this series, Glyn Daniel. Recent underwater excavations in the Bay of Marseilles under Commandant Jacques-Yves Cousteau, have drawn attention to new possibilities in this branch of archaeology. Produced by John Irving.	Home Service
The Anatomy of the English Countryside 1. Ordeal by Planning	Monday 19 th April 1954 Repeated 26 th June 1954	A group of five talks by W.G. Hoskins. While the geologist may explain the fundamental structure of the landscape, the bones that give shape to the scene, it is the historian's task to show how man has clothed the geological skeleton during the comparatively recent past. In these talks Dr Hoskins, Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, is concerned with the various ways by which man – from Saxon to Victorian times – has altered the shape of the natural landscape. In this talk Dr Hoskins reconsiders the view that the parliamentary enclosure movement changed England, almost overnight, into a country of hedges and singing birds, and he examines the effects of enclosure on the English landscape.	Third Programme
The Anatomy of the English Countryside 2. A Hand-made World	Saturday 24 th April 1954, 21.55	A group of five talks by W.G. Hoskins. At least a bit of rural England was untouched by the enclosure movement of the eighteenth century – the 'ordeal by planning'. Other and older forces have shaped what Dr Hoskins calls the "peasant landscape, created with axe and mattock, spade and saw...yard by yard and sometimes foot by foot".	Third Programme
The Anatomy of the English Countryside 3. The Road Between	Sunday 25 th April 1954, 21.55 Repeated 4 th July 1954	A group of five talks by W. G. Hoskins. In these talks Dr Hoskins, Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, is concerned with the various ways by which man – from Saxon to Victorian times – has altered the shape of the natural landscape. The difference	Third Programme

		between the sunken lanes of Devon, the snake-like roads of Lincolnshire, and the direct routes of central England, is self-evident to any motorist. In this talk Dr Hoskins treats such difference in terms of landscape history. Next talk: May 3.	
The Anatomy of the English Countryside 4. "The Rash Assault"	Monday 3 rd May 1954, 22.15 Repeated 17 th July 1954	A group of five talks by W.G. Hoskins. In these talks Dr Hoskins, who is Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, is concerned with the various ways by which man, from Saxon to Victorian times, has altered the shape of the natural landscape. "Is there no nook of English ground secure from rash assault?" Wordsworth demanded when the builders of railways began to manipulate the landscape on a grand scale. The railway engineers took over from two generations of canal builders, and in his talk Dr Hoskins considers the impact of both canal and railway construction on the rural scene.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist Maps and Archaeology	Tuesday 4 th May 1954, 22.15	Edited and introduced by Glyn Daniel. O.G.S. Crawford, the eminent field archaeologist, C.W. Phillips of the Ordnance Survey, and A.J. Taylor, Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales, talk about the surveying and preservation of ancient monuments. As summer approaches many amateur archaeologists consult their maps to choose sites worth visiting. This may be done more easily in Britain than anywhere else thanks to the Ordnance Survey.	Home Service
The Anatomy of the English Countryside 5. The House through the Trees	Thursday 6 May 1954, 19.35	Last of five talks by W.G. Hoskins. In these talks, Dr Hoskins has, by implication, corrected a current impression that the whole of the modern English landscape is a creation of the eighteenth century – the age of parliamentary enclose. In his final talk he develops this theme, and considers in particular the effect on the rural scene of the building of country houses in parklands, a more specifically Georgian feature of landscape history.	Network Three

The Tombs of the First Dynasty	Tuesday 18 th May 1954, 19.05	Talk by W.B. Emery. Edwards Professor of Egyptology in the University of London. Professor Emery speaks of the great tomb at Sakkara, thought to be of the Pharaoh Ka-a, which he has recently excavated for the Egyptian Exploration Society. He speaks of the evidence provided by this and other First Dynasty tombs for the introduction of civilisation to Egypt.	Third Programme
Malta In Prehistory (a three-part series) 1. The Megalithic Temples of Malta	23 rd May 1954	John Ward-Perkins Producer Prudence Smith.	Third Programme
Economic Prehistory	June 1954	Presenter/Script: Gordon Childe.	
Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles (Book Review)	June 1954	Presenter/Script: Gordon Childe.	
Devon and Dr Hoskins	Sunday 6 th June 1954, 21.30	Professor R.H. Tawney talks about Devon by W.G. Hoskins, recently published in A New Survey of England, edited by Jack Simmons.	Third Programme
Neolithic Britain	Tuesday 15 th June 1954, 20.10	Talk by Gordon Childe. Professor Childe describes the first colonisation of Britain by groups of stone-using farmers, and he discusses their material culture, trade, and communications in the light of Professor Piggott's recent book "The Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles".	Third Programme
General Methods. Private Aims	Tuesday 13 th July 1954, 20.10	Talk by Glyn Daniel, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Glyn Daniel talks about the close association that seems to exist, at any rate in the tradition of British excavation, between the military and the archaeological life. His remarks are prompted by the recent publication of <i>Archaeology From The Earth</i> by Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	Third Programme
The Excavations in Malta	18 th July 1954	John Evans Produced by Prudence Smith.	Third Programme
Malta in Prehistory	25 th July 1954	Stuart Piggott Produced by Prudence Smith.	Third Programme

The Tombs of the First Dynasty	Thursday 5 th August 1954, 23.10	Talk by W.B. Emery. Edwards Professor of Egyptology in the University of London. Professor Emery speaks of the great tomb at Sakkara, thought to be of the Pharaoh Ka, which he has recently excavated for the Egyptian Exploration Society. He speaks of the evidence provided by this and other First Dynasty tombs for the introduction of civilisation to Egypt.	Third Programme
The 'New' Pyramid	Sunday 8 th August 1954, 21.30 Repeated 5 th October 1954	Programme written and presented by Leonard Cottrell. Leonard Cottrell has recently returned from Egypt, where he spent several weeks in the company of Dr Zakaria Goneim, discoverer of the 'new' pyramid at Saqqara – one of the most interesting archaeological finds of recent years. This programme, based upon recordings made on the actual site of the excavation and within the pyramid itself, tells the full story of this discovery from the beginning – a discovery which is still only in its initial stages and may yet yield some surprises. (The recorded broadcast of August 8 th .)	Home Service
The Recent Discoveries in Egypt	Saturday 21 st August 1954, 19.35	Talk by William Hayes, Head of the Department of Egyptology in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Dr Hayes came to this country a few days ago from Egypt, where he has been examining the recent finds made by Egyptian archaeologists. He gives his views of the 'boats of Cheops', the Third Dynasty burial at Saqqara, and the temple-palace of Seti I at Abydos.	Third Programme
The Burial at Vix	Thursday 26 th August 1954, 21.05 Repeated 7 th December 1954	Talk by Jacques Heurgon, Maitre de Conference a la Faute des Lettres, Sorbonne. M. Heurgon reflects on the rich archaeological finds made last year in Burgundy by M. Rene Joffroy, and the light which this Celtic burial throws on the 'Hallstattian' culture of the early Iron Age and its contacts with Greece and Italy.	Third Programme
Devon and Dr Hoskins	Saturday 4 th September 1954, 23.05	Professor R.H. Tawney talks about Devon by W.G. Hoskins, recently published in A New Survey of England, edited by Jack Simmons.	Third Programme

<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>Rescue Excavation in the Chew Valley, Somerset</p>	<p>Tuesday 21st September 1954, 22.15</p>	<p>The story of co-operation between archaeology and industry. Narrator, Alun Wheatley. In 1945 the Bristol Waterworks Company began building a new reservoir which would eventually inundate the Chew Valley. The Ministry of Works therefore undertook to excavate important archaeological sites threatened by the rising water. The programme includes details of the sites which represent all periods from the Bronze Age onwards. Edited and produced by John Irving.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>Discovering the Past</p> <p>2. The Beginning of Scientific Archaeology</p>	<p>Wednesday 6th October 1954, 22.00</p>	<p>By W. F. Grimes.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Recent Discoveries in Egypt</p>	<p>Wednesday 20th October 1954, 22.55</p>	<p>Talk by William Hayes, Head of the Department of Egyptology in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Dr Hayes came to this country recently from Egypt, where he has been examining the finds made by Egyptian archaeologists during the past few months. He gives his views of the 'boats of Cheops', the Third Dynasty burial at Saqqara, the temple-palace of Seti I at Abydos, and an inscription at Karnak which he regards as more interesting than any of these. (The recorded broadcast of August 21st.)</p>	<p>Third Programme</p>
<p>The Bible and Archaeology</p>	<p>Thursday 28th October 1954, 18.50</p>	<p>Talk by Reverend J.N. Schofield, Lecturer in Hebrew and Old Testament Studies in the University of Cambridge. An exhibition of interest to all those who want to understand the background to the Bible is at present being held in the British Museum. It is called "From the Land of the Bible", and has been touring in America and Holland before coming to this country. Mr Schofield has visited the exhibition and examined some of the objects. In this talk he explains the way in which what is dug up in Palestine can help us to understand the Bible more clearly.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Indus Civilisation</p>	<p>Tuesday 2nd November 1954, 19.00</p>	<p>Talk by Stuart Piggott.</p> <p>"To have uncovered two major civilisations of antiquity, virtually or</p>	<p>Third Programme</p>

		wholly unknown, from the written records of the ancient world, is”, says Professor Piggott, “no bad achievement for archaeology over the last half-century or so”. Reviewing Sir Mortimer Wheeler’s supplementary volume to the Cambridge History of India, he talks about one of these recovered civilisations, that of the Indus Valley.	
The Archaeologist Scientific Research helps the Excavator	Tuesday 23rd November 1954, 22.15	Edited and introduced by Leo Biek of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory. Ministry of Works, with contributions from Dr T. White, T. W. Farrer, Dr C. R. Metcalfe, Dr R. C. Fisher, J. G. Savory, Professor R D Preston, Philip Rahtz, Professor E. G. Turner, W. F. Grimes. Produced by John Irving. An earlier edition – “The Rescue Excavation in the Chew Valley, Somerset” – described the discovery of the contents of the Roman Well. This programme tells how some of the objects found have been preserved and analysed with the help of scientists. By so doing, science has acquired from archaeology certain information of great potential use to modern industry.	Home Service
How Things Began 12. Through The Ice Age	Monday 6 th December 1954, 9.55	Through the Ice Age. The Observer in the past sees some of the first real men.	Home Service
Roman London	Tuesday 28 th December 1954, 19.30 Repeated 8 th May 1955	Programme written and produced by Leonard Cottrell. The Temple of Mithras has drawn much public attention recently; but there are other relics of Roman London, equally important though less well known, and valuable discoveries have been made since the war on bomb-cleared sites. Temporarily deserting Ancient Egypt, Leonard Cottrell has turned his attention to archaeology nearer home in a programme that endeavours to recreate the ancient city of Londinium from archaeological discoveries and the works of classical writers.	Home Service

The Archaeologist	Tuesday 4 th January 1955	16 – The Romans in Wales. A discussion between Sir Mortimer Wheeler, V.E. Nash-Williams, D.Litt., F.S.A., Glyn Daniel, PhD. Produced by John Irving. Recent excavations carried out at the Roman fortress of Caerleon near Newport, directed by Dr Nash-Williams, have enlarged our knowledge of the nature of Roman occupation. This discussion covers military, economic and social aspects of this invasion.	Home Service
Hadrian's Wall	Wednesday 9 th February 1955, 16.45	Arthur W. Bowyer describes a holiday digging on a Roman site near Hadrian's Wall.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Tuesday 15 th February 1955, 22.15	Your questions answered by Glyn Daniel. Sir Mortimer Wheeler / Stuart Piggott. If you have a question on a general archaeological matter which you would like to submit to the panel, please send it on a postcard addressed to The Archaeologist, BBC, Bristol.	Home Service
Reminiscences of a Field Archaeologist	Thursday 17 th February 1955, 19.15	By O.G.S. Crawford, C.B.E., F.B.A. Dr Crawford reflects on some developments in archaeology during his long experience, and in particular on the techniques of survey and photography from the air.	Third Programme
The Royal Graves at Ur	Tuesday 22 nd February 1955, 20.40	C.J. Gadd, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum. His talk is occasioned by Sir Leonard Woolley's recently published book "Excavations at Ur".	Third Programme
The Fifty-One Society	Thursday 3 rd March 1955, 21.15.	Guest – Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	Home Service
The Lost Centuries 3. The Historical Arthur	Wednesday 23 rd March 1955, 19.30	Five broadcasts on the transition from Roman Britain to Saxon England. C.A. Raleigh Radford, formerly Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales and Director of the British School at Rome. John Morris, Lecturer in History, University College, London. C.L. Matthews, amateur archaeologist. Was there really a King Arthur? The legend of a king and his knights first appears in the	Home Service

		<p>twelfth century. The name “Arthur” – commander of a British army, who defeated the Saxons at Badon, goes back to an eighth-century chronicle, but the events he is concerned with took place between AD 450 and 500. How much do subsequent writers really know about Arthur, what foundations has the legend, and how does it fit into the stormy history of the late fifth century? Speakers in this programme discuss the British resistance to Saxon invaders in the late fifth century and evidence (archaeological and literary) for the existence of a leader called Arthur.</p>	
<p>The Lost Centuries 4. The Age of the Saints</p>	<p>Wednesday 31st March 1955, 19.30</p>	<p>Five broadcasts on the transition from Roman Britain to Saxon England.</p> <p>E.G. Bowen, Professor of Geography and Anthropology at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. John Morris, Lecturer in History at University College, London. C.L. Matthews, amateur archaeologist. The first half of the sixth century – a period of peace, following the British victory at Badon, is one of the darkest periods of the Dark Ages, and in south-eastern Britain, there is neither written nor archaeological evidence to tell us what was happening. For the north-west of Britain, however, Welsh records have preserved a number of saints’ lives, which combine with the accounts of the contemporary writer Gildas to give a vivid picture of the Celtic Christianity of the period, and of the monastic saints who went from South Wales to convert Southern Ireland, Cornwall and Brittany to a life of piety, learning and hard work. The evidence on which this knowledge is based is literary rather than archaeological, but Professor Bowen shows what geography, and a knowledge of personal and place names have to contribute to it. Speakers also discuss the nature of the Celtic Christianity and its possible connection with the Eastern Mediterranean.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>

A History of Technology	Tuesday 5 th April 1955, 20.45 Repeated 30 th April 1955	Talk by O.G.S. Crawford C.B.E., Litt.D., Editor of Antiquity. Dr Crawford's talk is occasioned by the publication of Volume 1 of the first comprehensive history of technology in the English language.	Third Programme
The Lost Centuries	Wednesday 6 th April 1955, 19.30	Five broadcasts on the transition from Roman Britain to Saxon England. 5 – The Saxon Conquest. C.E. Stevens, Lecturer in Ancient History, Magdalen College, Oxford. John Morris, Lecturer in History, University College, London. C.L. Matthews, amateur archaeologist. A period of fifty years' peace came to an end in the second half of the sixth century, when the Anglo-Saxon settlers were again on the move; by 650 they had conquered nearly all of what is now England, and the boundaries of England, Scotland and Wales were taking shape. In discussing the end of the Dark Ages, the speakers consider what this period has to contribute to a general understanding of the history of these islands. How much Roman civilisation survived the Dark Ages? Is the Anglo-Saxon element really as important to us as the nineteenth- century historians believe? In fact, how Welsh are the English?	Home Service
Who Are The Welsh?	Friday 8 th April 1955, 20.15 Repeated 10 th April 1955	By Glyn Daniel. A shortened version of the 28 th Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture given by Dr Daniel at the British Academy on November 10 th 1954.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist	Tuesday 24 th May 1955, 22.15 Repeated 26 th May 1955	Your questions answered by Glyn Daniel. Sir Mortimer Wheeler / Stuart Piggott. If you have a question on a general archaeological matter which you would like to submit to the panel, please send it on a postcard addressed to The Archaeologist, BBC, Bristol.	Home Service
For the Schools – Empire Day	Tuesday 24 th May 1955, 11.00	Wynford Vaughan Thomas introduces.... L. Woolley on Ur.	Home Service

Reminiscences of a Field Archaeologist	Wednesday 25 th May 1955, 23.15	O.G.S. Crawford, C.B.E., F.B.A., reflects on some developments in archaeology during his long experience, and in particular on the techniques of survey and photography from the air.	Third Programme
The Death Ships of Khufu	Sunday 29 th May 1955, 21.15	Leonard Cottrell reports on the latest developments of the excavation of the five-thousand-year-old boat found near the Great Pyramid. Illustrated by recorded interviews in Egypt with Mohammed Zaky Noor, Keeper of the Pyramid Plateau, Dr Zaky Iskander, Director of the Laboratory of the Department of Antiquities and Kamal el Malakh, Architect to the Department and discoverer of the boat. Written and produced by Leonard Cottrell.	Home Service
Series: Religion and Philosophy Archaeology and the Bible	Tuesday 31 st May 1955, 11.40 Repeated 14 th June 1955	Kathleen M. Kenyon, lecturer in Palestinian archaeology in the University of London, speaks on Palestine in the time of the Old Testament.	Home Service (Schools)
Ur of the Chaldees Series: Religion and Philosophy	May 1955	Presenter/Script: Sir Leonard Woolley.	Home Service (Schools)
Recent Finds at Ugarit	Saturday 11 th June 1955, 22.00	By Claude Schaeffer. Ever since 1929 the French Department of Antiquities has been carrying on excavations near the modern Syrian town of Ras Shamra. Ugarit, as the town was anciently called, is now known to have been one of the most important centres of Bronze Age civilisation; its palace one of the biggest and most luxurious in the ancient Near East. In this talk Professor Claude Schaeffer, the eminent French archaeologist, who has been in charge of the excavation from the beginning, tells of the results of last year's work. The talk is a shortened version of Professor Schaeffer's address delivered yesterday before the Académie des Inscriptions in Paris.	Third Programme

<p>The Archaeologist Early Mining and Metallurgy</p>	<p>Tuesday 14th June 1955, 22.15</p>	<p>This programme traces early man's search in Western Europe for suitable material from which to fashion tools and ornaments. Stuart Piggott on 'Neolithic Flint Mining', Sean P. O'Riordain on 'Prehistoric Mining in Ireland', Humphrey Case on the 'Introduction of Copper and Bronze'.</p> <p>Produced by John Irving.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>Frankly Speaking</p>	<p>Sunday 3rd July 1955, 14.30</p>	<p>The second broadcast in a series of unscripted interviews with well-known people. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who answers personal questions put to him by John Betjeman, Paul Dehn and J.B. Boothroyd.</p>	
<p>The Season at Saqqara</p>	<p>Sunday 7th August 1955, 21.15</p>	<p>A progress report on the latest excavations on the site of the 'Buried Pyramid' at Saqqara, Egypt. Written and produced by Leonard Cottrell. A year ago Leonard Cottrell brought back recordings made at Saqqara, near Cairo, where the Egyptian archaeologist Mohammed Zakaria Goneim had discovered an unfinished pyramid of 2800 B.C. buried under the sand. Cottrell has recently returned from a further visit to Saqqara, bringing back on-the-spot recordings describing the latest developments in this fascinating archaeological venture.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Archaeologist Early Mining and Metallurgy</p>	<p>Friday 8th July 1955, 16.00</p>	<p>Stuart Piggott on 'Neolithic Flint Mining', Sean P. O'Riordain on 'Prehistoric Mining in Ireland', Humphrey Case on the 'Introduction of Copper and Bronze'.</p> <p>Produced by John Irving.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Archaeologist The first boats in Western Europe</p>	<p>Sunday 10th July 1955, 21.15</p>	<p>Glyn Daniel recently visited Denmark and Norway to see the fine collections of early boats in the museums of Copenhagen, Schleswig and Oslo, and to record interviews with Scandinavian archaeologists.</p> <p>Produced by John Irving.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Archaeologist The Vikings</p>	<p>Tuesday 16th August 1955, 22.30</p>	<p>Glyn Daniel introduces experts on this subject from Norway, Denmark and the</p>	<p>Home Service</p>

		<p>Isle of Man: Professor Bjorn Hougen, Thorkild Ramskon, Basil Megaw.</p> <p>Produced by John Irving.</p>	
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>Modern Experiments in Ancient Farming</p>	<p>Friday 16th September 1955, 22.30</p>	<p>Speakers: Dr Johs Iversen, Dr Axel Steensberg. Introduced by John Irving. During the war Danish archaeologists began a series of experiments involving a complete working reconstruction of Neolithic forest clearance and grain growing, using only stone implements. The programme includes recordings made in Denmark this summer.</p>	Home Service
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>New discoveries at West Kennet Long Barrow</p>	<p>Tuesday 4th October 1955, 22.15</p>	<p>Professor Stuart Piggott and Richard Atkinson describe this year's excavation at West Kennet Long Barrow, near Avebury in Wiltshire. There they discovered four burial chambers that had escaped the notice of previous archaeologists. These findings have made it possible to reassess the transition period at the end of the Neolithic Age in Britain.</p> <p>Produced by John Irving.</p>	Home Service
<p>The Fortunate Islands</p>	<p>Sunday 30th October 1955, 17.20</p>	<p>The Fortunate Islands. Talk by O.G.S. Crawford, C.B.E., Litt. D, Editor of Antiquity.</p> <p>Earlier this year Dr Crawford went to the Canary Islands to study the remains of the prehistoric Guanche culture, especially rock-carvings and channelled pottery. He relates some of these remains to others found on the Atlantic seaboard of Europe.</p>	Third Programme
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>Tree coffins and bog bodies</p>	<p>Tuesday 8th November 1955, 22.15</p>	<p>Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Speakers: O. Klindt-Jensen, B. Brorson, Christensen Hans Helbaek.</p>	Home Service
<p>The Archaeologist</p>	<p>Tuesday 6th December 1955, 22.15</p>	<p>Your questions answered by Glyn Daniel, Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Stuart Piggott. If you have a question on a general archaeological matter which you would like to submit to the panel, please send it on a postcard addressed to The Archaeologist, BBC, Bristol.</p>	Home Service

Monmouthshire Houses	Sunday 11 th December 1955, 19.10	<p>Talk by M.W. Barley, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Nottingham.</p> <p>A detailed survey of minor domestic architecture in Monmouthshire has recently been completed by Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan. Mr Barley describes the way in which the archaeological material has been collected for this publication and talks about the bearing of this new evidence upon social conditions in rural England during the seventeenth century.</p>	Third Programme
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>New light on Bronze Age Funeral Customs</p>	Tuesday 3 rd January 1956, 22.30	<p>By Nicholas Thomas, Curator of Devises Museum.</p> <p>Last summer, Nicholas Thomas's excavation of a Bell Barrow on Snail Down in Wiltshire revealed important information on the burial rites of the inhabitants of Bronze Age Wessex and the way their barrows were constructed.</p>	Home Service
Monmouthshire Houses	Thursday 5 th January 1956, 23.20	<p>Talk by M.W. Barley, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Nottingham.</p> <p>A detailed survey of minor domestic architecture in Monmouthshire has recently been completed by Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan. Mr Barley describes the way in which the archaeological material has been collected for this publication and talks about the bearing of this new evidence upon social conditions in rural England during the seventeenth century. (The recorded broadcast of December 11th.)</p>	Third Programme
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>Maiden Castle</p>	Tuesday 7 th February 1956, 22.15	<p>Speakers: Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Jacquetta Hawkes, Stuart Piggott, Lieut.-Colonel C.D. Drew. Produced by John Irving.</p> <p>Near Dorchester in Dorset stands the greatest Iron Age hillfort in Britain. This programme gives a picture of life in Southern Britain just before and during the Roman invasion, as shown by excavations at Maiden Castle and elsewhere.</p> <p>Produced by John Irving.</p>	Home Service

Roman Britain (an eight-part series) The story of the four centuries of Roman Britain 1. Who were the Britons?	Wednesday 8 th February 1956, 19.30	Chair: Mortimer Wheeler.	Home Service
The Archaeologist 2. The Conquest	Wednesday 15 th February 1956, 19.30	F.H. Thompson, Curator of Grosvenor Museum, Chester, Graham Webster, Research Fellow in Archaeology, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Birmingham. Chairman, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, President of the Society of Antiquaries.	Home Service
Roman Britain 3. The Army of Occupation	Wednesday 22 nd February 1956, 19.30	Eric Birley, Reader in Archaeology and Roman Frontier Studies, Durham, Graham Webster, Research Fellow in Archaeology, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Birmingham. Chairman, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, President of the Society of Antiquaries.	Home Service
Roman Britain 4. The First Cities	Wednesday 29 th February 1956, 19.30	Philip Corder, President of the Royal Archaeological Institute, V.K. Larey, Fellow of St Catherine's College, Cambridge. Chairman, Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Recent excavations at three Roman towns	Tuesday 6 th March 1956, 22.15	Speakers: Sheppard Frere on Verulamium, George Boon on Silchester, Philip Corder on Great Casterton. Introduced by Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	Home Service
Roman Britain 5. Country Life	Wednesday 7 th March 1956, 19.30	C.W. Phillips and A.L.F. Rivet. Chairman, Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	Home Service
The Eye Goddess	Monday 12 th March 1956, 21.05 Repeated 13 th May 1956	By O.G.S. Crawford, C.B.E. An attempt to establish a connection between the Mesopotamian cult of Ishtar and the later megalithic cults of Western Europe.	Third Programme
Roman Britain 6. The Economic Structure	Wednesday 14 th March 1956, 19.30	John Morris, Lecturer in Ancient History, London University, A.L.F. Rivet, Assistant Archaeology Officer, Ordnance Survey. Chairman, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, President of the Society of Antiquaries.	Home Service

Roman Britain 7. The Top-Heavy State	Wednesday 21 st March 1956, 19.30	John Morris, C.E. Stevens, E.A. Thompson. Chairman, Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	Home Service
Roman Britain 8. Rome and Ourselves	Wednesday 28 th March 1956, 19.30	J.N.L. Myres and C.E. Stevens. Chairman, Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Faience Beads	Tuesday 1 st May 1956, 22.15	Speakers: Professor Sean O’Riordain and J.F.S. Stone. Recent excavations at a Bronze Age site at Tara, near Dublin, unearthed a necklace of faience beads which were manufactured in the Eastern Mediterranean. Professor O’Riordain describes how this find was made, and J.F.S. Stone gives the results of many years’ research on these beads. The two speakers then discuss how the beads could have found their way to the British Isles in about 1500 B.C. Produced by John Irving.	Home Service
The Archaeologist The Wessex Culture	Tuesday 19 th June 1956, 22.15	By Stuart Piggott, Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh. In 1935 Professor Piggott began a study of certain Bronze Age antiquities from Wiltshire which led him to discover and define the Wessex civilisation responsible for the final form of Stonehenge. In this programme he describes the course of his researches. Produced by John Irving in the BBC’s Plymouth studios.	Home Service
Searching for Cleopatra’s Mummy	Saturday 21 st July 1956, 9.00	By R.N. Currey. There is a legend that Napoleon, on his return from Egypt, brought back the mummified body of Cleopatra in his baggage. R.N. Currey describes how he tracked down some details of this macabre story during a visit to Paris.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Modern Megalith Builders of Assam	Tuesday 7 th August 1956, 21.45	By Stephen Dewar. Today there still exist remote communities which on ceremonial occasions set up large stones similar to British examples dating from the Bronze Age. Stephen Dewar, who once lived in Assam, describes the ceremonies he witnessed.	Home Service

		Produced by John Irving.	
Six Archaeological Mysteries 1. Who built the Bleasdale Circle?	Monday 20 th August 1956, 19.15	Professor Stuart Piggott Produced by Janet Walters (for G.D. Miller).	North of England Home Service
The How and Why of Archaeology	21 st August 1956, 22.15- 23.00	Contributors: Maurice Barley, Philip Corder, John Gillam, Graham Webster	Home Service
2. The secret of Heathery Burn Cave	Monday 27 th August 1956	Professor C.F.C. Hawkes Produced by Janet Walters (for G.D. Miller).	North of England Home Service
The Archaeologist Fakes and Forgeries	Tuesday 4 th September 1956, 22.15	Those already familiar with the Piltdown Forgeries may be interested to know of other famous archaeological deceptions. Introduced by Sonia Cole. C.E. Stevens on the Moulin Quignon jaw. John Blacking on Flint Jack. O.G.S. Crawford on the Glozel Forgeries.	Home Service
The Back Looking Curiosity	Tuesday 18 th September 1956, 19.25 Repeated 25 th November 1956	Talk by Glyn Daniel. In this talk Dr Daniel discusses <i>A History of the Society of Antiquaries of London</i> by Dr Joan Evans, which has recently been published.	Third Programme
Revelations from the Air	Monday 22 nd October 1956, 20.00	By O.G.S. Crawford, C.B.E., Editor of Antiquity. When he was a boy O.G.S. Crawford found near his home in Hampshire a number of mysterious flint-strewn banks which country people called 'lynchets'. He realised that the English countryside was covered with visible remains from the remote past. In his talk he describes how later he stumbled on the method of air photography as a new means of revealing ancient sites.	Home Service
Woman's Hour	Wednesday 7 th November 1956, 14.00	Guest of the Week: Kathleen M. Kenyon, CBE	Light Programme

<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>A pre-Roman town near Cirencester</p>	<p>Tuesday 1st January 1957, 22.30</p>	<p>Speakers: Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Elsie Clifford, Derek Allen. Produced by John Irving.</p> <p>When excavating Roman Cirencester archaeologists found no trace of the earlier capital of the local Belgic tribe mentioned by an ancient geographer. A search at Bagendon, three and a half miles away, revealed the site, which is now being excavated.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Annual Lecture – Roman Archaeology in Wales</p>	<p>Wednesday 30th January 1957, 21.15</p>	<p>Sir Mortimer Wheeler</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Travellers</p>	<p>Tuesday 15th January 1957, 22.30</p>	<p>Dropping bricks. (Including among other speakers) Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1944-48, Adviser on Archaeology to the Government of Pakistan, who has travelled in Africa, Persia and Afghanistan.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>Work in Progress. Charles Thomas discusses recent excavations in Britain.</p>	<p>Tuesday 5th February 1957, 22.15</p>	<p>The speakers: Nicholas Thomas on a Neolithic causewayed camp in Wiltshire. Ernest Greenfield on Bronze Age huts in Derbyshire and Cornwall. Professor Ian Richmond on a Roman legionary fortress in Perthshire. Rosemary Campbell on a Dark Age chapel in the Isles of Scilly. Produced by John Irving.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>The Oldest Town in the World</p>	<p>Tuesday 5th March 1957, 22.15</p>	<p>Recent excavations at Jericho have shown this site to be the earliest known urban occupation in the world.</p> <p>Speakers: Kathleen Kenyon, Director of the British School of Archaeology, in Jerusalem, R.W. Hamilton, Keeper of Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Introduced by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Produced by John Irving.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Archaeologist</p> <p>The megalithic monuments of France</p>	<p>Tuesday 2nd April 1957, 22.25</p>	<p>By Glyn Daniel.</p>	<p>Home Service</p>
<p>The Indo-Europeans</p>	<p>Sunday 21st April 1957, 19.45</p>	<p>A group of programmes about their impact on the ancient world. Much controversy still persists about our Indo-European ancestors, their origins,</p>	<p>Third Programme</p>

		dispersal, and the character of the various societies they founded. New light has been shed on these questions in recent years through linguistic studies and archaeological field-work. 7-A Luwian Settlement. Some new evidence from Anatolia by Seton Lloyd, Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.	
The Indo-Europeans	2 nd May 1957, 20.00- 20.45	Chair: Professor Stuart Piggott, and 3 other speakers.	Third Programme
How Things Began. Mesopotamia. 1. Metalsmiths of the Bronze Age	Monday 6 th May 1957, 9.55	Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began. Mesopotamia. 2. Clay tablets and tables of stone	Monday 13 th May 1957, 9.55	Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began. Egypt – 1. Writing, counting and measuring	Monday 20 th May 1957, 9.55	Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began. Egypt – 2. Floats and ships	Monday 27 th May 1957, 9.55	Script by Rhoda Power.	Schools: Home Service
The Englishman's House 1. The House in the Town	Sunday 9 June 1957, 20.55	By W.G. Hoskins. In the first of three talks about the houses in which the ancestors of most of us lived, Dr Hoskins describes some of the ordinary houses that still survive in our town from an earlier age. Many of these, threatened daily with destruction, are the sole remaining evidence of the lives of our forebears.	Network Three
The Englishman's House 2. Farmhouses and Cottages	Sunday 16 June 1957, 21.30	By W.G. Hoskins. In the second of his three talks about the homes of our ancestors, Dr Hoskins describes the great housing revolution and the human need that brought it about.	Network Three
The Indo-Europeans	Thursday 18 th July 1957, 18.00	A group of programmes about their impact on the ancient world. Much controversy still persists about our Indo-European ancestors, their origins, dispersal, and the character of the various societies they founded. New light	Third Programme

		has been shed on these questions in recent years through linguistic studies and archaeological field-work. 7-A Luwian Settlement. Some new evidence from Anatolia by Seton Lloyd, Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.	
The Language of Cats	Monday 5 th August 1957, 9.00	O.G.S. Crawford, who has learnt the language from his own cats over many years, talks about some of their habits, giving specimens of the vocabulary.	Home Service
The Englishman's House 2. Farmhouses and Cottages	Thursday 29 th August 1957, 23.10	By W.G. Hoskins. In the second of his three talks about the homes of our ancestors, Dr Hoskins describes the great housing revolution and the human need that brought it about.	Third Programme
The Englishman's House 3. The Interior of the House	Monday 2 September 1957, 23.00	By W. G. Hoskins. In the last of his three talks Dr Hoskins describes how our ancestors came to possess the modern amenities of the home, such as glass windows and wallpaper, lavatories and comfortable furniture. (The recorded broadcast of June 23.)	Network Three
The Archaeologist	Tuesday 3 rd September 1957, 22.15	Your questions answered by Glyn Daniel, Stuart Piggott and O.G.S. Crawford. Produced by John Irving.	Home Service
Anglo-Saxon England 1. The Alfred Legend	Wednesday 2nd October 1957, 19.15	The first of eight programmes in which historians and archaeologists build up a picture of the personalities, ideas, and achievements of the English people during the centuries before the Norman invasion. Speakers: Peter Hunter-Blair etc.	Network Three
Anglo-Saxon England 2. The Age of Bede	Wednesday 9 th October 1957, 19.15	A series of eight programmes in which historians and archaeologists build up a picture of the personalities, ideas, and achievements of the English people during the centuries before the Norman invasion. Speakers: E.G. Bowen, F.S.A., Professor of Geography and anthropology, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. S. Hope-	Network Three

		Taylor, Archaeological Consultant to the Ministry of Works. The Rev. M.D. Knowles, Litt. D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, J.N.L. Myres, F.S.A., Bodley's Librarian, University of Oxford. Tonight's programme looks back from the time of Alfred to the years that saw the Anglo-Saxons converted to Christianity and the splendid civilisation of the seventh and eighth centuries – sometimes called "The Golden Age", and sometimes "The Age of Bede".	
The Archaeologist The Channel Islands in Prehistory	Tuesday 31 st December 1957, 19.15	Introduced by Charles Thomas with Nicholas Thomas. Local Archaeological Traditions, Father Christian Burdo. The Palaeolithic Age in Jersey, Emile Guiton. La Hougue Bie Megalithic Tomb, Derek Allen. Iron Age Coin Hoards. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
Coast and Country Breckland	Sunday 5 th January 1958, 13.10	Arranged and narrated by John Seymour. Edited by John Ecclestone in the BBC's East Anglian studios. The sandy and originally barren Breckland lies like an island between the corn lands of Suffolk and the rich fen farms. Its heaths, which contain species of plants and animals found nowhere else in the British Isles, Have a gaunt charm all of their own. Country where Neolithic men worked in flint mines, and where Saxons and Danes once fought, is today being transformed into the largest modern forest in the South of England, a centre of land reclamation and a home for London's overspill.	Home Service
Snapshot War	Wednesday 19 th February 1958, 22.30	During the war Dr Daniel served in Photographic Intelligence. His memories of those days have been revived by the recent publication of <i>Evidence in Camera</i> by Constance Babington-Smith.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Peat, Pollen and Prehistory in the Lake District	Tuesday 25 th February 1958, 19.15 Repeated March 1958	Introduced by Brian Blake with Clare Fell, F.S.A. Donald Walker, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. Stuart Piggott, Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh. The speakers describe a	Network Three

		<p>classic prehistoric site at Ehenside Tarn in Cumberland, where a combination of unique conditions and modern scientific techniques promise to throw new light on the Neolithic period.</p> <p>Produced by Kenneth Brown.</p>	
A Discovery in South-West Turkey	Monday 10 th March 1958, 20.45	By James Mellaart, member of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Last September Mr Mellaart directed a small excavation at Hacilar, a village on the road from the Turkish town of Burdour to the west coast. He found rich stores of very early painted pottery among the remains of a spacious Chalcolithic village. In his view this discovery establishes the long-awaited link between the well-dated prehistoric sequence of Mesopotamia and the as yet unreliable chronology of the Greek Neolithic.	Third Programme
Snapshot War	Tuesday 18 th March 1958, 9.10	Repeat of programme first broadcast on 19 th February 1958.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Tuesday 25 th March 1958, 19.15	Report from Wales. Introduced by Charles Thomas. Speakers: H.N. Savory, F.S.A., Beaker People in Wales. Leslie Alcock, F.S.A, The Dark Age Fort near Cardiff. Barri Hones, New Light on Roman Roads. Christopher M. Houlder, A Norman Homestead near Aberystwyth. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
A Discovery in South-West Turkey	Saturday 26 th April 1958, 22.40	By James Mellaart, member of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Last September Mr Mellaart directed a small excavation at Hacilar, a village on the road from the Turkish town of Burdour to the west coast. He found rich stores of very early painted pottery among the remains of a spacious Chalcolithic village. In his view this discovery establishes the long-awaited link between the well-dated prehistoric sequence of Mesopotamia and the as yet unreliable chronology of the Greek Neolithic.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist	Tuesday 17 th June 1958, 19.15	Professor V. Gordon Childe. His life and works. A memorial programme on the eminent European archaeologist who died last October. Introduced by W. F.	Network Three

		Grimes with Graham Clark, Daryll Forde, Max Mallowan, Jiri Neustupny, Stuart Piggott, Edward Pyddoke. Produced by John Irving.	
The Treasure of Alexander the Great	Saturday 5 th July 1958, 10.00	By Major W.T. Blake. Just after the war of 1914-18, Major Blake was in Egypt and heard rumours of treasure buried in the desert. So he set off to look for it, and ran into some difficult and sometimes amusing situation.	Home Service
Wales Through The Ages: The First People	Tuesday 14 th October 1958, 20.00	By Glyn Daniel.	Home Service
Wales Through the Ages	Tuesday 21 st October 1958, 19.00	Second talk by Professor W. F. Grimes, CBE, FSA.	Home Service
The Great Cave of Niah	Thursday 27 th November 1958, 20.00 Repeated 6 th April 1959	Tom Harrisson describes for the first time his recent discovery in Sarawak of cave drawings and burial boats strikingly similar in design and apparent symbolism to those in some European bronze age sites. Mr Harrisson is Government Ethnologist and Curator of the Sarawak Museum.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist	Tuesday 2 nd December 1958, 19.30	Wansdyke. Recent field researches have thrown new light on this huge linear earthwork that runs intermittently for forty-six miles through north Somerset and Wiltshire. Introduced by Nowell Myres. Speakers: Sir Cyril Fox, Lady Fox, Anthony Clark. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
Calypso on Gozo	Monday 9 th May 1959, 15.42	By Christopher Kininmonth. When Christopher Kininmonth lived on Gozo, the small island near Malta, he came to inhabit a cottage overlooking the beach, known as villa Calypso. Speaking not as a student but as an amateur of classical studies, Mr Kinninmonth considers the Neolithic remains on the island and speculates as to who Homer's Calypso of the golden voice really was.	
Hadrian's Wall	October 1959, 20.30- 21.00	Discussion between a group of international archaeologists.	North and Northern Ireland Home Services

The Antiquity of Man	2 nd October 1959, 22.15	1859 was the year in which scientists accepted a new doctrine – that of the great antiquity of man. Glyn Daniel tells the story of Charles Darwin’s Origin of Species. Readers: Ronald Baddiley etc.	Home Service
The Archaeologist The Celtic West and the Near East	Tuesday 20 th October 1959, 19.30	In the Western fringes of the British Isles pottery dated from AD 400-500 has been discovered which can only come from Egypt, Byzantium, and Syria. Last month, a conference was held at Truro to try to answer the questions how and why these vessels arrived here during this period. Speakers: Professor Michael O’Kelly of University College, Cork, David Wilson of the British Museum. Introduced by Charles Thomas. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
The Archaeologist The Origins of Neolithic Britain	Tuesday 19 th January 1960, 18.00	New light on this problem shed by recent excavation and researches in Southern England. Introduced by Stuart Piggott. Speakers: Faith Vatfher on the Nutbane longbarrow; Paul Ashbee on Fussell’s Lodge and Windmill Hill longbarrows; Isobel Smith on a reassessment of early Neolithic pottery; Don Brothwell on disease and diet shown by Neolithic skeletons. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
Primitive Survivals in European Music	Thursday 11 th February 1960, 22.15 Repeated 5 th March 1960	Compiled and introduced by A.L. Lloyd. Production by Douglas Cleverdon. What music sounded like in Neolithic times, or in Plato’s Greece, or even in Early Medieval Europe, we hardly know. Yet there still survive in Europe today fragments of music and musical styles whose age can be measured not merely in hundreds but in thousands of years. The folklore collector with his tape-recorder can help to fill in a picture that the music historian and the archaeologist have to leave largely blank.	Third Programme
How Things Began: 4. Men paint pictures and carve bone	Friday 12 th February 1960, 11.20	Script by Rhoda Power and Dina Dobson.	Schools: Home Service

<p>Conversations with Dr Margaret Murray</p>	<p>Thursday 7th April 1960, 22.15</p> <p>Repeated 17th September 1960</p>	<p>Margaret Murray, D.Lit, F.S.A (Scotland), F.R.A.I., Fellow of University College, London, is now over ninety years of age, and her memories go back to the Franco-Prussian War. She was one of the first pupils of Sir Flinders Petrie and later, after making important excavations in Egypt, taught hieroglyphics at University College, London; among her pupils were several men who have since become distinguished archaeologists. Author of many books, she is still intellectually active and is now working on the history of religion. In this programme she discusses with Leonard Cottrell her childhood and early life in India and England, the personalities she has met and experiences gained in some seventy years of archaeological and anthropological research.</p>	<p>Third Programme</p>
<p>The Archaeologist Egypt's Frontier Fortresses</p>	<p>Tuesday 12th July 1960, 18.30</p>	<p>The Middle Kingdom fortresses built along the Nile's Second Cataract about the year 200 B.C. are doomed to destruction by water that will rise behind the projected High Dam at Aswan. Rex Keating introduces recordings made earlier this year in Nubia at prospective rescue excavation sites. Produced by John Irving.</p>	<p>Network Three</p>
<p>The New Prehistory in the Making</p>	<p>Sunday 4th September 1960</p> <p>Repeated 7th December 1960</p>	<p>By Glyn Daniel. Late in the last century General Pitt-Rivers met with much incredulity when he suggested that the start of the Neolithic era lay at least 10,000 years ago. The most recent results arrived at by the Carbon 14 method of testing archaeological remains seem to bear him out. Dr Glyn Daniel, Editor of Antiquity, considers the profound effects this scientific method is having on hitherto accepted chronologies in the Ancient Near East and in prehistoric Europe.</p>	<p>Third Programme</p>
<p>The Archaeologist. A monthly programme reflecting the current archaeological scene. Harvest from the Sea</p>	<p>Tuesday 3rd January 1961, 18.45</p>	<p>Until recently, underwater archaeology has tended to be conducted in the spirit of a treasure hunt. Now it is realised that carefully controlled underwater excavation, using specialised techniques,</p>	<p>Network Three</p>

		<p>can often yield a rich archaeological harvest from beneath the sea.</p> <p>Frederic Dumas, Honor Frost, Herb Greer and Joan du Plat Taylor spent last summer in the Mediterranean, working on a wreck more than 3,000 years old. They discuss with Kathleen Kenyon the scientific methods they employed and those of others working this field.</p> <p>Produced by John Blunden.</p>	
How Things Began 2: A Family of Cave-Dwellers	Friday 27 th January 1961, 11.20	Neanderthal Man in the Old Stone Age. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
A World of Sound. A weekly exploration of the BBC Sound Archives	Friday 3 rd February 1961, 15.30	Including "The Sea-soaked wallet: an adventure of the First World War told by Sir Leonard Woolley."	Home Service
Primitive Survivals in European Music	Thursday 16 th February 1961, 21.50	<p>Compiled and introduced by A.L. Lloyd. What music sounded like in Neolithic times, or in Plato's Greece, or even in Early Medieval Europe, we hardly know. Yet there still survive in Europe today fragments of music and musical styles whose age can be measured not merely in hundreds but in thousands of years. The folklore collector with his tape-recorder can help to fill in a picture that the music historian and the archaeologist have to leave largely blank.</p> <p>Production by Douglas Cleverdon: a new and extended production of the programme originally broadcast on February 11th, 1960.</p>	Third Programme
The Greeks	Wednesday 15 th March 1961, 19.30	<p>A discussion between Hugh Lloyd-Jones, M.I. Finley, John Boardman, and Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Chairman.</p> <p>How have we built up our present knowledge of the Greeks, and in what ways can we hope to extend it? In this final programme Sir Mortimer Wheeler discusses the disciplines of classical scholarship and its future prospects with a textual scholar, a historian and an archaeologist. A Listen and Learn series.</p>	Network Three

How Things Began Mesopotamia 2	Friday 5 th May 1961, 11.00	A visit to a Sumerian school (3000 B.C.) and to a Babylonian law court in the time of Hammurabi (c. 1750 B.C.). Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began Egypt 2	Friday 19 th May 1961, 11.00	Script by Rhoda Power. The BBC Observer from the Past visits the punt during the reign of Queen Hatshepsut (c. 1500 B.C.) and sees a funeral on the Nile.	Home Service
The Greeks	Friday 15 th September 1961, 11.00	What more can we know about them? A discussion between Hugh Lloyd-Jones, M.I. Finley, John Boardman, and Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Chairman. In the last of ten programmes Sir Mortimer Wheeler discusses the disciplines of classical scholarship and its future prospects with a textual scholar, a historian, and an archaeologist. The recorded broadcast of March 15 in Network Three.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Monday 9 th October 1961, 18.40	A monthly programme. Africa South of the Sahara. Six programmes devoted to the prehistory of southern and equatorial Africa. Introduced by Professor Desmond Clark of the university of California, Berkeley. 4: The Coming of Metal. Metalworking and agriculture arrived hand in hand at the time of the European Iron Age to have a profound effect upon African economy, warfare, and social organisation. With Roger Summers, Curator of the National Museum, Bulawayo and Dr J. Nenquin of Musee Royal de L’Afrique Centrale, Terveren, Belgium. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
The Archaeologist Soviet Survey. A review of recent excavation in the USSR	January 1962	Presenter: M.W. Thompson of the Ministry of Works. Producer: John Irving. Speakers: Tamara Talbot Rice, Professor Sulimirski – Lvov University, Dr Avdusin – Moscow University.	Third Programme

How Things Began	Friday 19 th January 1962, 11.00	Man the Tool-Maker. Life in the Somme Valley in the Old Stone Age. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 2 nd February 1962, 11.00	Skilled Hunters of the Late Old Stone Age. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 16 th February 1962, 11.00	Men Catch Fish. The Observer in the past watches a fishing scene in the late Old Stone Age. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 23 rd February 1962, 11.00	The First Archers. Paintings on rocks in Spain dating from more than ten thousand years ago show men with bows and arrows hunting stags. In today's programme the Observer in the past brings to life some of these rock paintings. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 2 nd March 1962, 11.00	Man and the Forests. At the end of the last Ice Age great forests covered Europe and men had to find a new way to live. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 23 rd March 1962, 11.00	The Observer in the past visits Neolithic Egypt about six thousand years ago. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
The Archaeologist L'Abbe Breuil	Monday 5 th March 1962, 18.40 Repeated 24 th April 1962	A memorial programme on the great expert on cave art, who died recently. Speakers: Glyn Daniel Miles Burkitt, Dorothy Garrod, Mary Boyle, Oakley, Field	Network Three
How Things Began Mesopotamia 1.	Friday 4 th May 1962, 11.00	A visit to Sumer during the reign of Shubad (c. 2500 B.C.). Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Salisbury Plain up to the end of the Bronze Age	Monday 7 th May 1962, 18.40	A monthly programme reflecting the current archaeological scene. Question and answer. Professor Stuart Piggott and Professor Richard Atkinson answer questions put to them by members of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Chairman, Nicholas Thomas. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three

How Things Began	Friday 1 st June 1962, 11.00	Indus Valley. The BBC Observer from the past visits Harappa (c. 2000 B.C.), inspects housing and rubbish disposal and watches a burglary. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Redating the British Neolithic	Monday 4 th June 1962, 18.40	A monthly programme reflecting the current archaeological scene. The perfection and systematic application of the technique of radiocarbon dating now make it likely that agriculture came to Britain 1,000 years earlier than had been thought hitherto. Introduced by Gale Sieveking. Speakers - on radiocarbon dating techniques: Harold Barker, British Museum. On pollen analysis: Judith Turner, Department of Botany, Cambridge University. On the archaeological implications: Stuart Piggott, Professor of Archaeology, Edinburgh University. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
How Things Began Knossos	Friday 8 th June 1962, 11.00	Crete Bull jumping at Knossos in 2000B.C. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began Athens	Friday 22 nd June 1962, 11.00	The BBC Observer from the past visits Athens (c. 433 B.C.) and attends a meeting of the Assembly. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began Pompeii	Friday 29 th June 1962, 11.00	The BBC Observer from the past has a narrow escape during the eruption of Vesuvius (A.D. 79). Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Monday 2 nd July 1962, 18.30	A monthly programme reflecting the current archaeological scene. How farming spread across Europe. Agriculture originated in the Middle East and gradually the practice of planting crops and domesticating animals spread outwards from Mesopotamia. Recent excavations in Macedonia and the Balkans have helped to trace the westward movement of this so-called Neolithic Revolution. Introduced by Robert Rodden of Harvard	Network Three

		University with Professor Grahame Clark and Professor Stuart Piggott. Produced by John Irving.	
How Things Began	Friday 6 th July 1962, 11.00	What we have learnt this year. The BBC Observer from the past reminds listeners of the main stages in man's development beginning 340 million years ago. Script by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
The Deer Hunt of Chatal Huyuk	Saturday 14 th July 1962, 21.35 Repeated 7 th September 1962	By James Mellaart, Lecturer in Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Istanbul. The site of Chatal Huyuk on the Anatolian Plateau has revealed the largest Neolithic settlement so far known in the Near East, with its earliest building levels dating probably from about 7000 B.C., but its unique feature is the figurative and geometric wall paintings found there. James Mellaart, who is in charge of the excavations, talks about the way Chatal Huyuk fits into the prehistoric chronology of this Near Eastern area.	Third Programme
Woman's Hour Introduced by Marjorie Anderson	Monday 16 th July 1962	Amongst other items: Period Choice: Joan Grant talks about living in the first Dynasty of Egypt.	Light Programme
The Archaeologist Excavations in Cornwall	Monday 27 th August 1962, 18.30	A monthly programme reflecting the current archaeological scene. Two Cornish excavations conducted during the last two months described by their directors. The small circular henge monument west of Bodmin near Lanivet described by Charles Thomas. The Iron Age hillfort near St Columb Major named Castle an Dinas described by Bernard Wailes. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three
The Archaeologist A monthly programme. Question and answer	Monday 26 th November 1962, 18.40	Professor Christopher Hawkes and Mrs Molly Cotton answer questions put to them by members of the Dorset natural History and Archaeological Society. Subject: The Iron Age in Southern Britain. Chairman – Nicholas Thomas. Produced by John Irving.	Network Three

How Things Began 11: Life Among the Early Men	Friday 30 th November 1962, 11.00	Written by Henry Marshall. Observer sequence by Honor Wyatt.	Home Service
How Things Began The Last Million Years	Friday 7 th December 1962, 11.00	Written by Henry Marshall. Observer sequence by Honor Wyatt.	Home Service
In the Tomb of Tutankhamun	Sunday 30 th December 1962, 16.00	By Leonard Cottrell with Andre Morell and with the recorded voices of Sir Alan Gardner and of the late Mrs Newberry and Dr Douglas Derry. Produced by Leonard Cottrell. This programme, originally broadcast in 1949, has been revised by the author in the light of recent Egyptological research.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Monday 31 st December 1962, 18.40	A monthly programme reflecting the current archaeological scene. The Wilsford Shaft. Beneath a pond barrow near Stonehenge excavators have discovered a shaft descending a hundred feet into the chalk and containing many Bronze Age objects of great interest. Speakers: Edwina Proudfoot, Paul Ashbee, Richmal Ashbee, Geoffrey Dimbleby, Leo Biek. Introduced by John Irving.	Network Three
How Things Began	Friday 18 th January 1963, 11.00	1. Man the Toolmaker. Written by Leonard Cottrell; Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 25 th January 1963, 11.00	A Family of Cave Dwellers. Written by Leonard Cottrell; Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 8 th February 1963, 11.00	Archers and Fishermen. Written by Leonard Cottrell; Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 22 nd February 1963, 11.00	The First Farmers. Written by Leonard Cottrell; Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
Ancient Civilisations	Wednesday 27 th February 1963, 19.30	Eight weekly programmes about some of the civilisations of the ancient world. 2: Egypt by Margaret Drower. Senior Lecturer in Ancient History, University	Network Three

		College, London. Readings (from original Egyptian sources) by Denis McCarthy.	
How Things Began	Friday 1 st March 1963, 11.00	7. Weavers and Potters. Written by Leonard Cottrell. Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 8 th March 1963, 11am	8. The Metal Workers. Written by Leonard Cottrell. Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 15 th March 1963, 11.00	9. Ink and Paper. Written by Leonard Cottrell. Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
Tutankhamun's Tomb	Thursday 21 st March 1963, 14.40	Howard Carter's discovery (1922). Written by Phyllis Drayson. Stories from British History series.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 1 st February 1963, 11.00	Hunters and Magicians. Written by Leonard Cottrell. Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 22 nd March 1963, 11.00	The Mountains of Pharaoh. Written by Leonard Cottrell; Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 29 th March 1963, 11.00	What we have learned this year. Written by Leonard Cottrell; Observer sequence by Rhoda Power and Honor Wyatt.	Home Service
For the Schools: Ancient Egypt	Tuesday 30 th April 1963, 14.00	How the Great Pyramid was built (2600 B.C.). Written by Phyllis Drayson. Stories from World history series.	Home Service
The Archaeology of Bible Lands	Friday 10 th May 1963, 14.20	2: The Egypt of Joseph and Moses. Written by Cameron Miller and Wilfred Harrison. The Bible and Life Series.	Home Service
Ancient Civilisations	Wednesday 7 th August 1963, 11.30	Eight weekly programmes. 2: Egypt by Margaret Drower, Senior Lecturer in Ancient History, University College, London. Readings by Denis McCarthy (from original Egyptian sources). Broadcast on February 27 th in Network Three. For details of accompanying booklet: see page 38.	Home Service
How Things Began	Friday 15 th November 1963, 11.00	Brain, Eye, Hand. Written by Henry Marshall; Observer sequence by Honor Wyatt.	Home Service

How Things Began 8. Metalworkers of the Bronze Age	Friday 6 th March 1964, 11.00	Written by Leonard Cottrell; Observer sequence by Rhoda Power.	Home Service
The Archaeologist Prehistory of Anatolia	Sunday 29 th March 1964, 16.00	Excavations during the last decade have proved the importance of this part of southern Turkey in the initial development of Neolithic towns. Speakers – James Mellaart, and Professor John Evans. Introduced by John Irving.	Network Three
How Things Began 3. How Old Is It?	Friday 9 th October 1964, 11.00	Written by Henry Marshall.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Sunday 11 th October 1964, 17.30	New Grange and the West European megalithic monuments. Professor Michael O’Kelly, University of Cork and Professor Estyn Evans, University of Belfast. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Recorded in the Dublin studios of Radio Eireann. Produced by John Irving.	Home Service
How Things Began 9. Brain, Eye, and Hand	Friday 20 th November 1964, 11.00	Written by Henry Marshall.	Home Service
Harvest and Hunger	Tuesday 24 th November 1964, 20.00	First of two talks by W.G. Hoskins. Food, drink, housing, illness, the weather, these are the elementary conditions of life which most historians tend to neglect in writing history. W.G. Hoskins, Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, examines the connection between harvests and mortality in pre- industrial England.	Home Service
Epidemics	Sunday 29 th November 1964, 20.30	Second of two talks by W.G. Hoskins. Food, drink, housing, illness, the weather, these are the elementary conditions of life which most historians tend to neglect in writing history. W.G. Hoskins, Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, talks about the main hazards of life in pre-industrial England.	Third Programme
The Archaeologist	Sunday 6 th December 1964, 17.30	Newsletter from Nubia: a report on rescue excavations in the path of the rising waters behind Egypt’s new High Dam at Aswan, by Rex Keating. Work in	Home Service

		Progress: a review of current excavations in the United Kingdom by Derek Roe. Produced by John Irving.	
The Archaeologist	Friday 18 th December 1964, 9.45	Prehistory of Anatolia. Excavations during the last decade have proved the importance of this part of southern Turkey in the initial development of Neolithic towns. Speakers – James Mellaart, and Professor John Evans. Introduced by John Irving.	Home Service
The Archaeologist	Sunday 3 rd January 1965, 17.30 Repeated 28 th February 1965	Excavations in the Welland Valley: by Gavin Simpson. The threat of gravel digging in this Lincolnshire river valley has given archaeologists an opportunity for comprehensive excavations showing the progress of man's farming methods during the Neolithic and Bronze and Iron Age periods. Work in progress: Derek Roe reviews other current work in the United Kingdom. Produced by John Irving.	Home Service
The Archaeologist New Grange and the West European megalithic monuments	Friday 15 th January 1965	Repeat of programme broadcast 11 th October 1964.	Home Service
Stories from British History - series Howard Carter Discovers Tutankhamun's Tomb	Thursday 18 th March 1965, 14.40	Written by Phyllis Drayson.	Home Service
The Death-Pits of Ur	Thursday 22 April 1965, 20.30	Narrated and produced by Leonard Cottrell. The discovery by the late Sir Leonard Woolley of the treasure-laden tombs of Ur of the Chaldees is one of the high romances of archaeology, with Edward Chapman as Sir Leonard Woolley and Leigh Crutchley, Francies de Wolff, Andrew Faulds, Peter Markinker, Eva Stuart and Ralph Truman.	Home Service
For the Schools: Ancient Egypt Stories from World History series	Tuesday 4 th May 1965, 14.00	Written by Phyllis Drayson.	Schools Home Service

How the Great Pyramid was built: 2600 B.C.			
The Archaeologist The Godfather of Anthropology	Sunday 20 th June 1965, 17.30	This year is the centenary of the death of Henry Christy, whose influence on anthropology was profound. The British Museum is marking the occasion by a special exhibition. Glyn Daniel talks to Vincent Waite about the man and his work.	Home Service
An exploration of England 2: Evolving Townscapes	Monday 21 st June 1965, 21.00	Two talks by W. G. Hoskins, Reader in Economic Theory in the University of Oxford. Next October W. G. Hoskins goes to the University of Leicester to found here the study of topography as an academic discipline. In this talk he describes some of his researches over the last forty years which have gone into the writing of such books as <i>The Making of the English Landscape</i> .	Network Three
An Exploration of England 1: Devon farms without a village	Sunday 3 October 1965, 22.40	Two talks by W.G. Hoskins, newly appointed professor of English Local History at the University of Leicester. W.G. Hoskins started to explore England as a schoolboy in Devon forty years ago. This month he goes to the University of Leicester to found there the study of topography as an academic discipline. In this talk he describes some of his researches which have gone into the writing of such books as <i>The Making of the English Landscape</i> . Second broadcast. Second talk: Wednesday at 10.20pm.	Network Three
An Exploration of England 2. Evolving Townscapes	Wednesday 6 th October 1965, 22.05	Two talks by W.G. Hoskins, newly appointed Professor of English Local History in the University of Leicester. This month W.G. Hoskins goes to the University of Leicester to found there the study of topography as an academic discipline. In this talk he describes some of his researches over the last forty years which have gone into the writing of such books as <i>The Making of the English Landscape</i> . Second broadcast.	Network Three

Yigael Yadin	Saturday 18 th December 1965, 18.50	Talks about the excavation at Masada. Introduced by Hubert Hoskins. On a visit to Israel earlier this year, Hubert Hoskins visited Professor Yigael Yadin at this home in Jerusalem. Yadin, who until about twelve years ago was supreme commander of the Israel Armed Forces, was recorded talking about the dig at Masada on the Dead Sea, which has not only shed light on the character of Herod the Great but has revealed concrete evidence of the dramatic final stand made by the Zealots in the first Jewish revolt against the Romans between A.D. 66 and 73. Second broadcast.	Network Three
The Interval: The Lake Villages of Somerset	Wednesday 22 nd December 1965, 20.55	By Stephen Dewar. Iron Age men built their homes in the hooded marshes of the Vale of Avalon, two centuries before Christ. We know this because of a discovery by Arthur Bulleid near Glastonbury in 1982. Stephen Dewar tells how the discovery was made and what followed.	Home Service
Harvest and Hunger	Tuesday 1 st February 1966, 22.35	First of two talks by W.G. Hoskins. Food, drink, housing, illness, the weather. These are the elementary conditions of life which most historians tend to neglect in writing history. W.G. Hoskins, Professor of English Local History at the University of Leicester, examines the connection between harvests and mortality in pre-industrial England. Second broadcast. Epidemics: February 5 followed by an interlude at 10.55.	Network Three
Epidemics	Saturday 5 th February 1966, 22.35	Second of two talks by W.G. Hoskins. Food, drink, housing, illness, the weather. These are the elementary conditions of life which most historians tend to neglect in writing history. W.G. Hoskins, Professor of English Local History at the University of Leicester, talks about the main hazards of life in pre-industrial England. Second broadcast followed by an interlude at 10.55.	Network Three

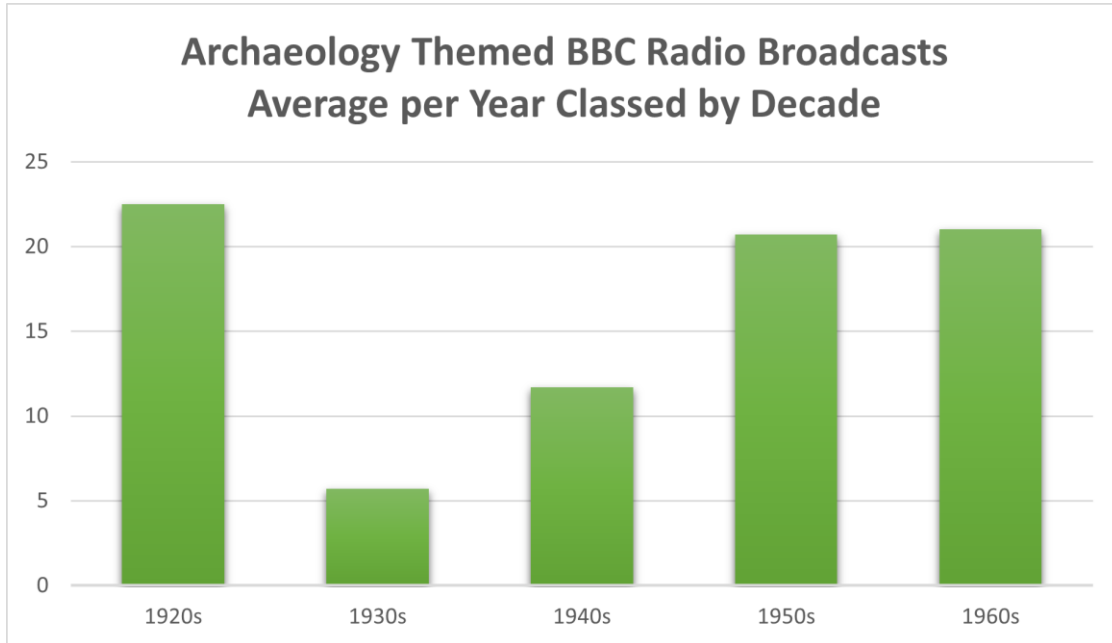
Mallowan's Nimrud, by Seton Lloyd	Monday 27 th June 1966, 21.45	Professor of Western Asiatic Archaeology, London University, Professor Seton Lloyd, who for twenty years worked as an archaeologist in Mesopotamia and helped to organise the Iraqi Antiquities Department, talks about some aspects of Assyrian civilisation, in the light of the recent publication of M.E.L. Mallowan's monumental work "Nimrud and its Remains". This is a record of Professor Mallowan's fifteen years' Assyrian excavations, reflecting in its title Layard's well-known "Nineveh and its Remains" of more than a hundred years ago.	Network Three
The Bronze Age in Greece	Wednesday 27 th July 1966, 21.10	A symposium. Ten years after the death of Michael Ventris. Leonard Cottrell has interviewed internationally known archaeologists, philologists and historians, and invited them to comment not only on Linear B but on the progress made in our overall understanding of the Minoan and Mycenaen civilisations. Contributors include DR. EMMETT L. BENNETT, JNB. DR. JOHN BOARDMAN DR. JOHN CHADWICK VINCENT DESBOROUGH SINCLAIR HOOD PROFESSOR SPYRIDON MARINATOS PROFESSOR DENYS PAGE PROFESSOR LEONARD PALMER DR. FRANK STUBBINGS Produced by Leonard Cottrell Diagram reproduced from 'Voices of Stone' (Souvenir Press) See page 41 To be repeated on August 13.	
The Archaeologist 1. The Neolithic Age	Sunday 14 th August 1966, 15.30	Seven programmes reporting on excavations taking place in Britain this summer. What was life like in Britain two thousand years before Christ? Nicholas Thomas talks about the problems which surround any enquiry into the customs of Neolithic Man and introduces reports on digs in progress now at Llandegai in North Wales and St. Nicholas in Pembrokeshire.	Home Service

		Introduced by John King. Series adviser, Barry Cunliffe. Producer, Roger Laughton.	
The Archaeologist 2: The Iron Age	Sunday 21 st August 1966, 15.30	A series of seven programmes reporting on excavations taking place in Britain this summer. The marsh villages at Glastonbury and Meare in Somerset have provided archaeologists with an exceptional opportunity to study Iron Age culture. This summer Michael Avery of Oxford University is in charge of excavations at Meare, and the main feature of this programme is a report from there. Introduced by John King. Series adviser, Barry Cunliffe. Produced by Roger Laughton.	Home Service
Home This Afternoon	Monday 22 nd August 1966, 16.45	A magazine of interest to all, with older listeners specially in mind. Including - Archaeology and All That: Gordon Snell talks to Sir Mortimer Wheeler, etc. Introduced by Steve Race.	Home Service
Archaeology and the Origins of Civilisation 1: Savagery, Barbarism and Civilisation. An introductory talk	Thursday 24 th November 1966, 19.30	A series of six talks by Dr Glyn Daniel.	Network Three
Archaeology and the Origins of Civilisation 2: Sumeria	Wednesday 30 th November 1966, 20.15	Glyn Daniel	Network Three
Archaeology and the Origins of Civilisation 3. Egypt	Wednesday 7 th December 1966, 21.40	Glyn Daniel	Network Three
Archaeology and the Origins of Civilisation 4: China and the Indus Valley	Wednesday 14 th December 1966, 20.15	Glyn Daniel Dr Daniel now turns to an examination of the most ancient civilisations of the Far East in his search for clues to how man first became civilised. Did these ancient peoples learn the arts of civilisation from western invaders, traders, or skilled workers who brought news of developments in Mesopotamia? Or did their civilisations arise independently	Network Three

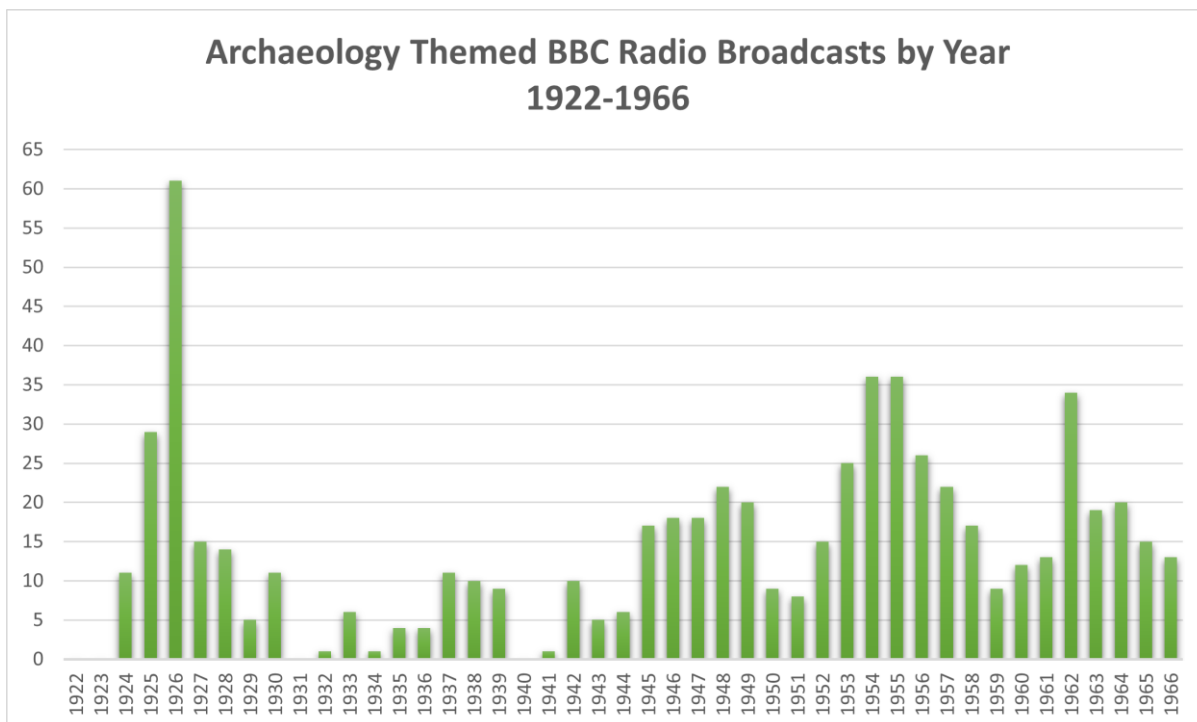
		through their own discoveries and their own efforts?	
Archaeology and the Origins of Civilisation 5. Pre-Columbian America	Wednesday 21 st December 1966, 20.00	Glyn Daniel	Network Three
Archaeology and the Origins of Civilisation 6. At what point in its development can a society be called civilised?	Wednesday 28 th December 1966, 20.00	Last of six talks. By Dr Glyn Daniel. How, where, and why did small illiterate village communities first make 'the great leap forward' to become the complex, highly sophisticated civilisations that archaeologists have unearthed in Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus Valley, China, and America? Dr Daniel gives his own answers. These talks are being printed in <i>The Listener</i> .	Network Three

Appendix Two

These bar charts are based on the data in Appendix One and represent the variation in output across the period of study, as discussed further in the appropriate sections of the text.



Bar Chart 1. This shows the broad trends between 1922 and 1966.



Bar Chart 2. This shows the same data broken down by year.

Appendix Three

Files consulted at the BBC Written Archives, Caversham

NB: Not all files listed here are referenced in the thesis.

R51/24 Talks, Archaeology, 1944-1955

R Cont 1. Leonard Woolley Personal File, Talks, 1925-1962

R Cont 1. Dina Dobson Personal File, Talks 1941-1962

R Cont 1. Kathleen Kenyon Personal File, Talks, 1944-1962

R Cont 1. Margaret Murray Personal File, (Speaker File 1), 1942-1962

Jacquetta Hawkes. Contributors: Talks, File 1, 1939-1962

Jacquetta Hawkes. File 1, 1945-1962

R Cont 1. Glyn Daniel: Talks, File 1a), 1946-1948

L1/446. Left staff. Anne Jenifer Wayne, 18.08 1941 – 23.12 1950

R Cont 1. Jenifer Wayne, Scriptwriter, 1941-1962

R Cont 1. Wayne, Jenifer. Copyright. 1948-1952, File 1

N8/63/1. Subject file. Talks: Archaeology, 1955-1960

R30/2,329/1 OBS. The Present Looks At The Past

N1 23/58/1. Digging Up The Past, 1955

N8/64/1. Talks, The Archaeologist, 1959

R51/685. Talks Series, History A-Z, 1946-1954

R51/754/1. Talks, Archaeology. File 3, 1955-1964

R Cont 1. Talks, Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, File 1, 1947-1956

TV Art 1, File 2. Wheeler, Mortimer Sir. Television Personal File, 1959-1962

WA8/254/1. Wheeler, Mortimer Sir. Talks, 1953-1958

R Cont 1. Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Talks File 2, 1957-1962

N8/1. Talks, Archaeology, 1950-1954

R51/334. Talks, Museums, Feb-Sept 1939

R Cont 1. Childe, Prof V. Gordon. Talks, 1937-1954

T32/163. TV Talks, Flinders Petrie, 1953

WA1/45. Welsh Region. Contributors: Talks. Peate, Dr I. Iorweth, 1934-1947

R Cont 1. Talks, Stuart Piggott Personal File, File 1, 1935-1962

TV Art 1, Teli/B 600/304/818. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, TV Personal File, 1957-1958

R51/397/1. Talks – Talks Policy, 1930-March 1938, File 1a

R51/397/7. Talks – Talks Policy, File 4A, 1943-1946

R Cont 1. Charlesworth, Rev. M.P., Talks 1945-1950

R13/419/1. Departmental Talks Division, Talks Department, 1923-1929

R41/209/1. Programme Correspondence Section, Talks File 1, 1929-1938

R13/419/2. Departmental Talks Division, Talks Department, 1930-1933

R Cont 1. Talks, Stuart Piggott Personal File, File 1, 1935-1962

WA9/79 – Misc Radio Talks. Fox, Cyril

S68/3. Special Collections - Rhoda Power Correspondence, 1935-1967

S68/2. Special Collections - Rhoda Power. Certificates and Photograph, 1912-1918

S68/6/1. Special Collections – Rhoda Power. How Things Began, 1946

S68/6/2. Special Collections – Rhoda Power. How Things Began, 1947

R51/397/3A. Talks Policy, 1938-August 1939, File 3a

R Cont 1. Talks, O.G.S. Crawford, 1954-1957

R16/422/1. Education: General - Schools Programmes. How Things Began, File 1, 1941-1946

R16/536. Education: General - Teachers' Meetings. How Things Began, Files 1 and 2, 1943-1954

R16/512. Education: General. Surveys - How Things Began, 1947

R16/422/2. Education: General – School Programmes, File 2. How Things Began, 1947-1949

R16/249. Education: General – Reviews, How Things Began, 1949-1954

R16/421/3. Education: General - Schools Programmes, History, File 3, 1944

R16/421/1. Education: General -Schools Programmes, History, File 1, 1938-1942

S68/6/2. Special Collections Rhoda Power, How Things Began, 1947. Two of two files.

School Pamphlets in bound volumes:-
BBC – Broadcasts to Schools, volume xxxix, Autumn 1943 to Summer 1946
BBC – Broadcasts to Schools, volume xL, Leaflets, Autumn 1946 to Summer 1947

Box file - Press Cuttings. 13, Personal Publicity, 1924-1927, P565

R51/397/2. Talks, Talks Policy, April-November 1938, File 1b

R34/731/2. Policy, Regional Broadcasting, File 2, 1929-1939

R19/1428/1. Entertainment, Welsh Regional Memos. Plays, File 1, 1935-1942

R34/213/1. Policy - Anniversaries, Empire Day, File 1, 1928-1938

R51/397/3B. Talks Policy, September 1939-March 1940, File 3B

WA8/19/1. Daniel, Glyn (Dr), Talks

R Cont 1. Dr Glyn Daniel, Talks File 1c, October 1952-1953

R34/600/10. Programme Board Minutes, 01/01/1924 to 31/12/1945

R51/397/3A. Talks Policy, 1938-August 1939, File 3A

The Listener- Article- Aims of Archaeology. 16th August 1933

R Cont 1. Dr Glyn Daniel, Talks File 2, 1954-1962

R51/425. Talks, Preservation of the Countryside, 1935

R51/144. Talks, English Countryside (and its Heritage), 1936

R34/622. Policy, Projection of Britain, 1941-1946

R51/1102/1. Talks, Dead Sea Scrolls, 1965

R51/17. Talks, Anthropology, Files 1 and 2, 1943-1947

R Cont 1. Talks, Daniel, Dr Glyn, File 1b, January 1949-September 1952

R51/590/1. Talks, Third Programme Minutes, File 1, 1946-1949

R51/684. Talks series, Heritage of Britain, 1950-1952

R34/609. Policy, Programme Planning, 1923-1926, 1929, 1931-1937

R34/363. Policy, Festival of Britain, 1949-1951

R51/171. Talks, Festival of Britain, 1949-1951

R34/364. Policy, Festival of Britain. The BBC's Contribution, 1951

R51/590/3. Talks, Third Programme Minutes, file 2B, 1951

R51/590/4. Talks, Third Programme Minutes, File 3A, 1952

R34/890/1. Policy, Third Programme, 1945-1954

R34/427/1. Policy, Inauguration of Welsh Region, 1928-1931, File 1A

R51/341. Talks, Nationalism, 1935-1936

Audience Research. HAR Departmental. Wartime Listener Research Policy, 1939-1949

Grimes, W.F., Talks Personal File, 1939-1962

Hoskins, W.G., Talks Personal File 1, 1938-1957

Hoskins, W.G., Talks Personal File 2, 1958-1961

Hoskins, W.G., Talks Personal File, 1963-1967

R9/5/101. Reports, sound, subjects. (The same file is also listed as WAC R9/68/8.)

Listener Research Reports, volume XLII (3)
LR/48/223 – LR/48/1124, 601-898

R9/68/9
Reports, sound, subjects
Talks
Listener Research Reports volume XXII (2)
LR/3270 – LR – 35, 301-599

R9/6/64

Audience Research Reports, sound, general / Chronological reports, April 1957

R9/6/155

Audience Research Reports, sound, general/Chronological reports, November 1964

R9/6/71

Audience Research Reports, sound, general / Chronological reports, November 1957

R9/9/11

Audience Research Special Reports 11 / Audience Research Special Reports 12
Sound and General, 1948

Sound and General, 1947

R9/9/12

Acc No 70, 247

R9/9/20, Special Reports 20

Sound and General, 1956

TV Art 1. Wheeler, 1959-1962. Television, Personal File

R34/266. Policy. Broadcasting in War Time, 1938-1939

R Cont 1. Talks. Leonard Cottrell, 1960-1962

R Cont 1. Scriptwriter. Leonard Cottrell, File 2, 1962

R Cont 1. Scriptwriter. Leonard Cottrell, File 1b. 1944-1961

R34/266. Policy – Broadcasting in War Time, 1938-1939

R51/537/1. Education During Demobilisation, 1940-1944

R34/890/1. Policy – Third Programme, 1962-1964

R34/1,639/2. Policy – Third Programme, 1962-1964

R34/1,639/2. Third Programme, 1955-1957

R34/1035. Policy. Programmes: Network Three, 1957-1960

Appendix Four

Archaeology-themed scripts held in the BBC Written Archives, as recorded on index cards

Many of the index cards are hand-written, and some are difficult to read. They date from a variety of phases of BBC WAC filing systems, and have been transcribed as seen, as an aid to research.

Italics denotes that this programme is part of a series.

Inclusion on this list does not necessarily indicate that the script remains in the archives. Some scripts that are theoretically held on microfilm cannot be located.

	Title	Date Broadcast	Programme (Not always recorded on the index card.)
Archaeology and Archaeologists - General			
	Exhibition of the British Archaeological Discoveries in Greece and Crete. C. Halliday.	13.10.1936	
	Scientists at Work. Adam's Ancestry in Africa. (See also "Prehistoric Britain.") L.S.B. Leakey.	10.12.1936	
	Chronicles in Stone. V.G. Childe.	26.11.1937	
	Stone and Bronze. S. Piggott.	06.12.1937	
	Hittite Excavations.	21.03.1938	
	Under London – Crypts, Vaults and Roman Remains. H. Stevens.	27.05.1938	
	<i>Science Review</i> . D. Garrod.	31.05.1939	
	<i>Science Review</i> . D. Garrod. (Repeat.)	03.06.1939	
	Tribute to Sir Aurel Stein: Ariel in Wartime. F.H. Andrews.	28.11.1942	
	Bombs and Archaeology. Philip Corder.	24.07.1943	
	The Archaeologist in Wales – How History is Made. Sir Cyril Fox.	31.01.1944	
	Roman Remains on the Berkshire Downs. D. Macdonald Hastings and Mrs Watton.	13.08.1945	
	Icelandic Sagas – Sagas of Old Iceland. N. Balchin.	16.04.1946	

	On the map. Air Photography and Archaeology in the West Country. Dr Glyn Daniel.	26.04.1946	
	<i>Australians in Britain – “The Purpose of Archaeology”</i> . V. Gordon Childe.	14.06.1946	
	<i>World Goes By</i> . Excavating Roman Remains in London: Major Gordon Home.	20.06.1946	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> 1. Why Archaeology? with Dr G.E. Daniel.	13.10.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> 2. Digging up the Past. Graham Clarke.	20.10.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> 3. The First Men. Dorothy Garrod.	27.10.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> 4. The First Farmers. Jacquetta Hawkes.	03.11.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> 5. Stonehenge in the Bronze Age.	10.11.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> 6. Archaeology and the Ancient Historian. Rev. M. Charlesworth.	24.11.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Heroic Age of Ancient Britain. Christopher Hawkes.	17.11.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Archaeology and History, with Professor V.G. Childe.	01.12.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Giant’s Graves. Speakers: Dr Glyn Daniel, Mrs E.M. Clifford and Prof. Stuart Piggott. No. 1	02.02.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Romans in the West. No. 2	13.04.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Cave dwellers in the West. Dr Glyn Daniel, Miles Burkitt and D. Dobson. No. 3	04.05.1947	West of England Home Service
	Talk by Margery Cornish. School Scripts. News Commentary.	29.05.1947	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Summer expeditions. Dr Glyn Daniel, L.V. Grinsell, Rainbird Clarke and John Bradford. No. 4	01.06.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Jersey. Dr Glyn Daniel, Mrs Jacquetta Hawkes, Major Golfray. No. 5	29.06.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Paganism in the West. No. 6	27.07.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Iron Age in the West. No. 7	24.08.1947	West of England Home Service

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Prehistoric Trade. No. 8	21.09.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Ancient British Farmers in Wessex.	21.10.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Final talk in the present series: Glyn Daniel. No. 10	14.12.1947	West of England Home Service
	Excavations in Norfolk, by Richard Dimbleby. School Scripts. News Commentary.	26.02.1948	
	<i>Archaeology in Ulster</i> 1. Flints and Fishermen. Estyn E. Evans.	15.03.1948	Northern Ireland Home Service
	<i>Strange World</i> . Time and Chance: Amazing Archaeological Discoveries. Glyn Daniel.	17.03.1948	West of England Home Service
	Archaeology in Ulster 2. – Guar Stone Monuments. Dr Estyn E. Evans.	22.03.1948	Northern Ireland Home Service
	<i>Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians</i> . Archaeology Links Geology to History: Dr Glyn Daniel.	27.03.1948	Third Programme
	Archaeology in Ulster 3. – “The Golden Age”. Dr Estyn E. Evans.	29.03.1948	Northern Ireland Home Service
	Archaeology in Ulster 4. “Men of the Raths.” Dr Estyn E. Evans.	06.04.1948	Northern Ireland Home Service
	“The Cultural Landscape”. Exhibition of Air Photographs. Glyn Daniel.	11.08.1948	Third Programme
	“Three in Hand”: Three Famous Archaeological Sites. 1. Avebury. Dr Glyn Daniel.	01.09.1948	West of England Home Service
	“Three in Hand”: Three Famous Archaeological Sites. 2. Stoney Littleton. Dr Glyn Daniel.	08.09.1948	West of England Home Service
	“Three in Hand”: Three Famous Archaeological Sites. Dr Glyn Daniel. 3. Grimspound.	15.09.1948	West of England Home Service
	“Tuesday Talk” – “The Divers of Wookey”. Archaeological Surveys in the Wookey Hole Caves. Edmund J. Mason.	18.01.1949	West of England Home Service
	Archaeological Discovery. Gerard Fay. Schools Scripts. News Commentary.	14.03.1949	Home Service
	Excavating London’s bombed sites. W.F. Grimes.	11.04.1949	Third Programme
	“Open on Sundays.” 3. The Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset. Geoffrey Boumphrey.	15.05.1949	Home Service
	<i>World Goes By</i> . Excavation of London’s Bomb Sites: Adrian P. Oswald.	22.05.1949	Home Service

	<i>Science Review</i> . "War and Archaeology". Dr Grahame Clark.	30.05.1949	General Overseas Service
	How They Find Out: Tombs of the Kings. School Scripts. Panorama.	14.06.1949	Home Service
	Amateur Archaeologists. Leicester Cotton.	28.07.1949	Pacific Service
	<i>World Goes By</i> . Learning how to dig up the past: Sylvia Matheson.	31.08.1949	Home Service
	Canterbury Excavations. Sheppard Frere.	23.09.1949	Third Programme
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 1</i> . "First Men." Archaeology in Relation to the Midlands. Michael Rix.	29.09.1949	Midlands Home Service
	For Your Book List: "The Mere Lake Village" (by St George Gray). Glyn Daniel.	30.09.1949	East of England Home Service
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 2</i> . The First Farmers W.F. Grimes.	07.10.1949	Midlands Home Service
	"The Present State of Old Testament Studies" – Archaeology and the Bible. Reverend J.N. Schofield.	07.10.1949	Third Programme
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 2</i> . The First Farmers. W.F. Grimes.	07.10.1949	Midland Home Service
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 3</i> . Tombs and Temples. R.J.C. Atkinson.	14.10.1949	Midlands Home Service
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 4</i> . The First Blacksmiths. R. Rainbird Clarke.	21.10.1949	Midlands Home Service
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 4</i> . The First Blacksmiths. R. Rainbird Clarke. Schools Scripts.	21.10.1949	Midlands Home Service
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 5</i> . The Roman Midlands.	28.10.1949	Midlands Home Service
	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure 6</i> . The Kingdom of Mercia. F.T. Wainwright.	04.11.1949	Midlands Home Service
	Archaeological Discoveries in London: Rene Cutforth and Noel Hume. School Scripts: Current Affairs.	30.11.1949	Home Service
	<i>London Magazine</i> . Archaeology: CK Galnola.	28.12.1949	Empire Service
	Archaeological Discoveries in Iraq. School Scripts.	16.01.1950	Home Service
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . Digging up the Past: Noel Ivor Hume.	21.04.1950	London Programme
	"My First Cave Diving Experience." Archaeological Excavations in the	09.01.1950	West of England Home Service

	Wookey Hole Caves. Edmund J. Mason.		
	<i>Sunday Essay</i> . Hole in the Road. R.J.C. Atkinson.	26.02.1950	
	The Seamer Story: J.W. Moore, Grahame Clark and Harry Godwin.	02.06.1950	North of England Home Service
	"The Viking Congress." Eric Linklater.	26.07.1950	Southern Home Service
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . "I married a speleologist": Dornieu Mason.	06.10.1950	London Programme
	"Pompey's Pillar." David Meredith.	16.10.1950	Third Programme
	Social Anthropology 1. The Scope of the Subject. Professor E.E. Evans-Pritchard.	11.11.1950	Third Programme
	<i>Across the Line</i> . A new aid for archaeologists called dendrochronology.	30.01.1951	
	Radiocarbon Datings: a new method of estimating the age of archaeological objects. F.E. Zeuner.	18.06.1951	Third Programme
	Nefertiti Lived Here – experiences of an archaeological expedition to Egypt before the war. Mary Chubb.	01.08.1951	Home Service

	Digging Up The Past (script by Mary Flood Page). School Scripts: Living in the Country.	27.04.1951	Home Service
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . May Profile: Jacquetta Hawkes.	11.06.1951	London Programme
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . "Over the Hills and Far Away" – Caves of the Dordogne: Raymond Postgate.	25.06.1951	London Programme
	"Why Dig Up the Past?" Mrs Jacquetta Hawkes and Geoffrey Gover. London Dialogues.	31.07.1951	
	Roman Sites: Richard Dimbleby. School Scripts: News commentary.	11.03.1952	
	"Jericho." Objects dug up at the scene of archaeological research, to prove the date of the city. Kathleen Kenyon.	12.03.1952	Home Service
	The Mystery of the Hieroglyphs. Sir Leonard Woolley.	18.04.1952	Home Service
	<i>Personal Story</i> 4. Gold Comb of Salokha.	27.04.1952	Home Service
	The Sin-Temples of Harran. Seton Lloyd.	21.04.1952	Third Programme
	<i>Dead Sea Scrolls</i> 1. A question of dating. Prof G.R. Driver.	11.08.1952	Third Programme
	<i>Dead Sea Scrolls</i> 2. The people described. Prof G.R. Driver.	13.08.1952	Third Programme

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . New series: Archaeological developments and discoveries in the British Isles: recent work done at the Aubrey Holes, Stonehenge. Number 1	07.09.1952	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	The Archaeology of Industry. Michael Rix.	29.03.1953	Midlands Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Foreign Stones at Stonehenge. Dr Glyn Daniel and J.F.S Stone. Number 2	11.01.1953	Home Service
	Myth or Legend. Knossos. Archaeology in Greece. Dr Charles Saltman.	01.03.1953	Home Service
	<i>Myth or Legend</i> . Tara. Archaeology in Ireland. Sean O'Riordain.	08.03.1953	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "All in the day's work", Digging in Egypt. Ralph Lavers.	23.03.1953	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Dr Glyn Daniel introduces Sir M. Wheeler talking about recent excavations at Stanwick, North Yorkshire. Number 3 (Number 4 of the series was unscripted.)	12.04.1953	Home Service
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . Digging in Canterbury: Audrey Lewis.	18.05.1953	London Programme
	O.G.S. Crawford and Field Archaeology. A review of O.G.S. Crawford's book "Archaeology in the Field." Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	18.05.1953	Third Programme
	"Jericho before Joshua." Archaeological excavations at Jericho. Kathleen Kenyon.	23.05.1953	Third Programme
	"Foreign Review." Recent discoveries: by Darsie Gillie. A. Pryce-Jones.	29.05.1953	Third Programme
	"The Tomb with the Bulls' Heads". An important archaeological discovery in Egypt. Professor W.B. Emery.	17.06.1953	Third Programme
	"African History and Archaeology". Oliver Roland.	23.07.1953	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Excavations at Tara. Dr G. Daniel introduces Sean O'Riordain. Number 5	25.10.1953	Home Service
	<i>Eye Witness</i> . H. Barker talks on African history and archaeology.	28.10.1953	Home Service
	The First Greeks in the West. Stuart Piggott.	26.11.1953	Third Programme
	Was Dawson Guilty? Vere Francis	08.12.1953	Home Service

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Prehistoric lake dwellings in the British Isles. Introduced by Dr G. Daniel. Number 6	15.12.1953	Home Service
	Caesar's Camp: A.L. Lloyd. Schools Scripts: Know Your Neighbourhood.	08.02.1954	Home Service
	"Head of a Goddess." Margaret Bean.	25.02.1954	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Submarine Archaeology. Speakers: Dr Glyn Daniel, Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Jacques-Yves Cousteau.	02.03.1954	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Maps and Archaeology. Speakers: O.G.S. Crawford, C. W. Phillips and A.J. Taylor.	04.05.1954	West of England Home Service
	"The Tombs of the First Dynasty". W. B. Emery.	18.05.1954	Third Programme
	"The Megalithic Temples of Malta." J.B. Ward Perkins.	23.05.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Avebury." Narrator: Frank Duncan. The story of archaeology itself seen in terms of Avebury.	30.05.1954	West of England Home Service
	"General methods, Private Aims". Archaeology in Britain. Dr Glyn E. Daniel.	13.07.1954	Third Programme
	"Excavations in Malta". John D. Evans.	18.07.1954	Third Programme
	"The Lake Villages of Somerset." H. St George Gray.	18.08.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The First Farmers in Britain." Speakers: Prof. S. Piggott, Hans Halback, G.A. Holleyman and Mrs C. M Piggott.	25.07.1954	West of England Home Service
	"The Recent Discoveries in Egypt". The recent archaeological finds in Egypt. William Hayes.	21.08.1954	Third Programme
	"The Burial at Vix": the discovery in 1953 of a Celtic barrow tomb in Burgundy, and the light this has thrown on the Greek and German influence on the 'Halstattian' culture of the Early Iron Age. Jacques Heurgon.	26.08.1954	Third Programme
	"Malta in Prehistory". Stuart Piggott.	25.07.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Deserted Villages." Speakers: Dr W.G.	18.08.1954	West of England Home Service

	Hoskins, M.W. Beresford, H.C. Darby and J.G. Hurst.		
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Rescue Excavations." Speakers: Ernest Greenfield, F.C. Jones, Phillip Rahtz. Narrator: Alan Wheatley.	21.09.1954	West of England Home Service
	"Ideas versus Events – Ruins". The discovery of the site of the Roman Temple of Mithras in the heart of London. Selby Burnard.	24.09.1954	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Far North in Prehistory". A tour made of the archaeological sites in the Orkneys and Caithness under the direction of Prof. Stuart Piggott and Richard Atkinson. Narrator: James Carncross. Reader: John Darran.	12.10.1954	West of England Home Service
	The Bible and Archaeology (review of exhibition "From the Land of the Bible"). J.N. Schofield.	28.10.1954	Home Service
	Dead Sea Scrolls. 1. Materials Discovered. Scripts by Professor H.H. Rowley.	08.11.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Scientific Research Helps the Excavator", edited and introduced by Leo Biek. With Dr T. White, T.W. Farrer, Dr C.R. Metcalfe, Dr R.C. Fisher, J.G. Savory, Prof. R.D. Preston, Philip Rahtz, W. F. Grimes and Prof E. G. Turner.	23.11.1954	West of England Home Service
	"The Silent World". Underwater archaeological findings in the Mediterranean. Jacques-Yves Cousteau.	27.12.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Roman Occupation of Wales." Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Speakers: Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Dr Nash Williams. Number 18	01.02.1955	West of England Home Service
	"Ideas and Events": Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Borneo. Tom Harrison.	21.01.1955	
	Reminiscences of a Field Archaeologist: O.G.S. Crawford.		Third Programme
	<i>The Lost Centuries</i> . 1. The Last Romans	09.03.1955	Home Service
	<i>The Lost Centuries</i> . 2. The First English.	16.03.1955	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Hunter-Fishers of Star Carr". Speakers:	12.04.1955	West of England Home Service

	Prof. Graham Clark and Harry Godwin. Number 20		
	"The Origins of Rome". The history of Rome and its foundations in the light of new archaeological discoveries. J.B. Ward-Perkins.	30.04.1955	Third Programme
	Rufford and Wellow and the "Lost" villages of Nottinghamshire. M.W. Barley.	01.05.1955	Third Programme
	<i>Archaeology and the Bible.</i> 1. Ancient Writing: by G.R. Driver. Schools Scripts – Religion and Philosophy.	17.05.1955	Home Service
	<i>Archaeology and the Bible.</i> 2. Ur of the Chaldees: by Sir Leonard Woolley.	24.05.1955	Home Service
	<i>Archaeology and the Bible.</i> 3. Palestine in the Time of the Old Testament: by Kathleen M. Kenyon.	31.05.1955	Home Service
	<i>Archaeology and the Bible.</i> 4. Nineveh during the reign of King Sennacherib: by M.E.L. Mallowan.	07.06.1955	Home Service
	<i>Archaeology and the Bible.</i> 5. Palestine in the Time of the New Testament: by Kathleen M. Kenyon.	14.06.1955	
	<i>The Archaeologist.</i> "Early Mining and Metallurgy." Speakers: Stuart Piggott, Humphrey Case and Sean P.O'Riordain. Number 21	14.06.1955	West of England Home Service
	"Combined Operations." Another approach to the First Centuries – Mousterians and Archaeologists Combine. H.P.R. Finberg.	17.06.1955	Home Service
	The Somerset Lake Villages, by Stephen Dewar and Victor Bonham-Carter.	27.06.1955	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist.</i> "The First Boats in Western Europe." With Dr Bjorn Haugen, Dr Klindt-Jensen, George Nash and David Wilson. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Number 22	10.07.1955	West of England Home Service
	Novel Uses of Nuchan Tools. C.R. Boltz	05.08.1955	Eastern Service
	"The Fifth Side of the Pyramid. The Step Pyramid" – Egypt. Rex Keating.	16.08.1955	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist.</i> "The Vikings". Speakers: Prof Bjorn Hougen, Dr Thorkild Ramskoll and Basil	16.08.1955	West of England Home Service

	Megaw. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Number 23		
	"Holiday Treasure Hunting": by Geoffrey Grigson. Children's Hour Scripts.	06.08.1955	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Modern Experiments in Ancient Farming. Speakers: Dr Johs Iversen and Dr Axel Steensberg. Introduced by John Irving. Number 24	16.09.1955	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . New Discoveries at West Kennet Long Barrow. Speakers: Prof Stuart Piggott, Richard Atkinson. Introduced by John Irving. Number 25	02.10.1955	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	"The Fortunate Islands". Archaeological History of Canary Islands. O.G.S. Crawford	30.10.1955	Third Programme
	"The Thirteen Tombs of Alaca Huyuk. The speaker draws a general picture of events in Western Asia around 2000 B.C. from the findings in these "royal tombs" in Turkey. Stuart Piggott.	01.11.1955	Third Programme
	"The Revelations of Pylos": - the knowledge that has been gained from the recent decipherment of the tablets found at the palaces of Pylos and Knossos in Greece. L.R. Palmer.	07.11.1955	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Tree Coffins and Bog Bodies." Discovery in Denmark of prehistoric remains. Speakers: O. Klindt-Jensen, B. Borsen Christensen and Hans Halbaek. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. Number 26	08.11.1955	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	"Monmouthshire Houses." Talk about facts that have been made apparent by archaeology of sixteenth and seventeenth century homes. M.D. Barley.	11.12.1955	Third Programme
	"Caves, Craggs and Coalmines." Visit to Creswell Craggs where minor archaeological finds have been made. Geoffrey Grigson.	28.11.1955	West of England Home Service
	"Vindorussa." A Roman Camp in Switzerland. Colin Kraay.	28.11.1955	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Answering listeners' letters. Speakers: Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Stuart	06.12.1955	West of England Home Service / Home Service

	Piggott. Number 27 (No scripts available.)		
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Snail Down." New Light on Bronze Age Funeral Customs by Nicholas Thomas. Number 28	03.01.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	Putting Roman Britain on the Map. New Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain. C.W. Phillips.	15.01.1956	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Maiden Castle, A picture of life before and during the Roman invasion in an Iron Age hillfort. Speakers: Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Jacquetta Hawkes, Stuart Piggott and Lt Col. C.D. Drew. Number 29	07.02.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	"The Sands of Forvie." Kirk William.	13.02.1956	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Introduced by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Recent excavations at three Roman towns. Sheppard Frere on Verulamium, George Boon on Silchester and Philip Corder on Great Casterton. Number 30	06.03.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Discovery and Disappearance of Peking Man (in the form of a play). Number 19	18.03.1956	West of England Home Service
	Excavations at Hazor. Dr Yadin Yigael.	20.03.1956	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Swanscombe Story: Ancient Human Remains Found in graves at Swanscombe and Grays Inn Lane. Speakers: Dr Marie Stopes, Dr J.S.Weiner, B.O. Wymer and I. Wymer. Number 31	23.03.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>Science Survey</i> . "The Past from the Air." Using aerial photography in archaeological research, by Kenneth Steer.	19.04.1956	Home Service
	<i>Science Survey</i> . Dating the Past, by R.J.C. Atkinson.	26.04.1956	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Faience Beads: a necklace manufactured in the Eastern Mediterranean, found in a Bronze Age site at Tara near Dublin. Speakers: Prof. Sean O'Riordain and Dr J.F.S. Stone. Number 32	01.05.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	"Schliemann of Troy" – the first man to excavate ancient Troy.	16.05.1956	Home Service

	Script by Michael Wynne. School Scripts. World History.		
	<i>Frontiers of Knowledge</i> . The Exploration of Early London. Professor W.F. Grimes.	17.06.1956	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Wessex Culture." Bronze Age civilisation as revealed by studies of Prof. Stuart Piggott. With Sean O'Riordain, Richard Atkinson and J.F.S. Stone. Number 33	19.06.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The First Coins in Europe." Colin Kraay on "How Coinage Began in E. Mediterranean." Kenneth Jenkins on the westward spread of Greek coinage. Robert Carson on the Roman monetary system. Number 34	03.07.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	"Among the Ruins." Professor O.H.K. Spate.	16.07.1956	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Modern Megalith Builders." Stephen Dewar on the erection of ceremonial stones by the primitive tribes of Bengal. Number 35	07.08.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	"The How and Why of Archaeology". Discussion between Maurice Barley, Dr Philip Corder, John Gillam and Graham Webster. Chairman – C.L. Matthews.	21.08.1956	Home Service
	<i>Six Archaeological Mysteries</i> . The puzzling past of Northern England. Stuart Piggott. 1. Who Built the Bleasdale Circle? Christopher F.C. Hawkes.	20.08.1956	West of England Home Service
	The Secret of Heathery Burn Cave, County Durham. Christopher F.C. Hawkes.	27.09.1956	West of England Home Service
	How Did the Roman Occupation End? Eric Burley.	03.09.1956	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Fakes and Forgeries." Introduced by Sonia Cole with C.E. Stevens on the "Moulin Quignon Jaw", John Blacking on "Flint Jack" and O.G.S. Crawford on the Glouzel forgeries. Number 36	04.09.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	The Life and Death of Wharram Percy – a deserted mediaeval	10.09.1956	West of England Home Service

	village in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Maurice W. Beresford.		
	Where was King Edwin's Palace? Excavations at a Saxon Site in Northumbria. Brian Hope-Taylor	24.09.1956	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . American Archaeology. Problem of origins of man in the American continent. Introduction programme I with: Adrian Digby, Geoffrey Bushnell, H.J. Braunholtz. Number 37	04.10.1956	
	"Revelations from the Air." How air photography has helped speakers to locate archaeological sites. O.G.S Crawford.	22.10.1956	Home Service
	<i>Guest of the Week</i> . Excavating the site of ancient Jericho by Kathleen Kenyon.	07.11.1956	London Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . American Archaeology. Problem of origins of man in the American continent. II Central American Civilisation. Speakers: Adrian Digby, Geoffrey Bushnell, H.J. Braunholtz. Number 38. (No scripts available.)	15.11.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . Excavating for Pleasure: by Margaret Scott.	21.11.1956	London Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . American Archaeology. Problem of origins of man in the American continent. III Incas of Peru: H.J Braunholtz. Number 39	13.12.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . American Archaeology. Problem of origins of man in the American continent. A Pre-Roman Town near Cirencester – Bagendon. Mrs Elsie M. Clifford talks about her excavations. Derek Allen talks about the coins found on the site. Introduced by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. Number 40	01.01.1957	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Work in Progress I. Charles Thomas. Nicholas Thomas on a Neolithic causewayed camp in Wiltshire. 2. Ernest Greenfield on Bronze Age huts in Derbyshire and Cornwall. 3. Prof. Ian Richmond on a Roman legionary fortress in Perthshire. 4. Rosemary Campbell on a Dark Age	05.02.1957	West of England Home Service / Home Service

	chapel in the Scilly Isles. Number 41		
	"New Light on Man". A symposium of recent Manx studies: by Peter Gelling, David E. Allen and A. Marshall Cubbon.	26.02.1957	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Oldest Town in the World." Excavations at Jericho: Sir Mortimer Wheeler introduces – Kathleen Kenyon on the digging at Jericho; R.W. Hamilton on Palestinian Archaeology. Number 42	05.03.1957	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	The Great Decipherment. Sinclair Hood, Moses I Finley and Denys Page review Michael Ventris and John Chadwick's book "Documents in Mycenaean Greek". Sinclair Hood.	06.03.1957	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Megalithic Monuments of France, by Glyn Daniel. Number 43	02.04.1957	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	"Lost Villages in Western England." Review of Bruce Mitford's book "Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain". Dr W.G. Hoskins.	30.04.1957	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Indo-Europeans</i> . Evidence of Archaeology. By Stuart Piggott.	19.04.1957	Third Programme
	<i>Frontiers of Knowledge</i> . "The Lost City of Petra" by Diane Kirkbride.	30.04.1957	Eastern Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Work in Progress I. Introduced by Charles Thomas. 1.Richard W. Feacham on survey for Commission for Ancient Monuments from Scotland. 2.George Jobey on diggings at Hucklow Near Newcastle. 3.Elizabeth Burley on excavations on Iona. 4.Brian Hope-Taylor on excavations at Yeavinger on a royal township of the 7 th century. 5.Alastair Maclaren on excavations on the machair land of the island of South Uist. Number 44	07.05.1957	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Early Man and the British Caves. Geoffrey Grigson puts questions to Charles McBurney. Number 45	17.06.1957	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Latest Scientific Aids. Nicholas Thomas introduces discussion between Richard	02.07.1957	West of England Home Service

	Atkinson, E.T. Hall, Martin Aitken and Stuart Young. No. 46		
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Archaeologist in Fiction. Charles Thomas talks about books about archaeologists. Number 47	06.08.1957	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	The Red Castle Mystery – the puzzle of some skeletons dug up at Thetford. Calvin Wells.	20.08.1957	Home Service
	What is Archaeology? By Stuart Piggott. Schools Series “For the fifth and sixth” on 19 th June 1957. <i>School Scripts Out of Term</i> .	10.09.1957	Home Service
	Dating the Past: by R.J.C. Atkinson. Schools Series “For the fifth and sixth” on 3 rd July 1957. <i>School Scripts Out of Term</i> .	11.09.1957	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Sutton Hoo Burial Ship. Introduced by Rupert Bruce Mitford. Speakers: Charles Phillips on the excavation of grave-goods and scientific problems involved in the study of the burial. Rosemary Cramp on interest the burial has for students of Old English literature. Christopher Hawkes on historical inferences to be drawn from it. Number 49	08.10.1957	Network Three
	<i>Searching Mind</i> . “Modern Techniques in Preserving the Past.” Dr H.J. Plenderleith, Dr A.E. Werner and R.M. Organal interviewed by Stephen Black.	14.10.1957	Network Three
	“Mystery at Bigo” – a vast system of earthworks, to the west of Buganda. E.C. Lanning.	16.10.1957	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Earliest Writing in the World. Introduce by E.G. Turner. I.E.S. Edwards talks about Egyptian hieroglyphics. Prof. C.J. Gadd talks about cuneiform script. Margaret Drower talks about Hittite languages. Number 51	26.11.1957	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “The Channel Islands in Prehistory”. Introduced by Charles Thomas. 1. Nicholas Thomas talks about archaeologists of the Channel Isles. 2. Father Buido talks to Charles Thomas about the early inhabitants.	31.12.1957	Network Three

	3.Emile Guiton talks about excavation of La Hougue Bie – a burial mound. 4. Derek Allen on Channel Island coinage. Number 52		
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Warrior Queen.” A discussion on the rebellion of Queen Boudicca of the Iceni against the Romans in Britain. Speakers: Donald Dudley and Graham Webster.	28.01.1958	Network Three
	Buzzards and Barrows”. Animal remains found in archaeological explanations. Peter Jewell.	03.02.1958	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Peat, Pollen and Prehistory in the Lake District.” A programme about the re-excavation of Ehenside Tarn, a Neolithic site in West Cumberland. Speakers: Brian Blake, Clare Fell, Donald Walker, and Prof. Stuart Piggott.	25.02.1958	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . <i>Unscripted</i> .	25.03.1958	Network Three
	Landscape as a Document. Developments in use of air photographs by archaeologists since the Second World War. Brian Hope-Taylor.	13.04.1958	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Glastonbury.” Programme introduced by Dom Aelred Watkin, with Raleigh Radford, R.M. Cock and Geoffrey Ashe. Number 56	22.04.1958	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . <i>Unscripted</i> .	20.05.1958	Network Three
	How archaeology as a hobby changed her life, by Kathleen Taylor.	25.06.1958	London Programme
	“Buzzards and Barrows”. Animal remains found in archaeological explanations. Peter Jewell.	03.02.1958	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Memorial Programme to Prof. Gordon Childe. Speakers: Graham Clark, Max Mallowan, Stuart Piggott, Daryll Forde, Jiri Neustupny and Edward Pyddoke. Introduced by W.F. Grimes. Number 58	17.06.1958	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Hadrian’s Wall, A.D. 122-A.D. 1958.” Speakers: Eric Birley, John Gillam, Kate Hodgson and Brenda Swinbank. Introduced by Brian Blake. Number 59	15.07.1958	Network Three

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Saint Peter's tomb." Speakers: John Irving, Prof. Axel Boethius and John B. Ward Perkins. Number 60	12.08.1958	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Morgantina." Speakers: Donald Strong and recorded voice of Prof. Richard Stillwell. Number 61	09.09.1958	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Recent work in Etruria." Introduced by Donald Strong. Recorded extracts from a discussion between John Ward Perkins and Frank Brown. Number 62	07.10.1958	Network Three
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . Professor Stuart Piggott in Scotland's Quest for the Week.	21.10. 1958	London Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Saint Ninian's Hoard." Programme about the recent find of a cache containing twenty-five examples of metalwork. Introduced by Charles Thomas. Recorded voices of Prof A.C. O'Dell, Prof. K. Jackson, Robert Stevenson, David Wilson, Douglass Coutts, Helen Adamson and James Coull. Number 63	04.11.1958	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Wansdyke." Great prehistoric earthwork. Introduced by Nowell Myers. Speakers: Lady Aileen Fox, Sir Cyril Fox and Anthony Clark. Number 64	02.12.1958	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Roman York, A.D. 71-1958." Introduced by Brian Blake. Speakers: Ian Stead, I.A. Richmond, Herman Ramm, Peter Wenham and George Wilbert. Number 65	06.01.1959	Network Three
	<i>Science Survey</i> . Detecting Archaeological Remains with a Proton Magnetometer: Dr M.J. Aitken.	30.01.1959	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Odysseus and Archaeology". Speakers: Donald Strong, John Chadwick and Reynold Higgins. Number 66	03.02.1959	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Normans in the South-West. John Blunden, Raleigh Radford, Valerie Ledger, W.G. Hoskins. No. 67 (Pencil note – No script.)	03.03.1959	Network Three

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Norman Castle. John Blunden, Derek Renn, Christopher Houlder and Stuart Rigold. Number 68	31.03.1959	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Growth of the Medieval Town. Charles Thomas, Robert Douch/, Gerald Dunning, Bernard Wailes and David Wilson. (Pencil note – No script.) Number 69	28.04.1959	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Recent Scientific Aids: introduced by John Irving. Speakers: E.T. Hall, Colin Kraay and C.M Levici. (Pencil note - No script.) Number 70	26.05.1959	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Continental origins: Brian Blake, Christopher Hawkes, Terence Powell and Adoll Reith. (Pencil note - Nos 71-79 unscripted.)	30.06.1959	Network Three
	<i>At Home and Abroad</i> . Egyptian Government's Concession to Archaeologists: Professor Herbert Fairman.	02.10.1959	Home Service
	"The First Man": describes the fossil skull found at Olduvai Gorge, and its significance as the earliest-known "man". L.S.B. Leakey.	14.10.1959	Third Programme
	"In and Out" – programme of leisure activities. Discovery and Pottery. Richard Burwood visits the excavations at St Albans. Children's Hour Scripts.	18.01.1960	Home Service
	Not So Old Relics. Ivor Noel-Hume.	20.02.1960	
	Digging with a difference: experiences as an amateur archaeologist at Nonesuch Lake. Sheila Richardson.	28.01.1960	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Oreopithecus – Man's Earliest Ancestor? Number 80	15.03.1960	Network Three
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . One Woman's Hobby: Caroline More.	06.04.1960	London Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Prehistoric Musical Instruments and Music. Number 81	12.04.1960	Network Three
	<i>Indian Summer</i> . Learning to Dig – Marjery Cornish.	16.05.1960	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Flood Threat to Nubian Antiquities. No. 82	17.05.1960	Network Three

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Domestic Animals in Prehistory. No. 83	14.06.1960	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Egypt's Southern Frontiers. No. 84	12.07.1960	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Danish Underwater Excavation. No. 85	09.08.1960	Network Three
	"The New Prehistory in the Making." Talk about new methods of dating archaeological discoveries. Dr Glyn Daniel.	04.09.1960	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Experiment at Overton. No. 86	06.09.1960	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Netherlands – 1960. No. 87	04.10.1960	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . China – A Decade of Discovery. No 88	01.11.1960	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . From Peasant Huts to Palaces. No. 89	29.11.1960	Network Three
	The Temples of Angkor. Sir Luke Harvey	30.11.1960	Home Service
	"The Coming of Man to America." 1 – Archaeological discoveries in America. Dr Geoffrey Bushnell.	28.12.1960	Third Programme
	"The Coming of Man to America." 2. The Land of the Maize: growth of early civilization in Peru and Mexico. Dr Geoffrey Bushnell.	01.01.1961	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Harvest From the Sea. No. 90	03.01.1961	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Man, Medicine and Magic. No. 91	31.01.1961	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Latest Finds at Olduvai Gorge.	28.03.1961	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Industry Versus Archaeology.	25.04.1961	Network Three
	How? Roman London: Leonard Cottrell, Norman Cook, Dr John Morris.	26.06.1961	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Africa South of the Sahara. 1. Pioneers of African Archaeology.	18.07.1961	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . 2. Evolution of Man in Africa.	15.08.1961	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . 3. Early Hunting Communities in Africa.	12.09.1961	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Coming of Metal.	09.10.1961	Network Three
	"Off the Beaten Track" – archaeologist in Afghanistan. Joan Yorke interviews Sylvia Matheson.	02.11.1961	London Programme

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Rise of the Kingdoms.	06.11.1961	Network Three
	Camboritum – a town lost and found. Peter Salway.	24.11.1961	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Impact of the Outside World.	04.12.1961	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Reconstructing a Romano-British Kiln.	29.01.1962	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . A Palace at Cheddar.	02.04.1962	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Question and Answer – Salisbury Plain.	07.05.1962	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Re-dating the British Neolithic.”	04.06.1962	Network Three
	<i>Biblical Archaeology</i> . Possibilities and Problems. Script by D.J. Wiseman. School scripts – religion and philosophy.	12.06.1962	Home Service
	<i>Biblical Archaeology</i> . The Days of the Founding Fathers. Script by D.J. Wiseman. School scripts – religion and philosophy.	26.06.1962	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “How Farming Spread Across Europe.” (For <i>The Archaeologist</i> August and September 1962– No script available.	02.07.1962	Network Three
	<i>Biblical Archaeology</i> . The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Script by D.J. Wiseman. School scripts – religion and philosophy.	03.07.1962	Home Service
	Fossil Man in Perspective: a discussion. Dr Archibald Clow.	23.06.1962	Third Programme
	The Deer Hunt of Chatal Huyuk: archaeological discoveries in Turkey. James Mellaart.	14.07.1962	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . L’Abbe Breuil.	05.08.1962	Network Three
	The site of the Holy Sepulchre. Stewart Perone.	24.08.1962	Third Programme
	“In search of a new past.” Ivor Noel-Hume.	31.10.1962	Home Service
	Industrial Archaeology. <i>Historian at Work</i> .	18.07.1962	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Wilsford Shaft.”	31.12.1962	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Discovering Scilly.	28.01.1963	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Fyfield Down Project. (For <i>The Archaeologist</i> March 1963 – no Script available.)	25.02.1963	Network Three

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "A Thousand Years of Winchester."	22.04.1963	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeology of Bible Lands</i> : 1. Buried cities in the time of Abraham. Script by Cameron Miller and Wilfred Harrison. School Scripts. <i>Bible and Life</i> .	03.05.1963	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeology of Bible Lands</i> : 2. The Egypt of Joseph and Moses. <i>Bible and Life</i> .	10.05.1963	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeology of Bible Lands</i> : 3. The Assyrians. <i>Bible and Life</i> .	17.05.1963	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Place Names in Archaeology.	20.05.1963	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeology of Bible Lands</i> : 4. The Buildings of Herod the Great. School Scripts. <i>Bible and Life</i> .	24.05.1963	Home Service
	Discoveries from the Past: i. The Three Brothers' Cave: scripts by Peter Hoar. School Scripts. <i>People, Places and Things</i> .	10.06.1963	Home Service
	Heinrich Schliemann at Troy and Mycenae: script by Leonard Cottrell. School Scripts. <i>People, Places and Things</i> .	17.06.1963	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Early Christian Nubia."	17.06.1963	Network Three
	The Monastery Near the Dead Sea. School Scripts 5. <i>Bible and Life</i> .	31.05.1963	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Discussion on Industrial Archaeology.	09.09.1963	Network Three
	Saxons and Normans 1: "The Sutton Hoo Treasure": scripts by R. Bruce-Mitford and Stephen Usherwood. School Scripts. <i>History Work Units</i> .	17.09.1963	Home Service
	"Seekers"- digging for history in the City. Peter Marsden. <i>Two of a Kind</i> .	17.09.1963	Home Service
	Mycenae. Maggie Ross.	06.09.1963	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Roman Ship at Blackfriars. (For <i>The Archaeologist</i> Nov 1963 – no script available.)	07.10.1963	Network Three
	Archaeology and the Fall of Troy. M.I. Finlay.	24.10.1963	Third Programme
	"Pilgrimage to Abu Simbel" – archaeology in Egypt. Joan Money Penny.	20.11.1963	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Patterns of the Pottery Trade in Roman Britain."	02.12.1963	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Digging in Downing Street." (For <i>The</i>	05.01.1964	Network Three

	<i>Archaeologist</i> February 1964 and March 1964 – no script available.)		
	“Horizons West”: evidence of Norsemen in Newfoundland. Gwyn Jones.	16.02.1964	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Masada: Herod’s Palace.”	26.04.1964	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Masada: Zealot’s Last Stand” 2.	24.05.1964	Network Three
	“In the Maya Country”: discussion.	24.07.1964	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Was Stonehenge a Celestial Computer?”	16.08.1964	Network Three
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Earliest Representation of Christian Britain.”	13.09.1964	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . “Newsletter from Nubia.” (See note on this index card: “1965 and 1966 programmes unscripted.”)	16.12.1964	Home Service
	“Howard Carter discovers Tutankhamun’s Tomb”: script by Phyllis Drayson. School scripts. British History.	18.03.1965	Home Service
	“Digging in the Sun”: a holiday as an amateur archaeologist – Barbara Hooper.	01.04.1965	London Programme
	“The Excavation at Masada”: Professor Yigael Yadin interviewed. Rel. scripts H.H. Rev Hoskins.	07.07.1965	Third Programme
	“Beyond the Roman Frontier” Re: Roman Remains in North Africa; investigating Geramonte country. Anthony Birley.		
	“Digging in Cyprus”. A study of its Bronze Age. Robert S. Merrillees.	26.08.1965	Home Service
	“The Death Pits of Ur.” A look at Sir Leonard Woolley’s discoveries in Ur. Leonard Cottrell.	22.04.1965	Home Service
	<i>Woman’s Hour</i> . “Down to Rock Bottom”: Joan Pyper visits an archaeological dig in Southwark.	29.09.1965	London Programme
	F. Weidenreich and Pekin Man: script by Frederick Roberts. <i>School Scripts. Great Moments in Science.</i>	25.11.1965	Home Service
	The Discovery of the Lake Villages: discovery by Arthur Bulleid of Bronze Age homes, near Glastonbury. Dewar Stephen.	22.12.1965	Home Service
Richard Atkinson	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure.</i> Tombron Temples.	14.10.1949	Midland Home Service

	<i>Sunday Essay</i> . Hole in the Road.	26.02.1950	
	"Bluestone and Sarsen." Recent research at Stonehenge.	12.05.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Far North in Prehistory". A tour of the archaeological sites in the Orkneys and Caithness.	12.10.1954	West of England Home Service
	New Discoveries at West Kennet Long Barrow. With Professor Stuart Piggott.	04.10.1955	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	Dating the Past. Science Survey.	26.04.1956	Home Service
	Science Review.	07.05.1956	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Wessex Culture." Bronze Age Civilisation. With Professor Stuart Piggott and Sean O'Riordain: J.F.S. Stone.	19.06.1956	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Latest Scientific Aids: Discussion	02.07.1957	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>Who Knows?</i> Member of panel.	29.04.66	Home Service
	<i>Rewriting Man's Prehistory</i> . A Science of Archaeology?	25.11.1971	Radio Three
Rupert Bruce-Mitford	The Sutton Hoo Burial Ship. <i>The Archaeologist</i> . Introduced by Rupert Bruce-Mitford.	08.10.1957	Network Three
	Saxons and Normans – 1. The Sutton Hoo Treasure. School scripts by Stephen Usherwood and Rupert Bruce-Mitford. <i>History Work Units</i> .	17.09.1963	Home Service
Gordon Childe			
	Chronicles in Stone.	26.11.1937	
	Science and Politics. Birth of Science.	02.06.1942	
	Your Questions Answered.	01.06.1945	
	Your Questions Answered.	31.08.1945	
	Science: Man Takes Over, number 1. Plants and Animals.	19.10.1945	S.E.B. (Services Empire Broadcast)
	The Influence of Metals.	24.10.1945	S.E.B.
	The Effect of Cheap Iron Tools.	07.11.1945	S.E.B.
	Calling Australia.	06.11.1945.	
	Science: Man Takes Over. Number 3, Division of Labour.	31.10.1945.	S.E.B.
	Science: Man Takes Over. New Ways of Living.	14.04.1945	S.E.B.
	Science: Man Takes Over. Machines and Social Orders.	21.11.1945	S.E.B.
	Australians in Britain.	14.06.1946	

	Your Questions Answered. How did Stone Age men see to paint their cave pictures?	11.10.1946	
	The Archaeologist – Archaeology and History	01.12.1946	Third Programme
	The Study of Mankind	05.02.1946	
	Social Evolution	23.04.1952	Third Programme
	Economic Prehistory, with reference to Graham Clarke's recent book on "Prehistoric Europe: The Economic Basis".	20.05.1952	Third Programme
	Repeat of Economic Prehistory.	22.05.1952	Third Programme
	"Neolithic Britain." A review of the book by Stuart Piggott.	15.06.1954	Third Programme
Grahame Clark	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Digging up the Past.	20.10.1946	West of England Home Service
	Study of Mankind.	28.11.1946	Eastern Service
	<i>Science Notebook</i> . The Work of the Fenland Research Committee, 1.	29.01.1948	Pacific Service
	<i>Science Notebook</i> . The Work of the Fenland Research Committee, 1.	12.02.1948	Pacific Service
	<i>Science Review</i> . War and Archaeology.	30.05.1949	General Overseas Service
	The Heritage of Early Britain. How the Earliest People Lived.	10.12.1949	Third Programme
	The Seamer Story. With J.W. Moore and Harry Godwin.	02.05.1950	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Hunter-Fishers of Star Carr.	12.04.1955	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Memorial Programme to Professor Gordon Childe. With Max Mallowan, Stuart Piggott, Daryll Forde, Jim Neustupny and Edward Pyddoke. Introduced by W.F. Grimes.	17.06.1958	Network Three
Rev. M. P. Charlesworth	The World of the New Testament 1. The Unity of the Ancient World. <i>Bible Talks 1</i> .	24.09.1945	School Scripts
	The Diversity of the Ancient World. <i>Bible Talks 2</i> .	01.10.1945	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Archaeology and the Ancient Historian.	24.11.1946	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> , 2. The Romans in the West.	13.04.1947	West of England Home Service
	The West in England's Story, 2. The Romans in the South-West.	08.02.1949	West of England Home Service
	Heritage of Early Britain. The Romans and Their Legacy.	17.12.1949	Third Programme

Leonard Cottrell	Despatch from Cairo.	10.03.1947	
	Talk on the pyramid of King Snefu.	21.04.1947	
	Discussion on the decipherment of the ancient Cretan script.	11.10.1958	Third Programme
	Reviewing <i>The House of the Double Axe</i> by Agnes Carr Vaughan. <i>World of Books</i> .	23.04.1960	Home Service
	<i>For Your Bookshelf</i> : reviews of books on architecture and archaeology.	14.06.1960	Home Service
	How? Roman London: chairman in programme.	26.06.61	Home Service
	Treasure: The Tomb of Tutankhamun	05.03.1962	
	<i>Five Fifteen</i> . Lost Civilizations in Ancient Egypt.	12.01.1963	Home Service
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Man the Toolmaker.	18.01.1963	Schools
	<i>Five Fifteen</i> . Lost Civilizations. The Land of Sumer in Mesopotamia.	19.01.1963	
	<i>Five Fifteen</i> . The Cretans.	19.01.1963	
	<i>How Things Began</i> . A Family of Cave Dwellers.	25.01.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Hunters and Magicians.	01.02.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Archers and Fishermen.	08.02.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Man and the Forests.	15.02.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . The First Farmers.	22.02.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . The First Potters and Weavers.	01.03.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Metalworkers of the Bronze Age.	08.03.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Ink and Paper.	15.03.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . The Mountains of Pharaoh.	22.03.1963	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . What We've Learned This Year.	29.03.1963	Schools
	<i>World of Books</i> . The Last of the Incas: Edward Hyams and George Ordish.	20.04.1963	Schools
	<i>People, Places and Things</i> . Heinrich Schliemann at Troy and Mycenae.	17.06.1963	Schools
	<i>Past and Present</i> . Man Communicates.	28.06.1963	Schools
	<i>World of Books</i> . LC interviewed Dr Margaret Murray, author of "My First Hundred Years".	13.07.1963	Home Service

	<i>Five Fifteen</i> . Lost Civilisations: The Mysterious Mayas.	12.10.1963	Home Service
	<i>Five Fifteen</i> . Lost Civilisations. The Etruscans.	19.10.1963	
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Metalworkers of the Bronze Age.	06.03.1964	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . Ink and Paper.	13.03.1964	Schools
	<i>How Things Began</i> . What We've Learned This Year. With Honor Wyatt and Rhoda Power.	20.03.1964	Schools
	<i>World of Books</i> . The Daily Life of the Etruscans.	04.07.1964	Home Service
	The Death Pits of Ur. LC Looks at the Late Sir Leonard Woolley's Discoveries in Ur.	22.04.1965	Home Service

Rosemary Cramp	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Sutton Hoo Burial Ship. Cramp talks about interest the burial holds for students of Old English Literature.	05.10.1957	Network Three
O.G.S. Crawford	Stonehenge.	8.8.1927	
	Glözel.	10.10.1927	
	Reminiscences of a Field Archaeologist.	17.02.1955	Third Programme
	"The History of Technology". Occasioned by the publication of the first volume of a History of Technology, edited by Dr Charles Singer and his assistants.	30.04.1955	Third Programme
	"The Fortunate Islands" – the Canary Islands.	30.10.1965	Third Programme
	"The Eye Goddess". Prehistoric religion.	12.03.1956	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "Fakes and Forgeries." O.G.S. Crawford speaks about the Glözel forgeries.	04.09.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	Revelations from the Air – how air photography has helped O.G.S. Crawford in discovering archaeological sites.	22.10.1956	Home Service
	The Language of Cats.	08.04.1957	Home Service
Glyn Daniel	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Giant's Graves.	02.02.1946	West Of England Home Service
	<i>On the Map</i> . Air Photography and Archaeology in the West Country.	26.04.1946	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Why Archaeology.	13.10.1946	West Of England Home Service

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . 2. Romans in the West.	13.04.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . 3. Cave Dwellers in the West.	04.05.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . 4. Summer Expeditions.	01.06.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Jersey.	29.06.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Paganism in the West.	27.07.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> .	24.08.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> No. 9.	21.10.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> .	14.12.1947	West Of England Home Service
	<i>Strange World</i> 4. Time and Chance.	17.03.1948	West Of England Home Service
	Archaeology links Geology to History: Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians.	27.03.1948	Third Programme
	The Cultural Landscape.	11.08.1948	Third Programme
	<i>Three in Hand</i> : Avebury (in Wiltshire).	01.09.1948	West of England Home Service
	<i>Three in Hand</i> : Three Famous Archaeological Sites. Stoney Littleton, nr. Bath.	08.09.1948	West of England Home Service
	The Grimspound.	15.09.1948	West of England Home Service
	<i>For Your Book List</i> .	20.10.1948	West of England Home Service
	The Davide. Exhibition of Prehistory.	20.12.1948	Third Programme
	<i>For your Book List</i> : "The Meare Lake Village", by Arthur Bulleid and St. George Gray.	30.09.1949	West of England Home Service
	<i>For your Book List</i> : "Arthurian Times" by Charles Williams and C.S. Lewis.	28.10.1949	West of England Home Service
	The Lascaux Cave Paintings.	24.11.1949	Third Programme
	<i>Heritage of Early Britain no. 1</i> : The Prehistoric Peoples	05.12.1949	Third Programme
	The Lascaux Cave Paintings.	17.01.1950	Third Programme
	The Paintings at Lascaux.	12.09.1950	Third Programme
	The Paintings at Lascaux.	24.10.1950	Third Programme
	How Do I Know What Is Right? <i>How Do We Know?</i>	29.10.1951	Home Service
	The Evolution of Human Society.	27.11.1951	Third Programme

	The Evolution of Human Society (repeat).	28.11.1951	Third Programme
	Archaeology and Prehistory – <i>Asian Club</i> .	04.05.1952	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> : series edited by Glyn Daniel. Review of archaeological developments and discoveries in the British Isles.	07.09.1952	West of England Home Service
	<i>Books and People</i> . “American Indians in the Pacific”, by Thor Heyerdahl.	07.10.1952	
	Llantwit Major. Dr Glyn Daniel, Dr W.E. Nash-Williams, Professor William Rees, Professor Emrys Bowen. <i>The Past Around Us</i> .	24.11.1952	Home Service
	Abbe Breuil and Palaeolithic Art	20.12.1952	Third Programme
	<i>Books and People</i> . “Gods, Graves and Scholars” by C.W. Ceram.	30.12.1952	
	A Page of History. <i>The Earliest Times</i> , No 1.	30.12.1952	West of England Home Service
	The Foreign Stones at Stonehenge. <i>The Archaeologist number 2</i> .	11.01.1953	Home Service
	Lyonesse and the Lost Lands of England. <i>Myth or Legend</i> .	01.02.1953	Home Service
	Excavations at Stanwick, North Yorkshire. Dr Mortimer Wheeler talks to Glyn Daniel. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	12.04.1953	Home Service
	Excavation at Tara. Glyn Daniel introduces Sean O’Riordain. <i>The Archaeologist No 5</i> .	25.10.1953	Home Service
	Recent excavations at Stanwick, North Yorkshire. <i>The Archaeologist number 3</i> .	12.11.1953	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist number 4</i> .		Home Service
	Prehistoric Lake Dwellings in the British Isles. Recorded talks by St George Gray and Professor E. Estyn Evans. <i>The Archaeologist number 6</i> .	05.12.1953	Home Service
	Submarine Archaeology. Speakers: Glyn Daniel with Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Jacques Cousteau. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	02.03.1954	Home Service
	Maps and Archaeology. Glyn Daniel with O.G.S. Crawford, C.W. Phillips and A.J. Taylor. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	04.05.1954	West of England Home Service
	General methods, private aims (archaeology in Britain).	13.07.1954	Third Programme
	“Who Are The Welsh?” Shortened version of the 28 th Sir John Rhys	10.11.1954	Third Programme

	Memorial Lecture at the British Academy.		
	Music and people.	18.11.1954	
	Report from Britain: We the Welsh	01.03.1955	General Overseas Service
	The Roman Occupation of Wales. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	01.02.1955	West of England Home Service
	The First Boats in Western Europe. Introduced by Glyn Daniel. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	10.07.1955	West of England Home Service
	The Vikings – introduced by Glyn Daniel. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	16.08.1955	West of England Home Service
	Tree Coffins and Bog Bodies. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	08.11.1955	West of England Home Service
	The Great Stone Monuments of Pre-History. <i>The Frontiers of Knowledge</i> .	29.05.1956	Eastern Service
	The Megalithic Monuments of France. <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	02.04.1957	West of England Home Service
	“The Back Looking Curiosity”. Talk on the development of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of London as an index of changing antiquarian thought.	18.09.1956	Third Programme
	Interviewing Robert Graves. <i>Frankly Speaking</i> .	30.05.1957	Home Service
	“Snapshot War.” The speaker talks of his work in Photographic Intelligence, and refers to C. Babington Smith’s book, “Evidence in Camera”.	19.02.1958	Home Service
	What Do You Want To Know? – Guest Expert.	27.05.1957	London Programme
	The Antiquity of Man.	02.10.1959	Home Service
	The New Prehistory In the Making.	04.09.1960	Third Programme
	Tribute to Professor Thomas Bodkin. <i>Obituaries</i> .	25.04.1961	Home Service
	<i>Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization</i> . 1. Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.	24.11.1966	Radio Three
	<i>Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization</i> . 2. Sumeria.	30.11.1966	Radio Three
	<i>Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization</i> . 3. Egypt.	07.12.1966	Radio Three
	<i>Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization</i> . 4. China and the Indus Valley.	14.12.1966	Radio Three
	<i>Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization</i> . 5. Pre-Columbian America.	21.12.1966	Radio Three

	<i>Archaeology and the Origins of Civilization. 6.</i>	28.12.1966	Radio Three
	"The finds at Lepenski Vir" – reports on this excavation in Yugoslavia.	27.12.1967	Radio Three
	Reviews "The Bog People" by P.V. Glob. <i>World of Books.</i>	12.06.1969	Radio Four
	<i>Rewriting Man's Prehistory. 1. A Science of Archaeology?</i>	25.11.1971	Radio Three

Dina Dobson	Entertaining Angels.	30.10.1944	Home Service
	Sirens Sirens.	22.01.1945	Home Service
	Dragons. Children's Hour Scripts.	23.04.1945	Home Service
	Do You Know About - Who Gets Our Water Supply. School Scripts – Citizenship.	12.07.1946	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist. 3. Cave Dwellers in the West.</i>	04.05.1947	West of England Home Service
	Do You Know About – The Councillor.	28.05.1948	School Scripts - Citizenship
	Trees under the Sand. (Plants under the Sea.)	25.11.1952	West of England Home Service
	<i>Book List. "Archaeology in the Field" by O.G.S. Crawford.</i>	01.04.1953	West of England Home Service
	Men Paint Pictures and Carve Bone: by Dina Dobson and Rhoda Power. School Scripts – <i>How Things Began.</i>	04.02.1957	Home Service
	"The Lady and the Volcano." Dina Dobson recalls her visit to the Solfatara volcano.	03.05.1957	London Programme
	Men Paint Pictures and Carve Bone. School Scripts. <i>How Things Began.</i>	12.02.1960	Home Service
	Men Paint Pictures and Carve Bone. School Scripts. <i>How Things Began.</i>	10.02.1961	Home Service
	Men Paint Pictures and Carve Bone. School Scripts. <i>How Things Began.</i>	09.02.1962	Home Service
Aileen Fox	<i>The Archaeologist. Wansdyke. Great Prehistoric earthwork.</i>	02.12.1959	Network Three
Cyril Fox	From all over Britain – Cardiff.	05.11.1943	
	The Archaeologist in Wales. How History is Made.	03.01.1944	
	Appeal on behalf of Welsh Folk Museum in <i>Week's Good Cause</i>	20.04.1947	Home Service

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Wansdyke. Great Prehistoric earthwork.	02.12.1958	Network Three
Dorothy Garrod	<i>Science Review</i> . Archaeology.	31.05.1939	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The First Men.	27.10.1946	Third Programme
Christopher Hawkes	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Heroic Age of Ancient Britain.	17.11.1946	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . 9. Ancient British Farmers in Wessex.	21.10.1947	West of England Home Service
	Roman Britain. Hawkes takes part in discussion. "Who were the Britons?" With Sir Mortimer Wheeler.	08.02.1956	Home Service
	"Six Archaeological Secrets." The Secret of Heathery Burn Cave.	27.08.1956	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Sutton Hoo Burial Ship. Hawkes talks about the historical implications to be drawn from it.	08.10.1957	Network Three
Jacquetta Hawkes	<i>Ancient Britain Out of Doors</i> .	01.04.1935	
	<i>Ancient Britain Out of Doors</i> . With Stuart Piggott.	08.04.1935	
	<i>Ancient Britain Out of Doors</i> . With J.N.L. Myres.	15.04.1935	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The First Farmers.	03.11.1946	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Study of Mankind: Prehistory.	14.11.1946	
	Treasure Trove. <i>School Scripts - Current Affairs</i> .	04.12.1946	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Jersey.	29.10.1947	
	<i>UNESCO. School Scripts -Current Affairs</i> .	17.03.1948	Home Service
	Gowland Hopkins and the Scientific Imagination.	21.01.1950	Third Programme
	<i>Saturday Review</i> : Henry Moore's Sculpture, by Mrs Jacquetta Hawkes.	09.06.1951	
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . May Profile: Gordon Cruickshank.	11.06.1951	London Programme
	"Why Dig Up the Past?" Mrs Jacquetta Hawkes, Geoffrey Greer. <i>London Dialogues</i> .		
	<i>Books and People</i> : "The Sea Around Us", by Rachel Carson.	25.02.1952	
	"Windows on the World" – The Past (the history) of Everyday Things. <i>Woman's Hour</i> .	19.05.1952	London Programme

	The People of Windmill Hill. Script by Jacquetta Hawkes. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	08.06.1953	Home Service
	The People of Windmill Hill. Script by Jacquetta Hawkes. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	15.06.1953	Home Service
	A Visit to Avebury. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	15.06.1953	Home Service
	A Visit to Avebury. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	22.06.1953	Home Service
	The End of Prehistoric Britain. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	06.07.1953	Home Service
	The End of Prehistoric Britain. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	29.06.1953	Home Service
	The People of Windmill Hill. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	07.06.1954	Home Service
	A Visit to Avebury. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	14.06.1954	Home Service
	The People of Windmill Hill. Script by Jacquetta Hawkes. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	21.06.1954	Home Service
	The End of Prehistoric Britain. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	28.06.1954	Home Service
	The End of Prehistoric Britain. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	12.07.1954	Home Service
	The People of Windmill Hill. Script by Jacquetta Hawkes. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	13.06.1955	Home Service
	A Visit to Avebury. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	20.06.1955	Home Service
	The End of Prehistoric Britain. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	04.07.1955	Home Service
	Serial reading of "Journey Down a Rainbow" by Jacquetta Hawkes and J.B. Priestley. <i>Woman's Hour. Home for the Day.</i>	23.10.1955	London Programme
	Maiden Castle: Above speaks about an Iron Age Farmstead of the Hillfort.	07.02.1956	West of England Home Service
	The People of Windmill Hill. Script by Jacquetta Hawkes. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	04.06.1956	Home Service
	A Visit to Avebury. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	11.06.1956	Home Service
	The End of Prehistoric Britain. <i>School Scripts. How Things Began.</i>	26.06.1956	Home Service
	The Evolution of Life on Earth. What I Believe.	17.02.1957	
	Modern Appliances in Kitchens. Discussion with Anthony Crossland. <i>Woman's Hour.</i>	26.11.1958	London Programme

	Values and Views. <i>Woman's Hour. Home For the Day.</i>	21.12.1958	London Programme
	Controversy between archaeologists about Sir Arthur Evans' findings about Cretan Civilization. <i>At Home and Abroad.</i>	05.07.1960	Home Service
	Interviewed by Joan Harper about her new home in the Isle of Wight and the landscape there. <i>Woman's Hour.</i>	26.10.1960	London Programme
	"Period Choice." Crete in the Bronze Age. <i>Woman's Hour.</i>	17.09.1962	London Programme
	Farewell Night, Welcome Day. David Holbrook.	04.01.1963	Home Service
	"Of Omsk, Tomsk and Samarkand." <i>The Travellers.</i>	19.04.1963	Home Service
	"People of Ancient Assyria" by Jorgen Laessage, and "The Greek Stones Speak" by Paul MacKendrick. <i>World of Books.</i>	25.05.1963	Home Service
	Guest of the Week. <i>Woman's Hour.</i>	09.10.1968	Radio 2
	The British Gentleman. <i>Long March of Everyman, 12.</i>	13.02.1972	Radio 4
	Arcadia? <i>Long March of Everyman, 13.</i>	20.02.1972	Radio 4
	The Iron Machine. <i>Long March of Everyman, 14.</i>	27.02.1972	Radio 4
	The Ringing Grooves of Change. <i>Long March of Everyman, 18.</i>	26.03.1972	Radio 4
	"Archaeology and Publications." <i>The Changing Past.</i> Jacquetta Hawkes talks to Peter Fowler.	30.04.1972	Radio 4
W. G. Hoskins	<i>The West in England's Story</i> 6. The Making of the Landscape.	08.03.1949	West of England Home Service
	Readings to illustrate above talk. (Hoskins not speaking.)	11.03.1949	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Old Devon Farmhouse.</i> 1. At the End of the Lane.	26.07.1949	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Old Devon Farmhouse.</i> 2. Inside the Farmhouse.	1949	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Old Devon Farmhouse.</i> 3. The People in the Farmhouse.	09.08.1949	West of England Home Service
	County Characters: William Gardiner, a fellow Leicester Man.	28.11.1950	Midlands Home Service
	The Study of Local Communities.	18.09.1951	Third Programme
	The Study of Local Communities. (Repeat.)	19.09.1951	Third Programme
	<i>Landscape of Towns.</i> 1. The Planned Town.	30.08.1952	Third Programme

	<i>Landscape of Towns.</i> 2. Open-Field Town.	01.09.1952	Third Programme
	<i>Landscape of Towns.</i> 3. The Market Town.	08.09.1952	Third Programme
	<i>The Past Around Us.</i> 1. Dartmoor. With Hope Bagnell and H.P.R. Finberg.	17.11.1952	Third Programme
	<i>The Past Around Us.</i> 4. Stamford. Dr W. G. Hoskins, M. Barley and A. Ireson.	08.12.1952	Third Programme
	Annals of the Parish (on studying local history).	25.08.1953	Third Programme
	<i>The Anatomy of the English Countryside.</i> No 1. Ordeal by Planning.	19.04.1954	Third Programme
	No. 2. A Hand-Made World.	24.04.1954	Third Programme
	No. 3. The Road Between.	25.04.1954	Third Programme
	No. 4. The 'Rash Assault'.	03.05.1954	Third Programme
	No. 5. The House Through the Trees.	06.05.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist.</i> Deserted Villages. Chairman: W.G. Hoskins. Speakers: M.W. Beresford; H.C. Darby; J.G. Hurst.	18.08.1954	West of England Home Service
	<i>Prospects.</i> A talk about Bredon Hill in Worcestershire.	07.11.1954	Midlands Home Service
	The English Village, Past and Present. W.G. Hoskins talks about "Freedom of the Parish" by Geoffrey Grigson and M.W. Beresford's "The Lost Villages of England".	15.01.1955	Third Programme
	Book Review – "Bristol and its adjoining counties."	11.09.1955	West of England Home Service
	"Outrage", discussing an edition of <i>Architectural Review</i> devoted to outrages on the landscape – relating to the West Country.	25.10.1955	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Rediscovery of England.</i> No. 1. The Impulse to Explore.	29.11.1955	Third Programme
	No. 2. New Descriptions.	05.12.1955	Third Programme
	No. 3. Uncharted Territory.	15.12.1955	Third Programme
	Book Review – Windows on the West. W.G. Hoskins talks about Margaret Willy's book, "The South Hams".	01.11.1955	West of England Home Service
	"Richard Ford of Exeter", a talk about the traveller and writer of Spain.	10.01.1956	West of England Home Service
	The Land and Landscape of Britain: Our Way of Life.	24.05.1956	General Overseas Service

	Current Affairs – “Subtopia”. School scripts. Talks for 6 th Forms.	01.06.1956	Home Service
	Lost Villages in Western England.	20.04.1957	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Making of the West Country Landscape.</i> No. 1. Villages.	10.06.1957	West of England Home Service
	No. 2. Reclaimed Wastelands.	19.06.1957	West of England Home Service
	No. 3. Parks and Country Houses.	24.06.1957.	West of England Home Service
	No. 4. The Growth of the Towns.	01.07.1957	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Englishman’s House.</i> No 1. The House in the Town.	09.06.1957	Third Programme
	No. 2. Farmhouses and Cottages.	16.06.1957	Third Programme
	No 3. The Interior of the House.	23.06.1957	Third Programme
	“Just Published.” In discussion on new books of special regional interest.	26.06.1957	West of England Home Service
	<i>“Anglo-Saxon England”</i> – Origins of the English Landscape. W.G. Hoskins is one of the speakers with Maurice Barley and H.P.R. Finberg.	23.10.1957	
	<i>As It Happened.</i> “Don’t clutter up your history with odd facts.”	10.11.1957	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened.</i> History: Start with the last 100 years and work backwards.	08.12.1957	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened.</i> The visual impression of local history.	05.01.1958	West of England Home Service
	<i>Woman’s Hour.</i> The Englishwoman’s House. 1. The Ground Floor.	22.01.1958	Light Programme
	<i>Woman’s Hour.</i> The Englishwoman’s House. 2. Upstairs.	05.02.1958	Light Programme
	<i>Woman’s Hour.</i> The Englishwoman’s House. 3. Furnishings and Fittings.	19.02.1958	Light Programme
	<i>As It Happened.</i> 1. Talk about buildings, the kind of details to look for and the way to record them in local history.	02.03.1958	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened.</i> 2. How to record buildings – what to look for inside.	30.03.1958	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened.</i> 3. Maps.	29.04.1958	West of England Home Service
	The Greatest Guide Book: Talk about Richard Ford, a traveller and writer.	31.08.1958	Third Programme
	<i>As It Happened.</i> Introduces programme.	13.10.1958	West of England Home Service

	<i>As It Happened</i> . Introduces programme.	03.11.1958	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened</i> . Introduces programme.	01.12.1958	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened</i> . Introduces programme.	05.01.1959	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened</i> . Introduces programme.	02.02.1959	West of England Home Service
	<i>As It Happened</i> . Introduces programme.	02.03.1959	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Normans</i> . Landscape of Norman England. Discussion with M.W. Beresford.	25.03.1959	Network Three
	<i>Midland Miscellany</i> . W.G. Hoskins talks about "The Corporation of the Borough and Foreign of Walsall", by E.J. Homeshaw.	29.02.1960	Midlands Home Service
	<i>World of Books</i> . Interviewed by Julian Holland on "The Common Lands of England and Wales."	08.06.1963	Home Service
	Robert E. Dowse. "General Election in Exeter: Parties in Action."	15.10.,1964	Third Programme
	"Portrait of an Old City – Exeter."	11.11.1964	Home Service
	"Harvest and Hunger – English Historians and Harvests."	24.11.1964	Third Programme
	"Epidemics: Epidemics of Tudor Times."	29.11.1964	Third Programme
	<i>The Elizabethan Nation</i> . Culture and Ideas: "Work and Leisure 6".	18.02.1965	Network Three
	<i>An Exploration of England</i> . "Devon Farms Without a Village." An economic and social historical study.	14.06.1965	Third Programme
	<i>An Exploration of England</i> . Evolving Townscapes. An economic and social historical study.	21.06.1965	Third Programme
	"Pastoral England". W.G. Hoskins discusses agriculture in 16 th century England and reviews "The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1640."	12.02.1968	Third Programme
	"How towns grew": what influenced the planning of old towns.	27.12.1969	Third Programme
	"The Age of Plunder": W.G. Hoskins tries in his book to reconstruct the life of the 16 th century.	10.09.1971	
Kathleen Kenyon	<i>Archaeology is an Adventure</i> . The Roman Midlands.	28.10.1949	Midlands Home Service

	Jericho. Objects dug out at the scene of archaeological research to prove the date of the city.	12.03.1952	Home Service
	Guest of the Week, <i>Woman's Hour</i> . Excavating the ancient city of Jericho.	07.11.1956	
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Oldest Town in the World. Excavations at Jericho.	05.03.1957	Third Programme
	<i>Midlands Miscellany</i> . Excavation on site of Uriconium.	10.09.1952	Home Service
	Jericho Before Joshua.	23.05.1953	Third Programme
	<i>Archaeology and the Bible 3</i> . Palestine in the Time of the Old Testament.	31.5.1955	Home Service
	Palestine in the Time of the New Testament.	14.06.1955.	Home Service
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . Digging up the Bible: Patricia Connor interviews Kathleen Kenyon, who has been excavating in Jerusalem.	02.04.1968	Radio 2
	An investigation into Jesus. Kathleen Kenyon takes part. The Search for Jesus of Nazareth.	30.05.1972	Radio 4
Seton Lloyd	The Tell Harmal Excavations: Law Tablets found in the Miniature City at Tell Harmal.	10.04.1950	Third Programme
	The Ionian Cities.	15.04.1951	
	The Sin-Temples of Harran.	21.04.1951	
	Byzantium. The Turkish Background.	30.05.1933	
	<i>The Indo-Europeans</i> . A Luvian Settlement: Some New Evidence from Anatolia.		
	Mallowan's "Nimrud" – some aspects of Assyrian civilisation with reference to Prof Mallowan's book "Nimrud and its Remains".	27.06.1966	
Max Mallowan	<i>Archaeology and the Bible 4</i> . Nineveh during the reign of King Sennacherib. School scripts – Religion and Philosophy.	07.06.1955	Home Service
	<i>Eye Witness</i> . The Syrian City of Nimrud.	10.07.1957	Home Service
	Memorial programme to Professor Gordon Childe. In programme with Grahame Clark, Stuart Piggott, Daryll Forde, Jiri Neustupny and	17.06.1958	Network Three

	Edward Pyddoke. Introduced by W.F. Grimes.		
Margaret Murray	Petra	21.04.1942	F.I. Talks Arabic
	Children in Ancient Egypt. <i>Woman's Hour</i> .	12.09.1949	London Programme
	Make-up among the Ancient Egyptians. <i>Woman's Hour</i> .	16.05.1950	London Programme
	A memoir of Sir Flinders Petrie and his work in Egypt.	07.06.1963	Third Programme
	Interviewed by Leonard Cottrell about her book "My First Hundred Years". <i>World of Books</i> .	13.07.1963	Home Service
V.E. Nash-Williams	<i>The Past Around Us</i> . Llantwit Major: Dr Glyn Daniel, Dr V.E. Nash-Williams, Prof. William Rees, Prof Emrys Bowen.	24.11.1952	Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The Roman Occupation of Wales.	01.02.1955	West of England Home Service
Iorweth Peate	What is Folk Culture?	01.09.1943	
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . <i>Stately Homes</i> . 2. St Fagans Castle.	12.01.1950	Home Service
Charles Phillips	On panel in <i>Science Brains Trust</i> . Who Knows?	21.5.1964	Home Service
Stuart Piggott	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Giant's Graves.	02.02.1947	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Prehistoric Trade.	21.09.1947	West of England Home Service
	Western Lives. General Pitt-Rivers.		West of England Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Talk about recent work done at the Aubrey Holes, Stonehenge.	07.09.1952	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . The First Greeks in the West. Excavations on the Lipari Islands.	26.11.1953	Third Programme
	The Druids and Stonehenge. The Archaeologist Number 4. Myth or Legend.	20.12.1953	Home Service
	Malta in Prehistory	25.07.1954	Third Programme
	Indus Civilization	02.11.1954	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The First Farmers in Britain." Chairman of discussion.	25.07.1954	West of England Home Service

	"The Far North in Prehistory". A tour of the archaeological sites in the Orkneys and Caithness.		
	The Thirteen Tombs of Alaca Huyuk. The speaker draws a general picture of events in Western Asia around 2000BC from the findings in these royal tombs in Turkey.	01.11.1955	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Piggott speaks on the Neolithic inhabitants of the Iron Age hill fort.	07.02.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . "The Wessex Culture." Piggott speaks on his research into Bronze Age Civilizations. With Sean O'Riordain and Richard Atkinson.	19.05.1956	West of England Home Service / Home Service
	<i>Six Archaeological Mysteries</i> . Who built the Bleasdale Circle?	20.01.1956	West of England Home Service
	Evidence of Archaeology.	19.04.1957	Third Programme
	School Scripts. <i>Out of Term</i> . What is Archaeology?	10.09.1957	Home Service
	<i>The Indo-Europeans</i> . In discussion on the prevailing disagreements as to the original Indo-Europeans.	02.05.1957	Third Programme
	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Peat, Pollen and Pre-history in the Lake District. Piggott in programme with Clare Fell, Brian Blake and Donald Walker.	25.02.1958	Network Three
	Memorial Programme to Professor Gordon Childe. Piggott in programme with Grahame Clark, Max Mallowan, Daryll Forde, Jiri Neustupny and Edward Pyddoke. Introduced by W.F. Grimes.	17.06.1958	Network Three
	<i>Woman's Hour</i> . Scotland's Guest of the Week.	21.10.1958	Light Programme
	<i>Ancient Civilizations</i> . "What is Civilization?" Discussion.	14.04.1963	Network Three
	<i>New Perspectives in European Prehistory</i> . The New Chronology.	16.02.1967	Third Programme
	<i>New Perspectives in European Prehistory</i> . C14 and Radiocarbon Dating.	21.02.1967	Third Programme
	"Early Celtic Art." Discussion among Piggott, T.G.E. Powell and Anne Ross.	24.10.1970	Radio Three
Philip Rahtz	Rescue Excavations in the Chew Valley, Somerset.	21.09.1954	West of England Home Service

	<i>The Archaeologist</i> . Scientific Research Helps the Excavator. Contribution by Philip Rahtz.	23.11.1954	West of England Home Service
	<i>The Changing Past</i> . Archaeology and Publications. Philip Rahtz talks to Peter Fowler.	30.04.1972	Radio 4
J. G. Savory	Scientific Research Helps the Excavator. Contribution from J.G. Savory in <i>The Archaeologist</i> .	23.11.1954	West of England Home Service
Michael Ventris	The Cretan Tablets. (The progress of the decipherment of the Minoan documents found at Knossos.)	01.07.1952	Third Programme
	<i>Frontiers of Knowledge</i> . The Tablets of Ancient Crete.	01.05.1956	Eastern Service
S.E. Winbolt	Where to Find the Past.	29.05.1933	Talks
		13.06.1933	
		19.06.1933	
		26.06.1933	