

The Richmond Family: A History of British Pro-Palestinian Advocacy,
1895-1982.

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Abstract

This thesis is a history of British advocacy for the Palestinian cause through a close study of two generations of the Richmond family, from 1895 to 1982. It examines how Ernest Tatham Richmond, a British architect, came to move to the Middle East in the 1890s, learn Arabic, and

become a member of the Mandate Government in Palestine following World War I. The thesis shows that while E.T. Richmond had no pro-Arab tendencies when he moved to Egypt in 1895, his willingness to interact with local Egyptians and to learn Arabic put him in a position to come to understand and respect Egyptian culture. In turn this encouraged him to have sympathy for the Palestinians before he even visited Palestine. The thesis then closely examines E.T. Richmond's career in Palestine and his pro-Palestinian advocacy there. It goes on to examine how John and Diana Richmond, E.T. 's son and daughter-in-law, would become inspired by his example and turn into advocates of the Palestinian cause in the 1960's and 1970's, while also firmly distancing themselves from some of E.T. Richmond's more troubling views, including his anti-Semitism, which was so entrenched in E.T. Richmond's pre-war generation. Drawing on the private papers of Ernest housed at the University of Durham and of John and Diana now housed at the University of Exeter, the thesis examines how the Palestinian cause ultimately took precedence over all other goals in their lives. It discusses the turbulent nature of working relationships in the British Mandate government of Palestine, and the animosity that Ernest's views created there. It also exposes the difficulty behind being a pro-Palestinian advocate in 1960's Britain, where mainstream support lay firmly with Israel. Finally, the thesis discusses the people that Ernest, John, and Diana met who were supportive of their struggle for Palestinian rights, thereby shedding light on a broader community of pro-Palestinian British advocacy.

Cette thèse porte sur l'histoire du plaidoyer britannique pour la cause palestinienne à travers une étude approfondie de deux générations de la famille Richmond, de 1895 à 1982. Elle examine le parcours migratoire de l'architecte britannique Ernest Tatham Richmond, vers le Moyen-Orient dans les années 1890. Durant ce parcours, Ernest a appris l'arabe, et est devenu un membre du gouvernement mandataire en Palestine à la suite de la Première Guerre mondiale. Cette thèse montre que Ernest n'avait aucune tendance pro-arabe lors de son déménagement en Égypte en 1895. Ainsi, sa volonté d'interagir avec les Égyptiens locaux et d'apprendre l'arabe le plaça dans une position pour comprendre et respecter la culture égyptienne. En conséquence, cela lui a encouragé à éprouver de la sympathie pour la communauté palestinienne, même avant sa visite en Palestine. Cette thèse examine aussi la carrière de E.T Richmond en Palestine ainsi que son plaidoyer en faveur des Palestiniens. Ensuite, ce récit explore comment John et Diana Richmond, les fils et la belle-fille de E.T ont été inspirés de sa carrière pour ensuite devenir des grands supporters de la cause palestinienne dans les années 60 et 70. Cependant, John et Diana se sont fermement distancés des idéologies troublantes supportées par E.T Richmond y compris son antisémitisme enraciné dans la génération avant la guerre. En s'appuyant sur des documents privés de la famille de Ernest, situés à l'Université de Durham ainsi que ceux de John et Diana, conservés à l'Université d'Exeter, cette thèse examine comment la cause palestinienne a ultimement pris le dessus de tout autre objectif de leur vie. Cette recherche aborde la nature turbulente des relations professionnelles ainsi que l'animosité créée par les idéologies de Ernest dans le gouvernement mandataire britannique de la Palestine. De plus, ce récit met en lumière les difficultés entraînées étant un défenseur de la cause palestinienne dans les années 60 en Grande-Bretagne où le soutien dominant penchait fermement avec Israël. Finalement, cette thèse examine les personnes rencontrées par Ernest John et Diana qui étaient en soutien de leur lutte pour les droits palestiniens,

éclairant davantage un portrait sur la communauté du plaidoyer britannique en faveur de la Palestine.

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A special acknowledgement goes to Professor Elizabeth Elbourne who helped me with my writing in my undergrad, believed in me, and encouraged me to do archival research in the UK for this thesis. And I must thank Professor Brahm Kleinman. He patiently guided me through all his classes, providing excellent advice for improving my writing skills, and always had his door open to talk. He even let me give a lecture for one of his classes, an amazing experience.

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To my friends who patiently endured multiple readings of my thesis and listened attentively to my endless explanations of British Administration in Palestine, I am grateful. Special thanks to Natalie Pennisi, Sam Fairbrother, and Liam Moynihan, whose insights helped shape this thesis into a work I am proud to share.

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Introduction

On December 11, 1917, General Edmund Allenby marched on foot at the head of his troops into the old city of Jerusalem. He proclaimed the city under British military rule, greeted by cheering inhabitants eager to escape the privations of the war years.¹ At this moment, the British perceived themselves as benevolently occupying the country. A British report in April 1917 had asserted that the majority of the native population would welcome them, and many of the Palestinians do appear to have envisioned a brighter future under British rule.² This was before

¹ Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 1.

² Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire*, 120.

most Palestinians knew that, in November 1917, the British had signed a document known as the Balfour Declaration, which promised a “national home for the Jewish people” in Palestine, and only referred to Palestinians as “non-Jewish inhabitants.”³

These dual promises set the stage for conflict. The British government was granted a Mandate to rule Palestine from the newly minted League of Nations in April, 1920 and they maintained that position until they chose to relinquish it in 1948.⁴ During this period, they not only welcomed significant Jewish immigration but also facilitated lucrative business deals for Jewish entrepreneurs.⁵ Collaborating closely with the Zionist Organization the British also accorded official language status to Hebrew alongside Arabic and English.⁶

The British government’s actions in Palestine were enacted by British policy-makers who held strongly pro-Zionist views. These included key figures in the British regime such as the Prime Minister David Lloyd George and the Middle East advisor Mark Sykes.⁷ The first British High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, was also a committed Zionist.⁸ However, many less important British officials were neutral. Typically, these were career-long officials temporarily stationed in Palestine, intending to fulfill their assigned tasks before moving on to other postings in places like Cyprus, India, or the Aden protectorate. J.M.N. Jeffries, a prominent British reporter, wrote in his book *The Palestine Deception: 1915-1923*, about all the

³ Balfour Declaration, November 2, 1917, Balfour Declaration: Text of the Declaration, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/text-of-the-balfour-declaration>.

⁴ Division of Near Eastern Affairs, *Mandate for Palestine* (Washington D.C: Government Printing Office, 1927), 12; Albert Hyamson, *Palestine Under the Mandate: 1920-1948* (New York: Routledge, 1950), 166.

⁵ Justin McCarthy, *Population of Palestine: Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 34.

⁶ Liora R. Halperin, "Hebrew Under English Rule: The Language Politics of Mandate Palestine," in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 337.

⁷ Rory Miller, ed., *Britain, Palestine and Empire: The Mandate Years* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013), 18.

⁸ Victor Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest : International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1891-1949* (London: Pluto Press, 2009), 65.

British police officers in Palestine he knew who were just trying to keep their heads down and focus on doing what they were told.⁹

In contrast, there were British officials and citizens who actively advocated for the Palestinian cause. Often less connected and less able to influence government decisions, they nevertheless found ways to make their voices heard.¹⁰ These individuals tended to come from more eclectic backgrounds, often having lived in the region long enough to learn Arabic. Among them was the former missionary Frances Newton, barred from returning to Palestine due to her pro-Palestinian leaflets in the late 1930s, the communist Thomas Hodgkin, who was forced to leave Palestine after resigning from his government post in 1936, and Ernest Tatham Richmond who resigned in frustration from the British government in 1924.¹¹

This thesis tells the story of Ernest Tatham Richmond and his pro-Palestinian advocacy. It then goes on to explore the way that Ernest's son John and daughter-in-law Diana took up the Palestinian cause in the post-1967 period. Ernest was present in Jerusalem in 1918 and was in the government advocating for Arab rights in 1920.¹² He stayed working in the British government just long enough to develop a deep cynicism about British rule and to come to believe that the British government did not truly care about the fate of the Palestinians.¹³ This deeply ingrained belief in the righteousness of the Palestinian cause became a legacy that Ernest passed on to his children. His son John and John's wife Diana would spend their younger years in the foreign service in the Middle East and their older years fighting for the Palestinian point of view within

⁹ J.M.N. Jeffries, *The Palestine Deception: 1915-1923* (Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2014), 134.

¹⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/11, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Durham, United Kingdom. (As is obvious from the title of this text, there is antisemitic commentary within this text that will be discussed fully in the next chapter).

¹¹ Rory Miller, "The Other Side of the Coin: Arab Propaganda and the Battle Against Zionism in London, 1937-48," in *Israel: the First Hundred Years*, ed. Efraim Karsh (London: Routledge, 2000), 205; Thomas Hodgkin and E. C. Hodgkin, *Thomas Hodgkin, Letters from Palestine, 1932-36* (London: Quartet Books, 1986), 172; *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/120, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹² Bernard Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 48; Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 52.

¹³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/125, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Britain.¹⁴ Their unwavering commitment stemmed from Ernest's teachings, that almost nothing was as important as fighting for Palestine.

This family serves as a microcosm of the small British community that has actively supported the Palestinian cause for over a century. Despite being a minority, this community has passionately advocated for their beliefs, dedicating their time, money, and unwavering devotion to the Palestinian cause. Their commitment is deeply rooted in a generational legacy, as they advocated for the Palestinians because their parents before them fought for the same cause. The narrative extends beyond the Richmonds, encompassing individuals such as Michael Adams, a close friend of John and Diana. Adams faced professional repercussions, losing a lucrative position at the *Guardian* and enduring industry blackballing due to his steadfast belief in Palestinian rights.¹⁵ His son Paul Adams is a BBC journalist today covering the current war in the Middle East and trying to guarantee that the Palestinian argument is heard.¹⁶ His substantial Twitter following, coupled with statements such as, "and after this war is over, the voices of Palestinian people and their aspirations must be at the center of post-crisis governance in Gaza," illustrates his commitment to follow in his father's footsteps.¹⁷ The Richmonds are not the only ones to walk this path, and within their small story one can gain a better understanding not only of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but also what motivates those from Great Britain who have fought for Palestinian rights since the first day the British took control of Palestine.

¹⁴ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Diana, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Exeter University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Exeter, United Kingdom.

¹⁵ Michael Adams and Christopher Mayhew, *Publish It not... The Middle East Cover Up* (London: Longman, 1975), 53.

¹⁶ Diana Safiyeh and Tim Llewellyn, "Tim Llewellyn on the Crafting of the News: the British Media and the Israel-Palestine Question," August 2020, in *The Balfour Project* presented and produced by Diana Safiyeh, published by Spotify, podcast, 1:02:59, <https://podcasters.spotify.com/pod/show/balfourproject/episodes/S01-E08-Tim-Llewellyn-on-The-Crafting-of-the-News-the-British-media-and-the-Israel-Palestine-Question-ei3lug/a-a2uh0b8>.

¹⁷ Paul Adams (@BBCPaulAdams), "And after this war is over, the voices of Palestinian people and their aspirations must be at the center of post-crisis governance in Gaza." Twitter, November 18, 2023, 7:29 pm, <https://twitter.com/BBCPaulAdams/status/1726034982303412576>.

Ernest Tatham Richmond was primed to be sympathetic to the Palestinians because of his unique background as an architect who had worked in Egypt as a young man. He knew Arabic well and developed a deep respect for the Arab community in Palestine.¹⁸ That put him at odds with many members of his government, prompting him to resign due to his views that the British were failing the Palestinians.¹⁹ Throughout his life, Ernest maintained the belief that the British had betrayed the Palestinians, a viewpoint he passed on to his son John and daughter-in-law Diana. They would take that belief to heart and travel all around the Middle East making Arab friends. Then they would return to Britain to help found the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding or CAABU, an organization dedicated to explaining the Arab world to the British people, and which would ultimately become quite prominent in pro-Arab British politics.²⁰ With the help of CAABU, they would write hundreds of letters arguing the pro-Arab viewpoint to the British Press and across the Western World. This commitment transcended generations, as exemplified by Diana and John's son Sam Richmond, who, influenced by his family's legacy, learned Arabic, worked as a doctor in Yemen, and as a doctor in Gaza in 2005.²¹ Ernest Richmond created a ripple effect that lasted for generations in his family, an effect that is still alive today.

Literature Review and Primary Sources

Very little secondary source literature has been written on the Richmonds in particular. That means that this thesis is drawing primarily on primary source material, mostly letters written by Ernest, John and Diana. There is one other substantial primary source written by Ernest that

¹⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/5, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/125, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁰ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Diana, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, John and Diana Richmond Papers.

²¹ Jonathan Wyllie and Majd Abu Harb, "Samuel William John Richmond," *Royal College of Physicians*, <https://history.rcplondon.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/samuel-william-john-richmond>.

was very useful for this thesis but also was quite challenging to work with. This is an unpublished book that Ernest wrote later in life entitled *Mammon in the Holy Land* that lies within his Durham archive. This unruly text is a mixture of his diary entries from his time in Palestine, letters he wrote to his brother Herbert and his wife Muriel, newspaper clippings, and extracts from published books of other pro-Palestinian works from the time. In particular, Ernest drew on the book *Front Everywhere* by the pro-Palestinian journalist J.M.N. Jeffries. *Mammon in the Holy Land* was never intended for publication. Ernest specifically wrote it for his children in case they were interested in understanding his life's work.²² This at times makes the narrative slightly hard to follow, as no one ever edited this text for clarity, and Ernest jumps from letters to diary entries to comments from the time he was writing the text with no consideration for flow. However, the real difficulty in the text is the personal prejudices of Ernest that *Mammon in the Holy Land* reveals.

This text indisputably shows that Ernest held antisemitic views.²³ Therefore, I drew upon a number of scholarly works about British antisemitism in the early 20th century, to put *Mammon in the Holy Land* into the proper context, and to discuss how antisemitism was quite prevalent at the time in the British elite. In particular, I used secondary literature that discusses how *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was viewed in the early 20th century in Britain. This was an antisemitic tract about a Jewish cabal that ruled the world, written as Russian propaganda.²⁴ Ernest clearly believed the book was accurate.²⁵ To understand the context of Ernest's views, I drew on Stephen Bronner's *A Rumor About the Jews*, and Gisela Lebzelter's *Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939*. These texts both show that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was widely believed to be legitimate in England in the early 1900s.²⁶ Lebzelter's book also more broadly

²² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/5, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/11, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴ Stephen Eric Bronner, *A Rumor About the Jews: Conspiracy, Anti-Semitism, and the Protocols of Zion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

²⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/11, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁶ Gisela C. Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939* (London: Macmillan Press, 1978), 21; Bronner, *A Rumor About the Jews*, 57.

discusses the rampant antisemitism that existed in the 1920s in the British elite, which shows that Ernest's antisemitic views were reflective of the prevalent attitudes among many British leading politicians of that era.²⁷ By juxtaposing these secondary sources with Ernest's writings, it becomes apparent that his antisemitism was a fundamental belief of the cultural milieu of his time and the social class to which he belonged.

As mentioned, Ernest's letters were also a valuable source. In particular, those letters written during his time in Egypt serve as a crucial primary source which provided insight into his evolving pro-Arab sentiments and growing disillusionment with the British government's role in Egypt. His frequent correspondence with his wife, Muriel, during her trips to England for the summers reveals his disdain for many British co-workers and a strong belief in Egypt's right to self-governance.²⁸ These letters provided a window into Ernest's changing perspectives and the development of his pro-Arab stance over his time in Egypt. I also relied on some of Ernest's published works. Though they were all about ancient Egyptian or Palestinian archaeology, they often contain buried points about how Ernest believed that Arab culture should be allowed to flourish without British interference.²⁹ The other primary source that helped me understand Ernest in this period was Ronald Storrs' 1943 memoir, *Orientalisms*. Ronald Storrs was a member of the British Finance Ministry in Egypt when he met Ernest, and he would go on to become the Military Governor of Jerusalem in 1917 and eventually secure Ernest a governmental position in Jerusalem.³⁰ As Ronald Storrs and Ernest were close friends, this text provided me the opportunity to see how Ernest was viewed from the outside. Storrs viewed him as capable in his work and fully

²⁷ Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism In England*, 18.

²⁸ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 12 June 1908, RIC 1/6/20, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers; Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 7 June 1909, RIC 1/2/17, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁹ Ernest Richmond, "II. The Significance of Cairo," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 45, no. 1 (1913): 23.

³⁰ John Richmond, "Prophet of doom: E.T. Richmond, F.R.I.B.A., Palestine 1920-1924," in *Arabic and Islamic Garland: Historical, Educational and Literary Papers Presented to Abdul Latif Tibawi by Colleagues, Friends and Students* (London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1977), 189.

fluent in Arabic.³¹ Storrs' viewpoint added depth to my understanding of Ernest, and reassured me that Ernest was in fact fully fluent in Arabic and educated about the region.

The secondary sources that I drew on to help me understand Ernest's letters and Storrs' memoir were primarily related to evaluating the unusualness of Ernest's expertise in Egyptian culture and the Arabic language. Robert Tignor's book *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914* provided a background on the government's failed attempts to teach British government employees Arabic and highlighted how racist many of these officials were against Egyptians.³² G.A. Bremner's book *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* provided an overview of the British style neighbourhoods being built in Egypt at the time, which helped to show not only a clearer picture of Ernest's day to day work as an architect, but also highlighted how separated the British in Egypt usually were from any part of the Egyptian community and how unique Ernest was for his willingness to make friends with Egyptians.³³

The final source that I relied on from Ernest's archive was written by his son John Richmond. Later in life John went through his father's letters and typed a commentary on the letters that mainly focused on his parents' relationship. He seems to have been most interested in understanding how they worked through the differences between their vastly different temperaments and views on the world.³⁴ While John was not really focused on the political dimension of his father's life, he occasionally provided valuable insights on that front as well, since he would comment about his fathers relationships with specific individuals. In particular, this source provided valuable information on why his parents might have felt they had to leave

³¹ Sir Ronald Storrs, *Orientations* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1945), 21.

³² Robert L. Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1966), 189.

³³ Alex G. Bremner, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 425.

³⁴ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1927-1937, 1960s, RIC 1/2/49, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Egypt.³⁵ John's perspective in this commentary was helpful in understanding Ernest and Muriel because it offered a closer look at their shared experiences and differing viewpoints, which helped me understand more clearly who they both were as people.

Ernest's letters from Palestine were less important than *Mammon In the Holy Land* but they also allowed me to fill in some of the gaps of his social and religious life that he did not always feel was necessary to include in *Mammon In the Holy Land*. They allowed me to evaluate who he spent the most time with in the British administration and who he clashed with the most. Additionally, they gave me a very good understanding of Ernest's personality and his strengths and weaknesses. The other primary source I drew on for Ernest's time in Palestine was Thomas Hodgkin's letters. A fellow member of the government who would resign in 1936, he was a friend of John's and therefore would spend time in the Richmond household eating dinner. He wrote an outside impression of Ernest that allowed me to consider how Ernest had changed since Egypt and how he was perceived by his British contemporaries in Palestine.³⁶

The other archive I used was the John and Diana Richmond Archive at the University of Exeter. I relied heavily on Diana's letters. While John and Diana both contributed to the archive, Diana wrote much more often than John. She read the newspapers very closely and any article that she believed to be anti-Arab would immediately result in her writing an angry letter.³⁷ These letters reveal what newspapers Diana and John read, what was the type of coverage about the Palestinians that angered them, and all the strategies that they employed to try to convince the media to provide more accurate stories about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. These letters also unveil how Diana would coordinate among her friends who should write letters to the editor for certain articles, and

³⁵ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1911, 1960s, RIC 1/2/24, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁶ Hodgkin, *Thomas Hodgkin, Letters from Palestine, 1932-36*, 17.

³⁷ From Diana to the Right Honourable James Callaghan, 13 March 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, John and Diana Richmond Papers.

what was top priority.³⁸ They show how large of a role Diana played in organizing pro-Palestinian projects, and the many charities that she donated to over the years to help the Palestinian cause. This highlights the existence of a broader community of pro-Palestinian British activists who shared common goals and collaborated with John and Diana to amplify their impact.

Additionally, for my final primary source, this archive has their CAABU documents from over the years, the minutes from meetings they attended, speeches they gave at CAABU events, CAABU coordinated plans to fight a certain issue in the newspaper, and letters from other CAABU members. These provide a valuable insight into how John and Diana worked with CAABU to achieve their goals of improving the knowledge of the Middle East in Britain, and convincing more British people to view the Palestinians favourably. This insight into their work with CAABU, including financial and logistical support, illuminates the broader infrastructure supporting their initiatives.³⁹ It helps explain how CAABU functioned as a platform for coordinating efforts, disseminating information, and advocating for a more informed and sympathetic view of the Middle East in Britain.

Within this archive there are also the written drafts of several speeches that John and Diana gave over the years. This is an important source as these speeches highlight how John and Diana presented themselves and their cause to the general public. They also show what details about themselves they considered important and useful to share. John and Diana spoke to a wide range of groups so it is also possible to analyze the change in how they spoke and what details they added based on who they were talking to.

For secondary sources there is a wealth of options about Palestine under the British Mandate. I relied on *From Coexistence to Conquest : International Law and the Origins of the*

³⁸ Letter from Alan George to Lady Diana Richmond, 9 August 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, John and Diana Richmond Papers.

³⁹ Letter from John Reddaway to Lady Diana Richmond, 4 July 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, John and Diana Richmond Papers.

Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1891-1949, by Victor Kattan and *The British In Palestine* by Bernard Wasserstein to provide basic context such as who was in the government, what the overarching structure of government was, and how true were Ernest's claims that as a pro-Arab member of the government he was isolated.⁴⁰ I also relied on one of the few secondary source books that directly discusses Ernest Richmond, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* by Daniel Monk. While Monk is more interested in Ernest's architectural approaches, the book has some valuable insights into Ernest's early arguments with the British government over the issue of funding for preserving al-Aqsa Mosque.⁴¹

I also used several sources about Catholicism in Britain in the 1920s when Ernest converted and specifically about a small Catholic artisan community in England named Ditchling, where Ernest and Muriel briefly lived from 1924-1927. Ditchling was a unique commune founded in 1921 by a group of artists who also were lay Dominicans. My secondary sources allowed me to better understand the Catholic nature of the community, the community's particular struggles, and how these would have affected Ernest's thinking in the future. Ernest viewed his job as Director of Antiquities through a religious lens, and that was developed at Ditchling. James Lothian's *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910-1950* and Paul Robichaud's "Avant-garde and Orthodoxy at Ditchling" provided clear details about the culture of Ditchling in the mid 1920s while Ernest, Muriel and John lived there.⁴² I also relied on James Down's article "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80", which is about John and Diana's conversion to Catholicism specifically but also mentions Ernest's time at Ditchling.⁴³

⁴⁰ Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest*, 66; Bernard Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine* (London: Swift Printers, 1978), 146.

⁴¹ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 48.

⁴² James R. Lothian, *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910-1950* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 102.

⁴³ Paul Robichaud, "Avant-garde and Orthodoxy at Ditchling," *Renascence* 69, no. 3 (2017): 186.

These sources helped me fill in the background details that Ernest probably thought too obvious to mention in his letters about his life at the Catholic community of Ditchling.

For my secondary sources related to Ernest as Director of Antiquities, they are primarily on archaeology in Palestine at the time, and the politics of determining how old an artifact was and whether or not that artifact related to Jewish history in Palestine. During this time period, Ernest played an important role in building the archeology museum in Jerusalem, so I drew on these secondary sources to understand the broader context of archaeology in the period.⁴⁴ K. Galor's *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City* and Sarah Irving's "Palestinian Christians in the Mandate Department of Antiquities: History and Archaeology in a Colonial Space" were particularly helpful in explaining the pressure that was placed on the field of archaeology under the British Mandate and the religious meaning that "biblical archaeology" was still endowed with.⁴⁵ In that time, archaeology was extremely political, as determining whether an artifact was Jewish or not was to some extent ruling on the scope to which the Jewish claim to Palestine was historically grounded.⁴⁶

For my final chapter which discusses Diana and John's activism work in the 60s and 70s, I drew on secondary sources that focus on how successive British governments supported the Israeli state during that time period. This provides context to what exactly John and Diana were up against and trying to change. These sources also help show that the system was as pro-Israeli as John and Diana perceived it to be.⁴⁷ For this analysis, particularly, June Edmund's two works on the topics, *The Evolution of British Labour Party Policy on Israel from 1967 to the Intifada* and

⁴⁴ James Down, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," *British Catholic History* 36, no.3 (2023): 313.

⁴⁵ Sarah Irving, "Palestinian Christians in the Mandate Department of Antiquities: History and Archaeology in a Colonial Space," in *European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine, 1918-1948: Between Contention and Connection*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 167; Katharina Galor, and Gideon Avni, *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 96.

⁴⁶ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 37.

⁴⁷ June Edmunds, *The Left and Israel: Party-Policy Change and Internal Democracy* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), 65.

“The 1967 War: Towards a Breakdown in Labour’s Consensus of Support for Israel,” provided context for how the British government supported the Israelis even after they had illegally occupied the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights.⁴⁸

My thesis synthesizes all these sources to construct a narrative tracing the journey of the Richmond family, beginning when Ernest moved to Egypt in 1895 and culminating when Diana and John took a step back from activism in the 1980s. The thesis narrates Ernest’s discovery of the Arab cause as a young architect in his twenties in Egypt, and how that changed his world view to be open to the entreaties of the Palestinians. It goes on to discuss his transfer to Palestine in 1918 and his fervent advocacy for Arab rights, which led to clashes with his fellow pro-Zionist government colleagues until he resigned out of frustration in 1924. When he returned to England, he embarked on a transformative journey that culminated in his conversion to Catholicism, which would become a key part of his subsequent pro-Palestinian work when he again went to Palestine as Director of Antiquities in 1927. Following Ernest’s retirement, his son John and daughter-in-law Diana would become Palestinian activists because of his work. The thesis concludes with a discussion of their pro-Palestinian advocacy and shows how rooted it was in Ernest’s life experience.

A Note on Spelling

For this thesis, the spelling of antisemitism will be without a hyphen. This choice aligns with the current consensus in the field, as the hyphenated version implies the existence of a distinct group known as Semites or a separate logic termed Semitism. By avoiding the hyphen, we refrain from suggesting the existence of such groups as separate entities from the general population. Hence, the spelling adopted here is "antisemitism."

⁴⁸ Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Presidio Press, 2003), 793.

Chapter 1: Ernest Tatham Richmond in Egypt from 1895-1911

Ernest Richmond moved to Egypt in 1895 at the age of 21. An aspiring architect at the time, he took a job at the archaeological site El-Kab with the architect Somers Clarke, an old friend of his father, the well-known British artist Sir William Blake Richmond.⁴⁹ There remains no precise indication of where Ernest lived while he worked at El-Kab, but Clarke lived in Aswan, so

⁴⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, Personal Memoir written by Ernest Richmond later in life about his time in Palestine, RIC 5/1/5, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Durham, United Kingdom.

Ernest quite likely lived there as well. Aswan is estimated to have had about 40,000 residents or fewer at the time. The town included a small British population, but it was nothing compared to the large British communities in Cairo and Alexandria. Considering the limited British companionship available, Ernest would have been pushed to spend more time among Aswan's Egyptian community, laying the groundwork for his future Arab friendships.⁵⁰ Working with Sommers Clarke in El-Kab and living in Aswan, Ernest would develop a love of Middle Eastern architecture, learn Arabic, and form his first meaningful connections with Egyptian culture and community.

Ernest's job at El-Kab consisted of helping with illustrations for the book that Clarke was writing about the Temple of Amenhotep III.⁵¹ Clarke possessed a deep attachment to Egypt, a rare position for any British man at the time, and he quite possibly planted the seeds for Ernest to become such an appreciator of the Arab cause and people. Clarke and Ernest would remain friends for years, with Ernest recording his delight at Clarke's visits up until 1911, the last year Ernest lived in Egypt.⁵²

Unlike Ernest, Clarke, after arriving in 1893 to start archaeological digs, never left Egypt, and in 1906, he built himself a house in al-Nusrab, a small village near Aswan.⁵³ Clarke died in Egypt in 1926 and was buried near Aswan per his request.⁵⁴ He built such a beautiful and authentic Egyptian house that, in 2018, the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities decided to include the property

⁵⁰ Nancy Reynolds, "City of the High Dam: Aswan and the Promise of Postcolonialism in Egypt," *City & Society* 29, no. 1 (2017): 218.

⁵¹ John Richmond, "Prophet of Doom: E.T. Richmond, F.R.I.B.A., Palestine 1920-1924," in *Arabic and Islamic Garland: Historical, Educational and Literary Papers Presented to Abdul Latif Tibawi by Colleagues, Friends and Students* (London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1977), 189.

⁵² Letter From Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 21 October 1909, RIC 1/9/56, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁵³ "Egyptologist Somers Clarke's House included in Monuments' List," *Egypt Today*, Aug, 12, 2018. <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/55750/Egyptologist-Somers-Clarke%E2%80%99s-house-included-in-monuments%E2%80%99-list>.

⁵⁴ "Death of Well Known Architect," *Dundee Courier*, Sep 1, 1926. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000564/19260901/091/0005>

in their official list of prominent Egyptian monuments.⁵⁵ Clarke, Ernest's first real friend in Egypt, had a deep and abiding affection for the country, a sentiment that would continue to grow within Ernest even as he moved on to other Egyptian jobs post-1895.

Ernest Richmond's arrival in 1895 was within the context of a rapidly changing Egypt, with an increasing influx of British colonial officials. The British had violently taken over Egypt in 1882 following the 'Urabi Revolution, a populist Egyptian uprising that overthrew the Khedive, the viceroy of Egypt. Many British citizens living in Egypt were appalled at how arbitrarily the British decided to send force into the country.⁵⁶ The British had initially expected their invasion to be a brief stabilization of the Egyptian government. However in 1885, Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister at the time, declared that Egypt would become fully incorporated into the British empire and serve as the most important point of British policy in the Middle East.⁵⁷

By 1895, the same year Ernest arrived in Egypt, the British government had decided that they needed to fill the ranks of the Egyptian government with their own trained officials instead of local Egyptians.⁵⁸ These recruited British employees mostly started to come in the early 1900s, a few years after Ernest had already firmly established himself in Egypt. They came both from British positions in India and directly from prominent British universities such as Cambridge and Oxford, and few of them knew much about Egypt or had learned any Arabic.⁵⁹ Although there were programs geared towards teaching future government employees Arabic, the examination score needed to pass was so low that no one is ever known to have failed.⁶⁰ In stark contrast, Ernest was fluent in Arabic and had been fully immersed in Egyptian culture for years.⁶¹

⁵⁵ "Egyptologist Somers Clarke's House included in Monuments' List," *Egypt Today*, Aug, 12, 2018.

⁵⁶ Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* (New York: H. Fertig, 1967), 264.

⁵⁷ Paula Sanders, *Creating Medieval Cairo: Empire, Religion, and Architectural Preservation in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 10.

⁵⁸ Robert L. Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882-1914* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1966), 180-181.

⁵⁹ Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 188-189.

⁶⁰ Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 189.

⁶¹ Sir Ronald Storrs, *Orientations* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1945), 21.

In 1896, Ernest left his work in El-Kab and took a job as Assistant Architect to the Comité pour la Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe in Cairo. In this position, he worked to restore many of the old magnificent mosques and structures of Cairo, though it would not be until four years after starting the job that he actually became a licensed architect.⁶² Working under the renowned Austrian architect Max Herz Bey, Ernest learned to value Islamic architecture and its preservation.⁶³ Herz Bey believed that all buildings newly erected in native areas of the city should have to be in Neo-Mamluk style, to preserve the classic architectural style of Cairo, and he worked tirelessly to protect as much of old Cairo as possible.⁶⁴ The Comité pour la Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe was a distinctive institution, with French, Austro-Hungarian, British, and Egyptian architects.⁶⁵

In 1881 a group of European and Egyptian architects jointly founded the Comité, weeks before the 'Urabi Revolution broke out, so although the organization ultimately worked primarily under the British, they had been founded with the intention of lending aid to an Egyptian government.⁶⁶ The British government in Egypt does not seem to have ever controlled the Comité's actions.⁶⁷ Throughout its existence, the Comité experienced fluctuations in its membership, but it consistently comprised at least half Egyptian architects.⁶⁸ The organization was a place for Ernest to form bonds in the Egyptian community and to meet Europeans who equally valued Egyptian culture and art, Europeans who had been willing to live in Egypt even before the country was ruled by Europeans.

⁶² Richmond, "Prophet of Doom," 189; Alex G. Bremmer, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 425.

⁶³ István Ormos, "The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe: Towards a Balanced Appraisal," *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 40, no.1, (2019): 58.

⁶⁴ Ormos, "The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe," 58.

⁶⁵ Sanders, *Creating Medieval Cairo*, 26.

⁶⁶ Sanders, *Creating Medieval Cairo*, 25.

⁶⁷ Ormos, "The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe," 49.

⁶⁸ Ormos, "The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe," 50.

The Comité existed because of these Europeans who viewed classic Egyptian architecture as worthy of preservation, a viewpoint that Ernest seized upon later in life.⁶⁹ They successfully preserved several mosques that probably would have been destroyed without their interference. Often, when the Ministry of Public Works tried to demolish mosques they considered dilapidated, the Comité would step in and strongly argue that they deserved time to fix the structure.⁷⁰ The Comité possessed such a small budget that oftentimes all they could do was record what monuments needed preservation, but they tried their best. Max Herz Bey believed in preservation over restoration, not wanting to alter the original design or dream but simply to save what remained.⁷¹ He valued trying to protect what the original Egyptian architect had intended for a structure. Interestingly enough, Ernest's father Sir William Blake Richmond also helped with some of the Comité's preservation work, advising them on the best ways to preserve painted wooden ceilings and stained glass.⁷² He believed in preservation, just as Max Herx Bey did.

After four years at the Comité, Ernest gained a full license in architecture, and immediately the British government offered him an architectural position. In 1900 he became the Director of the Department of Towns and Public Buildings and in 1904 he also became the architect for the Ministry of Public Works in Cairo.⁷³ Clearly he had a knack for urban planning. In 1904, while Ernest worked in the Ministry of Public Works, he met Ronald Storrs, one of his lifelong friends who would play a role in his future in Palestine. Storrs had attended Cambridge and then went directly into the Egyptian Civil Service as a member of the Finance Ministry.⁷⁴ When he moved to Cairo, he admired Ernest as someone fluent in Arabic who had friends in all walks of Egyptian

⁶⁹ Sanders, *Creating Medieval Cairo*, 37-38.

⁷⁰ Ormos, "The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe," 50.

⁷¹ Sanders, *Creating Medieval Cairo*, 15.

⁷² István Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha 1856–1919. His Life and Career* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2009), 93.

⁷³ Bremmer, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, 425.

⁷⁴ Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi, *Modernism and the Middle East : Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 42.

life. Scarcely any British men in Cairo at the time spoke Arabic.⁷⁵ So few of the visiting British young men understood anything about the Middle East that Storrs had to explain to guests of the Finance Ministry several times the meaning of the word Quran.⁷⁶

Storrs' friendship also played a key role in Ernest meeting the love of his life, Margaret Muriel Lubbock. Miss Lubbock accompanied Storrs' mother on a visit to Egypt in the winter of 1905. Muriel and Ernest fell in love and got engaged before she returned to England in March.⁷⁷ They were married in July, 1906.⁷⁸ Their relationship was turbulent at times due to their vastly different temperaments, but full of affection, and to Ernest, she would always be "the unchanging rock in our little household" who possessed the interpersonal skills that he lacked.⁷⁹ Part of Ernest's ultimate decision to leave Egypt would be that he could not bear to spend part of the year without Muriel.⁸⁰ He spent a sizable amount of his free time in Egypt constructing a house to Muriel's liking. Ernest decided to build a house for them in Zeinen, a more rural Egyptian neighborhood on the edge of Cairo.⁸¹ He wanted Muriel to have a beautiful place to live.

Most of the British government employees chose to live in closed British neighborhoods. They rarely associated with Egyptians and senior British officials occasionally lectured junior officials about the importance of spending their free time with Egyptian officials.⁸² One of these closed off British communities was the Zamalek neighborhood, a neighborhood that Ernest must have known fairly well as he built several of the houses there. The Zamalek district housed the Gezirah Sports Club, the most prominent British club in Cairo. Every British governmental

⁷⁵ Storrs, *Orientations*, 21.

⁷⁶ Storrs, *Orientations*, 19.

⁷⁷ Commentary from John Richmond on a Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1906, 1960s, RIC 1/2/1, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers. There is unfortunately no note in the archives or the documents on when exactly John Richmond wrote his notes, but the last date he mentions is in 1959, so the date must be sometime after that.

⁷⁸ "S.A.W." (Something About Women), *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, July 26, 1906.

⁷⁹ Letter from Ernest Richmond to Muriel Richmond, 7 July 1917, 1/2/40-41, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁸⁰ Letter from Ernest Richmond to Muriel Richmond, 17 September 1909, 1/2/19, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁸¹ Bremmer, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, 426.

⁸² Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 193.

employee automatically received membership.⁸³ In contrast, no Egyptian gained membership before World War I. Even bringing an Egyptian as a guest would have been considered extremely gauche by the British community.⁸⁴ Ernest went to Gezirah, and liked to play golf, but he kept a clear distance from the rest of the British community in Egypt. He never lived in a closed British district like Zamalek, clearly preferring the opportunity to involve himself more in Egyptian culture.⁸⁵

In the main British circles Ernest avoided, Egyptians were known by the racist epithet “gyppies” and were considered inferior. One British official in the department of Education in Egypt recalled being called in front of an Egyptian and British senior official for a meeting. When he timidly walked into the room, the British senior official snapped, “You come into the room like a native,” not even considering that he was standing next to an Egyptian colleague.⁸⁶ This was the virulent racism that Ernest combated by speaking Arabic and spending his time with Egyptians.

However, it must be noted that Ernest also had some attitudes about Egyptians that bordered on racist. First off, Ernest related in a letter to Muriel about how he beat his cook when he displeased him, stating that the problem was he had been too kind in the past and given him too much leeway.⁸⁷ This certainly is not the way Ernest would have treated a white cook. He even wrote about the incident, “It is always the way with Egyptians - they actually encourage us to treat them brutally and in a manner against our wishes and nature.”⁸⁸ Additionally, he also maintained that while the British regime was currently failing, if they really accepted that their only goal in Egypt was to improve the country, they could perhaps help to truly teach the population, and he

⁸³ Bremmer, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, 425.

⁸⁴ Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 193.

⁸⁵ Commentary from John Richmond on several letters from Ernest Richmond to Muriel Richmond in 1906, 1960s, 1/2/2, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁸⁶ Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt*, 193.

⁸⁷ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 16 August 1908, RIC 1/7/45, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁸⁸ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 23 June 1909, RIC 1/8/29, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

threw a lot of energy into his educational plans for the Egyptian engineers in his department.⁸⁹ He believed that the British potentially had a role in Egypt as part of a civilizing mission to teach the Egyptians European ways.

Though Ernest was not as openly political in Egypt as he would come to be in Palestine, there are instances where he wrote of his disapproval of the British government in Egypt, albeit in veiled terms. One example comes from 1913 after he had left Egypt, but was still writing articles about the architectural history and peculiarities of the country. In one academic article titled, “The Significance of Cairo,” Ernest writes, “When the European begins to feel bound to dispel the ignorance or to contradict the superstitions of natives, he is apparently prompted by the curious assumption that it is the Egyptian's ultimate destiny to resemble the European.”⁹⁰ He believed in Egyptian’s personal capabilities, noting that, “Her ancient history is an eloquent witness of her own peculiar power; a power to achieve, to develop, and to realize the highest that is in her, only under conditions of comparative isolation, or under such conditions of contact as leave her full freedom of choice.”⁹¹ He thought that Egyptian culture and way of life was unique and to be celebrated, not changed by Europeans. That is why he continually kept his distance from the British community and always valued living alongside Egyptians over being in one of the cloistered British suburbs.

Ernest preferred living out in Zeinen, having as much of his shopping done there as possible, and he liked to walk around in the evenings and just talk with people.⁹² He found the food in the Egyptian countryside delicious.⁹³ He adored his garden in Zeinen, and wrote to his wife

⁸⁹ Letter from Ernest Richmond to Muriel Richmond, 28 March 1908, RIC 1/2/7, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁹⁰ Ernest Richmond, “II. The Significance of Cairo,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 45, no. 1 (1913): 28.

⁹¹ Richmond, “The significance of Cairo,” 23.

⁹² Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 7 June 1908, RIC 1/6/15, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁹³ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 9 June 1908, RIC 1/6/18, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

that Zeinen is “heavenly both by day and by night.”⁹⁴ Initially, this must have seemed like their final home, as Ernest put years into finishing their house, and his old mentor must have approved. Somers Clarke wrote to him in 1908, congratulating him on the new beautiful house, and declaring that Ernest must let him sew blue curtains for the place as a present.⁹⁵ Clearly, at that point Ernest thought he could stay in Egypt happily on the edge of British society for the rest of his life.

Ernest always had a fondness for British outsiders as one of his earliest roommates in Cairo was Howard Carter, the Inspector of Antiquities.⁹⁶ Howard Carter lost his job not long after Ernest moved in because he ordered his guards to bodily remove some Belgian and French lower-grade employees who were getting drunk around some ancient sarcophagus under his protection. Afterwards, he firmly refused to apologize.⁹⁷ He valued the protection of his Egyptian artifacts more than he did diplomacy, a point of view that Ernest always shared. In the 1920’s Ernest would become the belligerent Director of Antiquities in Palestine, disliked for preventing British officials from keeping Palestinian artifacts as mementos.⁹⁸ In the present however, he was simply a low-ranking architect with a suspicion that the British government was failing in Egypt.

In 1911, Ernest decided he wanted to start his own architectural practice in England.⁹⁹ He had lived in Egypt for sixteen years, between the ages of 21 to 37, an extremely formative time of life. He became an adult while he was in Egypt and by the time he left, he may not have been very involved in politics but he had served in the government as a colonial servant for several years. He had seen for himself the capabilities of the Egyptian population, and he had come to believe that

⁹⁴ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 11 July 1909, RIC 1/8/53, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁹⁵ Letter from Somers Clarke to Ernest Richmond, 29 February, 1908, RIC 1/5/12, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁹⁶ Storrs, *Orientalisms*, 21.

⁹⁷ Storrs, *Orientalisms*, 21.

⁹⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/161, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁹⁹ Richmond, “Prophet of Doom,” 189.

the invasion of Egypt was fundamentally flawed. In his mind, the British being there was not in fact beneficial to the Egyptians.

As he said in a letter to Muriel, he believed that “Egypt is now as ready for self government as she ever will be.”¹⁰⁰ He disliked the British officials who moved into Egypt without any real understanding of the language or culture and this was a key reason for his departure.¹⁰¹ He wrote his wife telling her how much he loathed them.¹⁰² He would get upset whenever architects who had not lived in Egypt were appointed to his projects, because he always felt that officials needed to be aware of the local conditions and culture to be useful.¹⁰³ He believed the occupation could be helpful if the administration had truly believed and acted like their sole purpose was to aid the Egyptians, but that as they balked at that goal, they needed to leave.

He also thought that even putting aside their differences on the idea of the British role in Egypt, that too many British officials valued their reputations over public safety. For instance, when he discovered that the skylights outside the Egyptian Museum were at breaking point, he tried to stop the public from walking under them immediately. He was furious when he was told to practice moderation, while the department figured out how to fix the problem without causing a scandal.¹⁰⁴ He saw that position as cowardly and willing to risk the lives of Egyptians simply to avoid indignation against the British authorities.

Ernest also was convinced that Gorst, the Consul-General of Egypt, hated him and disparaged his work to others.¹⁰⁵ There does not seem to have been specific proof of this, though

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 7 June 1909, RIC 1/2/17, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 12 June 1908, RIC 1/6/20, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁰² Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 20 June 1908, RIC 1/6/30, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁰³ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 10 November 1909, RIC 1/9/67, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 1 March 1908, RIC 1/5/7, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁰⁵ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 14 June 1908, RIC 1/6/23, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Ernest certainly often argued with his co-workers. However, his belief that the entire head of the British government in Egypt specifically disliked and was after him showcased his extremely poor social skills.¹⁰⁶ His inability to cope with difficult social situations was noticed by many people in his life. For instance, when Ernest's son John Richmond was an adult, he went through Ernest's letters to specifically examine the way the letters describe Ernest and Muriel's relationship. He typed up notes on his opinions that can be found in the Durham archive. In his notes on one of Ernest's letters about Gorst, he writes that Ernest's letter was "almost paranoiac."¹⁰⁷ This is interesting considering the connotation paranoid would have had at the time. It would have been seen primarily as a medical term that denoted having paranoid personality disorder, being legitimately convinced that everyone in your life wished to harm you.¹⁰⁸ This highlights just how strained Ernest sounded in his letters, that his own son was willing to suggest he might have had a serious mental health issue.

Ernest always saw anyone who disagreed with him in a work capacity as immediately untrustworthy and he never could believe that someone whose beliefs clashed with his could simply possess a different perspective. In one letter from Egypt after Muriel seems to have counseled restraint over a work argument he told her that he "cannot compromise with the devil."¹⁰⁹ Understanding other people's point of view or backing down from a fight were ideas that were very hard for Ernest. When there was some discussion of how much money was spent on some of his projects, the implication being that he had accidentally spent too much by being swindled by an Egyptian company, he began to see the whole issue as a large conspiracy, and

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 14 June 1908, RIC 1/2/11, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁰⁷ Commentary from John Richmond on a Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond from 14 June 1908, 1960s, RIC 1/2/11, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Aubrey Lewis, "Paranoia and Paranoid: A Historical Perspective," *Psychological Medicine* 1, no.1 (1970): 10.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 11 July 1908, RIC 1/7/2, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

blamed everyone at work, even his friend Perry for “lacking courage” to fight the accusations.¹¹⁰ Ernest started writing about leaving Egypt in 1908, but he would always quickly repent from these thoughts in the beginning. In one letter to Muriel where he talked about his desire to stay in Egypt, he vowed to keep his head down, work, and try not to get angry, but later noted, “I shall hope to give my enemies a heavy fall someday. That is uncharitable, isn’t it! But I can’t help harboring it for the moment.”¹¹¹ He could not help thinking the worst of anyone at work who questioned him. Logically, Ernest seems to have known that leaving was foolhardy as he was 34 and finding a job in England would be hard. However, he could not help getting depressed and then believing that leaving was the only option.¹¹²

In addition to the problems with his co-workers, Ernest simply could not handle the separations from Muriel living in Egypt entailed. He never made a strong group of friends in Egypt and John believed from the tone of his letters that Ernest was terribly lonely whenever Muriel left.¹¹³ In those days, it was not considered acceptable for British women to give birth in Egypt. Therefore, whenever Muriel got pregnant, she would leave several months before she was due, and stay with the baby for a few months in England at her parents’ before returning.¹¹⁴ Additionally, Muriel always went to England in the summer because of the terrible heat in Egypt. Ernest would encourage her to go and rest, but there was always a sense of abandonment in the letters soon after she returned to England. There is a clear correlation in his letters between Muriel

¹¹⁰ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 10 July 1908, RIC 1/7/6, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹¹ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 10 July 1908, RIC 1/7/6, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹² Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 17 August 1908, RIC 1/7/46, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹³ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1911, 1960s, RIC 1/2/24, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹⁴ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1909, 1960s, RIC 1/2/14, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

leaving and Ernest descending into depression.¹¹⁵ Some years he would insist on coming to visit her, “blowing the expense,” because he simply had to see her.¹¹⁶

He had a hard time connecting with people and she was one of the few he truly cared about. He had always been bad with relationships, telling his mother in 1903, that a colleague had been trying too hard to be friends, so he wrote him a letter explaining the reasons why he did not like or want his company.¹¹⁷ He could be extremely cold to people. Ernest always felt as if others were scheming, but often he was the one writing unpleasant things in letters about people, even about friends, such as his comment about Perry “lacking courage.”¹¹⁸ Additionally, when he felt like other people on his team were breaking down, he would just complain that they were making his job harder. He rarely displayed compassion for the struggles of others.¹¹⁹ However, he did have friends he saw for tea or golf fairly frequently, they just did not have a strong enough connection to compensate for time without Muriel.¹²⁰

There is also substantial evidence that Muriel was not happy in Egypt. Unfortunately, her letters to Ernest do not survive, but it is possible to in some cases guess what she was writing based on what Ernest was saying. Every year in the summertime, he repeatedly mentioned in the letters how good the house building was going, and how surely next winter the property would be up to her standards.¹²¹ In one of the letters where John was making notes he mused that the fact that their house did not have an indoor bathroom and the lack of full amenities in the first few years was

¹¹⁵ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 20 May 1911, RIC 2/1/17, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹⁶ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 20 June 1909, RIC 1/8/26, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹⁷ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his mother Clara Jane Richards, 7 March 1903, RIC 1/1/8, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 10 July 1908, RIC 1/7/6, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹¹⁹ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 8 August 1908, RIC 1/7/37, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹²⁰ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 24 May 1911, RIC 2/1/26, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹²¹ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 6 June 1908, RIC 1/2/12, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

quite possibly alarming to a woman who was raised with servants caring for her every whim in a fairly rich British family.¹²² Finally, the last year they lived in Egypt, Ernest's letters from Egypt are full of stories about the majesty of the garden, about how in a few years the trees will provide a decent amount of money through the fruit, about the happiness that working on the property gives him.¹²³ Yet when the next batch of letters comes around, he is just discussing packing the house up and all the necessary work.¹²⁴ This makes it plausible that Muriel also had had enough of Egypt and that Ernest was bowing to her wishes to leave the house he had poured so much time and love into building.

Ernest was much better at fighting for causes than for people, and by the end of his time in Egypt, he completely disagreed with what the British stood for. He expressed this viewpoint in an unpublished text he wrote in 1912, depicting an imaginary Egyptian and British Colonial servant arguing.¹²⁵ The Egyptian eventually convinces the British Colonial Servant that the only way for the British to be considered an honest and virtuous colonial power lies in having their exclusive objective centered on preparing foreign peoples for self-governance, without considering the empire's inherent value.¹²⁶ Ernest was a fluent Arabic speaker with Egyptian friends who experienced firsthand the racism leveled against the Arabs of the Middle East. He was not acquainted with the Palestinian cause yet, and acknowledged in his own work that he knew nearly nothing of Zionism before his first job in Palestine in 1918.¹²⁷ However, it's clear that he already was predisposed to support Palestinian rights. He would go on to occasionally mention Egyptian

¹²² Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1911, 1960s, RIC 1/2/24, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹²³ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 1909, RIC 1/8/53, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹²⁴ Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 6 May 1911, RIC 2/1/5, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹²⁵ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 47.

¹²⁶ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 47.

¹²⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/6, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

independence and his support for it, but his main focus would become fighting for the Palestinians, especially after taking a political position in the British government.

Chapter 2: Ernest Tatham Richmond in Palestine, 1918-1924

In 1917, Ernest Richmond took his first architectural job in Jerusalem at the request of his old friend Ronald Storrs.¹²⁸ Ronald Storrs was the military governor of Jerusalem at the time, and he decided to draft Ernest to determine what would need to be done to restore Al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest Muslim religious site.¹²⁹ After leaving Egypt in 1911, Ernest worked in England as a partner in an architectural practice, and he might have permanently stayed there if World War I had not broken out. Ernest was in the Ministry of Munitions during the War until he was wounded throwing a live grenade that was supposed to be a dud.¹³⁰ After recovering, he was given a spot as an architect on the War Graves Commission, a position that he found very dull. He eagerly abandoned this job when he was given the opportunity to work in Palestine in 1918. Ernest apparently did not even receive the letter Storrs sent asking about the job in Palestine, because the head of the War Graves Commission did not want Ernest to leave.¹³¹ He only found out about the job because Storrs also wrote to Muriel, asking why Ernest had not responded to his letter.¹³² Once Ernest found out about the offer to work on Al-Aqsa Mosque, the War Graves Commission could not force him to stay.

¹²⁸ Bernard Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 48.

¹²⁹ John Richmond, "Prophet of doom: E.T. Richmond, F.R.I.B.A., Palestine 1920-1924," in *Arabic and Islamic Garland: Historical, Educational and Literary Papers Presented to Abdul Latif Tibawi by Colleagues, Friends and Students* (London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1977), 189.

¹³⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/6, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Durham, United Kingdom.

¹³¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/7, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹³² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/7, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Soon afterwards, Ernest would go on to take a full official position in the new British administration of Palestine as the Assistant Civil Secretary for Political Affairs.¹³³ His job essentially was to serve as the liaison between the British government and the Arab community. Ernest was an unconventional choice for the position, as he had no political experience, and was known to be a bit eccentric. He was also uneasy with the idea of a British empire in general. Before he was offered the job in Jerusalem, there had been talk of finding him a job in Baghdad instead. Ernest had been slightly hesitant, writing, “Mesopotamia and its future will be a thorny question, even if we attain full victory. ... We must remember we are fighting Germany and Imperialism and the whole pompous fabric under which it is considered right and lawful for one nation to manage another people’s affairs. We are bound therefore to be a little careful to avoid following ourselves the path we dislike seeing others follow.”¹³⁴ His dislike of British imperialism would rapidly grow during his time in Palestine. This made him an outlier in an administration with several prominent officials who had pro-Zionist policies.¹³⁵

The first High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, had tried to offer the position of Assistant Civil Secretary to several other people before he came to Ernest Richmond, but the Foreign Office refused all his initial requests, because they believed his original choices were too valuable to be allowed to leave their current posts and go to Palestine.¹³⁶ As Samuel was wondering who to hire, Ronald Storrs extolled Ernest’s virtues and that is why he was offered the job. His only real qualifications were speaking Arabic, having lived in the region previously and by chance, already being in Jerusalem.¹³⁷ Speaking Arabic was actually quite a rare distinction. In 1923, when Ernest was forced to take an advanced Arabic test by the government, he was the only official

¹³³ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 52.

¹³⁴ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond from 1917, 1960s, RIC 1/2/39, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹³⁵ John Murray, *Palestine Papers 1917-1922, Seeds of Conflict* (London: Cox & Wyman, 1972), 105.

¹³⁶ Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version, and Other Middle Eastern Studies* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 63.

¹³⁷ Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version*, 64.

taking the test who passed.¹³⁸ This set him even farther apart from the pro-Zionist political members of the government he would be serving alongside.

Sir Herbert Samuel was himself Jewish and had been a long time Zionist.¹³⁹ He had met Dr. Chaim Weizmann, one of the most prominent leaders of Zionism, in 1914, and had told him at the time that he had been following Zionist ideas for many years, fully supported the project, and believed that Weizmann was not dreaming large enough.¹⁴⁰ Sir Herbert Samuel considered Zionism so personally important that when his term as High Commissioner finished, he tried to retire to Palestine and was heartbroken when the British government ruled that he had to leave to prevent confusion about the chain of power.¹⁴¹ Norman Bentwich, the Attorney General of the new administration was also Jewish, related to Samuel, and had been feuding with anti-Zionist British Jews after writing in an article that “a British Jew cannot be as entirely English as the man who is born of English parents and descended from ancestors who have mingled their blood with other Englishman for generations.”¹⁴²

In such an environment Ernest always felt the odd one out, even though his colleagues would occasionally support his point of view. As a result, he believed he needed to fight constantly for his ideas. In the administration he proved himself a smart and intractable defender of Arab rights. He eagerly sought to denounce his fellow government members as pro-Zionist, even those who tried to maintain an open mind, and never understood when to back down from a fight. Samuel considered Ernest the Arab intermediary in the administration as there were no high level Arab employees and squashed the plans of those who wished to fire Ernest, because he felt the backlash from the Middle Eastern community would be too intense.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/114, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹³⁹ Victor Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest : International Law and the Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1891-1949* (London: Pluto Press, 2009), 65.

¹⁴⁰ Bernard Wasserstein, *Herbert Samuel: A Political Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 199.

¹⁴¹ Wasserstein, *Herbert Samuel*, 270.

¹⁴² Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest*, 66.

¹⁴³ Bernard Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine* (London: Swift Printers, 1978), 145.

In these initial years in Jerusalem, Ernest solidified many of his beliefs that had begun to take shape during his tenure as an architect in Cairo. His opinions became fully pro-Arab and he developed an all encompassing love for the city of Jerusalem. He also encountered Zionism for the first time and immediately denounced it as an “inherent danger” to the region.¹⁴⁴ Eventually, he would give up on the government and quit, determining that all his fellow members were corrupt Zionists. He developed an extremely bleak view of the British government because of his experience in Palestine.¹⁴⁵

Ernest’s original and temporary job within Jerusalem towards the end of World War I was to go to Palestine to examine and report upon the structural condition of the Haram ash-Sharif at Jerusalem, and particularly the Dome of the Rock, a shrine at the center of the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound.¹⁴⁶ According to the architectural historian Daniel Monk, Ernest spent about a year doing that, developing a plan for how much money would be required, and becoming convinced that the patchwork repair of the Dome of the Rock over the centuries was in fact part of the spirit of the monument. He believed that all the imperfections that had built up over the years from various groups attempting to fix the mosque were ultimately what made the mosque so special.¹⁴⁷ Ernest virulently opposed any movement to send tiles to Europe to be replicated, because he believed this would irrevocably ruin the structure. He thought part of the beauty of the structure was the layered style from over the centuries. He argued it was imperative that the Middle East be given a chance to remake the Dome of the Rock themselves.¹⁴⁸ He actually maintained that it would be better to let the monument decay honourably than to have the shrine fixed with European tiles.¹⁴⁹ Ernest begged the British government for 80,000 pounds for the project, claiming that

¹⁴⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/6, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁴⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/125, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁴⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/7, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁴⁷ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 48.

¹⁴⁸ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 49.

¹⁴⁹ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 49.

helping to rebuild such a holy Muslim site would “cement friendship and disarm enemies.”¹⁵⁰ As with so many other of his endeavours with the British government, he ended up disappointed and walked away frustrated. Even in his first year in Palestine, he already felt a strong connection to the Middle Eastern community and was fighting to preserve their structures just as he had done in Egypt.

There were those who cared about these monuments as much as Ernest, specifically the other members of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. This was an organization founded by Sir Ronald Storrs to preserve old Jerusalem. The members included Ernest Richmond as well as several prominent British architects in Jerusalem at the time, and the religious leaders of Jerusalem from each faith.¹⁵¹ With the help of this society, the first year Ernest was in Jerusalem, very basic repairs were able to be performed at the Dome of the Rock, and the Clock Tower by Jaffa Gate and several of the eight gates of the Old City of Jerusalem were restored.¹⁵² However, Ernest still had to go to the government hat in hand, begging for restoration money, as the funds given to the Pro-Jerusalem Society were extremely limited, with some in the government seeing such work as simply a charity pet project of Storrs.¹⁵³

Sir Herbert Samuel initially supported asking for this fund in donations under the name of King George V because he hoped that it would subdue the rumour that Jews wished to destroy all the Muslim holy sites.¹⁵⁴ However, Samuel ultimately shut down the plan due to the complaints of the British government in India and in Egypt. Their respective governments were concerned about the political implications of the British government putting so much focus on a Muslim holy site in Jerusalem. They both wanted their domains to be considered the most important places within

¹⁵⁰ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 50.

¹⁵¹ Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi, *Modernism and the Middle East : Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 45-47.

¹⁵² Isenstadt, *Modernism and the Middle East*, 51.

¹⁵³ Isenstadt, *Modernism and the Middle East*, 47.

¹⁵⁴ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 50- 51.

the Muslim British world. Egypt in particular was concerned about their place as the proclaimed head of the Muslim world, if the British started focusing on repairing Jerusalem.¹⁵⁵ By November 1920, this idea to raise the money needed to fix the Dome of the Rock had been officially shelved. Most members of the government considered the project closed but Ernest was determined to find a way to get the money.

Ernest, who had by this point taken an official post in the government as the Assistant Civil Secretary for Political Affairs, tried a new tactic, attempting to receive approval for organizing the fund under the auspices of the Mufti, Kamil al-Husayni.¹⁵⁶ The mufti is the Islamic figure in charge of protecting the Muslim holy places in Jerusalem. Ernest and Kamil al-Husayni had a strong working relationship, with al-Husayni even granting Ernest the title of consultative architect to the Dome of the Rock in thanks for his efforts to repair the structure.¹⁵⁷ Unfortunately, in March 1921, Husayni died, placing Ernest in the difficult position of helping to decide how involved the British should be in electing his successor. Instead of being able to focus on acquiring funds for rebuilding the Dome of the Rock, Ernest became embroiled in the intense politicking that dominated any decision in Jerusalem during the mandate era.¹⁵⁸ The money would eventually be raised through efforts of the new Mufti Muhammad Hajj Amin Al-Husayni and Ernest would be mentioned and praised by name as a “celebrated and competent engineer” in the Arabic appeals for donations due to his role in the project. However this was the start of Ernest’s uphill battle to get aid from the British government for any of his Arab projects.¹⁵⁹

In the meantime, there was the matter of the new mufti. Traditionally, the local ulama chose three candidates that the Shaykh-al-Islam, the highest religious authority within the Turkish religious bureaucracy, would choose from. But within the new British sphere, the responsibility

¹⁵⁵ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 51.

¹⁵⁶ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 52.

¹⁵⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/22, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁵⁸ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 52.

¹⁵⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/21, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

fell to the High Commissioner to choose between the candidates, as the British had no equivalent powerful religious figure to the Shaykh-al-Islam. However, when the three candidates from the local ulama were brought before Sir Herbert Samuel, the supposedly most popular candidate of the people of Jerusalem, Muhammad Hajj Amin Al-Husayni, was missing from the list. This was quite possibly because until very recently he had been a fugitive for his role in the Jerusalem disturbances of 1920.¹⁶⁰

However, the Husaynis were an extremely powerful family, and wanted the position.¹⁶¹ Ernest somehow convinced Sir Herbert Samuel to offer Hajj Amin Al-Husayni the role of mufti anyway, claiming that the election among the local ulama to choose the candidates had been flawed, that none of the Muslim population trusted the results, and that they all wanted to see Hajj Amin Al-Husayni as mufti.¹⁶² There is a lot of sketchiness surrounding this election as Ernest's evidence that the election was rigged came from a report from the Mufti of Nablus. However, according to the British historian Bernard Wasserstein, when Norman Bentwich arranged to have the report translated, the report actually supported the election as having been trustworthy.¹⁶³ This leaves an open question of whether Ernest Richmond deliberately lied about a document written in Arabic to produce the effect he wanted, as he knew none of the other high members of the government would be able to refute him. Ernest was attacked intensely by pro-Zionist groups for politicizing a "purely religious affair."¹⁶⁴ Moments like this one in British rule prove that while pro-Zionist groups and Ernest frequently butted heads, sometimes he was successfully able to convince the government to approve the choice that he was advocating for. This also highlights how ruthless Ernest could be in fighting to achieve the results he wanted.

¹⁶⁰ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 52-53.

¹⁶¹ Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine*, 98.

¹⁶² Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine*, 99.

¹⁶³ Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine*, 99

¹⁶⁴ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 53.

While Ernest would eventually end up resigning from the government in disgust and returning to England in a few years, these early experiences within the government and the way he wrote in letters about this time indicates that he believed in the British role in Palestine and thought they were helping people in the region.¹⁶⁵ In particular, he believed Sir Herbert Samuel to be a fair man who was simply trying his best within the difficult job he had been given.¹⁶⁶ He also was occasionally able to win arguments for the Arab side such as when he helped out with the election of Hajj Amin Al-Husayni. His intense bitterness and the belief that the government had been taken over by Zionists would only set in later.

However, one attitude that Ernest held that remained consistent throughout his time in Palestine was his antisemitism. This is evident from his book *Mammon in the Holy Land*, discussed in the Introduction. From the beginning of this book he indicates that he believed in the idea of a cabal of greedy international financier Jews. Ernest even called them “the Elders of Zion” at several points in letters to his brother.¹⁶⁷ He essentially started *Mammon in the Holy Land* by telling a story that originated in the infamous 1903 antisemitic tract *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. This proves he was reading antisemitic material and took its claims seriously.

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is one of the most widely read antisemitic texts of all time, and was specifically created by the Okhrana, or the Imperial Russian secret police to convince people that Jews caused the 1905 Revolution in Russia.¹⁶⁸ The text contains the fake minutes from secret sessions of a congress held by the “Twelve Tribes of Israel” to discuss their plans for world domination.¹⁶⁹ However, in Britain, the text was assumed to be legitimate by a large proportion of the population, and exposé pieces on the subject had been written in several

¹⁶⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/44, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁶⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/49, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁶⁷ Letters From Ernest Richmond to his brother Herbert William Richmond, 1921, RIC 3/1/18, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁶⁸ Stephen Eric Bronner, *A Rumor About the Jews: Conspiracy, Antisemitism, and the Protocols of Zion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

¹⁶⁹ Bronner, *A Rumor About the Jews*, 2.

newspapers.¹⁷⁰ The first English copy appeared early in 1920 from Eyre and Spottiswoode, a trusted printing office, and was an instant success.¹⁷¹ The political scientist Stephen Bronner, has argued that the Protocols are the most influential piece of antisemitic literature ever written.¹⁷² Judging by those standards, Ernest Richmond was antisemitic but he was not out of the ordinary for a British official at the time. Conservative newspapers such as the *Morning Post* and the *Patriot* both wrote about the Protocols frequently and connected them to the Illuminati.¹⁷³

There were also many British officials who wrote about Jews in a manner that indicated that they had read and accepted the Protocols as truth. Ramsay MacDonald visited Palestine in 1921, shortly before he became the leader of the Labour Party. He wrote a pamphlet about his experiences entitled *A Socialist in Palestine*.¹⁷⁴ He wrote fondly of the Zionist cause and attacked those Jews who were against Zionism claiming that, “He is the person whose views upon life make one antisemitic. He has no country, no kindred. ... He is behind every evil that governments do, and his political authority, always exercised in the dark, is greater than that of parliamentary majorities. He has the keenest of brains and the bluntest of consciences. He detests Zionism because it revives the idealism of his race, and has political implications which threaten his economic interests.”¹⁷⁵ This clearly antisemitic writing came from a pro-Zionist, left leaning politician. Even Winston Churchill wrote in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* of February 8, 1920, that “this worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstruction of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality has been steadily growing ... there is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of

¹⁷⁰ Gisela C. Lebzelter, *Political Antisemitism in England, 1918-1939* (London: Macmillan Press, 1978), 24-25.

¹⁷¹ Lebzelter, *Political Antisemitism in England*, 21.

¹⁷² Bronner, *A Rumor About the Jews*, 57.

¹⁷³ Markku Ruotsila, “International Anti-Communism before the Cold War: Success and Failure in the Building of a Transnational Right,” In *New Perspectives on the Transnational Right* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 24; Markku Ruotsila, “The Antisemitism of the Eighth Duke of Northumberland's the “Patriot,” 1922-1930,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, No. 1, (1999): 76.

¹⁷⁴ Yosef Gorni, *The British Labour Movement and Zionism, 1917-1948* (Oxon: Routledge, 1983), 29.

¹⁷⁵ Gorni, *The British Labour Movement*, 31.

Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others.”¹⁷⁶ The most prominent British officials could openly publish antisemitic beliefs, because in the early 1920s these beliefs were widely shared by the British public.

However, there were officials who were not convinced by the *Protocols*. For instance, W. Tyrrell, then Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, described the *Protocols* as “very fantastic productions and a rapid glance at them confirms my impression that they almost verge on lunacy.”¹⁷⁷ But, the fact that many officials believed the *Protocols* shows us that Ernest Richmond was not exceptional in his belief in, and promotion of, the *Protocols*. Many others of his generation did the same, even the highly educated.

In *Mammon in the Holy Land*, right after Ernest discussed the *Protocols*, he also recorded a conversation he had had with General Allenby. He claimed that when he asked General Allenby what would happen if the Jews got control, Allenby immediately responded, “Oh, they would slaughter the inhabitants, just as Joshua did.”¹⁷⁸ If Ernest is to be believed, and as this book was not for publication, it is unclear why he would lie, there was a casual antisemitism that flooded the ranks of all British officials, even those who acted in a fashion that could be considered to benefit the Zionist cause.

According to Colin Holmes in his study of British antisemitism, Zionism and antisemitism have often been two sides of the same coin within European politics, with many antisemites seeing sending Jews to Palestine as the way to get rid of their “Jewish problem” once and for all. Some of the earliest known British endorsements of Zionism came from British policy-makers who held antisemitic views. Dr. Herzl himself acknowledged in his opening address to the First Zionist

¹⁷⁶ Bronner, *A Rumor About the Jews*, 90.

¹⁷⁷ Lebzelter, *Political Antisemitism In England*, 23.

¹⁷⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/12, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Congress in 1897 that “antisemitism is the up-to-date designation of the [Zionist] movement.”¹⁷⁹ Lord Balfour, the future writer of the Balfour Declaration, pushed the *Aliens Act* through the British Parliament in 1905, while he was Prime Minister.¹⁸⁰ This law specifically gives any immigration officer the right to bar any “undesirable immigrant” without stating who that might be.¹⁸¹ However, it was widely known to be referring to Eastern European Jews fleeing pogroms for a better life in the West.¹⁸² When he was arguing for the bill he noted that “Jews of this country ... however patriotic, ... still, by their own action, remained a people apart.”¹⁸³ Lord Balfour supported Zionism because he saw Jews as unable to assimilate into British life and even admitted to Weizmann that he had some antisemitic beliefs.¹⁸⁴

Lord Balfour wrote in the introduction to Nahum Sokolow’s *The History of Zionism* (1919) that: “If [Zionism] succeeds, it will do a great spiritual and material work for the Jews, but not for them alone. For as I read its meaning it is, among other things, a serious endeavour to mitigate the age-long miseries created for western civilisation by the presence in its midst of a Body which it too long regarded as alien and even hostile, but which it was equally unable to expel or absorb. Surely, for this if for no other reason, it should receive our support.”¹⁸⁵ Lord Balfour is clearly saying he supports Zionism because he believes that Jews do not belong in Europe. Neville Chamberlain, a member of parliament at the time, was well known as an antisemite who believed the Jews were an inferior race, but still supported Zionism because he thought the Jews would make good colonizers for the British.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest*, 10.

¹⁸⁰ Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest*, 18.

¹⁸¹ H.S.Q. Henriques, *The law of aliens and naturalization : including the text of the Aliens Act, 1905* (London: Butterworth, 1906), 185.

¹⁸² Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest*, 19.

¹⁸³ Regina S. Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism: Its Roots In Western History* (London: Zed Press, 1983), 76.

¹⁸⁴ Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism*, 76.

¹⁸⁵ Kattan, *From Coexistence to Conquest*, 20-21.

¹⁸⁶ Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism*, 75.

This proves that in many ways some antisemitic tendencies were considered quite acceptable among pro-Zionist officials. Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen, the Chief Political Officer in Palestine, wrote a letter to Lord Allenby in 1919 where he admitted he was antisemitic in nature but also supported Zionism despite his understanding that the Palestinians were against the policy.¹⁸⁷ The fact that he felt he could send such a letter and maintain his job shows that such views were openly discussed among British officials.

Ernest was just one of many with antisemitic leanings who happened to be on the pro-Arab side instead of the Zionist side. In addition to being antisemitic, Ernest was also anti-communist. He frequently denounced Eastern Jewish immigrants and sent one testy letter to his brother in January 1921, where he assured him that there would be more riots in Jerusalem soon, and that the “Marxist Eastern European Jews” would surely be the cause.¹⁸⁸ Often throughout *Mammon in the Holy Land*, he complained that the influence was all Eastern European Jews, and that everything would be alright if just French or American or British Jews were in charge.¹⁸⁹ He believed that what he called the Western Jew was quite different and “more amenable to what we regard as reason.”¹⁹⁰ He even had a theory that Jewish New York financiers were the real power behind the Bolshevik Revolution.¹⁹¹ He seems to have been an avid reader of the works of Fr. Denis Fahey.¹⁹² Fr. Fahey was an antisemitic Irish priest who wrote several books about the danger of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy.¹⁹³ He clearly was biased against Eastern Europe and preferred Europeans and Arabs, referring to the Eastern European Jews as all communists, and highlighting any divisions within the Jewish community as proof that a Jewish state would never work, and that Eastern

¹⁸⁷ Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism*, 66-67.

¹⁸⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/44, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁸⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/63, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁹⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/74, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁹¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/10, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁹² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/11, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁹³ E.Delaney, “Anti-Communism in Mid-Twentieth-Century Ireland,” *English Historical Review* 126, no. 521, (2011): 885.

European Jews were driving the rest of the Jews towards radicalism and attempting to destroy the region for their own nefarious purposes.¹⁹⁴ Sir Herbert Samuel actually seems to have agreed with Ernest to some extent, reportedly telling him in one conversation that 90% of the influence in Zionism circles was Eastern Jewish when it should be Western, and that the Eastern Jews were mad.¹⁹⁵

The connection between believing in antisemitism and believing in anti-communism was strong in the 1920s. The success of the 1917 Russian Revolution convinced many people who had always vaguely believed that Jews were dangerous that they were certainly attempting world domination and Russia was the first step. This was a viewpoint widely expressed in several newspapers such as the *Patriot* at the time.¹⁹⁶ Anti-Zionist and antisemitic newspapers such as the *Patriot* also tended to believe that the real danger to letting Jews into Palestine was that they were all Bolsheviks preparing to overthrow the British government.¹⁹⁷

The government in London also believed in the connection between Jews and Bolshevism. The British Intelligence Service were ordered to submit reports every two weeks on “revolutionary organizations in the United Kingdom,” such as Eastern Jewish Workers’ organizations.¹⁹⁸ In 1919, Lord Milner, then the Secretary of War, sent a report to all of the Cabinet members that was from a businessman who had just returned from Russia. The businessman argued for Britain to intervene in Russia, noting that, “We must not lose sight of the fact that this movement is engineered and managed by astute Jews, many of them criminals, and nearly every commissary in Russia is a Jew, and I have noticed, since I came to this country, that meetings of protest against intervention are largely composed of alien Jews, and that in constituencies where there is a large Jewish vote, it has invariably gone to the extreme Socialist candidate For the sake of humanity it is imperative

¹⁹⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/68, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁹⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/66, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

¹⁹⁶ Ruotsila, “The Antisemitism of the Eighth Duke of Northumberland's the “Patriot,” 74.

¹⁹⁷ Ruotsila, “The Antisemitism of the Eighth Duke of Northumberland's the “Patriot,” 80.

¹⁹⁸ Lebzelter, *Political Antisemitism In England*, 16.

that something should be done to put a speedy end to this criminal, bloodthirsty and horrible combination misnamed a 'Peasants' and Workmen's Republic.'"¹⁹⁹ If such ideas were circulating around the cabinet, and the newspapers, most people would have been exposed to such antisemitic ideas from credible sources. This is not to excuse Ernest Richmond's antisemitism but rather to put it in the context of his time and his milieu.

Ernest specifically wrote *Mammon in the Holy Land* for his children who might be interested in knowing what his work had been and what he believed in.²⁰⁰ That means that his son John and daughter-in-law Diana almost certainly read the entire book cover to cover, and yet there is absolutely no indication within John and Diana's files that they were antisemitic, and in fact, their records mostly highlight how disgusted Diana in particular was with antisemites.

John and Diana were particularly careful in all their years of activism for the Palestinian cause to never associate or lend their name to any organization with even the slightest hint of antisemitism. Within their archives there is a folder labeled "antisemitic filth." The files can not even be read by historians visiting the archive because either John or Diana sealed the folder with wax, as they considered the contents too disgusting for consumption.²⁰¹ A few antisemitic letters escaped the envelope, but they all have the phrase "absolute rubbish" written on them in Diana's handwriting.²⁰² They may have respected many of Ernest's positions but on this issue they clearly differed.

It is an interesting puzzle how Diana felt about her father-in-law's antisemitism. All evidence indicates she clearly adored him, but during her own later period of activism, she was completely dismissive and unforgiving of anyone within the Palestinian cause that sent out

¹⁹⁹ Lebzelter, *Political Antisemitism In England*, 18.

²⁰⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/5, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁰¹ Folder labelled Antisemitic Filth, EUL MS 115/38/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Exeter University, Exeter, United Kingdom. (There is no specific date on this file, but presumably the antisemitic material within was collected over several years).

²⁰² Antisemitic letters addressed to Lady Diana Richmond, 1969-1972, EUL MS 115/38/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Relating to the history of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

antisemitic tracts. Perhaps she simply had blinders on when it came to her beloved father-in-law. Diana gave many speeches over her time as a Palestinian activist in the 60s and 70s, often to women's groups.²⁰³ In one such talk she gave for the Durham County Women's Institute, the archive includes Diana's earlier version of the speech and her slightly shorter one where she had to cut some of her material.²⁰⁴ The section that she cut was about how her own childhood altered her perspective on the Middle East, while she continued to emphasize how brilliant Ernest was and how much his opinions made her into an activist. In other words, she preferred praising Ernest in public talks over her own parents, and she never acknowledged his antisemitic tendencies.

John Richmond also never mentioned his father's antisemitism in lectures or articles. His most prominent article that discusses Ernest Richmond was titled "Prophet of Doom" and was published in 1977.²⁰⁵ John simply focuses within the article on how his father recognized that the government was going down the wrong path, and was ignored as he tried to fix the problems he saw.²⁰⁶ There are no acknowledgements within the article of the racism that pervades Ernest's writing about his time in Palestine. Whether the refusal to discuss Ernest's darker tendencies was calculated or a more personal family choice, there is clearly also truth to John's position that Ernest was primarily driven by his opposition to the government policy in Palestine because of the devastating effect that policy was having on Palestinian lives and futures.

As such, not all his views related to his job in Palestine were based on his antisemitic tendencies. He was genuinely committed to advocating for Palestinian rights just as he had sincerely believed the Egyptians should be given the chance to rule themselves. Ernest was convinced from an early date that a massive bout of violence in Palestine was nearly unavoidable

²⁰³ James Down, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," *British Catholic History* 36, no.3 (2023): 322.

²⁰⁴ Drafts of Lady Diana's Speech to the Durham County Women's Institute, June 1972, EUL MS 115/4/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

²⁰⁵ John Richmond, "Prophet of Doom: ET Richmond and Palestine 1920-1924," *Islamic Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1975): 189.

²⁰⁶ Richmond, "Prophet of doom," 192.

because of how the local Muslim population was being treated. He saw clearly that with the Jewish population growing rapidly, and Palestinians denied any representation in the government that an explosion was imminent. In July 1921, Ernest wrote a letter to his brother explicitly laying out the horrors he believed were to come as the result of British policy.²⁰⁷ He was an astute reader of the political situation in Palestine and reiterated again and again that Zionist leaders were asking for too much to ever expect to be able to live within Palestine peacefully.²⁰⁸ At the start of his job within the government he genuinely believed he could affect change, and his presence did indeed result in some fortuitous wins for the Muslim community in Palestine. He was able to argue for less Jewish immigration in March 1922 when the economy took a downward turn, and that same month wrote to his brother how he was working to stop the pro-Zionist attorney general Norman Bentwich from interfering in the independent Sharia Courts.²⁰⁹ He wrote several pages of carefully worded bullet points, laying out how any change in the court system would shoot the Muslim council in the foot.²¹⁰ His tone was almost gleeful as later in the month he wrote to his brother about how Hussam ad-Din Jarallah, Bentwich's choice to be the government inspector of the Sharia Courts, was discarded, and how several Arabs thanked him enthusiastically.²¹¹ He mentioned Hajj Amin Al-Husayni having a meeting and telling prominent members of the British government that none of the Arabs trusted the British court system.²¹²

However, within a short time, he began to see shadows around every corner, frequently denouncing other members of the government in his letters home to his brother.²¹³ In the early 1920s, the Haganah, the main paramilitary Zionist organization operating at the time, was

²⁰⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/46, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁰⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/47, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁰⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/63, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers; *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/70, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/72, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/77, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/89, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/52, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

receiving frequent shipments of illegal guns, and Ernest was convinced members of the government at Jaffa were letting the guns through.²¹⁴ In particular, Sir Wyndham Deedes, the Chief Secretary of the High Commissioner, pushed back on plans to raid the Haganah.²¹⁵ Ernest discovered that reports on how many weapons were being smuggled into the country had been kept under wraps, because lower officials had been given the impression that Deedes did not want to see the reports.²¹⁶ Ernest was especially appalled when he discovered in March, 1922 that immigrant's items were not being thoroughly searched before they were let into the country and that was how so many of the guns were entering Palestine.²¹⁷

There are few letters to Muriel from this time period that survive, so it is difficult to gauge how often she was in Palestine and if her absences affected him the way they did in Egypt. There are pieces of their letters copied into *Mammon In The Holy Land*, but Ernest only put in the parts that were actively related to Palestine.²¹⁸ They seem to indicate that she was gone for 2-3 months every year, probably on trips around Europe to visit her family and friends. Those parts that do survive of letters he wrote to her are full of agitation similar to the letters he wrote his brother Herbert.

He referred to his colleague Sir Wyndham Deedes as the "Prince of Darkness."²¹⁹ He thought that Deedes acted at the beck and call of Ithak Ben Zvi, the leader of the Haganah.²²⁰ By February 1922, he was writing as if the entire government was the enemy, noting in his diary that "no one possessed of a sense of responsibility and a desire for peace would act as the government is acting."²²¹ He noted several times in March that other members of the government had stopped

²¹⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/74, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/67, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/66, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/79, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/119, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²¹⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/54, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/75, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/55, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

providing Deedes with frank reports about the problems of Jewish immigration, because he would be upset and unwilling to listen.²²² He also recounted a specific instance where Deedes argued against disarming the Haganah and used this as proof that Deedes was pro-Zionist and untrustworthy.²²³ His theory was that Deedes was actively helping and aiding illegal Jewish immigrants into the country.²²⁴ In response, Ernest seems to have withdrawn partially from the government and spent more and more of his time meeting with Hajj Amin Al-Husayni, strengthening Arab organizations.²²⁵ Ernest's ideas do not seem to have been entirely far-fetched as Deedes did admit to him that he could not support the Moslem Council because they were working against the cause of Zionism.²²⁶

However, calling Deedes the "Prince of Darkness" highlights that Ernest may have overthought the situation. He seems to have failed to ever give his colleagues the benefit of the doubt that they were simply trying to do their jobs the best they could with the views that they held. For instance in 1921 when he was feuding with Deedes, Deedes wrote him a long letter acknowledging that they had different views but saying that he liked Ernest personally, that he hoped Ernest could still like him, and that they could work together.²²⁷ Ernest wrote his brother about the matter, asking how to like a person and loath their views, but later in the same letter he started musing about how perhaps Deedes simply was concerned that if they became estranged Ernest would stop giving him information about the Arab community and "Deedes would lose the advantage."²²⁸ Ernest was not really willing to consider that Deedes simply wanted to remain on friendly terms outside of their job.

²²² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/65, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/67, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/66, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²⁵ *Mammon In the Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/57, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/93, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/54, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²²⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/54, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Additionally, Ernest acted as if the entire government was against him which was simply not the case. There is clear evidence that other government members supported him and his views. For instance, Humphrey Bowman, the Director of Education in Palestine, wrote in his diary in March 1923, around the time Ernest finally got frustrated enough to resign, “I do not see how any good can come to this country until the Administration is British at the top, and until the preferential clauses in the Mandate are changed in accordance with the White Paper. These are Ernest’s views and they are also mine.”²²⁹ Ernest was just too angry about how the Arabs were being treated to pay attention to the British support he had garnered. He was also remembered fondly by several of his coworkers in the future. Sir Alec Kirkbride who worked under Ernest defended him later in life, noting that, “He was no villain, but a man of devastating honesty who fought fanatically for that which he believed to be right. He held that the Arabs of Palestine were being treated unfairly by the mandatory power and he said so forcefully in and out of season. Greater moderation might have produced more effect, but his motives should not be impugned.”²³⁰ Ernest’s motives were understood and celebrated by other members of his government.

He clearly sympathized with Muslim anger against the British building roads and putting money into Jewish areas of the country, and noted with disgust how the Arabs were treated like children by the authorities.²³¹ He frequently argued throughout *Mammon In The Holy Land* that the Middle East would never be peaceful until Arabs were given a say in their own affairs, and argued that “much of the existing hatred of the Jews would disappear” if the Arabs felt equally powerful in government.²³² His writing became even more bitter and withdrawn after he met the American Horatio Spafford. Spafford was the leader of the American Colony in Jerusalem, and after several conversations Spafford admitted that he had not initially trusted anything Ernest said

²²⁹ Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine*, 146.

²³⁰ Alec Kirkbride, “Was Britain’s abdication folly?,” *The Round Table* 60, n.239 (2008): 360.

²³¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/58, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²³² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/85, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

because in England Ernest had been branded as an unrepentant anti-Zionist propagandist.²³³

Ernest started pointing out to his brother how every new government appointment favoured avid Zionists over candidates who were in his opinion more qualified. He even mentioned that he thought officials who had complained about pro-Zionist policies had been forced to quit in several instances.²³⁴ He was extremely suspicious of the British attempt to do a census in Palestine, and was certain Norman Bentwich and Sir Wyndham Deedes were involved in the planning, as he was not.²³⁵ The British wished to conduct a census to determine the numbers of Jews, Christians, and Muslims within the country for a legislative council they were planning.²³⁶ However, the Legislative Council was not going to have any real power, and the British did not take the time to differentiate between different Islamic sects, and did not even bother to count the Bedouins in the census.²³⁷

Local Arab leaders were very suspicious as they did not even want to participate in a Legislative Council without legitimate power.²³⁸ They were willing to support a census initially, but only if the census was for the purpose of supporting administrative programs by providing information as opposed to being a solely political project.²³⁹ Eventually they got so upset with the process they started to tell people to not cooperate with the census, and Ernest fully supported their boycott.²⁴⁰ During the final set of negotiations about the census, Deedes was very stubborn, and Ernest was convinced that he wanted the negotiations to fail so he would have an excuse to arrest the main Arab leaders.²⁴¹

²³³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/59, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²³⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/65, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²³⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/83, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²³⁶ Michael R. Fischbach, "British and Zionist Data Gathering on Palestinian Arab Landownership and Population During the Mandate," in *Surveillance and Control in Israel/Palestine : Population, Territory and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 302.

²³⁷ Fischbach, "British and Zionist Data Gathering," 302.

²³⁸ Fischbach, "British and Zionist Data Gathering," 302.

²³⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/88, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/87, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/91, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

This anger towards his colleagues in government marks an intense shift from someone who excitedly accepted a position in the British government just a year before. There are pages and pages in *Mammon In The Holy Land* where he painstakingly documented every slight real or imagined against the Arab community perpetrated by the British. He noted how loans were given to the Jewish projects while Arab ones were ignored, how Arabs were expelled perfunctorily from the country as “foreigners” if they were born in what was technically deemed Syria, how Arab leaders did not even bother to speak to the government due to the belief that they would simply be ignored or told that “things are not actually that bad.”²⁴² He emphasized one especially bitter speech Hajj Amin Al-Husayni gave to Samuel about how they would not bring their problems in front of the Court of Appeals, since obviously the British courts were not to be trusted.²⁴³ In his 1922 report of the activities of the Political Office in Palestine he sent to the Colonial Office in London, he added at the end a list of protests about how Arab rights were being ignored and how government employees were playing the part of Zionist propagandists.²⁴⁴ He had no loyalty to the government, believing all his colleagues to be corrupt Zionists and he was completely willing to tell higher command about the failings he perceived all around him.

Ernest predicted that the Jews would fight the Arabs eventually and that due to the imbalance of arms the Arabs would be “severely hammered.”²⁴⁵ He was also convinced Jews were going to rise up against the British eventually, and though the Zionist Organization did not hire assassins to take out British officials the way he imagined, Zionist paramilitary organizations did eventually start launching terrorist attacks against the British.²⁴⁶ The events that he predicted did in fact come to pass, and he was endlessly frustrated that no one else in the government truly saw the chaos they were creating.

²⁴² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/56-60, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/89, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/112, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/75, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/75, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

This is what ultimately caused him to resign from the government: the feeling that the British were walking Palestine off a cliff and he was powerless to do anything except watch the fall. By 1923 he was ready to go, writing to his brother, "I feel it in my bones that the authorities don't want me, and one cannot work in such an atmosphere."²⁴⁷ He truly believed that Deedes, Bentwich, and eventually Samuel as well, were willing to let the country be destroyed so long as at the end, the Zionist project would succeed. He thought he was not an effective protector of Arab rights, because the administration was biased, and would not give his opinions an honest hearing. He finally resigned in January 1924 after telling Samuel that he felt he had nothing to do and that none of his opinions were listened to. Apparently, Samuel actually begged him to stay but Ernest was determined to leave.²⁴⁸

Interestingly enough, the conservative newspaper the *Patriot* was outraged when Ernest resigned and refused to believe that he had not in fact been kicked out of the administration.²⁴⁹ According to the newspaper the *Near East*, many Palestinian Arab organizations were concerned as well and were holding special meetings to discuss the situation, highlighting how crucial Ernest had been to the Arab cause.²⁵⁰ *Al-Jezira* thanked Ernest for his great services in fighting for Palestine.²⁵¹

He also received honours from prominent Palestinian and Arab leaders. King Hussein and Abdullah named him a Pasha and an honorary Qaid or military general.²⁵² Hajj Amin Al-Husayni sent him a letter thanking him for his services for the Arab cause and begged him to visit before he left.²⁵³ The Supreme Moslem Council and the Arab Executive Committee both wrote him letters to tell him how much they appreciated his work for Palestine, and the Moslem Council even threw

²⁴⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/120, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/125, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁴⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/130, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁵⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/131, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁵¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/133, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁵² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/140, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁵³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/141, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

a banquet in his honour.²⁵⁴ Ernest was a true friend to the Arab community and they wanted him to know they saw and appreciated all his work and effort.

This is also one of the few moments in time during this early period in Palestine where the historical record offers any insight into Muriel's activities in Palestine. Many of their friends expressed their sadness at her leaving Palestine and offered her praise or presents as well. For instance, King Abdullah in Transjordan specifically gave her a "Robe of Honour" the last time she visited.²⁵⁵ She attended the government banquet held in Ernest's honour as well. She probably was a bit astounded when he gave a speech about being a joker in a deck of playing cards, which was why he was being discarded unfairly and why he was leaving.²⁵⁶

There is a strong chance that she did not initially approve of his choice to resign or at least was unsure, as he did in fact make the decision in January 1924, while she was away from Palestine, and the snippet of his letters to her from *Mammon In the Holy Land* have almost a pleading element to them, as he assures her several times that "when you know the facts, you will see that what happened was inevitable."²⁵⁷ She probably wondered what Ernest would do in England, as he had struggled finding work there when they initially left Egypt. At least in Palestine, Ernest had been useful, and the Arab community had seen him as extremely valuable to their cause.

Palestine always remained on Ernest's mind after he returned to England. Ernest never stopped worrying about Palestine, steadfastly hoping that he was wrong and that the Palestinians would peacefully win their freedom. That is why he wrote *Mammon In the Holy Land* in the 1940s, a meticulously detailed book that is 600 painstakingly written pages, because this was his cause in life. Palestine mattered to him and he wanted his children to comprehend the reasons behind this significance. He aimed to convey not only the importance of defending Palestine but also the belief

²⁵⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/149, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁵⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/140, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁵⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/141, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁵⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/129, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

that the British could have averted the entire predicament. He wanted to give an account of the fact that he knew that mistakes were being made at the time, on the ground 25 years before the formation of the state of Israel. His love for Palestine is why he would return just a few years after his resignation from Civil Secretary to take the job of Director of Antiquities in 1927.

Chapter 3: Catholicism Context Through the Generations, 1920s-1970s.

Ernest Richmond spent three years away from Palestine before he would return in 1927 to take the role as Director of Antiquities.²⁵⁸ During these three years he lived in England, Ernest stated in *Mammon of The Holy Land* that only one important event happened in his life. This was his conversion to Catholicism. On February 13th, 1926, Ernest was received into the church by Cardinal Francis Bourne, an old friend from Palestine.²⁵⁹ Afterwards, Ernest's writings take on a more religious tone, and he does often seem a little more peaceful and happy.²⁶⁰ As a result of this conversion, John and Diana would eventually become Catholic as well, which would catapult them

²⁵⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/160, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Durham, United Kingdom.

²⁵⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/159, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁶⁰ James Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," *British Catholic History* 36, no.3 (2023): 313-314.

into a specific world of activism. John and Diana devoted years to arguing with the Catholic press over their Palestinian views and meeting bishops to implore the church to act, all because Ernest Richmond made the decision to convert to the Catholic church.

Ernest's letters reveal that he had long enjoyed particular aspects of Catholicism, even before he seriously considered converting. As early as 1906, he was telling Muriel in letters that he liked to attend Catholic mass occasionally because of the exceptionally better music.²⁶¹ In 1909 he told Muriel in a letter that he went to All Saints with some friends and that, "Lord kindly light was one of the hymns. I love that hymn, it makes me want to be a Roman Catholic priest!"²⁶² Clearly, whether or not he meant his comments seriously, he was dabbling in Catholicism for a long time before he converted. Many British intellectuals of the early 1900s converted to Catholicism after several years of considering the matter.²⁶³ Ernest was no exception. He always loved discussing aspects of religion in his letters with Muriel. John Richmond muses about his parents' religious letters in his commentary over their early correspondence. He believed that his father wanted to discuss religion to find an intellectual logic to faith that his strong emotions could accept, while Muriel was very humble about her religious beliefs and thought that faith meant implicitly trusting the church.²⁶⁴

Ernest was much more opinionated on the topic of religion than Muriel. He seems to have first considered joining the Catholic church in 1917. In April 1917, while in Gibraltar, he decided to attend the 8 AM mass for the first time in his life, which he considered the most sacred of

²⁶¹ Commentary from John Richmond on Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond from 26 May 1906, 1960s, RIC 1/2/5, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁶² Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond, 16 June 1909, RIC 1/8/19, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁶³ Patrick Allitt, *Catholic Converts: British and American Intellectuals Turn to Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 3.

²⁶⁴ Commentary from John Richmond on Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond from 12 June 1909, 1960s, RIC 1/2/19, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

services, and was “deeply moved.”²⁶⁵ He told Muriel he was tired due to the strength of emotions that the mass had made him feel. This was more than the music affecting him, he was starting to believe in the Catholic faith.

He made several friends in Palestine who pushed him further along the path towards Catholicism. For instance, in December 1923, he told his wife about how his friend Reverend William James Phythian-Adams was encouraging him to attend the 6:45 AM Anglo-Catholic services.²⁶⁶ He wrote to Muriel, “I loathe Protestantism. If these anglo-Catholics [Anglo-Catholics] are really on the path of Reason, Tradition, Beauty, and real sincerity, it would be almost too good to be true- without that I feel and have felt for years in the wilderness.”²⁶⁷ He legitimately believed his new friend might have the religious answers he was seeking.

Reverend Phythian-Adams was not a Roman Catholic but an Anglo-Catholic, hence why he was a reverend instead of a priest. Anglo-Catholics believe a mixture of Anglicanism and Catholicism, following many tenets of Catholicism, but not acknowledging the Pope as the leader of their religion.²⁶⁸ Even so, Rev. Phythian-Adams started pulling Ernest down the path of more seriously considering Roman Catholicism. Perhaps because there was a guise of Anglicism over the process the experience was more comfortable for Ernest Richmond. Rev. Phythian-Adams was someone who shared many common interests with Ernest. In addition to being a religious man, Rev. Phythian-Adams was also an archaeologist. In 1919, the British government of Palestine started the process of creating an archaeological school in Palestine.²⁶⁹ Rev. Phythian-Adams became the assistant director of the Archaeological School in Palestine once the school was ready

²⁶⁵ Commentary from John Richmond on Letter from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond from 31 March 1917, 1960s, RIC 1/2/42, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁶⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/121, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁶⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/121, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁶⁸ Walter Herbert Stowe, *Anglo-Catholicism: What It Is Not and What It Is* (London: Church Literature Association, 1932).

²⁶⁹ Shimon Gibson, “British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917-1948,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 131 no.2, (1999): 117.

to have students in 1921 and he worked directly under the Director of Antiquities, John Garstang, Ernest's predecessor.²⁷⁰ He also was the Keeper of the National Museum in Palestine.²⁷¹ When Rev. Phythian-Adams resigned in 1924 to return to England to pursue his religious studies; he had 3,000 archaeological books that he donated to the school, which at that point comprised the majority of the school's library.²⁷²

He loved all the things that were important to Ernest Richmond, and as a result, they seem to have become very good friends, and probably discussed archaeology and religion often. By January 25th, 1924, when Ernest was writing a letter to Muriel about his decision to resign from the government, he noted that he had consulted Rev. Phythian-Adams on the matter, and that he was "one of his best friends."²⁷³ Clearly they had a fast growing friendship, and spent a lot of time together if they became best friends within a month.

He also already knew Cardinal Francis Bourne while he lived in Palestine. In March of 1924, right before he left Palestine, he attended a procession at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem led by Cardinal Bourne that Ernest thought was a lovely occasion.²⁷⁴ Cardinal Bourne had visited Jerusalem in 1919 at the wishes of Pope Benedict XV to investigate how the Balfour Declaration was being handled on the ground. He was very concerned about what he saw, and remained an opponent of Zionism afterwards, which is probably why he and Ernest appreciated each other's company.²⁷⁵

He and Ernest also shared a willingness to protest Zionist policy, as after his first visit to Jerusalem, Cardinal Bourne wrote up a long letter to Prime Minister Lloyd George and Lord

²⁷⁰ Gibson, *British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine*, 118; Gibson, *British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine*, 132.

²⁷¹ "The Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 62 no.2, (1930): 78.

²⁷² "The Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem," 79.

²⁷³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/126, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁷⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/136, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁷⁵ Ulrike Ehret, *Church, Nation and Race: Catholics and Antisemitism in Germany and England, 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 100.

Balfour noting that, “The Zionists here claim that the Jews are to have the domination of the Holy Land under a British protectorate; in other words, they are going to force their rule on an unwilling people of whom they form only 10%. They are already asserting themselves in every way, claiming official posts for their nominees, and generally interfering.”²⁷⁶ Seeing high up officials in the Catholic church who agreed with his political views on Zionism was also probably extremely encouraging for Ernest as he contemplated converting. Cardinal Bourne spoke out against Zionism many times before he and Ernest met, referring to Zionism at a Catholic Truth Society event in 1921 as “an outrage against Christianity.”²⁷⁷

Cardinal Bourne clearly displayed some religious antisemitism in his speeches. He noted in his letter to Lord Balfour and Lloyd George that letting the Jews control Jerusalem is the same as handing the city to German finance.²⁷⁸ This comment connects to the idea that Jewish financiers control Europe, an antisemitic idea circulating widely in the early 1900s. Ernest also expressed antisemitic views as he flirted with converting to Catholicism. For instance, when he wrote about the Catholic procession to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre he noted that a man in the crowd told him, “what a comforting reminder that there are in this world others beside 15 million Jews.”²⁷⁹ It seems that Ernest found a community in the church that condoned and encouraged his antisemitic tendencies.

The church offered a community for Ernest in general. The final main factor in his conversion was his time spent in the The Guild of St. Joseph and St. Dominic at Ditchling in the United Kingdom after he resigned from his role in the Palestinian government. Ditchling housed a Catholic community for artisans in East Sussex that had been founded by the prominent British

²⁷⁶ Ehret, *Church, Nation and Race: Catholics and Antisemitism in Germany and England, 1918-45*, 101.

²⁷⁷ Ehret, *Church, Nation and Race: Catholics and Antisemitism in Germany and England, 1918-45*, 102.

²⁷⁸ Ehret, *Church, Nation and Race: Catholics and Antisemitism in Germany and England, 1918-45*, 101.

²⁷⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/136, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

sculptor, Eric Gill.²⁸⁰ Gill had moved to Ditchling in 1907 and was followed by several artisans.²⁸¹ Initially, Ditchling was just meant to be an artisan retreat away from the capitalist world, but in 1919, several of the founding members of the community joined the Third Order of St. Dominic, becoming lay Dominicans.²⁸² From that point onwards, Catholicism became a guiding principle of the community, and there was a chapel designed by Eric Gill in the center of their workshop complex.²⁸³ By the early 1920s there were over 40 Catholics living at Ditchling.²⁸⁴

Though it is unclear exactly how Ernest ended up being involved in Ditchling, the archivist and scholar James Down has speculated that the original connection might have come from Charles Robert Ashbee, a fellow architect in the British regime, who had worked with Ernest in his early years on the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and who also believed that Zionism was an unjust policy.²⁸⁵ Charles Robert Ashbee had founded the Guild of Art and Handicraft in 1907, an artistic workshop community similar to Ditchling that was secular, and Ashbee's friends Ethel and Philip Mairet were living at Ditchling.²⁸⁶

There were also many curious visitors coming to Ditchling at the time, so Ernest could have heard about the community from any of them.²⁸⁷ Fiona MacCarthy, the main biographer of Eric Gill, observed of Ernest that he was one of the artisans "of a certain slightly awkward and reclusive personality" who found their way to Ditchling around this period.²⁸⁸ Ernest was looking

²⁸⁰ Fiona MacCarthy's 1989 Biography of Eric Gill revealed that at this point, Gill was sexually assaulting both of his elder daughters. Fiona MacCarthy, *Eric Gill* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), xi.

²⁸¹ Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 313.

²⁸² James R. Lothian, *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910-1950* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 102.

²⁸³ Lothian, *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910-1950*, 102.

²⁸⁴ Down, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 313-314.

²⁸⁵ J.M.N. Jeffries, *Palestine: The Reality* (London: Longmans, Green, 1939), xix.

²⁸⁶ Paul Robichaud, "Avant-garde and Orthodoxy at Ditchling," *Renascence* 69, no. 3 (2017): 186; Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 313.

²⁸⁷ Lothian, *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910-1950*, 103.

²⁸⁸ MacCarthy, *Eric Gill*, 84.

for a community, people who could accept him, awkwardness and all, and he seems to have found it in Ditchling.

Ernest's choice to move to Ditchling could have also been influenced by his family. While there is little evidence of how skilled an artist Ernest was, his father Sir William Blake Richmond, his grandfather George Richmond, and his great grandfather Thomas Richmond were all talented painters, and Ernest may have been attempting to work on his artistic technique.²⁸⁹ His father believed that painting was the way to God, noting in an interview that, "An artist is a member of the most religious profession there is."²⁹⁰ He also believed that going to a gallery and looking at the paintings was the holiest way a Sunday could be spent.²⁹¹ Sir William Blake Richmond almost certainly knew Ditchling existed, and Ernest might have felt that his father would be pleased with his decision to move there.

There is very little in the historical record about how much Ernest and Muriel enjoyed their time living at Ditchling, but it certainly would have been an intense shift for Ernest after his years of being a prominent member of the British government in Jerusalem. Now he was living in a quiet part of England with very little to do. Regardless he liked it enough to stay a while as Ernest and Muriel bought a house there. They lived in their house called Fragbarrow at Ditchling for three years.²⁹²

Ditchling was an extremely minimalistic community, with no indoor plumbing, homespun clothes, and no appliances.²⁹³ The community was also extremely patriarchal, with women not permitted to partake in the artistic activities, expected instead to do the cooking and cleaning.²⁹⁴ It

²⁸⁹ Barry Hunt, *Sailor-scholar: Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond 1871-1946* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982), 6.

²⁹⁰ Harold F. B. Wheeler, "The Religion of An Artist," *Good Words* 46 (December 1905): 406.

²⁹¹ Wheeler, "The Religion of An Artist," 406.

²⁹² Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond from 13 December 1923, 1960s, RIC 1/2/48, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁹³ Lothian, *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910-1950*, 100-101.

²⁹⁴ Robichaud, "Avant-garde and Orthodoxy at Ditchling," 189.

is hard to imagine the Richmonds really followed all of these rules, as Muriel had been unhappy in Egypt even with servants so perhaps they were more on the edge of the community. After all, the only mention of Ernest in Eric Gill's letters is to note that he bought Fragbarrow.²⁹⁵ However, even on the outskirts of such a community Ernest might have felt that this was a sign that he should convert to Catholicism.

Many of the wives in Ditchling seem to have been very unhappy, and in John Richmond's writings, he does not remember living at Ditchling as a good part of his childhood.²⁹⁶ He comments that Ernest and Muriel were really struggling financially so they were stressed all the time while they lived in Fragbarrow. These factors may play a role in explaining why Muriel did not convert to Catholicism while they were living at Ditchling.

However, Muriel did eventually convert to Catholicism in 1928, two years after Ernest when they were living in Palestine again.²⁹⁷ She needed her own time to think over the matter, but does seem to have fully embraced the church, once she converted, as by 1929, she was requesting that a branch of the Catholic Truth Society be created in Jerusalem, and she ultimately acted as the treasurer.²⁹⁸ The Catholic Truth Society is a British organization that makes Catholic pamphlets on doctrine to help educate the populace.²⁹⁹ Muriel embracing such a society indicates that she believed in Catholicism and wanted other people to read texts to help them be convinced to follow what had become in her mind the true faith.

²⁹⁵ Walter Shewring, ed., *Letters of Eric Gill* (London: Alden Press, 1947), 189.

²⁹⁶ Nick O'Brien, "Dominican Ditchling and Herbert McCabe's Sacramental Politics: Backwards to a Radical Future," *New Blackfriars* 102, no.1101, (September 2021): 759; Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond from 13 December 1923, 1960s, RIC 1/2/48, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁹⁷ Note by Ernest Richmond, 29 March 1928, RIC 8/6/1, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁹⁸ Letter from Father Cyril D. Fay to Margaret Muriel Richmond, November, 1929, RIC 8/6/2-4, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

²⁹⁹ "Our History," Catholic Truth Society, accessed November 28, 2023, <https://www.ctsbooks.org/about-us/our-history/>.

She also seems to have ingratiated herself fully into the local Catholic community in Jerusalem. In 1937, right before she and Ernest left Jerusalem, she made a donation to help acquire a nice jeweled version of Mary for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and she also was given a fragment of the true cross by Luigi Barlassina, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, indicating that he believed she had been a very good member of his religious community.³⁰⁰ She fully embraced her Catholicism and it became an integral part of the circle of friends she chose to surround herself with during the last decade that she lived in Jerusalem.

John was already seventeen by the time his father converted to Catholicism, old enough that to some extent he would have been able to choose for himself if he wished to embrace Ernest's new faith. He chose to join the Catholic Church a few years later while he was at Hertford College, Oxford, sometime between 1928-1931.³⁰¹ While this choice no doubt pleased his parents, as a college student he was free to do as he pleased. Therefore, he must have to some extent become convinced by his parents as he watched them both come to believe that the way to find God was through Catholicism.

In the end, he must have been very attached to Catholicism because when he married Diana in 1939 she converted shortly afterwards.³⁰² She had been raised Scottish Presbyterian and her father was an elder in the Presbyterian church.³⁰³ In 1922 in Scotland, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, had argued about the problem of Catholic men who marry Scottish women, convincing them to "betray the faith of their fathers and also to betray their country."³⁰⁴ In such an environment, Diana probably was judged harshly for her decision to convert to Catholicism.

³⁰⁰ Letter from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to Muriel Richmond, 20 March 1937, RIC 8/6/12, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers; Letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Muriel Richmond, 1937, RIC 8/6/14-16, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁰¹ Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 315.

³⁰² Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 315.

³⁰³ Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 315.

³⁰⁴ Stewart J. Brown, "Outside the Covenant": The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922-1938," *Innes Review* 42, no.1 (1991): 20.

However, there is no indication within her letters that she ever regretted her decision and she seems to have fully embraced the Catholic faith. She loved John and Ernest and they cared about Catholicism, so that meant that she did as well.

A key part of Diana's life was following Catholic newspapers to either refute or congratulate their views on the Palestinian conflict and attempting to use the support of pro-Palestinian bishops to get the Catholic Church to come out with a stronger stance in favour of Palestinian independence. This was encouraged by Ernest Richmond, as he seems to have begun to share Catholic newspapers with Diana to read as soon as she converted. For instance, he convinced her to begin reading *The Tablet* in 1939, which afterwards Diana followed extremely closely, carefully cutting out any article on the Middle East and writing to the editor about any article she disagreed with.³⁰⁵ John and Diana believed they were unfairly treated by the *Tablet* at times, but they both wrote dozens of articles for the paper over the years.³⁰⁶

They also began to read *The Catholic Herald* in 1939, though they had a better relationship with the *Herald*, and Diana would often write the editor explaining they had a few ideas for articles and ask if the *Herald* wanted any of them.³⁰⁷ Diana did not only write to Catholic newspapers about articles she disagreed with, she would also write in to show her approval when there were articles she had enjoyed or she thought were well-written.³⁰⁸ She had embraced her Catholicism and for her, that meant she needed to convince the British Catholic world to support Palestine.

John and Diana were founding members of CAABU, the Council for Arab-British Understanding, an organization that sought to educate the British populace about the Middle East, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5. They really focused on the importance of the

³⁰⁵ Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 325.

³⁰⁶ Letter from Diana to Michael Adams, 19 September 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³⁰⁷ Letter from Diana to Richard Downden, 9 January 1978, EUL MS 115/18/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³⁰⁸ Letter from Diana to the editor of *The Church Times*, 3 February 1978, EUL MS 115/18/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

religious sides of the issues, eventually pushing CAABU into agreeing to form a CAABU Religious Affairs Group, known as CRAG that specifically discussed the religious component of the Middle East crises of the day.³⁰⁹ John and Diana always viewed the Palestinian question through their Catholic faith, and this would play a clear role in the newspapers they read, the groups they attempted to convince that the Palestinians had a strong case, and the actions that they thought would be helpful to their cause. Diana turned towards Christian solutions and prayer the older she got, writing in a letter in 1978 about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that “prayer so often seems to be the only solution.”³¹⁰ She may have been losing hope in anything less than a miracle as she aged and saw the situation in the Middle East steadily worsening.

Though John and Diana certainly read non-Catholic newspapers, they also were really tuned into the Catholic news specifically, and Diana worked hard on disseminating information about the Palestinian cause to the *Tablet*, the *Catholic Herald*, and the *Universe*, the three big Catholic weekly newspapers.³¹¹ She wrote a long article about the great deeds of Pope Paul after he died, emphasizing that he played a big part in the building of Bethlehem University.³¹² She spent a lot of her time trying to explain how there were in fact many Arab Christians, and especially that there were many Palestinian ones.³¹³ She wrote many articles about Arab Christians over the years, which were often published in *World Faith*.³¹⁴ She also tried to get the Catholic Press to be as supportive of Muslims as they were of Jews, and worked hard to attempt to convince the

³⁰⁹ Letter from Penelope Turing to Lady Diana Richmond, 27 July 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹⁰ Letter from Diana to John Reddaway, 8 July 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹¹ Letter from Diana to David Gilmour, 27 October 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹² Letter from Diana to Michael Adams, (This letter lacks a date but is referring to an article published August 1978, so presumably August or September 1978), EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹³ Draft of a Letter from Diana to The Church Times, (Diana planned to send this letter sometime after 28 April 1978), EUL MS 115/18/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹⁴ Letter from Diana to Reverend Marcus Braybrooke, 26 June 1978, EUL MS 115/17/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Catholic Herald to agree to do a special series of articles on the Muslim feasts the year after they had done a series on Jewish feasts.³¹⁵ She would send very angry letters to the Catholic newspapers that she did not agree with, listing all the ways they could improve their coverage of Palestinian issues. In addition to the *Catholic Herald*, the *Tablet* and the *Universe*, Diana and John also wrote for the *Ampleforth Journal*, and the *Blackfriars* over the years.³¹⁶

Another part of Diana's Catholic activism was writing articles about Catholic groups working in Palestine. For instance, Diana wrote about Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charities nuns in Gaza. She visited them in 1975 and wrote an article about the experience, noting that their clinics are preferred by the population to the Israeli ones.³¹⁷ The nuns also had nutrition centers, taught catechism and helped mothers with new small babies. She noted how all the Sisters were Indian, but that many had taken the time to learn Arabic and that Mother Teresa was on record saying that "Gaza is worse than Calcutta."³¹⁸ Diana had sent the nuns many contributions and urged all her readers to do the same.³¹⁹ This is the type of organization that Diana loved and did her best to support. She clearly enjoyed writing articles and was very proud of her work to draw attention to the plight of the Palestinians.

Diana kept a massive amount of newspaper clippings, saving her work but also any article about the Middle East she found interesting. She also kept the Pope's Christmas messages from

³¹⁵ Letter from Diana to Dr. Waddy, August 12 1978, EUL MS 115/17/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹⁶ Letter from the editor of Middle East International to Lady Diana Richmond, 21 January 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹⁷ Draft of an Article written by Lady Diana Richmond titled "With the Missionaries of Charity in Gaza," (Unfortunately, there is no date, but June 1975 is mentioned in the article so Diana wrote at some point afterwards), EUL MS 115/14/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹⁸ Draft of an Article written by Lady Diana Richmond titled "With the Missionaries of Charity in Gaza," (Unfortunately, there is no date, but June 1975 is mentioned in the article, so Diana wrote at some point afterwards), EUL MS 115/14/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³¹⁹ Draft of an Article written by Lady Diana Richmond titled "With the Missionaries of Charity in Gaza," (Unfortunately, there is no date, but June 1975 is mentioned in the article, so Diana wrote at some point afterwards), EUL MS 115/14/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

every year, and whenever he publicly said anything she thought could be useful to her work. From time-to-time CAABU would ask her to write specific religious articles for them as she was considered one of their most knowledgeable religious members and she would draw upon her clippings for assistance.³²⁰

In the course of this work Diana and John became convinced that a religious affairs committee within CAABU was necessary. Many members of CAABU were skeptical, feeling that there were already too many committees. But Diana plowed on, fighting until she created CRAG.³²¹ In 1978, she sent personal letters to several members of CAABU that she felt might join, including many Anglicans, and got their promises that they would monitor the Anglican press for Palestinian articles as well.³²² Once she got enough letters back expressing interest, she wrote a draft letter informing people about the creation of CRAG, and convinced the CAABU office to copy the letter and send it out to every member.³²³

Diana also worked on several pro-Palestinian prayer groups that included Muslims, Christians and Jews. She even invited people who she vehemently disagreed with. She felt the power of prayer might help them understand one another.³²⁴ She specifically encouraged a project launched by the Anglican bishop George Appleton that was about connecting Palestinians and churches so the Christian churches could hear about their plight personally and be inspired to work and pray for them.³²⁵ Diana suggested the idea to him in a letter she wrote in 1978 congratulating him on his newest book. He was very taken by the idea and worked hard with Diana to get pro-

³²⁰ Letter from Diana to Michael Adams, 11 August 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³²¹ Letter from Diana to John Reddaway, 8 June 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³²² Letter from Penelope Turing to Lady Diana Richmond, 27 July 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³²³ Letter from Diana to John Reddaway, 15 December 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³²⁴ Letter from David S. Rosenberg to Lady Diana Richmond, 16 August 1978, EUL MS 115/17/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³²⁵ Letter from Diana to John Reddaway, 13 July 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Palestinian prayers in Anglican newspapers at the same time she was having them written in Catholic ones.³²⁶

It must be noted that while it was a very different type of antisemitism from Ernest's and much milder, there was still some religious antisemitism that permeated Diana's life. For instance, her papers contain a prayer that she thanked Penelope Turing, one of her CAABU Anglican friends for sending her. The prayer goes, "We pray for the Jews, who were the first to persecute Christians, and have been themselves so bitterly persecuted by Christians and non-believers. Lord, open their eyes and hearts that they who were your chosen messengers may find their true peace in Christ's universal church."³²⁷ Such a sentiment that the Jews need to convert to Christianity to find religious peace is part of a long history of Christian antisemitism. Diana did not write this prayer but she did thank Turing for it, which is striking given that we know she rejected antisemitic material sent to her discarding it into the files labeled "antisemitic filth" as discussed in Chapter 2. This is very minor compared to Ernest's views but it indicates her comfort with the way that antisemitism was sometimes embedded in the practice of the faith-based Christian community to which she belonged.

Diana really leaned into her Catholicism, and tried to involve herself in the Catholic community, which seems to be at least partially a result of her being a bit ashamed about being a convert. She referred to herself as a "strange convert" when she wrote in to *The Clergy Review* asking the meaning of a particularly obscure term.³²⁸ The member of the staff of *The Clergy Review* who wrote Diana back assured her that she was also a convert and she still had been working for

³²⁶ Letter from Diana to John Reddaway, 8 July 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³²⁷ Prayer from Penelope Turing to Lady Diana Richmond, August 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³²⁸ Letter from Michael Richards to Lady Diana Richmond, 29 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

a Catholic newspaper for years.³²⁹ However, this seems to highlight an insecurity within her station as a Catholic that may have caused her to overcompensate in her work in the Catholic world.

Diana eventually managed to meet with several bishops through her newly found Catholic community. She really believed in the Catholic church and thought if she could just talk to the right people, catch the right ear, she would convince the church to help the Palestinians. In June 1978 she wrote to Cardinal John Heenan complaining that he had made some pro-Zionist statements in the Netherlands, and she was a bit appalled when he sent back a letter explaining his friends the Rothschilds claimed that the Palestinians were well taken care of.³³⁰ There were church figures that she had more success with. In 1973, Diana and John met with Bishop Gerald Mahon, and Archbishop Bruno Heim, who both had experience with the Middle East due to missionary and diplomatic work. Both meetings seem to have gone extremely well, and reflect not only the faith that John and Diana had in the Catholic Church, but that they were involved enough in the Catholic community that bishops were willing to listen to and write down their concerns.³³¹ She would also just write to bishops whom she had read about or whose books she had asking for favours for the Palestinian people. She was extremely forward, truly believing that as a Catholic she had the right to ask any Church father for assistance.³³²

Additionally, Diana would often write to prominent Christian leaders who were not Catholic, subscribing to the idea that to some extent they were all working towards the same goal.

³²⁹ Letter from Michael Richards to Lady Diana Richmond, 29 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³³⁰ Letter from Diana to John Reddaway, 5 June 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³³¹ Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," 336.

³³² Letter from Diana to John Reddaway, 9 January 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

For instance, the Anglican Bishop George Appleton joined CAABU at her urging.³³³ She also often specifically wrote to Christian ministers that were of Jewish descent, asking them to intercede and help.³³⁴ She really believed in the Vatican, and would often quote the current Pope in her articles or hold the Pope up as a shining example of a religious figure who could maybe help the West understand the East.³³⁵ There were certainly members of the Catholic church that Diana disagreed with, but primarily she viewed the church as an ally in her fight for the Palestinians, and she worked hard to mobilize upper level church members to help her.

She really believed the Catholic church had the potential to significantly help the Palestinian cause. Diana and many of her friends seem to have been encouraged by the fact that the Vatican had not yet recognized the state of Israel.³³⁶ As late as 1978, she defended the Vatican's choice to not recognize Israel, arguing that there was still hope for an internationalized Jerusalem.³³⁷ She remembered the Jerusalem where she had lived and had a hard time accepting how much the city had changed. The Vatican did not officially recognize the existence of the state of Israel until 1993.³³⁸ Diana lived just long enough to witness this, but John was already dead by then.³³⁹

³³³ Draft of a speech that John Richmond planned to give at a CAABU meeting, (There is unfortunately no date on this document), EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³³⁴ Letter from Diana to Reverend Hugh Montefiore, 18 July 1977, EUL MS 115/15/14, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³³⁵ Diana Richmond, "Israel's Boundaries," *The Tablet* 2 December 1978, EUL MS 115/18/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Letter from Diana to Keith Graves, 12 September 1978, EUL MS 115/38, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³³⁶ Letter from R.T. Bremridge to John Reddaway, 11 September 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³³⁷ Draft of a Letter from Diana to The Church Times, (Diana planned to send this letter sometime after 28 April 1978), EUL MS 115/18/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

³³⁸ Michael A. Calvo, "The Holy See and Israel: The Historic Fight against the Jews and their State," *Jewish Political Studies Review* 31, no.3/4 (2021): 29.

³³⁹ James Down, "'Palestine dominates their life': The Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond," Exeter Special Collections, University of Exeter, May 23rd, 2019, <https://specialcollections.exeter.ac.uk/2019/05/23/palestine-dominates-their-life-the-papers-of-sir-john-and-lady-diana-richmond/>.

Being Catholic was a prominent part of Diana and John's lives that shaped their views and the newspapers they read and the people that they appealed to for help on the issue of Palestine. Their choice to turn towards the Catholic church for guidance and aid was based on Ernest Richmond's choice to convert in 1926. Because he decided that Catholicism was the proper path, he laid down a way for his son and daughter-in-law, encouraging them to convert and to read the same Catholic newspapers he did, so they could think in the same way. Catholicism became so important to them because of how crucial the faith was to Ernest Richmond. Diana and John wrote and met with bishops, they subscribed to essentially every British Catholic newspaper, they wrote for these papers and studied them avidly, because they believed that the Catholic community provided a path to achieving justice for the Palestinians.

Chapter 4: Ernest Richmond as the Director of Antiquities: 1927-1937

In 1927 Ernest Richmond received an offer to return to Palestine as the Director of Antiquities, a non-political posting where he would help run the Palestine Archaeological Museum, preserve the holy sites in Palestine, and monitor archaeological digs within Palestine to ensure the artifacts being discovered were protected.³⁴⁰ He was surprised to be offered the job as he had assumed that no one in the Palestinian government would want him to return to Jerusalem.³⁴¹ He found out later that the first archaeologist offered the job had turned them down and that he had been recommended by the Joint Archaeological Committee at the British

³⁴⁰ Shimon Gibson, "British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917-1948," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 131, no.2 (1999): 129.

³⁴¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/159, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Durham, United Kingdom.

Museum.³⁴² He seriously considered refusing the offer. He liked being in England, because he was able to be with his family all of the time.³⁴³

However, the job paid well, and Ernest had never quite figured out how to make stable money in England, so he said yes.³⁴⁴ In John's typed commentary of Ernest's letters he mentioned that he mainly remembered Fragbarrow as a place where his parents were stressed from lack of money.³⁴⁵ Considering that, it's hard to say if his parents really were happy during their time period in Fragbarrow, or if they just enjoyed always being together as a family. Regardless, in 1927 Ernest returned to Jerusalem to look for a house to move into with Muriel. They would stay for ten years, until Ernest retired, from a job that he left peacefully, unlike many of his previous ones.³⁴⁶ As Director of Antiquities, Ernest would come to be respected in a way he never was as a political appointee in the Palestine Government. He would use his new position to protect as much of Palestine's architecture as possible while trying to remain strictly nonpolitical. At the same time, he would use his ten years in Palestine to begin to show the region to his son John, and it is during this period that John would really come to fall in love with Palestine as much as his father had.

By the time Ernest returned to Palestine, Lord Herbert Samuel was no longer High Commissioner. The new commissioner was Lord Herbert Plumer, who Ernest turned out to get along with quite well.³⁴⁷ Lord Herbert Plumer had lunch with Ernest right after he reached Palestine. He informed him that he had been a bit concerned initially about allowing Ernest to take the post as Director of Antiquities due to his previous history in Palestine but had decided that he would be happy to have him if Ernest took a vow to stay out of Palestinian politics.³⁴⁸ Ernest

³⁴² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/160, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁴³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/160, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁴⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/160, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁴⁵ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1924-27, 1960s, RIC 1/2/48, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁴⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/250, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁴⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/161, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁴⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/161, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

agreed to these terms and he seems to have taken this as a serious pledge that he worked hard to never break. When Arthur Grenfell Wauchope took over as High Commissioner of Palestine in 1931, he asked Ernest to consider being at his side at meetings with Muhammad Hajj Amin Al-Husayni to help smooth over his relationship with the British government.³⁴⁹ Ernest refused, pointing out that he had promised Lord Plumer he would never re-enter Palestinian politics. Even after Lord Plumer had left Palestine, Ernest felt duty bound to honour their agreement.

This may have been one of the best decisions that Ernest ever made, because he seems to have genuinely gotten along well in his new job. Unlike all of his previous jobs, his letters and diary entries are not filled with complaints about his co-workers. He did not feel the need to gripe in the same way about his colleagues in the Antiquities Department. He was able to genuinely focus all of his time and energy on bettering the department. Partially this seems to have come about as a result of how surprised and pleased he was that everyone, including old friends in the British government, seemed genuinely happy to see him when he arrived, and how few brought up his previous time in Palestine.³⁵⁰ Additionally, Ernest did not have to follow anyone's orders in his new position. He was finally his own boss. Also, Ernest just was very content to return to the work of preserving Palestinian holy places.³⁵¹ This really was what he had always wanted to do.

Ernest received a huge gift right when he took the job as Director of Antiquities in the form of a cheque for two million dollars from the American philanthropist John D. Rockefeller Jr.³⁵² Rockefeller had wanted to offer the money to the Egyptian government to build a museum suitable to hold their antiquities but he was turned down, much to his disappointment.³⁵³ Professor James Breasted, an American Middle Eastern specialist, persuaded Rockefeller to offer the money to the

³⁴⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/161, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁵⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/170, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁵¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/174, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁵² Gibson, "British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917-1948," 131.

³⁵³ Gibson, "British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917-1948," 131.

British government in Palestine instead.³⁵⁴ Ernest was told to use the money to outfit a new building for the Palestinian Archaeological Museum and hire a real staff.³⁵⁵ He must have found it a nice change to actually have money to use to fix the issues he found with the old museum. The museum had previously shared a small, cramped building with the British School of Archaeology.³⁵⁶

Now Ernest could arrange for a better space that would protect the artifacts within British care. Even though Ernest was a bit suspicious of Rockefeller's generous donation, he enjoyed setting up the new museum.³⁵⁷ On June 19th, 1930, he was there when the first cornerstone was laid of the museum that still stands today.³⁵⁸ The museum collection did not necessarily reflect Ernest's values, as the collection ended at the Ottoman era, and the Museum Keeper John Iliffe was rebuffed when he tried to create a more modern Palestinian heritage exhibit in the 1930s.³⁵⁹ Even so, Ernest wrote of the museum as if he was happy with his accomplishment. The museum would not officially open until 1938, after Ernest had retired, but the construction of the building had finished in 1935 while Ernest was still there to oversee the project.³⁶⁰

Interestingly enough, a lot of the sculpture work for the new museum was contracted out to Eric Gill.³⁶¹ Though there is no direct evidence that Ernest guaranteed Gill got the job due to their time together at Ditchling, considering that they had lived in the same small Catholic community in England for several years, Ernest almost certainly helped him get the job. Ernest's

³⁵⁴ Gibson, "British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917-1948," 131.

³⁵⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/160, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁵⁶ James Downs, "The Richmonds, Palestine and the Catholic Press, 1967-80," *British Catholic History* 36, no.3 (2023): 314.

³⁵⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/188, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁵⁸ Hamdan Taha, "Jerusalem's Palestine Archaeological Museum," Translated by Manar Owais, *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 91 (2022): 65, <https://ps.boell.org/sites/default/files/2023-02/jerusalemu2019s-palestine-archaeological-museum-1.pdf>.

³⁵⁹ Taha, "Jerusalem's Palestine Archaeological Museum," 68.

³⁶⁰ Beatrice St. Laurent, "Reconciling National and International Interests: The Rockefeller Museum and Its Collections," *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 5, no.1 (2017): 43.

³⁶¹ Gibson, "British Archaeological Institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917-1948," 131.

Catholic connections followed him to Palestine and played an active part of his life there. Muriel would be accepted into the Catholic church in Palestine in 1928 by Pere Marton of the Assumptionist Fathers of the Notre Dame de France.³⁶²

Ernest worked with several priests who were archaeologists who would become good friends such as the Dominican Pere Louis-Hugues Vincent who had been trained at the École Biblique, a French Dominican school in Jerusalem for teaching biblical archaeology.³⁶³ The École Biblique had been founded in 1890, by Father M. J. Lefranc.³⁶⁴ Just a few years before Ernest came to the Middle East he had trained many Dominican archaeologists, colleagues who would take Ernest's Catholic view of the archaeological sites seriously.³⁶⁵ Because of the renown of the École Biblique, the most prominent Catholic biblical archaeologists in the world all came to Jerusalem and many of them worked with Ernest.³⁶⁶ Ditchling was a community of Lay Dominicans, and these were Dominican priests, so they seem to have gotten along very well. Ernest was inspired by them to do research and write religious archaeological texts, such as when he wrote a pamphlet about the origins of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to try to explain to Protestants why the structure was so important to Christianity.³⁶⁷ He wrote many other articles on early Christian sites in Palestine.³⁶⁸ Ernest also often went to dig sites with members of this school. For instance, he traveled with Father Louis-Hugues Vincent and Father Felix-Marie Abel to see the dig site of Shivta in 1934 and 1937.³⁶⁹ He saw these archaeological priests as respected

³⁶² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/179, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁶³ Bernard Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation: The Immediacy of Architecture and the Palestine Conflict* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 37.

³⁶⁴ Katharina Galor, and Gideon Avni, *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 96.

³⁶⁵ Ovid R. Sellers, "Louis-Hughes Vincent," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 24, no.2 (1961): 62.

³⁶⁶ Benedict T. Viviano, "Profiles of Archaeological Institutes: Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 54, no.3 (1991): 161.

³⁶⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/169, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁶⁸ Tali Erickson-Gini and Ami Oach, "The Es Sbaita (Shivta) Visitors Book, 1934-1937: Negev Archaeology in British Mandate Palestine," *Michmanim* 28 (2019): 19.

³⁶⁹ Erickson-Gini, "The Es Sbaita (Shivta) Visitors Book," 19.

colleagues to travel with. Being Catholic was now a fundamental part of the way he saw the world and a key part of how he performed his job.

This was part of the reason why he was so diligent about protecting and researching holy sites during his time as the Director of Antiquities. Unfortunately, he still lacked adequate funds for this part of his job. He was able to finally put more money into the repairs of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and to reconstruct the southern end of the mosque, a project he had been fighting for since his first year living in Jerusalem, but that was the exception.³⁷⁰ There was still more work on the Al-Aqsa Mosque that he would have liked to be done, and he was never able to get nearly enough money for any of his proposed projects for repairing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

On July 12th, 1927, there was a massive earthquake in Palestine. Among other structures, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was badly damaged.³⁷¹ Ernest had to beg the government for any money for fixing at least the major structural issues. He only got a small amount after he argued that if the church collapsed under the British government anti-British propagandists would be able to argue that Britain should not be in control of the Holy Land.³⁷² However, he noted bitterly in *Mammon In the Holy Land* that the repairs were very minor and that a structural review of the church in 1947 declared it on the brink of collapse.³⁷³ He believed that the British government did not want to agree to any repair projects on the Church because they were concerned about upsetting the various Christian constituencies that had a stake in the building.³⁷⁴ The government still did not value the same ideals as Ernest, even if they were no longer openly arguing politics.

³⁷⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/169, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁷¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/165, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁷² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/166, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁷³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/166, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁷⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/169, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Ernest did still find ways to ruffle some feathers in his new job. For instance, he changed Norman Bentwich's law that all artifacts found were owned by the government.³⁷⁵ He felt that such a law was not only predatory, but that it encouraged people who had found artifacts to hide them as opposed to letting government archaeologists examine them.³⁷⁶ He also fought to protect archaeological sites that he thought historically valuable against any other group that might have a different idea of how to use the land. When a government plan was drawn up to create a quarry in the Mount Carmel Caves that might weaken their stability, Ernest refused to sign because of the historical significance of the caves, forcing them to find the stone somewhere else.³⁷⁷ He also refused to let Jewish guides lead people around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, arguing that it would make Christian visitors uncomfortable.³⁷⁸ He believed that Jews liked to mock Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land.³⁷⁹

Ernest also shut down some of Bentwich's projects that he believed were bad for the Palestinian community. Bentwich had been for years trying to figure out how to make a green belt around the old city of Jerusalem where building was prohibited. His problem was that he was not legally able to do that without providing compensation to the landowners, whom he did not want to pay because they were mostly Arab. He finally hit on the idea to declare it an "archaeological zone" so he would not need to pay any landowners. Ernest rejected playing any part in this scheme and appears to have been quite happy to thwart one of Bentwich's plans.³⁸⁰

The Jewish community had not forgotten Ernest or their deep dislike for him. Right after he returned to Jerusalem all the Jewish newspapers wrote articles about how disappointed they were that the British government had allowed him to return to Palestine. An article that Ernest cut

³⁷⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/161, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁷⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/162, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁷⁷ Jane Callander and Ofer Bar-Yosef, "Saving Mount Carmel Caves: a Cautionary Tale for Archaeology in Our Times," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 132, no.2 (2000): 95.

³⁷⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/163, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁷⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/175, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁸⁰ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 173.

out and put in *Mammon In the Holy Land* noted that the “sanest of the local Hebrew papers, *Ha-Aretz*, even voiced its conviction that the anti-Jewish malice in the new Director of Antiquities was such that he could be expected to manipulate the development of Palestinian archaeological research as to minimize the importance of Jewish historical remains.”³⁸¹ In Palestine, even archaeology was deeply political in the message it sent about who truly owned the land. It shows the intensity of the time that even the appointment of a Director of Antiquities could be so heated. Several members of the Jewish community genuinely believed that Ernest was altering archaeological sites and items to try to prove that the Jews did not in fact have an historical claim to Palestine.³⁸² As the nature of the argument over who owns Palestine was so directly related to the past, any opinion on when or which group a certain artifact came was deeply political. There is no evidence that Ernest ever skewed evidence against Jewish history, but the suspicion against him never went away.

Ernest’s appointment would not be forgiven by the Jewish community, even after several years of a fairly peaceful tenure. In 1936, Dr. Chaim Weizmann testified before the Peel Commission, one of the many British Commissions sent to Palestine over the mandate to assess why the Arab population kept engaging in uprisings. He complained that the fact that Ernest had been appointed the Director of Antiquities even after being so openly anti-Zionist was a sign to the Arabs that they could rise up and their cause would be supported.³⁸³ The Jewish population in Palestine carefully watched every appointment to the government, and Ernest Richmond was never to their liking. There was intense suspicion in the Jewish community that Ernest was also able to have a direct line of access to Hajj Amin Al-Husayni as he was the protector of Muslim Holy Places, the sort of sites that Ernest was hired to protect.³⁸⁴

³⁸¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/171, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁸² Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 37.

³⁸³ Secret Testimony, Chaim Weizmann Testimony, 26 November 1936, p. 52, NA, FO 492/19. (My thanks to Laila Parsons for providing me with a copy of this document.)

³⁸⁴ Michael J. Cohen, “Direction of Policy in Palestine, 1936 – 45,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 11, no. 3 (1975): 247.

But it does not seem to have bothered him in this job the way it did when he had a political posting. He seemed more concerned just with doing his job well and with finding and beautifying the perfect house for Muriel.³⁸⁵ He leased the Greek Patriarch's house because the house was on a beautiful hill covered with trees that he thought Muriel would enjoy.³⁸⁶ Then he hired a group of workmen to fix the house up to her specifications before she arrived in Palestine.³⁸⁷ He wrote triumphantly to his brother in April 1928 that his house in Jerusalem was finally comfortable.³⁸⁸ Muriel seems to have really enjoyed living in Palestine this time around. Ernest wrote to his brother in 1929 that "Muriel is flourishing."³⁸⁹

She had her Catholic Truth Society work during this time period, but she also was involved with other organizations. She was a member of the Palestine Musical Society, and she often attended events with the Arab women's club.³⁹⁰ She had been able to form her own little community in Jerusalem, finding unique ways to spend her time that made her feel useful.

While Ernest was settling into his new job, he was also taking the time to go on archaeological trips around the region with his family, teaching them about his job and instilling a love of archaeology and Palestine into John.³⁹¹ In September 1928, he went on an archaeological field trip with John and his sister Elizabeth to Mount Carmel.³⁹² They camped there for three weeks and seem to have had an excellent time.³⁹³ John would have been nineteen at the time, and collected

³⁸⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/170, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁸⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/170, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁸⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/177, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁸⁸ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/181, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁸⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/195, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁹⁰ Autographed photo of Antonio Toscanini, the conductor of the Palestine Musical Society, given to Muriel, 9 January 1937, RIC 8/6/11, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers; Letter from Muriel to the Arab Woman's Club, May 31 1937, RIC 8/6/8, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁹¹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/185, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁹² *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/185, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁹³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/184, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

old coins found at the dig site, finding more than 400 of them.³⁹⁴ John and Elizabeth both seem to have been invigorated by the experience and Elizabeth was inspired to learn Arabic afterwards.³⁹⁵

John also apparently interacted with and came to know some of the Palestinian staff in the Antiquities department during his trips to Palestine. There were more Jews in the upper positions of the department, but that seems to have been because many simply came to Palestine already trained in archaeology.³⁹⁶ Most of the lower positions such as messengers and guards were filled by Palestinians, and there were several promising young Arabs hired and trained by the department.³⁹⁷ One of the Palestinian men hired by Ernest was Joseph Mubarak Saad, as foreman in 1930.³⁹⁸ Yusuf Saad, his son, would go on to be the secretary of the museum, would work there with John, and would be considered a close family friend of the Richmonds.³⁹⁹ John acquired Palestinian friends from his father, and that would inspire him to cultivate the skills that allowed him to return to Jerusalem and work there as an archaeologist.

John became fluent in Arabic, a fact that would cause envy among his archaeology friends when he would go on archaeological digs in Palestine for Professor John Garstang in 1932.⁴⁰⁰ His father was preparing him for a love of the region and its culture from a young age. On those archaeological digs, John became friends with Thomas Hodgkin, a communist with a deep attachment to the region, who eventually resigned from his governmental position in disgust at British choices made during the Great Arab revolt in Palestine of 1936, over a decade after Ernest

³⁹⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/185, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁹⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/185, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

³⁹⁶ Sarah Irving, "Palestinian Christians in the Mandate Department of Antiquities: History and Archaeology in a Colonial Space," in *European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine, 1918–1948: Between Contention and Connection*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 166.

³⁹⁷ Irving, "Palestinian Christians in the Mandate Department of Antiquities: History and Archaeology in a Colonial Space," 167.

³⁹⁸ *Palestine Blue Book 1930* (Alexandria: Whitehead Morris Limited, 1931): 119.

³⁹⁹ Letter from Diana to Reverend Marcus Braybrook, 18 August 1978, EUL MS 115/17/11, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Exeter University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Exeter, United Kingdom.

⁴⁰⁰ Derek Hopwood, "George Antonius, Palestine and the 1930s," in *Studies in Arab History: The Antonius Lectures, 1978–87* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1990), 77.

had made a similar choice to resign.⁴⁰¹ Ernest encouraged John into the world of archaeology, and there he made friends his own age with pro-Arab beliefs. There was a direct correlation between these trips that Ernest took John on as a child and teenager and John deciding to become a Middle Eastern archaeologist who would dedicate the rest of his life to Palestine.

Thomas Hodgkin liked Ernest Richmond. He wrote of him in his diary as “thin, like a knife, always ill, an architect, aesthetically cadaverous cheeks and nervous fingers - incisive talk - far the cleverest of the family and an artist.”⁴⁰² Ernest Richmond left a very distinct impression upon people. He was a unique man who was remembered whether he had made a good or a bad impression.

The entries in *Mammon In the Holy Land* did get bleaker after 1928 but it wasn't because of any personal problems Ernest was having with his job or with his coworkers, it was just that he was writing more and more about the uprisings that were breaking out in Palestine at the time.⁴⁰³ The change in *Mammon In the Holy Land* appeared to be less about Ernest's personal life and more about the way Palestine changed after the 1929 Wailing Wall Riots.⁴⁰⁴ The outbreak of this violence is considered a turning point towards more intense fighting in Palestine. In August 1929, a group of Haganah supporters started organizing demonstrations about how the Jews should hold custody of the Wailing Wall over the Muslims, prompting counter demonstrations by Muslim worshippers that spiraled into violence across the country that ultimately resulted in 133 Jews and 116 Arabs being killed.⁴⁰⁵ Afterwards the country got steadily more violent and less safe, and

⁴⁰¹ Thomas Hodgkin and E. C Hodgkin, *Thomas Hodgkin, Letters from Palestine, 1932-36* (London: Quartet Books, 1986), 165.

⁴⁰² Hodgkin, *Letters from Palestine, 1932-36*, 17.

⁴⁰³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/190, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴⁰⁴ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/190, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴⁰⁵ Alex Winder, “The “Western Wall” Riots of 1929: Religious Boundaries and Communal Violence,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42, no.1 (2012): 6-7.

Mammon In The Holy Land steadily became a text about all the ways the British brought this chaos down upon their heads.⁴⁰⁶

Ironically, although Ernest was actually out of the country on vacation when the riots broke out, he was accused by some Jewish newspapers of having masterminded the riots.⁴⁰⁷ Itamar Ben-Avi, who was a Zionist reporter at the time wrote about Ernest that, “I do maintain that, as the “Lawrence of Palestine,” he is our “Man of Mystery,” whose actions are not seen but known, not written but felt, everywhere and in every way. In short, “Richmondism” with all that it thus signifies, now permeates the air of our local Government, and I do not even shrink from throwing upon his shoulders, more than upon those of any others, the responsibility for the “Wailing Wall Atrocities”— dreamed, nay willed by him, though he was physically absent momentarily from the scenes of operations.”⁴⁰⁸ Ernest was well enough known by the Jewish population that their journalists could write an article and assume all their readers would know who he was and believe that he was malicious enough to orchestrate violence on a massive scale against the Jewish community. Ernest seems to have been more puzzled than angry about this reputation.⁴⁰⁹

Ernest was in Palestine in 1936 when the Arab Revolt broke out. He was there to watch the Arab population spontaneously rise up and fight for independence only to be brutally crushed by the British. He wrote with disgust about how quickly the British turned to violence as their solution to end the uprising.⁴¹⁰ Initially the Arab Revolt was just intense Arab strikes within the urban areas of Palestine. However, the uprising quickly spread to rural areas and took on the character of armed resistance against British rule.⁴¹¹ The British response to the revolt was extremely heavy-

⁴⁰⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/190, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴⁰⁷ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/191, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴⁰⁸ Monk, *An Aesthetic Occupation*, 37.

⁴⁰⁹ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/191, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴¹⁰ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/215-216, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴¹¹ Jacob Norris, “Repression and Rebellion: Britain’s Response to the Arab Revolt in Palestine of 1936–39,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no.1 (2008): 25.

handed.⁴¹² Many British officials believed that the Arabs were right and there needed to be concessions made to the Arab cause but only after they had put down the rebellion. Ernest was there to watch the death rate grow higher and higher because the British government refused to concede to any of the Arabs' demands. He learned how far the British were willing to go to suppress the revolt and he did not approve. During the revolt, he took great pleasure in refusing to give rides to British police officers.⁴¹³ He thought what the British were doing was awful and was not shy about voicing his opinion. When he retired in 1937 he was only 63, and he may have retired so early because he could no longer handle the bloodiness of British counter-insurgency practices.

Jerusalem did become a more dangerous place to live during this period. Ernest wrote to his brother about him and Muriel walking through an area with active shooting. They were attempting to reach the Damascus Gate when they heard shooting and were told by a passerby to leave the area, but they walked through because they had a lunch reservation and Muriel did not want to be late.⁴¹⁴ This indicates not only the level of unsafety that Jerusalem was reaching but also that the violence must have been commonplace enough that people could acclimate to it as this story indicates Muriel had done.

Ernest must have been relieved to leave the area in 1937 and put the sadness and violence behind him. He refused nearly every offer of a goodbye party, feeling it was too much. He told his brother that he preferred the "policy of the Snark- soft and silent vanishing."⁴¹⁵ He did agree to have a lunch with the French School of Archaeology and Muriel insisted on hosting a final picnic with the staff of the Department of Antiquities.⁴¹⁶ Many wrote to the Richmonds to say they would be missed. The Latin Patriarch Luigi Barlassina and Sister Marie de l'Enfant Jésus of the Carmelite

⁴¹² Norris, "Repression and Rebellion: Britain's Response to the Arab Revolt in Palestine of 1936-39," 28.

⁴¹³ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/227, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴¹⁴ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1927-37, 1960s, RIC 1/2/48, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴¹⁵ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/251, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴¹⁶ *Mammon In The Holy Land*, RIC 5/1/25, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers; Photograph of Muriel Richmond with the Staff of the Department of Antiquities at a Picnic, 1937, RIC 8/6/10, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

Convent wrote to say goodbye to Muriel.⁴¹⁷ She sent a final present to Hajj Amin Al-Husayni, indicating that they probably had a fairly strong friendship.⁴¹⁸

With their final goodbyes said, the Richmonds went back to Durham. They had spent a decade in Palestine fighting to protect the archaeology of the country. Ernest had argued with the government for as much money and manpower as he could get to keep such sites protected, dealing with the increasing violence in the country as simply a new fact of life as he strove to do his job as well as possible. He stayed and spent his time outside work imparting a love of archaeology and Arabic on his son John, who would go on to follow very closely in his father's footsteps even working in the region himself in his early 20s. John would become a Middle Eastern diplomat and an advocate for Palestine because of the Arabic and the respect for Palestine that Ernest would teach him during this important decade of Ernest's life.

Chapter 5: John and Diana's Pro-Palestinian Activism, 1960s-1980s.

Upon Ernest's retirement and departure from Palestine, he distanced himself from contemporary British Palestinian politics. Although his correspondence still made references to Palestine, his primary focus shifted towards completing *Mammon In The Holy Land* rather than

⁴¹⁷ Letter from the Latin Patriarch to Muriel Richmond, May 1937, RIC 8/6/18-21, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers; Letter from Sister Marie de l'Enfant Jésus to Muriel Richmond, May 1937, RIC 8/6/18-21, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴¹⁸ Letter from Muriel to Hajj Amin Husayni, Mufti of Jerusalem, May 1937, RIC 8/6/17, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

actively engaging in the Palestinian cause in the United Kingdom. However, the Richmond family was not finished fighting for Palestinian rights. John and Diana, poised to pick up the mantle set down by Ernest, made plans to permanently relocate to Jerusalem in 1946. John acquired a job at the Palestinian Archaeological Museum, the museum that his father had been so instrumental in building.

John and Diana would ultimately spend only a short time in Jerusalem, driven out by the British withdrawal from Palestine in 1948, but the memories forged during this period continued to inspire John and Diana, strengthening their commitment to the Palestinian cause in later years. After leaving Palestine, John and Diana spent the next two decades traveling between Middle Eastern countries due to John's new chosen career as a diplomat. After having made friends all over the Middle East, the two of them moved back to Durham in 1967. In Durham they discovered a disheartening lack of understanding about who the Arabs were and what they wanted. This pushed the two of them to embark on a mission to convince the British people that all Arabs, especially the Palestinians, deserved respect and freedom.

John and Diana got married on February 2nd, 1939, and in 1946 they moved full-time to Jerusalem.⁴¹⁹ There was increasing instability in the country by this point, highlighted by the fact that John and Diana arrived only 10 days after the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, a terrorist act where 90 people had died.⁴²⁰ Despite the turmoil that engulfed the city, the couple appeared oblivious to the deteriorating conditions in Jerusalem or perhaps chose to deliberately overlook the unfolding chaos because of their delight at being in Palestine. John loved working at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and Diana remembered this time as one of the best of her

⁴¹⁹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Peter Nichols, 4 May 1978, EUL MS 115/17/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Exeter University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Exeter, United Kingdom.

⁴²⁰ James Down, "'Palestine Dominates their Life': The Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond," Exeter Special Collections, University of Exeter, May 23rd, 2019, <https://specialcollections.exeter.ac.uk/2019/05/23/palestine-dominates-their-life-the-papers-of-sir-john-and-lady-diana-richmond/>.

life.⁴²¹ She would often say in speeches later in life that she “lost her heart in Palestine.”⁴²² John worked in the conservation of old artifacts at the museum, and while he was remembered by his colleagues as a good diplomat, his true passion lay in archaeology, and the profound joy he found in this role eluded him in his subsequent career.⁴²³ John and Diana both seem to have never quite gotten over how close they came to the life they wanted before the crumbling of the mandate ruined their dream of raising their children in multicultural Jerusalem.

Later in life, some of the bitterest letters Diana wrote concerned old Palestinian museum colleagues who had been driven out of their posts.⁴²⁴ Diana never forgave the state of Israel for altering “her” Jerusalem. Although the last museum director had arranged for an international board of trustees to oversee the institution, the Israeli takeover of East Jerusalem in 1967 resulted in the prompt assumption of control over the museum by the Israelis.⁴²⁵ Before that, Yusuf Saad, John’s old friend through his father, seems to have been primarily running the museum, but after the Israeli takeover, he disappears from the narrative.⁴²⁶ For John and Diana, seeing a large part of Ernest’s life work be irreparably altered must have been painful.

Diana’s speeches later in life, particularly the one she delivered in 1977 to the British Federation of University Women, offered valuable insights into her experiences in the Middle East. This specific lecture provides a clear window into her day-to-day life as a foreign service wife before she returned to Britain. At the start of her talk, Diana recounted the challenging

⁴²¹ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴²² Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴²³ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Mrs. Margaret Hargest, 24 January 1977, EUL MS 115/15/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴²⁴ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Reverend Marcus Braybrook, 18 August 1978, EUL MS 115/17/11, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴²⁵ P.R.S. Moorey, “Robert William Hamilton: 1905-1995,” *The British Academy* (1997): 496.

⁴²⁶ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Reverend Marcus Braybrook, 18 August 1978, EUL MS 115/17/11, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

departure from Jerusalem in February 1947, an experience that proved quite traumatic for her. At the time, John was in Britain attempting to acquire a job in the Foreign Service when the government mandated the evacuation of all British citizens from Palestine. This abrupt development provoked intense resistance from Diana, as John and Diana's twin girls were only six at the time and one of them was sick. Fueled by a determination to stay in the Middle East, Diana traveled with her children to Baghdad, adamantly "refusing to return to the U.K. out of sheer anger."⁴²⁷ Luckily, John was ultimately posted in Baghdad. Many of the old British museum employees would end up in Baghdad alongside John after being forcibly removed from Jerusalem, including Robert Hamilton, Ernest's successor as Director of Antiquities.⁴²⁸ Diana only reluctantly agreed to John's work in the foreign service, since she was reluctant to send her children away to boarding school.⁴²⁹

This whole story indicates that even at this point in Diana's life, she was extremely fond of the Middle East, and she blamed the British for the problems that existed in the region. Notably, the couple maintained their ties with Palestine, visiting regularly particularly during the period from 1953 to 1955 when John was appointed to Amman. They still visited several times after they had moved back to Durham to see old Palestinian friends.⁴³⁰ Their strong link to the city was maintained through John's cousin, Val Vester, who managed the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴²⁸ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴²⁹ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴³⁰ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Olive Grey, 8 June 1978, EUL MS 115/18/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴³¹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to David-Maria Hunter Esq., 27 January 1978, EUL MS 115/18/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

In addition to fighting to maintain their ties to Palestine, John and Diana would live in and be educated about many places in the Middle East over their twenty years in the diplomatic corps. John's work took him to Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Kuwait, and the Sudan, while their travels extended to Bahrain, Iran, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.⁴³² By the time they returned to England, their wide-ranging experiences left them well-versed in regional politics, and very invested due to their wide network of Middle Eastern friends.

Everywhere they went, Diana, who possessed a temperament reminiscent of Ernest, would start an argument. She usually picked fights with British government employees. She would go to the British-only clubs in Iraq and needle the men, one time being glared at for innocently suggesting that perhaps the Iraqi people were pro-Danish when the men were complaining about the population's lack of pro-British sympathy.⁴³³ Much like Ernest, Diana formed friendships with Arabs, and in later years fondly remembered her daughters playing with King Faisal II of Iraq when he was also a child. She supported Iraqi claims to have more control over their oil and vehemently opposed the encouraging of Arab Jews to flee to Israel, believing it detrimentally affected Arab-Jewish relations.⁴³⁴

In 1953, John was stationed in Amman, when Jordan still controlled East Jerusalem including the Old City of Jerusalem.⁴³⁵ Diana recalled this time as tense, marked by considerable fighting in the surrounding region. Despite the challenges, she dedicated her days to volunteering, distributing small rations to Palestinian families living in tents and managing the aid that arrived

⁴³² Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴³³ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴³⁴ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴³⁵ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

sporadically. One notable instance involved receiving an entire truckload of cauliflower from the Pontifical Mission Society, a Catholic food charity.⁴³⁶ Diana even had the opportunity to dance with King Hussein, the son of King Abdullah, who had bestowed a "robe of honour" upon Muriel and named Ernest a honorary Qaid or general.⁴³⁷ These elite Arab communities John and Diana were moving through were places where Ernest had prepared the way. Following their stint in Jordan, they briefly lived in Egypt, where they were welcomed by an old servant of Ernest's. He not only found all the furniture for the flat they had selected, but he also personally brought Diana and his children through customs.⁴³⁸ John and Diana certainly actively supported Arab freedom, but they were also welcome in many places because of the connections that Ernest had built.

Even in Kuwait, they met many young people who were relatives of old Palestinian friends.⁴³⁹ These connections to the Middle East are what strengthened their commitment to advocating for better representation of Arabs in England upon their return to Britain. In 1966 John took a job teaching Middle Eastern history at the University of Durham. This meant they were in Britain when the Six Day War of 1967 broke out.⁴⁴⁰

In May of 1966, the Egyptian government received a report from the Soviets, alleging that Israel had concentrated the majority of its forces on the Syrian border.⁴⁴¹ In response, Egypt elevated its troops to high alert, deploying them to Sinai, and subsequently closed the Tiran straits

⁴³⁶ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴³⁷ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴³⁸ Commentary from John Richmond on Letters from Ernest Richmond to his wife Muriel Richmond in 1908, 1960s, RIC 1/2/13, Ernest Tatham Richmond Papers.

⁴³⁹ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁴⁰ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁴¹ Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Presidio Press, 2003), 179.

to Israel.⁴⁴² On June 5th, Israel responded by launching an airstrike to neutralize Egypt's air force capabilities. The Israeli air force, equipped with superior aircrafts, swiftly incapacitated Egypt's planes, resulting in minimal casualties for the Israelis.⁴⁴³ The Egyptian air force was decimated, and the Israelis suffered very few casualties in response.⁴⁴⁴ The war lasted six days during which Israel decisively defeated Syria, Jordan, and Egypt.⁴⁴⁵ They illegally occupied the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank, but Israel still had strong support from the Western world.⁴⁴⁶ When war broke out and Israel overran the Jordanian-controlled West Bank, Diana, and John decided to embark upon a mission to convince members of the press to fairly represent that Arab side of the story.⁴⁴⁷ This initiative, conceived in 1967, laid the foundation for the extensive letter-writing campaign that would unfold over the next 15 years. Their letters targeted journalists, radio shows, TV programs, and influential political or religious figures who they believed could contribute to their cause.

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and nearly his entire cabinet sided with Israel. He even wanted to intervene on the Israeli side of the war.⁴⁴⁸ The only member of his cabinet held to be more sympathetic to the Arab side, George Brown, still told the British UN delegation to fight against the Soviet attack on the Israelis, and he argued that Israel leaving the land they had illegally occupied should happen at the same time they received political assurances from Syria and

⁴⁴² Oren, *Six Days of War*, 187; Oren, *Six Days of War*, 247.

⁴⁴³ Oren, *Six Days of War*, 461.

⁴⁴⁴ Oren, *Six Days of War*, 472.

⁴⁴⁵ Oren, *Six Days of War*, 787.

⁴⁴⁶ Oren, *Six Days of War*, 793.

⁴⁴⁷ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁴⁸ June Edmunds, "The Evolution of British Labour Party Policy on Israel from 1967 to the Intifada," *Twentieth Century British History* 11, no. 1 (2000): 25.

Egypt.⁴⁴⁹ Many members of government at the time even argued that the new Palestinian refugees should be entirely the responsibility of the surrounding Arab states.⁴⁵⁰

Prime Minister Wilson acknowledged the prevailing pro-Israeli sentiment among the British people, attributing it to "two thousand years of history and the sufferings of the Jewish people, including the massacres of the last war."⁴⁵¹ Polls taken at the time indicated that the Prime Minister had an accurate view of how the British people thought. One Gallup poll indicated that twenty percent of the British people wanted the government to actively help Israel while only one percent favoured intervention on the side of the Arabs. Another poll performed by the Opinion Research Centre for the *Sunday Times* indicated that while 56 percent of British supported Israel, only two percent supported the Arab cause.⁴⁵² Additionally, thousands of people were showing up for pro-Israel rallies, such as the one on June 5th, the day of Israel's surprise attack against Egypt, where 10,000 people gathered.⁴⁵³ On June 8th, the Israelis were still raising large amounts of money from British citizens for the defense of Israel. The estimate was 3,500,000 pounds had been raised so far and one article in *The Times* claimed that, "Schoolchildren are sending in their pocket money; supporters are even bringing jewelry and war medals to the agency."⁴⁵⁴ People in Britain were ignorant of the Arab reason for fighting, and as such primarily took Israel's side in the conflict.

After watching the way the Arab side of the conflict was being ignored, John and Diana felt that drastic action had to be taken if the Palestinian struggle was going to be understood in

⁴⁴⁹ June Edmunds, *The Left and Israel: Party-Policy Change and Internal Democracy* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), 65.

⁴⁵⁰ Edmunds, *The Left and Israel*, 71.

⁴⁵¹ Edmunds, "The Evolution of British Labour Party Policy on Israel," 26.

⁴⁵² Edmunds, "The Evolution of British Labour Party Policy on Israel," 28.

⁴⁵³ Edmunds, "The Evolution of British Labour Party Policy on Israel," 28.

⁴⁵⁴ "Funds Pouring to Aid Israel," *The Times* June 9, 1967.

British circles.⁴⁵⁵ In response, they joined like-minded individuals to establish the Council of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), an organization that would play a pivotal role in the remainder of their lives. This marked a significant step in their commitment to raising awareness and fostering understanding of the Arab perspective in the British context. CAABU was founded right after the revelatory poll came out that showed that only two percent of the British population supported the Arab cause, and after many activists discovered that no TV show and newspaper wanted to accept their stories that showed the pro-Arab point of view.⁴⁵⁶ The scholar June Edmunds contends that at the time it was unlikely that very many people in Britain were even aware that there was a Palestinian refugee crisis.⁴⁵⁷ In response, a coalition of like-minded individuals came together with the shared belief that they could collectively influence British public opinion in favour of the Arab cause.

Among CAABU's founding members were individuals with diverse backgrounds and experiences. In addition to John and Diana, the founding members of CAABU ranged from activists such as Elizabeth Collard to journalists such as Michael Adams to former politicians such as Sir Anthony Nutting.⁴⁵⁸ Elizabeth Collard had founded the *Middle East Economic Digest* in 1957, a newspaper dedicated to spreading accurate information about the Middle East. Despite operating on a limited budget initially, it became a trusted source of Middle Eastern news within a few decades.⁴⁵⁹ Michael Adams was the Middle Eastern correspondent for *The Guardian* until he was blocked out of the industry for supporting Palestine.⁴⁶⁰ Sir Anthony Nutting was a Tory

⁴⁵⁵ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁵⁶ Speech by Christopher Mayhew to the House of Commons, 27 July 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁵⁷ Edmunds, *The Left and Israel*, 73.

⁴⁵⁸ Speech by Christopher Mayhew to the House of Commons, 27 July 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁵⁹ Peter Mansfield, "Mrs Elizabeth Collard (1911-1978)," *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 6 no.1 (1979): 78.

⁴⁶⁰ Christopher Mayhew and Michael Adams, *Publish It Not... The Middle East Cover-Up* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1975), 53.

who was shut out of the government because he opposed Eden's plan to invade Egypt in 1956.⁴⁶¹ This diverse group of individuals had faced ostracism due to their pro-Palestinian advocacy but, undeterred, they forged ahead in their collective effort to fight for Palestine. CAABU emerged as a platform where their varied skills, experiences, and commitment to the Palestinian cause converged, creating a foundation for pro-Arab advocacy and awareness-building in the UK.

There were even three active Members of Parliament or MPs in the founding group, Ian Gilmour, Frank Hooley, and Christopher Mayhew.⁴⁶² Together they would prove a formidable force in altering the minds of people in the United Kingdom. However, their initial efforts faced considerable challenges. Christopher Mayhew, the Vice-Chairman for CAABU, recounted some of the difficulties in a speech given in 1977 to commemorate 10 years of CAABU. He recounted that when they sought to have an article published in *The Times*, the newspaper demanded payment and insisted on the word "advertisement" in massive block letters across the front. Additionally, in the same edition, they had an editorial denouncing the danger of what was written in the CAABU piece.⁴⁶³ The estimated cost of this "advertisement" was 10,000 pounds, reflecting the initial stigma encountered by pro-Arab forces in Britain.⁴⁶⁴ Pro-Palestinian articles were very rarely written in the Britain of the 1960s. Michael Adams recollected in *Publish It Not...* that when he asked a reporter friend who was still in the industry why he never wrote about the Middle East, his friend replied, "when you know you're going to have to account for every bloody comma, it just isn't worth it."⁴⁶⁵

Despite these obstacles, CAABU's members remained undeterred and worked tirelessly to change the narrative. CAABU published pamphlets, made films, wrote letters to the press, put their

⁴⁶¹ Andrew Roth, "Sir Anthony Nutting obituary," *The Guardian*, February 26, 1999, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/1999/feb/26/guardianobituaries1>.

⁴⁶² Stella Bornstein, "Champions of the Arab Cause in Britain," *Patterns of Prejudice*, 4, no.3 (1970): 2.

⁴⁶³ Speech by Christopher Mayhew to the House of Commons, 27 July 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁶⁴ Bornstein, "Champions of the Arab Cause in Britain," 1.

⁴⁶⁵ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 72.

articles in papers whenever possible, and gave speeches to all sorts of groups of British people.⁴⁶⁶ John and Diana actively contributed to all of these endeavours, earning praise from John Reddaway, the then Director of CAABU, who noted in a 1978 letter to Sir John Rennie that John and Diana were among the most active members of CAABU and could be relied upon.⁴⁶⁷

It's evident that Diana and John played integral roles within CAABU, actively collaborating on various initiatives and demonstrating a commitment to the organization's objectives. Diana, in particular, had a close working relationship with CAABU, leveraging her skills in writing to contribute significantly to their efforts. She maintained communication with CAABU headquarters, and would often seek assistance in finding individuals to respond to articles she couldn't address directly, either due to time constraints or because she had been published in that newspaper too recently.⁴⁶⁸ When she was not sure if she should be writing the refutation or if she should wait, she would write to CAABU simply to ask because she tried to coordinate her efforts with them.⁴⁶⁹ She would send them Middle Eastern article clippings from papers she did not believe their office got, to make sure they were appraised.⁴⁷⁰ Diana's effectiveness as a writer was appreciated by CAABU, who sometimes retained her letters to use for official refutations.⁴⁷¹ She would also write to the CAABU office, asking them to call people that she had written to who had not replied.⁴⁷² John worked with CAABU on projects as well, often writing their official

⁴⁶⁶ Speech by Christopher Mayhew to the House of Commons, 27 July 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁶⁷ Letter from John Reddaway to Sir John Rennie, 4 December 1978, EUL MS 115/17/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁶⁸ Letter from Alan George to Lady Diana Richmond, 9 August 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁶⁹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to John Reddaway, 1 July 1976, EUL MS 115/14/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷⁰ Letter from Alan George to Lady Diana Richmond, 8 June 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷¹ Letter from Robert Swann to Lady Diana Richmond, 4 April 1977, EUL MS 115/15/14, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷² Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Michael Adams, 19 September 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

refutations to ideas used by Zionists, such as when he wrote up a draft for them of how to counter the talking point that the Palestinians had a perfectly good home in Jordan.⁴⁷³

Additionally, they both were on several CAABU committees. They played a prominent role on the Palestinian Rights Committee, and when CAABU held a seminar on Palestinian nationhood, John was asked to participate.⁴⁷⁴ Furthermore, in the late 1970s, they took a leading role in establishing the Religious Affairs Committee (CRAG), as mentioned in Chapter 3.⁴⁷⁵ CAABU was a large part of their lives and they gave the organization as much time as they could.

John and Diana were both equally involved in advocating for Palestine but Diana spent a lot more time writing letters and articles, probably because John was still working as a history professor at Durham University. A clear majority of the papers in their archive were written by Diana. She worked very hard and would be upset when people wrote her back as J. Richmond, not even bothering to realize it was her writing, not John.⁴⁷⁶ She translated articles from French for CAABU fairly often and was forever writing to CAABU members telling them to visit and stay at their house in Durham.⁴⁷⁷ She would edit drafts of articles for CAABU members before they sent them for publishing, as she was widely considered an excellent editor.⁴⁷⁸ Diana's commitment to excellence was apparent in her meticulous approach to writing. She frequently sent drafts of articles to her friends, urging them to provide feedback for improvement.⁴⁷⁹ Her strong belief in

⁴⁷³ Letter from John Reddaway to Sir John Richmond, 9 August 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷⁴ Letter from S. Goodman to Lady Diana Richmond, 11 October 1976, EUL MS 115/14/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Letter from John Reddaway to Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond, 17 May 1967, EUL MS 115/14/11, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷⁵ Letter from Penelope Turing to Lady Diana Richmond, 27 July 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷⁶ Letter from Diana Richmond to Hamish Fraser, 10 November 1978, EUL MS 115/17/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Monseigneur Bruce Kent, 27 October 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷⁸ Letter from John Reddaway to Sir John Richmond, 14 November 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁷⁹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Alan George, 19 September 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. .

the Palestinian cause was reflected in her willingness to go through multiple drafts to ensure the quality of her work.⁴⁸⁰

She wrote for a large variety of newspapers, even trying to write a few articles for *Le Monde*.⁴⁸¹ Often, she strategically prepared a batch of articles to send to newspapers just before vacations, ensuring that her advocacy work continued even during her absence.⁴⁸² People knew how active she was, and if they saw an article they felt was problematic, they would write to her, asking her to write an article in response.⁴⁸³ Occasionally, Diana published under the pseudonym Margaret Lyle, using her mother's maiden name and an old family address, to avoid drawing attention to the frequency with which she wrote.⁴⁸⁴ Diana would also ask her friends for help in writing. She would often write particular members of the pro-Palestinian community in the UK asking them to write specific articles on topics she thought important and that they would be uniquely qualified to address.⁴⁸⁵

She was very particular and would send letters to authors to explain she loved every detail in an article except for one, or that she disagreed with minor wording.⁴⁸⁶ For instance, she objected quite strongly to the BBC radio expressing support for an “unprovoked attack” by Palestinians on March 11th, 1978, pointing out that provocations certainly existed.⁴⁸⁷ On one occasion, she received a pamphlet of articles about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict she enjoyed, but she

⁴⁸⁰ Letter from Margaret Lyle to the Times, 9 May 1978, EUL MS 115/17/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸¹ Letter from Robert Swann to Lady Diana Richmond, 21 August 1978, EUL MS 115/18/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸² Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Richard Dowden, 18 September 1978, EUL MS 115/18/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸³ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Alan George, 24 June 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸⁴ Letter from Margaret Lyle to the Times, 9 May 1978, EUL MS 115/17/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸⁵ From Diana to Reverend Tony Crowe, 24 January 1978, EUL MS 115/18/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸⁶ From Margaret Lyle to the editor of the Universe, 1 November 1977, EUL MS 115/15/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸⁷ From Diana to the Right Honourable James Callaghan, 13 March 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

immediately noticed that the maps were problematic and wrote to ask how they had acquired them.⁴⁸⁸ Additionally, there was an instance where Diana got very upset at an article about Palestine because the front photo was an Egyptian camel.⁴⁸⁹ These are just three examples from the hundreds of similar letters that can be found within this archive. She wrote in on pro-Israeli articles she disagreed with, but she also wrote in on any article that had to do with the Middle East. For instance, she wrote in to complain about a radio program about Gaddafi. Diana never even visited Libya and yet she still felt compelled to speak on the issue.⁴⁹⁰ Diana wrote very sharply and angrily when she felt an article contained falsehoods or inaccuracies about any part of the Middle East.

She also had a deep hatred of particular reporters for their one-sidedness on Palestinian issues. Her least favourite was the BBC's correspondent in Israel, Michael Elkins, whom she felt was extremely one-sided. She wrote to the BBC several times complaining about Elkins, and her CAABU colleague John Reddaway did as well.⁴⁹¹ Elkins' background, including fleeing to Israel from the United States in 1948 after being caught smuggling weapons to the Haganah, was well-known.⁴⁹² Despite this, the BBC maintained that he was an unbiased reporter. Even after Elkins' death in 2001, he was praised as being "renowned for his integrity" in his reporting from Israel.⁴⁹³ He was considered the foreign correspondent but he had been living in Israel and was very pro-Israeli. There were many complaints about his biased reporting, but the BBC steadfastly refused

⁴⁸⁸ From Diana to Reverend Tony Crowe, 24 January 1978, EUL MS 115/18/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁸⁹ From Diana to Bernard Levin, 6 June 1976, EUL MS 115/14/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁹⁰ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Keith Graves, 12 September 1979, EUL MS 115/38, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁹¹ Letter from John Reddaway to Lady Diana Richmond, 16 March 1976, EUL MS 115/14/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁹² David Sells, "Michael Elkins," *The Guardian*, March 13, 2001, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/mar/13/guardianobituaries>

⁴⁹³ David Sells, "Michael Elkins."

to get rid of him.⁴⁹⁴ He was not the only problematic journalist in Israel, with *The Guardian* and *The Observer* both employing enthusiastic pro-Israeli journalists as their correspondents.⁴⁹⁵ British newspapers had a bad habit of hiring Israelis as their foreign correspondents in Israel, even though common practice in the industry was not to hire a reporter from the country, due to the biases that person might bring to the issues.⁴⁹⁶ These were the problems in the news industry that CAABU and Diana were trying to push back against.

Diana consistently highlighted that she had lived in the Middle East and accentuated John's family's enduring ties to the region to substantiate her authority in correcting articles about the area. She would write of John's family's long connection to Palestine and would stress that though they only lived there a short time, frequent visits endowed them with a profound understanding of Palestine.⁴⁹⁷ In one article where she wrote about why they could no longer retire to Jerusalem as they once hoped, she noted, "We who have lived so long in the Middle East know modern Assyrians, and may have friends actually named Canaan."⁴⁹⁸ She would tell people she knew how Jerusalem once was because her husband lived there as a boy, and she would sometimes even call him a "second-generation Palestinian," since he was following in Ernest's footsteps.⁴⁹⁹ She expressed frustration at correspondents that did not know the history of the Richmond family in Jerusalem. This was a key reason why she felt that Michael Elkins needed to be fired, because he did not know any of the old Jerusalem history and how Ernest connected to it all. Apparently,

⁴⁹⁴ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 101.

⁴⁹⁵ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 91.

⁴⁹⁶ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 74.

⁴⁹⁷ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Olive Grey, 8 June 1978, EUL MS 115/18/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁹⁸ Draft of a potential newspaper article by Diana Richmond, 15 April 1977, EUL MS 115/15/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁴⁹⁹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Miss Bruce Lockhart, 26 July 1976, EUL MS 115/14/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Down, "'Palestine dominates their life', Exeter Special Collections.

Elkins had tried to introduce Diana to the manager of the American Colony Hotel, not knowing he had been the best man at her wedding.⁵⁰⁰

At times Diana's writing style bore a striking resemblance to Ernest Richmond's, and she would quickly send off letters violently denouncing authors. For instance, in 1978 she informed an author that they were partisan; their writing was "unworthy of a journal such as *The Tablet*."⁵⁰¹ She wrote to the editor of *The Daily* that she was "appalled" over an article and demanded the name of the author.⁵⁰² In one particularly virulent letter to an interviewer on BBC she said she was "shocked", called the interview an "interrogation", criticized his behaviour as "professionally unforgivable", and then asked for a letter back, saying, "I do not wish to take the matter further, but am prepared to do so if I have to."⁵⁰³ These are just a few examples. These instances show her readiness to argue, and she never seemed to consider that such aggressive language might upset someone who potentially would have listened to a more measured approach.

She frequently found herself entangled in lengthy letter chains back and forth where she would just argue more and more vehemently with someone to no end.⁵⁰⁴ Her articles also were often written quite argumentatively. In one she "questioned the wisdom" of the *Catholic Herald* for publishing articles on Palestine by American bishops. This was what she spent a large majority of her time working towards, and she only called in John on projects where she felt his academic credentials were required.

⁵⁰⁰ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Hardiman Scott, 22 April 1976, EUL MS 115/14/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵⁰¹ Letter from Diana, 5 August, 1978, EUL MS 115/18/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵⁰² Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to the editor of the Daily Mail, EUL MS 115/15/3, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵⁰³ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to John Tucer, 22 July 1976, EUL MS 115/14/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵⁰⁴ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to David Spanier, 26 July 1976, EUL MS 115/14/6, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Diana felt that John was a better writer than her and would ask his help when she believed that a task was beyond her capabilities. When talking about maybe writing an article about Lebanon to a friend she candidly wrote “If I, or much better, John, were asked to write,” showcasing that she thought he was better qualified for such tasks.⁵⁰⁵ She would often apologize for her lack of Arabic and emphasize that she was the wife of a highly educated man in letters, which in my view unfairly minimizes her substantial knowledge of the Middle East she had acquired over the years. Yet, the fact remains that she turned to John when she deemed his expertise necessary or when she required backup. For instance in 1977 the British government decided to keep some British official papers from 1946 locked away from the public. These were documents related to the British deciding to pull out of Palestine. John sent off several letters about the issue, particularly to Denis Healey, who was in the cabinet at the time, and whom John had met in the past.⁵⁰⁶ John's written contributions for newspaper articles were notably more academic than Diana's, often resembling explanatory lectures.⁵⁰⁷ Even when he wrote a protest letter to the BBC, he wrote more in a professional academic manner, pointing out there were Christians on both sides of the war in Lebanon, and that they had lived under Muslim rule for a long time.⁵⁰⁸ When he had the time to write articles and letters, he sounded like the professor that he was.

Diana and John were frequently consulted for their knowledge of the Middle East and would give talks from time to time. For instance, at the request of a CAABU friend, Diana gave a talk at the Durham Rotary Club in 1978, in favour of UNIPAL, an organization dedicated to

⁵⁰⁵ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Sarah Fawcett, 14 August 1978, EUL MS 115/18/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵⁰⁶ Letter from John Richmond to the Right Honourable Denis Healey, 4 January 1977, EUL MS 115/ 15/10, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵⁰⁷ John Richmond, “Islam in Modern Politics,” *The Open University*, 24 May 1977, EUL MS 115/15/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵⁰⁸ Letter from John Richmond to Radio Four, 21 January 1976 EUL MS 115/14/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

offering quality English education to Palestinian children.⁵⁰⁹ In 1977, Diana gave a major talk on their lives in the foreign service to the Durham branch of the British Federation of University Women.⁵¹⁰ Meanwhile, John served as a consultant for a series of historical films depicting Mandate Palestine.⁵¹¹ Diana and John both wrote books of their own about the region, if in slightly different styles. Diana crafted an English rendition of the ancient Middle Eastern love story 'Antar and 'Abla.⁵¹² Though nothing ever came of it, Diana received some calls from a gentleman who wanted to write a West End Arab musical and asked for Diana's help because he liked her book so much.⁵¹³ John, on the other hand, wrote a historical book about Egypt from 1798-1952, a topic undoubtedly influenced by Ernest.⁵¹⁴ He was asked to consult for the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia when they were performing a comprehensive study on the social and economic life of Palestinians.⁵¹⁵ These are just a few examples of the talks Diana gave, and the groups that sought her and John's expertise to gain a deeper understanding of the Middle East.

The Richmonds were well known in Durham, and one year the *Durham County Advertiser* even wrote a small article about the two of them heading off to visit old friends in the Middle East for a few weeks.⁵¹⁶ They were also interviewed in 1976 on their religious viewpoints, and ideas

⁵⁰⁹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Eleanor Atiken, 10 September 1978, EUL MS 115 17/8, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹⁰ Speech given to the Durham Branch of the British Federation of University Women by Lady Diana Richmond, 7 December 1977, EUL MS 115/15/7, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹¹ Letter from Nigel Maslin to Sir John Richmond, (Unfortunately, no clear date is indicated on this letter, however, Nigel is offering to show John the movie in June or July, and the other letters that reference this movie are dated 1978, so mostly likely this letter was written sometime in May or June 1978), EUL MS 115/17/12, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹² Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Taqui Stephens, 7 February 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹³ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Taqui Stephens, 7 February 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹⁴ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Harry Brewer, 10 February 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹⁵ Letter from M.S. Al-Attar, 2 February 1977, EUL MS 115/15/1, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹⁶ "Durham City Couple Off to Israel" *Durham County Advertiser*, October 10, 1975, EUL MS 115/14/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

about the commonality between the three Abrahamic religions.⁵¹⁷ By the end of their lives, Diana and John were acquainted with key figures in Middle Eastern politics. When UNIPAL's director expressed concerns about funds, Diana, leveraging her extensive network, offered to arrange a meeting with her "good friend," the wife of the Algerian Ambassador, as well as Sir David Steel and his wife Anne of BP.⁵¹⁸ Diana consistently facilitated collaborations among CAABU members, capitalizing on her expansive knowledge of specific individuals and their expertises.⁵¹⁹

Diana and John cared so much about Palestine that they were often donating to charities in the region, even during periods where they themselves did not have much money. In 1978, they made modest donations, typically around 5 pounds each to Concern Universal, People of the Lebanon's Emergency Appeal, Spafford Children's Center in Jerusalem, UNIPAL, and CAFOD.⁵²⁰ Despite their limited resources, their desire to assist was evident. Diana often directed spare funds, including proceeds from the publication of *'Antar and 'Abla*, to organizations benefiting the Middle East. As soon as she had any extra money, she found groups to give it away to, even though she and John could have used the money for their personal needs.⁵²¹ For instance, John and Diana only went to London for CAABU events when CAABU was able to give them money to help with the travel and hotel costs because they found the trip prohibitively expensive

⁵¹⁷ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Michael Adams, 26 March 1976, EUL MS 115/14/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹⁸ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Eleanor Atiken, 1 November 1978, EUL MS 115/17/8, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵¹⁹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Eleanor Atiken, 21 February 1977, EUL MS 115/15/13, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵²⁰ Letter from David Mahon to Lady Diana Richmond, 15 December 1978, EUL MS 115/18/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Joseph Heflin, 18 April 1978, EUL MS 115/17/9, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Letter from Alice Fror to Diana and John Richmond, 3 February 1978, EUL MS 115/17/9, Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond Papers; Letter from R.A. Hood to Lady Diana Richmond, 14 February 1978, EUL MS 115/17/9, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Eleanor Atiken, 18 May 1978, EUL MS 115/17/8, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵²¹ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Carol, 8 June 1977, EUL MS 115/15/2, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

otherwise.⁵²² They also would often get CAABU to call organizations on their behalf that were not responding to their letters because they found phone calls to be too expensive.⁵²³

Measuring the tangible impact of Diana and John's efforts is challenging, especially considering the ongoing complexities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While a definitive answer remains elusive, there are indications that the British perspective on the Palestinian cause underwent great changes during their lifetime. Diana's CAABU friends did consider her work important, with the journalist Michael Adams stating that he thought she had greatly improved the Palestinian coverage coming from the *Catholic Herald*.⁵²⁴ Michael Adams and Christopher Mayhew co-wrote a book about the media's refusal to cover Israel, called *Publish It Not...*, and they assert within this text that the media became friendlier to the Palestinian side of the story following the October War of 1973.⁵²⁵

The October War was a surprise attack by the Egyptians and the Syrians on the Israelis, who were caught completely off guard, even though American intelligence services had reported a significant increase in troops on the Syrian and Egyptian border.⁵²⁶ The Egyptians and Syrians had been provided with Soviet weapons and were able to win several battles before the Israelis pushed back and the war ended in a stalemate.⁵²⁷ This conflict shattered the myth of Israeli invincibility, prompting them to engage in peace talks.⁵²⁸ The war also highlighted the potency of the oil weapon, as the Arab world initiated an embargo on oil shipments to the U.S., demanding a

⁵²² Letter from John Reddaway to Lady Diana Richmond, 4 July 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵²³ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Taqui Stephens, (date unknown), EUL MS 115/14/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵²⁴ Letter from Michael Adams to Diana, 17 March 1977, EUL MS 115/15/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

⁵²⁵ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 56.

⁵²⁶ Matthew Bonham, Michael J Shapiro, and Thomas L Trumble, "The October War: Changes in Cognitive Orientation toward the Middle East Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly*, 23 no.1, (1979): 6.

⁵²⁷ "The October 1973 War: How it led to the first Arab recognition of Israel," *Al Jazeera*, October 6, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/6/the-october-1973-war-how-it-led-to-the-first-arab-recognition-of-israel>

⁵²⁸ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 134.

cessation of support for Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state.⁵²⁹ While this embargo would end after peace talks in 1974, the price of oil shot up from 2.90 USD a barrel to 11.65 USD.⁵³⁰ The whole conflict indicated not only how the Israelis were not as in control as had been believed, but also that the Arab world had to be appeased or there would be consequences. According to Christopher Mayhew and Michael Adams, this geopolitical shift generated an increased interest in CAABU's perspective.⁵³¹ When that happened John and Diana were right there with CAABU, eager to write articles and send letters as always. Ultimately though, it is almost impossible to judge the scale of their impact. What is undeniable is how much they tried to make a difference.

They gave a significant portion of their extra time and money to improving Palestinian and other Middle Eastern lives because that was what mattered to them. Following in Ernest's footsteps, John immersed himself in the language, attempted to contribute to his father's museum, and, when that plan faltered, served as a diplomat across the Middle East, with Diana always at his side. When John and Diana moved back to England, they never forgot their time in the Middle East, and worked tirelessly into their late sixties for CAABU, sending letters, writing articles, and working to rectify misconceptions about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The archive of their papers stands testament to the countless hours they dedicated to advocating for the Palestinian cause—a lasting legacy of their unwavering dedication.

Their legacy extended to the next generation through their son Samuel Richmond, who, inspired by John and Diana's commitment, lived in Sana'a, Yemen as a doctor for Save the Children.⁵³² Although there might not be an archive chronicling his life, Sam inherited not only his father's Arabic language skills but also his mother's organizational prowess. Spending several

⁵²⁹ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 134.

⁵³⁰ "The October 1973 War: How it led to the first Arab recognition of Israel."

⁵³¹ Mayhew, *Publish It Not...*, 135.

⁵³² Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to Michael Adams, 16 February 1978, EUL MS 115/18/4, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict

years traversing Yemen, he established maternal and child healthcare centers, offering courses for primary healthcare workers and even contributing health education segments on Radio Sanaa. In 2005, a third generation of Richmonds lived in Palestine when Sam moved to Gaza to provide medical care—an achievement that would undoubtedly have made Ernest proud.⁵³³

⁵³³ Jonathan Wyllie and Majd Abu Harb, “Samuel William John Richmond,” *Royal College of Physicians*, <https://history.rcplondon.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/samuel-william-john-richmond>.

Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

In the pursuit of comprehending the motivations that impelled the Richmond family—Ernest, John, and Diana—to dedicate themselves fervently to the Palestinian cause, this thesis embarked on an exploration grounded in extensive primary sources. My archival research included their correspondence about their work regarding Palestine, Ernest's book—*Mammon In the Holy Land*—about his time in Palestine, as well as newspaper and journal articles composed by all members of the Richmond family. Crucial insights were derived from John and Diana's involvement with CAABU, including meeting minutes and speeches. Key secondary sources such as *The British In Palestine* by Bernard Wasserstein, K. Galor's *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City*, and June Edmund's *The Evolution of British Labour Party Policy on Israel from 1967 to the Intifada* were instrumental in contextualizing these primary materials.

The research of Ernest Tatham Richmond's trajectory revealed a multifaceted foundation for his commitment to Palestine. His pro-Palestinian beliefs were rooted in his residence in Egypt during the 1890s, where he met various Europeans who were respectful of Egyptian culture, learned Arabic, and forged meaningful relationships with the Egyptian community. This placed him in a rare situation relative to other Europeans who were in Palestine at the time. Because he could speak Arabic and was interested in hearing what the Egyptians had to say, he was able to better understand the Palestinian cause when he came to work in Palestine. He became even more invested in Palestine during his stint there in the government from 1920-1924, making several Palestinian friends. He cared even more about the Palestinian cause by that point because he knew

people he cared about who would be adversely affected if a Palestinian state was not created. Even though he resigned from his political posting in 1924, he would return in a non-political role as the Director of Antiquities to the British government of Palestine, 1927-1937.

Ernest's antisemitism also seems to have played a role in his pro-Palestinian support. He believed in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and he wrote that Jews controlled European finance, a blatantly antisemitic trope. Considering the suspicion with which he viewed Jews, he certainly had no motivation to support the Zionist cause. However, considering that he fervently supported Egyptian independence before moving to Palestine and before forming a negative view of Zionism, it is safe to conclude that his antisemitism was not the main impetus for his pro-Palestinian activism. Moreover, the absence of evidence indicating similar tendencies in John and Diana indicates that it would be inaccurate to view the Richmond family's commitment to Palestinian rights as stemming from antisemitism in a general sense.

Instead, what led John to the Palestinian cause was that he spent a significant portion of his childhood in Palestine. He learned Arabic from an early age, knew his father's Palestinian friends, and therefore could understand the Palestinian plight much better than most British people. Inheriting a profound sense of the significance of Palestine from his father, he internalized the lesson and emerged as a prominent advocate for the Palestinian cause. While Diana did not grow up visiting Palestine or learning Arabic, she adored John and Ernest and knew that this issue was meaningful to them, so she was willing to move with John to Palestine in 1946. Consequently, she had the privilege of residing in Jerusalem and cultivating her own connections within the Arab community. Following John's diplomatic career, they traversed the region, fostering friendships across the Middle East until 1966. Because she came to know the region and to make her own friends there, she became as invested in the Palestinian cause as John and Ernest, to the extent that when they moved back to Great Britain she set out to educate the rest of the country on the importance of furthering the Palestinian cause.

Their son, Samuel Richmond, while only briefly mentioned in this thesis, also provides evidence that having pro-Palestinian parents may encourage a child to follow that path. Sam was a doctor, and in 2005 moved to Gaza to provide medical assistance there, demonstrating his sensitivity to the Palestinian cause. He had learned Arabic from his father growing up, had visited the Middle East, and made Middle Eastern friends, and therefore was predisposed to make Palestinian friends.

Additionally, the scholar and archivist James Down from Exeter University has done extensive research on John and Diana Richmond and he believes their activism also stemmed from their Catholic faith, a position that is supported also by the findings of this thesis. Ernest, John, and Diana, all having converted to Catholicism, appeared to be compelled by their Catholic faith to advocate for the Palestinian cause. This motivation may have been rooted in the belief that their actions would be pleasing to God. Additionally, it is conceivable that the influence of the Catholic Church, which resisted recognizing the existence of Israel until 1993 and dispatched numerous bishops to Palestine to advocate against supporting Israel, played a role in shaping their stance. This may have strengthened Ernest, John, and Diana's resolve and made them feel as though the cause was righteous with the Vatican as a major supporter.

This thesis illuminates the complex motivations behind the Richmond family's pro-Palestinian activism. Beyond individual idiosyncrasies, the research suggests that exposure to Middle Eastern cultures, linguistic proficiency, familial influence, and religious affiliation were pivotal factors. The endurance of pro-Palestinian sentiments, even amid adversity, underscores the significance of personal connections and cultural understanding in advocating for marginalized causes. By contextualizing the Richmonds within the broader landscape of British pro-Palestinian advocacy, this study contributes to a nuanced comprehension of the diverse motivations that propel individuals to champion unpopular yet just causes.

On May 17, 1978, Diana sent a letter complaining about an article to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*. She referred to Palestine as “the country I loved as much as my own.”⁵³⁴ That was Palestine to Ernest, John and Diana, a country they loved every bit as much as they loved Britain. They cared so much about the fate of a people to whom they had not been born. They were not Palestinians or Middle Easterners and yet they decided that fighting for these people was worth their time and money and effort.

Ernest did so because he had the unique experience of truly living among an Egyptian community in the 1890s, learning Arabic and coming to understand and respect the culture. This meant he was open minded to the Palestinian cause when he arrived in Palestine. He listened to Palestinian demands when he joined the government of Palestine in 1920 and he understood that they were being displaced from their homes and their lives, and they could not be expected to peacefully acquiesce in their own dispossession. Ernest did not have to stake the success of his career as a member of the British government on the Palestinian cause, but he did, because his previous life experience had led him to believe that fighting for Palestine was worth risking his career.

John and Diana did not have to spend decades of their lives in the Middle East. They could have stayed in England, living comfortably, and never worried about the Palestinian cause. Yet they had learned from Ernest that Palestine was important and worth laying everything on the line for. This is why they spent 1947-66 traveling the region as John worked as a diplomat and why when they returned to England in 1966, they helped to found CAABU and spent so many of their spare hours giving lectures on the Middle East, writing letters complaining about the unfair press, trying to create sympathy for the Palestinians among the British public. They were Ernest’s legacy.

⁵³⁴ Letter from Lady Diana Richmond to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, 17 May 1978, EUL MS 115/17/5, Personal and Research Papers of Sir John and Lady Diana Richmond relating to the History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Exeter University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Exeter, United Kingdom.

The story of the Richmonds is important in and of itself. But their story also encompassed so many other people, so many other Britons who chose to fight for the Palestinian cause, some of whom are mentioned in this thesis. There was Thomas Hodgkin who resigned from the British government of Palestine to protest their policies, much as Ernest had once done; Frances Newton who fought so hard to show the Palestinian plight to the British world that she was barred from returning to her home and life in Palestine. There was Elizabeth Collard who spent her life creating an accurate newspaper on the Middle East; Sir Anthony Nutting who lost his place in the British government for speaking on behalf of the Arabs during the Suez Canal Crisis; Michael Adams who gave up his career as a prominent journalist so he could honorably speak the Palestinian story; and all the other members of CAABU who sacrificed so much to fight for the Palestinians. There is Paul Adams, Michael Adams' son, who is fighting to make sure that the Palestinian story is heard today as a BBC journalist. Amidst a sea of imperfect, passionate advocates, these individuals, driven by a desire to do right, forged a legacy that transcends individual successes or failures.

In recognizing their undertakings, we acknowledge not only the importance of these individuals but also the collective impact of countless Britons who, against prevailing currents, tirelessly endeavoured to make a difference for Palestine. Ernest, John, and Diana devoted their lives to Palestine. They created a legacy of pro-Palestinian advocacy that still matters, regardless of the fact that they ultimately did not succeed in bringing justice for the Palestinians.

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