

[1887-10-01. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 2-3. L-1030. HO]

4408 Chestnut St. Philadelphia

Oct. 1/87

My dear Mr. Clark.

When you left Intervale it was arranged, I think, that in October I was to communicate with you about the possibility of sending out an expedition to Babylonia. It is the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, & I hasten to communicate with you accordingly. I also send an Independent containing some account of the former expedition. In the meantime I have been ascertaining just what could & should be done, the excavations to be undertaken, the means of procuring a firman from the Turkish government, how much money is needed, what should be the personel of the expedition &c., & should be very glad of an opportunity to talk further with you.

I have the book of Matlock's which you lent me, & which I have read with more curiosity than sympathy. I will return it at the first opportunity, & am much obliged for its use.

I beg to present my compliments to Mrs. Clark.

Yours truly

John P. Peters.

[1887-10-22. Hilprecht to [E.W.Clark?]. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 6-7. L-1432.3. HO]

3602 Chestnut Str.

W. Philadelphia

October 22. / 1887.

My dear Sir.

I forgot to tell you that I have my Assyrian courses (Friday &) Saturday in the afternoon. For this reason you will, please, not call for me to-day, but rather on Monday.

The one text is quite clear; it reads

 na-ra-am ilu A-nim [u]

[êtlu]  kar-du ša ina isu tukul-ti i[lu Aššur]

[gabšu]  ša ma-ḫi-ra lâ išû-ú

i.e.

[God Adar], the beloved one of the god Anu, and]

[the exalted], the strong one who in assistance of the god [marches against his enemy]

[strong] who does not have a rival

The inscription therefore does not belong to Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) as you suggested, but it can only belong to Assurnâsirpal (884-860 B.C.) Moreover, it contains a part of the 1. 2. and 3 line of the well known Standard-Inscription of Assurnâsirpal, first published by Layard in his "Inscriptions". The University-Library will have Layard's book in about 2-3 weeks, I ordered it some time ago from Germany. As soon as it arrived [*sic*], I shall be glad, to show you the whole inscription in cuneiform-characters.

The piece has therefore only the value of a curiosity. The second piece belongs – there is scarcely any doubt to me, because a certain characteristicum in the sign  suggests and supports my identification – to the same King. As I had too little time yesterday I could not yet place it exactly according to line + words at its proper place. I hope to do so till Monday. At all events I shall be able as soon as Layard's book is in my hand.

With best regards

very sincerely

yours

H.V. Hilprecht

Of course I shall give you a better written translation + transcription of the two pieces next Monday.  
The above only for to-day.

[1887-11-06. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 14-15. L-1029. HO]

4408 Chestnut St.

Nov. 6/87

Dear Mr. Clark

I have been trying all this time to find the right way to get at Mr. Lea. I had a talk with your Brother, &, at his suggestion, with Dr. Pepper. I finally went to Mr. Lea last night with an introduction from your Brother. Mr. Lea has not made up his mind how much he will give. One thousand certainly, whether more he will decide after further consideration. He advises that it be made a University enterprise, but thought that the matter should be talked over with you & your Brother, before that should be settled. There are one or two other points which he raised, about which I desire to consult you. I shall be away this week, but next week I wish to call on you, & talk the matter over further.

I wish you all success in your fight against corrupt boss government. The attitude of some of the gentry of the cloth has been disheartening.

I send you by mail tomorrow your book, which I carelessly neglected to bring with me to your house.

Sincerely yours

John P. Peters.

[1887-12-02. Haupt to Hilprecht. HSN 931B. HO]

2135 Oak Ave.

Baltimore, Md.

Dec. 2, '87

Verehrter Herr College,

Für Ihre umgehende Mittheilung des Erfolges der reception bei Dr. Pepper bin ich Ihnen sehr verbunden. Neu war mir die Sache nicht. Ich habe zugleich von anderer Seite darüber gehört. Dass die Sache stattfinden sollte, hatte ich schon in der Sonntag Nummer der Philadelphia Press gelesen. Dass ferner Peters schon seit Jahren eine Expedition plante, weiss ich auch. Ich bin mit ihm hier im Frühjahr '85 zusammenkommen und wir haben damals die Sache besprochen. Ich habe meine Meinung ziemlich deutlich zu verstehn gegeben. Peters hat übrigens ja schon das erste Mal Miss Wolfe bewogen, die 5000 \$ zu geben. Dass Peters für seine Bemühungen die Ehre der Leitung der Expedition haben will, finde ich begreiflich. Jeder anderer an seiner Stelle würde ebenso handeln. Deswegen können wir ihn also nicht tadeln. Wenn er derjenige ist, der das meiste Geld dafür zusammenkriegt, so muss er dafür auch seine Belohnung haben. Das Geld ist schliesslich doch die Hauptsache, weit wichtiger als irgend welche Fachkenntnisse. Was weiss denn Rassam vom Assyrischen? was de Sarzec? Das Einzige, was ich nicht in der Ordnung finde, ist dass Pinches eingeladen werden soll, mit Peters zu gehen. Sie haben Recht, dass das ein testimonium paupertatis für Amerika wäre, wenigstens sobald nicht andere Assyriologen mit bei der Partie sind. Pinches Anwesenheit kann ohne Zweifel von grossem Nutzen sein wegen seiner langjährigen täglichen Vertrautheit mit den Alterthümern. Das würde aber hauptsächlich nur bei Ankäufen in Betracht kommen, bei Ausgrabungen ist diese Erfahrung wenig nütze, zudem kann sich jeder an Ort und Stelle bald alles aneignen.

Ich weiss schon seit dem Sommer, dass man daran denkt, Pinches zum keeper der assyr. Denkmäler im New Yorker Metropolitan Museum zu machen. Pinches' Stellung im Britischen Museum ist sehr erschüttert, er ist ganz bei Seite geschoben und wird sehr schlecht behandelt. Die meisten Assyriologen kümmern sich nicht mehr um ihn. Wer etwas haben will, wendet sich an Budge oder an Le Page Renouf. Auch mit der Soc. of Biblical Archaeology ist er gänzlich zerfallen. Er schreibt nichts mehr für sie, weder in die Transactions, noch in die Proc. Dies war auch der Grund für die Gründung des Babylonian and Oriental Record. Die Gründe für sein Beiseiteschieben sind einmal seine mangelhafte Bildung; Budge wiederholt beständig, es sei eine Schande, dass ein Mensch ohne akademische Bildung einen solchen Posten im Museum einnehme; sodann, und das ist ein weit schwerwiegenderer Grund, ist er ein sehr schlechter Verwaltungsbeamter. Die Sammlung ist unter ihm in grosse Unordnung gekommen. Sie werden sich erinnern in letzter Zeit wiederholt gelesen zu haben, die Tafel war [bei?] meiner Anwesenheit im Britischen Museum nicht zu finden. Verschiedene Assyriologen haben diese Erfahrung gemacht. Sie können sich denken, dass es unter diesen Umständen nicht vernünftig wäre, Pinches die Ordnung einer amerikanischen Sammlung zu übertragen. Pinches kann Nützliches leisten,

wenn er unter sachverständiger Controle ist, wie er unter Rawlinson und Birch war. Mit Peters zusammen wird er nicht viel Seide spinnen. Es kommt also vor allen Dingen darauf an, dass, wenn Pinches überhaupt kommt, auch andere Assyriologen dazu genommen werden. Die Kosten werden im Grunde nicht sehr erhöht, ob 2 oder 5 Assyriologen hinübergeln. Die Reisekosten sind für 5 nicht wesentlich höher als für 2, sobald man einmal im Orient ist. Für die Seereise ist es etwas anders. Können Sie nicht versuchen vielleicht durch Dr. Trumbull in dieser Hinsicht auf Dr. Pepper einzuwirken? Ich werde morgen auch mit Pres. Gilman sprechen. Vielleicht komme ich auch nächste Woche nach Philadelphia hinüber, wenn das irgend etwas nützen kann. Sie schreiben mir wohl noch einmal darüber. Sehr erwünscht wären mir einige Zeitungsausschnitte über die proponirte Expedition, wenn darüber etwas in den Philadelphia papers erscheinen sollte. Ich weiss übrigens nicht, wie Pinches und Peters denken, den Ferman für die Ausgrabungen zu erhalten. Der einzige Staat, der augenblicklich einen Ferman erhalten kann ist Deutschland. Ich habe mit Gossler und Schöne in Berlin zu wiederholten Malen über eine Expedition nach Babylonien verhandelt. In Berlin wäre der Ferman zu kriegen, aber nicht das Geld. Wie Peters die Alterthümer aus dem Lande schaffen will, ist mir nicht klar. Er scheint sich der Schwierigkeiten des Unternehmens nicht bewusst zu sein. Ich habe im Sommer '86 auf Wunsch des Berliner Cultusministerium eine grosse Denkschrift eingereicht, in dem ich alle Erfordernisse und alle Schwierigkeiten ausführlich besprochen habe. Peters hat von den meisten Sachen gewiss keine Ahnung, obwohl ich ihn für einen ganz durchtriebenen Kunden halte.

Ihre Hauptaufgabe muss sein, Dr. Pepper zu überzeugen, dass es für das Gelingen des Unternehmens durchaus erforderlich ist, dass mehrere Personen ausser Peters und Pinches an der Expedition theilnehmen. Price, Craig, Harper, Lyon, Jastrow, sie alle wären durchaus competent, die Stelle im Metropolitan Museum zu versehen. Was ihnen noch fehlt, könnten sie dann lernen. Ich denke besonders an Craig and Harper. Lyon würde vielleicht die Expedition nicht mitmachen. Ich habe Peters im Frühjahr '86 ausdrücklich erklärt, dass ich mitgehn würde und habe das emphatisch vor Zeugen constatirt. Mir liegt aber weniger an meiner Theilnahme, als daran dass die Sache vernünftig angefangen wird und das Geld nicht nutzlos weggeworfen. Wenn irgend ein anderer energischer und vernünftiger Assyriologe mitgeht, so bin ich zufrieden. Ich wiederhole nochmals, vielleicht komme ich nächste Woche nach Philadelphia, wenn es nöthig sein sollte. Es wäre gut, wenn wir über die Sache mündlich verhandeln könnten. Ich bin zwar auch ausserordentlich in Anspruch genommen und muss mir die Zeit für diesen Brief geradezu abstehlen, aber im Interesse der Sache würde ich es möglich zu machen suchen. Gestern Nacht habe ich z. B. bis 7 Morgens durch gearbeitet, um das Manuscript meiner beiden Vorträge bei der letzten Meeting der Am. Or. Soc. für die Proc. druckfertig zu machen. Nun aber genug. Mit herzlichem Grusse

Ihr

Paul Haupt

[1887-12-06. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 10-13. L-1028. HO]

4408 Chestnut St.

Dec. 6/87

Dear Mr. Clark

It will probably interest you to hear just how I stand with the subscription list for the Babylonian Expedition. There are so far 5 names on the list, & two more, Messrs. Gibson & Harrison, who have subscribed, but whose names are not down. I have been to Mr. Harrison's office to get his signature, but have not found him at home. Mr. Stuart Wood has not yet decided whether they can give \$1000, or only \$500. I have had a long talk with him. Mr. G.W. Childs promised me \$500, & would not make it any more. Mr. Jos. Warton, Mr. E.H. Coates & Mr. J. Bertram Lippincott have given me promises, but without specifying definite amounts, although the latter hopes with his brother to make their subscription \$1000. I have seen Mr. C.B. Wright twice, & am to see him again in a day or two by appointment. The first time he almost promised; the second time he did not seem so sure. Mr. John Wanamaker is still resolutely non-committal. I have had two talks with him in company, & been to see him twice. Mr. Strawbridge was delightfully cordial. He promised a subscription in any event (not specifying the sum, however); but further than that he proposed to try to get a larger sum (amount again not specified) from the trustees and friends of Haverford on certain conditions which I suggested. I am to hear from Messrs. Lippincott & Wright & perhaps Mr. Strawbridge within the week. I have talked, apparently in vain, to Mr. Cochran, Mr. Jas. Whitney, Mr. Fairman Rodgers, & Mr. Hutchinson. I have been twice to see Mr. Wharton Barker & once to see Mr. Lemuel Coffin without finding them at home. I have tried without success to find Dr. M<sup>c</sup>Vickar at home, for the purpose of arranging with him how to go to Mr. Alex. Brown & one or two others.

Tomorrow I can do nothing. Thursday I can get down town at 10.<sup>30</sup>, & stay until 12.<sup>30</sup>. Friday I can do nothing. Saturday I can give all day to the work. I called to see you yesterday, but did not find you in. I wished to ask you how I should go to certain gentlemen, or whether you would go with me, or whether I should have the paper with you for a time, as I believe you proposed. For instance, I find on the first list you wrote down Mr. Thos. Dolan & Mr. Jas. Mason & C.G. Harrah; & on a list which your brother juttet down B.H. Bartol, E.N. Benson, Ab. Barker, Sam'l Dickson & others. I do not know how to go to any of these. If agreeable to you I could come in to your office at 10.<sup>30</sup> Thursday morning, or at any hour on Saturday.

Yours truly

John P. Peters.

[1887-12-16. Bennet to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 4-5. HO]

Dec. 16<sup>th</sup> 1887

36 INDIA STREET,

BOSTON.

My dear Dr. Pepper,

I send you today the subscription lists which I trust will meet with your approval, also I am sending a set to Mr Belmont & Mr Thayer, & to the latter a sketch that I had made for the proposed wing, giving it considerable prominence as you suggested.

I have great hopes that Mr Thayer may be able to interest Mr Vanderbilt in this, it would give us a great start. Whatever results we may accomplish, I feel we owe a great deal to you.

Believe me always.

Yours sincerely,

Harry Bennet

To

Dr. W<sup>m</sup>. Pepper

1811 Spruce St.

Phila.

[1887-12-23. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 8-13. L-1027. HO]

4408 Chestnut St.

Dec. 23/87

Dear Mr. Clark

Progress slow. Mr. Alex. Brown is down for \$1000. I have seen H.H. Houston, & Col. Potts has also spoken to him, but he puts the matter off until the new year. Your note to Mr. C.J. Harrah procured me a very cordial welcome, but he would not give a cent. He made me stay to tea, he told me the story of his life, showed me all sorts of things, but was deaf to all argument. He will have nothing to do, he declares, with anything ancient. All must be brand new.

From W.B. Bennet, to whom I went with a note from his pastor, I met a similar, only not cordial reception. His son, however, promised a small (indefinite) subscription. Dr. M<sup>c</sup>Vickar is to see about Mrs. Powers. Dr. Harris is to see Mr. Benson. By Dr. M<sup>c</sup>Vickar's advice I did not go to Mr. Coffin. He said that the subscription thus obtained would be small. Accordingly I will ask if you will, after the new year has begun, see Mr. Altemus, as you at first offered to, & get a subscription from Coffin & Altemus. The quakers are being worked up by Mr. Strawbridge.

A series of 5 lectures on Assyriology is arranged for. He also proposes a meeting at his house next month. Mr. Wanamaker has not yet decided. But he offers 1000 or so copies of his Book News for Jan. containing article on Assyriology prepared by Mr. Ogden in order to excite interest. These papers he will mail to addresses given to him by Dr. Pepper. He seems to be a hard man to get money out of. Dr. Wayland & Dr. Boardman (Baptists) have agreed to speak for me to one or two of their co-denominationalists.

There I suppose I must let matters rest until after the old year has passed away. I have tried to find my way to some other gentlemen, but have found it impossible to do anything with them until next month.

Wishing you a very happy X-mas

I am

Very truly yours

John P. Peters.

[1887-12-30. Burk to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 16. L-1256. HO]

University of Pennsylvania,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

Dec. 30. 1887.

Rev. John P. Peters, Ph.D.

Dear Doctor

I have the honor to inform you of the passage of the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, at its last stated meeting of the following resolution in reference to your communication: –

“Resolved that the Board of Trustees accept the proposal contained in the foregoing subscription paper, and pledge themselves to provide accommodations for the collections made by the expedition, provided, as therein contained, that all the finds that can be expected be brought to Philadelphia and delivered as its property to the University of Pennsylvania”.

Very Respectfully Yours

Jesse M. Burk

Secretary.

Read postal enclosed first, this continues it

something, resp. bringing home, looks very bad. You will understand it after a while on the next page. Now we have bought these 2 collections in London. I was elected curator of all the collections in last spring, you know. We thought to publish all our results for the jubilee of the University 1891, that our University may be spoken of on this occasion everywhere as to its Semitic department, and Dr Pepper promised me before 6 or 8 other members of the "Fund", that the publication of the cuneiform texts, what is only right & natural, would be entrusted to me.

And notwithstanding all this & all my Assyrian work of the last winter, & all my chagrin and sleepless nights in connection with this expedition, now they are going to allow to copy & to make casts, even before their own curator has seen and arranged the stuff (for Harper's catalogue, as he himself said, is worthless). Is that gratitude??

I know, you & Dr Thompson are the real representants of our faculty & the best advisers to Dr Pepper, who, in his loving way + not knowing all the consequences, may do steps which ought no[t] to be done. Therefore consult, please, him (Thompson). Stop the publication of texts & the making of casts before my return. Say frankly this – and this is my true opinion! – "every University will have opportunity to copy and to get casts after the return of the expedition". The other way would mean: to give the results of our work into the hands of some other men. Harper thinks just as I do + wrote to Dr Peters that he must be opposed, that any person (except me + he) should use his catalogue, as it was done up in a hurry but not that others might go for him afterwards. You see how the matters stand. I pray you, do me this favor, James, for I have not the least hope for our expedition; and this collection must be our last refuge in case of a failure. Peters writes me to day on the matter the following: "I should say let any responsible person copy, & let casts be taken if desired. Only make this condition that if they publish anything, we shall have right if we wish to use their work when we publish. This will be a policy which will win us universal good will, because of its liberality. On the other hand you will be sufficiently protected, because unless we should make a complete failure, you will have more than you could do alone in the inscriptions still to be found."

Hear my objections:

- 1) It is entirely against the law of self-protection to give away to any other person, (moreover enemical to one's self) the results of hard labor and sacrifice, before having looked on those results one's self
- 2) I do not wish to use anybody's material afterwards for a publication to be made in the name and under the auspices of any University by myself, if I can do this alone – and that of course I can.
- 3) The tablets consist of 2 classes, historical & Contract tablets. The contract tablets are difficult & demand hard work, but are of little importance for general use. The historical texts (we have the finest Nebuchadnezzar text in existence, 2 texts of very old Babylonian

kings of highest importance) are comparatively easy and throw much light on history. Now then, what shall our rivals publish? Certainly the historical texts, because they do not care for the others. Shall then now really the cream of our collection be taken away from those who were on the expedition, in order to create a universal good will. What does the University care for a universal (???) good will, if she makes a fool of herself, and all the rest of the Universe admires her stupidity!!! My dear James, Peters is no friend of the University, O believe me before it is too late!

- 4) He speaks "I should have plenty of material from the other inscriptions still to be found, if .....". Well, I do not care for myself. Our students of Assyrian should write their theses from them. That shall be an attraction point of our University to get students. If we give the material away, they will never come to us. Haupt + Harper will do their best to prevent it.
- 5) He says: unless we should make a complete failure" ... My word: it will be an entire failure. I have looked behind the curtain in the last 2 weeks, and seen much of which I cannot speak now. But I know, this expedition will be a failure, I see it & cannot help it. Alas! Why did nobody believe me, while I was constantly speaking in Philadelphia?!!

Some more news!

- 1) Peters is still in Constantinople for a Firman. All the diplomats were, as he writes to me, against him (I offered my service, Germany would not have been against him, if I came with an introduction from Emperor William's Schloßhauptmann, Count Lutichan etc). He did not succeed in anything hitherto, although he has now been there for 5 weeks + more, except that we can excavate in Birs Nimrud + Niffer (not in Ur Chaldea's!!!), the two worst places (I give you the reasons when I come back!) – but only under the condition that we have to leave everything to be found to the Turks.
- 2) What now do? I saw this long, long in advance. Nobody believed me. I repeat: Peters will + cannot get the Firman. Let not deceive you! [*sic*] But for this very sake I wanted an ingeneer to take maps, so necessary for geography. We have now none. Field is architect. Spoken to you, he is no energetic man, always afraid of his life and entirely unsuitable for this expedition, as he looks very, very delicate. I fear, he will soon become sick, when now all the "Strapazen" begin.
- 3) Dr Harper + Field had not even a passport! Think of that. They got it in Athens, Peters (dear me!) told them they would not use it. We could land in [*ill.*] Turkish harbour without having showed our passport hitherto + a Tezkire (for the inner land) besides [*unfinished?*]
- 4) Yesterday I saw how dangerous the country is even here, where it is regarded safe. Everybody is a thief. At 8 o'clock my horse ran off with me, becoming shy of an old camel which lie decaying on the street (that is here custom; to-day lie a dying donkey before our room!! They never burry or remove animals here!). Two big dogs bit my horse in addition, it galloped far away, I lost my pithead + field-glass, but found it returning in the Ammanus-mountain on the street at ½9 o'clock in the moon-shine). Now our dragoman (Noorian) + Haynes told me what dangers expect us in Babylonia, from lyons + Arabs especially. Notwithstanding this: Peters is not willing to buy horses in Babylonia (except for Haynes, himself + Prince + perhaps Field). He promised to give everybody a gun + 2 pistols. Harper + Field + Haynes + Peters + Prince – all have a gun +

1 (some 2) revolvers. When I asked to-day Haynes (to whom Peters in his absence referred us) for one, he said, that there was none for me, the guns would be distributed, as Dr Peters saw it fit. Then I asked for a revolver (I am out for an expedition out alone to-day! and need one). All had an excuse, nobody gave me his. Every Arab may attack me in the mountains (and you hear daily stories of this kind!), I have not the slightest weapon with me. Is this polite? Here I am now, no money (Peters has it all) in my pocket, no weapons of any use can be bought in this uncivilized region, left entirely to the mercy of the treacherous inhabitants.

Dr Trumbull was right when saying to me: "Hilprecht, perhaps you better stay here & do not go with Peters, I fear for your live." Now I am constantly overwatched, I cannot write many letters more to you, and postcards does the postoffice not have here (oh you have no idea, what Turkey is!). Prey for me, that is all I can ask from you. I spoke just to Noorian: When we are attacked on this expedition by some Arab tribe (as Dr Ward was on his) and are unable to resist, Peters will flee (he has a horse), I have to stay. The dangers for me are twice as they are for Peters. And a man, without weapon in this country, becomes nervous and is without use.

I spoke about my expedition, I have to make one alone in one hour. I got orders from Peters to go by steamer to Beyrout (2 days of journey), and to copy once more all the inscriptions of the Nahr-el-kalb river (on the rocks of the Lebanon), and to search for new ones.

I wrote back through Haynes, that his (Peters) authority for sending me there, Mr Reylands of the British Museum, did not understand a bit of Assyrian, that he better got some other better advisers, that in fact all the Nahr-el-kalb-Inscriptions were published by the finest French scholar, Pognon, in the most excellent way only 3 years ago after he had searched + examined the whole river for 6 months. He therefore better saved the money to the expedition, as I could not bring out anything by this copying them once more, moreover as Pognon gives even the photographs of them, that in fact therefore my going there for 2 weeks was wasted time + money.

To-day I received back-orders: "I shall be very disappointed if Hilprecht does not go". I say once more, Peters ruins this expedition, and perhaps me to[o]. Without any weapon I am going, but I shall go to the German Consul-General of Beyruth, Dr Hartmann, an excellent scholar and gentleman, asking him to give (lend) me 100\$, that I can pay a revolver + a horse for my own, as the expedition did not care better for me.

I ask you, dear James, one thing. I do not ask you once more in this year for something. Be diplomatic with this letter, keep it for yourself & make Thompson, who knows the whole story of the expedition, your confidential man (he loves me), and then try to work in a not suspicious way on Dr Pepper (I shall write about it from Beyruth to him) 1) that he sends me the 300 \$, promised to me (in addition to the 1000 \$) by the fund, as quick as possible to Prof Hilprecht % Dr. Hartmann, General Consul Deutschlands in Beyruth, Syria. Hartmann will forward it to me in a suitable way to Baghdad. 2) Second, if you wish that I visit Palestine before I return in the interest of my future teaching at the University of P., try to get 200 \$ in addition from somebody to be given as a present to the University and send it to Dr Hartmann too. And if anything happens to me, then have many thanks for all your love once more, greet all and be a good friend to my wife. God will bless you and your wife + children!  
Yours old thankfully

H. V. Hilprecht

*[Added on top of the first page]*

Be careful in your words to Pepper; but tell him frankly, that I do not expect much from this expedition, as Dr Peters undervalued the difficulties and dangers and does not accept any advice from me.

[1888-00-00. Stuart Wood to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 98. L-1255. HO]



TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS.  
"MÉTROPOLE", LONDON.

LONDON, ..... 188.....  
W.C.

My dear Mr. Clark

I received your letter from Geneva some time ago since when I have seen Mr. Harper who seems on my suggestion to have investigated the vase as thoroughly as was possible + to have obtained favorable judgement of its genuineness from a number of the leading specialists. This is a very satisfactory conclusion.

I authorized Mr. Harper to buy a number of casts of objects in the British Museum amounting to about 15 £ assuming the responsibility for the same. Being largish objects they will add to the impression made on any visitors to the Collection.

Believe me

Received Vienna

Yours truly

Sept. 23<sup>d</sup>

Stuart Wood

[1888-01-09. Isaac Sharpless to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 5-6. L-1. HO]

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

ISAAC SHARPLESS, PRESIDENT

Haverford College P.O., Pa., 1 Mo. 9 1888

My Dear Dr. Wm Pepper.

I have a letter from Prof. Peters as a result of an interview between us, in which speaking of the Assyrian Expedition he says:-

“Your propositions are these (1) that a representative of Haverford should go on the expedition, (2) that he should have opportunities for making a Collection for Haverford in such a manner as should in no wise interfere with the expedition, always having first the consent of the Director of the Expedition, (3) that Haverford should have special privileges in relation to the Collection which should be brought back. In return for these acknowledgements there was named between us the sum of \$5000, plus the salary of the representative who might be sent.”

He then says that the conditions must be referred to the Library Committee of the University of Penn<sup>a</sup>.

I would be greatly obliged if you would make this reference and if the conditions are approved I will see if I can raise the money.

Hoping all success to the effort with or without us.

I am respyr

Isaac Sharpless

[1888-01-10. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 7. L-1026. HO]

4408 Chestnut St.

Jan. 10/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I went to see some people yesterday with your brother. Mr. W.E. Garret put his name down for \$1000. Mr. Geo. C. Thomas will give, & I believe his intention is to give \$500. Mr. H.C. Townsend (I think those are the initials) made an indefinite promise. The friends of Haverford talk of trying to raise \$5000 on certain conditions, which I think can be arranged.

Sincerely yours

John P. Peters

[1888-01-17. Strauss to Bayard. HSN 2557. TO]

[Cc of typed original, string attached.]

Copy

No. 56.

UNITED STATES LEGATION,

Constantinople, January 17, 1888.

To the Honorable

T. F. Bayard,  
Secretary of State.

Sir: –

In response to your instruction No. 60 of December 7, 1887, with enclosures in respect to archaeological explorations in the Western and Southern shores of Asia Minor and Crete, I have the honor to report as follows:

This matter has received my careful attention both officially and unofficially. From my conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and with the Minister of Public Instruction, I learn that up to some fifteen years ago permission was freely accorded by the Imperial Government to make explorations in any part of the Empire.

This privilege was so abused especially by persons who did not engage in the work for scientific purposes but mostly with a mercenary object that about fifteen years ago a law was passed restricting this privilege in many respects and providing for a division of the article[s] discovered between the owner of the land, the Imperial Government and the explorer. This arrangement was found to be very impracticable and at the same time detrimental to the science of archaeology and resulted frequently in breaking continuous links as it were, illustrative of a definite period.

Thereupon some eight years since, a law was passed annulling these former privileges and prohibiting the exportation of archaeological antiquities. The Imperial Government has since undertaken on its own account to make explorations and discoveries. It has appropriated and is appropriating considerable sums of money for this purpose under the supervision of the Ministry of Instruction and Hamdy Bey, the Director of the Imperial Museum at Stamboul, a very competent scientist, who has personal charge of the explorations.

I had a long interview on yesterday with Hamdy Bey for the purpose of fully informing myself on the subject with the view of learning if there might not be a way found which would

facilitate the objects outlined in your instruction. The researches and discoveries of Hamdy Bey especially those made by him recently at Sidon, which have been partially described in the publications in archaeological societies in different countries, especially in France are doubtless known to Scientists in America.

Hamdy Bey corroborated the foregoing statements concerning the law and the reasons therefor and informed me that he would do anything in his power to aid any American society whose objects are purely scientific. That under the law he has been permitted to exercise a certain discretion which is limited to allowing to foreign societies to take such articles as are not desired by the Imperial Museum, – this usually applies to duplicates only.

The law above referred to which provides that the entire discovery becomes the property of the Imperial Government, but which permits explorations to be made in the interest of science, requires that the person or society must specify the precise spot where the explorations are to be made, such specification to be accompanied by a topographical map limited to an area not exceeding ten square Kilometres.

It is quite possible that if a representative of the Society should come here and confer with Hamdy Bey perhaps a better arrangement might be made than could be predicated under the provisions of the law. That however would largely depend upon the disposition Hamdy Bey might be induced or feel himself authorized to make.

I would further add that Hamdy Bey stated that if the object of the society in question be purely scientific and should it be willing to expend money in making archaeological discoveries, he would be inclined not only to favor its scheme but even to give it the benefit of his experience, and of certain traces discovered by him, but which he has not been able to pursue. He specially mentioned certain Hittite remains. Always with the understanding that the antiquities discovered shall be the property of the Imperial Government.

I have the honor, etc.,

O. S. S T R A U S S.

[1888-02-02. Langley to Haupt. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 8. L-4. TC]

Feb. 2, 1888.

Prof. Paul Haupt,

Johns Hopkins University,

Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:—

I take pleasure in announcing to you your appointment as Honorary Curator of the collection of Oriental Antiquities in the U. S. National Museum.

The relations between your University and this Institution, in connection with the project of bringing together a representative collection of oriental antiquities, are, I believe, already well understood.

The details of the administration of the various departments in the Museum are under the charge of the Assistant Secretary of the Institution, with whom it will be well for you to confer from time to time.

I appreciate heartily the importance of your coöperation and am sure that the results will be of great value to science, as well as to the National Museum.

Yours very respectfully

(Signed) S.P. Langley.

Secretary.

[1888-02-06. Straus to Peters. HSN 16. HO]

United States Legation

CONSTANTINOPLE

Feb 6<sup>th</sup>/88

Prof John P. Peters

4408 Chestnut St. Phila PA

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 7<sup>th</sup> ult. reached me by last mail. My esteemed friend Rev William Hayes Ward DD, wrote to me sometime since in reference to the same subject, explorations and excavations of antiquities. In January, I received through Secretary of State Bayard, an application for a firman, made by Dr Mann, president of The NY Academy of Anthropology.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> ult. [1888-01-17] I sent a detailed report to the State Department, giving result of my interviews with the Ministers of the Porte and with Hamdy Bey the director of the Imperial Museum. Let me give you in brief the status. Up to about 15 years since, any one could obtain permission to explore and excavate for antiquities; this privilege was curtailed some 8 or 9 years since, providing that all articles found would belong one half to the Government. In 1882, the law now in force was enacted which permits excavations to be made on certain restricted conditions, but provides "Art 3. All the antiquities discovered and hereafter to be discovered in the Ottoman territory, be it on the surface, under ground, in the sea, lakes or rivers &c are the property of the Government." Art 12 provides "The antiquities excavated with an official permit belong to the Imperial Museum and the excavators have only the right to take drawings or casts".

In the face of this law, you can well understand that it will be impossible to obtain such a firman as you describe, or any firman whatever. Under the law Hamdy Bay exercises considerable discretion in allowing duplicates to be exported, such as are not desired for the Imperial Museum. Some three weeks since I had a long conference with Hamdy Bey – he indicated that he would be willing to make terms with such American societies as I might recommend, based upon a division or rather partition of the articles found, such as might not be desired by the Imperial Museum. It will doubtless occur to you, that this is very indefinite and unsatisfactory.

Unofficially let me say, it is my impression that the power of money would have much to do in defining discretionary powers under the law in Turkey, and that tact and discretion coupled with that power might have good effect here. Should you conclude to send a representation here, it would be well to clothe him with that power.

I will cheerfully give every aid in my power to aid you and your friends, but I am not able to hold out any hopes of getting a firman.

The authorities having learned of large sums of money being realized in America and elsewhere for antiquities discovered here, enacted this law – and for the further reason, because the Sultan is desirous of adding to the attraction of his Capital by enriching the Imperial Museum.

Hamdy Bey impresses me as a thoroughly scientific man, who has been very successful in making explorations, as is evidence[*d*] by those recently conducted by him in Sidon. Besides excavating he takes his own photographs and is now engaged in writing a book with illustrations of his recent discoveries. He informs me that the Sultan has been liberal in appropriating the necessary funds and in giving the directors of the Museum every possible facility for successfully carrying forward their work.

I had occasion some few days ago to speak with Dr. Long, who is well acquainted with Hamdy Bey, and he doubtless would confirm the ideas herein conveyed.

I would suggest you make your negotiations with Hamdy Bey through Pres Washburn as indicated in your letter. He calls on me frequently and knows he can have my assistance whenever it is required. An opportunity may arise when I may be able to bring the matter before the Sultan, and then we will see what can be done.

Be assured you can rely on my best help in the matter.

I am Very Respectfully yours

O S Straus

[1888-02-08. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 11. L-1025. HO]

4408 Chestnut St.

Feb. 8/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I have written to Mr. Wood as you suggested. I am going on to Washington by the night train Friday to see whether, in addition to the official directions to Mr. Straus from the State Department, I cannot secure a personal note from the President, & perhaps also social pressure on the Turkish Minister.

Such matters have not been in my line hitherto.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters

[1888-02-15. Langley to Haupt. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 9-10. L-4. TC]

February 15, 1888.

Professor Paul Haupt,

Honorary Curator of the Collection of Oriental Antiquities.

U. S. National Museum.

Dear Sir:—

I am very much gratified that you have decided to accept the appointment of Honorary Curator in the National Museum, and shall be glad to have you submit, as you propose, a memorandum setting forth the plans for the development of the collections of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities, and especially for the expedition to Mesopotamia. The resources of the Smithsonian Institute are not sufficiently great to permit me to offer you any pecuniary aid to such an enterprise, but it will give me much pleasure in any other way to forward the investigation which you are desirous of making in the east, and to receive and properly care for, in the National Museum, such collections as may be obtained. I shall also be glad at any time to have a personal conference with you on the subject.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) S.P. Langley

Secretary.

[1888-02-16. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 12. L-1024. HO]

4408 Chestnut St.

Feb. 16/88

My dear Mr. Clark

Glad to hear of Mr. Reed's \$500. Suppose nothing has been heard from the Baldwin Locomotive people. I will get the 500 subscriptions signed as you suggest, & see you on your return.

I saw Mr. Bayard & Mavroyeni Bey in Washington, but not Mr. Cleveland. However Hon. Randolph Tucker has promised to secure me the personal note I wish from the last named.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters

P.S. I may add that the Firman has been officially applied for by the University of Penn. through the State Department for me; hence Dr. Pepper's assurance appended to note to Pres. Gilman. Further the University has agreed to make a valuable present to the Sultan to win his good will, & that present is now in preparation. I will tell you about it when I come on Tuesday.

The \$15000 signed for does not, as I understand it stop the work of collecting.

[1888-02-16. *The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania to Bayard. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 32-36. TC*]

To The Hon. THOS. F. BAYARD,

Secretary of State.

Sir:

The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania by the undersigned William Pepper, Provost, respectfully represent:

1. The Excavations of English and French explorers on the sites of some of the ancient cities of Babylonia and Assyria have not only yielded results of great value for the study of the origin of our own civilization and of the ancient history, religion, art, social and domestic life of Western Asia, but also shown how much more, and more important, still lies buried in those ruins, destined, however, in the changing conditions of modern times, soon to perish unless dug up and transported to places of greater safety.

2. The importance and amount of the discoveries already made, although but a small fraction of the ancient ruins is as yet explored, have led to the formation of learned societies in various countries, and the establishment of professorships of the Assyrian-Babylonian languages. Within the last five years several of the leading Universities in this country, among them the University of Pennsylvania, following the example already set by the Universities of France, have established professorships of Assyriology and a considerable number of student is at present pursuing the study of the Assyrian-Babylonian language and archaeology in this country.

3. These studies require, for their successful prosecution, museums of Assyrian-Babylonian antiquities. Such museums of very great value have been established elsewhere, especially in England and France as the result of explorations conducted from those countries. But although there are probably at this moment more students of Assyriology in the United States of America than in any other country, we possess nowhere museums of available collections of Assyrian-Babylonian antiquities.

4. In view of the importance of the results to be obtained from further explorations and excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and the desirability of providing a museum for the students of Assyriology in the City of Philadelphia, public-spirited citizens of that City have furnished the funds to equip and send out an Expedition to excavate one or more of the ancient cities of Babylonia, and the University of Pennsylvania has been designated as the recipient of such

antiquities excavated by said Expedition, as the Turkish Government will permit to be exported from the country.

Your petitioners have accepted the trust thus created, have undertaken to erect a proper building for the accommodation of such antiquities as may be brought back to Philadelphia, and have assumed a responsibility for the Expedition which will go out from the University of Pennsylvania.

5. The conduct of the Expedition has been placed in the hands of Rev. John P. Peters, Ph. D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, well known to Assyriologists and archaeologists in this country and abroad, who has already been the means of sending one Expedition (the Wolfe Expedition under the conduct of the Rev. W. H. Ward) to Babylonia and who has for several years been engaged in perfecting plans for this second and more extensive Expedition for purposes of excavations.

6. Your petitioners are advised that, in order to make the proposed excavations a concession must be obtained from the Ottoman Porte; and that the Porte will allow such excavations to be made provided it be assured the work is of a scientific character and is conducted from scientific and not from mercenary motives.

7. Your petitioners are further advised that the Porte will permit the exploration [*sic*] of some portion of the antiquities excavated.

8. Your petitioners are further advised that a topographical map of the site which it is proposed to excavate, covering a space not greater than ten square kilometres, is by law required to be presented to the Porte; but with this requirement it is impossible to comply; first, because a great part of the country in which it is proposed to excavate is unsurveyed and hence no topographical map can be executed; secondly, because in the present unexplored condition of the country it is impossible to determine beforehand with sufficient precision at what sites excavations can profitably be conducted. Under these circumstances it is not practicable to define the region in which it is desired to excavate more closely than by the name Vilajet of Baghdad.

9. In view of the magnitude of the work proposed the excavations must be conducted during a series of years.

10. Your petitioners therefore pray your Excellency to authorize the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Ottoman Porte to apply to the Porte to grant to the Rev. John P. Peters, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, a concession to excavate on the sites of ancient ruined cities in the Vilajet of Baghdad during a period of ten years commencing with this current year and to export and bring away from the dominions of the Porte as large a portion of the antiquities thus excavated as the Porte may by its concession determine.

Signed at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania this sixteenth day of February, 1888.

THE TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

By

Provost.

[1888-02-17. *Peters to Tucker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 37-38. HO*]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

Feb. 17/88

My dear Mr. Tucker

I sent you yesterday a letter containing various enclosures. It was addressed only to Washington. I hope it reached you safely. I carelessly had forgotten your address. I could not get at a Washington directory; & I felt that there was need of haste. I secured your address today.

Some time since Dr. Pepper, Provost of the University, asked Col. M<sup>c</sup>Clure, editor of the Times, to secure a note from Mr. Cleveland. We heard nothing further, & supposed that he had done nothing, or at least Dr. Pepper did, & I really did not know that Dr. Pepper had asked him. When I went on to Washington Dr. Pepper knew that I proposed to apply directly. This afternoon he sent me a correspondence between himself, Col. M<sup>c</sup>Clure & the President, showing that the President will do what is wished, but has not done so yet because Col. M<sup>c</sup>Clure apparently did not know exactly what was wanted. I inform you of the correspondence, which was an entire surprise to me, as indicating that the President is ready to grant my request when he knows what it is.

Very truly yours

John P. Peters

[1888-02-18. Peters to Gilman. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 14-18. L-1224. TC]

## MEMORANDUM

of

Contents of Note, dated February 18, 1888, from Professor John P. Peters, Director of Expedition to Babylonia under auspices of University of Pennsylvania to President D. C. Gilman.

My first knowledge that Professor Haupt had any idea of procuring an expedition to Babylonia was obtained in the Spring of 1886, when I met him at the house of the Rev. Dr. Eccleston. Professor Haupt then told me that he hoped to induce Mr. Bennet of the New York Herald to send him out to Mugheir, where he hoped to find traces of Abraham. He named \$20,000, I think, as the sum he had asked, or proposed to ask for. A little later I learned that his plan had failed, and from that time until last week I have neither heard of, known or suspected any efforts on his part to send out an expedition. About the beginning of this year I heard that he had hoped, when he came over to this country, that an expedition might be sent out from the United States. I have not heard however of any other work than the above mentioned as actually done by him to accomplish that end, until he heard that an expedition had been organized in this city. Nor did I understand you to deny that the expedition he now proposes is in rivalry of the one that I represent.

You seemed to me, to imply, in our conversation this morning, that in undertaking such an enterprise, Philadelphia, or the University of Pennsylvania, has tried to render local what should be general. Permit me to recapitulate a few facts in order to show how the University came to assume responsibility for this enterprise. Since 1883 several individuals, nominally a committee of the Am. Or. Soc. and the Am. Inst. of Arch., but actually working as individuals have been endeavoring to arouse an interest in the matter of Assyrian-Babylonian explorations. One expedition was actually sent out in 1884-5 for which, as I stated to you this morning, I collected the funds. This expedition, the Wolfe Expedition, was placed under the charge of the Am. Inst. of Archaeology. After that all attempts seemed to fail. Personally I applied to the Smithsonian Institute through President Noah Porter, to the Metropolitan Museum through Gen. Cesuola [*sic, Cesnola*] and one or more of the Trustees to the Institute of Archaeology through Mr. F. J. DePeyster. I also wrote at various times, with reference to national or international plans for explorations to yourself, President White of Cornell, Secretary Bayard, Mr. A. S. Hewitt then in Congress, Mr. J. Randolph Tucker (then in Congress), and others. I also procured the appointment of committees of the Amer. Or. Soc. and the Am. Inst. of Archaeology for both national and international work. Informally and casually I communicated with various Assyriologists and Archaeologists, and learned of various attempts on their part, some merely personal, like that of Professor Haupt alluded to above and some more general. Up to the summer of 1887 every plan had failed. A Philadelphia banker, Mr. E. W. Clark,

then offered assistance which seemed to assure an expedition. I planned the expedition in August arranging part of the personnel and entering into negotiations in Constantinople. It was impossible for me to divulge my plans to any excepting those with whom I was actually dealing until I could learn from Constantinople whether there was a possibility of a firman, and until I could be sure of my money. In November the enterprise was in shape; and those who had given the money offered the expedition to the University on sufficiently onerous conditions. The University accepted the offer and has raised and is beginning to expend a large sum in connection with the reception of whatever may be brought back. This is the history of the local character of the enterprise, a history which redounds, I think, to the credit of both this city and the University of Pennsylvania.

So far from wishing to appropriate the Babylonian field, we are anxious to open it. But we think we have a right to expect that an expedition, suggested by our action, should not be organized in rivalry with our own. It has all along been our intention so soon as our firman is secured, to offer to every important American institution the most liberal facilities possible for conducting explorations under its cover.

After consultation with Dr. Pepper I am authorized to send you this formal assurance of our intentions in this matter.

[1888-02-22. Peters to Langley. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 22-29. HC]

4408 Chestnut str.

(Copy)

Phil<sup>a</sup> Feb. 22/88

Prof. Langley

Dear Sir.

I send you memorandum of a note [1888-02-18] addressed to Prof. Gilman to show that the Expedition from this city was the first organized Expedition, organized – without any intention or thought of rivalry with anyone, & that the plans proposed by Prof. Haupt are due to a knowledge of the organization of this Expedition; & that there was no intention on our part of attempting to take exclusive possession of the Babylonian field. My first proposition was to apply for a national firman, but by the advice of Dr. Ward of the Wolfe Expedition (the special object was to prepare the way for further Expeditions, gathering information, establishing communications, etc.) & on the basis of the best knowledge we could obtain, this was abandoned as impracticable, & the attempt was made to secure in the name of the Expedition in the field a firman large enough in time & space to permit all others to work under it also. We have been quietly working toward this end for some months. We knew of proposed cooperative work, after we were in the field, by Metropolitan Museum of New York & Harvard University, & had their interests, & the interests of others who might come in afterwards in view. I am quite confident that Prof. Haupt knew of our intention of inviting cooperation & procuring place for others. I do not suppose Pres. Gilman did know. Because of the need of working very quietly, & because of some unfortunate Newspaper publications I kept still about our ultimate plans, as did Dr. Ward, for fear that it might reach Turkish ears, or that a general movement might be undertaken prematurely. But privately & individually I communicated our general intentions. Had I known that anything was being planned from Johns Hopkins or the Smithsonian I should have at once gone to Pres. Gilman & to yourself & laid out our plans before you. I heard nothing of such proposed work on your part until a week ago last Friday. I at once went to Washington & called on you. I failed to find you at the Smithsonian, but the chief clerk, to whom I stated my business, referred me to Prof. Goode, stating that he had charge of the whole matter. I saw Prof. Goode, & understood from him that Prof. Haupt proposed to work for a firman through German channels, that there would be no interference with us. (I have since written to Prof. Goode on the subject). He apparently did not wish to go further into the matter, & as others were waiting to see him, I had to take my leave. I left Washington the next morning, regretting much my inability to find you. On the 18<sup>th</sup> I went to Baltimore, on account of information received two days before regarding Pres. Gilman's attitude. He seemed to think that Prof. Haupt & in him Johns Hopkins had been slighted. Certainly no such thing was intended. I

did not select Prof. Haupt to accompany me, it is true, because there were others whom I preferred to take. But I cannot see how that can be construed as a slight. The Professor of Assyrian in the University of Penna does not accompany me, but does home work. I shall have with me an Assyriologist from Yale University, & another from Haverford College. The Metropolitan Museum in New York, & the Professor of Assyrian at Harvard, & in general the Assyrian scholars throughout the country are in full sympathy with me. I enclose a personal note from Dr. Ward, the first student of Assyriology in this country, which may show the outside feeling. Another note rec'd to-day from the Metropolitan Museum in New York of the same general tone I have had to forward to Mr. Bayard, because it contained an answer to questions from him about a seal in his possession. I crossed out, or cut away the parts not relating to the seal.

Prof. Haupt is a fine scholar, & I have never wished to prevent him, from doing work of exploration. All that I ask is that this should not be so undertaken as to interfere with us. I would suggest that the Expedition proposed by him be postponed one year, which would give the latter time to organize etc., & I shall welcome it most gladly under our firman, if that firman, as I have every reason to suppose, afford proper facilities. Exact from us such assurances of good faith as shall satisfy you, & then give us your assistance in procuring the firman we are after.

[1888-02-22. Peters to Tucker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 18-21. HO]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

Feb. 22/88

My dear Mr. Tucker

Your note & also a note from the President enclosing one to Mr. Straus were duly received on Monday morning. I enclose a little correspondence to show you that I was not using you to fight Johns Hopkins. You will see by the dates that I was acting without knowledge of any intention on their part to antagonize us in the State Department, when I asked for your assistance with Mr. Cleveland. I have thought it due to you as well as to myself to send you this correspondence.

I will further add that I had a very slight acquaintance with Prof. Haupt & no quarrel. I did not ask him to go with me, because, although a fine scholar, he seems unable to get along peaceably with other scholars, & has a quarrel with almost every other Assyriologist in the world. This made him an undesirable person to associate with me in the conduct of an Expedition. When he learned that I had organized an Expedition & not asked him to go, he came & wrote to people in Philadelphia, discrediting the Expedition (He had previously written that I was the right person to conduct it), & endeavoring to prevent them from subscribing. I took no notice of these attacks, which, so far from conciliating, seems to have exasperated him the more. Everything else is contained in the correspondence. I am sorry & ashamed to have to set such a quarrel before you. I suppose it must repel & not excite interest. I should like to ask you to use any influence you can to induce Prof. Langley not to allow the Smithsonian to be used to further the attack on us; & also to induce the Department of State to issue official instructions to Mr. Straus to apply for a firman for us. But I can hardly venture to hope that you will feel inclined to take the matter up.

Thanking you for your kindness regarding the President

I am yours truly

John P. Peters

The letter to you referred to in Memorandum was in 1886 relative to appointment of Consuls in Orient.

[1888-02-23. Langley to Mitchell. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 19-24. TO]

February 23d, 1888.

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have some difficulty in forming a decision in the matter of the Philadelphia and Baltimore expeditions, and none the less so, after reading the letters from Dr. Pepper, which you kindly sent me.

I understand that an expedition was spoken of in Philadelphia, before the subject was independently taken up in Baltimore; I say "independently" at least as regards our co-operation with the Assyriologists of the Johns Hopkins University, which began nearly a year ago, and long before the idea of an expedition to Mesopotamia was suggested here. The co-operation began in the idea of forming a collection of casts of all the Babylonian seals in the United States, and for this purpose we have been borrowing both directly and through the Johns Hopkins people, all the seals of which we could ascertain the whereabouts, keeping a set of the casts in Washington, and sending duplicates to Baltimore. I think that the idea of casting these cylindrical seals grew out of the great success which our Professor Mason had attained in making flat casts of the carvings upon similar cylindrical objects obtained from the Indians of the northwest coast. The Johns Hopkins people were attracted by this, and the Assyriologists came over to see us, and suggested that much good might be done by applying the same method to the Babylonian seals. The accumulation of a considerable amount of material of this kind, and the fact that we have in the Museum many other oriental antiquities, led to the establishment of the Honorary Curatorship of Oriental Antiquities, to which Professor Haupt was appointed some weeks ago.

I mention these circumstances, to show that the connection with the Baltimore people was formed quite independently of the expedition scheme, and I ought to add that in their first mention of their own plan for an expedition, they referred also to the fact of the one from Philadelphia, and never seemed to have, in any way, a desire to keep that in the background.

The position of Curator of the Collection of Oriental Antiquities was vacant at the time of the proposal of this expedition, which was, however, not the cause of the appointment, but merely an incident of it. The necessity of having some capable person in charge of this subject was especially impressed upon us by the fact that we have had, framed and ready for display for nearly two years, a complete series of the photographs of the oriental antiquities in the British Museum, and have simply delayed putting them on exhibition, because we found that there was no one in our force who was competent to properly label and arrange them. The appointment was undoubtedly partly due to the fact that the Baltimore people drew near to us before we drew near to them, in the way I have stated, but, once made, you will easily see that it is final, in the sense that there cannot be two Curators of the same collection.

From the very inception of Dr. Gilman's presidency, there has been a general understanding that the Johns Hopkins University would form no museum of its own in Baltimore, but that its specialists would co-operate with ours in the development of the National Museum, and it is as a consequence of this long anterior understanding that the agreement has been made that the collections of this Baltimore expedition should be deposited with us.

I have stated all this, hoping to have it very plain that there has been no attempt, in our knowledge, on the part of the Baltimore people to get any undue advantage over the Philadelphians. On the contrary, so far as I know, they are very much disposed to co-operate with them in all preparations, though the proposed sites of exploration are, as I understand, widely separated.

I shall be very glad to do anything I can with the State Department for the Philadelphia expedition, which will not actually injure the prospects of the Baltimore one, and I wish your Philadelphia friends to recon on my help in anything where I can thus serve them. Perhaps I ought to say, however, that that help will be limited by the fact that all I have power to do is to recommend a course to the State Department; which in deciding for itself, will be governed by considerations which I cannot control, prominently among them doubtless, being the fact that a Firman is understood now to have become an extremely different matter to obtain, and one which it is even possible a direct appeal from the State Department would not secure; so that the Department is unlikely to lay itself open to a refusal by asking for two, where the permission for a single one is somewhat doubtful. I even hear it said that the procuring this Firman offers greater difficulties than the raising of means for the expedition. Under these circumstances, will it not be better for both expeditions to have a common understanding, at least to the extent that will permit them to apply in some single name for the Firman if only one be obtained? In what name it should be applied for, would be a matter about which I can, of course, offer no suggestion.

This, my dear Dr. Mitchell, is our whole position in the matter. I have written to you without any reserve, and I do not put any on your use of this letter, which I confide entirely to your discretion.

I am,

Most sincerely yours,

(Signed) S. P. Langley,

Secretary.

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell,

1524 Walnut Street,

Philadelphia, Pa.

[1888-02-23. Peters to Conrad. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 31. HO]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

Feb. 23<sup>d</sup>/88

My dear Mr. Conrad

It will interest you to know that through the kind assistance of Mr. Tucker the President wrote a very strong letter to Mr. Straus, & a very nice little note to me about the Babylonian Expedition. But I am sorry to say that there has been a hitch at the Department of State with regard to issuing official instructions to Mr. Straus to apply for a firman for our Expedition.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters

[1888-02-24. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 25-26. L-1023. HO]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

Feb. 24/88

My dear Mr. Clark

Since I saw you two weeks ago at Mr. Woods' I have not accomplished a thing in the matter of raising money. I went to Washington that night, arranged everything at the Department of State as I supposed, secured a letter from the President to myself, & another to Mr. Straus &c. In the meantime the Johns Hopkins people having apparently become jealous had undertaken under cover of the Smithsonian Institute to put an expedition in the field which should oust us. I had to go to Baltimore & see Pres. Gilman, (I send you a memorandum of a note to him [1888-02-18]), & I have had to draw up circulars, official applications &c., & write private notes all day each day until I was taken ill. I am not able to go out (it is only a severe bronchial cold) & am scarcely able to write.

It is necessary to have the signatures to \$15000 put down by March 1<sup>st</sup>, & subscribers notified of the same. I send you a list of the subscribers. Can you get their signatures? Would it not be well to have the \$500 on the second page, & the 250 & 100 on the last page?

If by any chance the amount should not be made up by Tuesday, I think I know where to obtain the balance. I hope to be out by that time, & will come to your office Tuesday morning. I would go out now, but I have not the strength at the moment to carry myself; not to speak of the risk.

The Haverford people wish to have their money counted separately I understand.

Enclosed note from Baldwin Locomotive people has astonished me, & disappointed me. It came through your Brother, who expresses equal surprise & disappointment.

Would not Mr. Gibson be willing to get a subscription from Widener & Elkins. Very truly yours John P. Peters.

[1888-02-25. Conrad to Tucker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 30. TO]

HOLMES CONRAD,  
ATTORNEY AT LAW.

Winchester, Virginia, Feb. 25. 88 188 .

Hon. J.R. Tucker  
Washington D.C.  
Dear Cousin Ran.

I enclose the deposition of Mr. Rant. with my cross questions thereto, for him to answer. He had better do so before a Notary, as his statement in chief is made before one.

I will endorse the statement of assets you handed me, as filed by consent, to have the effect of a deposition.

I hand you a note just received from my very learned brother in law, Dr. Jno P. Peters, who called to see you some time since to aid him in obtaining what he what he [*sic*] wanted in furtherance of his projected explorations in Babylonia. He had written me to invoke your aid in his behalf, but I was away from home, and did not receive his letter until after he had seen you. It seems that there is a hitch now about getting the FIRMAN from the State Department. You who now fill the position of Universal and Indiscriminate Benefactor of all sorts and conditions of men, are expected to obtain the FIRMAN-. I hope you know what it is, -- I dont, unless its a general safe guard of some kind.

I dont know my brother---never saw him---but am very proud of him. I am sensible of a sort of archeological distinction from being connected with a man, who knows when Sargon reigned and who speaks of the unhappy Sennacherib, as we talk of Gen'l Banks and his retreat.

He is a very bright and meritorious fellow, I have read several of his articles, and am now reading his translation from the Hebrew, of the Old Testament.

I hope cousin Bev. is better, give my love to him.

Yours ever

(signed) Holmes Conrad

[1888-02-27. Peters to Tucker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 12-17. HO]

4408 Chestnut St.

Feb. 27/88

My dear Mr. Tucker

Neither did I know that Johns Hopkins was in the field, nor do I now know it. I do not understand their position, nor what they want. The night I started for Washington, after I had left my own house on my way to the train, I heard that Johns Hopkins was working up a rival expedition through the Smithsonian. I went to the Smithsonian, & understood that it was entirely an affair of Johns Hopkins, & that we should not be antagonized. I did not think it was a nice thing to try to put a rival in the field when they knew we had organized an Expedition. But if they were going to work for their permission to dig through German channels, as I understood myself to be informed, I thought I had better say nothing further. A few days later I heard that such were not their intentions, & that there would be interference. I went to see Pres. Gilman, but could not learn whether they really proposed an Expedition or not. The impression left on my mind was that he wished to make me take Prof. Haupt on our Expedition. That I am unwilling to do. They have not organized an Expedition, nor have they, so far as I can learn, the money to do so. I have proposed that they should wait until we see whether or not we can get our firman; if we can, & they have the money for an Expedition, they also will be able to excavate under it; if it can not be secured, & we have to work without it under an agreement with the Museum at Constantinople, they are in precisely as good a position as we, excepting only that we shall have spent money, time & labor in finding this out, & they none.

I have letters from Mr. Straus at Constantinople[1888-02-06], & from the professors at Robert College, & at Aintab, received this morning, showing that this matter can not be worked through the Smithsonian, so well as through a distinctly private source.

Harvard, Yale, the Metropolitan Museum & the American Archaeological Institute, with full knowledge of our plans, & the fact that we were being opposed by the Johns Hopkins people have written to the Department of State to indorse our plans, & asked the Department to assist us.

I have no wish for contention, & supposed I was working in the interests of all, until two weeks ago & a little more, I learned that Johns Hopkins was moving. A week ago I learned that they had protested against assistance being rendered by the Department of State, because that might interfere with them. So far from interfering with them, if they really have an Expedition, it will help them, as we are working for terms good enough for all. It is on precisely this ground that Harvard, which is collecting funds for purposes of excavation, & Yale &c., which expect to do the

same [tasks](#), are helping us. I frankly asked Pres. Gilman's assistance in the same manner, & he took the [*ill.*] affaire.

I fear I am overburdening you with this matter, but I am very anxious to get things straightened out. A quarrel over the matter is of course suicidal.

Very truly yours

John P. Peters

[1888-03-12. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 27-30. L-1022. HO]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

March 12/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I saw Mr. Lea on Saturday night, but I could not succeed in seeing Dr. Pepper until this afternoon, hence my delay in writing. Mr. Lea will not serve on any committee, & after what he said as to his unwillingness to undertake anything which might involve work or responsibility, I scarcely ventured to ask directly for his house for the meeting. I hinted pretty distinctly, however; but he advised Dr. Pepper's house. Dr. Pepper is very willing to have the meeting at his house, but is engaged every evening this week except Wednesday. His first free evening is Tuesday of next week, & then I am unfortunately booked for a lecture at Chester. His next free evening is Friday of next week. The only other evening he could get next week is Wednesday, & that only by breaking an engagement. Would Friday of next week do? or do you think it too far away? or are you engaged?

Mr. Lea thought it undesirable under the circumstances to put Mr. Strawbridge on the Committee. He named Mr. Potts & either Mr. Harrison or Mr. Frazier. He thought it desirable that both you & your brother should act. He also thought that Dr. Pepper should be on the Committee, & that Prof. Hilprecht could be arranged for in a manner satisfactory to all parties by having the Executive Com. appoint him its Secretary. As to the matter of organizing something of the nature of a society, as proposed by Mr. Jeanes, he thought it might be a good idea, but must be managed with care. Dr. Pepper substantially said, Amen, to all that Mr. Lea said. His house stood to service, & if desired he would send out invitations, if not, not. He thought that as between Mr. Harrison & Mr. Frazier, Mr. Frazier had better be tried for, who is not a University trustee. He knew that Mr. Harrison would serve, but was not sure about Mr. Frazier, whom he thought I had better see. (I will do so unless I hear from you to the contrary.) Dr. Pepper thought Mr. Jeanes had better be put on the Committee, if he would serve, since he had a proposition in mind with reference to the work.

Summing up the views of both, it seemed to be the opinion that, while you were naturally chairman, inasmuch as you were already treasurer, it would be better that another person should be chairman. Dr. Pepper suggested that the Treasurer should be made by virtue of his office as Treasurer a member of the Committee, which should consist then of the Treasurer & five members. Should these suggestions be adopted, following the arrangement on the paper which I brought from your house, the Committee would stand:

Treasurer Mr. E.W. Clark

other members

Chairman Dr. W<sup>m</sup> Pepper

Mr. C.H. Clark, Mr. Jos. D. Potts, Mr. W.W. Frazier, Mr. [*blank*] Jeanes.

If this whole arrangement commends itself to you, I will see Mr. Frazier, & also find out which is the right Mr. Jeanes. If Mr. Jeanes will not serve, it would seem to me that no one else need be put in his place, but the five members of the Committee required by the paper be counted by including the ex officio member. Perhaps it would be well for me to find out about Mr. Jeanes beforehand.

I have written to Dr. Sharpless of Haverford to learn the precise position of his friends; & have told him that if they wish to organize with us, he should send me names, addresses & amounts at once. Otherwise they would form a separate organization dealing with our Ex. Com. from without. His answer should be here tomorrow; & I will then send you full list of subscribers.

If you would answer about date at once, I will inform Dr. Pepper. I also told Dr. Pepper that you would send out the call to the meeting.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters

[1888-03-14. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 31-32. L-1021. HO]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

March 14/88

Dear Mr. Clark

A note just received from Dr. Pepper to the effect that he has unexpectedly been freed from an engagement for Saturday evening of this week, so that his house stands at our disposal on that evening if desired.

I suppose that communication with Haverford is not yet open; so I send list without waiting longer for answer from Dr. Sharpless.

\$1000 each

Messrs.	E.W. Clark	
	Jos. D. Potts	234 S. 4 <sup>th</sup>
	C.H. Clark	
	W.W. Frazier	
	H.C. Lea	2000 Walnut
	H.C. Gibson	
	C.C. Harrison	
	W.E. Garret, Jr	Front
	Alex. Brown	19 & Walnut
	H.H. Houston	408 Walnut

\$500 each.

Messrs.	Stuart Wood	400 Chestnut
	S.W. Childs	
	S.A. Crozer	Upland, Del. Co.

W<sup>m</sup> Weightman                      9<sup>th</sup> & Parrish

W.G. Warden (?)                      305 Walnut

C.D. Reed

Samuel Jeanes                      1023 Arch

Joseph Jeanes                      "

Miss Anna T. Jeanes                      "

\$250 each

Mr. Jos. Wharton                      125 So. 4<sup>th</sup>

" J. Vaughan Merrick

" J. Lowber Welsh

Dr. Horace Jayne                      1826 Chestnut

Your Brother has told me that his old partner, Mr. Kimball, will subscribe \$100. I do not know whether you wish to include him in the call. If I have any more subscriptions between now & the time of meeting, I will notify you at once.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters.

[1888-03-15. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 33. L-1020. HO]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

March 15<sup>th</sup>/88

Dear Mr. Clark

Mr. J.C. Strawbridge, 701 Market St., & Mr. Wistar Morris, Overbrook, are to be added. The Haverford people do not feel able to raise \$5000, & these two subscribers come to us. If you wish to ask all who have promised, Mr. Geo. C. Thomas should be added.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters

[1888-03-22. *Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 34-36. L-1019. HO*]

4408 Chestnut St. Phila.

March 22/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I write to you to say that I think a letter from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Straus might be very useful, in case you have not already taken steps to secure one.

I ought perhaps to say in relation to my estimates the other evening, & your remark that some had subscribed with the belief that \$15000 would suffice for 2 years, that my original plans were very modest. But several gentlemen, among them Mr. Lea, thought that \$30000 should be raised, & the expedition strengthened. Pressure in the same direction came from other sources, & I came to suppose that it was the wish of the subscribers in general that the very humble plans I had originally entertained should be abandoned, & the scope of the expedition enlarged. You have been to such an extent an originator in this matter that it is due to you to make this statement. I should feel greatly distressed to think that I was not acting in a manner to meet with your entire approval.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters

[1888-04-05. Pepper to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 37. HO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET, Philadelphia

4/5/88

My Dear Dr. Peters

Will you kindly send list of names to Hilprecht & ask him to issue notices for the meeting of Ex. Comm. of B. Ex. Fund here next Monday April 9 at 8 o'clock.

Yours Respectfully,

Dr. Pepper,

OFFICE HOURS:           Chairman  
8 to 10 A.M.  
2½ to 4 P.M.

[1888-04-25. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 43. L-1018. HO]

[Stamped by E.W. Clark's office, dated May 14, 1888]

4108 Spruce St. Phila.

April 25/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I suppose your Brother gave you account of last meeting. We have written declining Haupt's company. I think there will be no further trouble.

I have to make deposits on passage money, would it be convenient to put a small sum to my credit at once for passage money?

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1888-04-28. Straus to Seligman. HSN 12. TC]

COPY.

UNITED STATES LEGATION

CONSTANTINOPLE

April 28/88

My dear Mr. Seligman

On my return to my post, after an absence of six weeks in making a tour of our principal consulates, I received your favor of the 24th ulto., enclosing a letter from Mr. C. H. Clark concerning Babylonian Exploration. I have had this matter under consideration for several months, and have fully advised the Rev. Dr. Peters of the Penn University, Dr. Ward the editor of the Independent and others. I have also fully reported, as to the Ottoman laws &c on the subject of excavation and exportation of antiquities, to the State Department. The President has also written me a personal letter in behalf of this matter at request of Dr. Peters and I am in constant communication with Pres. Washburn of Robert College and Dr. Long about the same subject. When Mr. Clark calls on Dr. Peters he will learn the full status which I therefore need not detail here.

I have recently brought the matter before the Grand Vizier whose relations with me are of such a close and personal nature that I feel confident if it is possible to get the concessions he will secure them for me. France, England and Germany are after like concessions and have failed in obtaining them, yet I have some hopes in getting a broader privilege than is permitted under the law passed some 7 years since and which is strictly adhered to. I am personally deeply interested in this matter and you can say to Mr. Clark that it will afford me great pleasure to carry this matter through, both for its own objects, and to oblige a number of my most esteemed friends who have written me upon the subject. It requires time and patience; but you can rest assured I will do my utmost.

Your nephew Mr. D.A. Seligman, also Mr. George W. Childs Drexel and Mr. Morrell the latter two from Phila dined with us last evening. We are all very well and desire to be remembered to Mrs. Seligman and yourself.

I am, sincerely yours,

(signed) O. S. Straus

Kindest regards to Mr. James and the entire family.

[1888-05-01. Rives to Peters. HSN 3445. HO]

Department of State,  
Washington, May 1, 1888.

Rev. John P. Peters,  
4408 Chestnut St.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Sir:

Dr. Francis Wharton, the Solicitor of this Department, has handed me your letter to him of the 28th April in regard to the question of appointing a commercial or consular agent at Baghdad.

By Article II of our treaty of 1830 with Turkey it is provided that "the United States may appoint their citizens to be consuls or vice consuls at the commercial places in the dominions of the Sublime Porte where it may be found needful to superintend the affairs of commerce." If a suitable person can be found at Baghdad who would be willing to act as consul of the United States without a salary, there will be no need of any Congressional action. The President may appoint a consul or commercial agent (for the two are the same thing except in name) at any place he desires; but if a salary is sought it is a matter for appropriation, which must be made by Congress. The President may also appoint a consular agent at any point, but such an agent is always subordinate to some principal consul; and as Baghdad is remote from either Sivas or Jerusalem, I suggested to Mr. Cadwalader, in conversation, that it would be better not to create a consular agency. The whole question, however, depends, as I stated to Mr. Cadwalader, on whether a reasonable showing can be made in regard to the commercial business at Baghdad, and I requested that the Department might be furnished, if possible, with some information showing what trade existed between those parts and the United States. It will better to furnish such information to this Department rather than to a committee of Congress. If it is essential to the appointment of a representative that a salary be provided the facts can be laid by the Department before Congress with such recommendation as it may at the time see fit to make.

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

G. L. Rives.

Assistant Secretary.

[1888-05-06. Belmont to Peters. HSN 3449. HO]

109 Fifth Avenue.

May 6<sup>th</sup> 1888

My dear Sir

It has given me great pleasure to bring to the attention of the State Department the proposed establishment of a Consulate of Bagdad, with the view of ascertaining whether there is a way in which the wishes of the University of Penn<sup>a</sup> can be met. I will write you again upon the subject.

Very truly yours

Perry Belmont

A.K. McClure Esqr

[1888-05-09. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 44. L-1017. HO]

4108 Spruce St.

May 9/88

My dear Clark

I have been waiting to reply to yours of 5<sup>th</sup> inst. until I had something to communicate. A letter from State Department [1888-05-01], & one or two from other sources seem to show a favorable disposition, & that with a little effort we may get the Consulship established at Baghdad, which will be of the greatest use to us.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters

[1888-05-19. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 47. L-1211. HO]

May 19/88

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Sir

Owing to the inability of several members to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee called for next Wednesday evening, it has seemed advisable to postpone it until Thursday evening May 24<sup>th</sup> at 8 o'clock. Trusting that this will suit your convenience.

Yours sincerely

W. Pepper

Chairman

E.W. Clark

May 19/88

[1888-05-31. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 51-52. L-1015. HO]

Divinity School

50<sup>th</sup> St. & Woodland Ave.

May 31/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I received your note with enclosure from Mr. [Hosmer](#), &, acting on your suggestion, got at Col. M<sup>c</sup>Clure at once. He undertook to do what was wished.

If I could find you at your house some evening after Wednesday of next week I should like very much to be able to go over final arrangements with you, & more especially to have the matter of accounts &c. arranged, as I am expecting to leave the city the week after.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters.

[1888-06?-00. Pepper to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 74-75. L-8. HO]

[Hilprecht wrote:] ? Sept. 1888

OFFICE HOURS: { 8 to 10 A. M.  
2.30 to 4 P. M.

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Dr. Peters

The Library Fund is still [brewing](#).

Here is a proposed letter to Sharpless, please return :

My dear Dr. S.

Pray pardon delay in my reply. The Library Com. of Trustees of U. of P. have considered carefully the subject submitted in your favor of 9<sup>th</sup> inst. I may be permitted to allude to the evident cordial desire to acquiesce in any possible way with the wishes of Haverford College. The Com. is prepared to recommend to the Bd of Trustees that your Professor Rogers be appointed on the Expedition :

that he should have such opportunities for obtaining specimens & making a collection as are defined in your favor of 9<sup>th</sup> inst :

and that Haverford should have special privileges in relation to the collection which should be brought back.

---

It seems desirable that there should be some informal interchange of views and then a reduction to writing of their agreement – and I would propose that you and Prof. Rogers should meet at Mr. Clark's office [7.3 h](#) Dr. Peters, Mrs. Strawbridge & myself.

I would suggest some day next week – say Wednesday or Thursday morn at 12 or 12<sup>30</sup> o'clock.

Y—t—  
W.P.

Please criticize & return.

Is it best to have such a meeting – may it not be best to simply write such a note as above – except last paragraph, and to send it –

I send his note for yr comparison. We would keep this as a commentary on our texts –

W.P.

Please return this note

Hoping you will be able to secure the am't needed to take advantage of above arrangements

I remain yours truly

W.P.

[1888-06-13. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 53. L-1259. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

E.W. Clark Esq

Treasurer Babylonian Exp. Fund

Dear Sir

I write to state my willingness to subscribe one thousand dollars (\$1000) to the Babylonian Exploration Fund – with the understanding that this amount is to go towards Dr. Hilprecht's expenses, and is to be & appropriated in addition to the appropriation already made for the expenses during the coming year.

Yours very truly

June 13/88

Wm. Pepper

[1888-06-18. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 54. L-1209. HO]

June 18/88

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr. Clark

The arrangements you have made about the expenses of the Expedition seem to me excellent, & meet my cordial approval.

I was glad to see that the first step in that vexatious law suit has ended favorably. I hope it will not be long before it is settled finally in your favor.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W. Clark, Esq.

June 18  
88

[1888-06-19. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 55-56. L-1014. HO]

101<sup>st</sup> St. & W. Boulevard

New York City

June 19/88

Dear Mr. Clark

I drew on you today for \$300., which was invested in English money. My brother attended to the matter, & I drew the cheque to the order of his firm, W<sup>m</sup> R. Peters, & Co. I obtained Mrs. Peters letter of credit from Brown Bros. today correctly.

Dr. Pepper has doubtless written you regarding the \$1000 which he contributes for Dr. Hilprecht's expenses. It was voted at the last meeting that Dr. Hilprecht should go, but no provision was made for the added expense, it being understood that this provision should be made.

I would suggest that Dr. Hilprecht receive \$100 in cash now; \$400 at the beginning of August before the date of his sailing; & that the remainder be covered into the fund to pay his share of current expenses, & his return.

This was the plan which we discussed together, & if it meet your approval I will write him a note before I sail, & he will come to you with the same.

I will write you again before sailing.

I hope your son Herbert is mending rapidly.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1888-06-26. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.04, 59. L-1208. HO]

[Clark:] June 26/88

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I enclose note from Hilprecht. I think one or two points he raises should be settled. Shall you & Mr. C.H. Clark be in town next week? I write this from the Adirondack. I shall be in town on Sunday – and if you will kindly send a line to my house letting me know that you will be in town on Monday 7/2 Tuesday 7/3 and Thursday 7/5 I will call at your office on any one of those days and we can decide then.

Yours very truly

Wm. Pepper

June 26

88

E.W. Clark, Esq.

[1888-07-10. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 6-8. HO]

London % Brown, Shipley & Co.

July 10<sup>th</sup>/88

My dear Mr. Clark

Dr. Jayne subscribed \$250. Dr. Sharpless' note to me saying that Wistar Morris would give \$1000 in any case proved to be an erroneous statement. His gift was dependent on the participation of Haverford Coll. for which participation Dr. Sharpless could not secure the requisite funds. At Dr. Sharpless' suggestion I then applied directly to Mr. Morris, but he did not even answer me. Thinking there was some mistake, again at Dr. Sharpless' suggestion, I wrote a second time with the same result.

The \$185. to Daniel J. Noorian is for Guide & Interpreter. Noorian was with the Wolfe Expedition, & was by them esteemed invaluable. He is now in the United States, where he has been studying at Rutgers' Academy for three years. My arrangement with him is for \$50. a month until we commence digging, when he is to take charge of the workmen, & receive a higher salary in proportion to the increase of responsibility. The amount of increase &c. was left to me.

On arriving here I found a letter awaiting me from Prof. van Millingen in Constantinople detailing the views of Minister Straus & the condition of the negotiations. Mr. Straus is most sanguine. However, the matter is not settled yet. Mr. Straus is at the present writing at Carlsbad, but will arrive here before I leave. I am in daily consultation at present with various scholars & travelers. Yesterday I spent with Mr. Wilfrid & Lady Anne Blunt the Arabice<sup>n</sup> travelers & enthusiasts at Crabbet Park in Sussex. I am now about to start for the Geographical Society by appointment with the Secretary. Friday I am to be in Oxford to see the Assyrian scholars & explorers there. That is my work at present. I have obtained much information & many valuable hints so far, but London is a tremendous place, & the amount of time it takes to do anything is enormous.

I will write to your son as you directed. And in regard to the \$300 I will give the items to which it should be credited as soon as that can be done.

I am sorry we shall not meet you on this side.

Hoping that your son Herbert may be restored to full health shortly, & begging to be remembered to Mrs. Clark.

I am

Very sincerely yours

John P. Peters.

Jayne wrote to me that he would give \$250. I did not give the letter to you, because I misunderstood you to say that he had paid cash; & it is now filed with my papers at home.

[1888-07-13. Pepper to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 12-15. L-1206. HO]

ADIRONDACK MOUNTAIN RESERVE,  
KEENE VALLEY, ESSEX CO.,  
— NEW YORK.  
TELEGRAPH ADDRESS,  
BEEDE HOUSE, KEENE VALLEY, ESSEX CO.

July 13/88

My dear Mr. Clark,

I certainly approve of giving the additional amount to Dr. Hilprecht. I am sure he will expend it economically and carefully. It seems to me possibly as well to omit discussion of the questions raised in Dr. H.'s former note until the fall when we can meet readily. The expedition will not get under way until October. It is altogether improbable that Dr. Peters will be invalided. We shall at any rate have time enough to consider the questions and to forward our opinion. We should also have by Sept. 15<sup>th</sup> some further information from Dr. Peters on which to act.

I notice with pleasure that you will go abroad on 21<sup>st</sup>. I trust it is not for a long absence. We shall need you next season as advisor on many questions. I am especially sorry I failed to see you – but I was dragged about from Dan to Beersheba all the week and could do nothing I desired. I have requested my secretary to bring you a copy of the photogravure of the Library. We have contracted for \$165,000 for erection. We need \$200,000 additional for income for current expenses in maintaining it as a Free Library. We have \$100,000 subscribed, but a good portion is payable only in instalments in 3 and 4 years. Mr. C.H. Clark's full subscription is not binding until total reaches \$250,000.

We have made splendid provision of space for the Babylonian Collections & for the special library we are forming in connection with it.

I have increased my own subscription to \$15,000, giving with it my entire medical library. It has been arranged as you may remember that any one giving \$10,000 or over may designate an alcove to be reserved in a particular name or for a particular collection. You were good enough to say you would subscribe as the work advanced. I wish most earnestly you would now do so, and making your subscription payable as seems best to yourself would indicate your desire to have an alcove devoted to Semitic literature. This is one of the great movements of the day. Your liberal and far-seeing interest has enabled us in Philadelphia to seize upon it and to lead all others in it. It requires only a continuance of this broad policy to attain great distinction for our city, our University and ourselves as patrons of this great new movement.

Of course we shall need much money during the next year to pay for the building – but I am sure that hard work will enable us to get it in hand. And it is most desirable that those who have encouraged these large measures from their inception shall have themselves identified with them in exact accordance with their own views and wishes.

The last year has been the most encouraging one Philadelphia has known in a long time. I feel that we have the key of the situation in our hands – and need only cooperation and liberal policy to secure great results in the near future in all our large interests.

A note will reach me to the address at head of first page.

If you desire one of the subscription books, a messenger can get it from Mr. Millivard 1811 Spruce St. any morning.

Yours very truly

Wm. Pepper

July 13, 88

The storm has delayed the mails – hence delay in my reply.

[1888-07-24. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 25-27. L-1205. HO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Personal

My dear Mr. Clark,

In answer to your favor of 17<sup>th</sup>, I hasten to say:

That I understand that the money matters about Dr. Hilprecht will be easily adjusted. His presence with the Expedition is highly important. He is readily the very highest authority in all assyriological questions in America – with the possible exception of Prof. Haupt – his presence will give added weight to our work in the esteem of European authorities. His expenses will be somewhere over \$1000 – probably \$1250 or \$1300; but I am sure we shall feel entirely ready to advance the small sum in addition to the amount I subscribe, out of the General Fund –

2. I am sure he had no thought that he or any other one member of the Expedition should decide questions – certainly not such grave questions as that of locality of excavation – upon which the entire result of the expedition must depend. It seems to me essential that consultation should be had with all accessible authorities; that after it is decided within what limits the Sultan or Hamdi Bey will allow excavation, our staff should discuss, most carefully, this question & arrive at a decision after this full deliberation.

It is Dr. Hilprecht's meaning I think that he should have a full opportunity to express his opinion & urge the reasons therefor in such a consultation. If you see Dr. Peters, will not you urge on him the greatest deliberation in this respect, & the importance of full consultation, in a regular staff meeting, in regard to location of excavation. It would be disastrous if by selection of a sterile spot, which was not approved unanimously, an opportunity were given for subsequent misunderstandings. Doubtless Dr. Peters' practical tact will suggest this to him; but prey urge on him the view that he should regard his position as Director as entitling him only to give the casting vote in a staff discussion with Hilprecht & Harper. There should be no difficulty in his securing unanimity in regard to every step – so that all will be satisfied no matter what the result –

3. The third request is reasonable – and indeed, in view of the relation of the Expedition to the University, it seems essential that, in the event of Dr. Peters being incapacitated[*sic*] in any way, Dr. Hilprecht should be recognized as next in command. I have much confidence in Dr. P.'s endurance & health – more than I have in Dr. H's; I feel great hope that, with proper care, there will be no serious sickness on the Expedition; but it is well to provide against all contingencies; and I think it would be wise, if you meet Dr. Peters or can communicate with him to have the above

understanding. Of course in event of such an unfortunate occurrence, the man who temporarily took Dr. P's authority would have his power limited as I first indicated – so that no change in the plan of campaign already decided upon, could be made.

With thanks for your kind expression about the Library, and with best wishes for your pleasure & benefit from your foreign trip

Yours very truly

Wm. Pepper

July 24

1888

E.W. Clark, Esq.

[1888-07-26. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 1-5. HO]

Paris Hotel Louis le Grand

2 Rue Louis le Grand

July 26/88

Dear Mr. Clark

I expect to return to London Aug. 1<sup>st</sup> to spend two or three days; then go to Berlin. I shall be the guest of a clerical friend during my stay in London, at St. Mary's Clergy House, Charing Cross Road, Soho. Shall you be there at that time?

I have taken the risk of purchasing a collection of Babylonian antiquities. Sayce & Pinches have seen the collection, & they, who are the best judges of such matters, pronounced it a very valuable collection, & very cheap. For us it has even greater value, however, than it has for them; for it is singularly adapted to be a foundation collection. It has several good sized & attractive looking objects, moreover it has several objects which are unique, & hence peculiarly valuable, & several more which are the best of their kind in existence. Furthermore it covers a wide range both in time, & contents. I had to act promptly, or else I should have lost the opportunity to secure the very gems of the collection. The price of which I was able to secure the collection (£350 a reduction from £800) was very low, owing to circumstances which it would take too long to explain, so that with the best luck we should scarcely have dug them up & carried them away so cheaply ourselves. Of course I have taken these at my own risk, & if the Executive Com. when I officially report the matter signify dissatisfaction with such an expenditure, I will see to it that the sum expended is refunded. My idea is to send the Collection back ready for immediate exhibition, & with a full report of contents, in the belief that such exhibition would at once secure a sum at least equal to the sum expended. In fact I am at this moment pressing Dr. Pepper to secure that sum forthwith. Dr. Harper is at work cataloguing, describing & mounting the Collection. He is to be found at No. 1 Bedford Pl. I hope you will go and look at it. Drop Harper a card saying when you are coming, that he may surely be on hand.

Three or four other collections have been offered to me, but none of them possessed the value of this collection, & none was so cheap.

No further news from Constantinople, but Straus is now confident.

Hoping to see you in London.

I am

Very truly yours

John P. Peters

My regards to Mrs. Clark & your son Herbert.

[1888-08-01. Pepper to Brown Goode. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 28-31. L-2. TC]

Keene Valley, Essex Co.,

New York.

Prof. G. Brown Goode,

Dear Sir:

I hesitate about writing to you. I really have been so much annoyed in regard to the Babylonian Exploring Expedition that I almost regret having assumed the chairmanship of the Committee. Mr. Strauss writes from Constantinople that the prospects are encouraging provided no fresh questions are opened, and no antagonisms manifested. He urges that Prof. Haupt should not go to Constantinople. I replied I had nothing whatever to say or to do which could influence Prof. Haupt's movements; but that I was assured of the kindly feeling of the Smithsonian and of the National Museum, knowing as I do that any success to our application will ensure the feasibility of a National expedition as soon as you desire to send it out.

Now Dr. Peters writes me from the British Museum that Prof. Haupt is there in London, making the strongest representations against us, in asserting that he has a letter from the German government to him, as the representative of the Smithsonian and of the National Museum, instructing the German Minister at Constantinople to assist him in the arrangements for an expedition to go out shortly under control of this Institution, and asserting that he is going at once to Constantinople to promote the interests of this second expedition. He exhibits his appointment as Curator as the official evidence of his appointment for the above purpose.

Dr. Peters states that the British Museum officials --- who have shown marked interest in an expedition --- report direct to him --- and assert that the papers he holds are being used for the above purpose. (Unless indeed it is the case --- which I shall doubt until officially informed to that effect --- that he has other and more recent instructions in the direction he claims).

I have heard while writing you this, from the authorities of Robert's College to the same effect -- that there is good reason to hope America can secure all we want if no interference and antagonism appear, in which case there is serious danger that all will be refused, everything.

Now you see how great is my embarrassment. I should write to Prof. Langley if he were here. I do not know that either he or you can, or would (on this evidence alone) feel disposed to take any cognizance of the reputed action or words of Prof. Haupt. But, on the other hand, I feel it would be wrong in me to fail in bringing to the notice of Prof. Langley what is reported to me, since there will be grievous regrets if all our efforts should miscarry through any misrepresentations or causeless antagonisms in Constantinople.

I cannot wonder at Prof. Haupt's irritation and disappointment, but I know that in a short time he will see it has been to his interest, as well as to the interest of all the Institutions with which he is connected, that all efforts should be concentrated upon securing the one prime essential --- the firman.

Yours faithfully

(Signed) Wm. Pepper.

August 1, 1888.

[1888-08-05. Peters to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 32-35. L-1238. HC]

Copy of letter to Dr. Pepper dated

London Aug. 5/88

Address % Robert Thode & Co

Dresden

Dear Dr. Pepper

Your cable received here last night. My second letter to you will have explained the present position. Harper has been diligently at work on the collection with the friendly aid of Pinches & on my return from Paris after a weeks absence I was delighted with its appearance. I have consulted Mr. E.W. Clark who approves by letter of the course pursued by me. Mr. Stuart Wood has seen the collection, & I have also gone over the matter with him & he approves of what I have done & plan to do. I think Hilprecht entirely right in suspecting historical value of the Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions. And although one cylinder is the largest & finest Nebuchadnezzar cylinder yet found, I should not have gone to any considerable expense in purchasing it. It is part however of the collection as a whole and for purposes of exhibition one of the most effective objects possible. But I will give you a full account of the objects in my report and not linger longer now; only adding that the best Assyriologists here think we have secured a very valuable collection at an extremely low figure.

There are now offered me at very low figures two more valuable collections & the Assyriologists here strongly advise me to secure them. One consists of 132 or 138 pieces, mostly tablets, all in an excellent state of preservation. Privately but not publicly I can tell you that Mr. Pinches, the well-known curator in the British Museum, the best living authority on points of price & desirability of purchase, recommends me to buy this (Cutter) collection. He has thoroughly examined it as the agent of the British Museum, having had it in his hands for some time, & recommended to the Trustees the purchase of the same for the sum of £276, which he regarded as the lowest price at which he could estimate it. The Museum is however very much cramped for funds & unable to purchase for some time to come. Cutler is unable & unable [*sic*] to wait & has offered me the collection. Pinches, as the Museum cannot take it, has felt at liberty to give me the benefit of his knowledge. I can secure it, I am sure, at the sum of £250.

A second collection, much larger is [*in*] the hands of Shemtob, from whom I bought the former collection. For certain reasons, which I may explain at another time, he is inclined to let us have his goods at unusually low rates. This collection belongs to a certain Khebaza of Baghdad. He has communicated with [*him*] by cable, directed by ourselves & his price which was about £500,

reduced to £225. This collection consists of about 300 catalogued objects and as many more smaller fragments. It is a very good collection perhaps better than the [Cutter](#) collection, mentioned above. We are strongly advised to secure this collection also. It would be possible to secure both of them on three months credit. Without committing myself, I shall take the refusal of both these collections for one month until I have had time to receive instructions. I do not deem it at all wise to purchase these collections out of our present funds, thinking that we have done enough in that line for the present. On the other hand if it is intended to establish a real Museum of Assyrian-Babylonian antiquities in Philadelphia for purposes of serious study, it would be good policy to purchase them. If however you have no such instruction in your mind, or do not see the way to obtain the funds for the purchase within the time named, I think it would be an excellent plan to send at once a confidential note to the authorities of the other institutions (say Prof. Langley, Presidents Gilman, Eliot Dwight & Sharpless, Gen. L.R. di Cesnola, Prof. Allan Marquand) informing them of the facts & offering to be their agents to secure them these collections & also other collections later as occasion may present itself, if they will state what they will expend, & what they wish. This will be an excellent guarantee of good faith toward them. (I have consulted in this work Stuart Wood, whose advice is the same).

There are a number of objects offered us, including a very valuable Babylonian inscribed bronze statuette of about 2300 B.C. & about 18 heads & busts from Palmyria mostly in bas-relief & mostly inscribed in Greek or Palmyrene, which some ingenious Arabs have smuggled thro' the Turkish Custom house. I have not yet obtained their lowest prices. These should all be secured for America and if any museum wishes I will obtain lowest terms and cable. I leave for Berlin to-night but am in close relations with London & Paris. Haynes has been found. Please communicate with Mr. Cadwallader about the Haynes confirmation by Senate. There is a hitch.

Yours sincerely

J.P. Peters

Per. J. D. Prince

[1888-08-06. Thompson to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 36-37. L-6. HO]

6 August 1888.

Dear Sir,

I laid your letter of the 16th July before the Trustees of the British Museum at their meeting on Saturday last.

While thanking you for your friendly communication, I regret that the Trustees are not yet in a position to inform you whether excavations will be undertaken by them in Babylonia during the present season. But should they do so, their agents will certainly communicate with you. While the matter is yet undecided, it would be premature to fix upon sites which the Trustees are likely to work; but I think that they would give the preference to Kouyunjik or Abû Habba or even both of these places.

I am, dear Sir,

yours faithfully

Edvard Thompson

Principal Librarian

Rev. John P. Peters

[1888-08-07. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 39. L-1203. HO]

The Malvern

Mt. Desert me

Messrs. E.W. Clark & Co.

Dear Sir

I have learned today of the purchase by Dr. Peters in London for £350 of a collection for the University.

I have wired him to draw on your house for that amount as required; and I now write you to authorize to charge to my account whatever sum not exceeding £350 or £400, Rev. John P. Peters may draw for:

And I will pay you with interest on my return to Phila. on Sept. 4<sup>th</sup>.

Please advise me of receipt of this & later of arrival of any draft. I have written Mr. C.H. Clark at Isles of Shoals to this effect also

Yours truly

Wm. Pepper

Aug. 7

Please send letters to  
1811 Spruce St.  
marked forward.

[1888-08-11. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 40-42. HO]

Christianstr. 6, Dresden

Aug. 11/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I sent you last Sunday just as I was leaving London the copy of a letter [1888-08-05] sent the same day to Dr. Pepper. I got Mr. Prince to copy it, & did not have the time to add a single word to explain what it meant, for there was only just time to have it copied. Indeed I had to stay home from church in order to write the original. I imagine however that it explained itself; & I thought you would be interested to read it just as it stood.

Matters are not altogether satisfactory. The Grand Vizier has promised us the concession, but his promise is not yet an actuality, & there may be tedious delays. In London, Paris & Berlin everyone has been inclined to be very helpful, but more especially at Berlin, where I obtained much valuable information. I established friendly relations with the Museum authorities in all three cities, & believe that I can depend on their sympathy, & as far as possible cooperation in our enterprise.

As to money, it will be desirable for me to have another letter of £1000 when I leave Constantinople. At the same time I will send in an itemized account of expenditures up to date. My movements are as follows. I expect to stay here working until September 1<sup>st</sup>, unless my presence is needed earlier at Constantinople. Sept. 1 – 14 on the way & in Constantinople. Sept. 19<sup>th</sup> in Alexandretta, to start from Aleppo as soon thereafter as practicable.

I am very glad to hear your son Herbert is making such progress. Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Clark & to him. Hoping to see you before I leave I am faithfully yours John P. Peters.

[1888-08-12. *Stuart Wood to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 43-44. L-1244. HO*]

Leeds

8. 12. 88

My dear Mr. Clark

I was sorry to miss your call yesterday & not to return it, as your card only reached me as I was leaving for this place.

Mr. Harper told me that you had seen the collection that Dr. Peters had purchased & one or two others. There is so much chance about the results of the expedition that it seems to me well to have made this purchase, assuming of course that the price is fair, & I suppose it is. The state of our funds may be a serious or even absolute objection to further purchases if we are to dig – You know best how this is – but should we not get a satisfactory firman & be unable to dig, an option on these objects might serve to save the credit of the expedition by giving us tangible results.

I give this as my impression off hand of the situation, but so far as my small share in the enterprise goes I shall be satisfied with whatever action you suggest to Peters in this matter.

Yours truly

Stuart Wood

I may go out to Armenia next month in which case it is possible that I shall meet the expedition in Northern Mesopotamia & run down with them to Bagdad

(address c/o J.S. Morgan & Co)

[1888-08-14. Harper to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 45-46. L-1242. HO]

1, Bedford Place,

Russel Sq., W.C.

11:30 A.M. Aug. 14<sup>th</sup>

Dear Mr. Clarke:—

Shemtob came around at 9:30 this morning and accepted your offer. In accordance with your instructions, I purchased the collection for £200. I went with him, saw it packed up, and had it brought to my room.

I will call this evening with Mr. Shemtob at 8:00 or 8:15 to close the purchase.

I expect to be in my room the whole day. If you are near me any time during the day, it might be well for you to drop in.

In looking up the matter more closely, I find that it will take more to get it to Phila. in good order than I had counted on.

Very truly yours

R. F. Harper.

[1888-08-17. G. Brown Goode to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 47-53. L-3. TO]

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Enclosures.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM

S.P. LANGLEY, Secretary

G. BROWN GOODE, Assistant Secretary

In charge of U.S. National Museum

*Washington, August 17, 1888.*

Dr. William Pepper

Chairman of the Babylonian Exploration Fund

Keene Valley, Essex Co. N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of August 1, did not reach me until August 12, when it was referred to me by Professor Langley to whom it had been enclosed, and who placed it in my hands as he was leaving for another absence of some weeks, requesting me to take such action as seemed proper.

I am very much at a loss to know what to say to you beyond the assurance that the Smithsonian Institution has not departed from the policy which was agreed upon between yourself and Professor Langley some months ago. I cannot believe that Dr. Haupt is undertaking to represent the views of the Smithsonian Institution in the manner supposed by Dr. Peters. Over the movements of Professor Haupt as a private individual, or as a professor in the University at Baltimore we have no possible control, and I need scarcely say that no letters from the Smithsonian Institution are necessary to ensure to so eminent an Orientalist as Professor Haupt a cordial reception from the Museums and other public institutions of Europe.

Professor Haupt has received only two letters of instruction from this Institution, copies of which are herewith enclosed: one announcing his appointment as Curator of the Section of Oriental Antiquities, and the other (in response to one of his own) stating that the Institution will be glad at any time to forward by any means in its power explorations in the East, which will tend to the development of the National Collections [1888-02-15]. I think you have already seen these letters and also the letter from Professor Langley to Dr. Mitchell [1888-02-23], describing the origin of the connection between our Museum and the Baltimore specialists. I, however, at a venture, send you a copy of this letter as well.

I have no doubt that Professor Haupt has copies of his letters from Professor Langley with him in Europe, and that he has shown them to the Museum authorities, since he has a special commission from the Museum while in Europe to negotiate for the exchange of series of casts of oriental objects, and also to make inquiries which would tend as far as maybe practicable towards the development of our collection. It is but natural under the circumstances that he should have shown these letters, and the fact that he has shown them has doubtless led Dr. Peters to suppose that he has used them for the purpose of opposing the Philadelphia expedition. I do not believe that Professor Haupt has done this, because he understands, as do all the officers in the Museum, that no one but the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution can speak with reference to its plans and policy.

I can conceive it quite possible that Professor Haupt, entertaining the views which he has not hesitated to express publicly in regard to certain features in the plans of the Philadelphia expedition, should in conversation with his fellow-specialists express himself forcibly, but, as I said before, with Professor Haupt's private views, which we neither share nor endorse, we have nothing to do, nor can we prevent him from saying what he chooses.

I do not believe that Professor Haupt intends to go to Constantinople, since his assistant in Baltimore, Dr. Adler, with whom he is in constant correspondence concerning his work, informs me that he has said nothing in regard to such a plan. As to this, however, I cannot speak definitely. I have written to Professor Haupt, enclosing to him a copy of your letter and also a copy of this letter to yourself, and I feel sure that if through any misunderstanding he has been using the name of the Institution in connection with the proposed expedition, he will cease to do so. He knows that I have informed you that it was Professor Langley's understanding, as well as my own, that until the Philadelphia expedition had made its final efforts, all efforts on the part of this Institution were to cease, especially anything which was opposed to the interest of the Philadelphia enterprise.

I think I ought to add that all the information which we have received from the East indicates that the obtaining of the firman, with permission to export antiquities, has been from the beginning a most improbable concession --- a concession most unlikely to be made --- and under the circumstances it would be unfortunate if any failure in this direction should be imputed to the opposition of any individual, since, at the best, the obtaining of it was but a remote possibility --- especially if that individual has done nothing but express his opinions in the presence of Museum officials in Berlin or London. It seems to me incredible that without the request of the Smithsonian Institution --- or even with it for that matter --- the German government should have issued instructions to any one as the representative of the Institution; and if such letter had been issued it is very strange that we should not have had information of it from the American Minister at Berlin.

I regret exceedingly that you and your associates should have felt that you had any possible cause of complaint against the Smithsonian Institution in this matter, for we have endeavored in every way in our power to be fair and unpartisan.

I am, Sir,

Yours very respectfully

G. Brown Goode

Acting Secretary.

[1888-08-19. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 54-56. HO]

Christianstr. 6 Dresden

Aug. 19/88

Dear Mr. Clark

Yours of 12<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> to hand. I am delighted to hear of the purchase. I have written to Dr. Pepper, from whom I received today a hieroglyphic which, if I can make out what is written in it, or rather so far as I can do so, is non-committal & enigmatic. But at the time he had not received the letter of which I sent you a copy.

I was unable to see [Cutter](#)'s collection, & my advice regarding it was based on Pinches' statements. He valued it very highly, & was urgent to have it bought. From what you write I imagine we have better had it alone.

Harper has wished to put in *Hebraica* & in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* brief notices of the scientific value of collections bought for the information of scholars. I have told him to do so, but not to speak of them as acquired by the Expedition, but as destined for the University Museum, & purchased by liberal minded citizens of Philadelphia. From what you said in your last I thought that any mention of your name in connection with the purchase at present might prove embarrassing to you.

He was preparing a report on the first collection, & I have asked him, so far as possible, to do the same with the second also. My idea has been to report to the Committee the action taken by me in regard to the first collection, & the reasons for the same, & to forward Harper's report along with such additional comments as I might be able to make. It seems to me that I might make a sort of a report of the value of the Khebaza collection, & the desirability of its acquisition, & state what you had done in the matter. While it is desirable to have both, it is not desirable to take the funds of either out of the present funds appropriated for the Expedition; at least not for the present, until we have tried our hand at digging.

I am sorry to say that the Grand Vizier has not yet fulfilled his promise to Mr. Straus, & we have no final word from Constantinople. The £1000 will be wanted, as I told you in Phila., for the work on the spot, but it should be issued before we leave Constantinople, in order to avoid embarrassment through imperfect communication.

As to 2<sup>nd</sup> in command &c. – it was ordered that Harper should succeed temporarily in case anything should befall me. This was done by the Ex. Com. before it was proposed to have Hilprecht come. The vote however was never rescinded, & by order of the Com. Harper had been informed of the same. This would make him 2<sup>nd</sup> in command, I suppose, but as there is

considerable jealousy between Harper & Hilprecht, I have kept quiet about these things until I had the Expedition on the spot, or at least together.

Has Haynes been put on this 2<sup>nd</sup> letter of credit – John Henry Haynes – as he was on the first? It is well to have him, but it should then be so done that in case he do not appear it can be issued to me alone. Yours faithfully John P. Peters

[1888-08-24. Wood to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 64-65. L-1243. HO]

WILLIAM JACKS. & CO.  
LONDON OFFICE,  
7 FENCHURCH AVENUE,  
E. C.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESSES,  
"METAL, GLASGOW."  
"ALKALIZE, LONDON."

AGENTS IN SCOTLAND FOR  
JARROW PIG & MANUFACTURED  
IRON & STEEL.

*7. Royal Bank Place.  
Glasgow 8. 24 1888*

My dear Mr. Clark

I received your letter from Cologne & your views about the Shemto Collection I quite concur in. There is one of the objects I think we ought to make quite sure about before talking much of it – viz. the alabaster vase. It closely resembles one in the British Museum found years ago in Halicarnassus (!) & the inscription (in four languages) is identical. The vase has been figured & a plate hangs on public view in the Museum; others probably have got abroad. If our vase is genuine, it is certainly a strange coincidence & yet it would be strange if Pinches & Sayce should not detect it & should mention it. I asked Harper to satisfy himself fully.

It is probable that I shall go from London to Constantinople about Sept. 15<sup>th</sup>, & possible that I shall proceed further & meet the expedition. If you are to be on my route I should be glad to confer with you.

Yours very truly

Ans<sup>d</sup> Aug. 28 [*written by Clark*]

Stuart Wood

[1888-08-25. E.W. Clark to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 68-69. L-1428.1. HO]

Lucerne Aug. 25 1888.

My dear Dr. Pepper

Yours of 24th July was duly received and not answered sooner because I desired to confer with Dr. Peters about the matter referred to by you – Hoped to meet him in London, but he had been gone for 2 or 3 days when I arrived there – I wrote to him in a general way about the management of the expedition, not deeming it wise to refer particularly to Dr. Hilprecht's position – He answers [1888-08-19] "as to 2<sup>nd</sup> in command &c. it was ordered that Harper should succeed temporarily in case anything should befall me. This was done by the Exec. Com. before it was proposed to have Hilprecht come. The vote, however, was never rescinded, and by order of the Com. Harper had been informed of the same. This would make him second in Command, I suppose, but as there is considerable jealousy between Harper & Hilprecht I have kept quiet about these things until I had the expedition on the spot, or at least together".

I shall write again to Dr. Peters and urge upon him to give due weight to the opinion of the important members of his staff and to encourage the expression of such opinions –

I was very much pleased with Dr. Harper whom I met several times while in London. He went with me to see two collections and appeared to have great facility in reading the dates and I think cannot fail to be very useful in deciding promptly as to the value of the finds –

Before I reached London Dr. Peters had bought, and had advised you of the purchase, a collection of Baby<sup>n</sup> tablets &c for which he paid 350£ and I suppose will expend £20 or £25 in boxing, cataloguing and shipping it – He does not appear to have considered it part of his duty to buy such a collection out of our funds, but he thought it a desirable purchase and, as he had no other funds at his command, he drew apt his letter of credit. I was much pleased with the collection and found that Mr. Pinches considered it very valuable – He admitted that the Barrel Cylinder was the largest yet found & he thought it contained new matter. He had had no time to read it carefully – The vase is also considered very valuable and the tablets cover a period from 2100 B.C., & perhaps 1 or 2 of earlier date, down to 300 to 200 B.C. Dr. Peters knew of two other collections and I went with Dr. Harper to see the Culter Collection but did not consider it advisable purchase at £225 – Nearly all of the tablets were 500 B.C. or later. The second collection, named in Dr. Peters letter to you of Aug. 5 belonging to Khe baza & offered by Shemtob; we went to see & found to be as reputed, much larger than the Culter collection and on selecting specimens here & there Dr. Harper found many of them to be older than 2000 B.C. & down to the time of Darius. I made an offer on my own account of £200. cash for this collection, which was at first declined but accepted the following day – I gave Dr. Harper the money to pay for it & in addition £30 to put it in good order, catalogue, box & ship it. As his own time was limited he proposed to employ Mr. Pinches for two

or three days. The two collections make a very good beginning for a museum on our side of the water and I think that after they have been received & opened the friends of the University will be glad to constitute the \$3000 necessary to pay for them – I will gladly join others in furnishing the money –.

I am in no hurry about a decision as to any collection, but can wait until I return in Nov. In the meantime I think the two collections had better be kept together. Very truly yours E.W. Clark

[1888-08-26. Pepper to Brown Goode. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 66-67. L-7. HO]

ADIRONDACK MOUNTAIN RESERVE,  
KEENE VALLEY, ESSEX CO.,  
— NEW YORK.  
TELEGRAPH ADDRESS,  
BEEDE HOUSE, KEENE VALLEY, ESSEX CO.

Brown Goode.

Dear Sir

Pardon delay in acknowledgement of your favor of 17<sup>th</sup> inst. [1888-08-17] with enclosed copies of letters to Dr. Mitchell and Prof. Haupt. Permit me to thank you for the full and highly satisfactory statement of the relations of the latter with the National Museum. I trust as you do, that Dr Peters information may be incorrect. I am sure that if any misconceptions have existed they will be removed by your action in sending copies of my letters c' of [2 ill.] to Prof. H. I am glad to say that I receive advices indirectly wh. encourage hopes for American interest in Eastern archaeology. I trust we shall be able to render acceptable service to the National Museum ere long for I beg you to think that we are also deeply interested in the development of its splendid collections –

I am Sir

Yo vy respect

W.P.

8/26/88

PS As I wrote in haste & without aid of a Secretary, may I beg the favor of a copy of y. letter of Aug. 1<sup>st</sup>.

[1888-08-29. Harper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 70-71. L-1241. HO]

1, Bedford Place,  
Russel Sq.,  
London, W.C.

E.W. Clark, Esq.,

Dear Sir:—

I enclose a receipt for the £200, conveying to you the Khabaza Collection of Babylonian Antiquities.

I am to remain in London two weeks longer than I had expected and hence hope to have the greater part of the collection finished before I leave.

I have secured boxes for 375 pieces and will have that number of tablets arranged for exhibition. I hope to catalogue about the same number, although it is doubtful whether I can get through so many. Pinches has helped me some. This collection is much more difficult to classify than the first.

It is a very valuable lot of tablets and fits in with the first very well. I will ship it to America on or about Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>.

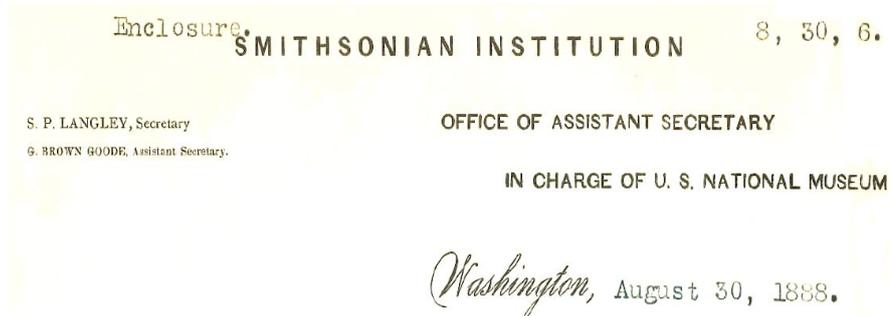
If you have anything to communicate to me, my address will be as above until Sept. 10<sup>th</sup>. After that date it will be care of Brown, Shipley & Co.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Harper.

[1888-08-30. Brown Goode to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 72-73. L-5. TO+HO]



Doctor William Pepper,  
Chairman Babylonian Expedition Fund,  
Keene Valley, Essex County,  
New York

Dear Sir:

I send you, as requested in your letter of August 25, a copy of your letter of August 1.

I earnestly hope with you that the archaeological interests of this country in the East will be successfully maintained. I thank you for your kind words concerning the collections of the National Museum, and for the expression of your desire to assist in their development.

Yours very truly

G. Brown Goode

Assistant Secretary.

I hope, when you are in Washington next month to have the opportunity of showing to you some features of our work

[1888-09-02. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 57-58. HO]

Dresden

Sept. 2<sup>nd</sup> /88

Dear Mr. Clark

Three days ago very favorable news from Constantinople of new promises on part of Grand Vizier. Yesterday news that question of special firman for us came before Grand Council, & same was refused. I start for Constantinople tomorrow by Oriental Express. All is not lost. They offer us special terms, although from the brief notice received from Embassy, I can not understand what is the advantage in them over ordinary terms. The Germans have been working under regular terms this winter, & did the same two years since. I have conferred with all members of last named Expedition, and even got an order from the Berliner Museum authorizing them to give me all the information in their power. They report it feasible to work under the law by special understanding, & described to me methods.

Dr. Pepper has assumed responsibility for 1<sup>st</sup> collection, & written to your firm to pay me on demand \$2000 to cover expenses of same, to be paid by him. This he will attempt to collect on his return to town. Your Brother & Mr. Frazier & Mr. Wood all approve of purchase, also Dr. Trumbull. I will send over, or rather Dr. Harper will, both collections on same footing, but kept separate by numbering with catalogue, & so far as possible descriptive report on both. My address in Constantinople, I hope only for this month, is c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

In great haste

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

The \$2000 will I suppose go right into funds of Expedition to cover what I paid out.

[1888-09-06. C.H. Clark to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 78-79. L-1240. TO]

CLARENCE H. CLARK,  
BULLITT BUILDING, 141 SOUTH FOURTH ST.,  
(ROOMS, 310 AND 316.)

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 6, 1888

My dear Edward:—

Yours of August 15th reached me some few days since at the Isles of Shoals and I was glad to hear from you and to know that Herbert was improving. Minna also has a letter from Mary dated Cologne and she also speaks of his continued improvement.

I note with interest all you say in relation to the Babylonia matter. I have not seen Dr. Pepper as I presume he is out of town and I really shall not have time to call while here. I returned yesterday for only a day or two. I find that E. W. C. & Co., paid Dr. Peters' draft for £450 on one occasion which I presume includes the £350 spent for the collection. This reduces the balance of the Fund to about \$3,000 I believe. I have requested Sabin to have the new credit for £1,000 sent, I do not think there will be any difficulty in raising the extra funds needed to pay for his purchase and also the one you have made. I certainly shall be willing to contribute, though perhaps moderately.

I have had a very quiet but restful Summer and feel much better. Minna and Charlie are with Mr. Motley and I shall return to Boston tomorrow or next day. Expect to come back here for good on the 24th and Minna and Charlie will return on the 29th and our outing will be over.

The business outlook as far as I am able to judge seems to me very good and I rather expect we are about entering upon a "boom" which will go through '89 and perhaps well into '90. Of course you have noticed the improved quotations in N. & W., and I think we shall see materially higher prices yet. The question of a dividend is up for active discussion and the plan turns upon whether it shall be 2% in October or 3% in January, personally I am strongly in favor of 2% in October and shall carry it if practicable.

It is difficult to say really what the political outlook is, but I am in hopes that we are going to lick the Democrats and put Harrison in. Anything to lick them, if Protection vs. Free Trade will do it I am agreed; you will however know that I am not entirely solvent on the Free Trade question.

With love to Mary &  
all your Party  
aff. Y<sup>r</sup> Bro

Clarence

[1888-09-06. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 76-77. L-1013. HO]

Hotel Byzance

Grande rue de Pera, Constantinople

Sept. 6/88

Dear Mr. Clark

I arrived here, accompanied by Mr. Prince, at 7 A.M. The Legation kindly sent their Cawass to meet us, Prof. v Millingen of the local committee, which consists of Dr. Washburn, Prof. Long & Prof. v Millingen, also met us. With some difficulty they succeeded in bringing us through the Custom House safely. We held a council at the Embassy at 11.<sup>30</sup>, & at two I was presented to the Grand Vizier. From him I was taken to the Minister of Public Instruction. He is our enemy in the Council, & the Grand Vizier is our friend. I presented to the Minister of Public Instruction a proposition which I insisted was under the law, while he maintained it was not. At last he agreed to consider it, appointed another audience for Tuesday, we drank coffee, smoked a cigarette & parted amicably.

With the help of the Grand Vizier I believe we shall find a modus vivendi. I see Hamdi Bey tomorrow.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[On p. 3:]

99		1
X 32	1	2
		3
	2	4

[1888-09-10. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 80-81. L-1204. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr. Clark,

September 10th 1888

I have your interesting note of August 28th and hasten to reply. I had no such recollection of such action by the Executive Committee. I do not anticipate that the question will ever become a practical one; but we can bring it up and discuss it at the first meeting of the Executive Committee. I have not myself met Dr Harper yet, and am glad to learn that he has produced so favorable impression on you, and that he exhibits such evident signs of mature scholarship. I do not think there can be any doubt as to the wisdom of both purchases which have been made. When Dr Peters first wrote me [1888-08-05?], I consulted both your Brother (Mr. C.H. Clark,) and Mr. W.W. Frazier, who approved the purchase, and offered to cooperate. I have since mentioned the subject to others, and find that great satisfaction is felt, at the prospect of securing so promptly, two collections which together will, as you say, make a fine beginning for a Museum in America. I will see that as soon as they arrive they are carefully stored. It is very generous in you to have acted as you have done, and we are much indebted to you. I do not anticipate any difficulty in securing the \$3,000 necessary to cover the purchases. Everybody is scattered now all over the country, and I shall not begin the actual raising of money, until, as you suggest, the collections have been received, and opened for inspection.

E.W. Clark, Esqr.

Yours sincerely William Pepper

[1888-09-11. *Peters to the Minister of Public Instruction. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 82. L-1415. TC*]

To his Excellence, the Minister of Public Instruction.

According to instructions received from the Secretary of State, and by request of the President of the United States, the Hon. O. S. Strauss, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the United States at the Sublime Porte, made application for permission for Prof. John P. Peters to conduct excavations for antiquities on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania within the limits of the Vilayet of Baghdad.

The undersigned respectfully renews this application on behalf of said Institution, and requests permission to conduct excavations for such purposes in the Vilayet of Baghdad at the following places, viz: Anbar, Birs Nimrud, and Niffer, such excavations not to be conducted simultaneously, but successively; in case of failure at Anbar excavations to be undertaken at Birs Nimrud, &c. Said permission to extend from November 1st, 1888, to November 1st, 1890.

The accompanying tracings of the sites named are respectfully submitted, and undersigned will engage, as soon as work is commenced at any of the above named localities, to prepare and forward to the Minister of Public Instruction a detailed plan of said locality.

Begging a speedy and favorable reply

Respectfully submitted

Sept. 11th, 1888

(Signed) John P. Peters.

[1888-09-20. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 88-90. HO]

Constantinople

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Sept. 20/8

My dear Mr. Clark

I have just returned from visiting the Ministry of Public Instruction in company with Mr. Gargulio, our Dragoman at the Embassy. No progress today; no answer as yet from their telegram to Baghdad, which is form No. 3. However, for Turkish matters we are supposed to have moved rapidly in reaching No. 3. If no answer is received by Saturday, they have half agreed to telegraph.

But this note is for another purpose. Gargulio lunched with me, & after lunch he made a very private communication. You know the position of a legation Dragoman here. He is the companion of the Ambassador, & is, if anything, more important than the Ambassador. It seems that Gargulio had been sent for to the Treasury department. They want to place a loan of £ 2 000 000, guaranteeing interest & repayment (at end of 25 years) by pledging customs. The plan as proposed means about 12%, or £ 20 000 a month. The customs revenues are, so Gargulio says, unpledged, with the exception of a very small sum. They are the best security in the Empire. The plan would involve the Porte's giving the syndicate taking the loan a representation in the Custom House to hand over to them the £ 20 000 monthly. Mr. Straus could not be reached by letter before he would sail from America, & a telegram Gargulio thought would not do. He was quite in despair. He proposed to write to Mr. Hewitt. As he had manifestly come to me to put him into communication with some one, I offered, or rather proposed to write to you, & put you in communication with G. in case you wished to inquire into it. For you have the advantage of being near at hand, & could, if you wished, inquire on the spot. If you wish to inquire for address Mr. Gargulio, United States Legation, Constantinople. He has the reputation of knowing what he is about, but I will inquire further. He says that they wish to place the loan in America, because they hope to obtain better terms. Will write again Saturday probably.

Yours sincerely John P. Peters.

[1888-09-21. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 91-93. HO]

Sept. 21/88

The Powers.  
Tribuna.

My dear Mr. Clark

I wrote you yesterday [1888-09-20] according to agreement with Mr. Gargulio for two reasons: first, because I want to do everything to please Gargulio, in order to have his assistance to the full; in the second place, because I thought that if it really were what Gargulio imagined it to be, you might just as well be the one to have the benefit of his communications. Since yesterday I have made some inquiries from well informed sources as to the financial condition here, & in addition to what I knew before I learned the following. The Porte has been trying to negotiate this loan for about three months, but very quietly, I think. The only parties who have entered seriously into the matter are the Banque Imperiale Ottomane, & their terms are not acceptable. They will take it at 64, instead of par at 6%, but of this 64 they will pay part in depreciated securities of the Turkish government in such manner that the Porte will only receive in fact £1 000 000, on which they will pay an interest of 12%. The 12% of which I spoke yesterday as proposed to Gargulio is, as I understand from what he told me, & what I have learned since, to consist of 8% interest, & 4% of repayment of capital, by which means the capital would be refunded in 25 years. What G. said about customs as a guarantee is true. The difficulty would be to be sure of the guarantor of the guarantee.

I have thought it worth while to write to you again, & may do the same tomorrow after seeing Gargulio once more.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1888-09-23. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 94-96. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Constantinople, Sept. 23/88

My dear Mr. Clark

The one more letter which I said I should write. I saw Mr. Gargulio again yesterday, & questioned further & more closely. He is convinced that there is a very good thing for an American syndicate. I had told him that I thought the great difficulty was likely to be the lack of proper security. He questioned very closely at the Treasury department, & came away convinced that they are in a position to give good security. He says that if any man is interested, & would come here, he could then be convinced for himself, & he is so certain that any man who did come here & look into the matter personally would be satisfied that he wishes me to urge you to come on, & see whether the terms offered are not such as to make the formation of an American syndicate to take up the loan so profitable that you would like to undertake it, or so favorably present it to others that they should undertake it. He pressed them about terms, & they were ready to run up to 9% with 4% for sinking fund he said, or to give 7% interest & 6% sinking fund, or even he thought to run up to 10%, with 4% or 5% sinking fund. But of course that is all preliminary talk. He will not tell me the name of the man with whom he has negotiated, or his exact office, only that he is in authority & entitled to speak. This man, according to Gargulio, says that a letter from an American financier indicating an inclination to go into negotiations will be sufficient to make them wait until he shall be able to decide what can be done. Gargulio has an idea that the percentage could be much increased by making the loan in silver.

Now I ought to add, what you will understand probably even if I do not add it, that both Gargulio and the official in question would make a percentage by placing the loan. On the other hand Gargulio is, as far as I can gather, a pretty square man, & an excellent Dragoman, & the Robert College people who have known him a long time give him a good reputation. I also questioned the best posted people casually in regard to the debt & the prospects of repayment of capital, & general fulfillment of financial contracts, & they seem to think that by means of the Commission for the management of the debt such contracts, if properly made, are pretty safe. I am not a financier, & can only tell you what I learn from those that have long been interested in Turkish finance.

And now, if you should think there was anything in all of this to make it advisable for you to pay a flying visit to Constantinople, of course I should be delighted, on the one side to see you, on the other side to think I had sent you any information which could be of use. Please write as soon as convenient, or if you should decide to come telegraph me. Do not think I am neglecting the Expedition. Gargulio is now working like a beaver.

Sincerely yours John P. Peters.

The information I sent about terms offered by Ottoman Bank was not quite correct. The amount of worthless to be turned in (so called concessions) was so large as to make the nominal interest of 6% equivalent to 15% or more on actual amount. But Censor of Press has forbidden publication, & I cannot get exact terms.

Field, Harper & Hilprecht are on their way from Marseilles to Alexandretta; Haynes, who has received his appointment as Consul at Baghdad, leaves here Thursday & meets them at Smyrna. I hope to be able to follow shortly. I am spying out antiquities here, but they are scarce on account of the law.

[1888-09-30. *Hilprecht to Pappa (draft)*. UPMAA\_Nippur\_10.01, 8-9. HO]

Insel Samos, Kleinasien

Sonntag, Nachmittag, d. 30. Sept. 1888

Geliebter Pappa,

Aus weiter Ferne bring ich Dir meine innigsten Glückwünsche zum Geburtstage dar. Möge Gott Dich noch lange, lange erhalten uns allen zur Freude! Ich werde Dich sicherlich wiedersehen.

Ich habe seit meinem letzten Briefe an Euch viel erlebt, die letzte Nacht war die schrecklichste meines Lebens. Unser schöner, großer Dampfer Namens Sindh, auf dem wir von Marseille abfahren, scheiterte letzte Nacht 1 Uhr 10 Minuten an der Küste von Samos. Wir wurden alle gerettet. Gegenwärtig sitze ich mit dem Architekten unserer Expedition 500 Fuß hoch auf einem öden Felsen. Drunten liegt das Meer spiegelglatt. Gegenüber, kaum ½ Stunde von hier entfernt, ziehen sich die unwirtlichen Furni-Inseln langgestreckt hin. Weiter rechts taucht die Insel Nakaria aus den Fluthen auf. In dunklen Umrissen tritt dahinter die Insel Tenos hervor, und ganz zur rechten liegt Chios – alle mir wohlbekannt Eilande von meiner Gymnasialzeit her aus der griechischen Geschichte. Wie Odysseus weilen wir hier, verschlagen auf das einsame Vorgebirge. Nach dem Inneren zu wird die große Insel lieblicher. Hinter dem 1500-2000 Fuß hohen Berge in meinem Rücken beginnen die schon sichtbaren Oliven- und Myorthen-Haine. Wildes Lorbeergesträuch und Wachholder wuchert auf der ganzen Insel in Fülle.

Doch Du und die liebe Mamma werdet nun noch Einzelheiten vom Unglücksfall haben wollen. Ich erzähle denn, wie folgt:

Gestern, Sonnabend Nachmittag 4 Uhr verließen wir den Hafen von Smyrna, nachdem wir dort 2 schöne Tage zugebracht. Dicke Regenwolken bedeckten den Horizont, und einzelne heftige Schauer wechselten einander ab. Da ich mich den Vormittag über nicht recht wohl gefühlt hatte und in Folge des Einladens von Gütern und des dadurch entstehenden Geräusches wenig geschlafen hatte, begab ich mich schon um ½10 Uhr zur Ruhe. Bald schlief ich ein.

Da plötzlich erschüttert ein heftiger Stoß das ganze Schiff, ich wurde fast aus meinem Bett geschleudert, und klirrend schlägt das halb geöffnete Cajütenfenster zu. Ich springe auf. Heftiges Hin-und-Herlaufen auf Deck, kreischende Türkenfrauen rufen jämmernd: Allah, Allah (v mein Gott, mein Gott!), dazwischen die donnernde Stimme des Capitän. Die Schraube steht still. Ich lüfte den Vorhang meiner Thür und sehe an allen Seiten die Passagiere auf Deck stürzen. In diesem Augenblick tritt der Stuart (Zimmerdiener) bleich in meine Cajüte und verriegelt wasserdicht das Fenster. Ich frage: „müssen wir aufstehen?“ „Ja“ war die kurze Antwort. Binnen 2 Minuten hatte ich das Notwendigste zusammengerafft und stand auf Deck. Nicht ein Moment der Furcht ergriff mich, ich betete still zu Gott um Vergebung meiner Sünden, gedachte Eures aller einen Moment in Liebe. Dann war ich

entschlossen, den Kampf um's Leben zu beginnen. Es war ein wirres Durcheinander. Ich steckte mir mit größter Kaltblütigkeit eine Cigarette an, um vor allen Dingen die Passagiere, so gut ich konnte, zu beruhigen. Dann untersuchte ich die Situation. Ein 15 Fuß langes Leck war in die Seitenwand des Schiffes geschlagen, hinein stürzten unaufhaltsam die Wassermassen. Alle Mann wurden vom Capitän an die Pumpen commandiert. Vermöge der modernen Einrichtung unserer Dampfer, die einzelnen Teile des Schiffes im Falle der Not wasserdicht gegen einander abzuschließen, gelang es dem Capitän, das Wasser von den Maschinenräumen abzusperren. Wenn wir überhaupt sanken, so war es darum unbedeutend. Jedoch die Situation wurde noch an Schrecken vermehrt. Ein furchtbarer Platzregen brach los, ringsumher rabenschwarze Nacht, nur die Felsenmassen, zwischen denen und auf denen der Vorderbug des Schiffes eingekeilt festsaß, starrten uns vorn und links höhrend entgegen. Dazu zischte das Meer an der Brandung unaufhörlich seine wilden Weisen. Ich setzte mich, als ich sah, daß wir uns über Wasser hielten, gelassen in einen Rohrstuhl, herumtraten die dichtverschleierte türkischen Frauen, und fragten mich angstverzerrt auf türkisch, ob wir sterben müßten. Ich antwortete mit dem ihnen wohlbekannten Trosteswort des Koran: „Allah rahmânu rahîmu hû, hû“ d. h. „Allah ist barmherzig und gnädig.“ Und von aller Lippen hallte es wieder „allah, allah“. Ich erkundigte mich nun bei geeigneter Quelle, wie das Unglück entstanden. Bis gegen  $\frac{3}{4}$  1 Uhr hatte der Capitän selbst das Commando geführt, dann zog er sich, der Schiffsordnung gemäß, zum Schlafen zurück, während der 2<sup>te</sup> Offizier an seine Stelle trat. Ob der Offizier eingeschlummert, ob er einen Augenblick seinen Posten verlassen, ob etwas anderes die Schuld herbei hätte – niemand weiß es zur Stunde. Jedenfalls fuhr der Dampfer, der uns bisher ein so trautes Heim gewesen, und uns allen an's Herz gewachsen war, kaum eine viertel Stunde, nachdem der Capitän das Commando abgegeben bei klarer Nacht auf den Strand. Beim Auffahren bog sich der ganze untere Teil des Vorderteils krumm oder brach auseinander. Als der Capitän nach der Commandobrücke steigt, verletzt er sich so heftig den Fuß, daß er in einen Stuhl sinkt und dem 1. Offizier das Commando übertragen muß. Sobald das Schiff gestrandet war, wurden alle Rettungsboote in Bereitschaft gesetzt. Doch da die Küste unbekannt war, das Schiff selbst sich über dem Wasser hielt, blieben wir alle an Board, mit Sehnsucht das erste Morgengrauen ersehend. Langsam schlichen 5 Stunden dahin. Es wurde endlich Licht, und die Sonne flammte friedlich auf. Wir hatten nun Zeit, das ganze Elend zu betrachten. Der Dampfer sitzt so fest, daß es mir zweifelhaft ist, ob es gelingen wird, ihn wieder flott zu bekommen. Erhebt sich nur ein mittelmäßiger Sturm, so ist er verloren. So warten wir nun zwischen Hangen und Bangen. Die Nothflagge (bestehend in 3 großen, an einem Strick oben an der Mastbaumpitze aufgehängten Canonenkugeln) ist aufgesteckt. Um den alsbald am Ufer erscheinenden Eingeborenen mit ihren malerischen Trachten und mit Flinten bewaffnet, wird einer an Board geholt und mit einem Telegramm nach der nächste Station in das Innere der unwegsamen Insel geschickt. Wie lange derselbe aber gebrauchen wird, wie weit die Station entfernt ist, wann der Hilfsdampfer erscheint – niemand weiß es. Es ist bereits Nachmittags 3 Uhr. Ein großer Dampfer fuhr Vormittags in weiter Ferne und ohne uns zu bemerken vorüber.

Wir sind indessen wieder fröhlichen Muths. Da Dr. Peters mit der Türkischen Regierung in Constantinopel noch immer zu keinem Abschluß gekommen ist, und wir also auch ohnehin in Alexandretta Aufenthalt hätten, ist es uns egal, ob wir hier oder dort warten. Wir fahren

oft in den Bötten der Inselbewohner ans Land und durchforschen die nächsten Küstenstreiche. Nahrung haben wir in Fülle an Board, die Insulaner bringen dazu Honig und Frucht zum Verkauf herüber.

Harren wir denn, wie sich die Sache weiter entwickelt. Ängstigt Euch nicht, ich bin in Gottes Hand, bin gesund und fröhlich und halt erfreut über das kleine Abenteuer. Sobald wir befreit sind, schließe ich den Brief ab. Der Herzogin und Ida schrieb ich gleich alles, doch muß ich viell. noch Tage [ill.] warten, ehe ich alle die Postsachen an [ill.] ans Land, wo es wieder eine Post giebt, d. i. nach einer Hafenstadt bringen kann. All right! Gute Nacht, Schlaft wohl. Ich schlage mich durch, mit der Gefahr wächst der Mut. Ich forcht mich net!

Den 2. Oct. Wathi (kleine Hafenstadt auf der Insel Samos): Nachdem wir 36 Stunden auf unserem durchlöcherten Schiffe zugebracht, und 3 Dampfer, ohne uns sehen zu wollen, wegbeigefahren waren, wurden wir endlich gestern von einer Türkischen Brigantine (Kriegsschiff) befreit. Wir sind nun im Orte, wo einst Polykrates „stand auf seines Daches Zinnen und schaute mit vergnügtem Sinne auf das [ill.] Samos hin.“ Wir sind auch vergnügten Sinnes, werden aber wohl 5-6 Tage hier in der [ill.] Lokanda (Gasthaus) zubringen müssen, ehe uns ein Dampfer zurück nach Smyrna oder nach Alexandrette bringt. [ill.]! Euer alter Hermann.

[*Added on top of second sheet:*]

Zur Erinnerung an die Rettung aus Lebensgefahr sende ich Euch das eben gepflückte Blümchen von der Insel Samos mit (nein, ich hab's im Koffer noch!). Erzählt nun alles Willy und grüßt ihn herzlich auch Ilkchen. Beruhigt Ida mit ein paar Worten. Sendet ihr diesen Brief mit. Sie mag ihn Euch wieder zurücksenden. Nichts soll in das Bamberger Blatt kommen!!

[*Added on top of first sheet:*]

Hebt den Brief auf, da ich die Einzelheiten, um mir Zeit zu sparen nicht auf einmal so gründlich ins Tagebuch eintrage. Gruß Euch allen und Kuß!

[1888-10-04. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 99-102. L-22. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Constantinople, Oct. 4/88

Dear Mr. Clark

Messrs. Field, Harper, Haynes & Hilprecht are presumably now in Alexandretta. I heard from them at Smyrna. They wait for me at Aintab, doing in the meantime certain things which need to be attended to in that region of country. I have just seen the Minister of Public Instruction & Hamdi Bey. After a delay of three weeks the Governor of Baghdad has telegraphed back consenting to our digging at Birs Nimroud & Niffer, but, for reasons not stated, objected to Anbar (presumably because he cannot find it). They consent to my going ahead at those two places, but make the condition that the law shall be followed i.e. nothing exported. However they say that I may have all duplicates. Further than this they will only make me backdoor promises. The Grand Vizier says I must have more. We shall hear from him further in a few days. I dread a controversy among ministers, for I fear that we should either lose altogether, or gain only after a ruinous delay. I think our plan is probably to go ahead with the concessions we now have, & then through the Grand Vizier & the Sultan obtain a gift later, in case we find anything. Straus' absence is unfortunate, but Gargulio is working well. King is worse than useless, but well meaning & friendly.

I am in communication with all the antiquites in Constantinople, but am very shy. One Pasha has a barrel cylinder [*Hilprecht*: turned out to be fraud – H.], for which one of my friends is negotiating. He asks too high a price, however. But he is in debt, & my ingenious friend is trying to make the moneylender squeeze the cylinder out of him. There is not much here, & prices are high. Yesterday I saw a fine vase of Egyptian alabaster with the name of Artaxerxes upon it in four languages, Persian, Median, Babylonian & Egyptian. It is in the hands of a German physician, a man of high repute. It was found in the possession of an Arab in the neighborhood of Baghdad, used as an oil jar. It was bought by this physician for the Berlin Museum, for which he often purchases, at the price of 50 pound Turkish. It was offered at 70 or 80 pounds, & the Museum wrote to cheapen, & then buy. After he had bought, they offered him 900 Mark for it. He was piqued, & now offers it to me. According to him it is unique, but I think there is one in Venice, and am writing to find out. It is not as large as our vase, but is of the same height. It is perfect, excepting that a part of the rim is chipped off on the inscribed side. It is undoubtedly a valuable thing, but 50 pounds Turkish, i.e. \$220, seems to me too high a price. I told him I would write to you, & I am also writing to Sayce at Oxford to obtain his judgement, & also to Pinches.

I received the £1000 letter of credit safely, & my accounts, are made up for you with the exception of the details of moneys spent by Field, Harper & Hilprecht. Those I cannot obtain

until I reach Aintab. I have made a small draft on the new credit, & have paid expenses up to Baghdad, unless something unforeseen occurs.

You will have by this time received my three letters relating to Turkish loan[1888-09-20-21-23]. What you may see in the papers has nothing to do with this. You will observe by the way that the new road by Belgrade & Sofia is now really practicable, & excursions are even being run over it. The concession for a railroad has been or is on the point of being granted to some Germans. This is to run from Ismidt to Angora, & will ultimately it is supposed reach Angora. It is to be regretted that Americans do not try for some of these concessions, for I imagine that just now they could obtain more favorable terms than any one else. But then it is tedious & crooked work negotiating.

Please make my regards to Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Currie & your son Herbert.

Sincerely yours

John P. Peters.

I may add that I neither accept nor reject the terms proposed. I let them talk, & I smile & thank them.

[1888-10-05. Peters to Tucker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.03, 8-11. HO]

Club de Constantinople,

Iera.

Oct. 5/88

My dear Mr. Tucker

This is as far as I have advanced on my course to Babylon up to the present time. I have been here four weeks yesterday waiting for the Turkish authorities to issue the requisite permit to allow me to dig. Mr. Straus made every possible effort last winter to secure us the requisite permission, & the President's letter, which you so kindly procured, was of the greatest value. We were endeavoring to obtain an extra legal permission, by the terms of which we might be able to export at least some part of the objects excavated. The Germans, English & French had, it seems, tried to obtain a similar permission, and failed. Accordingly Mr. Straus had to encounter not merely the ordinary difficulties raised by the Director of the Museum here (who does not know what to do with Babylonian objects when he finds them, but simply shuts them up, & will not let them be studied), but also the indirect but powerful opposition of the German, French & English legations. I believe no one could accomplish more than Mr. Straus has done, and it is no fault of his that he could not get what we asked for. Possibly if he had not gone away, more might have been accomplished, but I scarcely think so. He is an excellent minister, the best we have had here since Maynard certainly. Mr. Gargulio, our Dragoman, is also a strong man (I am told that he is the most efficient Dragoman at any Legation), & has managed the affair skillfully. While we have not obtained what we asked for, nor the half of what we asked, we have obtained conditions which make it feasible to conduct excavations, thanks to the President's letter, & to the efforts of our Legation here. I hope that the final formalities will be concluded, & that we shall be permitted to depart before the close of the month. The greater part of my staff is already in Syria awaiting my coming; & all arrangements are concluded to enable me to travel post haste the instant the papers are in my hands.

It may interest you to hear that we purchased in London two fine collections, the largest collections of Assyrian-Babylonian antiquities ever sent to America, containing a number of rare and valuable objects, some of which are absolutely unique in character. Their contents will be published later.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1888-10-08. Pepper to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 103. L-1239. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

My dear Dr Peters,

Dr Harper has not sent me a consular invoice. The cases have arrived, and I have been obliged to give a bond for \$2,000, that the consular invoice will be immediately forthcoming. I am afraid he has forgotten it. Please instruct him without delay. I will wait for 30 days, and if nothing has arrived, will then direct our Custom house brokers here to apply for consular invoice.

Yours sincerely

Rev John P. Peters

Wm. Pepper

October 8th 1888.

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[1888-10-10. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 59. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Constantinople, Oct. 10/88

Dear Mr. Clark

I enclose a note from Gargulio which will explain itself. Mr. Straus is either in London or Paris. If you have any serious thought of taking this matter up, see him. I have collected a certain amount of information, but I doubt its value to you. Gargulio's sources of information are private, & if you decide to go further you would do well to communicate with him. In great haste Yours faithfully John P. Peters.

[1888-10-11. Gargiulo to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 104-106. HO]

Pera October 11 1888.

Dear D<sup>r</sup> Peters

I am very much obliged to you for the transmission of the remarks of M<sup>r</sup> Clark with regard of the projected loan.

All of us know the condition of the former loans and the way they are paid, and the offer of the Government now is altogether independent of them. The fact is that all previous loans have been guaranteed and are served some with the tribute of Egypt and Cyprus and some with the six contributions, which are administered by the Bondholder's administration. The Customs are not pledged to any extend. The Turcs would like to have an American syndicate, and when it comes to the security of fulfilment of obligations, they will give them.

Now all the question is, can a loan under those conditions, provided the securities are satisfactory to the syndicate, be made? If such is the [blank] of M<sup>r</sup> Clark he may sound the market in London and before anything else is said about it he may come here and enter into negotiations and see what chance there is, as to the securities offered, to make them sufficient as to satisfy the financial world either in America or England. [*in the middle between the pages:*] In sounding M<sup>r</sup> Clark should not give himself out, because I know the Ottoman Bank, hearing of it, would **grasp** at it at once, as she is doing every effort to lay hands on the Customs.

As to the "Sickman's" stability in Europe, I would say that the security is given not on the Constantinople Custom House only, but on the Customs of all the Empire through.

With regard to your firman I fully agree with you in accepting it under the form it is offered, and if you are successful in your searches, then Mr Straus may get it with more facility than he can now. I do not like to bargain for the fish in the ocean. You will make your expedition a great deal costly if you have to stay here three or four months more – and then, are you sure of getting it-

I am sincerely yours

I enclose M<sup>r</sup> Clarks letter

A. A. Gargiulo.

[1888-10-14. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 116-125. L-1432.4. HO]

- 1) on the steamer НАХИМОВЪ, (sailing from Alexandrette to Beyrût), Sunday, 14 October 1888.

Dear Dr. Pepper,

I find the first moment of something like leisure (not to be taken too literally!) only here on board the Russian steamer. Let me tell you in short what hitherto has been done.

Dr. Peters, who will yet remain for one or two weeks at Court in Constantinople, fixed the date of my sailing from Marseille on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September. Harper, Field & two American missionaries of Hadjîn & Aintab (Syria) took the same vessel the name of which is “le Lindh” (boat of the “messageries maritimes”). The boat stopped at Athens and Salonîchi, before she reached Smyrna. In Athens Harper, Field + I visited in a hurry all the classical places. Dr. Schliemann’s house was visited too. As he was not at home, I left my card for him. His servant showed us all the interior of the most beautiful house + the Troja collections for a small bachshîsh. Then I paid a visit to Dr. Dörpfeld + Dr. Wolten, the Directors of the German school of Athens, asking them for the American Institute. They told us, as nobody was at present there and our time was too limited to visit the closed house (outside of the city) merely rather to visit some other antiquities, what we did, regretting however to find the American colony away on vacations.

In Smyrna we saw likewise everything worth to be seen, especially a “zîkr” (devotion) of the Derwishes and the old Roman castle with its relics of large cisterns. “Le Lindh” stopped here almost two days. Haynes came here on board.

On Saturday 30 Sept. we continued our journey by the French steamer. She has two chimneys (a rare case in the Mediterranean) and is regarded the finest boat (crossing the Mediterranean) of the French company.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of October began, it was 10 minutes past one o’clock in the night, the captain had just gone into his room, leaving the third officer in command of the steamer. I was in bed, all the other passengers too. Suddenly a tremendous shock, I was thrown out of bed, other passengers too. The stuart came into my room with pale face, closed the window tight, in order to shut up water, if the steamer should sink, as long as possible. He ordered me to go on deck. Terrible confusion on deck. Several Turkish women were among the deck-passengers with whom the steamer was over-crowded – a rough set of fellows. They cried: Allâhu, Allâhu. The accident has not yet been explained. Altogether half an hour after the accident, a dreadful rain-shower and thunderstorm prevailed for about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour, still increasing the dreary situation, yet at the

time of the accident the night was clear, the moon shining, every star visible, even the outlines of the distant Furni-islands I could recognize with naked eyes. I have no other explanation than that the third officer with the sailor on his side were drunken, or left their position. All the boats were half lowered. But nobody could give any answer, how large the leak was & whether the steamer sunk. We had struck on the rocks of the foot of the mountain Κερκητευσ (about 4800 feet high) the highest top of the isle of Samos. The point is known as cape Plaka. The front part of our beautiful steamer was entirely on the cliffs of the isle and bown into a half-moon. Had the cliffs not been entirely inaccessible, we might have jumped from the steamer on the shore. Where ever we looked – nothing as steep rocks and inaccessible cliffs. Should any storm have moved up the water, we should have been lost; the steamer hanging on a rock would have been broken into pieces, the boats smashed + even if not smashed, no boat could land in this rocky district.

When the captain hurried to the command-bridge, he broke his toe and had thus to give his commands from his arm-chair. Excuse my bad writing here, I must stop, a storm expected for several days, just arose, it is impossible to continue now, the whole sea is a white turbulent mass.

The power of the storm is broken. I continue where I stopped. All men were commanded to the pumps, so far as their service was not required otherwise. In the afternoon deck-passengers took the place of the tired men. Signals of distress were hissed – no steamer approached. A dispatch was sent by the aid of some natives who assembled when it dawned, around on the cliffs in their picturesque dresses and armed with guns. It was found after some divers arrived in the afternoon that the leak was not as large as expected, the water came under control and the passengers were told to stay on board until they were rescued. Some Arabic women however, too anxious to spend a second night on the wreck preferred to sleep on the rocks of the coast, where some natives brought them with difficulty. Harper, Field + I jumped on the cliffs and ascended step after step carefully till we reached a plateau where we spent part of the afternoon, Field sketching, Harper smoking, I collecting the flora of the isle. In the night we were back on board.

Several steamers passed us without seeing us, or what is quite common here, where so many companies rival with each-other, without wishing to see us. After we had spent 36 hours on the wreck after the accident, we were rescued by a small Turkish Brigantine which the kind-hearted prince of Samos, Alexander Theodores had sent us. Packed together like herrings we reached on the evening of the second October the capital of Samos, Vathi, we found 1 bad Lokanda, (where we took our meals) in the place and two ξενοδοκεια or inns where we could spend the night. To give you an idea of the beds we had, it will be sufficient to say, that the boxes of American petroleum were put together, some boards laid over them and two blankets. After all I should have called such a place princely, if we could have slept at all. But in the night a legion of mosquitoes, sandflies, bed bugs and most of all lise opened their attacks on us. And down on the street, as in the time of Homer, half a dozen Samiote boys danced in their heavy shoes in the

shine of the goddess Selene. Till one o'clock the voice of the dancing master echoed its *εν, δυο, τρεις* to give the tact to the Samiote youth.

Three days passed slowly, telegrams contradicting to each other came often stating, that a steamer that should bring us back to Smyrna, was to be expected every hour. I was almost mad. For a couple of hours away from Vathi, are the ruins of the old temple of Juno or Hera and the tunnel so exactly described by Herodotus still exist. And moreover a professor of the University of Athens, Dr. Sophoules and Dr. Bürchner of Germany who were there for archaeological research, invited me to visit those places with them. I simply could not, because of the telegrams. I could not risk to be left alone a fortnight longer on Samos, while the others went off. Thursday 5 Oct. a small steamer, about 50 feet long, an old boat of the worst kind, was sent by the company to take us over to Smyrna. The distance which the "Lindh" had made in 4½ hours, we made in 19. That gives you an idea of our solid, dear old boat on which we had to spend the night, sitting on a stool on the captain's [*ill.*], without being able to move a little.

We arrived Friday, 6 Oct at Smyrna again. Fortunately the same afternoon an English steamer sailed for Alexandrette. Field + Harper found the boat too bad and remained at Smyrna. Haynes + I continued our journey at once and found in the captain McDougol the most refined gentleman, who was a real scholar in ancient Greek + Roman history. He made our stay on board as pleasant as he could, and we are in many ways indebted to him for his extraordinary kindness. Haynes suffered from fever which he got in Constantinople. Our boat stopped for some hours in Chios, Syra, Kelimnos, the old Halicarnassos (where Herodotus was born), in Kos where I visited the famous platane tree, ascribed by Prof Virchow of Berlin to Hippocrates (200 B.C.)

## II

(L-1432.12)

We landed in Symae, Rhodes, in Makry, where I visited under a burning sun the catacombs; we stopped at Adâlia, at Anemurium, etc. & at Mersin. Here Haynes and I visited Tarsus, the birthplace of the apostle Paul, and Adana, where the American girls-college conducted by Mr & Mrs Montgomery, Misses Tucker & Welb, is like a paradise in the midst of Moslemic dirt. They received us very well. In the evening we returned from Adana to Mersin (by sailword). Our captain had kindly waited for us. Then we sailed for Alexandrette. We reached it at the morning of October 12. (Friday). Daniel Noorian, our Dragoman awaited us there. We went on the coast with our luggage. But dreadful disappointment!

All our luggage was opened, every ink-bottle disclosed, every pencil, in short everything unwrapped. Not enough! They examined all our pockets. I had to take off my coat, they opened my waist-coat, even my shirt. We were treated like the most common ragamuffians. We had supposed such a thing, and happily left our guns under the protection of our captain-friend of the steamer, waiting what might be done. They seized a great many things of our luggage, which we got however back through the American agent after some duty paid on them. After all the

boatmen and all the agents had refused their help, or rather explained their impossibility to help us in getting the rifles on the shore (prison, 20 pounds finement, seizing of the boat & articles is the punishment!) we asked our old captain, how long he thought to remain in the harbour. Although he was ordered to leave at 5 o'clock, he promised at once to do the best he could, and to stay till 8 o'clock in the night at his own responsibility. So he did. Haynes felt in the meanwhile so sick with fever, that he had to leave the feverish Alexandrette for Beylan in the Amanus mountains. So we hired three horses & a servant (Mustafa, a good Moslim) he accompanied Dr Ward on his expedition and will accompany us. Half an hour away from the city of Alexandrette we met a dead camel lying in the middle of the street (in Turkey beasts are never buried or removed but decay on the very spot where the[y] fell down). My horse became shy and ran away with me. I lost my pithhead, my field-glass and my whiskey-bottle in the race during the night, and returned, where my horse stopped, collecting one after the other, partly broken however. At 9 o'clock we arrived at Beylan, a large mass of poor huts. We had climbed up on our horses 2000 feet within 1½ hours. In a stable, which they call here however church, built by the American mission ten years ago for the few native Christians of Baylan, we rested during the night on the floor. No windows were in the church, at 4 o'clock the hodja, a kind of Moslemic priests, roared from his Minarett down over the city his calling for prayers. A[t] 6 o'clock we arose, took our breakfast (tea, oatmeal and fresh dirty water) and ascended our horses again rode down to Alexandrette and welcomed Harper & Field who had arrived by the Russian steamer.

At two o'clock Harper, Field, Haynes (who had not yet lost his fever) and some servants left definitely Alexandrette for Beylan, where they stop to-day (Sunday). To-morrow they will continue their journey on horse-back to Aintab. There they will wait for Dr Peters, Prince, and myself. The dragoman Noorian, who had already been at Alexandrette 18 days, has to stay there a fortnight longer. I myself am sent by Dr Peters to Beyrût, in order to see the inscriptions on the Nahr-el-Kalb-river, which however have been published some years ago in the most excellent way by the French scholar Pognon of Paris.

I am in the best health myself, Harper too. Noorian got the fever in the unhealthy Alexandrette 2 weeks ago, but is all right again. Field looks very delicate. I am anxious for him & do not think that he can stand the climate & the labors which expect us. Haynes is still feverish, but will soon be better in Beylan.

My best compliments to the whole executive committee. Yours very sincerely

H. V. Hilprecht

Our guns were brought on shore during the night by Noorian. He was persecuted by the government boat, dropped the guns in the sea, and after the officials did not find anything in his boat, got them out again of the sea, & sent his brother up to Beylan at 2 o'clock in the night. We cleaned the guns again & are glad to be in their possession now. Such is Turkey!!!

Oct. 14, on the Russian steamer

Privately (& confidentially).

Excuse the slips, there is no  
other paper on board

My dear Dr Pepper,

In addition to the accompanying letter which I wrote in such a form, that it may be read by anybody of the Executive Committee, I feel it my duty, to write to you as the Provost and my friend to whom I am indebted for many favors, the following lines confidentially. I leave it entirely to your wisdom to act as you think fit. But I ask you most heartily not to increase my difficult position here by writing anything of this letter to Dr Peters. Dr Trumbull is such an enthusiastic friend of this expedition, of our University and such an ideal character, as you find them only here & there occasionally, that perhaps you consider the contents of this letter privately & confidentially with him. He is such a fatherly friend of mine, that I have no secret before him, but in this case, knowing with what sorrow he let me go on this expedition, I do not want to increase his anxiety for me still more, & wrote therefore only to you about the case. For you must know everything, as the Provost of the University, what is here done.

1) I do not know, in what sense Dr Peters wrote to you about the prospect of a firmân. Let there be no mistake in the matter. He will never get it. He cannot get it, the other powers (France, England etc) will prevent it. In order to be short in this matter, I cannot give all my reasons, but I saw & heard so much, that I implore you, abandon this idea of a firmân. It is a shadow, never to be reached. And he who says otherwise is a liar.

2) Dr. Peters got the permission to excavate at Niffer, Birs Nimrûd and was refused concerning Anbar. I am extremely glad, that this Anbar in this way is made an impossibility. Dr Peters was convinced after I gave him the proofs, that we had no Assyrian city to find there, but notwithstanding he asked for Anbar. I do not know, why.

Now a word about Niffer & Birs Nimrûd, about the two worst places of whole Babylonia for our expedition.

a) Niffer is situated in a midst of swamps, full of malaria & lawless tribes. Lyons abound here. But worst of all, the water for drinking has to be got over a day's journey away from this place, the worst thing that can happen.

b) Birs Nimrûd was examined by Oppert. It is no suitable place for our expedition, as we must try to find something as quick as possible. Oppert did not find anything of importance here, although he was excavating two years. The ruin-heaps are too extensive. They should be researched only by a party that is willing to stay in the country 10 years and can risk the probability to find nothing within the first 3 years. We have only 4 months of time.

I said, Dr Peters got the permission to excavate. That means to leave everything to be found to the Turkish officials who go with us & watch over us. Therefore do not expect anything for the University in this way.

3. Instead of coming directly now to Alexandrette & to hurry on to Babylonia, Dr Peters wastes his time fruitless in Constantinople.

4. Dr Peters instead of acting as director, behaves entirely as dictator against the benefit of the expedition & of those who gave the money; for

a) Noorian had to stay over 20 days in the feverish Alexandretta waiting for Dr Peters, he got there the fever, asked again + again Haynes to be allowed to go to [Beylan](#), only two hours away in the healthy mountains, but was refused & has thus to stay still a fortnight longer wasting time & money & health. I protest in the name of humanity, that while Haynes did not want to stay even one night at Alexandretta, he, authorized by Peters to act as his representant, sacrifices Noorians power, although the latter implored him to take him away, without any reason.

b) I asked you to make clear the power of each other and his work; the greatest confusion prevails now, as Peters got all the power, although he understands the least of such an expedition, as he has now I think proved satisfactorily. There are three parties in the expedition: Peters + Haynes act secretly together, only commanding, never treating us as individualities. Harper + Field consequently refused to obey & go their own way. I stand alone.

c) I am sent now to Beyrût, in order to photograph the Nahr-el-Kalb inscriptions. I got this order in Smyrna through Haynes from Peters. Peters said, his authority was Mr Reylands in the British Museum for doing this. Now Reylands is an Egyptologist, but cannot read one single cuneiform inscription. I therefore, as Peters asked me to act only so as I arranged with Haynes, explained to Haynes, that it must be a mistake. Reylands + Peters say, these inscriptions are never published satisfactorily, & no photographs given. I, as Assyriologist, say: there exists the most beautiful edition, made 3 years ago by the greatest French Assyriologist, who worked 2 years in Palestine, & 6 months at least on those inscriptions. Photographs accompany the work too. Peters & Reynolds apparently do not know the work at all. I asked Harper, to give his opinion to Haynes. He says the same as I did. Haynes reports it to Peters. Yesterday I receive, again through Haynes the news, that if I should not go to Beyrût & copy these inscriptions (for which I need, by the way, at least 1 month!), Peters would be disappointed. Thus I am then on the steamer to go to Beyrûth and up into the mountains of Nahr-el-Kalb-River, obeying the unbased and unclear opinion of a man, who does not understand Assyrian himself and who gets his informations from Non-Assyriologists, while 2 experts accompany the expedition & protest against this wasting of time & money.

d) And what do you think, Dr Peters writes to me: he expects me, while he himself travels first class, to go third class as deck-passenger, i. e. sleep under the heaven at the side of Turkish workmen & beggars on the naked floor without food. I say once more, he stated expressly, that I should go as deck-passenger, I have his letter.

e) Now then I ask you, whether this all is done in the sense of the executive committee & of yourself. I cannot think so.

f) While according to our executive meeting it was plainly stated, that Dr Peters should inform Dr Harper, that 1200 \$ were granted to him for all expenses of this expedition, and I think a little less to Field, Peters did not say a word, but said in opposite: that “whatsoever they used on this expedition, would be paid by the fund.” I repeat Harper’s & Field’s words said to me by these two gentlemen, when I told them, they should be a little more careful in their expenses as they could not live so for 1200 \$. Harper became wild and asked for explication concerning the 1200 \$. He did never hear anything of the 1200 \$ allowed to him before. Consequently he had used already now more than half, before being in Alexandretta – in short, as Noorian told me yesterday with regret, Harper & Field lived like princes on their journey & in Paris. Harper stated himself to me, that he used 30 \$ a week in London for his personal use, smoking the best cigars etc, etc. At last he went so far to say, that his services were required by the expedition, he did not offer them, and that he would continue his travells in the same way as he did or return at once. I tell you sincerely, dear Dr, that both almost wasted the money. They cannot & will not eat their meal without drinking wine which all the other members of the expedition do not do, as the means allowed to us, do not go so far. Haynes told me yesterday, he would tell both, to stop this way of living. As I know Harper, who says frankly to everybody that he, being the second (???) in the expedition would not obey the last man in it, Mr Haynes, – there will be a scene between both while I am away.

Privately (& confidentially)

IV

g) I was told by Dr Peters, that the expedition would provide a gun & a revolver for everybody, also a horse. This statement has proved untrue. When I left yesterday Haynes & the rest, I asked for a revolver, as I am going alone into the mountains. I am not anxious for attacks from the Arabs, for I should not use a gun or rifle anyhow against them, but I wish to protect myself against the wild animals. I asked invain, everybody had a reason to refuse to lend me his revolver while I am on my small expedition. I then asked Haynes for two things

a) whether I should not receive any revolver at all, although Dr Peters promised me one and a gun. He answered, “no, there was no revolver for me, & the 3 guns would be divided as Dr Peters should find it fit. – I add myself to you: one was given by Dr Peters to Harper & one to Field already, and every member of the expedition except me got a revolver.”

b) whether we should receive a horse while in Babylonia. He answered no: We should ride on a hired horse to Baghdad, but afterwards only Dr Peters, he & Prince would have horses as they bought them from their own pockets. There was no necessity for horses while we excavate, we might occasionally use their horses. The expedition fund could not afford one for each.

Now then I speak frankly to you and disclose all the tricks

a) It is a lie, that Dr Peters pays from his own pocket. As he has got a salary of 2500 \$ from the fund, he can in a certain sense say, he buys the horse from his own money; in reality it is untrue.

b) As Dr Wood, according to his own report, saved his life in the neighborhood of Niffer only through the quickness of his horse when persecuted by Arabs, the others of our party need a horse just as much as the 3 others; and as quickness of action is necessary for me now where I am away from all civilisation, I shall buy a horse in any case, if Dr Peters refuses to buy me one. As however I have no money more of the 500 \$ given to me by Mr Clark, I have to act quick in an other way, which I communicate now to you, asking you to approve it. My life begins to get in real danger. Noorian, a native of the country & Haynes himself told me, we should soon see hard times & real dangers from Arabs as well as from Lyons (as we cannot make any fire in the night, having no wood in Babylonia). Was there time to wait for an answer from you, I certainly would. After how[ev]er Peters deceived me so often & Dr Trumbull left me with the words: "Hilprecht I am open to you, I rather should like you would stay here, I fear for your live, while under Peters, I ask you do never say a word against him while in the desert, but obey, however difficult it will be for you." I must protect myself. Now then I see from all the arrangements, that the first thing the loss of which makes me entirely helpless, is refused me by Haynes, acting, as he says, under the authority of Peters: namely a horse and a revolver against animals. Harper & Field will buy one at their own expenses, as they are both provided with private money.

I spent already 175 \$ for the expedition more than I got, from my own, and to be sure I shall not reclaim them. But at present I have no penny more from my own, and I have to preserve my life for others than myself, whether the director of the expedition pleases to give me the necessary money or not. To-morrow I arrive at Beyrût, my first way will be to the German Consul-General Dr. Hartmann, showing my introduction & passport, and asking him to lend me 100 \$. I hope to get a horse for 60 \$ & a revolver for ten \$ at Bagdad. Both I will buy at the moment where Dr Peters refuses, (as Haynes already did in his name) to provide me with horse & revolver. I then ask you, dear Dr., in connection with this, for 2 favors. Please:

1) get me in any way 100 \$ and send them by a banker at once to Dr Hartmann. I need this money for horse & revolver (& the rest for quick action in a necessary case), as both things

are practically refused me by Mr. Haynes, the unlawful representant of Dr Peters. If Peters, after seeing me personally, should change his mind, I, of course, return this sum to you after my return. Moreover I sell the horse again before I return!

2) When I was with you together in Lake Champlain, you told me, that Mr. Clark had increased my 1000 \$, for which I could impossibly go to the East (but which I owed to your personal sacrifice alone without the aid of the fund), by 300 \$. I then ask you most sincerely, not to hand over this money to Dr Peters, but to send it likewise to me % Dr. Hartmann, German Consul-General in Beyrût (this address is sufficient) at once. Dr. Hartmann will secretly forward it to me. These 300 \$ I need for returning from Alexandrette to America (via Germany) in the next year. To be sure I shall give you true account for every penny. But for the sake of my personal liberty I should receive it directly from you (not Peters).

Dear Dr, I have seen a good deal behind the curtain, as we say in German. I ask you for Heaven's sake, limit the power of Dr Peters in some way, define exactly the field of every member and hand one copy over to Dr Peters, one to me, but do it so, that my position does not become worse. I become nervous, when I hear of all the treacherous deeds done constantly by all the natives around, and see no unity in this expedition.

We shall not reach Bagdâd before the beginning of December, therefore not be in Niffer or Birs Nimrûd before the middle of the same month (1½ month too late!!! owing to Dr Peters delay at Constantinople). Consequently there is only time for excavating 4 months. But within this time there can really not be done anything in the extensive two-ruin places, of importance. If we have not extraordinary luck – which according to all experience is highly improbable – this expedition is a failure; I regard it already now so; for I owe full truth to you. The dictatorial power in the hands of one man has ruined us.

I propose already now to you the following: If you do not hear from me till the end of April, that there is really found something of importance, recall back all the members, do not yield to any promise of Dr Peters. But insofar as our expedition must not discredit the University of Pa. order Noorian (he is the most honest & intelligent man) to remain in Bagdâd secretly as private man, you pay him for this 100 \$ a month, including everything. He is native and has thus a chance, as he is an educated man (graduate of New Brunswick) to work in the same secret way for us, as Rassam did some years ago for the British Museum. He has lived 3 years with Dr Ward and understands much for a layman of Assyrian tablets, instructed by Dr Ward. This however must all remain a secret. He may then hire 8-10 men and, as Layard did, work without any knowledge on the side of the Turks. France & England do so constantly. This is the only way how to reach something, if we should fail. Do not believe me coward or that I see too dark. If I could, I should act according to my best conscience. Thus I have to obey for the sake of the peace but I must see, how this expedition so enthusiastically begun is already half wrecked and

will it soon be entirely, if not strict measures are taken by you at once. My heart bleeds, but how shall I stop the work. Nobody believes me! And I have received no power.

V.

Personally & privately.

Now I come to the last points. Peters writes me, he should consult me concerning your question on publishing & castmaking of the London texts. Do not allow this, dear Dr! That is the ruin of the whole. You see from what I stated above, that we have to expect nothing or very little from the work in Babylonia. Our only refuge then remains the two collections. The great mass of them has only the value of material for students, as Harper says, and is extremely difficult, he could not make out anything, and he protests, that his catalogue be used, as this would discredit him. Now then, he whosoever in my absence will take up the publication which you yielded entirely to me in May as my part of the expedition, will leave all this material of unimportance and difficulty to me, but use up all the historical texts in it (about 20). My idea was, I & my students would work them up & deliver them as a present from the Assyrian Seminary to the University on the jubilee in 1891. 15 of my students announced their intention to pass their Doctor-examination in Assyrian. Those historical texts should be published by them under my auspices as theses. If you allow casts & publishing even before your curator has seen the material the attractive point of our University will be taken away. For these very tablets shall be a means to get students to Philadelphia. Peters advices of course me in his letter, to allow the publication. He has deceived me so often, that the farther I am away from his advice the better for me. His advice to me is exactly as Vergil says: "Quidquid id est timeo Danaos et dona ferentes". He has misused the trust of the University. Here I stand his accusator, ready to prove my charges after my return.

And then one thing more, Jastrow understands exactly as much of Assyriology as the youngest of my students. Haupt is behind him. Harper wrote this also to Peters, because he saw much in London when Haupt was there. Jastrow cannot decipher a cuneiform inscription without aid. I know it, for he came often to me for the very same thing. As little as you would allow Dr. Leuf to teach pathology in the University, as little is Jastrow able for Assyrian. Ask Dr Thompson, one of our best powers in the University, he will tell you the same as I do.

One other thing more! Harper told me, that Sayce pronounced the Xerxes vase, for which Peters gave – I think – 60 pounds or 300 \$, a forgery. Sayce is an able archaeologist and travelled much in the East. He is England's only real Assyriologist. Do not exhibit it then, before I have seen it and be silent with the whole collection.

Tell Jastrow & everybody, that we shall be glad to give casts & allow the publishing of texts just as soon as your own professor has seen them & given his judgment as curator as whom you

appointed him. But that it would be unjust to those men who sacrifice their lives in the East, to give the results of their hard work into other hands before their return.

Yesterday Noorian, who knows country & languages as a native and was strongly recommended by his friend Dr Ward to you, explained to Haynes, that if Peters should refuse to give him a horse, he would not leave Alexandretta for the interior but return to America, as he did not want to sacrifice his life for Dr Peters, if Arabs should attack the party.

Have I to give account for my travelling expenses to Haynes or to the fund? Is it your intention, that I shall go to Athens, Khios, the catacombs of Makry etc, without leaving the boat and examining them, because I need 3 \$ (Athens), 25 cts (Khios), 20 cts (Makry), 2½ \$ (Tarsus & Adana)? Haynes refuses to allow those small items as travelling expenses. Shall I go with blind eyes to Babylon, only to see Babylon, nothing else on the route? Peters has the money, I do not receive anything from Haynes except as a loan, is that right? For what purpose am I after all on that expedition?? I am entirely in their hands & power far from civilisation.

[1888-10-14. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 107-112. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Oct. 14/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I sent you a note in Dresden about some antiquities [1888-09-02]. I wish to keep you informed regarding all such things as I find, knowing your special interest in antiquities. My own idea is that as matters stand now I should not buy, unless something very rare & unusual in our line, or something dirt cheap turns up. I have had one present here of a very nice little seal, which I shall of course turn over to the Fund collection. There are a few tablets & cylinders which I am examining & negotiating for in the slow manner peculiar to this country. The amount of money involved is small, & if I can procure them at my own terms I shall take them. Other things which I cannot take I try to send over to the United States in this way. I write to Cesnola of the Metropolitan, & Goode of the National Museum, or to Dr. Ward, or Prof. Lyon, telling of the objects, & offering them the opportunity to purchase on the same terms as offered us. So I have sent a catalogue of another Shemtob collection, & a notice of the valuable bronze in Shemtob's possession, a notice of the [Culter](#) collection, of the [Yansouni](#) collection of Palmyrene antiquities, of the Artaxerxes vase in Constantinople, & of a few miscellaneous Greek objects. In this way I hope to secure for the United States as much as I can, & at the same time to win the hearty cooperation & friendship of these other parties. Of the objects mentioned above the bronze statue in Shemtob's possession is the most valuable. It is of the time, according to the inscription, of Kudur-Mabug, of the Elamite dynasty, between 2000 & 2500 B.C. His price is 500£, or I suppose about £200 cash. I scarcely think it is worth that to us at this moment. The Artaxerxes vase here is the next object in value. I am awaiting replies to questions addressed to Pinches & Sayce. But my impression is that at the present stage that vase is not worth \$220 to us. On the other hand I should think it well worth the while for the Metropolitan to acquire both objects.

Antiquities of every sort fill my soul with covetousness. I am making the acquaintance of the antiquity dealers here, & examining their supplies from time to time. I have also visited various local antiquities. In the wall of the old Seraglio, or rather in one of the wall towers is a piece of marble with an inscription of about 475 B.C. In the wall of a palace in one of the villages along the Bosphorus is another Greek inscription antedating the Christian era. On the quay at another village, about to be used in construction, are two more pre-Christian inscriptions. These latter I am trying to induce Hamdi Bey to put in his Museum. It is very trying to a man who loves these things to see them going to waste. I know you are as fond of these things as I am myself, & so I am telling you my plaint.

As to our permission to dig, the delay is very exasperating, but we are progressing. The plan of campaign is this. I am conciliating the Minister of Public Instruction & Hamdi Bay, who were our enemies, & who defeated the special permission. I obtain the permission to dig, with a few special concessions, including a somewhat wider field than the law specifies, & also, the law to the contrary notwithstanding, the permission to export duplicates; then, after I have got to work, & am out of their reach Mr. Straus says, You have not granted him enough; & works hard to secure us still more, & especially, in case we have found anything, to get the government to present it to us. Mr. Straus is confident of his power to get us better terms. Things are dark & mysterious here, & prophets are apt to come to grief, but I believe that if we find anything worth having you will see it in Philadelphia.

I showed your note about the loan to Gargulio, & sent you his answer [1888-10-11], & suggested that you should see Mr. Straus. I cannot be sure whether the parties at the treasury making the proposal are trying to open new sources of supply, & hence look to America, or whether they think that in case of foul play the U.S.A. would do nothing & another nation would. They do seem willing to make terms with an American syndicate which they would not with another. The customs are not pledged. But the Constantinople customs house, in spite of its very large receipts, is not the best for a pledge. It is too close to headquarters, & in case of want the Sultan puts his hand in there. Moreover a new war would drive the Sultan out of Europe, & what then? Smyrna, Alexandretta (Iskanderoun) & Beyrouth are better. If those customs were taken in pledge, the pledge would be pretty safe under any circumstances, provided only the U.S.A. government could be relied upon in an extreme emergency to send a ship-of-war to visit the port chosen, & provided an astute native or American native (Azarian is the only man I now know of) were in the matter, so as to attend to things on the spot. I suppose too that the shorter the time of the loan the better. Large sums are to be made by such loans, but the risk is considerable, & one needs to look well, undoubtedly.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1888-10-15. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 128-131. L-1432.5. HO]

Entirely confidentially:

Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria  
Oct. 15 (Monday) [1888]

My dear Dr. Pepper

In addition to the accompanying letter which I wrote in such a form, that it may be read by anybody of the Executive Committee and perhaps used by Dr Trumbull for the S. S. Times (changing the whole into good English before), I feel it my duty to write to you as Provost and my true friend who stood at my side in many trials, the following note. I wrote on the steamer yesterday in an excited way 12 pages. I tore them just now into pieces. I shall be objective and "sine ira et studio". My whole advice culminates in the one word: Act quick after you read these lines, act very quick, or the expedition is an entire wreck before January. In order to be short, I cannot give now all the reasons for my items, but do not forget, that I shall prove every word, as soon as I am back. God is my witness.

- 1) My fundamental and, repeated again & again before you, that Dr Peters will get no firman, has been proved so far. I tell you to-day, after I saw & heard many things, that Dr Peters according to my full conviction based on the judgment of myself & experts will never get it. Let there be no farther mistake.
- 2) Dr. Peters got the permission to excavate at Niffer & Birs-Nimrûd, the 2 worst places to be selected for our expedition, but with the condition to leave all antiquities in the hands of the Turks. This permission, so far as I know, is only oral and will be disregarded by the officials of Bagdâd. Dr Post is fully convinced of it.
- 3) Niffer & Birs-Nimrud represent comparatively old places, but so extensive, that only an expedition which can risk to work 2-5 years without finding anything of significance, should undertake it. Prof. Oppert excavated at Birs-Nimrud two years. His results were like nothing. Niffer on the other side is situated in the midst of lawless tribes, entirely surrounded by swamps, the most favorite place for lyons – and worst of all without any fresh water. The latter has to be brought there from a day distance.
- 4.) In view of that which I have said – and Dr Post, just consulted, agrees with my judgment entirely from his medical standpoint – the health & life of the party is in the greatest danger. Noorian had the fever in Alexandretta, Haynes has it daily even now & is comparatively weak & unenergetic, Field – Dr Post saw him & is afraid for him – looks so delicate, that I fear for his life. How shall those men stand the climate, after they succumbed even now? I am, praise to God, entirely well.
- 5) From the letters of Dr Peters sent to me there is apparent such a nervousness & such an unsound & illogical judgment, that I ask you to consider the following things, only to be explained from his excitement about the consequences of this expedition:

- a) He sends me to Beyrût to copy the Nahr-el-Kelb inscriptions after the advice of Mr Reylands, an Egyptologist (without any knowledge of Assyrian) in the British Museum. I ask him to consider, that they are well edited by Pognon 3 years or so ago and that I feel it wasted time & money better to be preserved for other excavations or purchases of tablets. Harper says the same. Notwithstanding his 2 Assyriologists speak against it, he urges me to go (“I should be much chagrined & disappointed if you did not go”) because a layman in Assyrian advises him so.
- b) Haynes, a man of comparatively small knowledge, is appointed by Dr Peters to represent him, while he is in Constantinople himself. Harper & Field revolt and do as they like, spend much money in an unreasonable way and say, if they could not live & travel first class everywhere, they did not care for the expedition at all.
- c) Dr Peters did not tell Harper or Field, that a certain sum was fixed to pay their expenses, but (against our minutes of acts) that whatever they used on that expedition would be paid to them. Harper e.g. did not know a bit, that only 1200 \$ were granted to him, and he became raging when I asked him to limit his expenses accordingly. Noorian told me, that both Harper & Field wasted the money in England resp. France (I tell you examples after my return!). Therefore you will not be astonished that Harper has used more than half of the money allowed to him, before he landed in Asia, and that it is entirely impossible now for him to get along with the sum fixed.
- d) Peters told Harper & Field they did not use a passport for Turkey. – You are however not allowed to enter the harbour of any Turkish place without it. They examine it while you stand in the boat. Both accordingly had not a paper. If not the American consul of Athens accidentally was on our steamer, the trouble would have been enormous.
- e) Much money has been wasted, & Dr. Peters tries now to save it in the wrong places. Haynes told me (authorized by Peters) that only he, Peters & Prince would have a horse in Babylonia, the rest of the party might use occasionally theirs. That means the death of the expedition. Dr Ward, who was attacked on his expedition by the lawless tribes around Niffer, saved his life and that of his companions only through the quickness of their horses. Haynes agrees, that the dangers waiting for us are immense, but will risk the consequences for the rest of the expedition. This means to tempt God, who hitherto saved us in the wreck on the Ocean. When Noorian heard this decision, he declared before Haynes & me, as he, a native of Assyria, is acquainted with the country & its dangers the best of us all: “if Dr Peters does not buy a horse to me, I shall leave for America from Alexandrette directly the day after Peters arrives.” You will have to expect a general revolt in the next future.
- f) Although Dr. Peters promised me (in Philadelphia) to furnish a gun & a revolver to me and so prohibited me from buying those things myself, I have not received either of both, while the whole expedition, each member, is provided with one. I asked Haynes for one, he told me on Saturday, that there would not be any for me, although I have to go alone very often alone. For example now I ride up alone into the mountains, am working there till night, and have not even a weapon to defend me if (as daily happens) I am attacked by some robber or impudent beggar.
- g) Peters requested me to go to Beyrût as deckpassenger (= 3. or 4<sup>th</sup> class), while he, Field & Harper & Haynes travel first class. The captain Mc-Dugol of the English boat, did not allow me to stay in the heavy dew after 10 o’clock in the night on deck, but Peters asks me (I have his

letter) to sleep on the naked floor of the steamer (there are no beds nor food for deckpassengers) side aside with the lowest class of Oriental paupers surrounded (as it was in facto!) by sheep + swines and to stay in such condition 2 days + 2 nights!! I refused + shall refuse anything of this kind in future, because it is beneath my dignity and that of my University.

h) Dr Peters says, in order to quiet a revolt, he & Haynes buy their horses for Babylonia from their own expenses. This is an untruthful statement; for Dr. Peters + Haynes got a salary from the fund, we others not and have therefore entirely to depend on Dr Peters who has charge of the money but administrates the whole expedition not as director but as dictator, blind against our advices.

i) Dr. Peters wrote 3 times to Dr Post asking him to procure him a physician at once and asked me now to get one with Dr Post's aid. Dr Post, who asked me just now to tell you & Dr Peters, "not to hold him responsible for starting this expedition without having a firman, which would have been the only correct way", declared: "I shall not engage a physician before Dr Peters has his firman, I do not want to increase the expenses without plausible reason." – He is right + honest, acting for our best.

Sed satis superque! Facts speak louder than all my talk.

[Written upside down on p. 1 above the address:]

Dr Post will forward the letter of credit, which you will send me after this letter, I pray you, to my address in Babylonia + take of 200 \$ to pay Harris.

entirely confidentially

## II.

Prof. Rendell Harris is at present with me here, while his wife stays at Brumanah in the mountains of Lebanon. He, Dr Bliss the president of the college, Dr Post fully agree with me, that the expedition, having no firman & waiting from day to day here & there (Beyrut, Alexandrette, °Aintâb, Constantinople) is near to be called a wreck. We shall not arrive in Bagdâd before middle of December, there we need some rest, the Turkish officials will prevent us from leaving the city. Thus in the best case we have only 3 months for excavating (1 January – end of March). What three months mean for working on the most extensive mounds of Babylon, goes without saying. 99 stand over against 1, that we do not find anything. I have studied the history of excavations perhaps better than any other person in America & speak therefore from the experience of others. Now then I speak plainly to you on the question which you wanted Dr Peters to consult with me – i.e. cast-making & publishing of some or all of the tablets of the 2 London collections.

As most probably the expedition will be a dreary wreck through the inability of its leader being entirely unprepared for such a thing and not listening to the advices of his colleagues, those 2 collections remain as our own last refuge. My dear Dr, oh listen only this one time to me in this special case. Could you look into my soul & heart, you would find both unegotistic and considering only the best of University for which you gave your whole "ego" during the last ten years. Our collections consist of 2 classes of tablets: "historical" & comparatively easy and contract & omen-

tablets (very difficult). The historical inscriptions must be preserved for the general publication of the great work after our return, the[y] contain the cream. There exist about 50000 contract tablets all over Europe & America. Scholars care very little for them. Jastrow is entirely unable to read any Assyrian or Babylonian inscription alone, Haupt then (as Harper too believes after what he saw in London!) is behind him. My students (Rogers not excepted) shall not fool their time away with trials on these inscriptions. They must read first what has been published, and to do this, they need more than a winter. I left a lesson-plan for each of the students of mine. Let them work this up at first. After our return casts may be taken, but as Harper's catalogue is worthless (he could read only few of the texts as he told me), I, your responsible curator, must see them at first. Therefore, what reasons however may be given to you – I considered them all in advance – let nobody publish a bit of these texts, before I saw them. You see, if somebody published them before, it looks afterwards, as if we could not read them, or insofar as I want our publication a work worth of the University of Pa, we need the first publication, not the second. The second will not be bought in Europe or America.

Do not exhibit the Xerxes vase! We paid, I think, 60 pounds for it. You remember, how I asked you on Lake Champlain, to leave this thing out for some other Institute. After I got now all the descriptions of Harper about it, I herewith declare this Xerxes vase – and I do not care, whether all the Assyriologists are against me – the meanest fraud ever brought into market. Do not exhibit this thing, it will bring disgrace to the University; as soon as I am back again, I shall furnish you all the overwhelming material for proving it to be a forgery. That Peters & Harper did not see this, I cannot understand. Once more do not exhibit it! Please take the Nebuchadrezzar cylinder into your house during my absence. There is much noise about it. Either it is a forgery too or one of the finest things brought into market. In the latter case, you must prevent, that any person (Jastrow not excepted) gets access to it.

October 17<sup>th</sup>,

My dear Dr! Yesterday I went on horseback to Nahr-el-Kalb, and examined everything to be seen there. The Sirokko suddenly fell over me while I was copying. I came in full darkness home, entirely exhausted, unable even to sleep or drink or eat. The heat is fearful. Every person who is acquainted with the country, asks me to stay at home. But I am so nervous, that after I rested to-day and feel less pain in nechet & chest, I shall start to-morrow in the morning half past 4 o'clock again. Here you have my judgment about the sculptures there.

Nobody hitherto made out much of them, they are too effaced. Yet after I sat 2 hours measuring & copying, I found that even such man as the late Robinson of New York who speaks the last time on these inscriptions need much correction. Thus I quickly resolved to edit the whole thing in a last decisive way once more – as a final monograph on the subject. Here we need really money, it would be wrong to save it here. In the cheap way suggested by Peters, it cannot be done. Everybody here laugh at me, as soon as I spoke about it. I then ordered, thinking to have your approval

- 1) 20-25 photo's to be taken by the best photograph recommended by Dr Post, Cosent Millin (German vice-consul) etc.
- 2) I take all the squeezes myself in addition to these photographs
- 3) I work 4-6 days copying every bit of the inscriptions
- 4) I describe the flora & character of the rock (supported by Dr Post) etc.

Harris rightly remarked to me a few minutes ago when I told him of my plan: "If you write only this monograph in the way suggested by you, you save the expedition from being wrecked entirely, and the scholars will be indebted to you for such a work." I then want your help, dear Dr. – Peters will not give more a penny away from the money left to him, as so much was wasted hitherto. Yet the work must be done. I shall need for the whole about 100 \$, perhaps less, perhaps a trifle more. Please try to get this sum somewhere, but not from your own pocket, you did already so much for the expedition.

I spoke frankly to Dr Post, Harris about Dr Peters plan, not to buy a horse to each member. Both shook their heads & told me, I could not risk to stay in Babylonia without my own horse (which I have to sell again when I leave Alexandrette). According to the experience I had in the Nahr-el-Kalb matter & in other things with Dr. Peters, I know he will not change his mind, except a general rebellion breaks out against him. And this I must prevent, in such a case I have to stand firmly on his side. I am then going to buy my own horse & revolver, but having no money left to me & being unable to get it from Dr. Peters for this purpose, I must unfortunately ask you for an other 100 \$. I have to act quick, and all experts are on my side.

This country is worse than I thought. Every person speaks of our going to Babylonia as a matter of life & death. As long as I am able, I must protect my health & life myself. And as I am aware, that the success of the expedition will depend a good deal on the energetic action of somebody, I must be entirely free in my movement, to go & to see wherever I expect something to find. A horse is necessary as bread for us, and likewise a revolver against the wild animals which abound in Babylonia and will trouble us, as we never can have any fire during night out of want of wood or grass.

I shall give you true account for every penny when I return. You promised me on Lake Champlain, after a consultation with Mr Clark, 300 \$ more for my expenses (in order to return). By no means send this sum to Peters. I shall else be hampered again. Send all the money as quick as possible as letter of credit (good for Beyrûth, Bagdâd, Aleppo, Constantinopel, Smyrna, Cairo) to H.V. Hilprecht % Dr. Post, Protestant College, Beyrût, Syria. I lend 200 \$ from Harris in the meantime.

Limit Dr Peters power, if still possible, by writing to him (in an insuspicious way!), when he has to consult me, who shall be his successor in case of sickness (very necessary!) etc and that you are annoyed by his long delay, holding him responsible for it. At all events call back all members of

the expedition in spring. I shall suggest to you a plan for a second year. [*ill*] the expedition should be wrecked [*two ill*] different part + for 3000 \$ with view of success.

### III

Confidentially.

written in intervals & therefore some slight repetition in the second paragraph

Be not impatient with this long letter! I shall be overwatched in my correspondence just as soon as I am back from Beyrût. I do not know therefore, whether I shall be able again to send you a note from the expedition field, except containing formal news, and Dr Peters will certainly ask me (as Haynes already did) to enclose my letter to you in his – in order to save money of course!!! You understand me.

It was a bad thing on the side of Peters, that he made Haynes his representant. Haynes is a man of very small knowledge, much inferior to Field's, Harper's & of myself. Moreover he is very slow in his action and does not like to give answers on the questions why he acts so & so. Harper & Field feel hurt by this ignoring of their personalities. They revolted already. He has been 7-8 years in the East, but speaks Turkish only in a very broken way and does not understand Arabic at all. Of Assyrian of course he knows nothing, not even the outline of the history of Assyrian excavations. He excuses his slowness constantly with the phrase: "you have to get accustomed to this in Turkey." Noorian, who is a native & lived 25 years in the country and therefore has a better judgment becomes rather mad of this so called Turkish custom. He cannot understand Haynes.

So far then to-day! Your time is limited, and I am sorry to draw you such a picture. Unfortunately it is true. "Cassandra" sees the fate of Troja – but cannot hinder it. Let me then conclude with some other subject. Mrs. Pepper asked me to buy certain specifically Oriental objects. You were going to give me the money at once. I was obliged to refuse, because I did not know the prizes. To-day I give you what I hitherto found out:

- 1) Old coins (copper & silver) of the Roman emperors of the time 200-400 A.D. (Maximinus, Antoninus, Constantius etc) from c. 10 cts up to 50 cts.
- 2) Smyrna carpets, from 2 feet square to 6 feet c. 8 \$ - 30 \$ and more according to quantity.
- 3) Shoes of Rhodes, made only in Rhodes by the prisoners: walnut inlaid with mother of pearls (*drawing* rather sandals!) 50-75 cts
- 4) All kinds of small boxes made in the same way only in Rhodes (4-5 inches long + 2 inches broad): 16-20 cts.
- 5) Small burses made of silk by the natives of Alexandrette or Adana in Asia minor, best quality: 60-75 cts (very nice as presents for ladies; I could order them through missionary ladies and get them perhaps cheaper).
- 6) Nargileh or Turkish water pipe from 2 \$ up to 10 \$ according to quality.
- 7) Fez of good kind, 40-50 cts a piece
- 8) all kinds of old Turkish weapons, partly of silver: 5 \$ and high upwards
- 9) Coloured silk handkerchiefs or coverings, used by the inhabitants (women) as headkerchief = 1 \$ upwards.

10) Photos of places & native customs 12 cts – 40 cts.

And many other things. A good many more I shall see at Bagdâd and Bassorah or Aleppo (supposed Dr Peters really goes to Aleppo, it is funny, he will touch neither Aleppo or Damask, the two most ancient cities still in existence!). You have now about an idea of the prizes. Send then such a sum that you think I shall use for this purpose, also to Dr Post (perhaps in a letter of credit on the Ottoman Bank in Beyrût, Bagdâd, Aleppo, Adana & Constantinople. Be convinced that I shall try to buy really nice Oriental things and as cheap as possible too through the aid of different friends. God with you & the University! I am not discouraged but need orders in order to stop an entire wrecking of the expedition.

Yours sincerely Hilprecht.

[1888-10-19. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 113-115. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Oct. 19/88 Constantinople

My dear Mr. Clark

Thanks to Mr. Gargulio's efforts, & careful following up of the case, our permission has passed the Council. There are still some details to be settled before the papers are actually put in our hands by the Minister of Public Instruction, & I can not tell how long that will take, but with him to follow the matter up & push it, not long I hope. In the mean time the other members of the party are at work, Hilprecht in Beyrouth, & the others in Aintab & vicinity. I am not altogether idle, but have secured a few valuable articles at low figures. For example some articles valued by the British Museum at £25 to £30 I obtained for £12. Our permission is, in my estimation, if I understand its provisions, not unfavorable. It gives us permission to export such objects as are not needed by the Museum here. If we have only in black & white a permission to export, we are all right. By the terms of the Law that can be made to give us one half of all that is found, I think. For the owner of the land is entitled to one half of the objects found, & we shall simply have to make our land find an owner, whose share we can manage to obtain. I may be mistaken in my calculations, but I think not.

I suggested two possibilities as to the reason why the loan should be offered at better terms to Americans. Without my mentioning either one to him, Mr. Gargulio offers this explanation, volunteers it of himself. The Turks are anxious to get hold of a new set of loan makers. To do so they are willing to make exceptional terms. The first parties to whom they make a loan will get the advantage of those special terms, & special securities. Afterwards, in case other American capitalists are attracted, they will get no better terms, or better securities than other lenders.

Mr. Gargulio points out that the recent German loan for £1500 000 was taken at 70, & receives 5 %, & has no custom house security. The Ottoman Bank would very gladly make a loan on custom house security, but that the Turkish Government is afraid of. It is not willing to let the Ottoman Bank circle get control of the customs. I suppose to a considerable extent they are afraid of the political influences lying behind. Mr. Gargulio is very urgent to have you come here for yourself, talk with the authorities, look over the ground, & see whether you, on your return to America, would wish to take the matter up. If you do not wish to do so, & if on reflection you do not feel inclined to consider the matter, perhaps you could suggest some Americans who might like to take it up, & put Mr. Gargulio in the way of communicating with them under as favorable auspices as practicable. I suppose Mr. Straus might be able to do so, but his position as Minister,

renders it, I imagine, rather a delicate thing to do. Perhaps there is some one now abroad, who might be willing to come here, & see how things stand.

Yours sincerely John P. Peters.

[1888-10-27. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 60-61. HO]

Constantinople Oct. 27/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I write in haste in order that enclosure may find you still in London. I have written Harper, but he is in interior, & it will take two weeks to reach him, & 6 weeks for letter from him to reach Dr. Pepper. Is it possible to duplicate invoice at consul's office, & have it forwarded to Dr. Pepper?

I will send you in a few days, so as to reach you before you leave Liverpool a couple of seal cylinders, one of which was presented to me, & the other was thrown in extra in a small lot of things which I secured. Neither are valuable, but both are genuine. I thought you might like to have them to take over with you for the collection.

I shall invest no further at present. A new delay. However now day of departure is definitely fixed for Nov. 8<sup>th</sup>. Deposit required of us is 100£t, which is to be returned afterward. We have to pay 20£t for firman; & salary of commissioner who accompanies us, & who is now in Bassorah is 20£t per month.

I heard Grand Vizier give orders for form of [Mogbata](#), to be presented for Sultan's signature, & it was satisfactory.

My best regards to Mrs. Clark. I hope Herbert has entirely recovered.

Yours faithfully

John P. Peters.

[1888-10-28. *Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 132-135. L-1432.8. HO*]

Confidentially!

Syrian Protestant College  
Beyrût

I.

Oct. 28, 1888; 11 o'clock night

Syria

5 hours, before I leave Beyrût for the interior on horseback.

My dear Dr Pepper,

A fortnight has passed, since I arrived at Beyrût. My long letter [1888-10-15] will have reached you, I trust. And the telegram, which I shall order to be sent to you from here about the time where my first letter will be in your hands, will be delivered to you.

I sent the telegram in order to stop the money for which I asked you in my letter a week ago. To day I give you the reasons. As I probably shall be away from Beyrût at the time when the money would reach this city and the Ottoman bank would pay only to the man on whose name the money-letter is made out, I have to propose you the following way.

- 1) I lent 15 napoleons = 12 English pounds from Prof. Harris in order to pay part of the expenses which originated from the photographers work. Please send then 12 English pounds in a check made out in the name of Dr. Bliss to Prof. Rendell Harris

% Dr. Bliss

president of the Syr. Protest College

Beyrût

Syria

Harris needs the money within the second week of December.

- 2) The money which you want me to spend for weapons, fancy-work etc for you & Mrs.

Pepper, enclose in the sum which you will send me for return-voyage (300 \$), & horse + revolver (c 100 \$), and send then the whole sum as a letter of credit made out by Brown & Shipley (or Brown & brothers as the Philadelphia firm reads) in my name.

And this letter of yours will at the same time encourage this hearty co-working between American college & German hospital in the medical work. The hospital is supported only by the German aristocracy & was erected after the massacre in 1860.

My trip has been very successful. I am now able to give the final critical edition of the monuments at Nahr-el-Kelb, as I made some new discoveries and cleared up 6-10 difficult points, on which Layard, Robinson, Sayce & Lepsius differed. But let not this my work become known now. Haupt might easily get over here in his jealousy, and publish then the copies, before I return. Let this be our future policy, to be silent as the grave till we are back. My advice is: "in silentio et in spe erit fortitudo nostra." Do not say a word to Jastrow about my copying them, he is not diplomatic enough towards Haupt and Adler. I also found a small seal with Dr Schröder, the greatest Phenician authority, our German consul general here. He kindly permitted me to copy it. It settles a long discussed question, although the inscription has only 2 lines. Schröder became intimate friend to me. He who just comes from Constantinopel (where he was in the German ambassady for years), tells me frankly, there is not the least hope for a firman for us. France would never allow it. Germany got the firman 2 years ago through its political pressure, but a few days after it was contradicted by the

Sultan, as France demanded the same right for its own. The Sultan cannot give it to one state; he must give it to all powers or to none. Therefore please abandon all hope for a firman. Dr Schröder who was employed for a long series of years in the German diplomatic service at Constantinople and is very sincere to me as his colleague in Semitic languages & as his countryman, is my authority for it, and our American consul here, Mr Bissinger, with whom I had a long talk, told me exactly the same. Yo[u] see now, I was only – unhappily! – too right in my position which I took. No telegram from Peters yet, that I shall leave Beyrut for Alexandretta. We can now be [supposed even Peters telegraphs to-morrow, what is entirely improbable] at Babylonia not before 1<sup>st</sup> of January. We have in this case only 2½ months for excavation, scarcely enough to touch the immense ruins of Niffer, unfortunately selected by Dr Peters. The expedition then is a wreck, as I foretold you.

Now then my private hints to you. Let at no events remain Dr Harper as our representant. He is too interested for Yale, and what Dr Peters should never have allowed, he bought already a valuable historical cylinder for Yale, which Peters should have bought for us in London. Field is a very, very delicate nature, entirely unfit to work much in heat, but if you have no better man and wish to leave an architect here, leave him. My advice then: call us all back at once, if not Peters has some kind of permission till end of November. I should like to stay, because I could do lot of work for our University in Palestine, desert & Egypt, and I suppose I have your full trust. But if you could not put at my disposal (I only being made entirely responsible for it) 1000 \$ more, I could not accomplish much. I make no promises, I say as matters stand. For 1000 \$ however I could do a good deal, being not hampered in my movements by orders of an unexpert in Assyriology.

Peters must be demanded to stay for an other year in Bagdâd, if you should call us back. But he must work on an entirely different plan. Dr Schröder concedes that my plan, I now suggest to you, is the only one which can have success. The French follow it somewhat modified for 10 years & increase daily their treasures in the Louvre.

Here my plan:

Peters must reside at Bagdâd, as long as the heat allows. During summer he must go to the Wan-lake (high in the mountains & full of ruins of Assyrian period). He must work as follows:

- 1) He goes to Bagdâd as if he came to study the language or to enter the business of some merchant there, who is his confident (e.g. Blockey). I allow that it is difficult for Peters, as he is now a known person in Constantinople & nobody more will believe him at Bagdâd, where the news came from Stambul already, and where he is now looked upon with suspicion.
- 2) He engages 10-20 workmen, to excavate secretly far away from Bagdad on that spot which I, the Professor of Assyriology in your University, prescribe him. I am the only competent person on those questions in Philadelphia – for it is my specialty. Laymen should not be allowed to say a word again on those points. First of all Peters should not fix the place, as he is entirely unable, being no Assyriologist.
- 3) Those Arabs work for Peters, as if they work, as they constantly do now, for themselves. No human being in Philadelphia or Bagdad except you & the executive committee is allowed to know anything of the operation. First of all, all communication is stopped in the press.

- 4) Peters must get a salary of 2500 \$ a year to stay in Bagdad & 2500 \$ more to operate & buy tablets.
- 5) Our consul Haynes cannot do it, he is not man + scholar enough for it.
- 6) If Peters should not wish to stay longer, I am willing to stay under the following conditions:
  - a) that I am allowed to get my wife over at once & that 300 \$ are allowed to me for that.
  - b) that I receive the salary of 2500 \$ ascribed to Dr Peters above
  - c) that Dr Trumbull is entirely willing to let me go for another year, with the understanding that I furnish him all the Oriental lessons in his paper for this year from Bagdad. What he is willing to pay for them, you may receive in the fund, from which my salary is paid. I do not want anything extra for this work.
  - d) that Dr Trumbull (and I know this [i//] kind hearted Christian & noble soul wishes it so) will have the first right on my old work in his office, when I return.
  - e) That the University of Pennsylvania, if I return with success, promises me to pay me a salary as its curator & professor of Assyrian – as much as you think my services worth.
  - f) that what I send over or excavate, is entirely left unpublished, till I return; that it is then classified by me, that fine specimens are selected for our own students at first, and that I then grant to all colleagues [who wish to use it] the entirely free use of our Museum under my control, which always will be objective and controlled by you, the Provost.
  - g) that as soon as I return, I start in connection with the Philosophical society (in order to save money) a series of papers in the same way as you do it in the medical faculty and James does it in the Wharton School
  - h) that if we continue our work in this way for some years after my return, the best of my students who passed his Dr-examination with us becomes my successor, provided that he works hard in Assyrian and first of all in modern Arabic.

All the expenses needed for this kind of work, are 5000 \$ a year (incl. the salary of the person residing at Bagdad).

As nobody yet knows me personally in Constantinople or Bagdad, nobody will hamper me & nobody needs to know where in America I am; and in Bagdad, where few Europeans only live, I introduce myself as a private scholar who seeks recreation for one year in the dry air of Bagdad.

This I have to propose you as the only plan having success, certain success. We must work without firman secretly. If we now return, being then wrecked through Dr Peters overconfidence, everybody will laugh. Therefore consult at once with the Committee, first at all with Dr Trumbull, and then call directly all of us back, with the excuse that the season is too far advanced for excavation through the delay in Constantinople. A spot will always remain on this expedition, with grief I must see and hear the hard words about it. You know, how sincerely I in the winter advised you, nobody however outside knows of it. If you call back, then give me at least a little chance to save my honour before the world in some way, by allowing me to stay a few months longer for research in Palestine and Egypt or Arabia. I shall live for almost nothing. But, however difficult it becomes to me, to leave after I

scarcely landed, in the interest of the fund, of the University and of our honour, I must advice you as your professor who promised fidelity when he accepted his chair from you: "stop this expedition, if Dr Peters has no firman or written permission of some kind till end of November." Else we make our University ridiculous with this large expedition accomplishing nothing and yet constantly using up capital. One sneers here already about it on American side, asking, why Dr Peters did not apply to the College for information about the firman, etc.

I had fever (101°) during the last week, having contracted it at the Nahr-el Kelb, I stood 18 hours on the ladder, with the magnifying glass examining all traces of cuneiform characters. The Sirocco was blowing like from a furniss. Hami although resting the whole day on the ground, while I copied, became so sick from the hot pressure, that he had to leave for the mountains, from where he returned yesterday much better. We had 93 degrees at 5 o'clock A.M. before sunset [*sic*]. In the nights till 12 o'clock I worked up, what I copied in day-time. At ¾ before 4 A.M. I left on horseback, at 7 I returned in the night during 5 days. The river is 2½ hours away from here. The ladder had to be carried there on a horse too. Now I am much better since I rested 2 days. Do not trouble yourself for my health.

To-morrow at 4 A.M. I shall start alone into the interior. I found a note in Porter's book "Five years at Damascus", that some cuneiform inscriptions never examined or copied before are near Akâra in the Lebanon, 7000 feet above the sea in a wild region 3 days from here. From there I shall visit the ceders of Lebanon, cross the pass (8000 feet) and go to Wadi Brissa, to examine the Nebukadnezzar inscriptions, once only published by Pognon. It is a very lonely region, and the Bedouin robbers are so bad there, that I was asked by all the professors of the college, on[e] of whom was robbed there last year, not to visit it. At the request of the Wali of Damascus, the Pacha of Lebanon sent a division of cavalry against the robbers a day before yesterday. The road is entirely unsafe, but I risk the job. As our expedition stands so bad, I must go to accomplish something. I have neither bed nor anything with me, Haynes gave me only 85 \$ for the whole trip to Beyrût, I cannot buy anything there and shall try to sleep in my cloak under the heaven as long as I have no fever. I must travel for 35 \$ left to me for horses & everything 16 days long, 1 Franc 20 ct is my daily sum for food & rest during the night. God will and must protect me. If the robbers should catch me, they will leave me naked on the spot. I should be very sorry for my cuneiform-Mss. only & my thermometers. Send the money soon! As ever yours sincerely & thankfully Hilprecht

[1888-10-29. *Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.05, 62-63. HO*]

Constantinople, Oct. 29/88

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

My dear Mr. Clark

I find that goods were shipped by Messrs. David Taylor & Sons, 61 Mark Lane. The Consul General here tells me I should write to them to attend to invoice, & that Consul cannot do it. I am writing them by this mail.

I learn that the Sultan is very eager to see one of Edison's Improved Phonographs, & that a present of one of those objects would be very acceptable. This just reached me from the palace yesterday, Sunday, when I was at Hissar on the Bosphorus, staying with the Robert College people. If the Improved Phonograph is yet on the market, will you not order one shipped at once to me c/o Hon. O.S. Straus, Legation of United States of America. Let it come in the quickest way possible. If it has not yet been put on the market, is there any way of securing a specimen? It would be a very clever move if we could get one to him while he wants it. I understand that the price of the improved phonograph is to be about \$60. It would pay us three or four or more times its value.

I send by this mail the two seal cylinders, of which I spoke, for the collection.

I am addressing this to London, hoping it may catch you before you leave.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

I suppose you know circumstances & details of the loan of £ 1 500 000 to the Ottoman government just made by the Deutsche Bank. It was taken at 70, "without concessions"!

[1888-11-02. E.W. Clark to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 19-20. L-19. HO]

London Nov. 2<sup>d</sup> 1888

My dear D<sup>r</sup>. Pepper

I received from D<sup>r</sup> Peters two days ago your letter of 8th Oct. about the missing Consular Certif. I went to the Consul's & found what was wanted, but could get no information about the boxes until I found Mr. Shemtob from whom the antiquities were bought. He helped Mr. Harper pack them and kept a memo of the number of boxes and their contents. It seemed quite in order for him as former owner to sign the application for a consular certif. We went to the Consul's office and the clerk in charge was satisfied and the papers were piled up and signed and I called for & received the enclosed Certif. at noon today. I hope it will be acceptable to the collector of the port of Phila. and the [June](#) bond will be cancelled & returned. If the interposition of Shemtob in the matter appears at your end to be irregular you must try to make the certif. acceptable as it will be difficult to arrange the matter in any other way in the absence of D<sup>r</sup> Harper.

I have a letter of Oct. 29th from D<sup>r</sup> Peters and will bring it home with me (on City of N.Y. Nov. 7<sup>th</sup>) and consult you about it. The Sultan, it appears, wants one of Edison's Improved Phonographs and D<sup>r</sup> Peters thinks we had better buy one of [*ill.*] & send it to Constantinople.

D<sup>r</sup> P. expected to leave for Chaldea on 8<sup>th</sup> inst.

I hope to reach Phila. on 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> & will endeavor to see you at an early day

Yours truly

E.W. Clark

[1888-11-12. Straus to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 1-3. L-25. HO]

United States Legation  
CONSTANTINOPLE

Nov. 12/88.

Dear Dr Pepper

Your favor of the 17<sup>th</sup> ult. reached me in due course. I reached my post on the 5<sup>th</sup> inst having been unavoidably delayed in London on account of illness in my family. Immediately upon my arrival here I took up the archaeological matter and am having daily conferences about it.

The matter is now before the Sultan and we are daily and hourly expecting a Firman. Our dragoman is at this present moment at the Palace to make inquiries and hasten the matter to a conclusion so that Dr Peters can proceed with his work. I used this occasion to send through our dragoman to the Sultan the book explanatory of the Muybridge work. The Grand Vizier seemed to be very desirous of securing the Iradé, and expects it daily, he promised to remind the Sultan and doubtless he has or will at once. In brief I am doing all I can to bring the matter to a favorable result. For Dr Peters has doubtless reported to you all that had been done prior to my coming. I can not say that better progress or prospects of better results would have been attained had I been here. I am sure both Mr King the then acting chargé and Mr Gargiulo the dragoman have exerted their best efforts in expediting the matter.

I am informed that the English are working to obtain an Iradé for excavation in the same locality, and Dr Peters shows me today in the Contemporary Review of November a venomous article by J.T. Bent full of false statements, entitled "Hamdi Bey". It is to be hoped that these matters will not interpose new obstacles to the granting of the Iradé?

I am very thankful for your kind letter and trust to be able to report a favorable result very soon.

I have fixed my heart upon obtaining the permission and would feel very much disappointed in the light of the positive assurances given me by the Grand Vizier which I have every reason to believe were sincere, should the Iradé be further delayed or refused.

With your consent I will not make at this time the presentation of the second lot of books you sent to the Sultan. I rather think it would not have a good effect just now. It is very probable I will be called in audience by the Sultan in the course of the next ten days and then will take occasion to ask for the Iradé, should it not by that time have been obtained.

Here one must learn to strive persevere and hope, as everything moves slowly and this fact makes heavy draft upon our American natures.

I am very sincerely yours

O.S. Straus

[1888-11-15. *Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 8-9. L-1432.7. HO*]

Iskanderûn, 15. November 1888

My dear Dr. Pepper,

Having finished my own expedition from Beyrût through Lebanon until Wadi Brissa & Homs, I hurry to write to you about its results.

We were 3 men, I, my Muḳâri (the man who gave the horses) + the brother of our Dragoman.

We used 3 horses, one for each person. The expedition lasted 14 days. Having only 40 \$ in my pocket for this trip, I paid 35 \$ for horses, 2 \$ for the return trip from Tripoli to here. From the remaining 3 \$ we 3 persons lived for a fortnight. Arabic bread, cheese + dirty water was our food. We slept (without bed) either under heaven or in the huts of Arabs on the ground. During the last 4 days we rode in constant hail-storms & rains, but, praise to God, we came out all safely, without even being robbed.

The results are the following. I discovered

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) 7 new Latin inscriptions of emperor Hadrian  | } all on the rocks in<br>unexplored regions |
| 2) 1 " " inscription " " Domitian   |   |
| 3) 2 " Hittite inscriptions   |   |
| 4) 2 " Greek tomb inscriptions  |   |
| 5) the relics of an old temple near Zeta; the foundation is Hittite, the column-rests belong to the Greek period                                |   |
| 6) I visited & examined the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar in Wadi Brissa. But being without any tent, paper & means I could not take squeezes. |   |

The Greek inscriptions need to be removed out of the earth. I could only read 1 or 2 lines.

The Wadi Brissa inscriptions alone demand a work of 7 days. And as they are entirely out of the reach of civilisation, I should need a tent, to copy or collate them. What I could do with eye & pencil & measure, I did of course.

Now I am back in Iskanderûn. Whether Dr. Peters will acknowledge my trip, undertaken at my own risk, I do not know. If I had asked him for it, very probably he would have objected to it.

He bought about 11 Cappadocian cuneiform inscriptions in Constantinopel and told me he was going to send them to Prof Sayce in Oxford, as they were very difficult. Did he do this with the permission of the Executive Committee, taking all the results out of my + the Universities hands? I do + cannot believe it. But if so, I should return to America to-morrow

and cut my connection with this most unscientific + deplorable expedition at my own risk, firmly believing, that you, my old sincere friend, will stand at my side.

About 3 weeks passed since I wrote you the last time.

Till to-day (15<sup>th</sup> of November), Dr Peters has no firmân.

If he would leave at once Constantinopel with firmân, we could not be at the ruins before- 1<sup>st</sup> of February (very exact calculation!). As however he never will receive any firmân, and the time for buying inscriptions in Mesopotamia (our last refuge, you know!) is too far advanced, in order to accomplish anything, moreover as France's greatest Assyriologist (Pognon), being consul of Bagdâd, is controlling the market there, it is useless to go there.

Now then, as I cannot learn anything by fooling around through Mesopotamia what Dr Peters now probably will do, and as moreover I do not see any use of Dr. Harper, Field, Haynes or my own person in connection with such a travelling, I ask you to lay before the Executive committee the following items:

- 1) either to call back the whole expedition at once, as being entirely wrecked
- 2) or to give me full power to act. In this case I propose to dismiss the whole expedition at once and to keep only the Dragoman with me to start to Bagdâd directly & to stay as long as you, the Committee & Dr Trumbull ask me to do, working in the way suggested to you in my last letter. As about 10000 \$ will be left of the whole money, I can work 2 years excellently for it & buy plenty of tablets & antiquities
- 3) or to dissolve my connection with this expedition at once, as I am unable to see myself of any service to this expedition.
- 4) Under all circumstances (supposed Dr Peters comes without any firman to here before I have answer from you) I shall refuse to accompany Dr Peters to Bagdâd. For
  - a) he is entirely unable to lead this expedition
  - b) he dictates me and does not accept the advice of either of his Assyriologists
  - c) It is against my conscience to waste money without the view to gain something for those who entrusted the money to us
- 5) I ask therefore you, as my Provost & friend, to deliver me as soon as possible out of this bondage of inactivity and of being submitted to an unable leader
- 6) I shall wait for your answer & the decision of the Committee, which you will kindly forward to me by telegraph, in Alexandrette, suppose Dr Peters does not come with a firman in the meantime. This however is an entire impossibility.
- 7) I hope to have your answer till the 15<sup>th</sup> of December. As I have no money here and I cannot continue with good conscience to live from the money of gentlemen who gave this money for an other purpose than to pay my living in Alexandrette, while I am doing nothing, I shall be obliged to return to America after that date, or say as the final date, the 20<sup>th</sup> of December.

My dear Dr Pepper, I cannot act otherwise. You gave me your confidence, and the Executive Committee too. Pardon me, if I cannot deceive you. I have been silent long, I have given

you the whole history in advance, I have suffered much by being subjected to a man whom I cannot estimate as being a capable leader of this expedition. I submitted, as long as I could do it without troubling my conscience.

But now I feel my soul loaden & burdened. Every bit of food which I eat in this miserable Lokanda (where no windows are in the room, and only 50 degrees in the present room, while snow covers the mountains around me & no stoves are in this place), I regard as being stolen from the gentlemen who gave their money for excavation not for staying months in Alexandrette without accomplishing anything.

Sanctify, I pray you, my little expedition of a fortnight, which cost 40 \$.

To-morrow I shall make another expedition to the ancient Antioche & Ladakie. It will cost about 50 \$ and last 10 days. The results will however be equal the expenses. To sit inactively here the whole day in this heap of a few huts (that is Alexandrette) spoils my health and costs 3 francs every day.

Wishing you a very happy Christmas, my dear Dr., I remain in "the house of bondage"

your

sincere and faithful professor

H. V. Hilprecht

Let me add, that according to the judgment of the American consul & the German consul general of Beyrût the Turkish government will probably not acknowledge Mr Haynes as American consul in Bagdad, because they will not acknowledge any need for such a consul.

[1888-11-15. Jastrow to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 6-7. L-9. HO]

University of Pa.

Nov 15<sup>th</sup> 1888.

Dear D<sup>r</sup> Pepper

I subjoin[sic] my suggestions as to what ought to be done at once with the Assyrian collection, pending the return of the expedition & in order to expedite publication of the material at hand after the return of the expedition

- (1) Each tablet to be carefully examined & compared with the provisional & hastily made catalogue which necessary contains errors
- (2) The tablets to be chemically cleaned with the assistance of the chemical experts at the University. This is essential in the highest degree & from experiments made with private tablets, I feel confident that satisfactory results may be obtained. Through the application of the proper chemicals, probably every character on the valuable Nebuchadnezzar cylinder can be brought out clearly; and so in many other specimens as also in the three bowls with Hebrew inscriptions included in the collection
- (3) As many as possible, certainly the most important, of the tablets to be copied & worked out.
- (4) Scientific examination & analysis of the material of which the antiquities are made – something that has never yet been satisfactorily done with cuneiform tablets & other antiquities from Mesopotamia.

All this ought to be finished by the time the expedition returns & I think it can be, if the work be begun at once. I am ready to undertake it, as soon as I am authorized by the Babylon. Exploration Fund to do so

Very sincerely yours

Morris Jastrow Jr.

[1888-11-16. Peters to Hilprecht. HSN 780M. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Constantinople, Nov. 16/88

Dear Hilprecht

I read your last with mingled feelings of admiration & distress; distress because of your trials & dangers, admiration for the courage, energy & scholarship you have displayed. I never meant you to travel in any such way as that. Haynes & the missionaries properly equipped travel deck passage often by preference in the hot weather or on Turkish steamers, & he advised me accordingly. I expected you to take **right** over his equipments. As to money, I did not expect you to be compelled to stay so long in Beirut, & my telegram to you was meant to ascertain whether you could find the funds to do so. I am mortified and distressed to think that through any neglect or error of mine you should have suffered. I have written to your wife to write or telegraph you in Aleppo, so that you may hear before you leave Aleppo. I wish I knew for certain where you were at this moment. I am greatly worried on account of that risky journey. I telegraphed Haynes to ascertain your whereabouts, but that & all the other telegrams I have sent him remain unanswered, & I know no more of his whereabouts than of yours. Nor do I know any way of finding out where you are. I am waiting anxiously therefore.

I followed your advice as to physician, & telegraphed Dr. Post to engage none. As to the firman, you do not seem to understand the position. I would go tomorrow with the mere permission to dig according to the law, but I cannot get it. I could not get the thing through anymore rapidly if that had been the thing asked for, & it is impossible to drop what is almost done & go back & commence at the beginning again. No one understands the obstacles to be overcome here until he tries to do the simplest thing strictly according to the law. It may take him months to do it. As long as I had the Grand Vizier or the Minister of Public Instruction to deal with him I knew something of where I was & what was going on. But now the iradé is in the palace awaiting approval, & absolutely nothing can be done, & nothing can be predicated as to his Majesty's pleasure in the matter.

From your letter I can see that you have done a splendid work at Beirut, only, my dear fellow, be careful of your life & of your health.

Very sincerely yours

John P. Peters.

I forward a letter received from Philadelphia in a box of books.

[1888-11-19. E.W. Clark to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 18. L-10. HO]

*E. W. Clark & Co. Bankers.*  
*Philadelphia.*

Nov. 19. 1888.

My dear Dr. Pepper

I came home on the "City of New York" and arrived on Friday last after a rough passage.

I hope the Consular Certif. I sent to you was all right.

Enclosed please find a number of letters which Dr. Peters sent to me from different points, some of which will interest you.

The Turkish loan was placed in Germany. It could not have been negotiated in this country.

What shall we do about sending the Phonograph?

Yours truly

E.W. Clark.

[1888-11-19. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 14-17. L-1011. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Constantinople, Nov. 19/88

Dear Mr. Clark

When last I wrote to you I expected pretty confidently to leave on the 8<sup>th</sup> November. But as some one said to me irreverently the other day: Man proposes, & the Turk disposes. These last two weeks have been the most trying & depressing I have endured since I left America, for the delay comes at the most aggravating period. There is no cause of despondency regarding the ultimate result, to the best of my knowledge & belief, & I do not think that the delay can last many days longer. This present Sultan loves to potter in the details of matters, & takes a fancy to read & examine into the most trivial or the most unexpected matters. In such a case the victim, who is delayed, must sit & wait. No other course is practicable often, for no one dares to approach the Sultan, or can tell what he will do if bothered. This is especially true of late. He is very capricious, & some singular orders have emanated from the palace, especially an outrageous & ridiculous press law. I have not altogether allowed that little financial negotiation to drop. That is conducted with the palace, not with the porte. I have thought it possible that the fact of their hoping to find a way of getting at American bankers might make them more inclined to grant Americans concessions. But what I can do is little compared with what Mr. Straus may do. He is expecting daily an audience with the Sultan, where he expects to present a beautiful gem he has brought for him, & take the opportunity, in case it is not yet issued, to ask for our iradé. Yesterday also the Grand Vizier, who is under some sort of obligation to him, promised that he would speak to his Majesty. Mr. Straus is stirred up about the matter, & feels his honor at stake. What he can do therefore, he will do.

And now about money matters. On the second letter of credit I have drawn £175-16, leaving on hand £824-4. Out of this has come the purchase of several horses for the Expedition, Hilprecht's work at Beyrut & an exploring tour after Assyrian inscriptions, which has produced some valuable results, through the Lebanon & by land to Aleppo & Alexandretta; various similar smaller trips of Haynes, Harper & Field after Assyrian antiquities in the neighborhood of Aintab & Aleppo; heavy freight charges on things brought from America to Alexandretta, & the purchases of material in London & Constantinople, a small purchase of £18 worth of important antiquities here in Constantinople, & the transport & support of various members of the party up to date. A careful account of expenses under each head has been kept, but owing to our unfortunate position at the moment I can render no report. For when Haynes left here I put into his hands, as business manager, & therefore book keeper, my account up to date, & instructed him to obtain from Harper, Field & Hilprecht their accounts, & make the whole up for report. This report I was to receive when I joined him, & I had proposed then to forward to you at once a report, & a request to have

more money placed at my disposal in Bagdad. As you will see I am now in the awkward position that I can make no report. I do not even know how much Haynes has left out of the £150 I gave him when he left here Sept. 27.

We have been delayed so long that when we reach Bagdad we must work on a larger scale than I had intended, in order to accomplish something in the short time left to us. There will be no time to send for money there. The money should therefore be send now to Bagdad. I think it would be best to place at my disposal through Brown Shipley's agents, S. Lynch & Co., (or else through T.S. Blockey & Co.) the remainder of the sum appropriated for this year's work. I then know all the time the exact limit to which I can go, provided our success requires it, & can act with promptness, unfettered by the terrible slowness of communication in this benighted country. I hope this will commend itself to you, & that it may be acted upon promptly. The most rapid mail to Bagdad is, I am informed, by way of Damascus; which is not however quite so safe as the sea route. But Brown Shipley will doubtless know best how to communicate. It will be well, I think, to have the name of J.H. Haynes on the letter of credit, if that is the form of this sending, along with my own. In such a way, however, that in case he should not be with me it could be issued to me alone. I send three of his signatures cut from letters, in case they are necessary.

The other day Gargiulo came to me, & said they had asked him again at the palace about the possibility of an American loan, & were ready to offer any terms. I gave him extracts from your notes about the feeling in London, & the deep distrust of Turkish credit. At the same time I added what you said about speaking of it in America.

I am so glad to hear that your son Herbert is thoroughly restored. Please remember me to Mrs. Clark & Percy.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1888-11-19. Peters to Pepper. HSN 780L. HO]

c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank

Constantinople, Nov. 19/88

Dear Dr. Pepper

I have come to detest the heading which this letter bears. Two months & a half have I been here dawdling away precious time to no purpose. I can do nothing but loaf around the public offices, the Legation, the Museum, the Consulate, & the houses of people who have influence, experience, or exceptional sources of information. But I do not grudge my own loss of life, for that I regard loss of time to be, but that of the Expedition. I have endeavored to find work for the men while waiting, & Hilprecht has distinguished himself in the work that he has done in the interim. It only makes me feel the more sorry, however, when I think how much more he might have accomplished had we really been in the field. He is a splendid fellow, & with such a man with me I feel sure we must accomplish something. I can not thank you enough for arranging to have him come with us. By the way an unfortunate notice from the New York World about the wreck of the Expedition on Samos has come to hand. It purports to be derived from a private letter of Hilprecht to Dr. James. I think it would be better if Dr. James would be a little more careful of what he gives to the press just now. I am writing Hilprecht about the same thing, but my letter will not reach him much before this reaches you. I do not think such a notice as that in the World, which was grossly erroneous, is calculated to help you in securing funds; & we here would have preferred for the present that no such public notice should be given of the whereabouts of the rest of the party.

I am afraid you think my tone despondent tonight, & I am probably showing you more of my feelings than I show to the people here, to whom, one & all, I am sanguine hopefulness incarnate, because I know the victory lies with courage, & a good heart, & a cheerful face. You taught me many things last winter, for which I am thankful, & by which I am endeavoring to profit now.

But I do not foresee defeat at all. With God's help I shall win. It is only that the delay preys upon me, because of the great confidence with which I have been honored by the liberal-minded men who sent out this Expedition. Straus is working hard. He has, & this is confidential, been making handsome presents right & left, & making them effective on our behalf. I have much faith in him. It will be a bad thing for us if he is superseded, for next Spring & Summer we shall, if all goes well, need powerful assistance in delicate negotiations. They would, if he leaves, fall in the interim when King would be chargé d'affaires. And though King is a thoroughly good fellow, that would be unfortunate for us. It might be even worse if they came in the first days of a new minister. Straus is about the most successful minister we ever had here. The Missionaries also are quite in despair at the thought of losing him. I do not think that he himself cares to remain, but for the sake of all American interests in Turkey I wish he might. He has just given me for the University a

valuable cast of a Greek inscription from the Jerusalem Temple. I shall have it boxed tomorrow. I hope the casts presented by Stuart Wood through Harper will soon be on hand. Ready, who was making them, got married; which wise but inopportune act caused delay, so Pinches writes from London.

I sent Williams a long letter for private circulation. I think Harper's notes on the collection (not the general remarks but the notes) should be sent to Frothingham for the Journal of Archaeology, together with a set of the photographs. I have written to him about it, referring him to you & Williams.

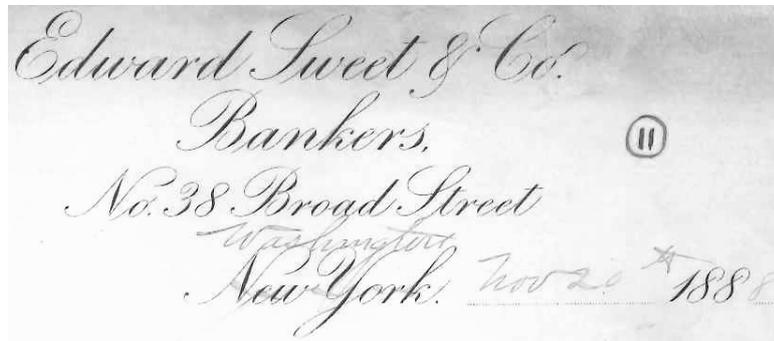
I find that the Greek syllogos of this city issues some publications valuable for the student of Greek Archaeology. They are in correspondence with Johns Hopkins. I shall endeavor to enter into relations with them as favorable to our University as possible.

Yours faithfully

John P. Peters.

[1888-11-20. Payne to Lippincott. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 21. L-11. HC]

Copy



Edward Sweet & Co.  
Bankers.  
No. 38 Broad Street  
Washington  
New York. Nov 20 1888

Nov. 20<sup>th</sup> 1888.

Mr. Jesse H. Lippincott

P.O. Box 2592 N.Y.

Dear Sir

Your letter of 17<sup>th</sup> inst to the American Graphophone Co. asking permission to comply with the request of the Sultan of Turkey for a Phonograph Graphophone is referred to this office, and I am instructed to say in reply that before we can safely grant the permission we shall have to ascertain its effect upon our interests in European countries.

The use of the instruments in Turkey may affect our rights there or elsewhere.

Will write you again on subject.

Yours truly

(signed) Jas. G. Payne

Secretary.

[1888-11-21. Edison to Lippincott. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 22. L-12. HC]

*Edward Sweet & Co.  
Bankers,  
No. 38 Broad Street  
Orange N.Y.  
New York.*

Copy

Nov. 21 1888.

My Dear Lippincott

In reference to your letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> inst. if the documents you have received from a representative of the Sultan of Turkey are authentic I will have the matter attended to.

Yours very truly

(Signed) Thomas A. Edison

Jesse H. Lippincott Esq

[1888-11-21. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 23. L-1201. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I congratulate you upon your safe return. Thanks for Dr Peters letters, which I shall read with interest. The consular invoice which you sent answered perfectly, and the bond was cancelled without delay. I have started an effort to secure a phonograph and hope to hear in a few days. Ought we not to arrange a meeting of the Executive Committee at as early a day as possible next week? What day would suit you? I do not know whether we would get a better meeting in the morning at your office down town, or in the evening here. How would it do to try it at your office next Wednesday at 1 o'clock? It is probable that we could complete our business in an hour. Or of course I shall be delighted to have the meeting take place any evening here at 8 o'clock.

Yours sincerely

E.W. Clark. Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

November 21st 1888.

[1888-11-21. Straus to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 24-25. L-26. HO]

United States Legation  
CONSTANTINOPLE

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Nov 21/88

Dear Dr Pepper

I have this day delivered to Rev Dr Peters, as a donation from me to the Pennsylvania University a plaster cast of a stele, said to be the only relique in existence appertaining to the Temple of Jerusalem. The original is here in the Imperial Museum and I obtained some three months since consent to copy the same for the Rochester University – at the same time securing this very good copy for myself, which I take great pleasure in donating to the excellent institution which is so fortunate as to have you as its head. Dr Peters had kindly consented to superintend its proper packing and forwarding. As this stele has been carefully described with its inscription in Archaeological Journals it is needless for me to say anything upon that subject.

With best wishes for the continued and growing success of the Pennsylvania University

I remain My Dear Dr Pepper

Very Sincerely Yours

O.S. Straus

NB. The matter of an Iradé is in same condition as when I last wrote I surely expect a definite result in a few days. OSS

[1888-11-27. Peters to C.H. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 26-29. HO]

Nov. 27/88

Club de Constantinople,  
Peru.

My dear Mr. Clark [*in another hand above the line: (C. H.)*]

I am afraid you will be beginning to become disgusted with the delay here, & to think that we shall have nothing to report this winter at all. The delay has been most aggravating & injurious, but I believe we are now at the end. You may like to know how these things are delayed here, & how business in general is not transacted. This little history will show. After working away on the Grand Vizier for several months, and seeing the Sultan himself about it, Mr. Straus extracted a sort of promise out of the Grand Vizier that we should be permitted to retain ½ of objects found. After his departure Mr. King & Mr. Gargiulo followed it up, until on the last Sunday in August it came before the Council of State, & they decided that we could only have permission to buy such objects as the Museum did not wish. I came on at once. The Grand Vizier referred me to the Minister of Public Instruction, in whose department the thing lay, & told me I must see him & move according to the terms of the law. It took five days of interviews with him & Hamdi Bey to ascertain just what I might do. In my new application I named three places in which I wished to dig. They were uninhabited, & out in the wilderness; nevertheless they insisted upon telegraphing to the Governor of Baghdad to know if digging at those spots could interfere with public works &c. One place the Governor objected to, I think because he did not know where it was. It took from Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> to Oct. 2<sup>nd</sup> to get this information. Another week was spent in getting the consent of the Ministry of Public Instruction [get up](#) to the Porte. Another two weeks were spent at the Porte between the Council of State, the Grand Vizier and the Council of Ministers. Then it went up to the Palace. Now when papers come to the Palace the Secretary ordinarily makes a résumé of the contents, which is laid before the Sultan. If he approves he says or writes "Let it be done accordingly", & the paper with this endorsement is transmitted to the Porte for execution. After the paper had been in the Palace for over a week, & the iradé had not yet been issued, Mr. Gargiulo went to the Palace himself to inquire. He was told by the Secretary that the Sultan not content with the resumé, had taken the paper itself to read. That made a dead lock, for no one may hurry or question his majesty lightly. At last we pressed the Grand Vizier to find means to inquire about it. He promised, but always forgot. Mr. Straus could not get an audience. Two successive Fridays he tried in vain. He had promised me that he would himself ask the Sultan about it, if he got an audience. Finally on Friday last, Nov. 23<sup>d</sup>, he was invited to dinner at the palace. After dinner there was a theatrical performance, & during the pause between different performances Mr. Straus asked, as he had promised. He says he would sooner have lost his little finger than do it. The Sultan seemed to know nothing about the matter, in spite of his having taken, so the Secretary

said, the paper to read. When he had heard that it was a matter of permitting excavations, he at once said the magical words "Let it be done accordingly". He was then told that the papers were in his own hands, whereupon he repeated the same formula. The Grand Vizier & the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chamberlain were informed, & technically the iradé was issued. The next day Mr. Gargiulo went to the Palace & asked, the Secretary to issue the paper; but the Secretary had no instructions, he said, & therefore could not do it. Then Mr. G. went to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chamberlain & asked him to tell the Sultan that he had come for the paper. But the Sultan was taking a nap. However Mr. G. saw the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chamberlain put it down with two requests from the Grand Vizier on a piece of paper, & went away with a promise it should be out by the following day. The next day the Grand Vizier was instructed to issue the proper orders to the Minister of Public Instruction, but either the Sultan could not find the paper, or was not through with it; he therefore sent word that it would come later. The day after that, Monday 26<sup>th</sup>, the Vizierial order should have been at the Ministry of Public Instruction. It was not there. On inquiring at the Porte it was found that the man whose duty it should have been to write that order had not come down to his office that day. Gargiulo is over at the Porte hunting it up & pushing it along now. Such are the delays in the transaction of the most ordinary matters. Moving according to the directions of the law one finds pretty shortly that the law is a barricaded road. If one attempt to go out of the road into the fields, he is in a much worse plight still. The absolute status quo is the thing desired. Houses fall to pieces, ships decay, roads are worn to chasms; & so Turkey is wearing out & cannot be repaired. Yesterday in the hall of the Sublime Porte I saw quantities of women squatting crouched against the wall. As we were walking out the Minister of Finance joined us. Suddenly the women sprang up & rushed upon us, screaming & gesticulating, as though they would mob us. I would have followed the Minister, but Gargiulo pulled me in another direction. He hurried down the steps one way, & we another. Going out of the gate we found ourselves together once more. The women, who had stopped at the head of the steps, to shout & revile, now began to come after the Minister, while a crowd was collecting in the streets. To escape mobbing he had to get into his carriage, which was waiting a few steps off, & drive away as rapidly as he could. The women were the wives of unpaid government employés driven to desperation by want. There is no money here, but the Sultan dines off gold & silver plate. To supply the immediate need they are ready to borrow at any terms almost, & it seems as though the end might be, as in the case of Egypt, that the country pass into the hands of a receiver.

Please remember me to Mrs. Clark.

Yours sincerely John P. Peters.

[1888-11-28. Sweet to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 30. L-13. HO]

*Edward Sweet & Co.  
Bankers,  
No. 38 Broad Street  
New York.*

Nov 28<sup>th</sup> 1888

Wm. Pepper Esq

Dear Sir

We have communicated with Mr. Lippincott, who is the principal party in interest in all the Phonograph companies in the U.S., and he in turn has received replies, from Mr. Edison in relation to the Phonograph, and from the Volta Co. in relation to the Phonograph Graphophone. We enclose copies of the replies. It appears from these replies that if you can furnish us the original request from the Grand Vizier Mr. Edison will furnish a phonograph. As to the Graphophone we may possibly succeed in getting one later.

Very Truly Yours

Edw. Sweet + C<sup>o</sup>

[1888-11-30. Edison to Barker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 42. L-14. TO]

*Call's Address "Edison, New York!"*

*From the Laboratory  
of  
Thomas A. Edison.  
Orange, N.J.*

*Subject, \_\_\_\_\_*

Nov. 30, 88.

My Dear Professor Barker,—

In reference to your letter of 21st instant, I have taken in hand the matter which you mention, and will be able, in the course of ten days, to let you know definitely what I can do about presenting machines to the Sultan of Turkey. I would be very glad indeed to furnish the machines, but before I can say that they will be presented, it is necessary for me to make certain arrangements with my representative in Europe, Col. Gouraud.

Yours very truly,

T.A. Edison

Prof. Geo. F. Barker,

3909 Locust St.,

Philadelphia, Pa.

[1888-11-30. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 43-46. L-1432.6. HO]

Alexandretta, 30. Nov. 1888.

at the anniversary of the birthday of the "Babyl. Expedition".

My dear Dr. Pepper,

It is about 9 o'clock P.M., just one year after the idea of a Babyl. Expedition became a written reality. Now it ought to have been advanced to a reality on the fields of Babylonia. Alas! It is not, and my thoughts return back to Philadelphia and to you and to our University, and my heart will almost break that we must return with empty hands to you who contributed himself so liberally to this undertaking. God knows that I did my best to save what I could, to accomplish what was possible in my subordinate position. It was however little enough.

The old year is going to end and Christmas is approaching. Accept, please, my [ ] wishes for both. May God's love bless you and your dear family richly [ ] allowed to express one wish at the dawn of the first day of 1889 to you, this is the only one: take a little of your kind and friendly feelings for me over into the new year, and pardon me, if in my honest zeal to do my duty to you and to the University, I sometimes was too bitter to others. If you could look into my heart, sincerity at least your eye would find and a full devotion to the interests of our University with which you connected the work of my life. Its flag is my flag, and with its honor I stand and fall.

For 3 weeks my fate has now been inactivity in Alexandretta, "loco insaluberrimo", as a Latin inscription of the 17<sup>th</sup> century at the Greek church here says. What this means, you will understand yourself the best. No newspaper, no letter, no book, no antiquities, no proper food and residence, feverish swamps around the whole village, dirt in every street, nothing, nothing with that a man may occupy his mind. All my luggage is far away on the way to Bagdad, my boots and cloths are torn, since three weeks I have asked Mr. Haynes, the representant of Dr Peters, for money in vain. He simply ignored my letter, although it was received by him. Since the last 3 weeks (since my return from the Beyrût-ekspedition) I have not one cent (literally true!) in my possession. Yesterday the possessor of the Lokanda (= inn) asked me to pay. I told him I expected money in a few days and am now waiting for a telegram from Peters to help me out of my most miserable condition, to which his unlawful representant condemned me. I hope Dr. Peters sends me money, else I should be obliged (at my deepest regret) to ask for the aid of the nearest American consul (Beyrût). For it cannot be in your sense that I am left alone with one shirt, a pair of torn trousers, a pair of shoes without soles for 3 weeks when having not one penny<sup>1)</sup> and being away from all

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<sup>1</sup> I have spent 200 \$ already of my own which I took with me, when I started. I gave the money gladly, but every money having been spent, I am literally left without 1 cent in my possession at present (since 3 weeks)

civilization, having no stove in my room with its broken window, while snow covers the surrounding mountains.

Dr. Peters has of course no firmân yet, a letter received from him [1888-11-16] 2 days ago told me, that he could not get even the mere permission to dig (while leaving everything in the country). If Dr. Peters would get some sort of firman to-morrow, he could not be here before the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December. The connection with Alexandretta is, especially in winter, only once or twice a fortnight. [ ] fortunate case (if I hurry on without rest after the 22<sup>nd</sup>), [ ] before middle of March (whether excavating or more travelling!). Middle of April the climate forbids any further work. Therefore everything is now made impossible, no outway is more left, except you stop the whole expedition at once; call every person back and leave me with our Dragoman Noorian secretly (!! here. I am the only unsuspecting person, going still by a German passport, my name not being heard in Bagdâd and thus being able to work unobserved. Peters cannot escape the Pasha of Bagdad, moreover as the latter passed Alexandrette last week on his way to Constantinopel, where Peters will doubtless be shown to him. I knew Turkish politics long ago!

With the money left I can work 2 years with the Dragoman, and promise success if no person interferes with my operation, myself being responsible only to you & the Committee. If the Committee still wishes the expedition to continue, it means the money to be thrown out of the window. I sincerely regret Peters. He must be in the most dreadful position of the world and before the world, since he gave over to the papers so much about the expedition while still in America. But I told him all in advance, he never followed my advice, and now it is not more in my power to help him.

If Dr Peters is not here till the 24<sup>th</sup> of December, I shall send you a telegram with the mere words "No, Hilprecht", which means that P. has neither permission for digging, nor firman, nor is here at all, but still is in Constantinopel.

The Grand Vizier has played the most elegant trick possible by letting the permission pass in the Council and asking the Sultan for mere confirmation (=iradé). Since 7 weeks it has been waiting, as the Turks now say, in the palace, for his Majesty's signature. But this will never be given. The Grand Vizier knows very well, that Germany, England & France would demand the same favor – and this can never be done. Out of obligation to Germany which sent his best officers to the Sultan's army at his request for drilling his soldiers, he granted a firman to Germany 3 years ago, France demanded the same at once. He would not give it, for England would have demanded it too – thus the firman was taken back from Germany a few days after it was granted.

The Grand Vizier having put the whole matter through the council (a worthless formality!) have now no longer more necessary to bring a new excuse to Dr. Peters every day. As Peters rightly wrote to me a day before yesterday: "as long as I had to deal with the Vizier I could ask him, now I cannot do anything, till his Majesty "pleases!", and whether his Majesty will ever please, I do not know. I firmly believe, it never can please to him for the reasons given above; and the 7 weeks

already past speak strongly in my favor. I am sorry, that Dr. Peters does not yet know the fundamental principle in Turkish politics: "Refuse never a thing, but say smilingly "yes" to every request. Simply delay the grant till eternity!"

Take all these lines in the sense in which they are written, in the spirit of true sincerity and devotion.

The jackals are almost under my window, their howling sounds through the night, they are hungry and in search for prey in the streets of the village. This is the only remarkable thing at the place at present.

Excuse my writing and this paper. It is the only paper I found in some hut in this most civilized place!

With a last thank for all your kindness in the old year, I am in the new year as in the old

Yours

very sincerely

H.V. Hilprecht.

[1888-12-01. Barker to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 47. L-18. HO]

3909 Locust St.

Philadelphia Dec. 1, 1888

My dear Dr. Pepper:—

Enclosed I send you a letter I have just received from Mr. Edison [1888-11-30] in reply to mine of Nov. 21st concerning the phonograph for the Sultan. I was quite sure that he would be quite willing to send the instrument, provided that he did not thereby conflict with his European contracts. Please return the letter, unless you desire to preserve it.

Yours very truly

George F. Barker.

[1888-12-03. Hilprecht to Trumbull. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 60-67. L-1432.10. HO]

Alexandrette, December 3<sup>d</sup> 1888.

My dear and beloved Dr.,

Enclosed please find my article about the Nahr-el Kalb inscriptions. The article is entirely fresh, the material has been touched once in a scientific journal by Sayce, but nobody ever spoke about it fully, and what Sayce said, is not very much after all. I did not use his notes at all therefore. If I had not made my expedition to Antioche a few days ago, I should have sent you the article about the "Sheich of Zeta" together with it. But as only every week once a boat touches here, in order to take the mail direct to France, and I found not time enough to arrange my material, I prefer to send this one at once without further delay. Get it translated by the son of Prof. Spaeth (1615 Girard Avenue) Mr. Duncan Spaeth (graduate of the Pennsylvania University), if you do not know of a better person yourself. He will do the work well, because his father will overwatch him and advice him.

This will reach you about the end of December. Accept then my dear good Dr., all good and sincere wishes for you, all your family and your noble work at the dawn of the New Year when the old eventful year goes to rest and together with it all the hopes of your far friend who stands on the ruins of an undertaking which was begun without prayers & without that selfhumiliating spirit before God which alone gives power and energy and success. I feel such a bitterness in my heart not against Peters, not against anybody, but because I see so much youthful labor, so much enthusiasm of a large city, of a whole land wasted for nothing. I felt the strength in me to make something out of the expedition, because I did not wish to hurt anybody, to deceive anybody, because I did not care for personal honour, because I knew & I felt the Lord was with me; but there was nobody, except you, in my new fatherland, to which I was devoted from all my heart, who would have listened to the warning voice of the stranger who had no right of troubling himself for the starry flag of Columbia and its honour. Forgive me for this bitterness, I shall have overcome it before the old year strikes its last hour and be sure, it springs out of an immense love for and an entire identification with America.

A few days ago I received a letter from Dr. Peters in Constantinople [1888-11-16]. I had advised him most strongly to give finally up all the hope of a firman and ask for the mere permission to dig according to the law (i.e. leaving everything in the country to the Turks) suppose it was still possible now to get this permission after he aroused the suspicion of the Turkish government you will recognize our whole position in Constantinopel from Peters own words, which I quote literally from his letter to me written on the 16 Nov. & received 5 days ago: "I have followed your advice as to physician & telegraphed Dr. Post to engage none. As to the firman, you do not seem to understand the position. I would go tomorrow with the mere permission to dig according to the law, but I cannot get it". How then in the world can a person be so illogical to wait still for the full firman, against the grant of which the European powers would protest and have already protested,

while he confesses not to be able to get the mere permission to dig?!! I wrote already to Dr. Pepper my secret fear that the great stress on Dr. Peters' nerve-system has weakened his reasoning power. I do not joke, dear Dr., I mean it in full earnest. His orders to me were partially so inconsistent with each other, his whole acting so illogical, that I often saw no other outway than to disobey, in order to save him trouble afterwards. Here you have an other example: When he asked me to go to Beyrût, I protested with Harper energetically. He insisted however on my going, and I went. Two weeks ago I received a letter beginning litterally as follows: "I have evidently made a very unfortunate mistake in sending you to Beyrût, as I see from your letter etc." "I evidently trusted too much to what I supposed was Rylands superior knowledge etc". Now then, shall I constantly disobey Dr. Peters whenever my judgment dictates me so and thus offend him or shall I always obey Peters against my better knowledge and bring disgrace over the Philadelphians? He certainly wrote to Dr. Pepper & the Executive Committee what he believes a great success but I understand a Turkish trick, namely (I quote his own words from the second letter quoted above & written 23 Oct.): "By dint of some rather curious\* work we have pushed through the Council a permission to export. That requires an iradé (Turkish word = order (H.) from the Sultan and the papers have gone to the palace". So far Peters' words. Now my commentary on them

- 1) The papers went to the palace (as the Turks say??) about 7 weeks ago. And no iradé yet!
- 2) Peters writes himself in a letter received 5 days ago, saying: "the iradé is in the palace awaiting approval & absolutely nothing can be predicated as to his Majesty's pleasure in the matter."
- 3) I dare to say and predict something as to his Majesty's pleasure in the matter.
  - a) His Majesty has no pleasure at all in the matter.
  - b) And if his Majesty had any pleasure in the matter, he could not give the iradé, for the Germans got the iradé 3 years ago, but His Majesty was obliged a few days later to draw it back, as the other powers, especially France anxiously waiting to excavate for many years, demanded the same right. Thus told me a former member of the German embassy at Constantinopel, Dr. Schröder, at present German Consul General of Syria & Palestine. How then can America succeed in getting the irade, while the other nations will prevent and moreover America is little beloved in Turkish government circles because of the many missions in the Turkish empire, through which the people is enlightened and the opposition to the Turkish way of ruling been encreased almost daily. I was astonished by the bitterness against the Turks everywhere expressed to me by even Mohammedans.
- 4) To send the permission to the palace for approval was the only outway for the Grand Vizier in this matter. It was an elegant trick on the side of this gentleman. Peters was funny, but the Grand Vizier had more fun in him. The iradé will never leave the palace, and the first adviser to the Sultan not to grant the iradé is the same Grand Vizier, who was so anxious to push it through the Council. 7 weeks have passed since the iradé went into the palace, will Philadelphia wait seven other "thin and illfavoured years (Gen. 41, 27) till it comes out of the Serail again, and is the load of Assyriologists which accompanies this expedition, expected to starve between Alexandrette and Aleppo?

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\*) Yes, it is rather too curious and funny!

5) I call your attention to another fact which is hitherto known to me alone. A week and a half ago the Paschah of Bagdad arrived suddenly from Bagdad at Alexandrette. I saw him, because he lived opposite to my room in the same Lokanda for 2 hours, till the Turkish official here heard of his arrival and took him over to his own house as his guest. He came with 9 fine Arabian horses and 25

Tscherkesses from his Vilajet and left Alexandrette a few days later with all his horses (as presents for the Sultan) for Stambul by the Russian steamer. There are now 3 possibilities:

- a) this arrival (because it was entirely unexpected) was accidental and had nothing to do with this expedition at all. The probability however speaks against it.
- b) the Paschah was called to Constantinopel for this expedition's sake either in order to hear his opinion (and that will be unfavourable!) or to give him contradictory orders, while Peters might receive some kind of permission and then would start to Bagdad without an idea of being stopped there.
- c) the most probable thing is to me, that the Pascha went on his own account to Constantinopel, but that the Sultan will make him (as naturally) acquainted with all his wishes as to this expedition. Should the Paschah see Peters in Constantinopel [and it is my full conviction that the Grand Vizier will give the Paschah an opportunity of either seeing Peters secretly (without Peters knowledge of being observed) or of introducing Peters personally to the Paschah], there is no hope that Peters, as long as this Pashah rules in Bagdad, will ever accomplish anything in Bagdâd. He will delay him that means stop him through friendly but energetic advises.

I then am going to draw the conclusions from my different suggestions.

- 1) P. does either not receive the firman or (as he even thinks) the mere permission to dig; then the expedition is of course to be regarded as an entire wreck.
- 2) P. receives the firman (or permission) but is stopped in his work by the Pashah, as soon as he arrives on his ground in the neighbourhood of Bagdâd. Then the expedition is of course an entire wreck too.
- 3) P. – the most favourable case of all! – receives the firman and is supported by the Pashah in every way. He therefore would be here at the earliest date possible, i.e. 22<sup>nd</sup> of December (in Alexandrette). This means, that, if we the[n ] on to Bagdâd and find everything as we wish it, (what of course never is the case in Turkey), we can begin excavations middle of March 1889. I have made my calculation rather too low than too high!

The heat however and the dreadful Malaria in the swamps of Niffer allow under no circumstances excavations longer than till the middle of April i.e. one month. Has there ever been found anything in a Babylonian or Assyrian ruin after the digging of only one month?? I must confess my ignorance of any such case. Thus you see, even in the most favorable case (which however is the most impossible case) the expedition is to be regarded as an entire wreck too.

Now then, if I lay as I here do and have already done, all these proofs before you and report the entire wreck of this expedition, the birthday of which was celebrated on last Friday a year ago (30. Nov. 1887) in the house of Dr. Pepper, is the Committee and all ye generous gentlemen of Philadelphia who gave your heart and money for this expedition, never willing to save what there can still be saved? We are everywhere observed, our fate is known, the rumor of our wreck is

already in Europe. Here my imploring word, do not wait till the European papers begin their sneering and merciless criticising. Let us openly confess that the expedition is a failure, before the American press teaches it to us so and we have no answer then.

When I wrote a fortnight ago to you & Dr. Pepper [1888-11-15], I said that I should not leave Alexandrette, before I have your or the Committee's telegram as to my returning or staying, even if Dr Peters would arrive in the meantime. The latter addition was not necessary, for Dr. Peters cannot be here now before the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December suppose he takes the next steamer that leaves Constantinopel. I wait for the decision anxiously. Mr. Haynes was unwise enough, to send all my luggage ahead, I have now no access to it. Everything is torn, I cannot go more on the street. Happily our Dragoman Daniel Noorian lends me whenever my only shirt and stockings are washed, some of his own linen. But, as you cannot buy the slightest thing of cloth here and I look like a regular tramp, I possibly have to take the next steamer to Cyprus (2 days) to buy a new suit, before your telegram arrives. I hope, the Committee does not expect my obedience to Dr. Peters to go so far as to walk naked on the street.

When I had come back from my expedition through the whole Lebanon (till Homs) which lasted a fortnight, made necessary 3 horses and cost about 40 \$, I wrote to Mr. Haynes the representant of Dr. Peters in Aleppo to send me as quick as possible c. 75 \$, as I had been (litteraly!) without any food during 2 whole days and had only 8 cents more in my pocket. He received my letter in time (I prove what I say) enclosed in one from our Dragoman who likewise asked for money. What was his action towards me after it? You will believe it impossible, but do not forget, that it is litteraly true. Hear!

- 1) Although I had written him that I arrived in Alexandretta in the most deplorable condition had no money no cloth; although I risked my life and health in the expedition to Hirmil and Homs and had lived from water, Arabic bread and here and there dirty cheese during a fortnight – all for the sake of saving money and restoring the honor of the Babylonian expedition somewhat, Mr. Haynes did not answer my request neither by another line nor by telegram nor by money, but sent to the Dragoman the 20 pounds for which the latter asked. I waited a fortnight invain; last Tuesday I sent a letter to Peters, explaining and declaring that I did not longer recognize a man as his representant who was mean enough to leave a countryman in a foreign country merciless alone without help, after the most earnest request for immediate aid and after this representant himself took all my luggage from me.
- 2) I now demanded my money from Dr Peters and expect a telegraphic answer to-day. I do not think, Peters himself agrees with that way in which I have been treated now for 8 weeks. But should he not send the asked sum at once, and should he not call Haynes to account for “the way in which he wrote about my reasons, for not going to Beyrût” (Peters' own words; Haynes is a common uneducated man and a liar), and should he not make excuse for placing such a man at the head of the other members of the expedition without the consent of the Committee, and against the will of Dr. Pepper, I shall publish an account of my treatment in this expedition, before I return to America.

Following your advice, my fatherly friend, I have been silent and have suffered immensely, hoping to convince those who are in charge of the affairs of this expedition, of my sincerity. But now I am at an end. There is a difference between a human being, created according to the image of God, and an Oriental dog. The Oriental dog had his cloth given him by a kind creator, and he finds his food from the hand of merciful men. Now then, ye kind gentlemen of Philadelphia, who equipped this expedition, do not “think me a fool; if otherwise yet as a fool receive me, that I may boast myself a little. For ye suffer fools gladly seeing ye yourselves are wise” (II Cor. 11). I warned you a whole year, of believing in the assuring words of Dr Peters concerning a firman; he got it not – yet Peters is an honorable man – Peters declared publicly on the 30<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1887 that he would not receive any salary from this expedition, yet he for [ill.] took 2500 \$ all in all – yet Peters is an honorable man – I declared, there was only one Assyriologist necessary on this expedition, but Peters took two and had hitherto no work for one – yet Peters is an honorable man – Peters said in Philadelphia how he sacrificed his life and interest for the Assyrian field, although it was represented by an other professor in the University, and Philadelphians said to the Assyrian professor in Peters’ presence repeatedly: “o, learn ye courage and enthusiasm from your colleague who sacrifices his life for your field, while you not wish to go to Babylon yourself” the Assyrian professor thundered down by “this way of spreading rumors” opened his mouth to answer, but Dr Peters feeling what would come said quick enough, Prof. Hilprecht is too learned and too great a scholar for this expedition – and Peters as you know, is an honorable man – Yet let me hurry on, he bought a shining vase of white and costly marble, 500 \$ was the price for which he got it as a special favor – the marble was a fraud, and I had warned in vain to buy the stuff – yet Peters is an honorable man. – In Stambul’s narrow streets there came from Cappadocia’s ancient walls eleven tablets full of wedges once in Peters’ hands. It was a useful bargain and young Americans look ever since with eager eyes for every boat that brings the precious stones.

Yet all in vain! The tablets bought for Philadelphian gold and for the scholars of America were – as a letter tells me just received – too great and difficult to have them studied up in Philadelphia. In Oxford they are now that British scholars teach their colony of oldest times, what Assur thought and Europe thinks about this Expedition’s gloria – yet Peters is an honourable man and so are all the members of this expedition, all honourable men!

I cannot but remember the introductory part of Cicero’s speech against Catilina:

“Quousque tandem Catilina abutere patientia nostra? Quem ad finem sese habet effrenata audacia tua?.. Consules videant ne detrimentum res publica capiat! O tempora, o mores, senatus haec intelligit hic tamen vivit!” That is translated into English, as follows:

“How long in the world, o Catilina, wilt thou abuse our patience? How far wilt thou extend thy unbridled impudence? The consuls should look out that the community (expedition in this case!) does not suffer loss. But woe upon the times, upon the modes, the senate [=Executive Committee] sees it, and yet he is in full power!

[1888-12-03. *Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 57-59. HO*]

Smyrna, Dec. 3/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I wrote your Brother a long letter the other day [1888-11-27], detailing the condition of negotiations up to that point, & I wrote to Dr. Pepper last night. These letters you will doubtless see or have seen, & I need not repeat their substance. I might add to Dr. Pepper's this, that both Gargiulo, & his friends in the Ministry of Public Instruction believe that we will have the lion's share of what we find, & perhaps even the whole of it. Gargiulo has friends there, & it has been very interesting to find out why & how he has them. For instance a certain clerk worked for us an hour beyond time last Thursday, & actually hurried or tried to both then & on Saturday morning. He was looking for promotion, but his papers had somehow stuck in the room of a certain man at the Sublime Porte. We had to go to that room, & Gargiulo undertook to do what he could for him, & at least find out the conditions. We brought him back word that he should be promoted; & he thinks that Gargiulo's good word did it. To some other men I found that pistols were to be supplied at a lower rate than they could buy them in Constantinople. As we were going to the Ministry of Public Instruction on Thursday we stopped at the Sublime Porte, & found that our papers had just been sent over. We followed, & going into the Secretary's room Gargiulo asked whether they had yet been copied. The matter was simple enough, but the Secretary could not see how we knew so soon that he had the papers. Gargiulo without committing himself left the man with the conviction that he had some occult means of information. These are only little specimens of his way of handling the Turk. To us he has been invaluable, & we shall probably have much need of him in future. Every minister has found him valuable, & I hope the new administration will do nothing so hurtful to American interests as to remove him. I know that certain parties are going to make complaints about him, a claimant whose claim has been disallowed by the Turkish Government because, as he thinks, Gargiulo did not do his duty, but, as the Minister says because the claim was unjust. Gargiulo has the testimony of all ministers from Boker down, & of the Missionaries, in his favor, as well as our own.

I expect to reach Alexandretta Saturday, 7<sup>th</sup> Dec. The party are all at Aleppo, & every preparation has been made to start at once on our arrival. I carry letters from the Grand Vizier, & all sorts of other officials. One lives in the midst of such trickery & intrigue, that when a Turk gives me a closed letter, I never dare to present it until I have read the contents. I am sorry to say that I have become an adept at getting at inside of any letter.

I telegraphed when I started to Dr. Pepper, according to his cable request to Mr. S. I also added a request for money, which my last letter to you will explain. I had to make a deposit of 100 tl. caution money with the Minister of Public Instruction, & pay 20 Turkish lire more for the

permit. This 100 lire will be returned later. Haynes has also purchased 5 horses the price of which, or something near it, we hope to get back again.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

Copy

United States Legation

No. 147]

Constantinople, Dec. 3<sup>d</sup> '88.

To the Honorable,

S. F. Bayard,

Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Referring to your several instructions respecting the petition of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, praying that application be made to the Sublime Porte for permission to make excavations in the Vilayet of Baghdad, I have the honor to report,

That such permission has finally been obtained by me, a translation of which is herein enclosed.

The restricted laws in respect to excavations (reported in my dispatch No. 78 of May 9<sup>th</sup> 1881) added to the fact that applications made during recent years on behalf of European museums and Societies had been and were being refused, made it extremely difficult to obtain permission for the petitioners.

Through the kindness of the Grand Vizier the matter of this application was laid before the Council of Ministers, and there it was finally decided to grant the permission to the petitioners to make such excavations upon the conditions stated. As this permission contained terms not provided for by the law namely the right to buy certain of the articles excavated with the implied right to export them, the matter had to be referred to His Majesty the Sultan for an Iradé.

The matter rested in this position for some weeks.

Rev. John P. Peters, professor in the University of Pennsylvania and the head of the expedition, was here during all this time, and expressed himself willing to accept the conditions as made by the Council of Ministers, rather than incur the delay which further efforts would entail.

On the occasion of my audience with the Sultan on the 23<sup>d</sup> ultimo, I called His Majesty's attention to the subject, and he replied that the Iradé would be granted immediately, so it was, and on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant the papers were all completed and placed in Mr. Peters' hands and he with his associates have left for the site of their proposed work. The Grand Vizier and the Minister of Public Instruction gave Mr. Peters letters to the Vali of Aleppo to facilitate the members of the expedition in their transit.

In this connection I beg to call attention to an error in translation of article 18. of the law on excavations, as forwarded by me, and printed in Special Issue N<sup>o</sup> 48 of U.S. Consular Reports: instead of piasters, it should read Turkish pounds, in each place.

I have &c.

O.S. Strauss

Enclosure.

Translation of permit to Pennsylvania University to make excavations in the Vilayet of Baghdad.

#### Permit

Upon the request of the Legation of the U.S. of America, which made application on behalf of the Trustees of Pennsylvania University in America for permission to excavate antiquities at Memrad, district of Hilé, and at Telufer, district of Divanie, both in the province of Bagdad, the present permit has been granted for two years in the name of the said Trustees; and in accordance with the law respecting antiquities. The necessary investigations having been made and the formalities having been complied with, according to the terms of the said law which provides that all the antiquities excavated shall belong to the government museum, that all the antiquities which may be discovered shall be retained, under the supervision of the official who will be appointed, in a secure place so that the excavators shall not be able to take possession of them.

The Excavators will be authorized to commence working after they have delivered to the authorities of Bagdad the topographical plans of the localities whereon they wish to dig. They shall not trespass beyond the limits indicated in those plans, and before having completed the excavations in one locality they shall not commence upon the other.

Conformably with the regulations should the work by reason of any objections be temporarily stopped, the Excavators will have no right to claim any damages or indemnity on that account. And at the termination of the term of permit of the excavations in said localities, should not have been begun, or if begun they shall not have been completed the excavators are bound to get a new permit for said localities. At the termination of this permit or before, if they give notice

that the excavations are completed, and if it is shown that they have conformed to the rules and regulations, the money they have deposited as security shall be returned to them.

Should the Excavators not commence work within three months from the day the permit is handed to them by the Governor General of the Province, or having commenced they shall stop work for the period of two months without any reason, the permit will be cancelled.

The permit cannot be transferred or sold to any other persons.

They shall pay the salary of the official, who will be assigned to them by the Department and in all matters conform strictly with the said law.

Of the antiquities discovered, if there are any, which, in the opinion of the authorities of the Imperial Museum, are not needed, upon their value being assessed by mutual agreement between the two parties and with the consent of the Sublime Porte, such articles may be sold to said excavators.

Rebbi-ul-emel 26. 1306.

Teshirmi sani 19. 1304.

(sig) Kiamil (Grand Vizir)

Munif (Minister of Public Instruction)

*[Added in another hand:]*

Mrs. Doctor Mitchell  
anxious give small  
tea for you. Shall I accept

FSP.

[1888-12-06. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_06.09, 30. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear M<sup>r</sup> Clark [*ill.*]

I have sent a draft for £12.0.0 sterling (\$58<sup>80</sup>) to cover money borrowed by D<sup>r</sup> Hilprecht from D<sup>r</sup> Bliss at Beyrût.

D<sup>r</sup> Hilprecht has during his delay there, accomplished a very important work, which will add much to the value of our publication. Will you kindly send me your cheque for the above amount.

Yours sincerely

E.W. Clark Esq.

Wm. Pepper

Dec<sup>r</sup> 6/88

[1888-12-11. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 77-80. L-1432.2. HO]

Entirely personally  
& confidentially

Aleppo, Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> of  
December  
a last word of  
warning

Dear Dr. Pepper

Dr Peters arrived Saturday last without firman, as I told you as our only possible prospect. I have stood to you as that [*ill*] man, whom you will please hold responsible for everything that he did in connection with this expedition once before our all judge in Heaven. To-day I write from Aleppo; for I accompanied the expedition so far, as I thought it necessary for the expedition's interest. And it was good that I came. Harper bought an other collection for the expedition. They said, they would send it from here to you. Don't exhibit. I discovered two very mean frauds among them already & I shall prove it as evidently as possible after my return. The others I did not examine (130 pieces more!). They will tell you, that the pieces were bought as fraud after I examined them, but that is only true of one other thing, not of those tablets, they bought them as good.

Peters has permission to dig for 2 years. On strong reasonable arguments I fear however, we shall be delayed on our way or at Bagdâd through the Pasha of Bagdâd. Anyhow we can not begin excavating before middle of February in the most favorable case. And as we have no firman, everything to be found must remain in the hands of the Turkish commissioner, who goes with us and gets (so far as I heard) 20 Turkish pounds a day from the expedition for overwatching us.

What I stood on the expedition, I did it for my dearly beloved University, for my highly esteemed Provost and for my friend Dr Trumbull. I have no other obligations. Now then, if you pardon me for my last advice as a friend to a friend, do not waste the money for a second year, before you have not heard my private oral report, which I shall give sine gratia, sine studio, sine ira.

Reconsider my case, call me back for our University sake even from Bagdâd, I can come back by the way of Basora by steamer and perhaps if you allow me see, Jerusalem. However I have no wish more, my hopes have gone to rest with the old years. Have many, many thanks for all your love and confidence. I hope I was not unworthy of it. My best compliments to all. If you sent money for horse, I shall bring it back. Through peculiar circumstances Haynes bought 3 horses for the expedition, they gave me that, which costs 22 \$ – it has the lowest price of all, but I hope it will carry me.

One question! They are going for Daniel, our Dragoman. He was numbered, according to my sincere understanding & that of Dr Ward (as whose child he was regarded almost) as a member of the expedition. They are going to treat him as servant and exclude him from council. It is an outrage. He is highly educated and true to death! Write about his position some instructions to Peters for my sake!

I shall leave as soon as your telegram is in my hand. I shall **try** to silence the matter, I mean all that I saw and heard for our University sake. But whenever I am discredited, I shall speak through Bismarck's journal in Germany, whose editor in chief asked me for articles, but which I hitherto refused. And in America I shall use the New York Herald, as soon as I see an untruthful statement of Peters in any journal concerning me or any other member of the expedition.

To-morrow we leave for the desert, in which we shall stay about 4 weeks before we reach Bagdad. God will protect us! Do not fear for us.

Peters has actually sent the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets to Prof Sayce instead to the University of Pennsylvania.

This attacks my personal name as a scholar before the world, if Peters does not publicly declare that he acted with or without your knowledge I shall have to write a brief statement about this act to 2 journals very quick. One article of mine will appear in Dr Trumbull's paper soon. It does not speak about the expedition at all. But I wish you read it, because it contains important examinations made by me as member of the expedition.

In the new year as in the old one –

your sincere

professor

Hilprecht

**P.S.**

I got weapons just now by demanding them the 4<sup>th</sup> time!

My horse (if I must stay & if it cannot carry me) I shall sell and buy one for the money expected from you.

In haste! Your telegram which you possibly will send to me will follow me from station to station. If I do not get it before this letter reaches you, telegraph to me in Bagdad, % Blockey.

All are in good health.

I was a little deceived in Haynes. He is a sincere man, although no scholar. That I was left alone for five weeks without one cent in my pocket (literally true!), was the blame of Peters who did not answer Haynes' request for money.

If you write to Peters or telegraph, fix the exact sum, which he has to hand me over for my return passage, 350 \$ so far as I can see.

Is Prince member of the expedition? They begin to quarrel about that!

I find no hope, that there will be any result of importance through excavation after middle of February.

Be careful with a second year. The reports sent to you, I imagine, are perhaps a little too bright and not quite in harmony with the prospect.

All entirely confidential

[1888-12-11. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 76. L-1200. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I return Dr Peters letter. I think you are entirely right in your suggestion that we should wait until we receive Mr Straus's letter, which must be on its way, and then have a meeting of the Executive committee to decide in regard to our finances. I think that with the present favorable condition of affairs, our subscribers will pay another instalment. I will notify you immediately on the receipt of his letter.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark.Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

December 11th 1888.

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[1888-12-11. Peters to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 68-75. L-23. HO]

Aleppo, Dec. 11<sup>th</sup>/88

Dear Dr. Pepper

We are forcing things forward now as rapidly as possible. I landed in Alexandretta Saturday morning, & thanks to Mr. Haynes' prompt & efficient management we reached here Monday noon. Our caravan was to have started this afternoon, & we were to have started tomorrow morning, but as so often happens in such cases, there was a hitch at the last moment & we may be delayed until tomorrow afternoon. I found the members of the Expedition in good health. Hilprecht was at Alexandretta. He had had the roughest time of all, partly through a series of misunderstandings, & partly through the necessary conditions. He has thriven under it, however, & is now in better condition than I have ever seen him, & the very soul of merriment. He has done excellent work, too. The only difficulty has been a little friction between him & one or two of the other members, while I was in Constantinople. He did not receive money in Alexandretta, it seems, because Haynes misunderstood one of his letters, & did not receive some more. H. therefore telegraphed Haynes that he was going home, to send him his luggage, & wrote a very sharp & sarcastic letter to him. He is all right now, however, & on excellent terms with everyone. He had had a very hard time, & felt naturally aggrieved; & he has that unfortunate German touchiness; but he is a sterling good fellow, a capital companion, a hard worker, & I think the best scholar in the party. He is very careful to save the money of the Expedition. Harper & Field were rather inclined to be extravagant, & I told Haynes to save. He has broken them in beautifully, & they both think the world of him, in spite of the hard times he put them through. Harper physically does not stand it as well as the rest, in spite of his tremendous physique, but he is full of pluck. He has developed a positive genius for buying antiquities at prices below what anyone else can get them for. He & Hilprecht are busy to night packing a box of antiquities which he bought for us last Saturday. Of these I will write further in another letter. He has been very loyal under much temptation. He has \$300 from Yale to buy things with. He has bought at the lowest figure, & then simply said to me, I have bought this, if you do not want it, I will take it. So far I have always taken them. He even turned over to me a tablet which had been presented to him. It is entirely owing to him that Mr. Clark was induced to buy the antiquities, & Mr. Stuart Wood the casts & the books for the University. Field is doing well, & is going to be of great service, I trust. He looked so delicate that I was almost afraid to take him, but he stands hardships well, & is improving under them. Haynes is, as all agree, a perfect jewel. He is slow, sometimes to exasperation, but he is faithful, honest, loyal, self sacrificing, & he knows how to manage the Turks & a caravan, & to photograph. We should be utterly at sea without Haynes. Of Prince, I am sorry to have to say that he is a mistake, a serious nuisance. He is a spoiled baby, & no one seems to be able to get along with him. He is stingy beyond anything I ever met. Personally it has been a serious burden to me to have had to nurse him through Europe, & a considerable personal expense. At present he is in a state of violent

ebullition because I have estimated his expenses at \$7. a day. Do not be surprised if I have to drop him for the peace & welfare of the Expedition. That of course is only the last possibility, & not likely, I hope & believe. I am writing you very fully these little details, in the belief that it may be better, though there are some of them that I should not like to say to another.

And now as to the Expedition. As I wrote before the Permit is not what I had hoped, but it is a permit with which we can work & get good results, I am convinced. On the other hand as the case now stands, you will have to decide some things in Philadelphia earlier than I had expected, or rather with less evidence, & more faith. First & foremost, are we to go ahead next year? It will be nearly April before I can receive a reply by letter, I suppose. The expenses of the second year will not be so great as those of the present year. They should not, however, be estimated below \$12000, & it is better to give a little margin. In the second place must I remain? In case I do not remain, I suppose by the vote of the Executive Committee Harper succeeds me, & by the understanding entered into by order of the Committee. Hilprecht I suppose can not remain in any case, & I imagine that if we have any success he will be needed to work up the things at home any way. Now in justice to Harper I wish that you would cable me Yes, if the Expedition is to continue a second year, No if not. Harper can have a position at Yale if he goes back, but to get it he must know in time. He has spent some of his own money in connection with the Expedition, & will go back very poor. He can not afford to be thrown out of a place for a year. He pledged himself to stay two years if we want him, i.e. if the Expedition goes on. Whether he stays as Assyriologist, in his present position, or becomes Director, is all one so far as the question of his stay is concerned. All that is needed is therefore Yes or No. Of course I should like to know the wish of the Committee about myself as soon as possible, but you do not need to telegraph. Frankly if Harper turns out a capable man, or some one in whom the Committee have confidence can be placed in my room, I should rather return. If, however, the Committee wish, I would remain, & give up everything else.

If money has not been sent by this it should be telegraphed to Bagdad. After reaching there we shall have only £500.

Yours sincerely John P. Peters.

[1888-12-12. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 81-82. L-1432.9. HO]

Aleppo, d. 12 December 1888

My dear Dr. Pepper,

In haste a few lines enclosed in a letter to Dr. Trumbull who will kindly forward it to your address.

Dr. Peters told me just now in a very friendly way, that he would ask the Committee for money of one other year, and ask you at the same time, to appoint (as he wished to leave if possible after this season) Dr. Harper or myself as his successor.

You know my true opinion concerning a continuation of excavating, moreover where we have not proved at all, whether we shall find anything at all this season. I advise you, to stop the work with the present members. In regard to myself, I ask you, my dear Dr., who always had my best in mind, 1) to have council with Dr. Trumbull about his intentions, I do not wish to do anything without him. I regard his advice as that of a father. 2) that I am perfectly willing to do whatever you decide, whether I shall stay or return. If however you ask me to stay, I can only do it under the conditions once written to you from Beyrût. During the summer I should work at the museum at Constantinopel. For in Bagdad no European can live after June.

But forget not, whatever both of you decide, I always am pleased with.

If the expedition should remain as a whole, I have nothing to say against any member, although I should not have selected Dr. Harper & Mr. Field. Yet I can live with them very well, if necessary, although I have no great respect before their competency in the fields represented by them. If you should wish continuation of my stay alone (as I formerly suggested) I only need an engineer (if I shall dig at all openly with the Turkish Commissioner (20£ a month Salary) and Noorian. If Dr Harper shall stay, I am just as happy to return. I only wish to be fruitful to both of you & to work for the University of Pa in that way which you find the best for me to be useful for "alma mater".

With sincere wishes for a blessed New-Year

Yours very sincerely

N.B.: Dr Peters behavior towards me  
has suddenly changed in meliorem partem. He was  
indeed very kind [ ] the last 24 hours. I have forgotten all his former treatment.

H.V. Hilprecht

[1888-12-12. *Peters to Pepper. HSN 780D. HO*]

[*Belongs with 1888-12-11, Peters to Pepper*]

Dec. 12/88

P. S. 2. Did not start today. Start tomorrow for Meskene, Deir, Ana, Hit, Bagdad, i.e. Euphrates valley route. Did not have a chance to talk with Hilprecht last night before writing to you, as he failed to turn up at my room. I open this to add result of conversation just held. He wishes me to say to you that he is ready to do whatever you & Dr. Trumbull ordain as best for the interests of the University & the Sunday School Times. If you think he can next year best work at home in bringing out results, he is ready; if after agreement with Dr. Trumbull you say stay, he is ready; it is all one to him.

Just before leaving I received note about gems, broideries &c. for yourself & Mrs. Pepper. I could not do anything just then, neither could I tell how much money you want to spend. Give me an idea, & I will remember you. The best purchaser, for quality & price (i.e. cheapness) of carpets, rugs, cloths, curtains, pottery & the like whom I know is Miss Mary Long, c/o Prof. Albert L. Long, D.D., Robert College, Constantinople. If you wish to send her any sum, she will invest it wisely, taking a small commission. I spoke to her in case you should send. If you wish me to get anything, it would give me pleasure to do my best for you & Mrs. Pepper.

[1888-12-13. Edison to Barker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 83. L-15. TO]

*Call's Address "Edison, New York!"*

*From the Laboratory  
of  
Thomas A. Edison.  
Orange, N.J.*

*Subject, \_\_\_\_\_*

Dec. 13, 88.

My Dear Professor Barker,—

Colonel Gouraud cables me under date 12th instant that he has mailed me a letter in regard to presenting the Sultan of Turkey and the Grand Vizier each with a phonograph.

I will advise you immediately I receive this letter.

Yours very truly,

Thos. A. Edison

Prof. Geo. F. Barker

3909 Locust Street

Philadelphia, Pa.

[1888-12-18. Pepper to Hilprecht. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 84-86. L-21. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Dr Hilprecht,

I have been on the point of writing you again, when I receive your favor of 15th November. It is needless to say how much gratified we are, with the proofs that you have given of your scholarly ability, and of your deep interest in the success of our expedition. You have accomplished much in a short time. I wish that all members of the Expedition had been engaged to equal profit. Of course you understand that my failure to forward funds promptly to you, is from no lack of appreciation of your work. We appreciate it highly I assure you. Mr. Straus has cabled us however, that permission has been granted, and that Dr. Peters has started. We have not yet had time to receive a letter, but this cablegram cannot be understood otherwise than as meaning, that Dr Peters left Constantinople about December 1st, to join the rest of the party. I trust and pray this is so, and that you are now altogether, and starting work under the happiest auspices. If so you must forget entirely all your misgivings in regard to his ability, and the success of the Expedition. I know that you will join and work as loyally as anyone. Dr Peters has been instructed definitely as to the attitude of the Executive Committee as to their decision, that you must have every proper consideration shewn to you in every respect. What you say about the inscription being sent to Professor Sayce disturbs me [1888-12-12]. I trust that there is some error about it. I have written Dr Peters directly upon the subject. There has been so much delay already, and so much money has been expended beyond our expectations, that it is absolutely necessary that every opportunity shall be taken advantage of, in every direction, for the benefit of the University, and for the reputation of the Expedition. It will not do to allow things to go into the hands of others. We must be just before we are liberal. We feel much encouraged here however, and are confident that you will all work together. Of course it has not been possible for us even to consider a change of the plan, which was definitely adopted. We cannot do this until we receive an official statement from the Expedition after Dr Peters has joined you, with whatever permission, he and Mr Straus have been able to secure. As soon as he comes, there must be a Council, and then we must receive full information to guide us. I preserve all you write. I am glad that you write as frankly and fully as you do. I hope that nothing so radical will be necessary as you have suggested. But you may be sure of this, that having gone so far, and incurred so much expense, we do not intend to allow this thing to be an ignominious failure. It must and shall be prosecuted to success. Your reputation shall be carefully considered in every way. But do not fail to show a true spirit of conciliation, and of cooperation, with all the members of the party. I will write as I have stated directly to Dr Peters impressing him with the feeling of the Executive Committee in regard to working exclusively for the University, and in regard to your position in the matter.

With kindest regards and best wishes

Yours faithfully

Wm Pepper

Professor Hermann.V.Hilprecht.

December 18th 1888.

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[Near duplicate: UPMAA\_Nippur-01.06, 84 = L-21]

[1888-12-18. Pepper to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 90-91. L-20. TC]

Peters.1.

Rev. John P. Peters.

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Dr Peters,

December 18th 1888.

I have not received any note yet from Mr. Straus giving details of permission granted. Our impatience is extreme. I presume however that you started about December 1st, and that you wrote before you left, in that case we should receive it within 48 hours from this date of writing. I calculate thus, because I have this moment received a letter from Hilprecht from Iskanderun, which is postmarked Constantinople November 30th. Mr Straus cabled us December 1st. We should therefore have letters directly. Hilprecht letter shews evidence of continued and useful activity. The Executive Committee feels, that he has done a great deal to enhance the success of the Expedition. They are very anxious that you shall give him every opportunity of using his eminent scholarly abilities in the interest of the Expedition. The season for digging will be so short, that the greatest anxiety is felt here as to the result to be obtained this winter. I beg to impress upon you the desirability that every possible opportunity be taken advantage of, for the benefit of this expedition. Do not let any valuable things go in any other direction. We will require all you can possibly send us next Spring, in order to rouse public interest to the point of providing funds to prosecute the work to its legitimate result. We have already spent so much beyond what was estimated. Please keep your mind fixed upon these facts. I do not understand a statement in Dr Hilprecht's letter which I trust is an error. It refers to 11 Cappadosian Cuneiform inscriptions bought in Constantinople, which Hilprecht thinks you were going to send to Professor Sayce in Oxford. The Executive Committee would disapprove entirely of any such disposition of the inscriptions. After repeated and careful discussion of the entire question, in all its bearings, they directed me to inform you of their clear feeling and decision upon this point. All finds and all objects obtained are to be sent directly here, so that they can be edited from this point, with the cooperation of scholars, under such plan as may be decided upon, after the extend of you[r] acquisitions is definitely known. You may be sure that there will not be the slightest desire to exclude all American scholars, and all American institutions from participation in the benefits of our permission and of our work, but you can see clearly as a practical man, that at this initial stage of a difficult and costly matter, and after such unexpected and costly delays, the entire success of the Expedition, hangs upon the feeling on the part of our subscribers, that they are being dealt with, with absolute justice. I shall be very sorry to have any question come up which would give rise to adverse criticism on their part. I cannot tell you how anxiously I am waiting for full news from you and I trust to hear very soon that you have joined the party, and that all is harmonious, and that you are starting for the field of work in good health and spirits. With kindest regards.

Yours faithfully

[1888-12-20. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 96. L-1202. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I have received no letter from Mr Straus. I have therefore cabled him again, asking him to send us details. I have another letter from Dr Hilprecht, who is evidently doing excellent work. It was written however, before he had learned that permission was granted, and therefore has nothing new in it. I have received by post several packages from Dr Peters, containing numerous objects, all small, and without special importance. I have heard nothing from him as to their source. I will advise you immediately of everything I receive.

Yours sincerely

E.W. Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

December 20th 1888.

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[1888-12-22. Straus to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 97-99. L-28. HO]

United States Legation  
CONSTANTINOPLE

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Dec 22<sup>d</sup>/88

Dear Dr Pepper

Your cable “kindly write details permission” received last evening. I have made full report to department of State, and it will probably be best if you will write to Bayard to send you copy of my despatch with enclosure (containing translation of Permit), you will then have the matter in better shape than I could detail it in a letter.

I availed myself of the opportunity afforded, when I dined with the Sultan, to ask for the Iradé, and he promptly answered “you shall have it at once”. The permit is in the form it passed the Council of Ministers, more restricted than I had hoped it would be, and doubtless more restricted also than the Sultan intended it should be. My plan is to let matters rest in the present shape, but if the expedition succeeds, as I hope it shall, in discovering any antiquities, to ask the Sultan to make them a present to the University. Always providing I am yet here in as much as the New Administration comes in on March 4<sup>th</sup>, which doubtless means that we Democrats and [*ill.*] will have to march out, as is the custom and practice in the absence of a regulated service. I am strongly inclined to believe that the Sultan will be pleased to have an opportunity to confer this favor upon my request, as he has on two separated occasions endeavored to bestow some presents upon me – recently two Arab Horses for myself & Mrs Straus, which I succeeded in declining. He seems to feel under obligations to me for some slight services it afforded me pleasure to render him and which I was entirely at liberty to do.

It has required all the arts of diplomacy backed up by persistency to obtain what we received. I had determined that the permit should be had and felt gratified when at last it was obtained, especially as the Grand Vizier seemed unable to secure it for me. The Cast of the Stelé I wrote you about will be shipped in a day or so.

With best wishes for the New Year Sincerely yours

O.S. Straus

P.S. In reply to your favor of the 29th ult respective Edison’s New Phonograph as a present for the Sultan – my suggestion is – keep this in reserve for a future time. I cannot see how it will aid your course at the present time.

OSS

[1888-12-23. Peters to C.H. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 100-101. L-24. HO]

Ed-Deir on the Euphrates

Dec. 23/88

My dear Mr. Clark

I had planned to write you & Charlie each a long letter, but can only after all write a few words on business after every one else is asleep. Dr. Harper was offered by the direction of the Committee 2<sup>nd</sup> place on the Expedition, with succession in case of accident to me. He bound himself for two years. At that time both Dr. Pepper & I supposed it impossible for Hilprecht to go. Later Dr. Pepper examined him & pronounced it better for him to go than stay behind. Harper agreed to waive the terms of the agreement, so that he & Hilprecht should be on an equal footing, but that part of the agreement relating to his succeeding me in case of accident or departure was left untouched. I stated to the Committee his willingness to waive the arrangement touching 2<sup>nd</sup> place, & Hilprecht was appointed on an equal footing with him. Hilprecht now tells me that Dr. Pepper informed him before leaving that he was second in rank, & my successor in case of accident. I told him I had no such information, but would write to Dr. Pepper & yourself, to both of whom he referred me. It is proper that the University of Penn. man should hold the first position, but it must be remembered that when it was thought impossible for him to go another contract was entered into. Both Harper & Hilprecht are not necessary. One or other is a luxury, although a very pleasant one. Neither would consent to work under the other. My impressions are that after this year I also am a luxury, & that money can be saved & equally effective work done by recalling me. All I want is the success of the Expedition, & I am willing to go or stay, as seems best. We shall need next year an architect in place of Field, I suppose, & I should be glad to have Frothingham of Princeton secured to do the work needed. He is not an architect, but he is an archaeologist. I am anxious to know at once the wishes of the committee as to staff.

Yours sincerely John P. Peters

[1888-12-25. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 102-103. L-1199. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

My dear Mr. Clark,

I return Dr. P.'s note: I also send the one I have received. Also a note I have written in reply. If you are entirely satisfied with it, close and post.

Otherwise keep it to submit to Executive Committee – a meeting of which I have called at Your office on Friday Dec. 28 at 12½. I have had “important business” put on notices.

I will there submit copies of my recent letter to Dr P. and to Dr Hilprecht ——

I did not call meeting for Thursday evening on account of the important meeting of American Economic Association at University that evening (Gen. F.A. Walker's annual address).

I wish you could make it convenient to be present.

Yours very truly

Wm. Pepper

Dec. 25/88

E.W. Clark Esq.

[1889-01-03. Rives, State Department to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 2. L-31. HO]

Department of State,

Washington, January 3, 1889.

D<sup>r</sup> William Pepper,

University of Pennsylvania,

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Sir:—

Herewith transmit for your information, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Oscar S. Straus, United States Minister at Constantinople, N<sup>o</sup> 147 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> ultimo, reporting that permission had been obtained of the Ottoman Government for the University of Pennsylvania to make its proposed archaeological explorations at Baghdad.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

G.L. Rives

Assistant Secretary

Enclosure:

Mr. Straus to Mr. Bayard,

N<sup>o</sup> 147 with enclosure.

[1889-01-06. *Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 5-6. L-1010. HO*]

Kala'at Feluja

Jan. 6/89

My dear Mr. Clark

We have almost reached Bagdad. Tomorrow about 1 or 2 in the morning our interpreter Daniel Noorian, starts & rides right through to Bagdad to engage quarters for us, & we expect to arrive at 1 o'clock the following day, Tuesday. This has been a hard week. We have risen a little after 1 in the morning three days, & the men have been quite ready to go to bed by 6 o'clock leaving me alone to work over maps & note books until 8 or 9. Haynes has managed splendidly. He has conducted the trip very economically, & at the same time with such a regard to everything necessary to health, that in spite of the hard & unusual work not a man has suffered. It has told on Hilprecht, however, somewhat; for I am afraid he is not very strong. He was at first the life of the party, but now he is much of the time more dead than alive, poor fellow, although I take more care of him than of all the rest put together. By the way, he tells me that Dr. Pepper told him he was second after me, & was to take my place in case of accident or recall. Now by directions of the Committee Dr. Harper was given that place by contract. Afterwards he waived his right to second position, & it having been decided that Hilprecht should go, the two were made equal, but the arrangement by which Harper was to succeed in case of accident to me, or my recall, was not changed. From my experience so far also I should say that Harper was the better fitted for the post. Hilprecht is the better book scholar, but his judgement is not good in practicable matters. He is too theoretical.

We have done some good work I believe on the way down, as soon as it can be worked into shape, both for geography & archaeology. We have discovered several sites. Today we have been doing some private digging. We regularly rest on Sunday, but today after having the united force of the Expedition at work on the vast mound of Anbar all day, in the afternoon Harper & I took a mad ride to an ancient site & dug up some Babylonian graves, & carried off a curious Hebrew tombstone of later date. I am writing this after my usual practice while the rest are in bed.

Yours sincerely John P. Peters.

[1889-01-10. Straus to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 7-8. L-29. HO]

United States Legation  
CONSTANTINOPLE

Jan 10/89

Dear Dr Pepper

The enclosed telegram was received by me today from Dr Peters. I would have cabled you had I not believed that Dr P. has done so. Your kind and complementary letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> ult was duly received and I thank you for your generous estimate of my public services.

The plaster cast of the stelé has not left here yet because of delay in getting the required permit, which has now been obtained. It will be forwarded by the next ship within five days. I trust you received my letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> ultimo in reply to your cable.

I look forward with much hope to the ultimate success of the expedition and when the time arrives to secure the fruits of its labors rest assured no efforts will be spared. Should I no longer be here, I will take pleasure in posting my successor. I trust however, as it is not probable that I can be relieved before the middle of May, that I will end the matter before my departure – in any event –.

I am Very Sincerely Yours

O.S. Straus

[1889-01-12. W.R. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 24. L-1429.1. TO]

THE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF HEBREW,  
WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph.D., Principal.

I. COURSES IN HEBREW.

C. E. CRANDALL, M.A., Instructor.

1. *Elementary*—forty lessons, including mastery of Hebrew text of Gen. i-iii, important grammatical principles, memorizing of all words occurring over 200 times.
2. *Intermediate*—forty lessons, including critical study of Gen. i-viii, rapid reading of twenty historical chapters, complete survey of grammar, memorizing of all words occurring over 50 times.
3. *Progressive*—forty lessons, including critical translation of Ex. i-xxiv, examination of questions of geog., archaeol., etc., review of etymology, syntax, memorizing of words occurring over 25 times.
4. *First Advanced*—twenty lessons, including critical trans. and examination of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, syntax in detail, Hebrew accents, Hebrew poetry, principles of prophecy.

II. COURSES IN COGNATE LANGUAGES.

F. K. SANDERS, M.A., Instructor.

1. *Arabic*—forty lessons, including mastery of the Arabic translation of Gen. i-iii, the most common principles of the language, and the critical translation of ten or fifteen suras of the Quran.
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III. GENERAL INFORMATION.

1. *Members* may begin at any time and proceed as rapidly as they may desire.
2. *Tuition fee* is as follows:—(1) The Elem., Inter. and Prog. Courses \$6.00 for a year (40 lessons); (2) The First Advanced Course, \$6.00 for a year (20 lessons); (3) The Cognate Courses \$10.00 for a year (40 lessons).
3. *For a descriptive pamphlet* giving full details of the work in all Courses address the Principal.

New Haven, Conn., Jan. 12, 1889.

Pres. William Pepper, D.D.,

Univ. of Penna., Philadelphia.

My dear Sir,

Understanding that the matter of the continuance of the expedition longer than one year is to be considered at an early date, in view of my brother's connection with the same may I beg you to forward me the result of the decision when it is reached; for if it is decided that my brother is to return I shall be glad to know as long ahead as possible in order to make satisfactory arrangements.

Trusting that you will decide to continue,

I remain

Yours truly,

W.R. Harper.

Dictated.

[1889-01-13. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 25-28. L-1009. HO]

Bagdad, Jan. 13/89

% T.S. Blockey & Co.

Dear Mr. Clark

We are progressing & according to the news received here we shall have a good season for digging, & be able to dig until the middle of April, or May, say three months, which is about all I had really calculated upon for this year. I believe, too, that under our present permission we can get a fair share of everything found out of the country. I have now found out why we could not obtain permission to dig at the mound of Anbar, supposed by Dr. Ward to be ancient Sippara. It lies in what is called a sennyeh, or private domain of the Sultan. It seems that he has been buying large tracts of land in this part of the country, & no digging is allowed in his private domain. We spent last Saturday & Sunday nights at Kala'at Feluja on the Euphrates,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour on foot from Anbar. Accordingly we walked out to the mound, & spent most of the day there. Dr. Ward is right as to its enormous extent. Mr. Haynes, who has seen Babylon, pronounced these mounds even more extensive than those of Babylon itself. This mound had been inhabited to quite a late date, & the surface remains were not ancient, but I have no doubt that an ancient city lies buried beneath. However, I am almost glad that we are not to excavate there, because it is too enormous. Niffer, ancient Nipur, for which we are aiming now, seems to be regarded by most Assyriologists as about the most promising site, & I have been congratulated upon the selection by the most prominent English, French & German Assyriologists. The Expedition seems to be regarded as a great enterprise. Everyone knew about it in Constantinople almost too well. American Missionaries throughout Turkey appear to regard it as a national enterprise for which they must do everything possible. In London, Paris & Berlin everything was done that could be asked, & now here I find English Resident to French Consul almost vying in attentions. In one way it is almost inconvenient, for they appear to think us even greater & more important than we are, & that there is unlimited money behind us. My object is to appear important just so far as it does not involve expense, for I am conducting everything on plans of rigid economy. You would have laughed at our entrance into Bagdad. First came two mounted Turkish soldiers, then two cawasses of the English Consulate, then I in my dirty, travel-stained old clothes, attended by our commissioner, gorgeously attired, who modestly kept his horse a neck behind, then the other members of the Expedition, then our 25 mules & horses, 6 donkeys (one died on the way), five servants, 9 muleteers & one dog. Today the Commissioner insisted on my riding out with him to see the city. Just outside his horse ran away, & he fell off. I came up to him sitting on a tomb, badly shaken up. His horse being recaptured, I tried to induce him to ride mine, but he refused, & remounted. His horse bolted again at once, & he was off on his head in an instant. This time it was a little more serious; however, he fortunately escaped

real injury. I sent for one of our horses, but he refused to remount, & walked in, I accompanying him. Riding stallions is a rather exciting pastime frequently.

And now about the future of the Expedition. I assume that the gentlemen of Philadelphia are going to carry through the work they have so well begun. I have looked over the ground, & think that I am really needed here. I am accordingly ready to stay, if the Executive Committee wish me to, & the Divinity School will continue my leave of absence. I find, however, that my calculations of my own expenses were too small, & that I have left my wife & family in very straightened circumstances. I would therefore ask this year for \$2500 & all my expenses, only part of which I have charged this year, according, as well as I can remember, to something I said to you. Beside this I have asked for a certain sum from the Divinity School. Dr. Harper should remain as Assyriologist, per contract, only his expenses being paid. Mr. Field is willing to remain as Architect on the same conditions, & should be retained. Mr. Haynes is the very back-bone of the Expedition, & should be retained, & I authorized to raise his salary to \$1500, if possible, or at least to \$1200. Hilprecht should return & work in Philadelphia. Please give my best regards to Mrs. Clark. Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1889-01-14. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 31-33. L-1432.11. HO]

Bagdâd, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1889.

c/o Messrs. Blockey & Co.

Provost Dr. W. Pepper

etc.

Philadelphia

My dear and esteemed Dr.,

Whether all my letters from Beyrût, Alexandrette, Aleppo ever came into your hands, I do not know, as I never received any answer. I hope however, that one came into your possession in which I asked you to send me a certain sum to buy old weapons and fancy-objects for you. There is here the best opportunity for both, and e.g. yesterday I saw an old Persian helmet of elegant work, which I should have liked extremely to get for you. Nobody could lend me money; the whole expedition seems to be in need of fresh means.

The telegram for which I asked you as to my future connection with this expedition, did not reach me. When I saw the many frauds bought by Dr. Harper [before my arrival and afterwards against my express will] in Aleppo, I felt the responsibility of my position too much. I did not wish to leave the expedition without your answer; thus I continued to be connected with the expedition so far, and I think I was able to do some good by preventing bargains. In Dêr I had a hard fight against Dr Peters and Dr Harper. Lots of antiquities were offered – not one piece was genuine. Harper however wanted again to buy the frauds, and he became so impudent as to his knowledge of Assyrian antiquities that I simply left the room. Although I had proved to Dr Peters, that of c. 26 cylinders bought by Harper in Aleppo, 18 at least were frauds and although I protested to be neglected in this way longer, he took the antiquities away from me, leaving it to Harper, to buy them, and Harper was willing to waste 8 pounds for 4 pieces again. The bargain was near; I could not longer remain silent; and I menaced to write to the Executive Committee, in what way money was wasted, if they did not stop. You will read an account of these plump frauds written by me for some American paper. Of course I do not mention or discredit any member in it, you may be sure of that.

For a week about we have been at Bagdâd, the route being completed without any accident of importance. As I wrote you about two months ago, it actually happens now: The Weli of Bagdâd delays us, and Dr Peters acknowledged it yesterday in the evening before all the members of the expedition thus: "The Weli, as I learned, does not approve of our expedition". The trick which the Weli plays, is this: He has toothache. Every day Dr Peters asked for an audience, the powerful

English Consul general Major Talbot assisted Dr Peters – but all in vain so far. There is little hope, that we leave this week. We are entirely in the hands of the Wali. And even if he saw Dr Peters, he would not hand in the papers of permission for digging several days after the audience he granted. This is the Turkish way.

Now a word about Niffer, which Dr. Peters now intends to excavate.

1) This spot and Borsippa of equal immense extension has been selected by Dr. Peters without consultation with his Assyriologists. He conceded, that my wish was to get the firmân for “Ur of the Chaldees”, but “he thought, other English + German Assyriologists knew more about these things”.

2) Mr. Haynes visited Niffer and I saw the maps drawn by the English engineer Selbey. Mr. Haynes said a few days ago emphatically before all of us

a) that we need for excavating Niffer about 10 years.

b) that scarcely 100000\$ will be enough to cover the expenses for this work.

I, as your expert, may add, that 15 years are not enough to excavate the mounds of Niffer systematically, and 200000 \$ is the amount needed. Count yourself. Dr Peters needed for the first year c. 18000 \$, for the 2 year and following he asked you, as he said to me, 12000 \$ each. Therefore  $18000 \$ + 14 \times 12000 \$$  i.e. for 15 years = 186.000 \$.

And as we have no firmân, nothing comes to America for all this money, except you grant several 1000 \$ more and buy a few things from the Turkish officials by corrupting them.

If I could have only two hours of consultation with you at Philadelphia, I should soon convince you of the entire failure of our expedition, alas! Yesterday 60 good tablets (one very important fragmentary cylinder among them) were offered to me for 20 Turkish pounds = 88 \$. All tablets are very old, all genuine, and of Aboo Habba (Sepharvaim of the Bible). I could buy them easily and get other collections too, but, if I do not see collections secretly, Dr Peters does not send me. He always authorizes Dr Harper to go, and Dr Harper buys frauds & offers immense prizes for them even. I give you my word of honor, that Dr Harper is unable to read old Babylonian Characters by sight. For Heaven's sake do not open the box of trash bought by him in Aleppo and shipped to America. We make our University ridiculous for a long time and tear down what you built up in years of hard work in one moment. After my return I shall open the box before you and remove all the trash and frauds secretly if you will. I am however perfectly willing to open the fight scientifically after my return against Harper & Peters, if you wish me to do so.

To-day I have to write a report for the Executive Committee about the Aleppo cylinders bought by Dr Harper. I told Peters, I could not do that, as Harper bought the stuff. Now hear the poor reasons! Peters answered: “While Harper is asked by me to examine other collections in Bagdad, you will examine the Aleppo cylinders and report about them.” Is this not the most horrible injustice to the funds of the Executive Committee and to myself?” “Yet Brutus is an honorable man!” I shall then write my report to-day, but I am asked by Peters to say nothing about the frauds

in it. I have thus to commit a foul play to you and to the Executive Committee. In addition I say to you, the few genuine things among the frauds are worthless, not worth a report. After very hard words between myself and Peters, I got a good horse now. But it was not before my refusing to continue the journey. I had namely got the worst horse in the lot for the first 8 days and it was so weak, that it fell twice with me, while walking slowly. Peters became afraid of the results of another fall. I succeeded finally too in getting weapons from Peters, although they had been distributed with entire neglect of my person. Thus do not trouble yourself for my personal comfort more. The only thing to be troubled about, is the failure of the expedition. At the end of February Mr. Prince leaves the expedition, as he has to be back at the first of June in New York. I hope, that some telegram from you reaches us before. According to the present condition, excavations cannot be begun before beginning of February possibly however later. For travelling back to America we need 11 – 12 weeks. I wait for a telegram from Dr Trumbull. He thought when I left him, I should be back at the end of May or beginning of June. If he does not wish to let me to longer here – for what however I do not care, as I cannot accomplish that work for you which I could if I was alone – I shall have to leave with Mr Prince within 6 weeks. Speak with Dr Trumbull, my dear Dr., and send us one word. Neither Peters nor I have received any word from Philadelphia since 1<sup>st</sup> of December. He waits very anxiously too for news. Give us soon, soon your orders.

I am with best wishes for you & your dear family and with special regards for Dr. Trumbull, as ever

Your faithful professor

H.V. Hilprecht

[1889-01-14. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 29-30. L-1008. HO]

Bagdad, Jan. 14/89

c/o T.S. Blockey & Co.

My dear Mr. Clark

I have just received a letter from Dr. Pepper telling me of a letter of Dr. Hilprecht's to the Committee complaining of treatment received, & informing me of the action of the Committee directing me to provide him with a horse & arms. I have written to Dr. Pepper by this mail stating the facts of the case, & asking him in my justification to lay the letter before the Committee. The arms in the possession of the Expedition are the following: One Winchester Express, an ordinary Winchester, two carbines, one shot gun, two Colt's Navy Revolvers, & two Smith & Wesson's. The Express rifle, as the heaviest & therefore least desirable, to carry, I took myself; & as Haynes's saddle had no rifle holder I gave him the shot gun. The others drew lots, & the medium sized rifle fell to Hilprecht, Harper & Field obtaining the carbines. In point of fact Hilprecht & Haynes have carried no guns, leaving those assigned to go with the luggage. I have therefore taken the shot gun on the march most of the time (or rather carried it for the man that might wish to use it), putting my rifle in the luggage. I gave a small revolver to Haynes, & offered Hilprecht his choice of large or small, with the result that he has Colt, & I Smith & Wesson. The other Colt I told Daniel to carry. Field & Harper provided their own revolvers, & Prince his whole outfit.

As to horses; I told Haynes not to exceed an average of 10 lire (lira is \$4.<sup>40</sup>) for horses for the Expedition. Prince & I also asked him to buy us horses out of our own pockets, mine not to exceed 15 lire, Prince's 22. Haynes bought a horse for Field, adapted to the special work he would have to do, for 9 lire, another for about 7, & another for about 5. Mine cost 13½ & Prince's 13¼. Haynes had his own horse. Of the two horses to be divided Hilprecht said he would prefer the 5 lire horse, so I gave the other to Harper. Later Prince made a great fuss about the horse procured for him, & as we needed one more horse I decided to take it for the Expedition, & Prince bought his own. Hilprecht complained of his horse, so I gave it to Daniel to use, & called on Hilprecht & Harper to again draw lots. Each preferred the 7 lire horse, & Harper drew it. Hilprecht's horse is the fastest walker & runner in the party, but he does not like it, & I do not think he would like any horse but a strong cow. You will see that I am a little nettled by the criticism. Yours sincerely  
John P. Peters.

[1889-01-16. Edison to Barker. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 34. L-16. TO]

*Cable Address "Edison, New York!"*

*From the Laboratory  
of  
Thomas A. Edison.*

*Subject, \_\_\_\_\_*

*Orange, N.J.*

Jan. 16, 89

My dear Professor Barker, –

I have received a letter from Col. Gouraud, in regard to the proposed presentation to the Sultan of Turkey, and the Grand Vizier of Turkey. The proposition which Col. Gouraud makes is this: I provide the phonographs, at my own expense, and send them to England; Col. Gouraud will forward them from there, with an expert, to Constantinople, where I presume the presentation would be made; the phonographs to be presented in the names of myself, the University of Pennsylvania and Col. Gouraud; all expenses in connection with forwarding the phonographs from London to Turkey, expert's expenses &c. in connection with the presentation, to be divided equally between Col. Gouraud and the University of Pennsylvania. Does this meet with your approval? If so, kindly advise me, so that I may take immediate steps to get the machines ready.

Yours very truly

Thos. A. Edison

Prof. Geo. F. Barker.

[1889-01-16. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 35. L-1198. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

My dear Mr Clark,

I have seen Rev Dr Trumbull. He is so deeply interested in the Expedition, that he is willing if necessary to allow Hilprecht to stay a year longer. We are therefore in a position to discuss the whole question, and to decide upon what is best. It seems important to have a special meeting at once. Will it suit you to have me call it for one o'clock, next Tuesday at your office?

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark.Esqr.  
January 16th 1889.

[*Added by hand:*] Dr. Trumbull should be [*ill*] as subscribing \$1000 annually for each year wh. Hilprecht remains out there : as he continues to pay him half-salary ——

[1889-01-17. Barker to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 36. L-17. HO]

3909 Locust St.  
Philadelphia Jan. 17, 1889

My dear Dr. Pepper:—

I have just received the enclosed letter from Mr. Edison and send it to you at once. The proposition it contains seems to be a fair one and I suppose will be acceptable to you. Will you kindly let me know whether the University will share the expense as proposed, and I will write to Mr. Edison to that effect at once.

Yours truly  
George F. Barker.

[1889-01-17. R.F. Harper to Peters. HSN 780F, 3-5. HO]

To Professor John P. Peters,

Director of the Univ. of Penn's Baby. Exped.

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I beg leave to report that, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1889, while acting under your instructions, I purchased from Joseph Khabaza, of Baghdâd, a large collection of Babylonian antiquities – in all 632 tablets and 117 seal-cylinders.

About four-fifths of the tablets purchased belong to the Hammurabi period. One or two are dated in the reign of Hammurabi; four, or more, in the reign of Samsu-iluna. There are a few from Ammi-satana. By far, the greater part, however, belongs to Ammi-zaduqa.

There are, among these tablets, about 100 case-tablets, almost all of which are well preserved. Ten or twelve are as fine as any I have ever seen. In addition, there are several omens, incantations, prayers, syllabaries and letters.

I was also pleased to find three or four tablets dated in the reign of Abêšu, a Babylonian king hitherto unknown. The first tablets belonging to this king were found by Mr. Pinches and myself in the Joseph Shemtob collection.

The seal-cylinders are not a choice (or picked) lot, but they are as good as could be expected in such a large collection. The chief value of this collection consists in the light which it will throw upon the oldest and least known Babylonian dynasty, viz: that of Hammurabi. By adding this to the Joseph Shemtob and Khabaza collections, the Univ. of Pennsylvania will have a larger number of tablets of this date than any other museum.

These antiquities were counted, marked with an H, packed and sealed in my presence on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1889.

Box 1 contains 80 tablets

" 2 " 92 "

" 3 " 80 "

" 4 " 83 "

" 5 " 41 "

" 6 " 30 "

" 7 " 57 "

" 8 " 60 "

" 9 " 55 "

" 10 " 44 "

" 11 " 10 "

and 116 cylinders.

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Boxes 11. Tablets 632. Seal-cylinders 116.

Arrangements have been made for their shipments (without loss to the Expedition, if confiscated) to London.

Very truly yours,

Robert Francis Harper.

Baghdâd, Jan. 17<sup>th</sup>/1889.

[1889-01-17. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 37. L-1432.13. HO]

Bagdâd, January 17, 1889.

Dr. William Pepper  
Provost of the University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia.

My dear Dr.,

At the request of Dr. Peters, I write these few lines in order to assure you – as I think I did already in Aleppo – that I have been provided with a horse and with weapons by Dr. Peters before we left Aleppo. The horse received in Aleppo, being proved to be unfit for me on the road, was exchanged at my request at Abu Harîri (19<sup>th</sup> of December 1888) with another better one. I am entirely satisfied with this latter one, it seems to me a very fair one, especially as to its quickness.

With my best regards from the banks of the Paradise-stream

I have the honour to be very respectfully yours

H. V. Hilprecht.

[1889-01-17. Peters to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 12-13. L-1414. TC, extracts]

Bagdad, January 17th, 1889.

Dear Dr. Pepper,

.....

Your letter as to collections made me decide to take a great risk here. We have been picking up a few small things here and there. Daniel found among his friends a small collection of tablets, which he reported to Hilprecht. The latter examined it and reported to me. I authorized him to pay up to 20 lire for it, but he hopes to get the money from Prince. Harper, through his connections with Shemtob in London, ferreted out a large collection. There are over 750 pieces of all sorts. It is in fact a larger collection than both of the London collections put together, but it is not so varied, nor so attractive to the general public. It is very difficult work dealing with the Jewish dealers here.

January 18th, 1889.

The government has made several raids and confiscated various objects. Harper could not get into real communication with them for about a week. At last on Tuesday morning they led him through by-ways and alleys with every possible precaution to a house where he was shown a large collection, for which they asked £700. He said that he must confer with me, and that I must see the collection. I did not wish to go, because I was afraid of being seen and compromised, and also because I was afraid that the reference to me, and my appearance, would raise the price. But he was unwilling to take any responsibility, and I had to go, following a mysterious guide moving in the distance as though he had no connection with us, and changing off half way with another man. The collection was very fine, but I will not go into a description of it, because I have a report from Dr. Harper to enclose regarding it. After examining it I concluded that I must take the risk of purchasing and trust that the purchase would be accepted in Philadelphia. After conferring with Hilprecht, who of course could not see the collection and therefore could only guess about it, I fixed the highest price delivered in London with no risk to us as £450. Harper had now spent the whole of Tuesday, the morning alone and the afternoon with me, at the house examining the collection. The next morning, Wednesday, Harper again went to the Jew's house, accompanied by our interpreter Daniel. Both of them deserve much credit for the work they did. They returned about 12 o'clock having secured the collection for £275 delivered in London at no risk to us, whereas I had supposed that it would take several days to reduce it to £450. My name does not appear on the contract, but Harper's, so that we may not be compromised in any possible manner. The collection is to be delivered in London to an agent whom we both agree to designate, probably David Taylor & Sons, 61 Mark Lane. If he receives it with the seals intact and boxes in good condition he accepts and forwards to you. On notification of acceptance by telegram from Taylor & Sons, please cable at once to Blockey, Bagdad, the £275, unless Taylor should name a smaller sum by cable in

which case please cable the smaller sum named. Taylor will send in his bill for shipping expenses &c. Blockey's firm name is T.S. Blockey & Co. Of course if the Committee or the University do not wish to accept this collection I am responsible. I only beg that the money may be forwarded as stated, and if the collection is not wanted, I will refund the money with expenses and 6% interest from date of payment. The collection is, as you will at once perceive, larger than either of the others. In character it is like the second collection, the one purchased by Mr. Clark. In fact we now know that the two were part of one collection, and that this larger collection was almost entirely one "find", from the mound of Jim Jimah part of ancient Babylon. Almost all of the objects belong to a very early period, about 2000 or thereabouts before Christ, although there are a few objects from the time of Darius. There are 11 boxes of this collection. They are marked with an H., and sealed with a seal of which I give you a copy. After concluding the purchase Dr. Harper returned to the dealer's house at 2 o'clock in the afternoon to see that everything was packed without fraud. He and they worked without a pause until 2 o'clock this morning, when all was packed, marked and sealed. He then returned and wrote this brief report to accompany my letter. This collection should not, I think, be thrown open to students until Hilprecht's return this summer; for there is a great deal of work to be done in preparing it for use. I have asked that the money be forwarded to Blockey, for by the time you receive the telegram we ought to be in Niffer, a week's journey away from here.

We have been delayed here by the illness of the Wali. This time I believe it to be a real thing and no humbug. We arrived Tuesday of last week, and it is now Thursday. We hope now that he can see us on Saturday, in which case we might get off on Monday. I had expected to delay here one week to make the necessary preparations for our sojourn at Niffer. Everything is now about ready, but Mr. Haynes and the men have had a very hard week. The English Consul General and Resident, major Talbot, has taken us quite as much under his wing as though we were British residents, and the whole English colony has done everything possible to make our stay here pleasant.

Our plans are sufficiently definite. To go from here to Niffer, the site of ancient Nipur, one of the most ancient and important of the very oldest Babylonian cities, dig there until the end of April or beginning of May. Then if we have money enough and the season permit we should make some investigations at Birs Nimrud, ancient Borsippa, sister city of Babylon. The men, Harper, Field and Haynes, would then be maintained through the summer in this country working, and excavations would be resumed at Niffer (perhaps first at Borsippa for a short time) in November or December, and continued as long as the money and the season will permit.

I hope to send by this mail some seals[sic] cylinders bought by us in Aleppo, which I have given to Hilprecht to ticket.

All are well excepting Prince, who does not stand the hardship well.

Bagdâd, January 18<sup>th</sup>

1889.

Entirely confidentially!

You may however tell Dr  
Trumbull about the contents!

My dear Dr. Pepper.

A few hints to you who cannot observe from the immense distance, how matters actually stand.

A large collection of Babylonian antiquities was bought by Dr. Harper + Dr Peters in Bagdad on the 16<sup>th</sup> of January.

The price demanded by the dealer was 700 English pounds. The collection contains (according to what I learned from Peters + Harper) 632 tablets [i.e. mostly fragments, only a few being intact. Among them is no historical text however] and 117 seal cylinders. According to what Harper said the greatest part of the pieces belong to an old Babylonian dynasty (Hammurabi, Samsu-iluna, Ammiditana etc) and are simply contract tablets, of which many will be valuable but of which our first London collections have already an abundance. The price was finally lowered down to 250 English pounds. This price includes 25 £ for packing and sending the collection over to London. If it is seized by the Turkish government, the dealer Chabaza bears the loss alone. This latter arrangement is doubtless a good one, and the whole price is very low, if it is genuine. But now allow me to give you some particular hints

1. As I already indicated to you, whenever a collection of some importance was offered (thus in Der, thus in Bagdâd) I have been ignored. Yea, more than that, they concealed the whole thing at Bagdad before me, till the bargain was going to be made.
2. I asked Dr. Peters and Dr. Harper, as soon as they told me about the collection to let me see the thing, that I might form a judgment. Moreover I called their attention to the immense responsibility involved in that bargain over against the University of Pa, I added, that if I had to buy this collection in Bagdad, I should demand that Harper saw it with me, because 4 eyes see more than two. But I was declined to see the collection on ridiculous reasons. Yea, after the collection was bought, even the simplest sign of politeness (to invite me to see the collection or to help Harper in packing and numbering the pieces) was omitted by Dr Peters + Dr Harper. I know about this collection exactly as much as you do.
3. And all this was done by Dr. Peters, after I had told him 2½ weeks ago, that 2/3 of all seals bought by Dr Harper in Aleppo and 2 dedication bronze tablets bought by Dr Harper in Aleppo too were doubtless frauds.

4. I add to N<sup>o</sup> 3, that I examined yesterday the rest of the cylinders (bought by Dr Harper in Aleppo) at the request of Dr Peters. I am sorry to say, even this last third is fraud and very mean fraud. I refused therefore to Dr Peters yesterday to report about these cylinders to the Executive Committee. I only reported about a seal with the inscription “Šamaš êllu” = “the Sun-god is bright” [*CBS 5470 = PBS 14, 710*]. I handed this detailed scientific report of the seal which was bought by Dr Peters for a very reasonable price 2 days ago here, over to the director of the expedition. I hope, he translated it fully from my German copy and handed it over under my name to you. I add this latter remark, because I have made curious discoveries.
5. I hitherto found in the Aleppo collection of about 120 pieces: 26 frauds, i.e. all the pieces which I had in my hands so far for examination, are plump frauds. It is a shame for Dr Harper, moreover whenever I friendly suggested anything to him as how to distinguish frauds from genuine cylinders, he was extremely rough to me, never accepting any advice. Now then after this experience I am afraid, my dear Dr, almost the whole collection of Aleppo will be a big fraud. It is probably on the water now over to America. Do not open it!! Let me do it in your presence that not our whole good renown of the University is wasted by this horrible expedition. In order to save at least one part of the wasted money, I shall kindly propose to Dr Peters, to inform Dr Harper of those frauds examined by me and so far they are still here with us (19 pieces) and to induce him to take them back secretly as his property in order that he might escape the blame afterwards. I think I shall succeed in doing so.
6. But now back to the big collection, just bought behind my back! You know now, what to think of the scholar Dr Harper. You know what you risk by accepting this collection, in which are again 117 seal cylinders (which I really doubt without having seen them). I know their trick. They will afterwards say, they were thrown in with the lot without payment. Although I know, it is a lie, will it be nice to treat this before the public?? Can you yourself believe, that the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> part of the collection is thrown into it without payment? I think they paid 50 £ for the seals alone but the dealer would not sell them otherwise than in connection with the tablets. I understood so from Dr Peters.

Here my private confidential advice!

- 1) If Peters announces the bargain of the collection to you by telegraph (which would be very unwise, as we are so overwatched), I shall send a telegram to you confidentially at the same time: “do not accept collection before my letter!” This letter here gives you the whole background of the bargain.
- 2) As soon as you have my letter, write back to Peters of about the following effect, that you are very glad to receive such encouraging news, and as doubtless I, the Assyriologist of the University of Pa examined the collection carefully before the bargain, you think the Committee will accept the bargain gladly. Dr Peters should only assure you by a brief note of mine enclosed in his letter, in which I give my judgment of my examination, that this latter condition was fulfilled.

Two things, my dear Dr, have in mind a) not to accept the collection before my examination as final. A young Turc, to whom I was able to render some important service and who now sticks thankfully to me, told me yesterday (a day after the bargain), when I told him about the collection, to be very careful, as the very dealer Chabaza used to mix his collections with  $\frac{1}{3}$  frauds & that he knew the man very well b) do not refuse the whole collection entirely, as some good things ought to be in it. Make only that condition, that if I did not examine it, as it would have been right, I have to examine it after my return before you can accept the collection and that you pay the money only with this understanding, and that Dr Peters is responsible for all frauds found by me in it.

I am very low down. Since this last ignoring of my person by Dr Peters, I am entirely heart-broken. I try to stand all blame, all injustice as a man, but I suffer immensely. For what did I come then on this expedition, for what did I sacrifice all that was mine? You were my good friend in all these trials, you sacrificed much, very much for my sake. Our God in Heaven will reward you for that, for my prayers cannot be lost entirely. Pardon me if I stand before you unable to accomplish more, to accomplish anything at all. My hands are bound, my heart is broken, my mind is full of grief. Here we stand at the old stream of the lost Paradise. But the same angel who was placed as a guardian before the door of Eden, keeps still away all those from its hidden treasures who come without self-humiliation, and the earnest desire to serve God alone in all that they are permitted to do.

A fortnight we have now been delayed at Bagdad. The Weli still is or appears to be sick from – – toothache. How long this delay will last, I do not know. I telegraphed you several days ago: “Am a little hopeful”. I wanted to release your mind a little. My only hope consists however in buying collections, of which several were offered, not in excavating. Collections are in the market. I hope to buy the 60 pieces about which I spoke already in my last letter. I induced Mr. Prince to buy the collection for the University from his own pocket. It will cost about 20 pounds. Mr. Prince is a young man who needs an older man as his guide and adviser, but he is faithful like a child and the son of a good Christian mother. If one speaks friendly to him, one can guide him like a child; he is ready to sacrifice money whenever necessary, but as soon as he suspects anything wrong, he cuts the thread directly. He had diarrhoea now for 11 days and is very weak, Dr. Bowman of the English residency attends him. As it was understood before he left America, that he ought to be back on the first of June, he will leave us on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February. I regret his going very much, moreover as he so far had almost nothing from the whole expedition, and if we are still delayed for another week (what seems to be probable), he cannot see even Niffer, which is 9-10 days from here.

My old opinion has now actually been proved to be true – alas, the expedition is a failure! Mr. Blockey said, as Dr Peters told us, the Weli is not in favor of our expedition. Dr Bowman said, the Weli telegraphed to Constantinopel for instructions. I believe myself, the Weli has secret instructions to delay us as long as possible. Thus you will readily understand that the failure of the expedition will soon become public. We have now almost the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 1889; the first party of the expedition, which left America on the 23<sup>d</sup> of June 1888,

has been out now 7 months, and we are not yet even on the place of excavation! The time has come, when the first member (Prince) is about to return! You can see, that all my hope is buried. And even if we now should leave Bagdâd still in January, no regular excavations can begin before middle of February! And what is our hope? The 2 mounds selected by Dr Peters without the knowledge of his Assyriologists (I left America even with the understanding and the often repeated advice that we should excavate at Ur, the most promising mound of all and very small, and then Abraham came from there – what an attraction for American Christians!) are the 2 largest of whole Babylonia. Our hope of finding anything within the first months and year is therefore, if based on reasoning and science – extremely vague. I repeat, what I said in my last letter. We need about 15 years and 150.000 \$ (at least), in order to excavate Niffer systematically. The mound is simply enormous. And then only in exceptional cases duplicates have hitherto been found in Assyrian + Babylonian mounds. What therefore is the direct reward for all the money, all the time to the Philadelphian gentlemen and to our Museum? If the gentlemen are not willing to give money for more scientific exploration (without getting back tablets) and if they are not willing to continue excavations in Niffer for at least 10 years, I give you the sincere advice, my dear and esteemed Dr.: stop excavations soon after they are begun, let excavate only for the purpose of showing the Americans that we have actually used a spade, in order to save Dr Peters from an entire ruin. The quicker you stop us, the more we save for collections. We have now to pay the Turkish commissioner, overwatching our work at Niffer, the salary of almost 1½ months (20 Turkish Liras = 88 \$ a month) and travelling expenses, because he left Bussorah so long ago for our sake. But we had of course hitherto no use for him. The judgment about the possibility of our staying at Niffer has been received from several persons, but they all differ. In the case, you should not want a second year for excavation, I should advice you, in view of all that I have stated above, to stop our excavations at and with the 10<sup>th</sup> of April, supposed we really begin soon and leave Bagdâd. If it was not necessary to save Peters from an entire ruin, the only right thing would be in regard to our renown of the University, to stop every excavation-work directly and buy collections only, if we can get some more and genuine ones. Do not give the slightest notice of the collection bought a day before yesterday, over to the papers. If the Turkish ambassador in Washington should happen to read anything, the tablets might be seized in the last moment. We are watched everywhere. The servant of the Turkish commissioner stood from 6 in the morning till sunset before our door (literally true). The other day Mr. Haynes asked for shot powder in a store. Two days ago, when I went to the Turkish post office, the chief of it called me in his private room friendly, asking, whether we got the powder we needed. You know, selling of powder is prohibited by law. I reported the case to Dr Peters. No person of us has an idea, how the chief of the post got these news. And this is just another reason why I do not believe in excavating with such a large carawan as we are: almost every person saw or heard something about us, and every person watches us in order to report us; for no Turc likes the foreigners in their good clothes and riding on horseback through his cities and digging in his country, while he himself has not enough to live upon or to cover his body. Bagdâd especially is the most filthy place in the whole Turkish empire. ———

Your very kind letter was to-day received. How can I thank you for it? Would to God I could do more for the success of the expedition. But your constant private sacrifices for my comfort and for the interest of the expedition burden my conscience. When I asked you for the 15 Napoleons (or what the sum was) we owed to Prof. Harris, it was because Harris needed the money back so badly, and because I did not know whether Dr Peters would accept the bill, after he asked me to go as deckpassenger and moreover because he was expected to change his address every day and leave Constantinopel, before my letter reached him there. I asked him however afterwards to pay the bill to Harris, and he did so. Thus your money sent to Beyrût is at my disposal for Mrs. Pepper's & your own wishes. Send me occasionally a word to Beyrut (% Johanniter Hospital) suppose we are still in Turkey till end of April whether I shall buy (and what?) for the money.

But aside from this money, my dear Dr., there has been opened an other way to buy you some Oriental things. After you sacrificed 100<sup>ds</sup>, yea over thousand \$ for my poor person, it would be a shame and the greatest ingratitude on my side not to bring a little, very very little sacrifice myself – no, it is no sacrifice at all!!! Dr Peters decided two days ago, to give 1 Turkish Lira to every member of the expedition for the daily personal expenses (repairing of cloths etc, cigars, coffee etc) a month. I can do it just as well without cigars, and the coffee is anyhow served only in very small cups. I shall buy you a full Arabic (Bedouin) dress, for this first Lira to-morrow. And I think, there is no difficulty in finding some old weapons too with the aid of our Dragoman. A couple of old coins I bought already for you on the road to here.

By the way, I do not know whether I wrote to you an other thing occasionally. Where you take such a warm interest in all my affairs, you will be glad to hear this:

Dr Trumbull, this noble and warmfeeling man, told me shortly before I left, that he had decided to give me the half of my salary even during my absence on this expedition. Of course I remonstrated again and again to accept such a sacrifice on his side. For as I probably shall be away from his office  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a year, he sacrifices about 600 \$ for my sake (my whole yearly salary from him, having been as you know, 1500 \$). But this sacrifice of him made me and my going so much easier. I had thus at least the means to pay the costs of the successful operation performed by Prof Kraske of the University of Freiburg on my wife last November and to send her to some Swiss and German watering places for her rheumatism. But for myself no penny of course remained for this expedition. The 210 \$ I spent from my pocket hitherto on the expedition, is the sum which I had on the saving fund in Philadelphia. If I had had more money, do you think I should have been so impudent to my benefactor to ask him for the money for a horse + weapons?

As to the horse + weapons, Dr Peters read the note received from you before me. I explained him my whole treatment on his side and my helpless condition in a wild country. He wrote then (informing me about his doing) a long letter to the Executive Committee under your address, giving some reasons doubtless for his behaviour. I told him “ut altera pars audiatur”, I was going now to send in a full review of the whole horse and weapon question and of my trip to the Lebanon, but not without asking my witness Mr. Haynes before in his presence about his view about these points. I asked Peters 5 times for this questioning



[1889-01-19. Cablegram, Peters to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.02, 1. L-1437.25]

From Bagdaq 1/19

To Dr. Pepper

Try 1811 Spruce st

Is money sent

Peters

[Written by Pepper:] Peters

Bagdad

Asiatic Turkey

Money sent. Yes.

Pepper

[1889-01-20. Telegram to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.01, 15. L-1437.26]

1/20 [1889/90]

To Peters

Baghdad

Asiatic Turkey

Three weeks ago. Yes, regarding expedition.

Pepper

[1889-01-21. Peters to Pepper. HSN 780C+E. HO]

Bagdad, Jan. 21/89

c/o T. S. Blockey & Co.

Dear Dr. Pepper

Prince has resigned by Dr. Bowman's advice on account of his health. At present I have only his statement to that effect made to me in Hilprecht's presence. He is to send in a formal resignation for me to forward, & a letter from the physician telling him that he can not go on, but I have not received them in time for this mail, & must therefore write at present informally. The British Resident & his wife have kindly taken him in to nurse him up a bit before he starts for home. We have just seen the Wali. Everything was couleur de rose, & we are off for Niffer day after tomorrow morning. All the rest of us are well, but I would not like to have the party delayed here another week, for they do not & will not lead as healthy a life here as on the march or in camp. Hilprecht does not seem to be quite as robust as the rest, but I think that on the whole the life on the march & in camp will do him no harm. He needs more care, & a different diet, apparently, than the rest of us. As to Prince's sickness I think it is due entirely to his own folly. The night before we reached Bagdad he had a slight attack of diarrhea, for which he took, contrary to prescription, a very violent dose of cholera medicine, a double or triple dose I think he told me afterward. When he reached Bagdad he went to a physician as though he had some mighty ailment (I have been taken sick in precisely the same way & at the same time, & was well in two days without sight of a physician, although I had been in just as bad a condition as he), & the doctor concluded that a pomegranate seed had lodged in his intestines, & treated him accordingly to a powerful purge. The conclusion reached by the doctor proved erroneous, but it is impossible to bring an accusation against the physician, for Prince did not adhere to his instructions, mixing things up in consequence. For instance I heard the doctor tell him that he should eat only dry bread, & then same Prince insist on eating a hearty meal, & the next day, when he was sick in bed, found that he was indulging in potatoes. Well, to make a long & tedious story short, through fussing & foolishness, helped by unfavorable climatic conditions, & the moral effect of the lack of the luxuries, petting & nursing to which he had always been accustomed at home when in the slightest degree under the weather, an insignificant attack of diarrhoea has been developed into quite a serious illness. I have mentioned this for this reason, because I find that he accused our food & our cook to the doctor as the cause of his trouble, telling him that we were economizing on food, & that it was that which had done all the mischief. This is not true. I have of course economized in every practicable way, but the very condition in which all the men but Prince now are shows that we have not economized unduly in this regard. We are well & strong. We live very simply but in a healthy way. I am afraid that he will say the same thing in New York, & I wish you to know what seems to me to be the true state of the case, so that you can take such steps as seem necessary for our honor. The men excepting Hilprecht who is too full of pity for him, are intensely indignant about his saying such things. I am sorry for the poor fellow's own sake that he has had such hard luck; but it is good for us that he

leaves, for he has been a veritable apple of discord, & there is a general sigh of relief at being rid of the burden.

And now to turn to pleasanter subjects. I received yours of 10<sup>th</sup> ult. this morning after I had begun this letter. I do appreciate Hilprecht's learning, & prize him most highly, & I try to make him feel it, & I think he does. I cannot but wish, however, that I did not have both him & Harper. It is very difficult to handle them together. Hilprecht is the older man, & holds the higher position at home. It is therefore natural that he should feel that he knows much more than Harper. But it is not very pleasant to be told emphatically & brusquely that you know nothing & your opinion is no good. I find it hard sometimes to keep the peace between them. I think, however, that at Niffer, where their work is clear & well defined the trouble such as it is, will all vanish. Both are devoted to the interests of the Expedition, & genuinely loyal, & I believe that we are as harmonious as in the nature of the case any Expedition can be, & that you have no cause to feel disturbed at all on that score. The expressions of confidence restored me to life as it were, for I was intensely worried by your last. We have money enough on hand to carry forward excavations for about 6 or 7 weeks from date, & I hope that long ere that more money will have arrived. I judge from your note that my cablegram did not reach you. I cabled starting, send money. To this Mr. Straus added Permission granted. It seems as though he finally sent the cablegram from himself, & consequently left out my request for money. I wrote the cablegram onboard the steamer, & gave it to Alembi, the Legation Messenger, & paid for it. Later Mr. Straus came onboard, & gave Alembi further instructions about it. Mr. Straus writes saying that "we must succeed". He reports that Budge on behalf of the British Museum has secured no iradé, but only the regular permission, such as the Germans also secured. Small as our privileges are, they seem to be regarded as something of a triumph, & as being a very considerable loophole.

My letter to you this morning was interrupted by another welcome event, besides the arrival of the mail. Major Talbot came to conduct us to an audience of the Governor General. Major Talbot has constantly shown us every honor & courtesy, so that all foreigners have remarked the peculiar distinction we have enjoyed, in spite of our simple & unpretentious appearance. The Governor General received us with great military pomp. He is by far the most honest seeming & business like Turkish official I have yet met with. We received permission to start on Wednesday the 23<sup>d</sup>, & expect to leave the city by sunrise. We are going into the most dangerous portion of his vilayet it appears, & he told us that a whole battalion of soldiers stationed at Diwaniyeh, the nearest town, would be at our disposal in case of need. Everything has been a scene of bustle since the order to move has been given. The mule loads for 50 odd mules are made up, the muleteer contracted with, & everyone has been busy finally putting his things in working order.

My next will be I hope from a big hole!

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

P.S. I had already paid Rendel Harris; but he lost the cheque, & I was just mailing him a duplicate when yours arrived; so I withhold it.

JPP.

Hilprecht cannot imagine how that report was ascribed to him, & it has troubled him much.

[1889-01-23. Pepper to Williams. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.07, 49. L-1437.20. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear M<sup>r</sup> Williams,

I send you D<sup>r</sup> Peters telegrams to me + copies of my 2 answers. Also memo from M<sup>r</sup> Clark as to money. I also send you a letter from Professor Harper. I have replied to it stating the result of Yesterday meeting.

Yours sincerely

W<sup>m</sup> Pepper

Pres.

T. Williams Esqr

Jan. 23/89-

[1889-01-24. Pepper to Hilprecht. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.06, 108. L-1437.8. TO]  
[Only the first page extant. Date reconstructed from 89-03-16, Hilprecht to Pepper]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Dr Hilprecht,

The position of affairs in the Expedition has caused us extreme anxiety here. We feel that we have put our hands to a great work of national importance, and have assumed great responsibilities, and have expended large sums of money already. I think that all are willing to devote themselves to securing additional funds, provided that we are satisfied that the Expedition is organized in the proper way, and that all the members are inspired by the same high motives, and that there is a fair chance of securing the great purpose of the Expedition. You will understand therefore, that your letters have been the cause of great anxiety. Dr Trumbull has I doubt not written you upon this subject. I will say nothing further. It seems incredible that a party organized as ours is, with any sort of permission to make investigations and explorations, cannot fail in sufficient time to accomplish a great work. Securing antiquities is of course the primary object, but you have yourself shewn that it is possible to combine with this, valuable work in discovering and copying new inscriptions and in other ways. I have felt strongly that it would be a mistake to weaken our force in the field. It would save money, but if all the members were inspired by equal zeal, it would seem that after having placed them in the field, it must be worth while keeping them

[*Rest of letter missing*]

[1889-01-26. W.R. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 50. L-35. TO]

## THE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF HEBREW,

WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph.D., Principal.

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3. *For a descriptive pamphlet* giving full details of the work in all Courses address the Principal.

New Haven, Conn., Jan. 26, 1889.

Dr. William Pepper,  
1811 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

My dear Sir,

Allow me to thank you for your kindness in forwarding me information concerning the Babylonian Exploration Fund. I am very glad indeed that this is the decision. I am sure that it will bring good results. I am under obligations to you for your kindness.

I remain

Yours truly,

W. R. Harper

Dictated.

[1889-01-27. *Peters to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 19-23. L-1414. TC, extracts*]

Hillah, January 27th, 1889.

Dear Dr. Pepper,

We are now very close to Niffer, supposed to be the ancient Calneh of the book of Genesis, one of the earliest and greatest cities of the world's infancy, and next to Anbar the site is most recommended for excavation by the Wolfe Expedition, and most recommended of all by the Assyriologists of Europe. I hope that you may soon hear that we have done great things. Yesterday we were at Birs Nimrud (ancient Borsippa), the site of the famous ruin which gave rise, as I suppose, to the story of the Tower of Babel. Tomorrow the caravan and the bulk of the party start for Niffer, escorted by a ridiculously large force of Turkish soldiers, while Bedri Bey, the Commissioner, Dr. Harper and I, without loads, go to Dirvaniyeh on the Euphrates, the nearest town to Niffer, to make the requisite arrangements, joining them in Niffer Thursday afternoon (this is Sunday), they arriving Wednesday. .... Do not forget that if you receive a London cable that antiquities are received, you should cable at once to Blockey, Bagdad, credit on London for £275.

I hope now to show a small surplus at the close of the year, but cannot promise.

[1889-01-29. *Peters to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 19-23. L-1414. TC, extracts*]

Palace at Dirvaniyeh on the Euphrates,

January, 29th, 1889.

Dear Dr. Pepper,

You would be amused to see Dr. Harper and me now. As I wrote you from Hillah, for the purpose of smoothing the face of the local authorities, I had to come hither, while the caravan went direct to Niffer. The Commissioner, Bedri Bey, Dr. Harper and I are in company, the latter two without baggage, sleeping in our clothes, and living in our saddlebags. Bedri Bey speaks neither English nor German, and last August I could read, but not speak French. Now, as a result of my diplomatic duties, I speak it with great fluency and incorrectness. Of Turkish I have learned enough to find out what is going on, expressing my own wishes in case of necessity, and in general take care that I am not in the power of our Commissioner. Now I have reached a region where the common people speak and understand only Arabic, but I can always make one of our soldiers interpret for me in Turkish, since I know but two or three words of modern Arabic so as to use them at a moment's warning. Yesterday I had quite a comical time explaining to Sa'adik, one of our gens d'armes, the most salient features of American institutions, in answer to his questions. Afterwards I heard him holding a discussion on the same subject to a group of admiring Arabs. You must know that I am here a person of amazing distinction, owing to the representations of Bedri Bey. But so long as it can be done cheaply it is good policy. Night before last we had a whole house, a large court and portions of other houses for ourselves, we fed our three selves, our servant, two soldiers and two muleteers, with all the horses (7 in all), three meals for each, and we hired men to watch the horses all night, and all for the magnificent sum of one dollar. But here we have been almost murdered with hospitality. I cannot stir without being compelled to drink several cups of tea or coffee, and smoke unlimited narghilehs or cigarettes. I have eaten already two abundant dinners of the most incomprehensible materials, and am shortly to eat a third; and I am escorted every instant by all the notables of the country; and all this I do for the sake of science. Your medical instincts would be outraged at this method of life.

Hear. We arrived here between three and four after fording the Euphrates on horseback. We were marched at once into the presence of the Kairnakam or governor, for whom we carried several official letters. There was also a certain Ibrahim Bey present for whom I had a personal letter. We began on cigarettes and coffee which we kept up for 3/4 of an hour while we were transacting business. We then changed to tea and narghilehs. Then came a miscellaneous but solid dinner, all eating out of a common dish, waiting for me to start, stopping when I stopped, and eating as long as I ate. It was a dinner of only about four courses. Then came coffee and narghillehs and all the notables. Finally I took refuge in a cigar and had some raki and afterwards a drop of cognac to save me from death at the hands of the dinner. At last the company asked leave to retire, and we went to

bed in the reception room. Before I was fully dressed in the morning they were on hand again, and it was with much difficulty that I obtained permission to eat my breakfast and smoke a cigar before being compelled to drink and smoke Turkish things again. But the cigar finished we were taken to visit the barracks. Everywhere the soldiers presented arms to me as a high officer, and I having been warned, gave the military salute. The commanding officer treated us to a couple of cups of tea and narghilehs, and the doctor, who ought medically to have known better, to cigarettes and lemonade. On our return we revolted for 1 1/2 hours, and insisted on walking in the open air. Then followed about noon a dinner of six or eight heavy courses followed by three cups of coffee and narghilehs, and this letter is the consequence. I can stand the hard marches, but if this were to continue for four days it would use me up. But it is mean to make fun of a hospitality so generous and heartily kindly as that which I have met here. The Turk with all his vices has taught me many lessons of courtesy and hospitality.

And I have a more serious purpose than to write what is scarcely worth your reading. I expect that the caravan has reached Niffer today, and that the men are already hard at work building a permanent camp, and making a map, so that by Monday next systematic excavations may be in progress. My relations with all are all that they should be, I think, now. There is not a man that I should not miss personally.

[1889-01-30. *Prince to Hilprecht. HSN 780H. HO*]

Baghdad

British Residency

Jan. 30 1889

Mein lieber alter Freund

Mr Blockey sagte mir neulich daß Peters keine Nachricht gab wohin eure Briefe geschickt werden sollen aber daß Diwanie der nächste Ort zu sein scheint & deßhalb daß er so bald die schon zwei Tage späte Post einkommt alles dahin schicken werde. Welch ein Thor muß der Kerl sein sich um seine ihm so wichtige Correspondenz nicht bemüht zu haben! Er war vielleicht so zerstreut über seine Aussichten daß er an nichts anders hat denken können. Du weißt nicht wie oft ich während der letzten Woche an Dich & den alten Daniel gedacht habe – im Regen & Sturm mit solchen Kameraden gereist. Fast habe ich gewünscht daß ich an Deiner Stelle wohl genug geblieben wäre & daß Du hier ruhig sitzen könntest. Jetzt hat der kräftige Anfall mich verlassen. Nur dann und wann habe ich ein wenig Dünnschüß, aber ich bin viel stärker & im Stand übermorgen ab zu reisen Gott sei Dank. Wie Du Dir denken kannst haben die Talbots & Dr Bowman mich fürstlich behandelt. Nie habe ich so „zu Hause“ gefühlt wie unter diesen guten Leuten. Ich kann wirklich meine Dankbarkeit nie hinreichend zeigen, denn ich muß eingestehen daß ich gefährlich krank gewesen wäre, wenn ich gute Nahrung nicht gleich bekommen hätte. Alles schien davon abzuhängen – aber mein guter alter Magen muß furchbar gestört worden sein so lang unruhig zu bleiben. Die lange Meeresreise die ich nehmen muß wird mich ohne Zweifel viel verbessern, besonders da die Dämpfer einen vortrefflichen Tisch setzen. Aber Ihr – was machet Ihr jetzt – zusammen sprechen über die schon tote Expedition? Dr. Bowman hat die ganze Geschichte von mir & meiner Krankheit offiziell eingeschrieben und ist bereit sagt er alle Unterricht zu geben wenn etwas schlecht geht über meine plötzliche Rückreise – das heißt, wenn der Peters sich feindlich zeigt und mich in America anklagt. Meiner Meinung nach kann das nicht geschehen – er wird zu viel zu thun haben sich selbst zu vertheidigen. Major Talbot hat viel von der Expedition gesprochen & gefragt. Weißt Du daß Budge schon in Mosul ist? Wir haben ein Telegram von ihm bekommen seine Briefe & Depeschen dahin zu schicken. Er beabsichtigt spät da zu bleiben & er kann es auch thun. Weißt Du auch daß die Tigris völler ist als letzte Woche? Daß von jetzt an das Wasser sich zu verbreiten anfängt? Oh wenn Du nur deinen Rückruf bekämost! Ich kann nicht ruhig bleiben bis ich weiß wie Du & Daniel alles erleben werdet. Wenn du willst, sagt dem Peters daß ich wenigstens in Sindh ankommen werde – Kurrachee ist die Hauptstadt von Sindh! Du weißt nach den Zeitungen war ein Telegram angekommen mit der Unterricht daß die Babyl. Exped. in Sindh sicher angekommen wäre! Der junge Engländer Webb hat auf mich gewartet und inshallah gehen wir zusammen so weit wie Bushire in Persien, wo er wegen seine Pflicht absteigen muß. Ich bin über die kurze Zeit die nothwendig ist von hier nach San Francisco zu gehen sehr überrascht. Von Bombay nach Shanghai ist 20 Tage & von da über Yokohama nach America ist nur 17. Die

Dämpfer bleiben in Colombo, Singapore, Yokohama & vielleicht Honolulu stehen. Ich habe an meine Familie nichts telegraphiert aber habe alles geschrieben.

Ich schreibe Dir wieder von Basra & auch von Bombay. Versichere den Daniel meine erste Pflicht wird Dr. Ward zu besuchen sobald ich in N.Y. ankomme.

Ich denke an Dich immer, mein alter Freund, und versuche einzubilden wie ich Dich bei Dr. Loomis sehen werde – Eins Gutes hat die Expedition gemacht – Jeder von uns drei hat noch zwei treue Freunde

Immer Dein – J. Dyneley P.

[1889-02-08. W.R. Harper to Jastrow. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 51. L-36. TO]

## THE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF HEBREW,

WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph.D., Principal.

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Dictated.

New Haven, Conn., Feb. 8, 1889.

My dear Friend,

Yours of the 4th inst is at hand. I am sorry that the package of reprints did not go to the right place. I shall be glad to use a hundred or more of them; I think they can be distributed to good advantage in the summer school. I will send the bill for them when I shall receive it from the printer. I do not recall the fact that you requested me not to publish anything in reference to the Philadelphia expedition. If you did make the request it had entirely escaped me and I am certainly very sorry. I received this letter from my brother and at the same time one from Peters telling me that my brother had sent it, and supposed that I was, therefore, at liberty to publish the same. As a matter of fact an arrangement was made with Peters and my brother before they started, in accordance with which they should furnish material for the STUDENT and HEBRAICA. I cannot quite understand how it should be detrimental to any interests to have the matter referred to publicly. I understand, however, your request in reference to the Khabazan collection and the Strassmaier copy to be official, and shall so regard it.

Yours truly  
W. R. Harper

Prof. M. Jastrow,

[1889-02-10. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 54-61. L-1432.16. HO]

February 10, 1889.  
Niffer, Babylonia

Provost Dr. W Pepper  
President of the Executive Committee of the  
Babylonian Exploration Fund.  
Philadelphia

My dear Dr.,

It affords me much pleasure to inform you that Mr. Prince, who in consequence of his illness and at the urgent advice of Dr. Bowman was unfortunately obliged to leave our expedition at Bagdâd, handed a sum of 20 Turkish Liras over to me, in order to buy such a collection of Babylonian antiquities for the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, as in my judgment as Assyriologist I should see fit.

At Hillah through the help of our efficient Dragoman, I bought a valuable clay barrel of four half columns in very ancient Babylonian characters, 3 whole and well preserved clay tablets, 5 fragments of tablets, 4 golden Babylonian earrings of a unique pattern – the only example of this kind in existence in any European or American Museum – gold dust from the face of a Babylonian corps – the only in existence so far I know – 3 small Alabaster bottles, 2 bone idols. All the objects were found at Dshimdshime, i.e. that ruin-hill of ancient Bâbil which through the unexpected finds made there attracted so great attraction in Assyriological circles during the last years. Our expedition visited it at the 25<sup>th</sup> of January.

Since the 31<sup>st</sup> of January our expedition is at Niffer, one of the places selected by Dr Peters at Constantinople against the expectation of and without a consultation with his two Assyriologists.

While in America, I always called the attention of all who asked my opinion on this subject, to the 2 Southern Babylonian mounds Abu Shahrein (= ancient Eridu) and Mugheir (= ancient “Ur of the Chaldees”). Dr Peters asked me for my opinion as to the places of excavation several times in America and here. He will acknowledge that I constantly proposed these two cities for his work to him also.

After our arrival at Niffer I examined the immense mound carefully at once, before Dr Peters arrived (1½ days later). My attention was attracted by the peculiar kind of pottery which covered in large quantities the greatest part of the ruin-field, which is about 2-3 English miles in circumference. It was the same pottery which led me to fix the small ruins of Jookha near Anbar on the Euphrates, as an old grave-yard against the protest of Dr Peters,

which he however withdrew, after 4 coffins were discovered by Mr. Noorian and Mr. Prince and myself.

After Dr Peters arrived at Niffer, I gave him his prospects at once, and told him about my entire disappointment as to the larger mound of Niffer, to wit: The longest part of Niffer represents a Babylonian grave-yard at which the dead of the whole Empire were buried and which probably was used even in later times. Excavations undertaken at the suspected grave-yard proved my hypothesis entirely true. For hitherto we excavated about 10 clay coffins of the well-known Babylonian shape – all broken into pieces – and part of a street of tombs with houses and columns – all things known through the German excavations of 1886 in Surghul and El Hibba in Southern Babylonia. The mode of burying in Babylonia and of burning their deads has been brought out and finally settled by the above mentioned German expedition. I call your attention to the elegant article: “Die altbabylonischen Gräber in Surghul und El Hibba” by R. Koldewey [the architect sent by the Prussian Government on that expedition] in “Zeitschrift für Assyriologie”, p. 403 ff, 1887. Koldewey’s large elaborate work on this subject has already been announced.

The finds which were found by Dr Peters in connection with the coffins and tombs are the wellknown larger and smaller vases, dishes etc (most of them broken) filled with the remnants of dates and birds, given to the dead person in his tomb, rude clay-horses, playthings for children, riders, birds (all fragments!), Phallus (which were worshipped in Babylonia), stones used for sharpening knives, for grinding corn and for polishing, a few copper earrings, stone-bracelets, and 2 small pieces of gold (about 1-1½ cm long and not so thick as this paper) of a necklace. All these things may be new to Dr Peters and to the other members of the expedition who are not acquainted with Babylonian archaeology – to myself and to Dr Harper they are worthless objects, moreover as most of the objects are so broken that they are not even good for being exhibited as specimens in any Museum. The good vases, dishes, all the copper rubbish and the 2 thin gold plates went of course over into the hands of the Turkish commissioner, Bedry Bey for Constantinople. I am however not jealous of Constantinople, all the rubbish is not worth of the freight, and for 10 pounds you buy elegant specimens of all that has so far been excavated from any antiquity-dealer at Hillah or Bagdâd. My above mentioned Prince collection cost only 11 pounds.

Five days later than the other members of the expedition knew the contents of your telegram sent to Dr. Peters at Bagdâd (that the Executive Committee had granted a second year with Dr Harper as Assyriologist) Dr. Peters told me about them at Hillah – Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> of January; Dr Peters received the telegram on 22<sup>nd</sup> of January however at Bagdâd – As a member of the expedition and of the faculty of the University of Pa, I thank through you the Executive Committee for their great liberality and for their high and noble enthusiasm for promoting science and knowledge in such an unselfish way.

The time is near when I shall return to America. I shall there report about the whole work orally before you and the Committee. I regret even now however, that I have been of so little – of no use to the Expedition. I tried to do my duty faithfully in the small circle ascribed to me by the director. Very, very rarely my service as Assyriologist was asked, and when asked

more rarely it was followed. Probably it was no good advice that I gave. I leave then the palm to others and shall rejoice with these others heartily in their results and honour. I am glad to return to my work of teaching at the University of Pa. But I cannot return without rend[er]ing my hearty thanks from the far East, where the presence of God seems to be felt stronger than anywhere else, to you, the president, and to each and every member of the Committee for their generosity by which I myself was allowed to see the country of the dreams of my youth, the land in which my Assyriological science is rooted, the fields of the curse but also of the promise of a salvation through Him in whose name I started, in whose name I now return.

The orders to be given out by the Executive Committee at the end of this season will direct the work of the expedition for the next season. Still I am officially connected with the expedition and I am at the spot itself where it is easier to judge and to speak about future possibilities than from the distance. I feel it therefore my duty, before I leave, to speak to you and the Committee about Niffer and the prospects of excavations here from a strictly scientific standpoint. It is in fact the sum of all that I said to Dr Peters the days before excavations were begun. In this only case I take the liberty to lay my view directly before the Committee, in order to avoid misunderstandings as to my real knowledge of and opinion about the ruins of Niffer.

At an early period Niffer appears in the cuneiform literature. Probably the city of Nippur – as the place is called in the Assyrian texts – goes back to the ancient kings of Ur, more especially to Ur-Gur or (as more correctly the name is read by professor Hommel in Munich,) Ur-Ba'u, the founder and first “king of Ur” from which Abraham emigrated. For the first time Nippur appears therefore in the history about the year 3000 BC. together with Ur, Larsa, Kutha (= Tell Ibrahim, for which spot the expedition got a firman too), Sippar (the Biblical Sepharvaim) and other ancient Babylonian cities and famous places of worship which seem to have been founded at the same time. The language in which this founder of Niffer and his successors used to write their inscriptions, is the so-called Sumero-Akkadian language, i.e. a Non-Semitic, agglutinating dialect of the Ural-Altai group. In this language Niffer is called “EN-LIL-KI” or “City of the god Bel” (literally “city of the lord of the spirits”). And the temple of Bel and Beltis, in which already Ur-Ba'u worshipped, was called “E-EN-LIL-LAL”. It is a high mass of bricks even to-day and has the name Bint el-Amîr among the Affedsh Arabs. The inscribed bricks which were found by Layard and others and were first published by Sir Henry Rawlinson on the first pages of his great work “The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia” were found all the while along by us also. They were partly found even in the walls of the tombs excavated last week what apart from many other reasons indicates that these tombs were built at a time when the old temple was already in ruins. In my next report I shall send you the translation of one or two of them e. g. The city of Nippuru was an important place for many centuries; for “shepherd of Nipur” was not only a favorite title of all the great Babylonian despots between 3000 and 2000 BC, but it stood at the head even of all the other titles. It will be especially interesting for the theological students of America to know, that even king Ariokh of Ellasar, who according to Genesis,

cap. 14 was defeated by Abraham, calls himself “Êri-Aku, shepherd of Nippur, priest of Eridu, shepherd of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad”.

So far to-day my short historical notes. In a public lecture about “The history of Niffer”, illustrated by photos and finds, which I already now announce for the next winter to you, I shall try to sketch you the Babylonian life at Niffer 5000 years ago more particularly. This only may be mentioned here, that the inner and outer walls of Nippur (which, according to a cuneiform text in the II volume of Rawlinson’s above mentioned inscription-work II R. 50, 28-29 ab) were called “Imgur-Marduk” and “Nimit-Marduk” are so well preserved to-day, especially at the NE side that I pointed them out to Mr. Haynes at once without the slightest difficulty from the top of the grave-yard-mound, on which our tents and huts of reed are pitched, and which the Affedsh-Arabs now call “Kala<sup>c</sup>at America” = American castle.

The fact that Nippur was one of the large grave-yards of the old Babylonian empire is the reason for its immense extension of ruins. As Dr Ward already said in his report, it is only inferior to Babylon itself, the great capital of Nebuchadrezzar.

As Mr Field is preparing an accurate map of Niffer to Dr Peters, I give you only the following few lines as illustration of my words: Nippur seems to have been built according to the same plan as Abu Habba or Sippar, so successfully excavated by the English under Rassam. It consists according to my firm conviction of three parts

- 1) the Temple of Bel and Beltis, to-day called Bint el-Amîr, visible from a far distance. That this mound contains the old temple is beyond any doubt and needs no proof. It is at the Eastern corner of Niffer.
- 2) the large grave-yard of Niffer. It forms the great ruin-mass of Niffer and is about 15 times as large as the temple-mound.
- 3) Between the temple-mound and the Necropolis there are three pretty large mounds lower than the temple mound and the Necropolis. They form about the 6<sup>th</sup> part of the whole Niffer. They belong more properly to the temple-side; for a deep depression separates them together with the temple from the Necropolis.

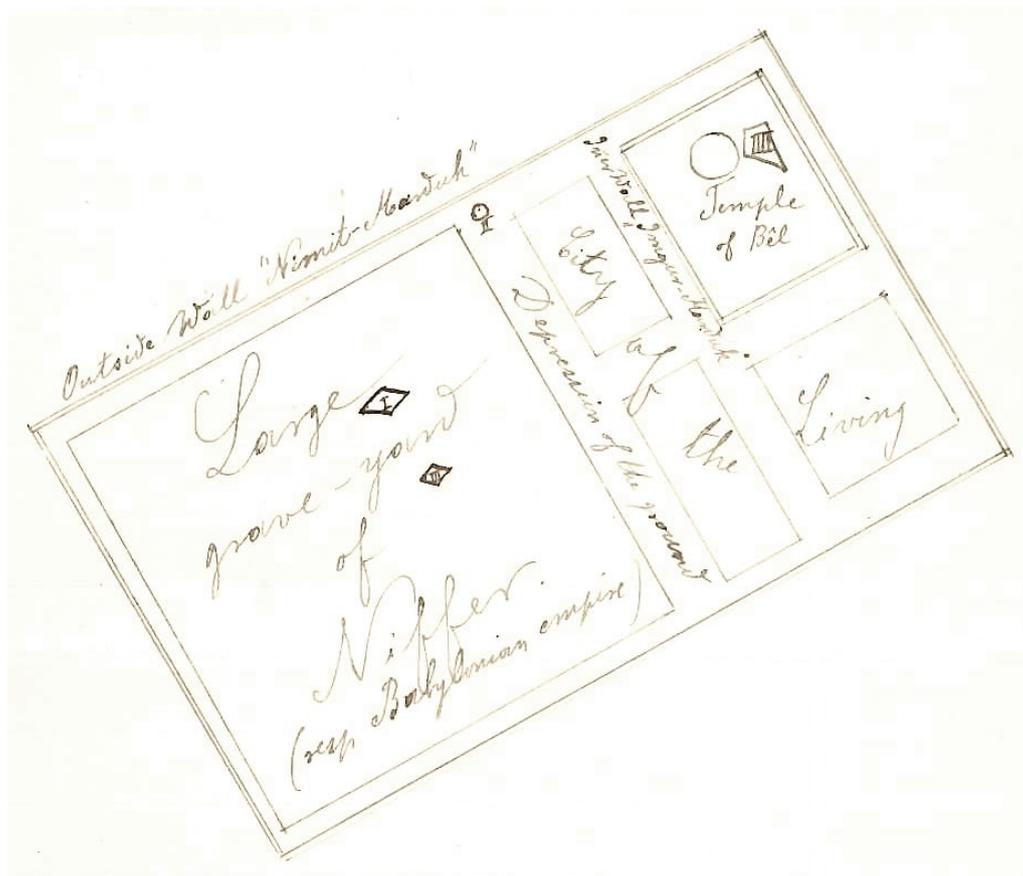
While my hypothesis as to the larger mound being the Necropolis has been proved by the excavations of last week, and while the temple-mound is proved by the peculiar shape of this hill and by the cuneiform texts, the middle three mounds need to be classified. Here my hypothesis.

- a) Where a large temple is, there must be worshippers.
- b) Nippuru being mentioned so often in the cuneiform literature as a great city the shepherds of which to be the Babylonian kings assume with such a predilection, presupposes a “city of living ones” not only “of dead ones”.
- c) Sippara, which was founded about at the same time, consisted as the English excavations proved 1) of a temple, 2) of a city of the living ones and 3) of a city of the dead, which all three were surrounded by a common wall, as I convinced myself on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January.

I suppose therefore, that the 3 large mounds mentioned above under N<sup>o</sup> 3, contain the ruins of the living ones of ancient Nippur. Temple, city and Necropolis were enclosed and protected by the outside wall Nimit-Marduk, while the holiest of the three subdivisions, the temple, was enclosed itself by the inner wall Imgur-Marduk. The whole city was situated on the Shatt-en-Nil, this old large canal, which brought fertility to Middle Babylonia.

In addition to these principal mounds there are a few other small ones, one of which (about 15 feet diameter) was excavated within two days. It contained however nothing, except 2 worthless stones (1 broken shell) and the fragment of an inscribed Babylonian clay tablet [CBS 4689], doubtless moved there through an accident at the destruction of the temple. This little fragment, being the first literary find was deciphered by me for Dr Peters. I asked him to send this report of mine to the Executive Committee, as you so far did not receive anything of that kind from my hand. He however kindly declined, wishing to give only the translation of it in his general report. I was of course satisfied. As he however explained my interpretation, although he is not acquainted with cuneiform characters of this kind, as "fanciful" to two members of our expedition, I sent an exact copy of my report to Dr Trumbull to-day, asking him to give it in his paper a place, after a consultation with you. I shall be obliged to you for allowing it, as my ability in my specialty is doubted in a not very fair way.

Plan of Niffer:



Nº I, II, III, IV denote the places were Dr Peters is excavating at present in entire harmony with my suggestions to him. I shall ask him however to lay about 20 men more to a fifth place; I am so anxious to find out, whether my hypothesis as to the “City of the Living” is correct. How then should we excavate?

If the whole immense mound ought to be excavated, and 100 Arabic workmen would be employed, we needed about 10 years to do so. This of course cannot be done. I then propose the following method to your consideration:

- 1) Lay one long deep trench from one end of the grave-yard to the other – as the Germans did at Surghul. Thus you can recognize all the strata from the top to the level of the surrounding desert and prove to the learned world the different use of the mound at the different periods – i.e., as I am convinced, that the mound was a grave-yard since the oldest Babylonian times.
- 2) Lay, without wasting time, all the main-force to the temple and to my so-called “city of the Living”. Here, if anywhere at Niffer, important results must be gained by finding tablets, inscribed stones and by laying open the old famous temple of Bel, showing its plan and construction. What we in this year shall find, of course nobody knows; that we according to the position, that Nippur holds in the oldest cuneiform literature, have a right to expect documents, has already been proved by the find of the broken clay-tablet of which I gave my translation to Dr Peters, and by a few inscribed stone-pieces.

The circumstance, that the Committee granted a second year, guarantees success, if my plan is adopted, which is built up on entirely scientific and logical reasons.

At all three points however must be excavated at the same time. If we shall work with 150(-200) men soon, as I hope, 80 ought to excavate at the temple, 50 at the city, 20 at the large trench in the Necropolis. If this plan is adopted, I can promise you, that a somewhat systematical and complete excavation of Niffer is possible within 2 years. Let me add this advice once more only: 1) Do not attempt an excavation touching here and there the large grave-yard; it does not give an idea of the structure of the whole, as Coldeway, the Prussian architect, rightly remarked. 2) Do not allow to touch Birs-Nimrud (Tell Ibrahîm, Kutha is all the same mound under different names) which is included in our firman but is 2 days away, before Nippur has been worked up thoroughly for 2 years. Dr Peters mentioned occasionally his intention to begin at Birs-Nimrud next year, if he should not find enough at Niffer this year. This plan of his seems to me not the best. Since he chose Niffer, he must work here with all his energy – and he shows actually much at the spot of excavation – even if he does not succeed in this season, in order to find out all that was and is in Niffer apart from its grave-yard. I leave it entirely to you, my dear Dr., to communicate of the contents of this letter to the Committee, what you see fit. In writing it I wished simply to show to you and to all those gentlemen, to whom I am obliged so deeply, that I was working according to a certain and firm plan and in such a loyal way as my duty towards God and towards you demands. What I wrote to you here, I gave of course as my sincere advice to Dr Peters, leaving the decision to him, as director.

If you would kindly preserve this letter of mine, being quasi my last word, before I return to America and containing my principal views about Niffer and our work there, I should consider it as a special favor out of the many which I already received from you.

As I have made a specialty of the pottery here, before tablets are found in order to fill up my time in the interest of the expedition and as my barometrical observations as to weather, wind, humidity, fogue, maximum and minimum of the temperature etc keep me busy the whole day, I hope not to return with entirely empty hands, even if the excavations of the coming days have not that result which I wish from all my heart and for which I am more anxious than I can say.

With a thankful heart and a full appreciation of all the kindness, that you showed to me, even while far away from you and our University, and with my best compliments to the members of the Executive Committee, I am

very sincerely yours

H. V. Hilprecht

[1889-02-10. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 64-72. L-1007. HO]

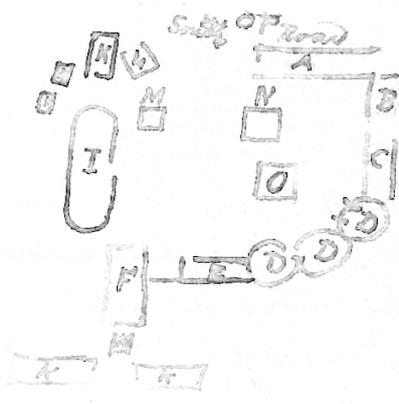
Kala'at America, Niffer Mounds  
Country of the Affej  
(address % T. S. Blockey & Co. Bagdad)  
Sunday, Feb. 10 / 89

Dear Mr. Clark

It may interest you & your Brother to hear a little of our surroundings in addition to the official letter I am sending to the Committee by this mail. I wrote to Dr. Pepper from Diwaniyeh Jan. 29<sup>th</sup>. I started for Niffer the next morning, & at noon of that day, just after fording a deep swift stream, we caught sight of our tents on Niffer, but owing to the swamps the way was so crooked that it was after dark when we arrived. To obtain guides & establish friendly relations we had to go first to Sukh el-Affej, or Affej market, the seat of the head chief of this region, a series of mat & mud hut villages among groves of palms, surrounded & intersected by streams, which we were compelled to ford. There they tried to detain us for the night, & Bedri Bey, the Commissioner, was frightened & stayed, but I said that if I went alone I was going to Niffer that night, because I had told our party that I would. When they saw that I was determined, & had mounted my horse to start, Mc Keytha, acting chief in the absence of his father Hajji Tarfa, & Mohammed, his youngest brother, with a crowd of armed men on foot & on horseback, set out with us & brought us to Niffer just after dark. The rest of the party had also come through a country full of signs of war. Once they were surrounded by a menacing crowd of Arabs with leveled guns, & several times they were mistaken for hostile Shammar Arabs, and the war flag waved to raise the country against them. This whole region is disturbed, & full of rumors of war. Ferhan chief of the Shammar, of whom Lady Blasset writes in her book, is said to be only one day away, & there has been fighting between him & the Affej. These Arabs are not unlike our Indians, savage, treacherous, picturesque, & the worst thieves & beggars I ever met. Day before yesterday, at the door of our camp, one man broke another's head with his club, & was stabbed in return. A few days before two unfriendly sub-tribes of the Affej were on the hill at the same time, & began dancing counter war dances, & menacing one another with battle. I called Daniel Noorian, our interpreter, to go with me & disperse them. Our Arab workmen, whom we had brought from Babylon, were greatly alarmed & cried out that they would kill us, but our appearance, & a few words from Daniel sent one party away at once. The next day, however, the [ill] returned in force, accompanied by a priest, a sure sign of mischief, but fortunately the other party judiciously stayed at home.

All these Arabs go armed, & we often have 100 or more, armed with old flint locks, fowling pieces, spears, swords, clubs & knives, sitting about the trenches, wandering around the camp, or visiting us in our tents. Each man suspects his neighbor's intentions, a thing which occasionally causes us inconvenience. Our sudden appearance on horseback any where causes the shepherds to run their flocks away, a feat to which the latter seem well trained.

Yesterday morning, when Mr. Field was out riding, two shepherds got hold of him, & made signs of cutting his throat. He was cool-headed, & treated it as a joke. After work was over I rode out to inspect the more distant diggings. As I was approaching the [2 ill] where they were, some shepherds behind began to shout at me, & two men on the hill commenced to [2 ill] me away. I paid no heed, & rode closer, whereupon one of them leveled his gun at me. I was entirely unarmed, & almost involuntarily checked my horse, but then instantly started on again, concluding that it would never do to show fear under any circumstances, & surmising also that the man was more likely to shoot if I turned back than if I kept on. When I was pretty close I saluted him, whereupon he lowered his gun, & returned the salute. I think it probable that in both cases the men were only trying to frighten us, though if we had showed any fear they might have done something. We are under the protection of the Affej chief, for which so far I have paid a cloak & a lira, & promised a Waterberry watch, & of the Turkish authorities. We are also in ourselves a strong party, 6 of us, Bedri Bey (a great coward), 6 servants, & Turkish gens d'armes, and 32 workmen whom we brought with us. Some of the latter brought their families, & all have built huts about ours. Some of the neighboring Arabs have also come to work for us & built huts, & more are coming in each day. We are becoming a large settlement, & a baker & a grocer, if such they can be called, have settled at our door. Our camp is a series of huts made of reeds arched together & covered with mats, inside of the enclosure formed by which are our tents. These were put up while the official map was being made, & we were awaiting its acceptance from Bagdad. Our camp is somewhat thus



- A = Kitchen
- B = Dining room
- C = Store room
- D = Stables
- E = Gens d'armes' hut
- F = Commissioner's hut
- I = Haynes' hut for horse, alf, & photos.
- K = Huts of workmen
- L = Reception tent
- M = Field's tent
- N = My tent
- O = Hilprecht & Harper's tent
- P = Bath room (a luxury, consisting of a brick floor, & a mat screen, where we may splash water at pleasure).

Another tent will be set up, & small fences will close all but the southern opening, & reduce that in size.

The mounds, which are not less than 2 miles in circumference, have somewhat this form



At A is the camp, at E a great depression, separating the whole into two main parts. At B have been our main diggings, & at the small hill C lesser diggings; & at D, which appears to have been the ancient temple tower, or ziggurat, we begin tomorrow. The part of the mounds where we are, & where our main work

has been done so far, is, as we conjectured from the outset, a great city of the dead. In front of Mr. Field's tent, in the trench before it, was dug up an earthen coffin somewhat of this shape , like an urn. This is now used by the baker as the oven in which he bakes our bread. But perhaps you do not know how they make bread here. The ovens are of the same general shape as this coffin. They light a fire within, & heat the oven, then they smear on some dough, on the inner or outer surface as the case may be, in the form of a thick pancake over a foot in diameter. When this becomes dried by the heat it tumbles into the ashes or the dust, & we call it bread & eat it, indigestible & dirty as it is. In front of Mr. Haynes' door was found a three-handled earthenware funerary vase, a little smaller than the coffin. This is now in use to hold water for the men at the diggings. But I will tell about our work in the official letter.

One part of my duties will amuse you, my duties as physician. The people come to me from all around, & I have had cases of bowel troubles, liver troubles, kidney troubles, stone, palsy, syphilis, womb trouble, intestinal rupture, sore eyes, deafness, neuralgia, boils & burns brought to me. I feel their pulses, look at their tongues, inquire about their symptoms, prescribe for them rationally if I can, & if not concoct a vile mass that can not hurt them, & order a diet. But this medicine business is becoming embarrassing. Yesterday a chief brought me his wife & sister to prescribe for. I pretended to feel their pulses as usual, but really I have never succeeded in finding an Arab's pulse yet, for their skin, even that of the women & children, is like the hide of oxen. There is no danger of my falling in love with my female patients, for while the men & boys are often fine looking, the women are all hopelessly disfigured by nose rings & tattooing.

We are slowly increasing the number of our workmen. We began with 32 working at 3 & 4 & 5 piastres a day (piastre = 4 cents). We took on eleven more from the natives, who were coming in asking for work, but the chiefs came & reclaimed them, carrying off our men by force. The reason of this is that the chiefs want to be paid in addition to their men. After prayers this morning, as we do not work on Sunday, Daniel Noorian & I started for the village of Berdi, the sub-chief of our region, to demand an explanation of his conduct, & if he would not come to terms, to go on to Sukh el Affej, & send for Hajji Tarfa to return, & arrange with him, & complain of Berdi. We met Berdi on his way hither, & he went back with us. He arranged to give us all the men we want, & we pay them 3 piastres a day, & to him 5 piastres. We asked for 30 men for tomorrow, which is as many as we can digest at once. Later he arrived to say that there were 5 brothers, chiefs of five subdivisions of his sub tribe, & not to offend them we must take 50, so as to divide equally among them. He could not see that 30 could be divided among five as evenly as 50 & we had some difficulty in showing him. He had received us in a well made reed & mat hut, the town hall of the place, entered by a door not above three feet square. When I got in I could see nothing, & he had to guide me to a cushion. When I became accustomed to the light, I saw that it was absolutely packed with men, armed as usual. Later he took us into his castle, a mud fortress, in which were his reed huts for himself & family. Looking out from our camp we can see the whole country dotted with these forts. It is a wild place, & the government officials frankly join with the Arabs in saying that the Turkish authority here is nil.

I have meant this letter to be read by your Brother also, as I could not well write two such long letters before the mail goes.

Yours very sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1889-02-11. Hilprecht to [Trumbull]. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.07, 73-75. L-1432.18. HO]

Niffer, February 11, 1889.

My dear fatherly friend,

At the end of this week follows a longer letter! I am so busy the whole day from 7 AM – 10 PM., that I cannot come to writing letters. I must have my eyes open in order to see, to learn, to profit day and night. I send you enclosed a copy of our first find at Niffer [*CBS 4689 = PBS 9, 124*]. Peters asked me to decipher it, suggesting at the same time, it would be impossible to read anything out of it, as the Characters were unclear. He at the same time gave me his conjecture as to what the tablet meant. Of course, all that he said was so called “nonsense”. As the tablet was written in Old Babylonian, Harper could not read it. I gave to Dr Peters my translation and description. As he, who does not understand one cuneiform character and cannot read one Babylonian line, told 2 other members of the expedition, with his satanic smile, that “Hilprechts rather fanciful interpretation could not be sustained”, thus trying to discredit my ability in my specialty, I should be immensely obliged to you, if you could publish a woodcut of the little fragment, get something from my enclosed letter to Dr Pepper about what I say concerning Niffer and our excavations and publish it in our dear Old paper under the title “First find at Niffer”. I send you an exact copy of what I handed over to Dr Peters as my report to the Committee about this tablet enclosed. Please read my letter to Dr Pepper at first, and send it then enclosed to Dr Pepper, to whom I wrote I should send him a letter enclosed in yours. My best wishes to you all, to Mr Wattles and to all in the office. I hope your whole dear family and yourself are in good health. What were the titles of your University lectures? If I had only once a number of the Sunday School Times! More next Saturday.

As ever your warm admirer and for a letter from you more than eagerly looking

H. V. Hilprecht.

[1889-02-11. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 62-63. L-1432.17. HO]

Febr. 11<sup>th</sup>, 1889  
Niffer, Babylonia.

Confidentially

My dear Dr. Pepper,

Both of your kind notes were received. The latter of the 18 Dec. was just handed to me by the Saptije of Diwaniyeh. I come to thank you again most warmly for your kind words of appreciation of my so infinitely small work in connection with this expedition.

In Bagdâd Dr Peters once told me, that he just had received a letter from you in which you thanked him once more because he recommended me to the Committee so strongly and because he asked you so urgently to take me on the expedition. That you now, he continued, had written to him to the effect, that he should tell me, how highly he (Dr Peters) acknowledged my scholarship.

How I should like to forget what I wrote to you about Dr Peters' ability as to his leading a Babylonian expedition! Do not think, I uttered subjective feelings. Unfortunately I am bound to be silent, else I should speak to you more frankly still as to this point. Believe me, what I said is the general feeling of all the members. Ask Mr. Haynes, ask Mr. Field, ask Dr Harper who wrote a long letter to his brother in Yale yesterday about Dr Peters' inability. He read it to me before he sent it and asked me to write a few lines to his brother to corroborate his judgment, as his brother would scarcely believe him (as brother) and might think, he saw too gloomy. I of course declined such a request, although, if sincere, I ought to agree with every word said in Dr Harper's letter. You see, Dr Peters is no expert in Babylonian language, history, archaeology or anything else that has to deal with ancient Babylonia, but he constantly assumes to be one; he has only the knowledge of a layman in these points, and he utters sometimes so funny views that it is impossible not to laugh. I have respect for him as a Hebrew scholar, but knowledge of Hebrew does not include cuneiform language and literature necessarily. As my colleague and as the head of the expedition I always stand up for him, but it is impossible for me to convince others like Dr Harper and Mr. Haynes, who saw themselves too much in connection with this expedition. And that he so often speaks of Dr Ward's expedition as being an entire failure in the presence of Haynes and Noorian who were connected with it and were so deeply attracted by Dr Ward's noble and lovely character and his experience in Babylonian seals, urges these gentlemen to see more the faults of Dr Peters than his energy, which he doubtless always has shown.

The circumstance that Dr Peters has never been frank and open to any of us, but always plays the diplomat and uses words with 2 meanings, does not attract his companions to him. They all, without one exception, complain about him in this point.

Yet be convinced, my dear Dr., I daily do my best, to work harmoniously with him. Do not fear anything in this way! Whenever I can agree with his views, I heartily tell him so. I cannot always say so, because the honour of our University and my own responsibility to you and the Committee does not allow an untruthful word. But I assure you, that since our proper work began at Niffer, Dr Peters and I have been on the most friendly terms with each other. It must be in consequence of your letters to him, that he asks my advice more often now than he still did in Bagdad, where, as I wrote to you, he did not even allow me to see the collection of tablets, which he + Dr Harper bought for our University. I confess, I then wept bitterly. For the sake of your kind words to me I have however been victorious over the feelings of the natural man in me – I have forgotten, although this wound was deep and is not yet healed.

I wrote a long letter of a non-confidential character to you yesterday and, in order to avoid all bad feelings on the side of Dr Peters, to whom we have to hand in our letters, I enclosed him [*sic*] in a letter to Dr Trumbull. He will kindly forward it to you. If it is possible allow Dr Trumbull the use of a part of this my other letter to you for his paper. He did so much for me, that I wish to show him my indebtedness and yet without hurting Dr Peters who perhaps does not wish anything from my hand to be published in America. Do what you think the best. Our mutual friend Dr Trumbull, will understand the situation in which I am, easily.

I infer from your letter received to-day, that you do not wish me to return before the end of this season. I gladly obey orders, if you wish me to stay. According to all probability we shall be obliged to leave at the middle or end of April. We had 88 degrees in the shade of our tent last Friday. All around us is already spring. If then I return at the end of April, I scarcely shall be in America before the first of August, taking the directest route possible. If you and Dr Trumbull are satisfied with this, I am of course.

All are in perfect health. I was never troubled in regard to my health – except here and there fevre, from which all suffered – since I left America. I have all prospects to live notwithstanding Dr Haupt's hopes so kindly uttered in London last year, and notwithstanding the war-songs of the Affedsch Arabs which we hear almost daily and which had an earnest meaning a few days ago.

I got an Arabic club for you. A spear follows in the next days.

Preserve your kind interest in me also in future. I thank you for all your love most warmly.

Ever yours thankfully

H. V. Hilprecht

[*Added upside down on top of page:*]

That Dr Peters actually wrote to me from Constantinopel, he had sent the Cappadocian tablets which he bought for our Museum to Dr Sayce, I can prove to you easily after my return. For

I kept his letter to me. Why he wrote to me so, if he did not send them, I simply cannot understand.

[1889-02-11. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 99-100. HO]

Niffer, Feb. 11/89

Dear Mr. Clark

A special messenger arrived bringing mail this evening, & leaves with return mail tomorrow morning. There has been some misunderstanding regarding the amount of money appropriated for this year's work. I am desperately tired with work & worry, & writing reports until the wee small hours, & my papers, in the midst of the pressure that has been upon me are still disarranged, so that I cannot give you my copy of the minutes, nor my understanding of the appropriations tonight (or rather it is 2 o'clock tomorrow morning), nor my understanding of the votes &c.

By next week's mail I will send you all. I will send you also the financial report. I wrote you that I would send you a statement from Constantinople. When I came to make it out, I found that the papers were so divided between Haynes & myself that that was impossible. I then hoped to do it in Aleppo, but there was not an instant's time. I could only run over with him his general plan of book keeping, which seemed to me excellent. Then the things were packed up, & we sat booted & spurred waiting for the muleteers. In Bagdad the conditions were the same. We had to be ready to start each minute, & dared not unpack anything for fear of losing valuable time. What it means to unpack such loads already made up, you cannot appreciate until you have tried it, nor how impossible it is to carry papers & accounts in saddle bags. Here in camp I have already driven poor Haynes to distraction with the load I have put upon him. And as for myself, as Hilprecht says, I ought to have 14 pairs of eyes & hands. I am always last to bed, & I dare not be late to rise, for fear of the demoralizing effects. I have all day long to be everywhere, & do everything at once. At night I have to catalogue & study & clean objects, & write up the journal of the day's work. Half of the time I do not find time to make up my bed, & my tent is a pigstie. But you shall have the report next week. This I can tell you. We have been more economical than the German expeditions to Pergamos or Zingirli, or the American expedition to Assos, or even the German Expedition to Hibbah & Zerghul. The latter had \$8000 to carry three men from Berlin hither without delays, & accomplished altogether less than we have done up to the present.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters

[1889-02-12. E.W. Clark to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 85. L-40. HO]

*E. W. Clark & Co. Bankers.*  
*Philadelphia.*

Feby 12, 1889

Dear D<sup>r</sup>. Pepper

Shemtob has sent me the bronze statuette and 190 clay tablets by steamer and they will probably arrive sometime next week – He wants £500. for the lot – I did not encourage him to send the antiquities and I don't know what to do with them – I would not give \$100, or not more than that, for the statuette + he asks £245. The list of the tablets he says was made by Mr. Pinches – I will read it over as soon as I can find time and will write to you again

Yrs truly  
E. W. Clark

[1889-02-18. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 95-98. HO]

Niffer, Feb. 18/89  
% T.S Blockey & Co. Bagdad.

My dear Mr. Clark

I have written to Dr. Pepper by this mail, & this will supplement that. Should I receive the sum which I understood to have been voted by the Committee, it would carry us through this year's work, & take all the men home. As the Expedition is to continue a second year there will be a sum needed in June to re-equip the men who are to stay, & to carry them through the summer. Hilprecht estimates that sum as \$400 for each man who is to stay at the least, & it is safer to say \$500, as we may not be able to begin before November. For next year's work, if it is to be done effectively, we ought not to have a less sum than \$16000, and it ought to be as much above that as possible, especially if we are to make [any] purchases.

And now another matter. Dr. Hilprecht was added to the Expedition on Dr. Pepper's agreement to give \$1000. I told Dr. Pepper that this would not cover his charge to the Expedition, & that it would involve drawing at least \$500 out of the general fund of the Expedition, that is it would use up pretty nearly one month's wages of laborers, and shorten digging so much. Of course I calculated upon economy in Hilprecht's expenditures, & reckoned according to the regular Missionary allowance of \$200 from New York to Alexandretta, & the same sum for his return. But it turns out that Hilprecht was also to be provided with clothing, & a variety of implements &c., which he deemed desirable for making observations in meteorology. Now it was very well [to] have these things & incur these expenses, provided an appropriation were made for that purpose, but on the limited scale on which I estimated, I did not provide for such an outfit, & it has just so much decreased the already small sum at our disposal for digging. Further, he wished to visit Germany on the way for personal & family reasons, & this increased his expenses. This I had not provided for, & if it were to be done the money for that purpose also should have been given outside of the \$1000. Now he tells me that he is told he must go everywhere and see everything. That is of great advantage both to him and to the University, but the money for that should be provided as an extra. Why should not everyone else do the same? Out of the \$1000 given according to my estimate, \$500 should have provided for his actual needs for the Expedition, & have brought him to Alexandretta, & back again from Alexandretta to New York. The remaining \$500 should have gone into the general fund to partially defray the expenses incurred by the Expedition on his behalf.

If he returns this year he expects to return in the same roundabout & consequently expensive manner, thus eating up the whole of the \$1000 given. He tells me that Dr. Pepper has promised him an extra \$300. But that does not cover this extra expense. If it were the intention of the Committee that he should incur all these additional expenses, I should in justice have been warned, so that I might have estimated accordingly, & have provided in advance for a reduction of

time or force in the excavations. And further, it seems to me that in order to prevent demoralization & jealousy in the Expedition, the extra sum for these extra expenses should have been put into his hands privately as a private gift, not passing through the hands of either Treasurer or Director. I am not now authorized to furnish the funds to him for such purposes, any more than I am to furnish them to Harper, Field or Haynes. But he regards himself as entitled to make plans for himself quite independently of the Direction of the Expedition, & feels aggrieved if I do not see my way to providing for him differently from the others. The position is an unfortunate one, & if we were both of us to stay another year I think it desirable to have it understood that there do not be understood [*sic*] to be two different relations of individuals to the Director & the Executive Committee.

Please do not understand that there is any present friction. By managing I have avoided that, chiefly on the ground that he is only out for one year; but I could not do the same thing a second year, nor is it now just to the other members to make exceptions for one person in exemption from authority & in additional expense.

I send on the next page a footing up of expenses, so far as we have had them, up to date. This does not include the sum of \$103.+ to Lippincott, the exchange or charges on letters of credit, and for issuing the same, or Oelrichs & Co for freight. These latter I have just given Mr. Haynes from your balance sheet. I have also just given him to be entered against my salary account the letter of credit of £250 to Mrs. Peters. He has worked for the last two days at making up this account, and it is impossible before post goes to foot up cash balance. This is merely a skeleton account of expenses, being an abstract of ledger footings. The books are very carefully kept for the examination of the Committee at the end of all things, & at the end of the year Mr. Haynes will prepare a detailed report. I hope this will give you what you want for the present. The three sums named above, & a considerable further sum on my salary account, which Mr. Haynes has not yet been able to foot up, account, together with the balance in hand, & letter of credit charges for the remaining sum.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters

[1889-02-23. *Prince to Hilprecht. HSN 780G. HO*]

Bombay

Feb 23 1889

Mein Lieber Freund –

Ich wundere mich was Du jetzt thust – ob Du Dich vielleicht wohl befindest oder an Fieber, Kaltfieber, & Diarrhoe leidest. Leider kann ich nichts von deinem Zustand wissen bis ich nach Hause komme.

Nach drei langweiligen Wochen bin ich so weit gekommen & nächste Woche geh' ich inshallah wieder fort. Ich habe mein Billet für New York heute gekauft und der Chinesische Dampfer reist Donnerstag den 28<sup>ten</sup> ab. Dieses Land mag recht hübsch sein für die Eingeborenen, aber für Europäer gar nicht. Du solltest die bleichen Gesichter, die eingefallenen Wangen sehen und dann könntest Du würdigen was ich behaupte.

Aber alles ist so ganz verschieden von dem sogenannten Morgenland, von der Türkei die ich gesehen habe dass ich mich nolens volens dafür ein wenig interessieren muß.

Gestern früh kam der Dampfer in den Hafen. Als ich an's Land kam konnte ich nur mit Schwierigkeit in einem Hotel Platz finden, denn die heimgehende Post geht Freitags fort und al die Leute von Calcutta sind dann in Bombay. Nach einer Stunde aber habe ich ein kleines unangenehmes Zimmer auf dem zweiten Stock in Watson's Esplanade Hotel gefunden. Das Wetter ist furchbar heiß und feucht dazu. Doch muß man ein weißes Hemd tragen weil es Bombay ist, weißt Du. Die Leute hier im Hotel scheinen meistens zweifelhafte Character zu sein – Kartenspieler, Huren etc. Ich bedaure sehr daß ich keinen besseren Eindruck von Britisch-Indischer Gesellschaft kriegen kann während meines kurzen Aufenthalts in der „Zweiten Stadt im Kaiserreich“ denn so nennen die Engländer die herrliche Stadt Bombay.

Gestern Abend nam ich ein Gherri oder Droschke und ging nach dem Parsî Schweigenthurm, der die einzige Bombay Berümtheit zu sein scheint. Der Gedanke ist ja wohl recht erschreckend, besonders wenn man die Kuttengeier sieht, die immer über den Thürmen schweben. Es war Abend als ich dahin ging und desshalb waren die Raubvögel satt und nur Einer blieb auf dem Thurm. Die Idée ist ja wohl furchbar. Dank Dir; Du siehst deine Verwandten von Vögeln gerissen selbst ehe Du vom Kirchhof gegangen bist.

Grüsse den alten Daniel von mir & vergiss nicht mich von Dir hören zu lassen.

Immer dein treuer Freund

J. Dyneley Prince

[*Envelope postmarked on front „Bombay Fe 24“; on back „Bagdad 16 Mar. 89“*]

[1889-02-24. *Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.07, 101-106. L-1432.19. HO*]

Niffer, Babylonia  
February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1889

My dear Dr Pepper,

As possibly our next mail for America will be sent away to-morrow, I write a few lines to you to-day.

The other members of the expedition, Mr. Field, Dr Harper, Mr Haynes were so disappointed with Dr Peters' going back from the adopted plan of excavation, that in order to avoid a general disharmony among the members of the expedition, it was agreed upon to speak to Dr Peters more frankly, moreover as the Executive Committee is so far away to give us directions. Thus Mr. Haynes, being the oldest gentleman of the party, was offering his services for having a semi-official talk with Dr Peters about the matter. In a conversation of 4 hours he then laid our discontent with the director's methods before Dr Peters, asking him to change his tactics entirely and to show more frankness towards us, to consult his specialists more before his actions and to have more trust in our work and judgment. Dr Peters had apparently not expected such actions on our side, for the following day he was the whole day alone considering what was spoken so frankly to him. But then an entire reaction was following – and now the tactics are changed. Dr Peters is since to-day simply charming. It is such a harmony among the members, as never has been before, and every person, the director at the head of all, is rivaling with the others in his assigned department to work towards a common glorious success. The trenches are given entirely over to the architect (Mr Field); the cleaning and numbering of the tablets to Dr Harper; the cleaning, fixing and cataloguing of the pottery and the other archaeological objects to me; the copying and deciphering of the tablets to Dr Harper as well as to me, the photographing and managing of the business to Mr. Haynes, the work of the engaging and dismissing and overwatching the workmen to Mr. Noorian, while the director himself is everywhere and sees that every person does his duty, and he works up with his own suggestions what all in each department hand over to him. O if such a harmonious working would have been started from the very beginning, if each person would have been treated as an individuum representing one science, how happy we all would have been! But even now it is not too late. I cannot describe you all our delight in working, studying, suggesting. We are now really one large family, not longer headed by a dictator but by the most amiable leader and friend. I repeat you once more that every single member is pleased. This change has been only one day, but I feel and have the true conviction, it will last, for the Christian spirit of love of acknowledging in the other what is his peculiar gift and work, is breathing in the whole family. While I am full of admiration for Dr Peters' charming spirit, for his energy and zeal, yet the crown of the whole work within the last two days is due to Mr Field, who laid the trenches upon which so much of the success is depending, in a true scientific way, running the whole day to and fro and working in an entire harmony with what was suggested by the Assyriologists in regard to that which we know

from the cuneiform inscriptions about Niffer. The plan which I laid before you a fortnight ago is adopted with some amplifications suggested by Mr Field.

Now I can inform you about one thing which I did not write hitherto, in order not to discourage you. You remember what I wrote you about my impression which I got from the Weli of Bagdâd, about 5 weeks ago. Unfortunately I had been right as to my fears, that he would try to hamper us on the spot. For some time (10 days) ago, after Mr Field had handed in his map of the ruins, he telegraphed back, that the map was not sufficient and excavations were to be stopped till he was pleased. We thus would have been workless for at least 3-4 weeks; for Mr Field's new map will be ready only in a few days, and it needs one week to reach Bagdâd. Owing to our good terms with our commissioner here, we have been excavating however all the while along without the knowledge of the Weli. And I trust now that Dr Peters with his diplomatic gifts will manage it somehow to overcome all difficulties from this side. I cannot get over my fear, that there is something at the court of Constantinople from which all this trouble arises. For hitherto we have no firmân in hand, we are so far only suffered by the Weli. I asked Dr Peters to-day, whether he was sure that there was a copy of the official permission in our American legacy at Constantinople. He answered, that Mr. Strauss told him when he was about to leave for Alexandretta, he hoped to receive one; but whether he actually got it, Dr Peters does not know till this moment.

In the mound at which Dr Peters at my renewed request put a trench and which I claimed to represent the "City of the Living", all our interest centres at present. Over 120 tablets and fragments have so far been found. There is no doubt more that is[*it*] was "the city of the Living" and that we have discovered an actual library. How large however this is, no person can say. This is certainly encouraging for us and for you all, that tablets are found there every day. The library amounted at least to 200 tablets, but most probably to a great deal more. While I now wish from all my heart, that the whole Executive Committee rejoices in this find with us, yet I should ask you, my dear Dr, in order to be as loyal as I ought to be to you, let not one word go into the papers about the library for 2 reasons

- 1) Dr Peters succeeds at present through his dealings with the commissioner, to get some good portion of the finds for us with the silent understanding, that the officials of the commissioner don't hear about it. If rumor of the discovery of this library should spread, the commissioner would be hampered, and Dr Peters might come in an awkward position. I told Dr Peters frankly, that I could not quite approve of his methods (for his own sake and our conscience's sake) in his dealing with the finds, yet as he takes this on his own responsibility, we others ought to be at least very cautious not to do him any harm.
- 2) If at Constantinople, be it through our American papers and the Turkish ambassador in Washington, be it through some other jealous papers of foreign countries which copy our papers with their own additions, a hint should be given to the minister or Bedri Bey, these latter might overestimate our finds and stop our work altogether, as they repeatedly did with Sir Henry Layard at his time. Moreover the Affedsh tribes in whose territory lies Niffer, are very wild, our situation was actually dangerous in the first week, the war dances occurred almost every day before our eyes, the commissioner did not sleep in

consequence of his fear and wrote to the Weli. The consequence was that we received 21 new soldiers for our protection a few days ago from Bagdad, with the announcement of 20 more. At present we have 27 soldiers or Saptijes here, in a week perhaps 50. Let now there the slightest rivalry arise between the soldiers and the Affedsh who to us Americans speak in a very sneering way about the Turkish government, although representants of the government are even present, and who never pay any tribute to the Turcs, — and the Pasha has direct reasons to stop our work (of course for our safety sake as the always polite Turc will say).

At the end of this letter I shall put a request.

I told Dr Peters about a week ago, that according to my true conviction and my calculation of all the items, I could not understand, how he was able to excavate with 12000 \$ a second year at the adopted scale, as according to my adding of all the items which I did the other day in a sleepless night, he would use up all the money 1) for salaries [Dr Peters, Mr Haynes, Mr Noorian, the commissioner (100 \$ a month) 5 servants (c 50 \$ a month together)] 2) for keeping all the members during 1<sup>st</sup> of May – 1<sup>st</sup> of October, their horses, their servants etc (at least 2500 \$ for all), 3) for the bought Bagdâd collection (c 1400 \$) 4) for renewing the outfit where necessary and 5) for bringing the party down again with all the provisions necessary for a second winter. The result of my counting is that the 12000 \$ will just cover or scarcely cover the above numbered 5 items. But it must be excavated at least with 150 workmen in the second year, in order to have some final result with Niffer after an excavation of only 2 years. According to the experience in payments so far, you must count for labor in the trenches for next winter at least 5000 \$. For unforeseen cases, for getting tablets which might be bought etc Dr Peters ought to have at his disposal at least 1500 \$ more. For bringing back the members of the expedition to America and their collections add 2000 \$ at least. Thus you will need c 22500 \$ for a second year, at least however 20000 \$. You will remember that I pleaded for 19500 \$ a year when I handed you in my plan about such an expedition last spring.

When I thus added my items to Dr Peters he saw the force of my statement at once, and he asked me to write to you about my estimation of expenses from my standpoint in an objective way. I herewith fulfill his desire and add my own sincere request, dear Dr, to help Dr Peters along as he, before he had no clear results, could of course not write so [*ill*]tiously about the probable expenses of an other year. In this estimation I took it for granted that my own person is not included, insofar as I, if I do not receive contrary orders from you and the Committee, according to the understanding of last year shall return at the end of this season to begin the preparation of the classification and publication of such texts as are the most important for the great work to be published at the jubilee year of the University (1891) by the expedition. You remember I spoke about this plan to you before I left America. We must make a standard work, and all the members must work unanimously at it and each member must contribute his share to it according to a plan which we shall work out after my return.

I seem to be especially unfortunate in receiving letters. All my American friends seem to have forgotten me in the desert. From you of course I received 2 letters since I left America,

but from my good friend Dr Trumbull I got only one letter, written immediately after my departure from America, I found this letter at Bagdâd. But since that time I know absolutely nothing about his welfare. I hope sincerely, he is not overworked again. Give him my best wishes and regards and express him my lingering for a few lines from his pen. I could not find one moment to write to him within the last weeks, from 7 AM till 10 or 11 PM I am active and try to do my duty. And then my eyes are so tired that I cannot keep them open any longer. With the next mail I think however positively to write him about the Evil-Merodach, Kambyses and Cyrus texts which I so far succeeded in deciphering. We have even now 95 degrees here and there in the shade of our tents. Heat is approaching. But we all are in the most excellent health, and Dr Peters did his best now, to keep every member cheerful. Probably this will be my last confidential letter to you from Babylonia. Perhaps you did not always understand me, and you might blame me for having been so frank. But if you could look into my heart, you would find out, that there was no room for jealousy and low feelings. Perhaps I tried to be overloyal and missed the aim. But how I did my duty or tried to do it at least in deed and thought, in connexion with this expedition, this to find out I leave to others. To judge this is your and Gods part not my own. But frankly here I refer you to each and every member of the expedition about this. In what I failed, forgive, I did not do so in bad spirits, and the Judge of all may judge me. He looks into the heart and to the bottom. With my sincere wishes yours thankfully

H. V. Hilprecht

NB. The finds of urns, vases, jars so far are very numerous but they are without scientific value, as they almost all belong to the late Sassanian period, after the Babylonian was over.

## Appendix

### II

from Marseille to Bremen and from the docks at Hoboken to the Pennsylvania railroad station at Jersey City = \$ 28

III) For a probable delay at Alexandretta, since a steamer touches this harbour only every week once, counted by me with 3 days of extra living in Hôtel = 8 \$; 4 days of working on the Nahr el Kelb and Beyrût (Hôtel, servant with ladder + 2 horses for riding to the Nahr-el Kelb, all together counted 5 \$ a day) = 20 \$; 5 days of travelling from Marseille to Bremen for food and Hôtel = 20 \$ (the days I spend in addition in Germany with my parents, Duchess of Anhalt etc are paid from my own pocket). Total = \$ 48.

If I add now together, I get the following 3 items:

I Railroad + Steamer fares : \$ 310.50  
II) Luggage : \$ 28.

III) Food and hotel in Alexandrette  
Beyrût + on my travels from  
Marseille to Bremen } \$ 48

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Total expenses for my return: \$ 386.50 at the very lowest. Since however on such a long journey an unexpected delay will occur most probably here and there – just as we had to experience while going down to Babylonia, and since repairing of cloth and boots have to be counted in, I suppose the Executive Committee will scarcely find it extravagant, if I add \$ 14 for such unforeseen cases and give the expenses for my return as \$ 400 from Alexandrette to Philadelphia in the above given way. My work in Beyrût will however be dropped by me immediately, if the Committee should not approve of it. I plead for it not for my sake but for the sake of our national affair – the expedition. And the expenses made by this work are extremely low.

Should the Committee desire an examination of the antiquities in the great Bulak-Museum in Cairo (not much out of my way) and of the treasures in the Berlin Museum brought home by the German expedition to Babylonia 2 years ago (– I regard both examinations valuable enough in order to increase my own efficiency for the Committee in determining and judging our own collections –), I need 8 days for Bulak, 4 days for Berlin and should have to ask for 60 \$ more, i. e. 460 \$.

I took an especial pain in describing my expenses, as it naturally must look strange to the Executive Committee, that 2 persons (Dr Peters & I) come to different conclusions as to the sums of expenses. He found his sum from looking on the expenses in a general way, I found my sum by a close examination of the details. Whether or how far I came to the truth in my calculation, I humbly leave to the Executive Committee to decide.

Very respectfully yours

H. V. Hilprecht

NB: I sent this estimation of my return-expenses to you, since Dr Peters asked all the members to do so.

[1889-02-25. E.W. Clark to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 86-87. L-41. HO]

*E. W. Clark & Co. Bankers.*  
*Philadelphia.*

Feby 25, 1889

My dear D<sup>r</sup> Pepper

I have received yours of this morning [1889-02-25] enclosing M<sup>r</sup> Williams' "Appeal" and returning D<sup>r</sup> Peters' letter of 13th Jany –

I think the "Appeal" admirable & that it had better be printed and sent to all of our present subscribers, as well as used freely in our efforts to secure new subscriptions –

Enclosed please find a letter of Jany 13th. received this morning from D<sup>r</sup> P. written at Bagdad – He was evidently in very good spirits and very hopeful for the future when he wrote – Extracts from it had better be printed with the "Appeal" –

My brother and I will both be in the Bullitt Building on tomorrow and Wednesday – The best time for our convenience is between 11 & 12 o'clock.

I have from London a Catalogue of 130 Babylonian tablets &c to be sold at Auction in London on 22<sup>d</sup> Mch – Probably Shemtob is trying that way to dispose of his goods in the absence of a good demand at private sale.

Yrs truly

E.W. Clark

Please return D<sup>r</sup> Peters' letter.

[1889-02-25. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.07, 109. L-1197. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

I return Dr Peters letter which is very satisfactory. I have heard nothing from him. I also send you one copy of the appeal which Mr Williams has kindly prepared. I have signed it and marked it confidential. Let us now get to work at once about it. I have the list of names and shall call to see you tomorrow or Wednesday in the hope of finding you in your office.

Yours sincerely

W<sup>m</sup> Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.  
February 25th 1889.

[1889-02-25. *Peters to C.H. Clark. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.07, 119-122. L-1006. HO*]

Kala'at America, Niffer  
% T. S. Blockey & Co. Bagdad, Feb. 25<sup>th</sup>

My dear Mr. Clark

As I have this week a day's respite on the mail, I have time to answer yours of 10<sup>th</sup> ult. It was very pleasant to read a letter of such a sort, & it came just when I needed it, for things are often very trying & disheartening, so that I need all the encouragement I can obtain.

As you seem to have been interested in my account of Turkish tergiversation I will continue the narrative. You know how absurd the Turkish law of Excavations is taken in connection with other laws, & also with the conditions of the country & the administration of the government. Bedri Bey, our Commissioner, tells me that it was made in this way. One evening in Ramazan some years ago, Hamdi Bey, the Director of the Museum, told him to translate the Greek law into Turkish & make three copies. He sat up all night to do so, & the next day the law as thus prepared was adopted by the Council of State without change. Among other things it provides for the presentation of a topographical map of the place to be excavated before permission can be granted. But another law forbids the making of maps. As no map of Niffer existed, we should by law have been compelled to come to Niffer to make a map, be forbidden to do so, return to Constantinople & present the map we were forbidden to make, & apply for permission. It was at first agreed that the question of map should be waived, we agreeing to make one as soon as possible after commencing to dig. But when the permission was granted, it appeared that we were to make the plan before commencing excavations. But we were assured that this was a mere formality, & that in reality we could commence at once. But when, after two weeks' delay in Bagdad, we came to an audience of the Wali, he told us that we could not commence until a careful plan had been made of the mounds, & he could not deliver to us the permission until that map was in his hands. But as a special favor he agreed that we could make the map, & submit it to Bedri Bey, & if the latter accepted, & telegraphed him that it was alright, he would telegraph us permission to commence, & send the formal permission as soon as the map was received. To hurry up matters Mr. Field made up a map on our arrival, Bedri Bey accepted it, & a conditional permission to commence was telegraphed, reaching us one week after our arrival here. I had done in the formalities just what Bedri Bey said, except that the latter did not know that it was a made up map, & neither he nor I had signed it. One day we received a telegram saying that the map was not signed by either him or me, but only by Mr. Field, who was not officially known, therefore it could not be accepted, & we were forbidden to commence digging. However, as we were not forbidden to continue digging, we went right ahead, & another map was prepared, & signed, & goes off tomorrow.

More puzzling still are our relations with the Turkish Commissioner. We found him in Bagdad, living in the house of the most notorious tablet thief & dealer in

Babylonian antiquities in Bagdad. He tried to take us in charge at once. He had a house for us, he had a director of workmen for us, a brother of the dealer above mentioned, & he was prepared to run us entirely. Without breaking with him it was necessary to refuse all these things, or else he would have cheated both us and the Constantinople Museum out of everything, & at the same time we had to avoid making an enemy of him. That was rather a difficult job. It was hard work also to establish connections with the antiquity dealers in Bagdad & Hillah, for we were under espionage every moment. However we succeeded in dodging his spies, but in Hillah we came very near being caught, & our Hillah purchases have to lie quietly in Hillah for the present. When we reached here he had a cabin built for the 'finds', & said that it was his right to take everything when found, and keep it there. I told him that it was my right to take the things when found, & he could make a list, & at stated intervals the objects called for by his list, say each week, should be delivered to him to be packed away. With some difficulty I carried my point, & the objects have been in my hands all the time. He only notes a few objects, & I arrange the things as much as possible so as not to attract attention to what I want. When I very much want a thing, I ask him point blank not to note it, & he ordinarily makes me a present of it. But I do not enjoy the diplomatic game with him at all. He amused me the other day by complaining that when I wish I can understand & speak French all right, but that at times it is utterly impossible to make me understand anything.

Another of our difficulties is with the Arabs & Turks combined. The Affej region is only nominally under Turkish dominion. On Saturday the great chief Hajji Tarfa in my presence insulted the Turkish Mudir of Affej, & the latter found himself forced to resign & leave the country. To me, however, he was eminently polite, & insisted on my staying and eating with him, though of course, as I am a vile dog of a Christian in theory, I could not eat out of his dish, for which I was devoutly thankful, but Daniel & I had our food set on, that is put on a straw mat on the ground in front of us, for ourselves. A day or two before that the Mudir brought us 21 more soldiers, told us 20 more were under way, and 100 in all at our disposal, by order of the Wali. I told him I did not want them, & would not support them. He said the government would provide for them, but the poor wretch has had to pay for them out of his own pocket so far. They are much afraid of Hajji Tarfa, who murdered the Mutesherif of Hillah & massacred a whole regiment of soldiers some years since. He governs here, with little interference, appropriating the taxes, & in general playing the king. He is the most gentlemanly & intelligent Arab I have yet met. We are in no danger from him, unless the Turks send us too many soldiers for him to allow to settle here without endangering his independence. I doctor all his relatives, & we employ his men as workmen, & as far as we personally are concerned it is decidedly to his advantage to have us here.

My best regards to Mrs. Clark, & also to Mr. & Mrs. Watts, & to your Son & his Wife.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1889-02-26. *Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.07, 123. L-1005. HO*]

Niffer, Feb. 26/89

My dear Mr. Clark

Mr. Haynes feels the need of certain books for his photographic work. I wish you could forward letter enclosed with cheque for amount. It seems to me that it might be charged to Outfit.

Yours sincerely  
John P. Peters.

[1889-03-05. W.R. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 1. L-37. TO]

## THE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF HEBREW,

WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph.D., Principal.

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3. *Progressive*—forty lessons, including critical translation of Ex. i-xxiv, examination of questions of geog., archaeol., etc., review of etymology, syntax, memorizing of words occurring over 25 times.
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New Haven, Conn., March 5, 1889.

Pres. Wm. Pepper, D.D.,

1811 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

My dear Sir,

I have just received from my brother a brief account of the K. H. collection of Babylonian antiquities belonging to the University of Pa. It was sent after consultation with Prof. Peters. I have just received a letter telling me that a long letter will reach me within a day or two for publication in the OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT. Do I understand that it is your desire that this shall not be published? There is nothing in either of the statements which, in my opinion, would embarrass your committee. I leave the matter, however, in your hands greatly hoping that you will give me permission to publish.

I remain

Yours sincerely,

W.R. Harper

Dictated.

[1889-03-06. Noorian to unknown. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 3-4. FC 5. TC]

Niffer March 6, 1889

(To Miss Hetta?) [*written in Fisher's hand*]

About ten days ago I wrote that long letter to Dr. Ward in which I enclosed a short letter for you. I hope you have received it. Tell me if Dr. Ward particularly enjoyed that letter. I tried hard to avoid most of the disagreeable things and did not write them at all.

Mr. Haynes was very sick last Sunday and Monday. He had a very bad fever. His temperature was 103.3. We were all afraid about him. I tried to help him and make every thing pleasant for him all I could. I gave him my comfortable that Miss Susan made for me, because it had a sheet on and was soft and warm. Now Mr. Haynes is well and we are glad for him. You know that he and I room together in the same hut. Our room is not a comfortable one. But what can we do under the present circumstances?

We are in the danger of our lives any time (as we were last week. We were afraid of having our camp set on fire by some wild Arabs in the night.

Our work in excavation is going on in great style. The number of tablets is increasing, on a small scale every day. I have about 145 men to superintend. You ought to see them. How fond they are of me, and how nicely they work. I send you a copy of the agreement form that I handed in to Dr. Peters tonight. For Dr. Ward and you to read and tell me what you think of it.

Although the country and people are bad, yet I wish you and Miss Susan were here for a short time. The nights here are more beautiful than the days. In the daytime it is either hot or dusty, so that a person can't go out at all; but in the night the stars are bright and the sky is clear and calm, while the jackals are howling and raising the old Harry. We have about six weeks more to stay here this year; after we leave here we don't know where we will go, or what to do.

To day is fearfully hot. The thermometer is up to 101 in the tent in the shade.

One thing I want to call the attention of Dr. Ward to and is that that Dr. Peters told me that I was expected to pay my own travelling expenses, because I had a salary. Think of such a crazy like talk. After having charged Mr. Price \$7 a day for his travelling expenses, he wanted me to pay the same out of my \$50 salary. I am very sorry to say that the more I come into contact with him I find him an untruthful man, but I am not a fool, and I do not intend to be fooled by him again. Take him on the whole he is not the man I admire very much.

(Noorian)

[*Written by Fisher:*] (On 2 single sheets 5¼ × 8⅛.)

[1889-03-07. Noorian to Committee. HSN 780K. HO]

For the Executive Committee.

I respectfully ask the Executive Committee to forward me their decision to Baghdad by telegraph, say about the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, the time when we are expected to be in Baghdad, that I may plan accordingly.

Respectfully yours

Daniel Z. Noorian.

Niffer, March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1889.

[on a separate sheet]

March 7, 89 [*penciled by*

*Hilprecht*]

Conditions to be agreed upon by the Executive Committee of the Babylonian Exploration Fund, and Daniel Z. Noorian, handed in at the request of the director of the Expedition Dr. John P. Peters.

(I) Daniel Z. Noorian for his services as Interpreter, Overseer of the workmen and Business Assistant, to receive a salary of \$100 a month from the date of beginning excavation in the first year till the Expedition reaches America and his traveling expenses back to America in addition, rated as follows; \$100 from Baghdad to the seacoast at Beirut or Alexandretta; \$200 from the seacoast at Beirut or Alex<sup>ta</sup> to New York.

(II) Suppose the Expedition does not return directly to America, the salary of Daniel Noorian is to be continued for two months from the date of leaving Baghdad (two months being the time needed for traveling from Baghdad to New York).

(III) Daniel Noorian stays the second year, if Dr. Peters remains as director the second year.

Daniel Z. Noorian

[1889-03-11. Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 2-7. L-1432.20. HO]

Niffer, Babylonia

March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1889.

My dear Dr. Pepper,

Your favor of 24<sup>th</sup> of January came into my hands to-day. After a long consultation with Dr. Peters I hurry to answer your kind letter directly, that it may leave with the mail of to-morrow.

I heartily appreciate all that you say and thank you again and again for the confidence you place in me. I shall try to do my best to deserve a little of you great kindness and to be as loyal to you, to Dr Peters, to our University as any member of the expedition can be. I am extremely sorry that I caused so much anxiety to you through my letters. But do not believe that I wrote all the truth so fully, in order to censure Dr Peters or because I saw so dark, but because I wanted to have you understood the whole situation fully, because I desired so earnestly to have this expedition a success, because I was afraid of being afterwards censured for not giving you hints about certain things which might have been changed in time, in short because I identified myself so entirely with the honour of our University.

That you were constantly so kind to me in all this time of trouble, was a great comfort to me, and I thank you expressly for it again.

What I wrote to you about a fortnight ago, holds still good; I mean all the tactics of Dr Peters are entirely changed – and I have nothing more to complain, only to acknowledge his zeal, his delightful dealings with us, our harmonious cooperation and the energy with which each member, Mr Field, Dr Harper – first of all the never tired Haynes + Noorian – attend to their department assigned to each of them (and to me) by Dr Peters a fortnight ago.

In what I failed, I ask your pardon again. While my letters were so full of complaint, yet I tried honestly to do my duty every day loyally on the spot. Ask Dr Peters about that, ask every member, about my spirit of reconciliation, of acknowledgement. They can give you a more objective judgement than I.

One favor I only ask from you now. My especial work has grown so up – through the nature of excavations – that I cannot find even a moment of time, to hand you in a report of what I am doing, although Dr Peters asked me twice within the last fortnight. From seven AM till 10 or 11 PM. I have been busy, in order to do my duty. Dr Peters could impossibly release me, he did his best to do so, but I declined, because then the work had to be left undone, as every other person has already to work hard in his own department. I hope, it will meet with your approval that I rather stop reports to the Committee at present, in order to have all my time given over to the work on the spot,

that no opportunity, no case of adding something – how little it may be – to the final result of the expedition may escape us. What I have done, you will anyhow see a little later, when I hand my copies and my studies in to Dr Peters (as I partly do every evening by dictating him about my studies of pottery) under my name.

From your letter of to-day I see, that you would wish my presence on the ground “throughout the time of the explorations”, i.e. for another year at least. My dear Dr., what I can do, to please you, you may be sure, I shall always try to do, not only because you are my Provost and the representant of my University which I love, but because I should be unhappy to displease you as a scholar, gentleman and Christian, because your judgment about me is of an especial value to me and has been so since I saw you the first time. And thus if you wish me to stay, I stay with and from all my heart. Unfortunately there are however a few things which I must bring before you to decide upon

1) It troubles me immensely, that this man, whom I call my spiritual friend and father, Dr Trumbull, would pay for another year half of my salary, in the case that I stay, while he receives absolutely nothing from me. And if one will speak of any obligations, not he is under any to me; but I deeply to him. He had very little from me, I had all and everything in him and from him. Can I possibly accept such a kindness from him for another year? I know, he would scold me, because he sees a blessing in giving. But I know myself the best, how much he is contributing to charitable societies and to so many individuals, of which the world never sees or hears anything, but which I here and there had an opportunity to see, while in his office. If I could only promise to write anything for him. But he wrote me himself the other day what I always thought, my principal and first duty is towards the expedition. And I see no outway at present, how to write articles without neglecting this duty.

2. I left my wife in such a bad health last year, that I am anxious to see how she actually is and feels, moreover as she expected me for returning to America this year.

3. I have permission to stay outside of America or Europe (from my life insurance company) only till 1<sup>st</sup> of June. I can receive it again for another term with a premium of about the double sum that I pay when in Europe or America, if I apply myself with the accompanying police directly. All my policies for fire, accident and life-insurance are left in Germany. Such things can impossibly be trusted to the Turkish mail, moreover it would take too long time, before I could receive them, even if I should ask my wife to send them. And as we are more in danger of life here in Asia than in America or Europe, I do not think it wise to risk a stay without the permission at all.

In consideration of these points I proposed to Dr Peters to go to Germany for the summer, i.e. to arrange my business-affairs from there and there. And he apparently was pleased with this idea. For he added, that I thus could study the Assyrian antiquities of the Berlin museum with advantage for our expedition. For the Berlin museum contains especially the finds made in Surghul and el Hibba (four days away from Niffer in Babylonia) by the German expedition two years ago.

The money needed for my trip is counted only 100 \$ higher than Dr. Peters counted his expenses to Constantinople and those of the other members individually. I counted only the traveling expenses from Bagdad to the border of Germany and back, when asking 700 \$ from the Committee.

4. An other thing needs some consideration on your part. I do not see it possible to pay all my expenses (occurring outside of the expedition and specified to Dr Peters) in the next year without having a heavy debt after my return. I have unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately) no fortune personally. What I received, I used up for education on school and University (being away from home since my 12<sup>th</sup> year) and for travelling, to become a useful member of humanity. As much as I hate the idea of asking you, the President of the Executive Committee, for a compensation or refundation of those most necessary expenses which will occur, while I am away from my position and work in America and on duty in this expedition – yet what can I do to meet those expenses??

I do not ask and never shall ask for a salary – for I work for science at present and for increasing my own knowledge of that department which to fill you kindly called me to the University, but I do ask you, as my friend and adviser, to consider how I can serve you by my staying on this expedition and yet without my neglecting these other duties and expenses which continue during my absence and must be attended to by myself.

5. As soon as your letter had arrived, I asked Dr Peters, to tell you objectively and sincerely, whether he considered me absolutely necessary for the work of this expedition during a second year, as on my part, I wished to decrease the expenses as low as possible. He answered me, that, while he did not see before, how 2 Assyriologists were needed, he could not see now, how the work could be done satisfactorily if even one man of the members were taken out of his assigned department, and that I was necessary. I wrote to Dr Trumbull a week ago, that I considered my services of not such an importance, that I could not be spared, moreover as the finds of tablets do not come in so readily as we all would like. Yet, if Dr Peters needs me, and if you wish me to stay too, I am always at your service.

Would then you not have the kindness of telegraphing the decision of the Committee (after a due consideration of the points mentioned above by me) to Dr Peters or to me till 15<sup>th</sup> of May (Blockey, Bagdâd). Telegraph as to my position in a telegram to Dr Peters either “Hilstay” or “Hilcome”. The former would mean you wish me (Hil = Hilprecht) to stay with a view and approval of my above given items, the latter would mean that I shall leave, and come to America back.

That my trip to Germany is not a pleasure-trip, I assure you. Apart from the setting of my affairs I shall work hard in the Museum of Berlin and in the Museum of Cairo (Egypt). Both are on my way, and for the study of the antiquities in the Boulak – Museum of Cairo, I wrote to the director general Prof Maspero, before I left America last year. That under such circumstances I shall stay with my wife only a few days, you will readily see.

How would it do, by the way, to make Mr Noorian a member of the expedition, in order to receive more valuable work from him? And how would it do if you (without mentioning my name) would

suggest to Dr Peters to send him (Noorian) at some time (for about 4-6 weeks in the summer or as it might be too hot then, in the next winter-season) through the whole country of the Affedsch tribes (c. 20000 men) with the request

- 1) to determine the borders of their territory, in which Niffer is situated too, accurately.
- 2) to describe all the ruins and canals of ancient times within them
- 3) to study the history, customs, superstitions and traditions of the tribe, their occupations, mode of life etc and their dialects.

He is the best man for doing that, being almost an Arab himself, mastering Arabic thoroughly as his mother-tongue and having a natural gift for dealing with the Arabs. If you could give us an Engineer, the accompanying map could be gained and illustrate the whole more accurately. The execution of this plan can be done with almost no extra expenses and adds extraordinarily to our success and to the knowledge of ancient Babylonia as well as of modern Mesopotamia. And if a scientifically educated man should accompany him, Dr Peters or Dr Harper could go with him. As it does however involve a little danger or risk on the side of the accompanying person I am perfectly willing to undergo it, suppose Dr Peters approves of it and does not wish to send Dr Harper. I had this plan for Noorian in mind a long while, but from reasons which you easily will understand, I never spoke to Dr Peters, I did not wish to make Dr Peters feeling that I come with some new propositions too often before him.

I repeat to you, what I wrote a fortnight ago; it is at present a delight to work. Everything is harmonious, since every person knows he has some responsibility in his department. I have only praise for Dr Peters and all the others. I only wish this thing, our firman could be changed! Niffer and Birs-Nimrūd have (in my opinion) no great future as to the results of excavations. Coffins and urns and vases are found by hundreds – but our knowledge does not gain from them, they form a rude material, known for a long while and so far belonging (almost without exception) to the period following the Babylonian. Palaces never existed here, yet since we have Niffer, let us continue work here, let us hope for some tablets more. And I shall not consider anything more than to do my duty in my department, without troubling myself about the results. This I promise you faithfully.  
Yours thankfully H.V. Hilprecht

*[written upside down on the top of the last page]*

To Dr Trumbull, please; an especial greeting!

A man understanding Botany, Zoology, and some Geology would be extremely useful for our work. As long as he is not here, I did my best in this direction – but I am a layman and have too little time left for it. Could you send one? He could meet me in Germany and travel with me?

[1889-03-13. Brown Goode to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 8-10. L-42. TO]  
[In the upper left corner, Pepper has written something illegible]

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

S. P. LANGLEY, Secretary  
G. BROWN GOODE, Assistant Secretary,  
in charge of U. S. National Museum

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM

*Washington, March 13, 1889.*

My dear Doctor Pepper:

I fear I have delayed too long in answering your kind letter of the 23rd of February. All Washington has been thrown into confusion by the inauguration, and the great number of strangers who have been here.

There are a great many things, of course, which Doctor Peters might obtain for us, which would be useful in our work. Professor Mason, to whom I referred your letter, tells me that he is anxious to have a costume of a Mesopotamian Chief, or of his wife, or both, with photographs which will enable our preparators to make lay figures for the display of these costumes.

Any illustration of the methods employed in spinning, weaving, dyeing, working with metal or wood, would also be exceedingly valuable to us, especially if accompanied by illustrative photographs. Any musical instruments, especially the cruder and simpler forms, and simple lamps, or appliances for making fire, or heating, would also be immediately available.

The objects which would be most acceptable to us are not of the costly character, which is fortunate, since, as you know, we have very little money to expend in the increase of our collections.

Professor Langley authorizes me to say that Doctor Peters may make expenditures to the amount of \$150.00 or \$200.00, and that disbursements to that amount will be promptly repaid to him.

I hope that the expedition is meeting with success in every way. Thanking you again for your courtesy and kindness,

I remain,

Yours very truly,

G. Brown Goode

Assistant Secretary.

Niffer, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1889.

My dear Dr. Pepper

Having sent to you what was styled a preliminary report by Dr Peters about the possibility of my staying out in Babylonia a second year, I now add a few more lines and thoughts suggested to me by your own kind letter of January 24<sup>th</sup> and by a word received from Her Highness the Duchess of Anhalt.

I begin with the latter. Her Highness wrote to me this: "If you in your enthusiasm for the East and Eastern life should ever consider the possibility of continuing your researches in Palestine or Babylonia beyond the time fixed by you last year, I think you will understand your old friend and an advice from her in the sense in which it is given: Your first duty is towards your wife. You left her in a condition which troubled you and all her friends most seriously. I then bring before your mind what influence it must produce on her delicate nervous system to read – what she naturally will – about the country in which you for the present live, about the dangers which surround you. So far as I know her, all this will and must excite her. I understand it therefore your first holy duty to consider the "Gemüthsstimmung Ihrer Frau" and not to underestimate the influence of this latter on her whole system. Before you return to America, I hope to see both of you with me and to learn the results of your expedition from your own mouth. Let this not be too far away from the present time". So far I cite the words of Her Highness. What she says about my duty towards my wife, I consider a wise and friendly word worth of consideration. You will therefore readily understand, that before I can give a final decision as to my staying a second year, I must be assured about the consequences of such news on the mind and health of my wife. I accordingly send a note to her with the same mail and inform her that the Executive Committee wishes me to stay an other year. In order to show you, how much I myself am willing – so far my own person is concerned – to yield to your wishes, I asked Mrs. Hilprecht to send her answer – after a consideration of two days – directly to your address at first, that you might know, how to act accordingly. Probably her answer to you will arrive only two days later than this note. —

You write (1): "It seems incredible that a party, organized as ours is, with any sort of permission, to make investigations and explorations, cannot fail in sufficient time to accomplish a great work" and again "Dr Peters cannot draw back until it is accomplished, with large success", and again (2) "during the coming summer, there will certainly be valuable work, that can be done, in the way of hunting up collections, and hunting up new inscriptions in localities which are entirely healthy". And again (3) "in addition to collecting antiquities ..... we had considered the possibility of making surveys of unvisited portions; of visiting the sites of ancient institutions of learning, and especially of making studies of dialects spoken by actually existing tribes". (4) "It is not necessary to raise any question of

precedence between Dr Harper and yourself”. Allow me kindly to add a few suggestions to these quoted words.

Ad (1). I believe fully, that our party will accomplish a good work in sufficient time. How great this work will be, I do not precisely know. You being yourself such an eminent specialist, will however understand that if a specialist in another branch gives a judgment, he has certain reasons for his – what I may call his “diagnosis”. My diagnosis may be wrong; for an “analogical formation”, in order not to use the somewhat discredited term “exception”, occurs in medicine as well as in archaeology. My diagnosis as Assyriologist (which includes philology and archaeology) is in short this as to our expedition.

a) While 2 years probably will be sufficient to give us a somewhat systematical general idea of what is in Niffer – and this is a good work – this period will not be sufficient to accomplish “a great work” or to grant “large success” as to excavations which are the principal object of this expedition, if I understand its aim correctly, in distinction e.g. from the Ward-Wolfe-expedition. A large success is not well possible at Niffer, if I am not entirely mistaken as to history, archaeology and personal observations. The fact that Niffer or Nippûru existed as an inhabited place during about 3500-4000 years – what I can prove from the archaeological objects found and from the inscriptions – involves this. If – I speak of facts – e.g. an inscription of an old Babylonian king was used at a later time as a whirl (for winding thread) and at a still later period, in which all reverence of cuneiform tablets had disappeared, was used as rubbish around a well – we, or at least I – can naturally not expect great results, since one generation destroyed the works of the preceding one. And to excavate graves of a Sassanian population or to collect beads of Arabs, both buried at Niffer at about 200 BC or 1500 AD, I can scarcely regard as a great work or result.

b) I got charge of the classification and determination of all the archaeological objects (except inscriptions) so far excavated. And I gladly assure you, they are numerous, although the same objects come out again and again – phalluses (about 300), whirls (ab. 400), pottery, earrings, beads etc, etc. Of all these objects I determined so far with certainty about 10-15 objects as Babylonian – all seized by the Turkish commissioner. The great bulk is Sassanian, not a few belong to the later Jews, a few are Persian and a good many Arabic. While the words Sassanian, Persian, Arabic sound very nice in Europe or America, I wish you to understand, that the excavated objects do not mean much in the eyes of Semitists. The Hebrew bowls are still the best parts, although they were known long before, are of Postbiblical time and contain only evil spirits of an almost horrible representation and either Rabbinical charms or senseless characters of no meaning whatsoever. Several pieces of this collection are splendidly preserved and form thus at least a nice object for our Museum.

c) Niffer has no future of any amount in the history of excavations of Babylonian antiquities – so far as I can form a diagnosis. The result will, as it looks now, be principally a negative one. And I think, Dr Harper agrees with me upon this, to judge from what he said. Our other place for which we have a firmân: Birs-Nimrûd (also called from its neighbouring hill: Tell Ibrahîm-el-Chalîl (the ancient Kutha) is not better. Monsieur Pognon, one of the greatest French assyriologists and a charming gentleman, who is French consul at Bagdâd and to

whom I became especially attached while at Bagdâd said as to this place in the presence of several other members of our expedition: “Birs-Nimrûd n’est pas bon, vous n’y trouverez pas beaucoup”. You know, Oppert, Fresnel, Rawlinson and Rassam excavated there for over 4 years. I wish therefore to bring before your mind especially, before you bring new sacrifices in order to make my further stay here possible, that with all our zeal – and every person actually works hard! – we shall have to suffer from the selection of these 2 places for our work by Dr Peters, even in our second year. For I cannot well advise you, in order to increase our success through excavations, to excavate at Birs-Nimrûd at the same time in the next season. This would be against my real conviction – however wrong this may be. And this be far from me!

Yet to say a few encouraging words, I add, that a negative result is also a result and a good work, although we not always like it as much as a positive result and can in this case scarcely be styled “great result”.

d). How far the Turkish government will consent to our taking objects away – I do not know. A word of the Turkish commissioner uttered to Dr Harper last Monday when the official news reached Bedri Bey, that several antiquities of Mr Budge of the British Museum were seized by the Government at Bassorah, makes me thinking. Yet I frankly confess, I have such an infinite and deep respect – I do not flatter – of the diplomatic gifts of Dr. Peters, that I think, he will find some way to get several objects over to Philadelphia.

Ad (2) There is not the slightest doubt to me, that Dr Harper in the Armenian mountains – a very healthy region – will do his very best to hunt up new inscriptions, and that Mr. Field will make many a valuable study at Mardin or Caesarea as to ancient architecture. I may add, that all indications gathered from the cuneiform literature, have convinced myself for a long while, that many a good discovery is to be made near “Lac de Van” and throughout the Armenian mountains, if no hardship is avoided and a person does not follow the old trodden ways, but goes into the wilderness of human civilisation, as Dr Trumbull did at Kadesh Barnea. I should not like anything better myself, than to tramp through Armenia or Cappadocia with this one view of finding archaeological material.

The settling of my affairs as to my several insurance companies makes this however an absolute impossibility for me. My going to Germany is necessary as a duty towards my wife from several standpoints. Thus I am extremely sorry, my dear Dr., that I cannot promise you anything of amount in the way of exploration during this summer, although I would do my best to gain for our expedition from my visits to the Museums of Berlin and Cairo. Yet even there I cannot stay long, for the journey from Bagdâd to Germany takes 8 weeks and backward just as many, i.e. 4 months altogether. We intend to leave Bagdâd on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, travelling the Tigris valley up together so far as Mosul + Diarbekr. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of October we intend to return from Bagdâd to Niffer. Accordingly I have 4 months for travelling to and from Germany, a fortnight to see my wife & parents and the duchess of Anhalt, and a fortnight at the highest for studies in Berlin + Cairo together.

Ad (3) Making surveys of unvisited places with any intention of adding to science makes necessary an engineer. I refer you to Dr Trumbull on this point who is an expert on this point. You will remember that I pleaded for an engineer in Philadelphia in vain. As to visiting the sites of ancient institutions of learning I have little hope whether this all can be accomplished in the next season (inclusive summer), with consideration of the fact, that Dr Peters intends to go to Constantinople and I to Germany, that thus 2 members are going out of this country during that time in which only this kind of work could be accomplished. For during the excavations there is absolutely no time for this purpose. As to the study of the dialects of tribes etc I repeat once more, that no member is better qualified for this than Daniel Noorian. For a) he has the superiority over all of us, of speaking Arabic as his mother tongue, b) with our present amount of work neither I nor Dr Harper have time for studying dialects. I herewith sincerely confess, that there are weeks, in which I only twice found a moment of time to leave the camp of about 200 steps in circumference in order to visit the trenches. The cleaning, determining, measuring, drawing, copying etc of the found objects is my first duty. For studying dialects I can use only the summer without interfering with my first duty. And the summer unfortunately cannot be given over to this, although I feel most unfortunate myself about this, that I have to go to Germany.

Ad (N<sup>o</sup> 4). I am entirely satisfied and well pleased with what you say. Yet I call you attention to one thing. Two days after Dr Peters announced this statement of yours (as to a precedence) to Dr Harper and to me, Dr Harper asked me for a private talk aside. And in this I heart of certain arrangements between him and Dr Peters for the first time. If I had known them before I confess, I should never have gone on this expedition. Dr Harper namely told me as follows: He was very much hurt that, as he learned from Dr Peters, I had brought up the question of precedence – you remember I brought it up a couple of weeks before I left America; on lake Champlain we talked about it the second time. – Dr Harper continued, that he could not understand this step of mine after his – I now quote literally – “his act of generosity towards me”. I asked him to explain this latter expression. He said, that it was a kind of generosity towards me, to make my going on this expedition possible. For “of course as second Assyriologist, you could not go”, but I, being appointed by the Executive Committee “the second in command,” consented that you should go as equal Assyriologist (how kind!!!) under the following conditions which were accepted by Dr Peters and the Executive Committee accordingly:

- 1) in the case, that there should arise any disharmony through an act of Dr Hilprecht, this latter one has to leave the expedition, while Dr Harper was willing to leave it, if he was the cause of the trouble.
- 2) if the question of precedence should ever come up actually, Dr Harper is to have it.
- 3) whenever the names of the members of the expedition are mentioned, they have to appear alphabetically with the exception that the name of the director appears at first.

I was naturally utterly amazed about the existence of such things and took from Dr Harper the idea (which he really had), that the Committee knew anything of these conditions, as I, having been the Secretary, necessarily ought to have known about them.

I now understand many acts on this expedition, through which I felt hurt, while they were occurring. Dr Harper was entirely right in believing in his generous act towards me. I excuse everything in him that I formerly called haughtiness. He thought, the Committee and I myself knew about these conditions, and he of course stuck to his right. For was I anything but suffered on this expedition?? No, I felt it often enough. Yet it is all passed, and Dr. Peters is right by his saying to Daniel Noorian, when this latter one reminded him of some past act: "Let rest the past time, we all learned from it". – My answer to Dr Harper was: "I am deeply hurt by not receiving the full truth from Dr Peters about my actual position in which he at least regarded me to be (and Dr Harper). For that I should never have consented to such conditions, you may be sure. Yet since he accepted your conditions, I do not wish to make fresh complaints. Remain in your precedence and in your generous act. My aim is another one. Yet I should believe it wise on your side to inform Dr Pepper about these conditions confidentially, as I repeat they are not sanctified by the Committee. Dr Harper will accordingly write to you, that he took two of them back, leaving the third one. I add, my dear Dr: I have not the slightest objection that you leave all 3 conditions, limiting my position more. All my former bitterness has gone. Act just as you think wise and best. I agree with everything. Do not bring it before the Committee. I actually and honestly do not wish any change in the conditions, and I wish the least to doubt the rights of Dr Peters in making or agreeing to such conditions. I expressly state, that I do not raise any complaint against anybody connected with this expedition. I simply mention these things, because Dr Harper will write to you about them, and because I wish you to know the whole state of affairs, before you bring new sacrifices, in order to make my staying possible for another year. My only aim is the Eternity, and in the light of this aim I have no more considerations for other outside aims. Dr Trumbull in his kind letter to me struck the right cord. In doing my duty towards all of you faithfully, I shall try to reach my aim. Whatever you decide, decide only after my wife has expressed her wishes to you from Germany, that I may not hurt my duty towards her, I beg you. But as soon as she is pleased with the idea of my staying in this country somewhat longer, decide whatever you please. And to be sure, you shall find me on the path of duty and loyalty following that plan and direction ordered by you.

I may still mention, that for the sake of the interest of the expedition I should ask you to make 2 suggestions (as coming from you without mentioning me) to Dr Peters:

1) that no collection of antiquities (to be bought for money of the expedition), ought to be bought without the 2 Assyriologists having examined them and come to a satisfactory result about them.

2. that the departments divided between the 2 Assyriologists by Dr Peters should be exchanged among them in the second season, that each of them might get a full opportunity to express his judgment about the objects and to study at the same time the whole branch of Assyriology as afforded by the excavations. In this year Dr Harper got the cuneiform tablets and I the archaeological objects. In the second year accordingly Dr Harper would get the archaeological objects and I the study of the tablets, resp. the cleaning, cataloguing and determining, while copying is left to both. Yet it is only natural, that he who studies the

archaeological objects, has less time for copying than the other – if he does his duty faithfully. At present this work alone keeps me busy 8-9 hours a day.

If you are of an other opinion, my dear Dr., do not consider my suggestions at all. I shall always be contented with that department which is given to me, and if the purchase of tablets shall be made in an other way, I do not object to it. I only wish to destroy this false conclusion, sometimes brought forth by travellers, that a thing becomes dearer, if 2 persons examine it. I have other experience. And my principle is this: If a dealer is afraid of having his collections examined by 2 experts, his collections are not worth to be bought. Our finds in tablets is[*sic*] small (c 120 whole and good fragments and about 200 worthless fragments with a few characters), yet still better, than according to the immense size of Niffer was to be expected. That they are mostly contract tablets, makes the find rather little important. Yet no excavator can prophecy, how much value his tablets will have. With the exception of about 10 fragments of no significance, they all come from what I baptized “City of the Living”, or as Dr Peters used to call it with especial predilection at our common meals (sneering at my hypothesis during a fortnight) “Hilprechts so called City of the Living”. I am glad that after all I could be of a little service to the expedition through my holding up this view again and again, although I fear, I hurt Dr Peters through my perseverance with which I asked and urged a trench into the City of the Living day after day. He is however at present so kind towards me that it seems to be he drew the conclusion, it was not a mere opposition to his personal plans and views on my side but an adherence to what I had found through a logical scientific operation.

The live in camp is very charming since the last 3 weeks: Harmony everywhere. I share a tent with Dr Harper, and it is a word of Dr Peters himself (done 3 days ago) with which I describe you our mutual relation: “I never saw 2 Assyriologists getting better along with each other than Hilprecht and Harper”.

This is an unofficial letter to you. But Dr Trumbull may read it, as any other line of mine written to you!

Please be so kind to forward your decision of the Committee as to my remaining here a second year by telegraph after having received the letter from my wife. Your telegraph will reach Dr Peters at Bagdâd till about 17<sup>th</sup> of May; should it come after this date, Blockey will forward it to Mosul, where we hope to arrive about the 30<sup>th</sup> of May.

God bless this expedition and all those who gave their heart and money to it! My sincere regards to Dr Trumbull. With my best wishes for yourself

yours

very devotedly & thankfully

H. V. Hilprecht.

While reading this letter over again, an other thought impresses itself upon my mind. You promised me in your study-room last year, that all Assyriological publications made after and in connection with this expedition under the auspices of the University of Pa, should be made under my name as “editor in chief” – as my share of this expedition. I now wish to state this: If you consider it not well possible more, since Dr Peters + Dr. Harper made other arrangements without the knowledge and authorisation of the Committee, I give you your promise gladly back, my dear Dr. Your kind interest and love shown to me through this promise of yours, remain notwithstanding unchanged, and stand just now clearer out to me than ever. And I do not wish to be understood to have worked for reward on this expedition. My duty demands to work without it. And my feelings and wishes on one side and my duty on the other side shall and must agree with each other always in future. Duty has to govern, wishes and feelings must be conformed to it.

H. V. H.

March 18<sup>th</sup>,

At the request of Dr. Peters I hand you in the accompanying appendix for the Committee. Should my return be necessary and you therefore telegraph “Hilcome”, I ask you expressly, add the sum which you have decided upon for my return from Alexandrette to Philadelphia. Should you wish my work at Boulaq and Berlin, the sum 460 (which means \$), telegraphed after my name, would be enough to indicate this, should you not wish the latter, your other sum to be telegraphed will not be misunderstood. Should the sum however be less than that for which I asked (400 \$), I should not reexamine the Nahr-el Kelb-inscriptions but return directly. In this case the squeezes + Negatives would be sent by freight from Beyrût, myself being not responsible for the condition in which they arrive at Philadelphia. Your telegram as to my person needs not contain more than these 2 words “Hilcome” “Hilstay” and granted sum for return. About the sum to be necessary from Diarbekr to Alexandrette (for as far as Diarbekr we all travel together) scarcely any difficulty will arise. You will readily see, that I made the sum the lowest possible. All this little comfort which is necessary to make a journey pleasant, is entirely left out. I am ready to do my journey without it, as the expedition has expenses and sacrifices enough, you more than enough.

H. V. H.

[1889-03-18. R.F. Harper to Pepper. HSN 2704. HO]

In camp at Niffer,

March 18<sup>th</sup> /1889

President William Pepper,

My dear Sir:—

I beg leave to submit to the Committee of the Babylonian Exploration Fund the following estimates and propositions.

I. Return from Baghdâd to America

a) Baghdâd to the coast (Alexandretta). As the members of the Expedition will probably make this trip together, no separate individual estimate is necessary. By some chance, however, it may be necessary to make this trip alone. In this case, I would ask for 32 Turkish Liras (= \$132), the estimate given me by Mr. Haynes.

b) Alexandretta to Paris, via Marseilles.

Ticket from Alexandretta to Paris (500 fr.) =	\$100.00
Extra luggage from Marseilles to Paris =	\$15.00
Expenses on steamer, ports touched (viz: Mersin ½ day; Smyrna, 2; Salonica, 1; Athens, 1; on train from Marseilles to Paris, 15 hrs = 1 day) etc. at \$3 per day	= 45.00
Total	<hr/> \$160.00

c) Paris to London, via New Haven – Dieppe (cheapest route).

Ticket =	\$8.50
Extra Luggage =	<u>\$5.00</u>
	\$13.50

d) London to New York, via North German Lloyd.

Ticket (lowest 1 <sup>st</sup> class ticket during the season) =	\$125.00
Expenses on ship and luggage from Hoboken to Central Station, New York	\$20.00
	<hr/> \$145.00

e) Necessary delays.

Marseilles	1 day	
Paris	2 days	
London	5 days	
New York	<u>1 day</u>	
	9 days, at \$5 per day =	\$45.00
		<hr/>
		\$363.50

This is the lowest estimate which I can give for my return trip to America. In my opinion it will not cover all expenses, as, for example, I may be obliged to wait much longer for a boat than five days.

I deem it wise, however, to remain in Paris 3 or 4 days and in London 7-10, in order to do work in the Louvre and the British Museum, that is absolutely necessary for my report on the collections and the tablets excavated. This work is strictly expedition-work, and it is necessary to insure any degree of accuracy in my final reports. I would, therefore, ask for a total of \$385.00.

D<sup>r</sup> Peter's estimate is at present \$300. Yesterday it was \$200. His present estimate is also inaccurate in several points. He had given for Mr. Fields expenses to Paris 700 fr. (= \$140), while for Hilprecht and myself he reckoned \$125. I pointed this out to him, and he has, in all probability either made ours \$315, or Field's \$125. He allows only two days in London, including the landing from the Channel boat and the catching an Atlantic steamer – an impossible feat! In regard to other points also, his estimates will not bear scrutiny. However, as he is the director, I do not wish to press these items.

He has also set me before the Committee in a false light. At every turn, he emphasizes my extravagance. His notions about these are altogether false. Two of the committee (Mr. E.W. Clark and Mr. Stuart Wood) know how palatial my little room, on the 4<sup>th</sup> floor of 1, Bedford Place, London, was. It was absolutely unfitted for the work which I have to do.

II. Summerwork. There are three plans.

1) that Haynes, Field, Noorian and myself remain together for the sake of cheapness and do what work we can.

2) that we form two parties, viz: Haynes and Field, Noorian and myself.

3) that we form four parties, each doing his own work.

In my opinion, no. 1 is impracticable and unscientific. We would be obliged to travel with a large caravan, and go to every place together. Where Haynes and Field might find something, there would be nothing for me. No single person would be responsible. The work accomplished would be little and unsatisfactory.

No. 2 is, in my opinion, a very good plan. Field and Haynes to go together. Where the architect finds material, there is also material for the photographer. Noorian and I could either go to the lake Van region to hunt for inscriptions and do geographical work or have Baghdâd as headquarters and make excursions from that centre.

No. 3 gives the fullest liberty to each man and makes everyone responsible for his own work. This is, in my opinion, the best.

If I am to remain in Baghdâd, I prefer no. 3. If I am to go to the Van region, I prefer no. 2. No. 1 is, in my opinion, a mere farce. In justice to the Expedition and to the individual members, some good work must be done. This work can only be accomplished by the 2<sup>d</sup> or 3<sup>d</sup> plans.

D<sup>r</sup> Peters remarks about Mr. Field and myself and our relations to these plans are not worthy of my notice. It would seem that he does not care to have anything accomplished by any member of the Expedition during the summer.

I do not think that it is necessary to go into further details. D<sup>r</sup> Peters has asked the members to write their views to the committee. In writing this note, I have only fulfilled his wish. I have been obliged to differ radically with him on almost every point. The committee can decide as they think best.

I remain,

Your obedient servant

Robert Francis Harper.

[1889-03-18. Hilprecht to Pepper, Appendix. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.08, 20-21. L-1432.22. HO]

Niffer, March 18., 1889

Appendix  
to be laid before the Executive Committee.

My dear Dr Pepper,

In the case I should have to return this year be it because the Executive Committee cannot afford to send me to Germany and to take the other items written to you into consideration, be it that any objection to my staying in Babylonia should arise from the consideration of the health of Mrs Hilprecht – things about which I myself cannot say anything being away from all direct communication, I wish to lay the following items before the Executive Committee as to the expenses of my return. Dr. Peters seems to me to underestimate these expenses in the same way as he did with the expenses to be necessary for keeping out the expedition a second year. As to this latter point I gave you my estimation a fortnight ago. On the other side I wish to state expressly here, that Dr. Peters deserves the highest praise for his constant effort to reduce the expenses as low as possible.

In order to avoid however difficulties in my personal situation in a foreign country similar to those which I experienced at my trip from Alexandrette to Beyrût and back before Dr Peters' arrival from Constantinople, I believe it my duty to lay the specified items before the Executive Committee through your hands, before I return. And in the case this return of mine should occur – against my present expectations – before the other members return, I ask you to inform Dr Peters (by mail or telegraph according to the necessity) as to how large a sum he is authorized by you to hand me over for my return from Alexandrette to Philadelphia. As to the sum necessary for travelling from Bagdâd to Alexandrette (5-6 weeks) I propose to leave this entirely to the business-manager Mr. Haynes, who is the best qualified to judge about them from his long experience and having taken this trip by different routes repeatedly. The rest of us could naturally give only an approximate estimation.

In specifying the expenses of my return in the following, I give the route of my return as Alexandrette – Beyrût – Alexandrie – Marseille – Germany – Bremen – New York. The route Alexandrette – Smyrna – Athens would be cheaper by 15 \$. But I have to take the other route via Beyrût because 1) I left a trunk with the negatives of the Nahr-el Kelb photographs, with squeezes of inscriptions etc at Beyrût 2) because I need a new examination of several points on these inscriptions, which I could not thoroughly examine with that atmosphere and light which prevailed at the time of my last stay there. Besides, going over my copies again while on our way down to Babylonia, certain conjectures as to effaced passages in the inscriptions came to my mind. In order to prove or disprove the probability of these conjectures before my final edition, I absolutely need a new examination of the traces left in

the rock, in order to meet the criticism of experts afterwards. This route is therefore absolutely necessary with a consideration of the results of our expedition, and thus I recommend it to the Executive Committee for approval. I am quite sure, Dr. Peters and I should come to the same conclusion as to the expenses of my return, if he would consider individual cases. He made up the expenses from a general standpoint, and from this, I think, he was very fair towards everybody. But as naturally the route by Beyrût, a staying of at least 4 days there, my going to Germany in order to take Mrs. Hilprecht back and to consult the foremost Assyriologists there on certain scientific questions connected with the results of our work on this expedition – all points of my especial case, which will be thus different from the individual points of every other member and yet worth of consideration – increases the expenses made up in a general way slightly, I confess my inability to return for 300 \$. I may still add, that what Dr Peters makes up (according to schedules which give only thorough fare from Alexandrette to Marseille) for the Mediterranean voyage, does not hold good at all for my case. Having to go to Beyrût and to stay there for several days I am obliged by the actually existing circumstances to take 3 different steamers from Alexandrette to Marseille (each (French or Austrian) company sends a steamer only every fortnight). And it is a fact, probably known to most of the gentlemen of the Committee (certainly known to Dr Trumbull who travelled in the East) that every ship-company of the Mediterranean charges higher prizes for getting a ticket from one harbour to the other finally thus (in intervalls) arriving at Marseille, than if one buys a through ticket from Alexandrette to Marseille without stopping on the way more than the time allowed for taking loads out and in – which time is not sufficient for my work. My very lowest estimations of the expenses for my return are the following, made up from detailed time-tables of railroad and steamer-companies and from my own experience:

I Railroad + Steamerfares (including the passage to be paid for going ashore from the steamers and returning to them in a small boat, a bad institution of almost all the Mediterranean harbours):

a) Alexandrette to Beyrût:	\$ 16
b) Beyrût to Alexandrie:	" 28
c) Alexandrie to Marseille:	" 63
d) Marseille to borders of Germany:	" 28
e) from South borders to Bremen (via: Munich-Leipzig-Berlin)	" 38
f) Bremen to New York (unfor- tunately at the time of season with higher prize than in winter)	"135 (counted 2 days of waiting for a steamer; 2 years ago 2400 passengers had to wait a week, steamers being engaged ahead by others, what I cannot do)
g) New York to Philadelphia	" 2.50

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Total \$ 310.50

II) For Luggage from Alexandrette to Philadelphia (Free luggage on European railroad; is in difference from American custom only 50 pounds, in Southern Germany 25 pounds, on several lines nothing at all) or as on the steamers it is almost nothing, I better say

*[unfinished?]*

[1889-03-18. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 19. L-1196. TO + HO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I have your note with letters returned. I have written to Dr Peters, but have not entered much into detail, on account of the admirable letter which you wrote him. I feel in excellent spirits also, and should be perfectly willing to be one of a party of ten, to guarantee the expenses for the next year, and for the subsequent year if we decided to keep the expedition in the field. We could then go ahead securing subscriptions steadily, but in a more leisurely way. Certainly we must not allow anything to interfere with the complete success of what promises such splendid results.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W. Clark Esqr.  
March 18th 1889.

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Kindly return enclosed note especially as to Field. [2 ill] I better at once notify him of his discharge at close of his year.

W.P.

[1889-03-19. Field to Pepper & Committee. HSN 2556. HO]

Niffer, Turkey March 19 1889

Dr Pepper and Committee.

Dear Sir.

In making arrangements for another year Dr Peters has asked me to stop with the expedition. Before consenting finally to do so I wish to have a contract signed to avoid misunderstandings in the future. Dr Peters says that he is not empowered to sign any contracts with the members of the expedition and that I must ask you to send me a paper fulfilling such conditions as you accede to.

These are the principle points that I put before Dr Peters.

I. That I Perez Hastings Field remain with the Babylonian Expedition another year, leaving Baghdad to return to Paris not later than April 15 1890.

II That all expenses be paid by the expedition; living expenses, outfit and travelling expenses to Paris France

a Travelling expenses in Turkey from Baghdad to Alexandretta being estimated at a lira a day.

Baghdad to Alexandretta 40 liras to allow for luggage and possible delay in Alexandretta while waiting for steamer.

b. Alexandretta to Paris via Marseille 800 francs = \$160.00

c Outfit to include clothes, drawing materials and the like necessary for next year. Estimate about \$1.25.

III That in case of illness or other necessity my expenses be paid to Paris the same as if I remained until April 15 1890.

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The plan for the Summer is to go to some high altitude travelling together or singly and doing such work as may present itself. It seems to me the wisest plan to separate, particularly to learn some arabic in order to facilitate my direction of the workmen. Traveling expenses for the Summer ought to be estimated at a lira a day each. That is May 15 to October 15 1889 154 day = 154 liras = \$677.60

Dr Peters I believe thinks that my travelling estimates are extravagant. He is inclined to underestimate all expenses and has already placed me in positions where I had to draw on my own

letter of credit not only for myself but for other members of the expedition. As I receive no salary it does not seem unreasonable to me to expect the estimates to be sufficiently liberal to allow me to live or travel comfortably without drawing out of my own funds.

Dr Peters writes by this post a letter to which I fancy he hopes to have a reply in Baghdad by wire. May I ask you to be good enough to add a word for me to know whether you accede to my requests for next year and if so to send by post a written contract to Baghdad.

I should like to know also what is to become of our personal outfits when the expedition is finished. That is saddle, gun and instruments whether they belong to us or whether if we wish to keep them we shall have to buy them from the expedition.

I am

Very faithfully yours

Perez Hastings Field

Architect of the expedition.

Address

Care of T. S. Blockey

Baghdad

Turkey in Asia

[1889-03-20. Noorian to Susan. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 5-6. FC 5. TC]

Niffer March 20. (1889)

(To Miss Susan)

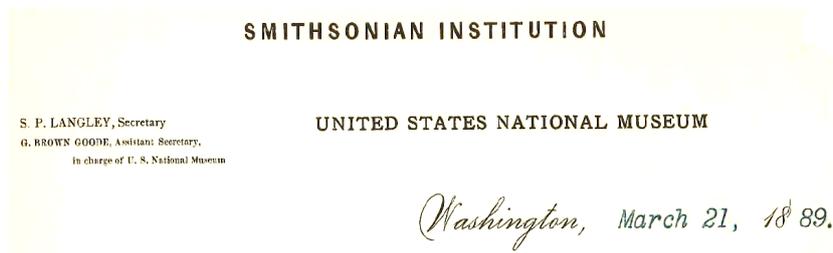
Our work of excavation is going on pretty fast, but no successful results have been made yet. Most of our finds have been graves of not very old period. Very few tablets have been found, mostly fragments. It is very discouraging to see the time and money wasted and nothing gained. I was in hopes as much as the rest that we would not have to stay out the second year, but the last mail brought the news for staying at least another year with the entire force in the field. Dr. Field is just about as hateful as he has ever been. He is no good man at all, and certainly not a Ctian man. O my dear Miss Susan it was a great mistake made by the Philadelphians to place such a man as Dr. Peters, at the head of this Expedition which can never succeed so long as he is this kind of a man. I will describe him and his acts some other time when I know I shall not commit sin. I have been treated by Dr. Peters in the very rudest way. However, I have not allowed anything of this kind to interfere with my work and duties, and the consequence is that my wages have been increased above what was agreed. I have 150 men now at work whom I have to oversee. I expect to increase the number to 180-200 the next week and I assure you it is not an easy task to manage such a big crowd of people, especially when they are wild as these Arabs. So far I have not had any difficulty with them, and they rather like me and do a great many things for me which you could not get them to do for anyone else. Our plan for the summer months is not yet decided. We expect however, to stop our first season's work at the end of April, on account of the intense heat. The thermometer goes up as high as 105 in the tent, and if now it is this way how will it be a month hence. Around this tel of Niffer there is a swamp called Hor-el-'Afaj. This swamp is full of wild boars. About two days ago I went wild boar hunting, but did not succeed at all. Yesterday and today we had a very wild wind and sandstorm – something wonderful and horrible. Dr. Ward is more than good. He wrote me a very friendly letter, and I shall keep it to show to you when I return.

(Noorian)

[*Written by Fisher:*] (Written on 2 single sheets, plain paper, 5¼ × 8⅛, in Hilprecht's hand)

[1889-03-21. Brown Goode to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 23. L-43. TO]

3.21.2.



Doctor William Pepper,  
1811 Spruce Street,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Doctor Pepper:

Pray accept my cordial thanks for the interest you have shown in regard to the subject of my letter of the 13th instant. Your very kind offer to furnish money as required by Doctor Peters in obtaining specimens for the National Museum, is a most welcome one, and removes what otherwise might have proved to be a serious obstacle, since, as you know, we are not permitted to pay for anything which is not actually in our possession. I will take care that repayment is made to you as soon as the specimens have been received from Doctor Peters.

With kindest regards, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

G. Brown Goode

Assistant Secretary.

[1889-03-21. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 22. L-1195. TO + HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

I enclose you all letters from Dr Peters dated after 6th January, as you request. It is an excellent suggestion of yours, to have copies of parts of these letters made. I have written to Mr Burk, to send you the lists of the two collections purchased in London. May I beg you to make a note now, to send to Dr Peters on my personal account, \$100, in the next letter of credit you send to him. Everything is clearly going on in a most satisfactory way.

Yours sincerely

E.W. Clark Esqr.  
March 21st 1889.

Wm. Pepper

P.S. Of course you have the  
other letters I recently sent you.

[1889-03-25. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 25. L-1194. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark

With your approval I will have a meeting of the Executive Committee called at your Brother's office for Friday next March 29<sup>th</sup> at one o'clock. Professor Alan Marquand's address is Princeton N.J.

Yours sincerely

E.W. Clark Esqr.  
March 25/89

Wm. Pepper

[1889-03-25. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 26-27. L-1004. HO]

Kala'at America  
Niffer mounds, Mar. 25<sup>th</sup> / 89  
% American Legation, Constantinople

My dear Mr. Clark

At my request my brother sent over to Mr. Gargiulo two hammerless Smith & Wesson revolvers. I thought it an expense in which we might indulge as some slight recognition of his services for us, & I knew that he wanted them very much. The price paid for the revolvers was \$24, & \$4 for expressage. Will you kindly send to W.R. Peters & Co. Box 3570 P.O. New York City a cheque for \$28. I suppose that it might be charged under incidentals, or else under Accessory Wages the term used in our books here for all such expenses, cost of the military &c.

I have also written to my brother to order me some shoes in New York, & to let them send the bill in to you. Will you kindly pay it, & charge against my salary account. It ought to go on next year's charges, but here one has to buy & order everything months ahead. By this mail I shall send a list of things which should be bought & forwarded to Bagdad for next year's use. Arnold Cheney & Co. of New York have a branch house at Bussorah, & send out on occasional ship direct. Of course it would be cheaper, quicker and in every way profitable to send by one of their ships, if one is going, otherwise the things should be sent to an agent in Liverpool or London to be forwarded from there. An enquiring of Arnold Cheney, or of Messrs. Oelrichs & Co. of New York will doubtless illicit all necessary information.

Yesterday, Sunday, I received a telegram from Bagdad, repeating cable from B. Whitaker extending my leave of absence from the Divinity School still one year. Everything therefore seems satisfactorily settled. Day after tomorrow I expect to leave for a 7 days' trip for Tello, where the French are excavating. The trip is not undertaken for pleasure. I wish to see how the work there is done, & confer with de Sarzec on several points. I wish to explore the region somewhat; but above all I wish to carry off Bedri Bey, & have him to myself for a time. It will make an awful amount of arrears of work for me on my return, but I & all of us think that it will pay.

As I expect to send in a brief report by this mail, as well as a letter concerning supplies, I must therefore desist from attempting to picture to you recent events.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

Niffer, Babylonia  
26. March, 1889

My dear Dr Pepper,

I know, it must be a burden to you, to read my letters again & again. But to-day, when I have to propose something to you, a little plan, if you wish, I think I can risk to take 10 minutes ofrom[sic] your precious time. Nothing occupes my thinking, my soul, my heart more than the success of this expedition. It is therefore needless to say, how often I am resting on my bed sleepless, while my mind looks out for new means to add to the success of the noble work of my dear Philadelphia. I propose the following plan to your consideration. Consult with Dr. Trumbull, consider all pro and contra and come to some conclusion soon, very soon.

The plan is built up on the following basis

- 1) This expedition must be a success, we cannot draw back, (since you gave so large sums for a second year) without the largest results, if God stands by us.
- 2) Both places granted to us for excavation by the Turkish commission are not very promising for excavations according to my scientific diagnosis.
- 3) Yet under all circumstances excavations must be continued at least for a second year since we began them.
- 4) The plan according to which we are working at present for this expedition, cannot give that result which I so heartily wish to all of you and us.
- 5) We must get as many tablets as possible, as it is principally from them that the ancient history, religion, etc, etc is reconstructed.
- 6). The Museum of our University, if a little enthusiasm is raised, must rival and can rival, with the largest European Museums as to its Babylonian-Assyrian collections and thus offer to American students such facilities, as only a few cities of the world possess.
- 7) All valuable objects found, under our present régime, go to Constantinople, and even if they do not go there, we can get into their possession only by corrupting certain persons, by deceiving and by paying – in addition to all the expenses for excavating them – other sums to those who may sell them, whether it be the Turkish Commissioner here or some unconscious person connected with the museum of Stambul.

After a long and careful consideration of all these points during day and night, after many fruitless attempts of reconciling all these different items so that they work harmoniously together towards a great success for Philadelphia, I finally found the following plan, which I now propose to your judgment.

- 1.) Our excavations while they are to be continued for a second year (perhaps even for a third year) must be undertaken only at the Temple Hill, Bint-el-Amîr, and at the “City of the Living”, if I may adhere to my old termination.

I shall add here, that to me my hypothesis of this “City of the Living” is proved beyond any doubt. All tablets come practically from it, while in fact the other hills furnish nothing in this line. And what they furnish is mostly without any scientific, artistic or archaeological value. I could prove this very easily to the learned world. The long so called “introductory trench” in the Necropolis gives us what is necessary to furnish a scientific idea of its contents. In order to excavate this Necropolis thoroughly, even 5 years would not be enough. If then not anything of importance should turn up accidentally in the Necropolis in this year, it ought to be abandoned in the second year, this is the opinion of myself, Field and Harper. Ask, I pray you, Dr Peters to confine all work to Temple and City of the Living in the second year, if nothing turns up in the Necropolis till the end of this season.

- 2) For excavating these two points, one of which (temple) will be finished almost this season, 80-100 workmen would be enough during next winter. I certainly would not put more money for workmen at the disposal of our expedition.
- 3) As soon as the temple is finished, the plan of Niffer is drawn accurately, its surroundings (walls and canals) are traced and brought on the paper, the architect can be spared, and his expenses thus fall away.
- 4) Our principal object must be the buying of collections. If we buy them in this country, we can – as Dr Peters did in Bagdâd last January with the collection bought by him and Dr Harper – always make the condition that we pay the money only as soon as the collection has arrived at some European or American harbour, or as soon as it has left Turkey, i.e. we practically buy the collections outside of Turkey. All the money which we gain by reducing the workmen from the highest number given by Dr Peters to 80 or 100, should be set apart for buying such collections.
- 5) Two or three collections are always at hand in Bagdâd or Hillah. Since we made the personal acquaintance with the dealers, they prefer, as I most certainly know, dealing with Americans to a dealing with other nations. That at present about 200 tablets (at least) could be bought at Hillah and Bagdad, I know most certainly. Pognon cannot longer control the market, he returns to France next month for ever.
- 6) As I learn from a letter of Shemtob (London) to Dr Harper, there are several collections of great importance at present in London or America. Buy them, if they are offered to you and if you can be assured by some expert, that they are genuine. I should propose Lyon of Harvard for such an examination during my absence. If it is true – as Dr. Harper tells me – that Shemtob sent a Bronze-statue of King Eri-Aku with inscription to Mr. Clark, you should get it for some reasonable price. Do not forget, that this Eri-Aku is the same Babylonian king who marched according to Genesis 14, 1 against Abraham and is called Ariokh in the Bible. As I did not see the statue, I cannot give you any advice in this matter. A genuine statue of this king possesses a value not to be underestimated however.
- 7) Dr. Harper agrees most emphatically with me as to the poor hopes for valuable finds at Niffer and as to buying collections as our principal object in future, if we wish greater results. He probably will write you an other personal letter to that effect in the next week.
- 8) I advice, as soon as the temple is cleared, the map finished and the city of the Living thoroughly excavated, to stop excavations entirely in the third year, to call back all the members but Dr Harper & Daniel Noorian. Dr Harper intends anyhow to stay a third year

with the only intention of buying collections. If excavations (suppose the results of the second year are not better than this year) are abandoned in the third year, if he and Noorian are left alone here, if he receive a salary of 1500 \$ and his expenses, he is willing to stay a third year for the expedition. Otherwise he will ask his brother to bring a sum together large enough, that he, being not longer connected with our expedition, may buy collections for Yale University. He says, he would himself prefer to work a third year for the expedition.

I do not advice anything. While of course I wish that our expedition stays out a third year and buys tablets only, in order to make our results as large as possible, yet, if the money cannot be raised, I should not lay too great a stress on the third year. To me it does not matter so much, whether in a third year the collections go to our University or to Yale, if they only go to America. A third year at this scale (only & many tablets to be bought) would cost c 12000 \$; yet you could do so also for 6-8000 at a smaller scale.

I sum up my propositions in this; reduce the workmen for excavating at Niffer to 80 or 100, confine our work to the Temple and the “City of the Living” in the next year, make the buying of collections a principal object of our expedition by setting a certain sum (say 5-8000 \$) aside for it. Keep excavations up more for the sake of continuing a branch of our work, more with a view of a negative than a positive result, more with a view of reconstructing the temple [in which probably no inscriptions (according to the experience of Babylonian researchers) will turn up] than removing thousands of waggon-loads of dirt from a graveyard. In the case that I stay a second year here, it does not matter to me, whether I stay at Niffer or am sent out by you for buying collections, give me only that place where you all regard me the most efficient in my sphere, where I can serve you the best with the little I possess. Take more regard to the wishes of others than to my own which latter ones are only to see this expedition a great success and to work towards it.

I may add, that within the last week about 300 fragments of tablets were found in the “City of the Living” – but unfortunately all is rubbish, there are scarcely 10 pieces (very badly damaged too) worth of being taken away; they belong however to the Turkish Commissioner and have a value of not more than 10 \$ alltogether. Harper is rather discouraged about the tablet-finds. The history of Niffer teaches that we have no right to expect better tablets than broken into ten-50 parts.

Yours very sincerely

H. V. Hilprecht.

burn!

An entirely personal note:

Dr Peters received a note from Mr. Talcott Williams telling and asking him to propose to the Executive Committee that Dr. Jastrow be allowed to publish the Nebukadnezar (or Nabonidus?) cylinder, now in our Museum. I advice you again, my dear Dr., to prevent all

publications, till we are quite sure of the amount of the results at the end of the expedition. The above mentioned cylinder – according to Dr Harper, for I did not see it – is one of the most valuable pieces and ought anyhow to go only into the large work to be published after our return. And then we need specialists for such work, let it be done by any Assyriologist, take Harper, take Lyon, whomsoever you think best, but let him be an Assyriologist, acknowledged as such by the scholars, in order to avoid the criticism of the many jealous persons who are anxious to find fault with our doings whenever the opportunity offers itself for criticism. We bring home so many rabbinical Hebrew bowls with inscriptions, that Dr Jastrow finds plenty of work to be done, moreover as these archaeological objects have never been examined thoroughly, although every museum abounds in these bowls. Although Peters, Harper + I have studied Rabbinical literature and language (I personally was 5 years the pupil of the greatest Christian scholar in Rabbinics, Prof. Delitzsch in Leipzig), yet none of us will claim to be an specialist in this branch. No other person is better qualified for the publication of these bowls than the professor of Rabbinical literature in our University, i.e. Dr. Jastrow. But even with the publication of these bowls I most fervently ask you to wait, till the expedition is back, that then at once (and not expected by others) come with one unique large standard work worked up by all the members of the expedition and by Dr Jastrow with numerous appendices about the chemical analysis of certain “sediments” (at the bottom of vases and bottles excavated) by our University professors before the world. The more we divert the attention of the world from our expedition for the present, the better are our chances for results. Of course general articles are necessary. Dr Peters wrote several, Dr Harper and I wrote a few notes of a more encouraging character too. These show that we are still alive. The next year will decide whether we gained results or not and a success better than that of this year. It needs a greater harmony among the members than in the last year. Praise to God, at present a pretty fair harmony is existing. I am on a very hearty foot with all of them. Please do not mention my name to Dr. Peters whatsoever you decide as to my above outlined plan. I think he is more ready for acceptance, if he does not know that it originated with me.

H. V. H.

If you accept my plan, no word must be said to any outside person; let every person think, excavations are our principal object, till all the collections are safely in Philadelphia.

[1889-03-26. Noorian to unknown. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 7-9. FC 5. TC]

March 26, (1889)

[No address]

I am very sorry that you have been troubled by my Aleppo letter. I did not intend it so. I am ashamed of it. I felt then that it was a very proper thing for me to do. I felt obliged to let Dr. Ward hear of the affair. Of course I suffered a great deal for Dr. Peters till we reached Baghdad but since then he changed his view of me, and began to see that he had a wrong idea of me. When we were in Baghdad I felt it my duty to help him all I could and show him that I was not absolutely shiftless and then resign, but he would not accept my resignation. We came to Niffer, and here also I did the same, in engaging the workmen and starting them and did everything I could to make it easy for him, and then I had a long, plain, frank and gentle talk with him, and asked him to let me go and gave him plenty of time to get someone else in my place, but he would not do that either. I then brought the salary question up and without any trouble had it settled at the rate of \$100 a month. Shortly after that he misbehaved again and I did not think it a safe matter to trust him in anything and I wrote my conditions down and gave them to him to read and sent them to the Executive Committee. The letter of Dr. Ward came and made a great change in Peters. After my conditions were already sent Dr. Peters came with a letter from Dr. Pepper in his hand and asked me to stay a second year, for I think he thought I was going to leave him at end of this year, and told me I would receive \$1000 a year and my expenses, and on the same footing as all the other members. I refused the proposition altogether and told him that under no conditions will I accept the letter of membership after I was treated all the way down like a brute. I have tried to do my duty like a good soldier, and thanks to God I am now respected by all those who treated me ill at the beginning. I heard through somebody else that Harper and Field are sorry they treated me as they did, but Dr. Peters influenced them all the time against me. I have materials enough in my hands to prove Dr. Peters the worst man we could have with us. What would the people say if they should hear that we had quarrels and disputes with him almost every day in order to get him to do something for the general good of the Expedition? He does not admit that he does not know everything. It may be very foolish of me to speak so freely of these things, but one word comes after another.

Do not be anxious about the way I treat the workmen. Do you think I am the kind of person who will go to work and treat these poor and benighted Arabs who have come to work to get 15 cents a day and carry dirt on their backs all day long, that I should go and torture them? On the contrary I have made myself loveable to them so that wherever and whenever they see [me] they come and kiss my hand, and then speak if they have anything to speak of. There are several babies that have been named after my name, because, they say, my name is so dear to them. Now I ought not to speak of such things but because there is no secret between us I say such things to you. I have now near 250 men at work, and expect to raise the number up to 300 very soon. The results of the excavations are not many. Very few tablets have been found – all the tablets were from one place. We are laying the temple hill bare as fast as possible. There is much work to be done here

yet. We have found more than anything else Sassanian graves. Almost 700 this far. I am very busy all the time, and my time is taken up by the men too much to write, keeping a sharp watch after every thing and doing all the talk for Dr. Peters. Last week something very serious happened to one of the workmen. A great mass of earth fell on him as he was leaning on the opposite wall, and all the other men ran away and left him under the earth like fools – I quickly ran [to] my horse and went there and found him unconscious, buried up to the pit of his stomach. I pulled him out and giving him some medicine revived him and had him brought up to the camp to be cared for and I have been looking after him ever since. He is able now to walk – you ought to see how gratefully he expresses himself to me every day he sees me. Today another one had fainted and I did not know what to do for him. It just occurred to me the book you bought for me called “What to do fast in Emergences”, and I cared for him the same and in four hours he was able to work. Now if I had not happened to have that book with me I would not have known what to do.

(As for the telegram of Dr. Hilprecht I was the one who cabled it over. He meant for collections, not for any thing else.)

Tell Dr. James I am the best Equipped on the Expedition for medicine.

[*No signature*]

[*Written by Fisher:*] (On 3 single sheets 5¼” × 8⅞”, in Hilprecht’s handwriting. Evidently a copy made by him of original Noorian Letter)

[1889-03-26. Pepper to Hilprecht. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 32-33. L-1437.12. CC]

(Copy)

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

My dear Dr Hilprecht,

I enclose you a duplicate of a communication sent by this mail to Dr Peters and yourself. The letter I received yesterday [1889-02-10] puzzled me. I had telegraphed Dr Peters the Expedition was to remain in the field at the present force. He had answered me shewing that the telegram had been received, stating that all was working well, and accepting with perfect loyalty the decision of the Committee, continuing however his former impression that it was a luxury for us to keep two Assyriologists in the field. We have however decided that it is best to do this, and we therefore intend unless circumstances over which we have no control, may arise, to retain both yourself and Professor Harper at the field of work until the Expedition closes. I am glad to note from your sketch of Niffer that it is a promising place for excavation. I shall hope to receive no more letters, indicative of divided councils, or of carping spirit of criticism. There have been many expressions in your letters which have caused me much pain. I have however so fully understood the difficulties of your position, that I have made every allowance for expressions made by any, and all members of the Expedition, which seemed to me unfortunate ones.

Yours sincerely

Prof. H.V.Hilprecht.  
March 26th 1889.

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Copy

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

March 26/89

Hilprecht.2.

Your letters are very full of criticisms of your companions. You have constantly spoken in severe terms about them. I cannot decide as to the justice of this, but I wish you to understand, that many things besides scholarship and zeal, are requisite to make a great expedition a success. There must

be no pushing ambition, on the part of any one member. There must be invariable courtesy, and untiring willingness to accord to each, credit for the same good intentions, that is, the promotion of the success of the expedition. You seem to have brought yourself into a position of antagonism. Don't imagine that your companions have not criticized you. They freely acknowledge your scholarship, and have expressed regret for some mistakes that have occurred. But they do not feel, that you have yourself been above criticism in your bearing and remarks, towards your colleges. I can well believe, that is so, from the outspoken way in which you write to me about them. Very possibly Professor Harper cannot read old inscriptions with facility. We know he is not as profound an Assyriologist as you are, but he is an earnest and zealous scholar, and the relations between you and himself, should be charming and brotherly. For Heaven's sake let us have nothing but expressions of mutual confidence and courtesy hereafter.

[1889-03-26. *Pepper to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 34. L-1437.13. TC*]

(Copy)

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

March 26/89

My dear Dr Peters,

Yesterday March 25th I received from Dr Hilprecht communications dated February 10th, which puzzled me greatly.

He continues to speak of coming home, and the tone of the letter is difficult to understand, upon the supposition, that he has been fully acquainted with the decision of the Executive Committee to retain the expedition in the field at its present force, that is with you as Director, and Dr Hilprecht and Dr Harper as Assyriologists of equal rank and privileges. I wired him yesterday to await the receipt of this communication, which states in precise terms the decision arrived at by the Executive Committee, for the further conduct of the expedition. I enclose you on separate slip, the resolution respecting the canceling of Mr Fields appointment at the end of his year, provided you continue to feel that desirable. We are at a loss to understand how there can be any further ground for divided councils or unkindly feelings. We confidently expect that all will be harmony and efficient work from this out. You will kindly note my former request for the immediate submission of a detailed plan of work for each member of the expedition, during the coming summer, until you retake the field for actual digging.

Yours sincerely

Rev. John P. Peters.

[1889-03-27. Pepper to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 36. L-1437.14. CC]

(Copy)

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

My dear Dr Peters,

I am instructed by the Executive Committee to inform you, that as the maintenance of the full expeditionary force in the field after the close of the first year, will be a heavy strain upon the funds available it has been decided to notify Mr Field that his services as Architect will not be required after the close of the year for which he was engaged at first. Regretting the necessity of taking this action, and begging that you will communicate it to Mr Field, with the assurances of our appreciation of his service

I remain

Yours respectfully

Rev John P.Peters.  
March 27th 1889.

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President Babylonian Exploration.

[1889-03-30. *Walter Besant to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 37. L-50. HO*]

Friday

**12, GAYTON CRESCENT,  
HAMPSTEAD.**

March 30, 1889.

Dear Sir

I have received a letter from Mr. John Peters, director of your Babylonian expedition, in answer to one which I sent him. As hon. sec. of the Palestine Exploration I should have addressed myself to you in the first instance, had I been able to ascertain your address. I suppose I must have overlooked it if any notice of the expedition has appeared in the athenæum or the academy papers, where we look for announcements of this nature. Mr. Peters tells me that he fully approves of a proposition, which I ventured to make to him in my letter. He also tells me he has sent it on to you; I need not therefore repeat what I said to him. This is the more fortunate, as I wrote from my private residence and did not keep a copy of the letter. I have only to say that we shall be very pleased and very grateful if we can carry out in this or some other way the propositions made in my letter.

I beg to remain, Dear Sir

Your obedient servant,

Walter Besant.

Hon. Sec. of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Niffer, Babylonia, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 89

burn!

My dear Dr. Pepper,

To the note written by Dr. Harper & myself and sent as a separate letter I add a few lines of a more private character. I myself had never the idea of writing a note to the "Nation" in reply to Dr Peters article. Of course I understand Dr. Harper fully and do not wish to excuse our director for his blindness which, if published, must disgrace him – and this means the expedition, for he is our leader and whenever he touches upon expedition matters, his honour is ours – Dr. Harper had decided to send in the note under all circumstances, and when I told him, that I thought I could not well sign it without the knowledge of the Committee, he was willing to send it in alone. This of course I liked just as little. This morning I finally succeeded in persuading him to lay the matter before the Committee. I should not have done it, if I did not feel it my duty to do so, as possibly the article may not withstanding appear followed by the criticism of one of our adversaries or even of any lover of truth without any unkind feelings towards us. How much such an article, as Dr Peters' would hurt our expedition in the eyes of outsiders, especially scholars, is needless to say. The Committee must be prepared for it, at least you, I thought. Dr. Peters is expected to be back in about a week from his trip to Telloh. Dr Harper and I will ask him most kindly to stop his article by cable. It is an unpleasant thing for us to come before Dr Peters with such a request. Yet it seems to both of us the only proper thing, in order to prevent further and greater complications for the whole expedition and for him.

A letter from Prof. Rendel Harris told me that he had destroyed the check for 5 Napoleons received from Dr Peters for our Nahr-el-Kelb-inscriptions (photographs) and that he kept yours (sent to President Bliss) and had it cashed. Thus this question is settled.

As to the prospects of our finds here during the last week, I remark that the conditions remained unchanged. The archaeological objects are even more "trash" than before, nothing came out that was not excavated before by us already in another tomb. The tablet-fragments were extraordinarily numerous as to its quantity – all from the "City of the Living". But I wrote to you and to Dr Trumbull before as to the History of Niffer which was settled again and again even down to the Christian era. One generation destroyed (intentionally or having no understanding for the peculiarities of the preceding age) the works of the other. Thus we found not one whole tablet among all the excavated objects. The tablets were almost all of unbaked clay. The moisture of the ground rendered them worthless. Not only the tablets were broken (often into 10, 20 pieces, mostly only preserved in 1 or 2 fragments), their writing and surface was chipped off and the workmen, while digging them out, damaged them still more. And then if we now have gladly picked just one piece out of 20-25

fragments which has a few lines of badly preserved characters, we are disappointed as a rule as to its contents. The temple of Bel had necessary immense masses of cattle and sheep for the sacrifices. Most of the fragments contain such simple lists (e.g. 2 cows, 3 bulls, 4 sheep etc) of animals received or bought. To-day we found, after long waiting during weeks, a (of course broken) tablet of burned clay. That was, however small the find is a refreshment to Harper and to me. Yet our joy was lessened a good deal by the fact, that no other tablet (except 5-6 worthless fragments) of unbaked clay was found besides, although nearly 300 workmen are excavating, during the whole day.

The value of the finds is not to be compared with the tenth part of the costs. And you know, the valuable objects and tablets are directly seized by the Turkish Commissioner, as was to be expected. I do not trust the man, I even fear him. I pray that nothing may happen to Dr Peters' reputation from him. For you can imagine that delicate questions arise as to the division(?) of objects which ought not to come before the public. I warned Dr Peters repeatedly. He always answered however, that he is not afraid of him. May he not be disappointed at the end! Dr Peters underestimates the Turks. To be sure, I acknowledge Dr Peters' diplomatic gifts most highly, but he can never rival with a Turk. Every Turk is a born diplomat. – Hitherto we have not even a copy of the Firman in our hand. What does this mean? And Mr Strauss leaves his position within one month, as he wrote to Dr Peters. I wish to speak to you as a friend, as a thankful professor to his Provost: I am afraid that the Turkish Commissioner who will accompany Dr Peters to Constantinople, will not speak in favor of our expedition. He frankly said this to several of us: Except I am sent by the order of the Sultan, I shall not stay another year with your expedition.

My old private advice is again: cut down the about 28000 \$ asked for by Dr Peters for the second year, as low as you can, do not allow him to touch what I styled the “Necropolis” of Niffer. Remember that 10 years will not be enough to excavate this systematically. And to touch it unscientifically brings us more harm. Temple and City of the Living and the completion of the big introductory trench through the Necropolis must be the only objects of excavations for the second year. Several outlets of the Necropolis, I think, were occupied by undertakers, by tablet-writers, by pottery-manufacturers etc. I could easily point out the few elevations. Yet we can leave them aside, all tablets come in fact from the “City of the Living”. If you can, my dear Dr., take me back; my conscience troubles me more than I can tell you, to help to use up your money. Even if I was now at the head of the whole, I would not turn more the rolling wheel. It is too late for my power, the things must now develop on the basis on which Dr Peters put them. I wish from the bottom of my heart, that more comes out, before we leave (20<sup>th</sup> of April). My energy is the old vivid one, but I have to count with facts. Every person, Dr Peters included and at the head of all, works hard. With all my wishes, your

very sincerely H. V. Hilprecht

[1889-04-01. R.F. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 40-41. L-1424.2. HO]

Niffer, April 1<sup>st</sup>/89.

Provost D<sup>r</sup>. Pepper,

Chairman of the Committee of the Babylonian Explor. Fund.

Dear Sir:—

The enclosed note will explain itself. D<sup>r</sup>. Peters has written some articles to the Nation full of the most unpardonable mistakes. In justice to the Expedition, we had intended to send the enclosed reply to the Editor of the Nation, in order to let the public know that this article with its numerous errors did not come from the Expedition but from D<sup>r</sup>. Peters personally. After long deliberation, we have concluded to send this note to our Committee with the request that they publish it at once, if the article of D<sup>r</sup>. Peters appears in its present form.

D<sup>r</sup>. Peters is at Telloh, but on his return, we will point out to him the mistakes and urge him to stop the publication of his article or articles by cable. We sincerely hope for the good of the Expedition that D<sup>r</sup>. Peters will accept our advice in the spirit in which it is given and stop these articles. We also hope for the sake of the members that he will use “I” instead of “we” in all future publications of this kind. We do not wish to take any responsibility for D<sup>r</sup>. Peters’ literary productions or his actions upon the field, unless we are consulted.

Robert Francis Harper,

H.V. Hilprecht.

[1889-04-01. R.F. Harper to the Editor of the Nation. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 42-43. L-1432.27. HO]

To the Editor of the Nation.

In reply to Rev. D<sup>r</sup>. John P. Peters' article in the [blank] no. of the Nation we beg leave to make the following remarks.

- 1) That D<sup>r</sup>. Peters alone is responsible for the matter contained in his article, and hence the use of "we" is misleading.
- 2) That we are obliged to differ with D<sup>r</sup>. Peters insofar to both the history and geography of Anbar.
- 3) That D<sup>r</sup>. Peters might have known from p. 4 of Vol. I of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia that the Kurigalzu brick from Aker-Kuf was published in 1861.
- 4) That the terrace of Nebuchadnezzar in Bagdad was not discovered by Mons. Henri Pognon – Mr. Pognon did not make this claim – but has been noticed by Sir Henry Rawlinson in his Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia and by George Rawlinson in Vol. I. of his Ancient Monarchies.
- 5) That, not having seen the full text of D<sup>r</sup>. Peters' article, there may be still other points about which we cannot agree with him.

Robert Francis Harper

H.V. Hilprecht

Assyriologists to the Expedition of the Babylonian Exploration Fund.

Niffer, April 1<sup>st</sup> 1889.

[1889-04-02. Noorian to Ward. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 10-31. FC 5. TC]

Niffer, Babylonia April 2nd, 89

My dear Dr. Ward:

Only a word that I am well & doing my duty to my best. Dr. Peters and the Turkish commissioner left last Saturday for Teloh to call on Mr. de Sarzec. We expect them back after 8 or 9 days. We have been having very hard sand storms these days and it is not at all comfortable. The last wind storm broke three of our tents down. This week I have 300 men in the field working but no results what ever to speak of. The construction of the Temple hill turned to be interesting but we shall not be able to finish up this year as we hoped we would do. To day a white marble door socket was found bearing the same inscription that the bricks have on, belonging to the Koorigaltzas period. The Expedition is a failure. The value of the finds is not to be compared with one tenth of the cost. The more workmen we hire the more trash we have brought in. The University of Pa. would have had more things worth having if the money that is wasted in this kind of work was invested in buying collections from the Jews. There is much discontentment going on here among the members of the party. I wish I could say to you all I want to say but time does not allow me. I shall send you a full report of the whole thing, when I have more time. I did not send you the impression of the seal-cylinder, of which I spoke in my last letter to Miss Hetta, but I did not think wise to send them by Turkish mail. I rather waite till I go back to Baghdad. We expect to leave here at the end of this month. I do not know what we will do in the summer. I have made the use of your check you sent me only of, five liras, not because I needed the money but because I could not forward money to mother from here.

The heat, the wind and sandstorm the flies and bugs also mosquitoes, combined together make a very disagreeable combination. We have all of these and Dr. Peters in addition. Write to me when you can and let me hear from you what you think of our great Expedition. I am getting to be tired of the blasted Niffer. We have graves and graves [Sassanians](#) all the time. I am a regular undertaker now. A profession for which I never cared but somehow seemed to attach itself to me. Very few fragments of tablets were found in the last two weeks. I have no time to say much. Am well. I was sorry not to have received a letter from you for a month. I am very tired and sleepy. Good night, I go to bed. With much love, I remain

Yours affectionately

Daniel Z. Noorian

love to Miss Hetta and the Dowdens.

[Written by Fisher:] On a single sheet  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ , ruled in blue smeared

[1889-04-03. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 44. L-1192. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I am sure this will commend itself to many.

I see nothing in it to criticize: It is brief & clear, and the financial plans suggested seem to me admirable. Of course I will subscribe with pleasure. I think we can get 12 or 15 to do so. Will you kindly send me a copy with the signatures of those who have already subscribed.

This will secure success: & it gives us time to gather in also small sums.

Yours sincerely

April 3

89

Wm. Pepper

E. W. Clark Esq.

[1889-04-07. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 46. L-1193. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I have the subscription paper & have signed it & have secured an additional name.

I shall come to your office on Tuesday if you are going to be in town – at one o'clock or any other hour convenient for yourself after 12 – to consult about a few other names. We should have 12 at least.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

April 7/89

E.W. Clark Esq.

[1889-04-08. *Hilprecht to Pepper. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.08, 51-54. L-1432.25. HO*]

Niffer, Babylonia,  
April, 8<sup>th</sup>, 1889.

Dear Dr. Pepper,

The finds of the last week in tablets are few but a little better than in the preceding weeks; I may say, they are rather a little encouraging, although not quite satisfactory yet. In addition to effaced pieces of unbaked tablets, which are of no or very, very little value, there came out a dozen of well preserved – unfortunately contract (not historical!) – tablets, found in the remnants of an Old Babylonian kiln in the “City of the Living”. A door-socket with a few lines of inscription (unfortunately without value and already known (through publications) from former finds in other places) of Kurigalzu (c. 1600 BC) was found in the temple-mound. Although the contents of the inscription have no value, I copied the lines for the sake of their cuneiform characters, which I may use for my (long ago announced) “History of the cuneiform writing” in future time, whenever I can find time to complete the work. The stone is too heavy and worthless to be carried away to Constantinople. To-day a few tablets, some fragments, and the mould of an Old-Babylonian brick were discovered by our water-carriers under a shrub. They had been stolen by the workmen out of the trenches. The Turkish Commissioner will examine the matter more closely in the next days. Among them only the mould and an old Babylonian astronomical tablet are of some interest. It would have been – I at least think so, – the proper thing for Dr Peters to call in both Assyriologists for the examination of the objects, when the Turkish Commissioner brought them and wanted their examination. Dr Peters saw it fit, to require only Dr Harper’s services. As he is – owing to his youth – naturally less familiar with the Old Babylonian inscriptions than I who made a specialty of them, he could not read the mould written in the most ancient characters. Yet notwithstanding I was not asked for. Finally Harper took me into the room in a very friendly way, that I also might see the antiquities stolen. Dr Peters was present, when we entered. I took the mould in my hand and read: “Narâm-Sin, shepherd of the temple of Bel”. This is, however little it seems to say, of importance. Hitherto the view, upheld by all Assyriologists and historians (even in the last works of 1888), and shared also by me was, as I wrote you about 7 weeks ago (when I wrote a few notes about the history of Niffer): Niffer or Nippûru was founded c 3000 a. C. by Ur-Ba’u, the first king and founder of Ur. All our inscribed bricks till yesterday seemed to confirm this. The mould teaches us now (through logical inferences) that Narâm-Sin, the great son of the famous Sargon of Agade, (whose famous astronomical work of 70 tablets is in the European Museums) was already connected with the temple of Bel, i.e. that Niffer existed as early as 3750 B.C. As I was not asked by Dr. Peters about my view, I understood it to be wise, to say nothing about it, in order not to hurt Dr Harper, whose judgment was required. I only read the text to him. Otherwise the mould does not give any light. The inscription consists only of 3 lines. It is puzzling that notwithstanding this stamp was found here, no stamped brick of Naram Sin has been found in

the walls of the temple. I must come back to my old view, that one generation destroyed the works of the other preceding one. The bricks of Ur-Ba'u, found in Niffer by Layard and published already in 1861 by Sir Henry Rawlinson, are often found by us. They have no value, except that of curiosity. I packed 2 together for our Museum; suppose our Commissioner does not say the Ovidian: "Quos ego!" they will be shipped from Bagdâd. The astronomical tablet is of no importance; thousands of them are in the British Museum.

Dr. Peters returned from Telloh last Friday in good health. He ought not to have paid that visit to the French consul. We all are disappointed about de Sarzec's behaviour. He refused to show the famous objects excavated by him in this invaluable mound Tell Loh to Dr. Peters with the excuse, that they were packed up, while he secretly showed them to our Commissioner who accompanied Dr Peters.

Dr Harper and I spoke to him after his return as to his Nation article. He at first did not remember to have written some of the points, but when we referred to his Ms., he began to remember. Although I asked him in the most friendly way, supported by Dr Harper, to stop the article by cable, till he had made his changes, he would not. He said, he would write and speak of his "slip of the pen" to be printed after the publication of his first article in the Nation. I sincerely hope, that not Dr Haupt or some other gentleman will attack him before his corrections arrive in America. I think, you better stop our note and suppress it anyhow, although Dr Harper did not authorize me to write so. I can impossibly correct Dr Peters publicly. I wish I could see you for one hour only and talk over with you all the single facts concerning our expedition. The archaeological objects found during the passed week are few and "trash". Dr Harper tells me, "the tablets found are of such little importance that he is not able to make out a report this week". I write you, as he wished me to do, his own words.

Do not think, my dear Dr., that in the preceding pages I wanted to complain about Dr Peters. By no means! I wrote the facts only to you, as my friend and adviser. As however the above mentioned mould will go doubtless to the Constantinople Museum, and thus – even in this summer perhaps – be open for public study, I understand it to be in the interest of the expedition, that I write a few lines (only my inferences) to the most prominent cuneiform journal about it, that not another scholar earns this fruit brought out by the expedition, however small it may be. Of course the text itself will be copied by me and kept for our University publication afterwards. The note without the text (which I do not give in the journal), as you will readily see, has only a relative value, and is a certain protection against outsiders, who will have a chance to see the text in Stambul, before we are back from our work.

At the end of last week the firman finally arrived. The copy was sent from the Weli of Bagdâd to our Commissioner, that he may hand it over to us. I saw the thing. I confess, I now really understand, why Dr. Peters so constantly declined to inform the members of the expedition about its contents, which he knew in Constantinople. He said, the firman is quite an extraordinary one, as never was given by the Government to any other expedition or single individuum. He is fully right. I only take liberty to interpret to you here the word "extraordinary" a little.

- 1) The title of the whole thing does not read “firmân” but ruḥṣât nama” i.e. a permission, which has nothing to do with a firmân.
- 2) This permission is the most extraordinarily worthless thing I ever saw called “permission”; and indeed never any expedition received such a thing. De Sarzec in Telloh has quite a different arrangement. And for all this Dr Peters spent so many days, even months in Stambul! The Ruḥṣât simply says about this: 1) that we can excavate in Niffer or Birsnimrûd, but not in both places together and not in the other, before the one is finished. 2) that this permission is granted for 2 years to “the house of knowledge” of Pennsylvania, 3) that if we stop our excavations for more than 2 months without reason the permission is null and avoid. 4) That all the objects found are going to the Turkish Commissioner accompanying us, that they all are brought to the Stambul Museum as its property. 5) That, if there are some “extra things” (literal translation), which do not possess such a value that the Imperial Museum cares for them, we may get them under the conditions a) that the Baba Ali (High Porte) allows them to be sold, b) that we agree to buy such a prize for them as they fix in Stambul for them.

There is not a word in this permission, that we are entitled to duplicates. Dr Peters will telegraph to Minister Strauss – I advised him to do so “as a sparrow in the pocket is better than 2 doves on the roof”, as we say in German – to try his best to get at least the finds of this year. For although we cannot make any show with them, it is at least very doubtful, whether we shall find anything better in the next winter. And if the “City of the Living” should cease to bring forth more tablets in the second year, we have perhaps less in the next winter.

This is in short what I had to say. Take the note as a confidential letter to you and Dr Trumbull. – In 11 days we shall stop excavations for this season and start for Bagdad a few days later.

With all my best wishes for you and our University

yours very sincerely

H. V. Hilprecht

I am healthy as ever, so are all the other members!

[1889-04-08. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 47. L-1191. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

My dear Mr. Clark,

I also have several letters. I shall bring them down on Wednesday at one o'clock. I do not think a meeting of the Committee desirable just now. I wish to go over them completely with you & with your Brother before the Committee meeting.

Yours very truly

Wm. Pepper

April 8/89

E.W. Clark, Esq.

[1889-04-08. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 48-50. L-1003. HO]

Niffer, April 8/89

Address % American Legation, Constantinople.

My dear Mr. Clark

I am compelled to let another week pass without writing to the Committee as a whole. Last week I was absent on an arduous but rather interesting trip to Tello, where the French are excavating. This week I have been interrupted by some difficulties among the workmen. A theft was discovered in the trenches, & I have been all the afternoon ferreting out the culprits, while all the morning I had to hold reception for sheikhs of neighboring tribes, with whom it is important to be on friendly relations. I returned Friday last, & since then until today, when I had intended to write, I have been busy catching up with my work. The mail arrived this afternoon, Monday, & leaves again tomorrow morning. I received your note referring to mine about Hilprecht, & feel it necessary to answer it at once.

On the road, & until we arrived here, he was a real burden, and when I wrote from Bagdad it seemed impossible to fit him into the Expedition. Here he has worked well, & shown himself a valuable man, far more valuable than Harper, who on the road was far the more valuable. Moreover, within the last few weeks the bickering & jealousy between these two, which at one time seemed so dangerous that I had to say that the two could not with safety be retained, has given place to relations of a most satisfactory & friendly nature. The Expedition, as it appeared at Aleppo was exceedingly inharmonious, and there seemed danger of uncontrollable discussions. Field & Harper had been in something like revolt against Haynes, who by my directions had endeavored to keep down their expenses. Hilprecht & Noorian had revolted also, & the former had been very unkind & unjust toward Haynes, which at the last moment, by rousing the indignation of Field & Harper saved some trouble there. Then Prince joined the Hilprecht Noorian faction, & they & the Field Harper faction were almost like two separate camps. The march down from Aleppo was to me a very bed of thorns. At Bagdad we let off steam by the departure of Prince, but nothing like a satisfactory condition of affairs was reached until we arrived here. I do not mean that I am on a bed of roses yet, but I do believe that we are now about as harmonious as an Expedition ordinarily is. Hilprecht, having found his place & his work, I esteem, in spite of some difficulties which I have explained in letters to you & Dr. Pepper so highly that I should not now like to lose him. This I think will be enough to say on that subject.

I spoke of a theft this morning. Fortunately the objects stolen, which were very interesting, were found; but the thief has not yet been discovered, although I have strong suspicions of his identity. This afternoon the workmen's huts were put under guard, & then searched for some cloth to match a piece found with the tablets. This resulted in nothing but the

discovery of a soap box & soap which one of the women who carry water had stolen. Then the leaders of the gangs of workmen were called up & made to swear on the Koran. Some one must have lied, for that did not produce the thief. Then a select body of men were set apart & told that the thief must be produced, or they would have to go, & they would have until tomorrow to think about it. After some talk the men demanded a test of the trench of just the man that I really suspected, & that will be made tomorrow morning. One of these things was a mould or die for stamping bricks. I believe that this [*is*] a unique object up to the present. It bears the name of Naram Sin, who is generally assigned by Assyriologists to the year 3750 B.C., although I am heterodox enough to think that his real date was about 2400 B.C. This last week we found a very pretty lot of tablets in the kiln apparently in which they had been baked. They date from the reign of Samsu-iluna, about 2000 B.C. We are throwing almost all our force on the Temple Hill & the Tablet Hill for the brief remainder of our sojourn. Our total force, which will be retained until the close, is almost 300 men.

I note what you say about tab[*let*] collections. Many thanks for your kindly thought for Mrs. Peters. I wrote about this in my last. It is now very late, & I must write her a line by this mail. Best regards to Mrs. Clark & my especial friend Percy. I suppose that your son Herbert has entirely recovered ere this.

Very sincerely yours

John P. Peters.

[1889-04-12. E.W. Clark to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 55-58. L-52. TC]

Copy of a letter sent to Dr. John P. Peters by E.W. Clark per steamer of April 13th, 1889.

April 12th, 1889.

My dear Dr. Peters,

I have recently received your letters of 10th, 11th and 18th February, and, yesterday your two official reports dated February 11th and 18th came to hand by way of Cape May Point. Mr. Williams has gone to Africa and you had better direct your official communications in future to Dr. Pepper.

I have found the letters and reports very interesting and hope that we will soon hear of important results to your excavations. Where you have such vast mounds to explore it must be very embarrassing as where to begin. I should like very much to know how you decide such questions. It is very expensive to support two Assyriologists, but when such questions arise, they are worth to the expedition all they cost. They must be familiar with the work of their predecessors in this field and be able to direct explorations wisely. The critical moment arrived when you began to dig and if we do not get great results from all our expenditure of time and money, and on labor on your part, it will be because you have not excavated at the right point. I notice that you report experimental diggings in six of the mounds of Niffer. It would have pleased me better to have heard that, after a conference of the Director with the two Assyriologists (and Mr. Haynes perhaps), you had decided to dig vigorously in one mound, thereby indicating that the results of previous expeditions had given you some data on which to form an opinion as to the best place to explore, but I suppose we have not yet learnt enough about these old mounds to risk all on one venture. It would be a very wise move on your part to throw the whole responsibility of this work on your two Assyriologists, reserving to yourself only a casting vote if they disagree. It is asking too much of you to assume the responsibility of deciding so momentous a question yourself, involving censure if you fail. It is very pleasant to read of the finds at V, which you call the "City of the Living", and we hope that your next report will give us some information as to the date and character of the tablets. I do not feel so much interest in the Necropolis, as the finds there are not so likely to throw light on very ancient history as the tablets which you will find in the temples and palaces.

Finances:— I notice that you were somewhat discouraged by my letter of December 28th. We were in low spirits at that time and have not entirely recovered from the attack yet. You promised, under date of February 18th, to send a financial statement and I am looking for it with great interest. We have not been able to make out as yet what money you will require between now and next September. You state that you had on the 13th of February enough money in hand to last until the 1st of May. That money was part of the amount you drew in Bagdad on the second £1000

credit. You have since received a new credit for £500, and another for £500 will reach Bagdad early in May, and these two credits will give you money enough for three or four months, unless you have other large payments besides the \$1000. to Haynes. When your statement comes I will make a careful estimate of your wants and will content myself now with the general statement that there was spent here, mainly before you left, about \$2,200.

You have credits for	£3,250		
Less paid to Shemtob	<u>350</u>	£2,900	<u>14,300.</u>
			\$16,500.

and you estimated to Dr. Pepper, February 16th, 1889, your requirements for one year at \$16,300. At what date will the first year end? We are now attempting to secure pledges for \$10,000. a year for two years and have promises for \$7,500. for the first year and \$6000. for the second. We shall get the money, but will that be enough? We must have from you a detailed estimate for next year and a statement as to when you will require credits to be forwarded to you. When we once get our books written up and receive your estimate for the future we shall be able to run this matter smoothly if you do not exceed your estimates. Yours of the 18th states that you ought to have not less than \$16,000. for the second year. This sum seems to me very large and we must have particulars. When we first commenced to collect we supposed that \$15,000 would last for at least two years and for the first year we spent \$21,000. including purchases! We cannot now promise to provide more than \$10,000. for the second year and desire suggestions from you how you will arrange your expedition to keep the cost down to that sum.

I wrote you some time ago that I did not think it well for you to go to Constantinople this summer and I have not changed my opinion. You had better let Mr. Straus ask for what you want, and if he does not succeed we can then consider whether you had better make the effort in person.

Yours truly,

(Signed) E.W. Clark.

When you acknowledge the receipt of letters please give the dates of those received.

[1889-04-13. E.W. Clark to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 59-60. L-56. TC + HO]

Subject: \_\_\_\_\_

*E. W. Clark & Co.  
Bankers.*

*Philadelphia*

April 13th, 1889.

My dear Dr. Pepper: –

I think it very important that our letters to Dr. Peters should be of like tenor and I have, therefore, had a copy made of one I sent to him yesterday and enclose it herewith. Please read it carefully and if it does not accord with your recent letters to him we had better have a conference and one or both of us write him our joint views. I also enclose Dr. Peters' letter to you of Feb. 16th about the financial wants of the Expedition, and one to me of the 11th and another of the 18th of February – the latter mainly about Dr. Hilprecht, to which I have not replied. You will notice that I have asked suggestions as to how he would arrange the expedition so as not to exceed \$10,000. a year in his expenses. The first suggestion he will make will be to send Hilprecht home.

Dr. Peters was very much discouraged by my letter of Dec. 28th written when we were all complaining of the cost of the expedition. I do not know that the expedition has lost much by discouraging lavish expenditure; with an unlimited supply of money I think he would be very extravagant. After his promised financial statement comes we must consider the whole question of cost for next year and of instructions to our Director. Baghdad is so far off that we cannot depend on answers from there which require three months time, but must form our own opinions and give definite instructions in advance as to who shall compose the expedition and what amount of money they may spend. We need not send an additional credit for two weeks yet, and within that time we may hope to receive the promised financial statement.

Our accounts here stand in round figures about as follows:

Total amount collected (including balance due by you of \$500. for which you will please send me your check) is \$17,625.

Appropriating for the first year	<u>16,300.</u>
Leaves toward the purchase of antiquities	1,325.
Including the Baghdad purchase for £275, the three collections have cost £855., say	<u>4,270.</u>
Deficiency for first year after paying for antiquities	\$2,945.

or say \$3,000. to be collected besides whatever sum we may allow for expenses during the second and third year.

There have been other small purchases besides the three large collections, and there was some expense incurred in London on the first purchase, but I suppose these two items will come out of the \$16,300.

*[Added in hand:]*

Can you not stop the reports to Mr. Williams at 1833 *[sic]* Spruce & not let them go to Cape May Point? I shall be very busy on Monday & Tuesday & my brother will be out of the city on Wednesday.

Yours truly E.W. Clark

[1889-04-14. Hilprecht to [Prince?]. HSN 2738. HO]

Niffer, Babylonia,

14. April, 1889.

[*In the top corner:*]

Entirely confidentially as to what I say about finds & results. I marked the confidential matter as such in brackets.

Verehrter, lieber Freund,

Ihren lieben langen Brief mit allen den Einzelheiten über die lieben Ihnen, unsere Universität und andere Dinge erhielt ich vor etlichen Wochen. Wie sehr willkommen mir derselbe in meiner Einöde, einem weitgestreckten Ruinenhügel inmitten der Affedsch-Sümpfe und der endlosen, baum- und wasserarmen babylonischen Wüste, war, brauche ich Ihnen wohl kaum ausdrücklich zu sagen. Herzlichen Dank dafür! Grüße allen lieben Freunden, Frau Professor und Fräulein Clara obenan, dann dem ganzen Sonntags-Nachmittag-Kränzchen, Freund Patton und Schleicher und „wer nennt die Namen, die gastlich dort zusammenkamen“ – kurz allen, die meiner I. Frau und meiner gedenken. [*ill.*] Patton schreibe ich einmal von der Rückreise aus; Dr James hätte ich schon längst einmal geschrieben, aber er hat meinen Brief nie beantwortet und ich weiss nur, daß er „irgend wo in Oberitalien“ ist. Ich wünsche ihm aufrichtig, daß er wieder hergestellt ist und mitsamt seiner I. Frau, den Toni und unserem Pathen sich bald wieder in Philadelphia einstellt.

Unser für nächsten Sonnabend bestelltes Boot – die Sümpfe sind so enorm gestiegen, daß wir jetzt das Gepäck per Boot oder „Sephīna“ wie es hier heisst, nach Hillah zurücksenden können – kam plötzlich heute schon an, die Maulthiere werden jeden Augenblick erwartet, die in den Laufgräben beschäftigten, halbnackten 300 Araber werden täglich fauler, so daß – alles zusammengenommen – wir wahrscheinlich in 5 Tagen Niffer verlassen. Welches unser Loos dann sein wird, – weiß ich heute noch nicht. Wir warten in Bagdad, bis wir die Entscheidung des Commitees in Händen haben, wir haben um telegraphische Antwort gebeten.

[\*(Confidentially) Unsere Funde während der verfloßenen 11 Wochen in Niffer zu behandeln, erlassen Sie mir heute, nicht wahr? „Ich habe meine Gründe,“ lieber jetzt zu schweigen. Ich gebe Ihnen mündlich eine volle Abhandlung „mit Illustrationen“ ernster und komischer Art und einen der objectivsten Kritik und wissenschaftlicher Untersuchung nicht entbehrenden Report bei einem Glase Bier. Nehmen Sie es mir nicht übel, daß ich jetzt in Rätseln spreche, ich möchte nicht immer kritisieren und anklagen. Confidentially] Es thut mir ohnehin aufrichtig leid, daß ich soweit nicht viel Erfreuliches Ihnen von Alexandretta schreiben konnte. Ich hätte Ihnen etwas von Dr Peters guten Seiten berichten sollen, nich nur von dem reden, was ich kritisierte. Aber glauben Sie es mir, mein jahrelanges ernstes Studium des Ostens, mit seinen Sitten und

Gebräuche, seinen Sprachen, obenan des Babylonischen Alterthums und der Geschichte seiner Städte und der Ausgrabungen der letzte 50 Jahre daselbst gaben mir einen gewissen Verstandnis für manche Verhältnisse und Schwierigkeiten, die Dr Peters nicht haben konnte und nicht hat, mein über alles gehendes Streben, das Geld so vieler Männer mit dem größten Erfolg angelegt zu sehen, ihr Vertrauen zu rechtfertigen, unsere Universitätshoch zu halten, für sie bis zum letzten Funken Kraft zu fechten – und doch dabei beständig ignoriert zu werden, alle aus aufrichtigster Seele und ohne persönliches Interesse gegebenen Ratschläge unbeachtet zu wissen, der Gedanke so gern helfen zu wollen und können und doch gebunden zu sein – das alles macht den Menschen bitter um der Sache willen welche er vertritt. Gleichwohl bedaure ich Dr Peters aufrichtig, und bedaure meine Bitterkeit gegen ihn aufrichtig, – denn er ist in einer mißlichen Lage. [\*Confidentially. Hätte er wenigstens in dem einen meinem Rat gefolgt, und Ur oder Eridu statt Niffer's und Borsippa's gewählt – von denen ich vor meiner Ankunft in Beyrût nicht einmal wußte, daß sie überhaupt in Betracht gezogen werden sollten – es wäre manches besser gekommen. Um das eine bitte ich sie heute angelegentlich. Schweigen Sie ganz zu jedermann von Funden und Erfolgen, deuten Sie niemandem (auch James und Patton und Dr Trumbull nicht!!) etwas an von dem was Sie vielleicht zwischen den Zeilen lesen. Die Funde sind zahlreich eingelaufen, aber was die archaeologischen Objecte anbetrifft – meist Vasen, Särge, Urnen etc – so sind die meisten aus der Sassanidenzeit, die wenigen positiv babylonischen sind fast ganz wertlos. Thontafeln sind fast an 1500 Fragmente gefunden, aber da die meisten aus ungebranntem Thon hergestellt waren, so sind die Schriftzüge meist völlig gegangen. Was gebrannt war, (mit Ausnahme von c. 10 Fragmenten) – Contracttafeln, deren Inhalt wertlos ist, oder Opferlisten, wie „2 Kühe, 3 Ochs, 25 Schaafe etc“; für den Belstempel und Totendienst, hat für die Wissenschaft keinerlei Wert. Doch schweigen Sie um meinetwillen! Confidentially\*] Ich bin vom Committee gebeten, doch wenigstens noch ein Jahr in Babylonien bei der Expedition zu bleiben, Dr Pepper bittet mich persönlich außerdem. So gern ich dies Opfer für die Universität brächte, da Dr Peters behauptet er könne mich nicht entbehren, so mußte ich doch eine Reihe von Bedingungen stellen, von denen – auf Rat der Herzogin von Anhalt – nicht die geringste die war, daß meiner Frau Gesundheit und Gemüt nicht durch die nervöse Aufregung, die die Kunde meines etweigen Bleibens hervorufen muß leidet, mit anderen Worten, daß der Arzt meiner Frau zuvörderst ein objektives Urteil giebt.

Mündlich mehr. Ich hoffe, daß der Vulcan, auf dem wir sitzen – die Araber hier sind die verrätherichsten Geschöpfe – nicht bei unsere Abreise ausbricht, daß wir ohne Kampf und Blutvergiessen fortkommen. In den ersten 4 Wochen umtonte uns manchmal das Kriegsgeschrei dieser Wilden, unsere Situation was so ernst, daß wir um 20 Soldaten mehr zu bitten hatten. Letzte Nacht wurden uns 4 Schaafe gestohlen und der Backofen ingerissen, trotzdem stets 2-3 Soldaten bei Tag und Nacht Posten stehen und wir mit dem Gewehr an der Seite schlafen. Auf Wiedersehen! Wann, kann ich heute nicht sagen. Das wissen Sie viell eher durch das Committee, denn ich. Ihr getreuer, Sie alleherzlich grüßender

H.V. Hilprecht

[1889-04-14ff. Noorian to unknown (Ward). UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 12-31. FC 5. TC]

From April 14<sup>th</sup> to the 24<sup>th</sup>.

April 14) It was Sunday morning when I wished to stay at home and rest from my past week's labor but I could not, on account of the tablet theft that had happened and found, about a week ago. I had to go and be present at the swearing of some of the pickmen, those who were suspected. I was gone almost the whole day and at the return I was rather tired out, hungry and disgusted with the result.

A little before sunset, I arrived on the hill. I was first met by Selman of Dagharah and his companions. These were the boat men, who had come or were sent for us from Hillah, about a week before the appointed time (for we had taken council and decided to leave Niffer on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April).

Selman wanted to know if he was to come or have the boats come, the next day. I spoke to Haynes about it and he thought it unnecessary for them to be here waiting, so I told the man to go and come the next Friday.

While I was away, the mail had come from Diwaniah, but I was too tired to look at any letters. The other members of the party came in to hear of my days result. After they left I stretched myself on my little bed and looked at my letters and found one from Hetta and so I opened to read it. Before I was half through, supper was announced.

After supper Dr. Peters, the commissioner and I had a very long discussion about what was to be done in regard to the theft, and after that I went in to read my letters.

I remember it was very quiet night and bright moonlight. The whole camp seemed to be reposing in peace as if hedged all around by the Angels of God. Thus satisfied and content with the idea that we were to leave Niffer within a week I entered in very quietly, not to disturb Mr. Haynes (for he was ill just then) and went to work and write some letters.

Soon afterwards Peters piped in through a hole in our room and informed me of the mail leaving early in the morning. Of course I had to work very late that night. I worked and was the only person up. I was very tired and felt as if I could not work any longer. I looked at my watch and it was after one in the night. I stopped and went out again enjoying the moonlight, kissed my dear little gazelle good night and was ready to go to bed.

Soon after I went to bed I heard the noise of a chain and then some one spoke in haste and very shortly after that a gun was fired. I jumped and ran out, as I was, having only my night-shirt and slippers on. I saw the first soldier and he said to me 'thiefs! thiefs!' Then I ran farther and saw a soldier with his gun in his hand runing with all his might, down the gulley, next to the first trench and the nearest to the camp, following an Arab. I was just as near to the Arab thief as the soldier was but could not run after him, having only my slippers on. I saw the soldier reloading his gun

and running after the man. The only remark I made then, I cried to him in Turkish 'catch him'. The man ran and the soldier followed him down to the Shat-el-Nile. By that time almost all the camp was up and what an excitement and fear occupied the cowardly hearts of the male and female Arabs. Some of the workmen ran after the thief also. Our brave Americans, except Haynes, were all up and well armed. When I saw them standing at my side each having a Winchester in his hand while I had nothing but my night shirt on I felt as if we really were in a dangerous position and I thought it best to go back and dress up at least. At that moment I heard another gun was fired in the gully and very soon after that the Arabs came back (those who were running after the thief) and reported to me, the death of the man.

For a moment I was shocked, with the news but I hurried to the camp and get ready for the immediate attack we expected from the neighboring Arabs. Dr. Peters happened to meet me on the way and asked me of the result and I told him. He then asked me my reasons because I said the man was dead and I said to him I have no reasons whatever, I simply tell you what I am told (think of a man like that who in such an hour wants to stope and make a speech or open a debate about reasons when I tell him the man is dead). I went in and told Haynes to get up and be ready to meet what the night may bring. He jumped out of his bed and we were dressing when the soldier who shot the Arab came in, with his chief, trembling and almost craying and wants to be sent out that same night to Diwaniah (for he was afraid of the Arabs to take their revenge from him). Dr. Peters was standing there that time and I told him what the soldier wanted but he was just about as terrified and as pale as the soldier was. I tried to encourage the soldier and praised him for his doing his duty so well and was faithful to us and assured him as much as I could that no harm was to come to him; but did not promiss to send him to Diwaniah. A few minutes later the chief of the soldiers came and begged that we should send the other soldier to Diwaniah that night but I absolutely refused to listen and said to him that, then was the time when a soldier was needed the most and if they wanted to run away on such occasion what was the use of keeping them other times. But O' what an excitement there was in all the camp! To tell the truth all of us were scared to death but at the same time we had to have our senses on and do what was most important.

In stead of sending the soldier to Diwaniah I told the chief to go and look after his duties and place all the soldiers he had on guard to watch the camp. Then sent a messenger to the Sheikh of the nearest camp of the Affej and asked him to come up with a force of armed men and stay with us in the night. Then with Dr. Peters, went to the commissioner, who was frightened to death, and asked him to write and notify the government at Diwaniah and let them know of the happening, and it was very hard work to get him to do his part. Other times when there was no need of his making any show, he used to boast and say "I am the representative of the Government and I will do this and that and so forth and so on, but now like a coward dog, gathering his tail between his two feet and standing against the wall so this good for nothing commissioner was.                      Finally, a letter was sent out to Diwaniah that night and we were all moving about and watching the little gullies all around and placing companies of guard every where.

Dr. Peters also, in order to keep the general courage of all, took his gun and asked me to go with him all around the hill, I ought not to have gone with him without taking any arms with me,

but I did. After we were through our round I asked Dr. Peters if he would not come and see the dead Arab, but he refused. I then left him near the camp and went alone. In a minute I turned behind and saw him following, like a lamb.

We then both went down where the corpse was laying and the crowd made way for us. I found the man fallen on his back in a little gully, in the direction of North to South (facing the South). His eyes were full open and were sparkling in the moonlight as if they were blazes of fire. His mouth also open. He had only his long shirt on but no fire arms on him. The arms were taken off by one of his tribe who was working for us.

He was stained with his own blood all over. He was shot in two places his left thigh and his brest (nearer to the heart). His name was Ghazab which means, wrath. He was a young man, say about thirty. He had been all day in the camp and had brought a little gazelle for sale but that was only reason for his coming there to seek opportunity and ways how to get at what he wanted. The same man had stolen two sheep from our workmen, the night before, and today had come with the intention of stealing Mr. Haynes' horse. He had three others with him, but they ran away and saved their lives.

All of us thought first that it served him right, but I tell you as I saw him in that condition, painted all over with the blood and I could see the deep holes that the savage and most cruel bullet had pierced through his heart, I assure you I felt very much differently from what I did at first and was exceedingly sorry for him. I thought then that I would never enjoy killing a man.

We came back and asked the crowd, gathered around him to leave the place. They did so and we all came up to the camp. Dr. Peters though[*t*] it would be better if [*we*] had the body brought up to the camp, but after I told him that it would be beter for us not to own up to it and that the best thing, under the present circumstances is to leave him where he is, he yielded to it.

I thought then that if we took the body nearer to the camp his companions would not have dared to come alone and take him away, but they would looked after him and then come up with a large force to demand him thinking that we intend to do them harm, and if they had come that way there would have been certainly a collision the result of which would have been very serious, and we were not prepared to meet it that night. Another thing we wanted to leave it entirely with the government to arrange for it. Some of the Arabs thought that of [*if*] it was left alone jackals may come and eat it and so a company of men was placed on a high point, safe from danger, to watch the body.

Soon after we returned some one came and said that several Arabs came and took the body away. In a few minutes there was great deal of noise and cry in the camp near by. Dogs were barking, fires were built women were wailing and general excitement occupied that camp in that night. At last Berdi our friend came up with his men all well armed and the first words he uttered was 'fear not there is no danger'. We were, all glad to see him and be comforted by what he said. He also told me before he came up here, he sent a man to the camp where to the body was taken and told them to abandon whatever plans they had and be at peace and that he was with us on the hill.

Thus we spent the whole night talking together about various matters and did not get a bit of rest or sleep.

In the morning (15<sup>th</sup> of April) we tried to carry the work on the same as before. I had told to Dr. Peters that the best way is to stop the work but he though[t] it foolish. So every man went to his work (305 they were).

Almost all the Affej Sheikhs were on the hill that morning. Lots of people were moving about. All the workmen were in the estate of great excitement. Every hour they would drop the work and take the picks, shovels, scrapers and baskets in their hands and begin a grand war dance, against the enemy. The commissioner was simply frightend to death and could not do any thing.

A letter was written by the Affej Sheikhs and sent, by a special messenger, to Sağab, the chief Sheikh of the Sa'aid tribe, asking him to come up and settle matters but he answered that he was very busy with his plantations and could not come. It was false reason and showed indignation towards the soldiers. About noon, Moğötter, son of Hadzi Tarfah, the chief Sheikh of the Affaj tribe, and to Mudeer with eight more men, all armed, came up and they too encouraged us as if there was nothing to [be] afraid of and remaind with us the rest of the time.

Early in the after noon a council was taken in regard of how many men were to be put as guard to watch us in the night and was decided in favor of forty; five different companies each made up of eight men. Towards the evening Haynes and I agreed on stopping the work that day for it was all waste of money. So when the time came up we filled our pockets with money, mounted our horses and went all over the mound, paying the men off.

Just about at sunset, the messenger who had taken a letter to Diwaniah, came back and reported that an escort of soldiers had come to our help and they had arrived to Suk-el-Affej. I also sent after the boatmen and asked them to bring the boat and come down as quickly as they could. Thus the day was over and we were deadly tired and sleepy, and so we left every thing to be cared for by the Arabs and went to sleep.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> we got up and began to pack up our trash. The soldiers, from Diwaniah, arrived (ten of them).

Beside all the soldiers we had about 60 Arabs to feed, three times a day. We were greatly bothered by the constant coming and going of the Sheikhs and other arabs. No body would dare to go out for a ride around the hill as we used to before. Our provisions came to an end and we could not get decent bread to eat, say nothing about the other food. Every time the Arabs would come into our huts and sit down and we could not get them [out] for fear not to hurt thier feelings. In the evening as we were eating our supper we heard something like the sound of a trumpet from afar distance. We were all glad as we heard the sound. We left the table and went out to meet the soldiers. They were about 20 of them sent out from Hilleh. They had come by boat in one day from Hillah to us and, had brought with them lots of ammunition which made all the Affej Sheikhs perfectly mad and began to make fun of them.

Berdi himself told me that they were not pleased with them at all and that a rumpus was going to be made to night to frighten the soldiers, purposely.

So after we were through our supper and all quiet a sudden rush and run and the firing of a gun was heard and all the Arabs ran down to meet the enemy. It was Mogottur son of the chief Shiekh of the Affej and all his party. He first shot at the tent in which he was and which belonged to the commissioner and thence ran down the hill with all his force firing their guns as if they were attacked by the hostile Arabs, while others came up and advised the soldiers to come out in view for they were going to fight the enemy alone.

After they had gone some distance they returned dancing the dances of victory. I think it did impress the new coming soldiers and perhaps all of them, but not us for I knew of it and told the rest of the party so that they might be calm about it.

Thus the day was done with us and we were very tired. When the sleeping time came there arose a very strong wind and cold, while Berdi and I sat together and talked very late in the night. Before I went to bed Muhamed, the soldier who shot the Arab, came to me and told me that he was very much afraid to be shot tonight, by the Arabs and he did not know what to do and where to go and sleep to be safe, so I asked him if he would feel safe in my hut he said yes and I invited him in and made for him place next to my own bed.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> we were busy with our packing. Every one was anxious to do his own. The only helpless person among us was Dr. Peters, yet with all that he was dictatorial and very disagreeable to all the members. However, I was good to him and helped him as I always did when he was sick and in trouble and some how he felt that I was his best man after all, when he was in real need of help.

The wild Arabs that day were just like the wild bees coming in and going out and buzzing all the time, and we were very much afraid that many things would be stolen. Food was scarce that day. We had only barley bread and could not eat it. The tents were all taken down. Every thing was ready to go to the boat and as soon as the boat arrived that day was most of our luggage was taken into it.

Whatever was left on the hill we expected to take with us on the journey by land to Hillah. We felt somewhat happy because we were going to leave the next day at the same time somewhat sad because we could not see the beautiful sunsets any more, especially the last one, we had.

Thus we spent the night of the 16<sup>th</sup> together and tried to get some sleep, but the blasted Arabs began thier war dance, as usual, and did not stop till late in the night.

On the next morning we woke up all ready to start at any time. Harper, who spent the night in our hut, complained of not sleeping at all. He also reported that when he was out in the night, twice, he saw somebody trying to set the camp on fire, how much of it is true I do not know.

After having packed up all our little things belonging to our person the breakfast was ready. Just before we were to go to breakfast the head of the boatmen came and asked for some money. Haynes also, having had the money in his saddle bags, among all the other things, and on account of the Arabs around and eager to steal anything they could get, did not like, very well, to take money out of the bag where it could be seen and give it to the boatman, but he had to. As soon as we were through Haynes took his saddle bags and revolver with him into the kitchen, leaving them both in the kitchen under no body's protection and came in to the dining room. As he was through went out for some private business leaving the saddle bags where they were, under nobody's protection.

Just at that moment the good for nothing soldiers came in and made a complaint because they had no boat to take them back. I was mad at them and told them to walk back. They wanted us to go and get a boat for them as if we had nothing else to do and were waiting for a job, to come. We were in a short time through our breakfast. Mr. Haynes, if I remember right, went out first and next Hilprecht, Harper and Field, then I came out. As I came out I saw the Arabs were just moving and buzzing like bees, every where. I was just talking with an Arab chief while suddenly I saw a large puff of smoke and then a large flame just between the horses stables. I cried with all my might in Turkish for the servants and said "fire". O' how the Arabs did run away. How the flame, in a very short time, went up to heaven. How every body was helpless. How the wild Arabs did pull things to pieces, in order to get a chance and steal what they could. What a confusion occupied the place and what an excitement came upon us all. God seemed to have turned his face away from us. Men seemed to be against us. Everything seemed to go wrong with us. No body had his senses on to know what to do. All of us thought that the Arabs were going to surround us and kill every one of us. Every body cared for his life and did not think of property at all. I came very nearly to be burned up by trying to rescue my things from the fire else I would have had nothing left. One of the servants who was trying to loose the horses had his face, very badly, burned up, before he could loosen all of them. Dr. Peters who had more chance than all of us to rescue his things, left every thing in its place and ran out to save his life and that was why the large gun is lost now.

Whatever the Arabs could lay their hands upon they ran away with. We could not tell, just then who was our enemy and who was our friend. If a person would save anything from the fire and give to an arab to take over to the pile of the rescued things he would run away with it. This was the way Mr. Haynes' saddle bags were stolen I think. Hilprecht and Harpers saddle bags were stolen but somebody ran after them and brought them back. It must be remembered that even the servants did not dare to run after the Arabs very far distant of fear they would be shot if the Arab would get them alone in some gully or somewhere else. The soldiers of course were of no help whatever but rather afraid to show themselves. I came very nearly to kick the Commissioner when he tried to check me down so as not to demand any thing lost from the Arabs. He wanted to leave the hill as quickly as he could and not care what happened to us. After Haynes spoke of his saddle bags containing money we looked and enquired after them, all we could but did not find them.

Finally, after gathering up the remnants of what was burned up and, we saw there was no use in standing there beholding that horrible sight and enraging the Arabs any more, we resolved to leave and get out of the way as soon as possible and take any route and go.

But here let me say that from the time the bur[n]ing took place till the moment we were to leave all the Arab chiefs (of the Affaj) were seated down in circles looking at each other and then to the ground as if their conscience troubled them and were ashamed to lift up their heads and look at us. Just then we could not tell who had done it that is the setting of the fire but afterwards, through the report of some women, having heard the chiefs themselves talk on the way and regret about the result of what they had committed, we found out the persons, and I know them both.

Having had only three horses left, Dr. Peters, Harper and one of the servants with the commissioner and some soldiers went round the Hor to Suk-el-Affej thence to Diwaniah to report to the government fully and up to Hillah, while we four of us, Hilprecht, Haynes, Field and myself with four of the servants came by boat, up the Euphrates, to Hillah. After we left the hill and came down to the boat I looked back and saw a very large quantity of men roving around among the black columns of reeds as if they were half mad and half insane.

We got on board accompanied by Berdi and Mogottûr, each having a few armed men with him, as far as Kalâat-el-ushkhier which is the limit of the Affej territory (westward).

It was very hot all day and there was no wind to push us onward so our grand vessel moved on (all day) by four man-horse power.

We would have enjoyed the voyage ten times more than what we did if it was not for the horrible accident that befell us. The Hor was very beautiful and picturesque. Our path was hedged, on both sides, with the pretty, tall and green reeds mixed largely with straw. It was delightful to hear the songs and tunes of the invisible water birds amongst the reeds. The Arabs use to pull some of the green straw which is called in Arabic "berdi" and use to cut the part that has grown under the water, peel it off and eat it.

We ate of it also. It was very tasteless but quenching the thirst. The Arabs depend on it very much (in the summer).

Thus sailing all day half pleased with the scenery around us and half sad over what we left behind us, and came that day as far as Kalât Muhedi which is on the Dagharah canal and lighted there to pass the night. We were the guests of a very young Sheikh about 7 years of age, I was told, and were very well fed and cared for, but the night was miserable.

We slept in the "Muziff" (guest chamber) and it was full of fleas. I tried to sleep a little but it was impossible. All of us were obliged to leave the place at 4 O'clock in the morning.

We had our breakfast on board the boat. It consisted of some tea and hard, very hard, barley bread. O' how good the barley bread tasted just then. I thought it was a piece of the Ward's ginger bread.

About 9 O'clock we arrived to Kal'at-el-UshKhier where Berdi and Mugottûr left us.

We gave little present to each of them and went on till we came to Dagharah where the Mudeer received us very politely. We rested for a while and ate something and left Dagharah. The Mudeer gave us a guide to take us to the next station safely.

After a few hours sail we came to the Euphrates and soon after that the wind changed easterly, and we moved on more rapidly. We did not come any where to an encampment that night but near a place called Kalât, some other, Muhedee. We stopped as soon as it was dark and went ashore to get some thing done to eat. Our cook managed to make some burgul and tea; and we bought some milk, if I remember right; and as soon as the moon was up we started again. We made good progress in the next day.

On the morning of the 20<sup>th</sup> the pleasant breeze died and they began to pull the boat up again. Field and I went ashore thinking Hillah was near but we had to walk about 5 hours in the hot sun. I got tired, by the time I was in Hillah. When I arrived people told me that our Diwaniah party had arrived before and had gone to see the Mutassarif. Late in the afternoon the boat also arrived and all our things were taken to the Khan. Dr. Peters was very much encouraged by the talk of the Mutassarif. He had told him that the Affej were to pay double the damages and be punished besides. When the Wali came to Hillah (which was the next day, late in the after noon) we all of us called on him in the palace and he returned it in the after noon, but in either conversation he did not promise to do anything unless ordered from Constantinople and did not give any hope whatever to recover our loss. We stayed in Hillah Saturday, Sunday and Monday. Field left us Sunday and went to Baghdad. We left Hillah on the morning of the 23d. The first day we came to Khan-el-Hasswah where Harper handed in his resignation. The next day we left very early and reached Mahmudiah about sunrise. On the way our hired animals broke down and there was general discontentment around. That day the sun was hot and as it struck Hilprecht's head it grew hotter and so he had a very bad headache. We reached Baghdad Wednesday afternoon. Before we entered the city a few Zaptiahs came to meet us and take the antiquities to the government palace. The commissioner was suspected and detected all the way from Hillah this was a trick of the Wali played on him and neither he nor we knew of it till we reached the city.

At last we entered the glorious city and O' what a vast difference between that day and the day we entered when we came from Aleppo.

Where did those hopes go and what did it become of the pride we had as we came?

When we came from Aleppo the English Consul had heard of the greatness of Peters and so he sent his Kawazes (body guard) to meet his Excellency and indeed with all his minuteness he was too big to be contained in the city of Baghdad, but this time no body cared to see him. All the English people knew of him while we were in Niffer.

It was a very picturesque sight when we marched through the bazars of Baghdad in such deplorable and ridiculous condition. Some of us mounted pack horses with all his dangles about him and European saddle without stirrup and without bridles. Some of us were leading our horses instead of mounting them because they were too weak to walk.

I had for my stirrups a rope tied to the saddle. Thus in a procession (more like funeral) came to the house which Blockey had ready for us; and it was in that very afternoon when the breaking up of the Expedition took place of which you already, know.

D. Z. N.

[*Written by Fisher:*] Pg. 1–20 on 5 db. sheets  $8\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$  ruled blue, margin line water marked G.FK+M.

Pg. 21 on 1 single sheet  $5 \times 8$ .

[1889-04-15. Hilprecht to Trumbull. HSN 2737. HO]

To Rev Dr H Clay Trumbull

1031 Walnut Str

Philad., Pa

Niffer, Babylonia,

April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1889.

My dear fatherly friend,

A last word from Niffer! An exciting night is over. We stood under arms during more than half the night, expecting an attack from the Saïd-tribe. Hear the whole story with a few words. Midnight had just passed. The Sunday having been extremely hot, we had been sitting before our tents in the bright moon-light till after 12 and had been in bed for about ¼ of an hour. Suddenly a shoot fell a few steps away from us, the whole camp with about 150 of our workmen living in huts around us were alarmed. Two more shoots followed each other a little further away from the camp, yet still on the ground of our large mound, clifted by innumerable ravines into many single ridges. Our rifle which has been our companion even during the night constantly at Niffer, was soon in our hands, full of cartridges. The soldiers – at present still 17 – formed a circle around our huts and tents. We all were ready for a fight. Then the news spread, an Arabe has been shot by one of our soldiers on duty. It proved to be true. In the night from Saturday to Sunday 4 sheep had been stolen out of the camp almost under the eyes of our posts. Not much had been said about it, during day-time, but the soldiers were watching more eagerly than ever. Suddenly 4 men appeared near the camp. One of the soldiers noticed them and got one of his comrades up at once. Having observed them for a little while and being clear about their intention, they cocked their gun and addressed them. They ran away. One of the soldiers after them. The Arabs turned, to catch him alive – so at least the soldier says. This story however proved to be somewhat different. The Arabs shot however at the soldier. Now the soldier ran back to the camp; he was in danger to be caught. He then turned, lifted up his gun and shot at one of them. The ball entered the chest of the Arab, he sank down and was dead at once, lying on his back, the broken eye turned towards the [ill.]. Mr. Noorian was in his nightshirt the first of us on the spot. He saw the men still running, he sent a ball after them, and the soldier too, only in order to scare the thieves. Two hours later the body of the dead man had disappeared, although he was lying only about 400 steps away from us in the depression which divides Niffer into 2 parts, and although we had full moon. That gives you an idea of the skillfulness of the Arabs in the midst of whom we live. They spring like mushrooms out of the ground and disappear, before you are aware of the fact. The excitement now following you can easily imagine. The soldier who shot the man did his duty and we all stood on his side, but he, being acquainted with the prevailing law of blood-revenge, trembled and was in a horrible excitement. The Turkish Commissioner was pale as death, for the Turks are hated by the Arabs and the latter expressed their despise for the Turkish government more than once in the war-

songs which they sang here and there in our neighborhood with clear words, while the soldiers stood around completely powerless. I went directly to Bedri Bey and urged him, while Dr Peters with Noorian were examining the dead person, to send a despatch through an Arab to the next military station at once in order to inform the government and leave the whole to them. An other Arab was sent off to the camp of Sheich Berdi half an hour away from here. This Sheich killed his own brother to become Sheich, but was our best friend from the very beginning. He is intelligent and has, although being the sheich of a mere sub-tribe of the Affej, a good influence. He marched, in the most friendly way, directly up with his force to our assistance. About 3 o'clock in the night he arrived. He despatched one of his men directly to his friend, an other friendly and greater Sheich of the Hamsa not far away, and he drew likewise near with his tribe to defend us. As a consequence of the water of the swamps which arose immensely during the last weeks, the way to Diwanîyeh was dangerous, we kept the soldier who shot the man in our camp. What will be our lot, I do not yet know. We expect a military force from Dîwânîyeh here this evening. We had fixed – Dr Peters had; we others have not much to say in such questions – the day for stopping excavations to be next Saturday (20<sup>th</sup> of April); through a mistake our boat ordered for that day arrived a week earlier. All the Arabs are scared and wish to stop work as soon as possible. What effect this shooting will have on our expedition, I do not know. Three points are to be considered

1) We are the first Babylonian expedition who shot an Arab.

2) The Saïd do not belong properly to the Affej, yet they are their allies, share their pasture ground and possess most of the ground between here and Hillah. In order to reach Hillah we must go over their ground for a whole day. And although we probably will escape their revenge this time by paying the blood-money and through the help of our befriended Affej-Sheichs and through the assistance of the government, yet every Saïd-man will retain some ill-feeling towards the “Franks” who killed one of their brethern. You know the Arabic character and customs better than I.

3. The government is almost powerless in this region. They cannot guarantee our safety without great efforts on their side. The Turkish Commissioner does not like Dr Peters, as he openly shows. Dr Peters acted unwise to him all the way along, he uttered things to him who must discredit him. The Commissioner has been informed – as he frankly said yesterday – (probably by the government) even of Dr Peters last telegram to Minister Strauss, asking him to get the excavated objects for us. He has already made objections. The Commissioner will speak against this expedition, as you can be almost absolutely sure, in a very unfavorable way. I think it not impossible that the expedition may be stopped by the Government.

My dear Dr Trumbull, I do not wish to discourage you. But the horizon becomes more cloudy every day. I ask you only for this, do not buy all the objects asked for

[*rest missing*]

[1889-04-16. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 61. L-1190. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

My dear Mr Clark,

I don't think a more admirable letter could possibly have been written, than that which you have sent to Dr. Peters. I am sure it will answer its purpose thoroughly well. I have received important information in the last two days, and am anxious to consult with you about it. I note that you will be in town tomorrow, and shall therefore come to your office about one o'clock.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.  
April 16th 1889.

Wm. Pepper

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[1889-04-20. Straus to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 62-69. L-30. TO]

United States Legation  
CONSTANTINOPLE

April 20/89

Dear Dr Pepper

On the 13<sup>th</sup> inst I received from Divanie the following telegram from Dr Peters in Turkish.

“Please inform officially the Minister of Public Instruction that on account of the season we are going to stop the work begun in the beginning of November last, after ten days, and see also that in conformity with the telegram of the delegate of the Government addressed to the Director of the Museum, we be allowed to carry antiquities discovered to Constantinople with us, this being much to our advantage” Sd Peters.

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I had telegraphic instructions sent by the Sublime Porte that the articles discovered be forwarded here at the same time with Dr P.'s coming.

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To day I received the following telegram in Turkish, the two last words are confused

“The Arabs have burnt our houses on the Grounds of the excavations, our losses amount to 300 Liras, lives and antiquities have been saved. It is begged that information be communicated by telegraph [to the peppers(?)]

S<sup>d</sup> Peters

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April 23d. To day I wired you as follows: “Peters wires Arabs burnt houses, lives and antiquities safe.”

I find that similar information has reached the Minister of Public Instruction. These are contingencies that one must not be surprised at in these remote parts of the Empire where law and order are in a very chaotic state. It would be well not to have this information get into the papers in that the information would reach, back here and might prejudice the expedition, especially should it

provoke hostile criticism, which would be forwarded here by the Turkish representation in America, as is his custom.

Whether the articles found are of sufficient value to justify making application to the Sultan to have them donated, remains to be decided when Dr Peters returns here, which will be in about four weeks. From a letter received from him yesterday bearing date Nipper Mrch 19<sup>th</sup>, he expresses the opinion that it will scarcely pay to have the articles shipped to Constantinople, but that he may decide to have them at Hillah until next year when it is hoped to renew the excavations. I observe from Dr P's letter he expects to reach here July 1<sup>st</sup>. We have quite a number of Americans here at present. Among others Ex Pres Andrew W. White, and Prof Chas Waldstein. Cornelius Vanderbilt & wife left here two days since.

Permit me to thank you for your kind interest in my mission and for your words of commendation.

I see my friend the Rev Col Shepard of the Mail & Express accuses me of having organized a movement to have me retained here. This will not elevate him in the opinion of Harrison or Blaine both of whom know that my resignation is and has been before them since March 4<sup>th</sup>. The Rev Col. of C[ill.] knew he was perverting the truth – perhaps he wishes to come home himself. He has my best wishes, I have no desire to stand in his way, as I expect daily to learn of the appointment my successor.

I trust that the Archaeological Expedition will be fruitful of good results non constat its finds may not be of such material consequence.

I trust that the cast of the Jerusalem stéle has reached you safely.

Pardon the disjointed way this letter is written, caused by frequent interruptions.

Sincerely yours OSStraus

[1889-04-22. *Extract, unknown writer. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 70. L-53. HO*]

Extract from letter dated Bagdad Apr. 22-1889

We regret to say that Dr Peters & his party have had a mishap. The Arabs have set fire to their encampment & burnt them out, the whole of the members of the expedition are safe. The news came by telegraph from Diwaniyeh & H. B. M. Consul General who immediately made representations to the Governor General here on the subject, but the whole party is now on their way in here, & Dr Peters has telegraphed our senior that he will arrive on the 25<sup>th</sup> so next post should take news direct from the party itself & you will no doubt then hear all details. This is a very unfortunate ending to the first years work, better luck next time!

[1889-04-23. W.R. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 71. L-38. TO]

**SUMMER SCHOOLS OF HEBREW, 1889.**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>1. TIME AND PLACE.</b></p> <p>(1) <i>New Haven, Conn.</i>, May 21—June 11. (2) <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>, June 13—July 3. (3) <i>First School</i>, { <i>Chautauqua, N. Y.</i>, } July 6—26. (4) <i>Second School</i>, { } July 27—August 15. (5) <i>Chicago</i> (Evanston), August 15—September 4.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>2. COURSES.</b></p> <p><i>Hebrew</i>: (1) Beginners', (2) Reviewers', (3) First Advanced, (4) Second Advanced. <i>Cognate Languages</i>: Assyrian, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>3. EXPENSES.</b></p> <p>Tuition-fee, eight dollars; board and room, \$3.50 to \$5.00 a week.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>4. IN GENERAL.</b></p> <p>1. The Schools will not overlap; students may with advantage attend two or more. 2. A circular giving full information concerning classes, books needed, expenses, etc., may be obtained by addressing the Principal,</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><b>WM. R. HARPER, New Haven, Conn.</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>New Haven, Conn., Apr. 23, 1889.</i></p>
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Pres. Wm. Pepper, D.D.,

1811 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

My dear Sir,

Your favor of the 18th inst is at hand. I shall be in Philadelphia the coming week and shall try to see you. In reply to some letters received from Hilprecht and my brother I have written them very urgently and have warned them in reference to their critical spirit. I think that the last letter from my brother shows a much better spirit and hope in reference to the enterprise. I regret to say that the position at Yale College to which I referred as available for my brother is closed. It would not be possible for him to obtain it this year inasmuch as other arrangements have been entered into. I shall be very sorry indeed if any decision is reached which will throw him out, for I acted entirely in accordance with your advice in making the contract which relieved him of the position. I am to be in Philadelphia next week and shall try to find an opportunity to converse with you personally.

Meanwhile believe me to be

Yours truly, W.R. Harper

Dictated at New York, Apr. 20.

Baghdâd, 25 April, 1889

My dear Dr. Pepper,

In a hurry, the mail will leave in 2 hours. The refugees of Niffer have safely arrived at Bagdâd. In short the story.

In the night from 15 to 16<sup>th</sup> of April, a robbing Arab of the tribe of the Saïd (allees of the Affedsh who live around Niffer) was shot by one of our Saptijes and killed. For a couple of days we were in real danger. The Saïd demanded their victim. The son of the principal Sheich of the Affedsh came with 2 other Sheichs in our camp to protect us against their friends the Saïd. The Government sent 30 more Saptijes in addition to our 17. But they were all cowards and looked only for their own safety. The son of the principal Sheich of all the Affedsh (4010 warriors) became our own betrayer. An hour before we left, he ordered 2 of his men to burn our camp down. Within five minutes the whole was in ashes. Dr Peters', Field's and my horse burned, 2 weapons were stolen, over 1000 \$ – almost all our cash – in the saddle-bags of Haynes was likewise stolen. No person pursued. If it was not for Berdi, and Hamâd el Berjûd, the 2 Sheichs of the Ḥamsa (subtribe of the Affedsh), who were disgusted with this break of hospitality on the side of t[he ] chief but could of course not act against him, even our lives would have been in the hands of our betrayer.

Over the swamps of the Affedsh in boats and on our remaining horses our retreat was executed, a retreat of misery and of disgrace. Yet the betrayers were in our midst, we could not trust in the soldiers, we were glad to save the antiquities for the Turkish government, how unimportant however these may be.

According to the view of every man who is acquainted with the Oriental life and the mode of the Turkish government, our return to Niffer is an absolute impossibility. We all – except Dr Peters who shuts his eyes from the real facts and the earnest of the situation – believe it an impossibility. Moreover we all declined to Dr Peters to return to Niffer for another year, even the Dragoman Mr. Noorian. The blood-revenge of the Arabs is to be considered, they demand their victim from us, the chief Sheich of the Saïd refused an interview with us and asked his men who encamped nearest us, full of anger: were there no warriors to clear out the whole camp of the Anglîzi at once when our brother was shot?" The son of the chief Sheich of the Affedsh burned our camp and betrayed us. The government cannot well interfere, and if it does, only to our disadvantage. What the Affedsh suffer from the government they will regard as having suffered from us who asked the assistance of the government. Decide therefore quickly.

As to the acts of the members of the expedition I wrote these few lines. Dr Peters will write more exactly I think and [ ]

Dr Harper, who had made up his mind to leave the expedition since the beginning of April, handed in his resignation to Dr Peters 2 days ago half way between Hillah and Bagdâd on the road. Yesterday, as soon as the caravan had arrived, Mr. Field sent his resignation to Dr Peters. Then Dr Peters called us all together and said: Since “the first year of this expedition is a failure”, I ask whether the members who resigned, will take back their resignation, and whether the other members will stay, if I would resign. Harper & Field answered: no. I gave about this answer: Dr Peters, I do not know whether the Committee would accept your resignation; for you are too much connected with this expedition, you started it, you are responsible for the success or not-success; as to my case I give with due consideration of your points this answer: You say, nothing of any amount has been done at Niffer, no sufficient report can be made, I agree with you. You wish to return to Niffer, I understand this. If you however, as you propose and as I find correct, wish to clear at least the temple mound in an other year – for nothing more could well be done in the next year even with a large force – I do not see a necessity of my staying with you. I would cost about 3000 \$ to the expedition, and yet I could not repay anything by the way of a successful work, for there is nothing to be done for an Assyriologist in the temple-mound, what you need, is an architect. In order not to disregard the voice of my conscience I have to resign, if you go to Niffer and excavate the temple mound there. As to our other place, Birs-Nimrud, granted for excavations by the permission, I always held the view, that I do not regard excavations profitable there, moreover since the mound has already been excavated for a series of years and since a Mosche of the Moslems standing on the top of the mound, always will prevent a thorough examination of the site. When the other day I declared my readiness to the Committee to stay an other year with your expedition under certain conditions, it was with the clear understanding on my side, that excavations under all circumstances should be continued at Niffer. Since excavations at Niffer became an impossibility – at least to me & most of the members – and, if possible, have to do only with the temple-mound for which an Assyriologist is not needed, I think it unwise for me to excavate with you at another mound, from which I do not expect great results. Therefore whether you excavate at Niffer or at Birs-Nimrud, in both cases I beg leave to hand you in my resignation. And this resignation will not be taken back, even if you would resign, I resign not because I do not wish to work with you, but because I do not expect results and must be just to the Committee by saving them expenses.” – He asked me, whether I would go with him if he – as I had asked him to do about 8 weeks ago – would exchange one of our present mounds for “Ur of the Chaldees”. I told him: as to this point I regret not to be able to give an answer now, before I have not Dr Pepper’s view as to the whole expedition and the decision of the Committee, after they learn from you the resignation of Harper and Field. – Haynes then was asked as to his opinion and action – he is acknowledged by the Turkish government as our consul since yesterday – He thought it unwise to return to Niffer as matters stand, he does not expect much from the interference of the government; Noorian absolutely refused to go to Niffer again, and it is true, his life is more in danger as that of any other person, as he always deals directly with the Arabs.

I add. I do not think it probable, although not impossible, that Dr. Peters will receive Ur for Niffer. Yet even there I scarcely can go if not my whole position over against Dr Peters is

changed entirely by the Committee. In all Assyriological questions, in all questions as to the trenches (where to lay them) etc, I desire to have the only right of ordering and interfering, because only an Assyriologist can decide with a somewhat fair knowledge what might be expected here and there. If in the passed year many things were not as they ought to have been, it was a great deal due to the lofty position of Dr Peters, who acted alone, and to our bound position, we not even knowing which our departments were, satisfied with what the director might order.

The market here is full of tablets and treasures. I should advice, since the Turkish government anyhow would take all the treasures of any amount even from Ur, let us buy up, what we can get. For 10000 \$ we can form an immense collection. Since an Assyriologist is absolutely necessary for buying such collections and since the honour resulting for him from such buying is not a very great one, I can speak freely. In the case, you want to put all the money left in buying collections, I am willing to return to this country for a few months longer, in order

- 1) to buy up all valuable and good collections under the condition that the dealers themselves take the responsibility to get them safely out of the country.
- 2) if money is left, to make such connections with the dealers, that all collections are sent to us at first to Amerika, before they are offered to any person else.

For this plan Noorian and I only are necessary. Since Noorian anyhow remains in the land with his parents for the next months, we can have him without special expenses. I am going to Germany, at the advice of Dr Peters, awaiting there your & his steps, ready for you. And after I arranged my life-insurence affairs etc and my wife saw me so well, and I got quieted as to her real health, I place myself – with the agreement of Dr Trumbull of course – under the command of the Committee. In the case you adopt the plan of sending Noorian and myself alone for buying collections, we need

- 1) for my expenses from Germany to Bagdad, Hillah etc and returning back to America, for living in the country, for Noorians travelling expenses and return about 2000-2500 \$ (for both of us). I can give it only in a general way.
- 2) for Noorian's Salary 100 \$ a month, from the time he leaves his parents till the time we are ready to leave Bagdad for home, then 50 \$ Salary for him (for arranging on the road etc for helping in many other ways) till we reach New York.
- 3) 1500 \$ a year (or if less than a year, in proportion) to pay my current expenses.

Your cable telegram asked me to stay till our next letter. I intended to do so, but since Dr Peters just now explained me the money matters, and that it is better for him to send us away as soon as possible to reduce the expenses, at his request – I had told him however that I was asked to wait for a word from you according to your note – I leave Baghdâd within the next 3 or 4 days with Dr Harper & Field by the way of Dêr – Aleppo. As it is uncertain whether you order me to return, Dr Peters has – at my request – consented that I shall spend about 4 days in Beyrût to finish up the Nahr-el-Kelb inscriptions. He also will pay my expenses till Germany. There I await your decision, which I ask you to forward to me as quick as

possible, because I must apply for especial permission at my life insurance in New York if I wish to return to this country, what needs c. 3 weeks. If I shall return to America please send me those expenses as you regard necessary according to my specification sent to you several weeks ago (from the South-border of Germany to Bremen and (by Lloyd-steamer) to New York.

I am extremely sorry that the first year of this expedition ended in this way. I have prayed and worked and thought as much as I could, in order to make it a success in the narrow limits of the department assigned to me by Dr. Peters. That I have no better success to lay before you, pains myself most of all. May energy on our part, a placing of the whole and best self into the work, and the earnest prayers of all for God's blessing secure us a richer success in an other year. Best regards to all the members of the Committee.

With all my love to Dr Trumbull and to yourself I am

yours devotedly

H. V. Hilprecht

Although driven back by the enemy, the standard is not yet lost. Give me more free action, and I hope to do better work. Only a free man is capable of the highest aims. Slavery is death.

My address in Germany is: Hilprecht,

Villa Dr Haufe

S<sup>t</sup>. Blasien, Baden

Germany.

Telegraph address: Hilprecht

S<sup>t</sup>. Blasien, Baden.

I am in Germany not before c 26-30 of June.

[1889-04-26. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 76. L-1189. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

My dear Mr Clark,

I have just received this package of letters from Mrs Field. I shew them to you in confidence. The one outside is the last. You will note that it speaks of continuing trouble [*with*] Dr Peters. You will note also the statement as to the Aleppo purchase, which confirms Hilprecht's assertions. May I beg that you will return them to me by special messenger today, as I must send them by registered letter back to Brooklyn immediately?

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.  
April 26th 1889

[*no signature*]

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P.S.

I also enclose letters received this morning from Peters and Hilprecht. Of course they contain nothing of special value. Please note carefully Hilprecht's reasons for desiring to leave. I also send cable just received, saying that boxes are all right in London. Will you kindly cable the £275 to T.S. Blockey and Company Bagdad today. Shall I write to Taylor and Sons to forward the boxes at once here.

[1889-04-26. *Unknown to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 77. L-54. HO*]

April 26

1889

Peters care Blockey Baghdad

Expect continue expedition. Peters return home for consultation. Hilprecht or Harper remain also Haynes.

[1889-04-27. Taylor to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 79. L-55. HO]

*Telegraphic Address,*

TAYLORIUS.

LONDON.

*Ambricia*

61, MARK LANE,

London, E.C.

*27 April 1889*

D<sup>r</sup> Pepper

University of Philadelphia

Dear Sir

In accordance with instructions from D<sup>r</sup> Peters, having received the 11 cases Antiquities with the seals unbroken & in good order & marked with Arabic figures which no doubt represent the H referred to, we cabled you that we had so received them & had your reply to wait further directions before shipping – today we have your cable

are there 11 boxes marked H all seals correct & unbroken

To which we reply            Yes

Yours truly

David Taylor & Sons

[added by Hilprecht:]

Kh<sup>2</sup> Collection?

[1889-04-27. W.R. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 80. L-39. TO]

## SUMMER SCHOOLS OF HEBREW, 1889.

### I. TIME AND PLACE.

- (1) *New Haven, Conn.*, May 21—June 11.
- (2) *Philadelphia, Pa.*, June 13—July 3.
- (3) *First School*, } *Chautauqua, N. Y.*, { July 6—26.
- (4) *Second School*, } { July 27—August 15.
- (5) *Chicago* (Evanston), August 15—September 4.

### 2. COURSES.

*Hebrew*: (1) Beginners', (2) Reviewers', (3) First Advanced, (4) Second Advanced.

*Cognate Languages*: Assyrian, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic.

### 3. EXPENSES.

Tuition-fee, eight dollars; board and room, \$3.50 to \$5.00 a week.

### 4. IN GENERAL.

- 1. The Schools will not overlap; students may with advantage attend two or more.
- 2. A circular giving full information concerning classes, books needed, expenses, etc., may be obtained by addressing the Principal,

**WM. R. HARPER, New Haven, Conn.**

*New Haven, Conn., Apr. 27, 1889.*

Pres. Wm. Pepper, D.D.,

1811 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

My dear Sir,

I am very sorry that I was not able to meet you in Philadelphia. The fact is, I did not go into the city at all during the week. Your letter has informed me of the disaster which met the party, and also of the fact that my brother and Mr. Fields have resigned. I have nothing, of course, to say in the matter. I am sorry that things have turned out in this way. I do not know what he will do in this country. There is nothing for him here at Yale.

I remain

Yours truly,

W.R. Harper

Dictated.

[1889-04-29. Pepper to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 78. L-1188. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

My dear Mr. Clark,

I send at once a cable just rec'd from Peters.

Of course the word starting should be sterling.

This confirms Mrs. Field's statement that her Son advanced money to Peters.

I presume you have cabled money to Blockey.

Will you send the £125 to Brooklyn Trust at once on Monday – or shall I ask Mrs. Field if she knows anything of this?

Yours very truly

Sat. 2<sup>35</sup>

Wm. Pepper.

4/29

[1889-04-29. *Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.08, 81-87. L-1002. HO*]

Baghdad, April 29/89

Dear Mr. Clark

Delayed again, as one is always sure to be in Turkey. The caravan consisting of four immense wagons, of which we have two & a Pasha two is delayed because of the Pasha until Thursday. Nevertheless, as the wagons move more rapidly than animal caravans we save time as well as money by waiting, instead of hiring beasts & moving ahead on our own account. How on earth wagons can go over this route I do not know, but as they came down I suppose they can go back again. I do not know whether I should have written my two last letters to Dr. Pepper in my then frame of mind & body, but it was a great temptation in the strong control I was putting upon myself to preserve a calm exterior to drop my restraint when I took a pen in hand, & to speak perhaps of things which should be left untold, both to free my mind, as the phrase is, & also to put matters so forcibly that the Committee might be induced to reorganize the Expedition in a manner to render it more effective for the work that now lies before us. When I wrote my letter of estimates &c. to the Committee everything was plain sailing, but even then it was plain that unless the Committee wished to conduct the Expedition in a more expensive manner next year Field would not wish to remain, nor Harper, if he could find anything else to do. But after that was written came a trying time. Novelty had worn off, & the life began to tell on men unaccustomed to hardship. It seemed as though the whole camp became demoralized, even the workmen in the trenches. Indeed we had to discharge a number of men to restore the morale there. Several of the members were crazy to get back to comparative civilization. I do not know any cause for it other than the strain of living a long time in discomfort, in a perpetual dust storm, aggravated by heat, flies, mosquitoes & fleas. Moreover the diet palled on them, for outside of meat & milk we could obtain nothing from the country around us, & had to depend for vegetables entirely on our canned goods while our only fruit was dates. The nights were pleasant, & some of the men foolishly took to sitting up half the night, for which they of course suffered by day. Under those circumstances the final disasters entirely destroyed the morale of the party, & instead of hanging together they disintegrated almost hopelessly. It is the experience of the last few weeks that has let me to urge so strongly the necessity of a more manageable party, who will show a staying power in the presence of a continued discomfort, difficulties & disappointments. Some of these men were splendid at the outset, & put up without a murmur with very considerable hardships, but tired when the novelty had worn off.

As to the results to be obtained from work, I do not wish to unduly encourage or discourage anyone. It is a lottery. The most unlikely places produce grand results, like the insignificant mound of Tello, & the most renowned cities may yield nothing at all, but heaps of fragments. It was on this account that I tried so hard to obtain a roving commission. The actual

choice of places was determined in this way. In consequence of the report of the Wolfe Expedition everyone, members of the Expedition & outsiders, felt that Anbar should be tested, to determine what was really there. In England we found apparent evidence of the discovery of a temple library at Birs Nimrud, ancient Borsippa, which made it eminently desirable to hold the right to dig there, although whether we should actually dig could not be determined until we were on the spot. Other promising sites were Niffer, Warka, Mugheir, Abu Shahrein & Umm el Akarib. Of these almost everyone whom I could consult gave the preference to the first. It was especially strongly recommended by the German Expedition & by the Wolfe Expedition, which had been upon the ground, & whose recommendations were based upon scientific & practical grounds. I had a letter from Sir Henry Rawlinson a couple of weeks since congratulating us on the choice of Niffer. When therefore I was suddenly called on in Constantinople to name three places I named Anbar, Birs Nimrud & Niffer.

Now as to results of this year's work. We have not found so far in the remains of this great & famous city such fine results as were found at once at Tello, a place of no great importance in antiquity. But on the other hand, as I have said already, the remains are so large that this year's work cannot be regarded as more than a commencement. If one will read Layard's work he will see how much patience must be exercised, & that work should not be abandoned as hopeless until the bottom is reached. Now toward the last we had begun to find on the Temple Hill somethings which filled me with hope. When there is an inscribed stone door socket of Kurigalzu it seems to me probable that we shall in time find other inscriptions of this or equally early kings. And when we find a brick stamp of Naram Sin, son of that semi mythical king Sargon, of the most remote antiquity, I feel confident of finding constructions with stamped bricks of the same king. The immense length of time, too, during which Niffer was inhabited, into the Christian era, & possibly even the Arabic period, while it has resulted in the heaping up of an amount of debris which renders work difficult & tedious, & while it may have resulted in the destruction of some objects of the most remote antiquity which might have been better preserved had it been abandoned earlier, has, I think, from the point of view of the general history of this country, of which so little is known, a great advantage. Such a place is a veritable epitome of the ages. Accordingly, while I do not regard our results this year as eminently satisfactory, & at the same time we have obtained something I regard the year's work as by no means a failure, & hope for a good measure of success if it can be prosecuted to the end. I should regard it as a positive misfortune if the work had to be abandoned at this point. Therefore I believe every effort should be made to return to Niffer. Whether this is possible cannot now be determined. While therefore Mr. Haynes remains here to push the matter I should be ready to secure in addition or in its stead another locality in southern Babylonia, & I should suppose that Mugheir, Ur of the Chaldees, was probably the best place. I regard it therefore as inadvisable for me to return home, unless I am wanted to return for good.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1889-05-04. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 1. L-1187. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

No cable as yet from Peters. They must have their studying cap on. I enclose a letter just received from Professor Harper. Please keep it.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

May 4th 1889.

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[1889-05-04. Ward to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 2-3. L-57. HO]



May 4, 1889

My dear Dr Pepper,

I enclose cable despatch received yesterday. I had to come home and get Mr. Haynes's letter before sending it to you. Mr. Haynes's letter may explain the cable [*ill.*]. I answered Mr. Haines that I have not "Despatch no 3" and supposed I had forwarded all I had. I can do nothing, as my name, as connected with The Independent would be odious to Mr. Blaine, as The Independent has opposed him vigorously. You will have to get whatever is necessary done, through your influence in Washington. Mr. Haynes's letter may need some explanation. "Plowden and Hodgson" were British Resident and Church Missionary, both undesirable men.

I would like to run down and have a talk with you about matters. I have letters from Daniel Noorian, and one or two from my friend Hilprecht. I appreciate the anxiety you must have had, and as I know all the people of the party, except Field, and much of him, I am the more interested. Of course in the present condition of things I share your anxiety. Of Daniel I will say that he is as faithful as a spaniel dog to those who treat him with confidence, and thoroughly honest and unusually competent for practical work, as Haynes well knows. He graduated at the Preparatory Department of Rutgers College, hoping to enter the scientific course of the College.

I understand the despatch to mean "Secure app[ointment] for Consulate" for Mr. Haynes. They are anxious because the papers are delayed.

Very truly yours

William Hayes Ward.

Mr. Haynes is pure gold. Silent, reserved, self-sacrificing, and competent for practical work, but lacks nice scholarship – He can manage things.

The letter of mine referred to is one in reply to Peters and Daniel who had each written me asking whether it was understood that Daniel was to be treated as a servant. I replied at length, setting out the Christian idea of service, rebuking Daniel for touchiness, and yet [*ill.*] and I had always treated Daniel as a gentleman and as a son in my family – really knocking out the bottom of the whole silly

difference between them; and I addressed it to Daniel, under cover to Dr Peters, who was to give it to Daniel.

Please return Mr. Haynes's letter

[1889-05-11. Pepper to C.H. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 4-5. L-1186. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I send you a number of letters received during the past 3 or 4 days. Unfortunately they come to us with their value much decreased by the fact that the cable has brought us more recent news of so much importance. I think they all confirm our decision. I also have the enclosed letter from poor Mrs. Hilprecht, with cable from her Brother. It does not seem possible to delay the decision of the question that he must return by way of Germany. I have therefore sent the following cable after consultation with Dr Trumbull and Mr Frazier.

“Peters care Blockey, Bagdad, Return here directly for consultation. Let Hilprecht return promptly via Germany. Answer.”, and I have cabled Mrs Hilprecht’s brother at St Blasien, Germany, “Have cabled Hilprecht return via Germany”.

This mornings mail brings me further advices from the members of the Expedition and also a letter from Mr Straus. These I have sent to Mr Frazier, asking him to hand them to Dr Trumbull, who in turn is to hand them to you. I believe Mr E.W. Clark expects to be in the City again on Monday. May I beg that you will hand all of these letters to him, and I would then propose that we should have a meeting at his office on Wednesday at one o’clock, provided that Dr Peters’ answer is received by that time. It would seem better to postpone our meeting until we hear from him.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

C.H.Clark Esqr.

May 11th 1889.

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[1889-05-11. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 6-7. L-1185. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

My dear Mr. Clark,

I wish I had known you were at hand. I sent to Mr. C.H. Clark today with request he should forward to you a large batch recent reports & letters:

also cable despatch from Mrs Hilprecht's brother;  
and a copy of the despatches I have sent to Peters & Hilprecht. I now send you a note I have written to Straus in reply to his (among the above papers)

& to David Taylor & Sons.

Please close & post, if approved. I also return your letters from Peters & Harper. I would certainly approve your forwarding the \$28.

Mr. Frazier has drawn up a form of agreement to [cash](#) the advances for the collections.

Shall we not have a meeting in the middle of next week – as soon as Peters' answer arrives.

Yours truly

Wm. Pepper.

May 11/89

E.W. Clark Esqr.

[1889-05-17. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 8. L-1184. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I have read with extreme pleasure your letter to Dr Harper. It is exactly as I knew it would be. No other member of our Committee could have prepared it. You have touched upon the important points with delicate tact, but with proper firmness. It will stimulate Dr Harper and we shall get valuable information from him in return. I have added a letter of my own, and I am also writing to Mr Haynes. I agree with you entirely in regard to the advantage of working this summer in the Lake Van district. I cordially approve of sending the new credit for 100 sterling to Mrs Peters. I also approve entirely that new Expedition credits be to Mr Haynes. I have no doubt we shall be able to make an arrangement entirely satisfactory with both him and Harper.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

May 17th 1889.

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[1889-05-18. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 9. L-1183. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

I intended to say in my note to you that I cordially approved of sending the credit to Mrs Peters. I approve of course of your action in sending the equivalent of £125 sterling to the Brooklyn Trust, and I have just written Mrs Field informing her that it has been done.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper.

May 18th 1889.

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[1889-05-20. Noorian to Ward. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 10-12. L-1261. TC]

U.S. Consulate, Bagdad, May 20th, 1889

My dear Dr. Ward,

About half an hour ago Mr. Haynes and I talked up some matters concerning the consulate here and how they could be arranged. Mr. Haynes seemed to be in despair because he did not know what will be the best thing to do and to whom to appeal to help him out in this matter of the expense of the consulate. He said that he did not like to trouble you any more else he knew that you would be the best person and friend to exert some influence in America to carry out his wishes. He was not going to write this letter which he is writing to you know, but I encouraged him to do so. Now I do not want you to be angry with me, my dear Dr. Ward, if this letter is going to bother you. I know you have a great deal to do and more than you would like to have, but I think you will be honored if such matters came up to you and for you to help the person out of them.

I want to tell you that after a long waiting we engaged a house for the U.S. Consulate such as we could not do better on this side of the river under the present circumstances. You know Mr. Haynes better than any other person in America, I think, and you know that he has not money and is not a rich man and that he cannot do many things out of his own pocket as he would like to do. There are not many persons in America who have been in Bagdad and know as much about the life in Bagdad as you do. You also know that there is a large number of English families who carry on the custom of giving dinners and suppers and all those things and invite everybody and expect to be treated the same by everybody else. Now Mr. Haynes was expected to do all these things, but how can he when he has not the means?

We engaged this house in which we are for 85 liras a year. Nobody could do better than this. We were very careful not to pay more than necessary. Now this money Haynes has paid out of his own pocket. Besides the house he needs at least four Kavases (body guards), the custom here is to have eight Kavases. Mr. Haynes must have all these things else he cannot have any influence whatever here in the City of Bagdad, and will not be, by any means, able to accomplish anything for the purpose for which he is appointed as consul here.

He must have a cook, table waiter and other servants around the house.

He has got to have the means by which he can appear in the City of Bagdad as the representative of the "New World" (as it is called here) the United States of America.

Mr. Haynes is too good a man to be allowed to sacrifice all he has and at the end have nothing to return home with. He has spent more than he ought to have spent and he cannot do it any

longer. His position must be a salaried position else no other person except a rich man can stay here and keep it up.

I feel ashamed when I see him appear amongst the English people with old trowsers darned on the knees. He must have money so that he can live well and take care of his health else he will break down, if he keeps on the way he is doing now and half of which I have to suffer.

It is simply nonsense of the U.S. Government to send a consul here and not support him well. The American Government can afford it better than any other Government on the face of the earth.

Now, I write this letter to you hoping that you will exert all your influence at home to get a salary for Mr. Haynes and other expenses necessary to have for a consulate, so that he can keep up the reputation of the American nation in the glorious City of Baghdad. I know that it was through you Mr. Haynes received the honor and it must end up well again through you. Haynes thinks of you a great deal and thinks that you can do a great deal and he is true in that.

Now, my dear Dr. Ward, if it is possible at least for my sake, bring up this question at the consul in Philadelphia and make it plain before the Committee also and let them think over it too.

I would like to say a great many other things now, but time is too short. Many antiquities in the market, but no money. The Expedition has none either. I wish I had some sent to me so that I could buy some of the nice things for the Metropolitan Museum.

A[//] well. Love to all,

Ever your affectionate

(Signed) Daniel Z. Noorian.

[1889-05-21. Haynes to Ward. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 14-16. L-1262. TC]

Baghdad, May 21st, 1889.

My dear Dr. Ward,

It seems a pity to trouble you again with my woes and yet I cannot refrain from making what I may call a last appeal to you who are more interested than any one else in keeping here in Baghdad a person who shall have the inclination and time to gather antiquities; to make occasional tours to gather information in view of future work; to keep eyes open and his feelers out in all directions for reports that may be useful and as much as anything else to trace up reported discoveries; and even to learn something about the shrewd imitation of all kinds of antiquities. I need not waste time in attempting a catalogue of the benefits to be derived from having a suitable person here. That person may be somebody else than myself. In fact it might better be an Assyriologist, if one can be found to occupy the post, and in recommending it to be given to another I can urge a little more directly that first of all our Government be begged and entreated to put this consulate, now established, on a good basis of support; that it be made a partial exception to other consulates in the liberality of its annual allowance; that it be regarded in the light of an educator awakening the minds of our American people to the value of antiquarian research in these older fields of historic records and the necessity as it has now become to supply specialists with material for their work, thus encouraging Assyriologists to a profounder study of the science of Assyriology in its length and breadth and depth than has been possible until the present.

I have said nothing about the value to all the world of any possible discoveries that may supply missing links in the history of Assyria, Babylonia or Chaldea.

Our Government is always ready to spend money on education, why not set apart a man here in this most favored spot of all the habitable globe and encourage him to make occasional tours calling for considerable outlay of money to stimulate our people to give of their wealth to prosecute such labors as the recent expedition tried to do. I will stop using arguments and tell you my plan, and then ask you to do what you can and after that advise me what course to pursue. Daniel and I are living here as members of the Expedition and such of our expenses as properly belong to the Expedition will be charged to the Expedition. The Consulate is now open. The coat of arms is displayed over the entrance to our house which is next door to the British Residency towards Mr. Blockey's house. The flag will be flying from the highest pole that I can raise on the roof. The faithful Mustapha is cavass and his salary will be paid by the Expedition. Daniel has been urging me to take other cavasses and assume other and larger expenses. I have told him that I simply could not do it; but I am [*be*]coming more and more convinced that it is an absolute necessity here in Baghdad and more so than in any place I have ever visited, if we are not to be despised as a nation. I have therefore consented to make these larger expenditures from my own pocket and make the start decent in all respects save one. I shall not attempt to entertain much at

present, but I must have a good set of table ware and respectable furniture as far as it goes, make and receive official and society calls.

I engage now to do my utmost until October to sustain the honor and dignity of my country and countrymen, to use as much of my own money as I safely can use and have enough left to take me home. It will cost a good deal to put up the flag, but I will do it cheerfully in a temporary way. \$1,500. a year is the very least amount that will cover rent, cavasses and that kind of necessary expenditure to say nothing of living expenses and entertainment, clothing &c. \$4000. or \$5000. a year would carry the thing through in a respectable way and the latter sum would allow the incumbent to travel about among the Arabs. If neither Government nor people will do anything I must close the office as early as practicable in the Autumn, but will keep it open as long as there is reasonable hope. There is much more I want to say, but I cannot now.

Very truly,

(Signed) J.H. Haynes.

[1889-05-22. Trumbull to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 18-19. L-1237. TO]



May 22nd, 1889.

Mr. E. W. Clark,

Bullitt Building, Philadelphia.

My dear Mr. Clarke:

The enclosed letters, just received, have been sent to me by Dr. Pepper, with the request that I should forward them to you when read. To my mind they are quite encouraging. They show that Dr. Hilprecht appreciates the importance of a very material reduction in expenses, and sees the possibility of securing good returns within reasonable limits of outlay. It is also evident that he would be quite satisfied with leaving Mr. Haines and Professor Harper in charge on the field. What he says of the collection, which is here in bond, is certainly encouraging. If, indeed, there is a bronze statue of King Eri-Aku it is of very great and exceptional value. It will throw light on one of the critical and crucial points in early Bible history, going far indeed to solve the question of the verity of the early Abrahamic history.

Dr. Pepper has already written to Mr. Godkin, of the Nation, requesting him not to publish anything on either side from members of the Expedition. I hope that a public controversy of the sort suggested can be avoided.

The other points can, of course, wait for settlement until the return of Dr. Peters.

Yours sincerely,

H. Clay Trumbull

[1889-05-23. *The Nation* to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 20-21. L-58. HO]

The Nation, 210 Broadway (P. O. Box 794),

New York, *May 23, 1889*

[*Added by Hilprecht:*] to Dr Pepper  
requesting editor not to publish  
controversy between Peters  
+ his members of staff

May 23, 1889

Dear Sir:

Mr. Godkin, who sailed to-day for Europe, handed me your letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> in regard to Dr. Peters. You will perceive from this week's Nation that the first of the two letters he has favored us with is not controversial. The second is no more so, nor have I privately had any word from him about his colleagues – or indeed any word at all accompanying his letters.

Very truly yours

W.P. [Parrison](#).

[1889-05-24. Noorian to Prince. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 33-37. FC 5. TC]

United States Consulate, Baghdad May 24/89.

My dear Prince:—

It affords me great deal of pleasure to write to you at the same time, great deal of pain, when I come to think of our being so far apart from each other, and not only that but, that you are now in America and I am here in this God forsaken blasted Arabic country.

How lucky you were when you became sick and cut off your connection with “THE EXPEDITION”.

You could not have had better means of getting rid of us. I was glad for you old boy that you were not with us. You missed the sight of the cursed Niffer but you did not miss much.

I sincerely hope you had no trouble on your way to America. Tell me Prince if you enjoyed your trip around the world and how comfortable was it.

Today is the Queen’s birthday and I, somehow, am quieter than any other day since I have been in Baghdad. It is about a month since we have been here and, are suffering great deal of heat. Soon after we arrived from Niffer Mr. Haynes received his executor from Constantinople and is now Consul. After a long searching for houses we engaged a house next to the British Residency. Between the Residency and the Blockeys. The place is not at all good but it is about the best that we could find.

Today we are trying to put up the flag-staff on the roof. It is so hard to get a decent thing in this country. We can’t get a straight pole for the flag, to put it up. O’ Lord deliver us from Babylonia and I’ll wish for nothing else. I tried my best to make Peters dismiss me, but the cuss, would not do it. I wanted to leave but he refused to give my expenses back.

You know that Peters, Hilprecht, Harper and Field are on their way to America. They left here the second of this month, by carriages, and today they ought to be in or on the way to Alextta.

Hilprecht is also coming to America and that is why I don’t attempt to tell you about everything. However, I want to give you the idea of what conditions we were in and how we left the tel of Niffer.

On Sunday, April 14<sup>th</sup>, I was away to some زيارة (holy place) to have a few of the workmen swear about some theft that had been made by them.

I came back, to the camp, late. In that same day the mail had come from Diwaniah and was to go back in the next morning. I had a very heavy mail to write and therefore, was up till about 12-1 in the night. I became tired and went to bed. Not within five minutes after I went to bed I heard some extraordinary noise outside of our hut (for Haynes and I were in a hut of straw). I jumped out

of my bed and went out. Before I was on the spot I heard a gun fired. It was at an Arab one of the four thieves, who had come to steal Haynes's horse. The person who shot was one of our soldiers who was also on guard. The Arab was hit at the thigh but could run yet. He was followed and shot at again (at the breast) and was dead. That night we were much afraid. I immediately sent word to Berdi (an Arab chief), to come and protect us. Messages were sent out that same night to the government and told them of the happening. The next day we had to stop the work and get ready to leave.

Great excitement was around. More than 200 Arabs were up on the hill, coming to protect us from the other hostile tribes. All of these men were to be fed, three times in a day. For three days we were in such dreadful confusion.

Thursday morning as we were through our breakfast and just about ready to leave, yet the horses in the stables, suddenly our whole camp was on fire. What a terrible sight it was Prince! It did not take more than five minutes, for the fire, to devour up all our huts.

Three of the horses were burned up, because they could not get loose. Dr. Peters gun and Fields glasses were stolen. Haynes's saddle bags containing a bag of gold about 200 liras were stolen also. Many other things have been missing ever since.

We were terrified for the moment, not knowing what may happen next, since the fire was set by our friend tribes. We were lucky enough to have had the boat, which we had sent for to come and take us, there near to us. We turned our things into it, and four of us in it with the servants came up to Hillah. On the way up to Hillah and to Baghdad our condition was a wretched one. We entered Baghdad like the refugees of Niffer. Where was the day when we left Baghdad and the day when we entered in and nobody noticed us and we were rather ashamed of ourselves. You can imagine how we looked in the streets of Baghdad when we had pack horses (of the leanest sort) with European saddles on and string stirrups for us to ride. When Dr. Peters left Hillah he had Abo Khamsee with the pack saddle on, to ride.

There are many other things which I know will interest you if I took time for them but Dr. Hilprecht being on the way to you he will tell you of everything. Did you go to the Wards? Tell me what did you say to them and what did they say?

How are you now old boy, well I hope? I am well as ever. I must tell you this much that I had Peters by the ----- while in Niffer. Ask Hilprecht about every thing that I have omitted in this letter. Peters first and best friends became the last and the worst. Field did not even wish to talk with Peters. He started for Aleppo alone with his servant so that he might not have anything to do with Peters.

Now as I have told you of Niffer accident of we telegraphed to Philadelphia to the same effect and Peters was called over for consultation. He dreaded to go but, could not help it. I hope they will spank him and keep him at home, for I really, think that is the place where he belongs and not in Babylonia. I hope he will stay and go to school and learn how to lead out another Expedition. Did you see Dr. Pepper soon after you arrived and what did he say to you? Prince it is too dark and

I must stop soon I would like to write to you all about every thing but time does not allow me. Pardon me if I neglected you so long without a letter, I did not and I don't know now where to address you and I thought that you will probably let me know of that but you have not yet. I hope the day will come where there is no need of conversing together from such distance but that we may meet each other somewhere In America and behold each others faces. Let me hear of your welfare soon as it is convenient.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL Z. NOORIAN

I am going to send this letter to Dr. Ward and ask him to give it to you. I have seen your hoss[*sic*, *horse?*] several times since I have been here You sold him very cheap indeed. What do you expect to do in the next year?

[*Written by Fisher:*] (written on 1 db. + 1 singl. sheet 8 × 12½ ruled blue)

[1889-05-26. Hilprecht to Pepper(1). HSN 780I. HO draft]

Aleppo, 26. May, 1888 [1889]

My dear Dr. Pepper,

Yesterday we – Dr Peters, Dr. Harper and I – arrived safely at Aleppo after we marched through the desert over 3 weeks. Drs. Peters & Harper suffer slightly from fever, which, I trust, will soon pass away after the rest of a few days. I am in the best health as usually.

Your telegram to Bagdad was forwarded to Dr. Peters hither by Mr Haynes. I thank you for it. I am however anxious about Mrs Hilprecht's health, as I conclude you received from her or her physician not very encouraging news as to the influence which the news of my prolonged stay in Babylonia had on her delicate nervous system. I trust, that a "revoir" with me will do much to quiet her.

I do not know what you are deciding for the next year. But I am extremely sorry that Dr Harper even after I am called home, absolutely declines to stay another year in Babylonia. He told me, when I asked him to stay, the same what he said to Dr Peters, when he resigned – he wrote his resignation at Niffer a fortnight before the accident happened – that he could do better work for himself in the British Museum than in connection with our expedition. You see, it makes such a big difference for our expedition, to have an Assyriologist acquainted with all antiquities etc here through one year's practical experience and with the life in the East connected with the undertaking or a man who is coming fresh and has to learn what Dr. Harper & I acquired during last year. After a full consideration of the whole situation I ask you to be aware of this, that in the case of such a necessity as makes an experienced Assyriologist necessary on the field and Dr Harper continue to decline to stay, you may always trust in me. The duty towards my University who represents a cause of national welfare precedes and will always precede the cause of my personal interest and in this case the duty towards my wife. If the interest of our University and of the expedition demands my return, everything remaining even unchanged, I shall gladly return.

From a practical standpoint I may however add this, that if Dr Peters returns to the excavations of the Belus-Tempel at Niffer, an architect is absolutely necessary, an Assyriologist not, the former has a certain work, the latter not, the latter can do it later in Constantinople, if it comes to the point of saving money, moreover as Dr Peters knows now the place where to digg for tablets and my whole ideas as to the mound. If Dr Peters succeeds in getting Ur, an Assyriologist is absolutely necessary, the architect can be spared, since Loftus gave a plan of the temple of Ur. If Dr. Peters should go to Tell Ibrahim el-Chalil, of which neither Monsieur Pognon nor I think much, he better goes alone without an architect and an Assyriologist; the place is only a hour from Hillah, every danger is absolutely excluded, the whole surroundings are again and again photographed, a photographer would be unnecessary too. Take in such case all the money that you save by not sending Architect, Assyriologist or Photographer, and let him give part of this sum – as Monsieur

Pognon readily remarked – to the Turkish Commissioner, and we shall get the collections excavated home to our museum.

I shall stay in Germany for about 2 - 3 weeks, i.e. till I have seen my royal patrons who took so much interest in our expedition and wish to see me again. Thus I hope to sail for America on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July and to arrive at Philadelphia at about the 1<sup>st</sup> of August. Should however you desire my return at an earlier time, write or telegraph me so. In such a case I am allowed to ask for the days of audience, which otherwise I cannot do according to the court-etiquette.

At the request of Dr. Peters, who could give me money of traveling only enough to bring me to the borders of Germany, since it was necessary to bring 4 men (Dr Peters, Dr Harper, Mr. Field and myself) out of the country, I ask you to request the Committee to send me the sum for which I wrote to you (from the borders of Germany via Bremen to Philadelphia = c. 200\$) to Germany (Hilprecht, Villa Dr. Haufe, St. Blasien, Baden). It is needless to say, that of course the expenses for staying 2-3 weeks in Germany, even after I left the house of Dr. Haufe, are born by myself. The above given sum is for railroad steamer and luggage. After my return I shall hand in to the Committee the itemized account of all my expenses as to the money which was handed to me over personally.

In the case you wish my return to Babylonia after the committee's counsel and if I am still in Germany (till 20<sup>th</sup> of July) telegraph only "Return to Babylonia" (to Dr. Haufe's address). As soon as I have seen Mrs. Hilprecht who is probably excited through the Niffer story and find her better than I dare to anticipate at present, I telegraph to you, that you may have time to speak to Dr. Trumbull before the Committee meets and to ask Dr Peters' opinion. The sum of my thoughts is this: I most gladly return home to my home-duty at the University and in Dr Trumbulls office, but I wish clearly to have understood, that if my University calls me, nothing in the world will or can hamper me to do my duty towards the University as representing common welfare, first of all. And the fulfilling of this first and sacred duty is to me in the word's truest sense a joy.

I shall perhaps travel together with Dr. Harper as far as Lyon in France. I shall hurry to finish at the Nahr-el Kelb, in order to safe what I can to the expedition. Dr Peters expressly wished my return to this work, before I left Asia.

NB. I just learn from the missionary who took charge of the Aleppo collection at Dr Peters request last December, that with the exception of a few marble pieces (acknowledged frauds) the whole box has been seized by the custom-house officers in Alexandretta and thus is lost. I am with a last warm thank for all and everything you have done for me so often in connection with this expedition and with my best regards to Dr Trumbull to whom I shall write from the sea, yours very sincerely H. V. Hilprecht.

[*Added on top of page:*] Mr. Field also has absolutely resigned just as Dr. Harper. I shall post this letter in one of the sea-harbours I touch.

[1889-05-26. Hilprecht to Pepper(2). HSN 2705. HO]

Aleppo, 26. May, 1888 [*sic*, 1889].

My dear Dr. Pepper,

Yesterday we arrived – Dr. Peters, Dr. Harper and I – arrived [*sic*] at Aleppo safely. I am in the best health, Drs Peters and Harper suffer slightly from fever, which will however soon pass over I hope after a few days of rest. Your telegram to Bagdad was forwarded to Dr Peters here by Mr. Haynes. I thank you especially for it, although on the other side I am looking forward to the health of Mrs. Hilprecht rather anxiously, as I conclude you received from her or her physician not very encouraging news. I trust that a “revoir” with me will have a beneficiary influence on her. The steamers for Dr Peters and me are rather unfavorable, the former has to wait a full week in Iskanderoon, before he can catch one for Constantinople, where he says, he must go before he can return to America via Dresden. He hopes however to be in Philadelphia in the first week of July. I am going to Beyrût at first, at the request of Dr Peters (with whom I act here in entire harmony), to examine some effaced passages in the Nahr-el-Kelb inscription once more. This would make necessary only five days in Beyrût, but unfortunately the arrangement of the steamers is so bad again, that I have to spend a fortnight there or to stop at Alexandria a week. Dr. Peters was unfortunately unable to give us the necessary amount of money for the entire return to America. He himself can only with difficulty get to Constantinople, where he hopes to find money from you. I hope to be able to reach the borders of South Germany with the amount of money given to me by Dr. Peters. If the unexpected delay at Beyrût should make this impossible, I can borrow some money from the chief of the German hospital there. Thus do not trouble yourself for my sake. About the 29<sup>th</sup> of June I hope to arrive in Germany. After I have paid the necessary visit to my royal patrons in the castles of Potsdam and Ballenstedt – for which I am asked, I shall return to America directly. About the 20<sup>th</sup> of July I hope to sail from Bremen to New York and to arrive at Philadelphia at the end of July. If you should however desire my return at an earlier time, write or telegraph to me so. While I now have to wait according to the court etiquette, till I am commanded to the audiences above indicated, I can ask for them if compelled by any circumstance, and fix my own day. Do not hesitate to command over me and my time, therefore I should not be put into any convenience [*sic*] by your orders.

If you have not made other arrangements with Dr Peters, please be so kind to send me the amount of money asked for from Niffer by me according to my calculation (from South Borders of Germany to Philadelphia via Bremen; I think about 200 \$ for me and my luggage) to my address (Villa Dr. Haufe, S<sup>t</sup>. Blasien, Baden, Germany). A minutious account of all my expenses, as far as money was handed over to me personally, will of course [*be*] laid by me before you and the Committee after my arrival at Philadelphia promptly.

Matters are here unchanged as to our Niffer affair since we left Bagdâd. I asked and urged Dr. Harper, since I was called home, to stay as Assyriologist with the expedition, since I inferred from your telegram to Bagdâd: “Harper or Hilprecht stay in Bagdad”, that you wished one of both of us to remain connected during the second year. But Dr. Harper’s resignation seems

impossible to be drawn back. He told me, he wrote it down to be handed over to Dr Peters as early as the beginning of April (a fortnight before the Niffer affair occurred), and that under no circumstances he would return another year. He is now with us on his way to London, where he will spend the next year, working in the British Museum. He says, he could do better work for himself there than in connection with our expedition in Babylonia.

Since I do not know whether I am in time in Philadelphia, i.e. before you decide for the second year, allow me one hint as your old devoted professor, for although not longer more connected more [*sic*] with the expedition through your telegram of yesterday, yet I am just as anxious for its success as I was during my connection with it.

1. Ur alone is the place where excavations probably will yield success, if the expedition is not allowed through the circumstances to return to Niffer for a) it is a comparatively small ruin and several important finds were already made there b) I came to this conclusion after a careful study of all pro et contra during 4 years, and all leading Assyriologists Delitzsch (Leipzig), Haupt (Hopkins), Pognon (Bagdâd) and others agree with me, as I know. Let then Dr. Peters try to exchange the permission for Borsippa against that for Ur, if he can do so in time, for excavations of Ur ought to be begun at the end of October (say 20<sup>th</sup>) if any one expects to complete the principal work within one season. I think, Dr Peters is now more ready to accept Ur for excavations, since he heard Pognon speaking so warmly about it and criticising Borsippa than he was 1½ years ago, when I proposed it in vain to the Committee.

2) Experience has taught, that it is almost impossible to control 400 workmen in the trenches, they are lazy and make trouble with each other and thus to the expedition. One man (Noorian) cannot oversee them with his best will, since the trenches are too far away from each other and since this one man is needed often as interpreter too by Dr Peters at the same time, e.g. when Sheichs pay their visit (and these Sheichs pay horribly long visits). - 200 workmen sharply overwatched will do better work than 400 who cannot be sufficiently be [*sic*] controlled. Cut down therefore the number of workmen to not more than 200 and safe [*sic*] thus expenses.

3) Let apply Dr Peters for such a firman (permission) only, as is according to the law; he will never get another and loses only time in Stambul. But at the same time let Dr Peters – as a special favor from the Turks – ask for the permission, that an Assyriologist (whom the Committee sees fit), is sent over to the Stambul Museum immediately after the treasures arrived there for copying and that this Assyriologist be permitted to select for publication such pieces from the Niffer and Ur excavations, as he sees fit, prior to the copying of any other Non-Turkish Assyriologist. The Turks have no Assyriologist, this phrase will be only a compliment to them.

4) If Dr. Peters wishes to have an Assyriologist, get him one, and a first class one too; for although Dr Harper means, an Assyriologist is entirely unnecessary for this expedition, I differ radically in this point with him. Since Dr Peters himself is unable to read any Assyrian or Babylonian text himself from a tablet and is unexperienced in distinguishing frauds from genuine Babylonian antiquities by their mere look and touch, he must have an expert, who is an Assyrian specialist not only in the study room but through his experience, if he is ever asked to buy collections.

5) While I plead for continued excavations for the sake of science as such, yet I must confess, the most useful way for filling our museum (through which act science however may possibly be promoted more positively even) is to buy only collections in the same way in which the Bagdad collection was bought, i.e. with the condition to bring them safely to Europe through the custom-houses of Turkey. Several large collections are in the market at present. They need careful examination however. For an expedition of the latter kind (and England has lately adopted this kind as the only practicable one) an Assyriologist and a Dragoman are entirely enough to form the staff.

6) Specify the items for a second year much more than was done and could possibly be done by the Committee last year; give more minutious directions yourself – I mean the Committee – to the director.

I am sorry to say, that I learned from Mr. Saunders (who took charge of the matter), an American missioner here, that the Aleppo collection bought by Dr Harper was seized by the custom-house-officials in Iskanderûn. Those pieces (seal-cylinders), which I in Bagdâd, when submitted to my examination by Dr Peters, declared as frauds, are bought back by Dr Harper. The latter was very anxious himself to do so, as he did not wish to see them examined by other Assyriologists in our Philadelphia museum, as I proposed him to have done, if he had any doubt in my judgment. Now, my dear Dr. Pepper, let me give you in an entirely confidential way one hint, if you do not know it already from Dr Peters himself. Orally I have to tell you some more things more privately, which I do not wish to trust to paper, and which anyhow cannot be remedied more.

What I want to say now, is this: 1) Mr. Haynes' salary of 1000 \$ has remained unpaid during all the while, as Haynes told me. He consented to Dr. Peters request not to draw the money from him, because Dr. Peters was so in need of the sum.

2) Mr. Field lent Dr Peters 125 Turkish Liras = 660 \$, after the 500 pounds (which you had sent to Dr Peters when we arrived from Niffer at Bagdâd) proved not sufficient to pay the current expenses. Dr Peters owes to Mr Field in addition all his (Field's) travelling expenses from Bagdâd to Paris whence Field started i.e. about 290 \$. 3) Dr. Harper tells me that Dr Peters owes to him about 50 \$ of travelling expenses more. 4) Noorian has to receive his salary from Dr Peters for the time 1<sup>st</sup> of April to the day when this letter reaches you. In other words, even if the money (c. 1150 \$) were not stolen from us in Niffer, the money which you sent to Bagdâd, would not have been enough to pay the momentarily necessary current expenses during the next 4 weeks, nothing to say of Haynes' salary, or of the Bagdad collection, the money for which Mr. Blockey anxiously awaited, as he had become pledge for Dr Peters to the dealer from whom it was bought. According to my calculation, the expedition is by the time this letter reaches you, in a debt of at least 2500 \$ (aside from the 275 pounds to be paid for the Bagdâd collection) for the old year, which I take ends about 1<sup>st</sup> of July or 23<sup>d</sup> of June when Dr Peters left [*for*] America. Take these few words in the Christian spirit in which they are given, I heartily do not wish to say anything against Dr Peters, but I wish to take care of your interests as long as I can, as it was only through your interference, through your constant working and thinking for me, that I was connected with this expedition. And nobody outside of the expedition – of course all the

members learned its inside history by and by – even not Dr Trumbull, got any knowledge about these things from myself.

Take, if you see them worthwhile, the above given 6 points into consideration, before you decide for another year, but take the whole letter, I ask you, confidential. I write it to you – God knows it as my witness – because my heart and mind are still, and will constantly be occupied with the final success and welfare of this expedition, whether I am connected with it or not. Personally I have no interest whatsoever except from a scientific standpoint in any expedition, but all my heart, my happiness and my sorrow was with this expedition of my new “fatherland” America. I am with my last thanks from Asiatic ground for all that you have done so often for me while in Asia, yours very faithfully

H.V. Hilprecht

[1889-05-27. *Field to Pepper & Committee. HSN 2554. HO*]

Beirut, Syria, May 27 1889

Dr Pepper and Committee of the Babylonian Expedition.

Gentlemen,

As I find it impossible to continue work under the conditions of the past year I beg offer my resignation to the committee.

Perez Hastings Field

Architect to the Expedition.

[1889-05-27. Field to Pepper & Committee. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 27-28. HO]

Beirut, Syria, May 27 1889.

Dr Pepper and Committee of the Babylonian Expedition.

Gentlemen.

In Baghdad Dr. Peters found himself in want of money and borrowed £ 125 from me besides asking me to pay my own expenses to Alexandretta on condition that I should send in the amount of expenditure to you to be paid by you. He said that at the same time you would send the money for my expenses from Alexandretta to Paris which I estimate at 800 francs.

In Baghdad Mr Haynes paid part of the money for mules and outfit. The rest which is due me is as follows.

Amount paid for mules.	230 fcs.
Outfit, saddle [ <i>ill.</i> ] ect.	53 fcs.
Fees to zaptieis. (soldier guides)	65. 20
Passport in Aleppo.	9. fcs. 50
Carriage from Aleppo to Alexandretta.	56. f. 25
To servant left in Aleppo to await Dr Peters	22. 50
Physician in Baghdad.	10. 00
Currant expenses from Baghdad to Alexandretta.	157. 50
Telegram to America necessitated by Dr Peters loan	55
	<hr/>
	658.fcs. 95

With the estimate of 800 fcs. to Paris.

That makes the sum due me from the committee as 1458. fcs 95 one thousand four hundred fifty eight francs and ninety five centimens.

I should consider it a great favor if the committee would send the above amount to me in a draft on Drexel Hayes et Cie. Paris to my Paris address care of Drexel Hayes et Cie, boul. Haussmann 31 Paris. Very faithfully yours Perez Hastings Field.

[1889-05-27. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 25-26. L-1430.1. HO]

Beirut, Syria, May 27 1889

Dr Pepper.

Dear Sir.

By the same post I send in my resignation from the Babylonian Expedition. It is with sincere regret that I do so, as I liked the work and the life in the desert. I take the liberty of writing you a private letter to somewhat explain my motives.

Though outwardly Dr Peters and I have been as polite as pickpockets I fear there has never been a complete sympathy between us. Under him I cannot do my best work, and I feel that the expedition would be better served by an architect whom Dr Peters liked and could draw out to better advantage. Few expeditions have had such a chance as we have had and I am sorry to say few have so pitifully failed.

As soon as I have leisure I will make out my reports and send them to you. I shall remain in this neighborhood for the next six weeks where my address is care of the Ottoman Imperial Bank Beirut Syria. After that my address is always care of Drexel Hayes et Cie, boul Haussmann 31 Paris France.

Very faithfully yours

Perez Hastings Field.

Architect to the Babylonian Expedition.

[1889-05-27. Mrs. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 22-24. L-1430.2. HO]

Brooklyn

The Arlington

64 Montague St.

May 27.

My dear Dr. Pepper.

I have to thank you for your prompt response to my request and for your cordial letter of May 18.

The Brooklyn Trust Company report your deposit of \$611<sup>56</sup>/<sub>100</sub> on May 18.

I have letters of thrilling interest from my son dated Niffer April, first and seventh, and Bagdad April twenty third and twenty fifth.

You probably have all the news that they contain. About the attack, the loss of money, etc. My son proposed to join a caravan and go on to Aleppo. I am anxious to know whether he went without any other member of the party. His aim was to get to the mountains near Beyrout as soon as possible. If you have any later news I shall be glad to know it.

On April first from Niffer he writes: "I fancy I am the only contented man in the party, and think with a pang of leaving this wild, free open air life, that with all its drawbacks and ill humor, has been of the pleasantest.

From Bagdad April 25, he writes, "If things had been twice as disagreeable and the life twice as bad I would not have missed coming out here. It is a pity we could not have hung together another year as all of us could do so much better work. It is with a great pang I leave the country, and I should be willing to put up with almost any thing in order to stay. But it is impossible with Peters." This is for your eye alone. You would be interested in the letters. My son proposes to stop in or near Beyrout for a week or two. He hoped to be in Beyrout by the first of June.

I hope to be in Philadelphia some time before the first of July when I shall see you.

I applaud your success in keeping all these things out of the newspapers!

Yours sincerely

Mary J. Field

June 3rd., 1889

My dear Dr. Ward:—

I have your letter of the 29th of April. I thank you very much for it. I am going to write down the story of our camp and send it to you as soon as I can. I should not be surprised if Dr. Peters reached America before this letter does. Dr. Hilprecht is not with us. Haynes and I are the only persons left here in the bottom of the bag. All the rest were clever enough not to stay here. Harper and Field resigned mainly on account of Dr. Peter's disagreeableness. Field (whose letter to his mother you once read to me before I left America, and who spoke of Dr. Peters being so reasonable a man) perfectly hated Dr. Peters. He would run away from Dr. Peters shadow. He despised the very ground that Dr. Peters stood on. The reasons are too many. I can't give you any now. And between you and me, I don't think he felt equal to the work that was coming before him. He told me that several times when we were together. Harper also left for the same reason. He is not an assyriologist at all. Give him plenty to eat and all the beer and pale ale that he wants and pretty girls and no work to do and he is very pretty good big boy.

Imagine such a man fighting for the leadership of the Expedition in the second year. Dr. Ward I hope if they that is the Committee aske you to take the leadership of this Expedition you would do it. I will work then for the Expedition merely for my expenses. You asked of me the exact amount of loss done to the expedition.

It was 193 liras hard cash belonging to the expedition. About 30 liras belonging to Mr. Haynes and I guess about 75 liras was counted for the three horses and saddles, bridles and horse blankets, etc. etc. Also the fire arms. one lira = \$4.40.

The government does not seem to do any thing about it either. Mr. Haynes has not said a word about it to the Vali yet. No other news. I am well. I have about ten cylinders. They are too expensive. Do you want me buy any. The University does not care for them. today I had one brought to me but could not pay the price asked for. I bought, however, a very elegant piece of embroidery. You can imagine how hot it is from the writing on this paper. I have not time to say much. Good by

Yours sincerely,

Daniel

Haynes sends his best regards. You always say to me Hetta will give you to news. I write the same to you. Hetta will give you all the news you want. I did not visit Tel Dele'hem but Dr. Peters did. He says it is too much like Niffer. that is to say. a grave yard and he did not like it. Suk el Affej is not interesting at all. It is like any other Ma'dan Arab village. I did not like it at all. The Hor (swamp) is more interesting than the Suk.

I will write to you again and soon.

For Dr. Ward.

[*Typewritten by Fisher:*] (This letter is written on a double sheet of ruled paper,  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$  in size. Sheets embossed in corner with fleur-de lis and ribands in a circle with words "trade mark" under.)

[N 1889-06-08. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 36. L-1181. TO

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

My dear Mr Clark,

I congratulate you upon your safe return. I was anxious for awhile in regard to your location, but I soon learned on enquiry at your office that you were safe. During your absence letters have come both from Peters and Hilprecht which I enclose. I have shewn them to Mr Frazier and enclose his comments. This is the 8th instant, and you will observe that Peters gives us till until the 10th to telegraph him. I fear that so much business of even greater importance than this will be awaiting you on your return and demanding your immediate attention that I hesitate to intrude this upon you, but if you can possibly find time to consider the situation anew in the light of these letters which must be our final guide, I shall be much gratified. The whole situation appears somewhat difficult.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

June 8th 1889.

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[1889-06-10. Haynes to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 38-39. HO]

Baghdad June 10. 1889

Mr E.W. Clark, Treas. etc.

My Dear Sir

I had hoped by this post to send you complete statement of finances at this end as far as money & accounts have fallen into my hands, but oweing partly to the intense heat (112° Fahr. in shade) and partly to run down condition, result of long continued nervous strain from Constantinople to Niffer and back to Baghdad again.

Thinking you may be in a hurry for the accounts and since I cannot do more this time I send you herewith the Ledger footings as the Ledger now stands and will send you full statement as soon as possible.

The expenses are large, but such a party requires unreasonable expenses and I am heartily [*sic*] that it has disbanded, and while I feel kindly toward each member of the party I cannot help acknowledging the patent fact that some of the departed members were quite unprepared for such an expedition. If my advice might have a little weight with you as a business man I would urge you to send out men of experience if they can be found and if they cannot be found, first train them and then send them out prepared to begin work in a practical way, and to avail themselves of native help on the ground.

I have no complaint to make of any person or of any past plans but am deeply interested in the welfare of the expedition.

Believe me

Very Sincerely Yours

John Henry Haynes

June 11 th, 1889

Dear Dr. Ward. your letter dated May 10. arrived today. In it enclosed was Mrs. Laniers sweet note. I shall answer her question, most gladly, by the next mail (have not time now). The app. in the telegram was meant for "appropriation" and not appointment. The reason why I signed the telegram was because Haynes asked me to, thinking that you will take up the matter better for my sake.

But now no matter about it Haynes found out that the appropriations (whatever they were) were made long before that telegram to you; so you see it is of no use to try for anything different from what has been done already.

As for the progress of the work in Niffer there is not much to be said in its favour. The finds were not many. I don't think at the end of our work when we left Niffer we had two hundred whole tablets. There were several boxes of fragments, good for nothing. All the finds put together did begin to pay back but very small part of the expenditure. Most of these finds came out from the hill behind the Ziggurat or, Temple hill, across the bed of a canal, one of the Shat-el-Nile branches.

The Temple hill, architecturaly, turned to be very interesting only I think it seemed to big for Field. The only object that was found in the temple hill was a white marble door socket bearing the same inscription found on the bricks of Kurigalzo (if I have spelled it right)

The large hill, on which we have pitched our camp was full of Sassanian coffins and graves at all depths and sepulchral remains graves were everywhere on the mound even on the Temple Hill. Whatever pottery was found was of no value. It was rought and course and it might belong to any age beginning 1000 years B.C. through the ages up to the present day. There was nothing attractive nor shape about it. Most of this pottery was found in the graves. I have kept full notes of these graves. In fact, I kept all the burial notes for Dr. Peters (and that was what changed Dr. Peters opinion of me). He saw that whatever note I took was full, and many times he would aske me to take up notes for him. Up to the time of the killing of the Arab we were on very good terms with all the surrounding tribes. The Affejs were hospitable. When Dr. Peters and I went and called on the chief sheikh, Hadj Tarfah, he did not seem to be opposing our cause yet he was not quite cordial He did not even return the call. It was his son, I suspect, and his brother who caused the burning of the camp. The only reason they had for burning the camp was because we had given over all the mats and reeds, belonging to our huts, to the subtribe called el-Hamzah belonging to the Affej and not to the tribe of the son of the chief Sheikh and as we were about to leave, before the burning took place, everybody began to pull the mats and take for himself and one subtribe began to stop the other and finally fire was set in the huts. Later on I heard that the Arabs set the camp on fire, first of all in the hut where the soldiers were gathered around the one who shot the Arab so that amidst the confusion they might get a chance to fire at the soldier. And again later on I heard that the son with the

brother of the chief Sheikh burned up the camp so that they might get at the guns and fire arms they had wanted and asked for.

I think the chief reason of the burning of the camp was because the son, did not get the gun he wanted so much and the brother of the chief Sheikh did not receive any present while the third brother (not the Sheikh for he is always away, living in the Shamiah) had a nice a'ba given to him by Dr. Peters by the advise of Bedri Bey, the commissioner, and while this man received this present amidst all that tumult just on the next day of the killing of the man before every body there and did not deserve it at all, as far as I could see. That was one of the most important reasons that outraged them.

Daoud Toma was not there and if he was could not have done anything at all. I had all the Arabs fall in love with me. I was never afraid of them and they liked me very much. I could have them do anything for me. Several times I was asked if I wished to have the Turkish Commissioner killed and they would have done it in one wink of the eye, but I never encouraged them to do such things. Ask Hilprecht if it was not so.

If you should come and go among the Arabs you will find about ½ doz. of little Daniels named after me and their father or mother would come and ask me to give them presents or money to buy them clothes. In other words I had gained the affections of the Arabs and I am not afraid to go there any time and excavate only I will not go there if Peters go and I told him that frankly. He was not popular anywhere and was always in the way of success.

Now about my Assyrian. I have not learned a single word. It is too intensely hot to do any sort of work. I shall try to learn some Hebrew first. Have you learned Arabic and Chinese? I had very nice letter from Mrs. Dowden, yesterday. I don't really think that I shall be able to go to Sert this summer. It is too hot to travel comfortably. If you wish me to buy antiquity send money.

Haynes sends regards

Yours,

Daniel

Hot. Hot. Hot. HOT!!!!

I did not know I had this page empty

Love to you and Miss Hetta

I thank you for the letter

Write again.

Good by

Am very sorry you are so maltreated by the church people.

[*Typewritten by Fisher:*] (This letter written on the same size and quality of double sheet as the first letter (June 3). [*by hand:*] Pg. 1–6. paper  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$  ruled blue, embossed fleur de-lis + words “trade mark)

[1889-06-11. Ward to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 42. L-59. HO]

Newark NY June 11. 1889

My dear Dr Pepper,

I enclose Mr. Haynes's letter. I intended also send you extracts of Daniel's letters, but have failed to do so. And now I start today for a three weeks absence in the West. – Santa Fe next Tuesday. Mr. Haynes evidently forgets that this year Congress adjourned March 11. I am sure you people will do what is necessary. Mr. Haynes writes expecting Dr Peters to return in the Fall. In haste

Very truly yours

Wm. Hayes Ward

[1889-06-12. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 43. L-1180. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

Of course I assent cheerfully to your action as to the Shemtob invoice. I enclose you my cheque and also an official obligation. I have cabled and written Peters. I have arranged with Mr Blaine about Mr Haynes' Consulate and have written to the latter. I have secured Mr Blaine's warm interest and promises of active co-operation in our future work. It may prove that Mr Straus removal is not so severe a loss as it looked.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

William Pepper

June 12th 1889.

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[N 1889-06-13. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 45-46. L-1001. HO]

HOTEL DE BYZANCE

Constantinople, le 13<sup>me</sup> Janvier 1889

My dear Mr. Clark

I am progressing slowly in my journey westward, for travel in this country is neither rapid nor certain. I arrived before dawn this morning, 42 days since leaving Baghdad. At Aleppo I received word that the collection purchased by Harper at that place had been seized at Alexandretta, & at the latter place I learned more about the particulars, & also about the nature of the objects. These things were purchased by Harper before I joined him in Aleppo last December. He would have liked to take them for Yale, but felt in duty bound to hold them for us, if we wanted them. Hilprecht advised taking them for us. I did not examine them, as I was much pressed with preparations for the departure, & the time was short. Moreover on a technical question like the value of tablets &c., I thought Harper & Hilprecht should be better judges than I, & preferred in no way to interfere in what I regarded as their province. They were seized because of the over kindness of a missionary, & the treachery of the Kaimakam at Alexandretta. I sent them to the latter place by a missionary who was going. He was to hand them over to the agent & do nothing more. Instead of doing so, thinking he saw an excellent way of getting them through by the friendship of the Kaimakam, he tried it, & the Kaimakam captured them, all except a dozen pieces. There was one large box, & their cost had been about \$60. Whether they will be released is uncertain. They do not stand in our name, & cannot as far as I see compromise us at all. While there I examined the specimens which had been rescued. Every one was a forgery, & I fear that there were nothing but forgeries in the collection. I am very sorry I approved such a purchase, & shall be quite willing, if the Committee think it just, to assume the loss. I had no idea that Harper & Hilprecht would let such things pass; but I am technically the responsible party.

I am not afraid of the two London & the Baghdad purchases. I examined those myself. I do not guarantee all the Khebaza cylinders; but only affirm that if there are forgeries, the genuine articles are worth the price paid. I cannot imagine what German expedition you refer to as having brought home forgeries. I think Masinon took a number to Berlin, but he was not an Expedition.

In an hour or two I expect to see my letters. I have had nothing since leaving Baghdad  
May 2<sup>nd</sup>.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1889-06-14. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 47-52. L-1000. HO]

Hotel de Byzance, Constantinople

June 14/89

Dear Mr. Clark

Yesterday I wrote you a note about forgeries; later I received yours of April 12<sup>th</sup>, to which I hasten to reply.

With regard to the method of determining where to dig, I suppose that the two Assyriologists & myself were about equally familiar with previous work, for that lies in my line fully as much as in their more technical line. But the decision was made by a discussion by all. If opinions widely differed I went over all the opinions carefully & proposed a plan which seemed to me to combine the best that had been proposed by all. I remember no occasion on which the plan thus proposed failed to meet with universal approval. Neither do I remember any case in which a plan was adopted without being laid before the whole party. Sometimes I proposed a plan, sometimes Mr. Field had a plan, & then I would ask him to present it himself. A particular plan of work on the Temple Hill, (III), was due, I remember to Hilprecht. While always ready as Director to shoulder the responsibility of failure, I never acted without full discussion & consultation. The choice of the mound to dig, the site of Niffar having been fixed, & the way to dig at that mound did not seem to belong especially to Assyriology, & the Assyriologists did not so regard it. It was necessary to make tentative diggings in all the mounds, for in reality there was at the outset only one mound (III) whose real character anyone could pretend to know, & we did not know how to get at that. In point of fact we are pioneers, path-breakers, for no Babylonian city has yet been explored sufficiently to give us any real clue to arrangement, external indications &c. Only the ziggurat, or tower in connection with the temple, can always be recognized; but of the plan of the Babylonian temples themselves, & the exact relation of tower to temple no satisfactory account had hitherto been given, much less of the relation of temple to palace, library &c. We must ferret out these things ourselves, & Assyriologists & all, not only in presence of Niffar, but in presence of every other site we looked at & talked over, such as Anbar, confessed a total inability to predicate anything as to the probable contents of different portions of the ruins. The Germans, who made some small excavations two years since at the two small tells of Hibbah & Zerghul, both of which turned out to be grave mounds, advocate a great trench right through the middle of everything. As that was recommended by Germans, Hilprecht would have it at first that that was the only scientific method. It proved utterly impracticable at Niffar in the manner recommended by the Germans, but certain modified forms of the plan were applied at various mounds. As to not getting "great results" "because you have not excavated at the right point", I think it fair to say that owing to this very lack of information which I have spoken of excavation is something of a lottery; remarkable things have been found in utterly unheard of places, & comparatively little where it seemed that much should have been expected. For example the very "unscientific" surface scratchings of de Sarzec at Tello

have for ten years yielded remarkable results, although no one yet knows correctly the ancient name of the city buried at that insignificant looking hill of Tello. Not far from there the Germans conducted their "scientific" trenches at the somewhat similar, but, as to outward appearance, more promising looking mounds of Hibbah & Zerghul, & found nothing but graves. And by the way Zerghul was a mound recommended by our own Wolfe Expedition after a careful survey of many sites, Niffar & Anbar being its first recommendations, & Zerghul in the second rank. Those were the recommendations of the pioneer of American Assyriologists, a man eminently familiar with all that had been done, & who had examined the sites themselves as well as the books about them. Then what are "great results"? The results obtained by us in this first year of work have greatly disappointed our Assyriologists, who looked only for very ancient historical "finds". We have obtained about as good results as have been obtained from Babylon, Borsippa, & Erech, & no more. But I think this is no ground for disappointment, & to me there seem good prospects for next year. A great part of the value of our work, it seems to me, is the full unearthing of temples, palaces &c., & the light that will throw upon life in ancient Babylonia; though I also confess to a hankering after historical inscriptions in addition. Roughly speaking it may be said that no historical inscription has yet been found anywhere in Babylonia, but only in Assyria; therefore do we long so ardently therefor.

As to letting the two Assyriologists decide anything, reserving to myself the casting vote; – I should always have had to cast, for they were never known to agree on any subject, & whichever I voted with, I should have offended the other. Hilprecht once laughingly said that he was possessed by a spirit of opposition, or contradiction, that he loved to contradict. Indeed often the only way to agree with him was to make him speak first which he never would do if he could avoid it. Harper has something of the same spirit, & to put him with Hilprecht brought it out in full force. Hilprecht was much the abler man, & in matters of scholarship his opinion, provided he could be made to speak first, before the spirit of contradiction in him had been stirred up, was by far the more valuable.

As to finances, I am mortally ashamed. I have promised & promised a full report, & Haynes has found it impossible for good reasons to make up the report. It was to have been done finally before I left Baghdad, but Dr. Pepper's telegram called me away too suddenly. Then Haynes was to do it immediately after my departure. The books were all in good shape, but he, who is a slow worker, estimated a week as necessary to the work. It should have been here when I arrived, but was not. I have written him one sharp note from Smyrna, & shall send him another from here. I am afraid I shall break his heart by doing so, for, with one exception he is the most unhappily sensitive man I ever met. I think, however, the report will be in your hands before my arrival, & it is better not to speak further on the subject until then.

I have favorable & interesting news from Baghdad regarding the action of the Wali in the matter of the Affej & Se'id Arabs. As you & Dr. Pepper exchange letters, & this is already long, I will write it to him.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

[1889-06-17. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 58-59. L-1179. TO + HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

I beg to deposit with you as Treasurer the accompanying obligation.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

June 17th 1889.

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[*written by hand:*] 2<sup>a.m</sup> 6/18. Just back from Ithaca. Find my Sec'y's note of your visit, & a note from Mr. Frazier. He does not say to which address he cabled – I assume Dresden. I cabled Constantinople : & wrote Dresden : I now write again to Dresden more briefly & peremptorily.

WP

[1889-06-18. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 60-61. L-1178. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Sir,

I am glad you cabled Dr Peters, although it was not really necessary, since our cablegram to Constantinople said "Come", and my letter to Dresden was as explicit as it could be made within the limits of courtesy. I have now written him again to explain this second telegram, and have taken the occasion to repeat, in even more peremptory terms, our decision as to next year.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper.

June 18th 1889.

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[1889-06-20. Pepper to R.F. Harper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 62-63. L-1437.15. TC]

Copy

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Dr Harper,

I had a long and earnest talk with your Brother last night. I presume Dr Peters is on his way to America. The time is approaching therefore when our estimate of the work of the Expedition must be formed officially. I need not tell you that we are greatly disappointed, and in various directions. I write now especially for the purpose of impressing upon you the fact that it is of essential importance to the future conduct of such investigations that the bad blood and ill feeling which were allowed to grow up in this party be kept absolutely concealed from public notice. The whole affair has produced a painful impression upon the practical men who are behind this movement.

If the expressions which have been used by each and all of the Expedition are ever allowed to get to the ears of the public there will be an end of any encouragement or support of such movements for some years to come. Your Brother thinks that you are likely to talk to the Assyriologists in London against Dr Peters and about the misconduct of the Expedition. I cannot believe that you will be guilty of such indiscretion and impropriety. I hold that every member of the Expedition is bound in common loyalty to work as hard as he can for the interests of the Expedition and of science. We have not the slightest intention of permitting Dr Peters to be, or anyone else, to have his character injured or his reputation discredited by what has occurred. We shall go on with the work in whatever way seems best to us after hearing a full statement of the operations of last year. If you have occasion to speak of the Expedition at all other than in a strictly scientific sense, I beg that you will limit yourself to saying that the Philadelphia Committee is of course disappointed with the results obtained; that there may have been some errors of judgment on their part, and the part of others, but that they have no idea of allowing the important interests of American investigations in Assyriology to suffer. I shall count absolutely upon your loyal co-operation in all ways and at all times.

Yours sincerely

[no signature]

Robert F. Harper Esqr.

June 20th 1889.

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[1889-06-22. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 64-65. L-1212. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I explained to Mrs Field that the remittance might be delayed until after Dr Peters arrival. I am afraid she is somewhat restricted in her means, and she told me that her Son had already begun to draw upon her on account of these advances. However it cannot make much difference, as Dr Peters should be here by July 4th, or at the latest at July 10th. My address in Newport is 15 Greenough Place.

Professor Harper of Yale called upon me. He seems to think that his Brother has been much to blame for the tone he has taken in regard to the difficulties that befell the Expedition. He says his Brother is now in London, and I had him telegraph to him directing him to keep his tongue quiet. Possibly his silence is dearly bought at the cost of \$4.20 which was the cost of the telegram. I wrote him a sharp letter, telling him that we had no intention of allowing Dr Peters to be discredited by any person or in any way; that there had undoubtedly been errors of judgment made by many of us; but that Dr Peters came home for consultation, and that we expected all members of the Expedition to be absolutely loyal to its interests both now and in the future, and whether they remain connected with it or not. In fact all of the men except Haynes and Noorian, appear to have lost their heads somewhat. The whole matter occupies my mind constantly. I find myself unable to accept the view of an abandonment of this great work. I will come from Newport whenever you want me.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

June 22nd 1889.

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P.S.

Referring to the Consulate I have received assurances from Mr Blaine that Mr Haynes will be retained in his position. He has received his papers. So that we may consider that in a satisfactory shape.

WP

[1889-06-29. Haynes to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 66-78 and HSN 2558. TC]

Baghdad, June 29. 1889.

Provost Wm. Pepper, M.D., L.L.D.

Dear Sir:

In my hastily written letter of last week I tried to present my views on certain important matters; but with what success I know not. I scarcely know if it was connected speech and have greater doubt of the clearness and completeness of the statements made. However, I will not attempt to enlarge upon any subject therein treated, except the two following, viz.: "The return to Niffer" and my own salary.

In respect to the former, I wrote that Noorian and I are ready to return to Niffer if the Committee desire us to go, on the condition that we go alone or that he who shall be sent out as director will yield and pledge himself to yield to our united judgment in all our intercourse among the Arabs and in our movements in breaking camp at any moment when it shall seem to us wise and prudent to do so.

As the latter condition would be humiliating to an absolute director I said little about it in my last letter and would withdraw it now before it is made as a condition, were it not for the simple fact no one of last year's party clearly apprehended the dangers that lay about us all the time we were at Niffer; nor could they understand them as we were better prepared from [lo]nger experience to do; and as to the future, we do not believe anyone coming out from America for the first time could appreciate the dangers of camp life among Arabs once enraged by a blood feud. Blood has been spilled, and according to the barbarous laws of the Arabs blood will be required, though it take a generation of patient search to find the first opportunity for revenge. At the time of trouble, the bitterest hatred was against the soldiers; but it must not be forgotten that we were the first cause. It will be truly said that if we had promptly given up the Soldier to be shot by the Arabs, that Arab justice would have been satisfied and the blood feud at an end. It might have been so. Indeed I have little doubt of it. We did not surrender the Soldier, however, but insisted that he should be protected like the rest of us. By this course we practically justified the Soldier, and in addition to being the first cause we identified ourselves with those who were at blood feud with them. Until they are avenged, according to their absurd notions, the Es Said would not hesitate a moment to make us pay the full penalty with our own blood, if opportunity offered.

Whatever fine sentiments may be written respecting the noble qualities of the Arabs by casual visitors and enthusiastic travelers who meet the domesticated Arab of Syria, or visit the best tribes under exceptional circumstances, those foreign residents who have lived in the country long enough to learn the language, the traditions and the customs of the people and whose earlier sentiments have ripened into sounder convictions, declare that it is impossible for the party to return to Niffer. Dr. Lubidge, who has lived many years in the country, knows the language well, has been much

among the Arabs of the desert, having been among the Afaj themselves, emphatically says that we cannot safely return to Niffer, and that the penalty for having spilled blood will sometime be paid – and fully paid – and that it may be done in a very sneaking way.

Haji Tarfa, the Sheik of all the Afaj Arabs, disappeared when summoned to appear before the Government at Divaniye, and at the same time his perfidious son, who is believed to have instigated the plunder and setting of the fire at Niffer, escaped with his own tribe, taking their flocks and herds; their women and their children with them into parts unknown. At last accounts neither father nor son were heard from.

I may be wrong: but to my mind these facts indicate that Haji Tarfa himself regards the affair as unfinished on the part of the Arabs themselves, else why should he flee? If it were no longer a question of blood feud Haji Tarfa well knows that he could quickly settle the whole affair, as far as the past is concerned. Haji Tarfa's course seems to me to indicate that the Arabs are biding their time, and gathering force for savage revenge. Be that as it may, we are ready to return to Niffer if the Committee think it worth the while to continue the work already begun, so as to bring the work as a whole to a reasonable ending. We abide by the promise made last week but of course we do not engage to go in any case and under all circumstances. We would not venture to go without the consent of the Government, and furthermore we should expect its cooperation to the extent of getting pledges from the Sheiks of all the subtribes of the Afaj Arabs, and under those conditions we will go without soldiers and put ourselves under the protection of our friend Berdie. I seriously doubt if the Government will permit us to return to Niffer. If so it will be the more ready to exchange Niffer for some such place as Mugeyir (Ur.). I sincerely hope then the Committee will seize this opportunity to choose a new site, and I believe the central Government will be only too glad to give you anything you wish in order to get rid of the annoyance it will cost to maintain us at Niffer.

I have written the above not because we have changed our decision of last week, but because I had not time then to write you the other side of the question, and lest you mistake us now, let me repeat. If the Committee think it worth while to continue the work at Niffer we are quite ready to go on the above conditions. It grieves me personally to make conditions of any sort with the Committee and I trust the spirit will not be misapprehended. The risks will be considerable; our relations to the Arabs delicate, and a mistake might prove fatal, else we would not impose the conditions.

Noorian will not go with Dr. Peters. If Dr. Peters returns his position will be exactly as he stated it to Dr. Peters. He said something like the following:

“I will go anywhere else with you, Dr. Peters, except to Niffer, but I will not go to Niffer under any considerations.”

I am sure he means this statement if Dr. Peters returns. He will then go under no considerations. It is not a whim nor a matter of obstinacy with him. He will go under the conditions above stated. Whether there are still other conditions under which he would go I am

unable to say, and perhaps he himself would not know until other conditions are plainly and fully stated.

In the matter of my own salary, perhaps you will think me unreasonable and grasping. It may be so; but I want to state the facts.

In February, 1881, I gave up a good salary just when I was in the way of promotion, having good prospects before me. I came abroad to serve without salary on an Archaeological Expedition to the Island of Crete. As permission was finally refused by the Turkish Gov't we returned to Athens to await instructions. There Mr. W.J. Stillman, writer, landscape-painter and photographer, whose assistant I was to have been in Crete, taught me photography under the shadow of the Parthenon. In due time I went over to Assos and made the photographs for the expedition there. I then went to Robert College in Constantinople where I taught Latin and English for three years, getting leave of absence for a month in the spring term of '83 to finish the field work at Assos. All this without any compensation except actual expenses. In summer vacation of '83 I travelled somewhat in Bithynia. In June '84 I obtained leave of absence before the end of the college year and went with J.R.S. Sterret, now professor of Greek in University of Texas, through Central Asia Minor, via. Smyrna, Konich, (Iconium) Caesarea as far as the Euphrates at Malatia (the ancient Metelene). Returned to College work late by permission, with above 300 photographs to work up. At Constantinople I received a tutor's salary, an average of £80. Stg. per year, board, room, washing, fuel and light in addition. Returning from Asia Minor I again took up my class work. In a few weeks the Wolfe Expedition came, or rather Dr. Ward came and took up Noorian and myself. The Bulgarian troubles decreased the number of students so that I was no longer necessary at the College. Dr. Ward told me frankly that he had \$5,000. And that he wanted to make that go as far as possible and on that account he wanted to pay as little as possible in salaries, that he might carry the Expedition as far as possible, though he would gladly pay a good salary if he could. Sterrett, who was also to go, had previously asked me to fix a certain sum as salary, the sum which he wanted. My sympathies were with Dr. Ward, and I put it as low as I thought I could and not be left in the lurch afterward. I received £150. and worked up the pictures in the laboratory of Robert College afterwards, at my own expense, working there until November 1. 1885. It cost me a good deal to work up the pictures, and I did feel abused when Miss Wolfe wanted a second set of pictures, for which I had neither time nor money. There was then an urgent call for help at Central Turkey College in [blank]. The 1<sup>st</sup> of December, 1885, I took charge of the College treasury, among other duties. The treasury was then in woeful condition. As the American Board of Christian Foreign Missions paid my salary according to the rate at which other Missionaries are paid, graded not according to kind or amount of work, but fitted to the absolute necessities of comfortable living, I was asked in June, 1887, to take the Mission Treasury, which had also fallen into a bad way. This was assumed in addition to all other duties and put heavy loads on my shoulders. I am happy to say that both treasuries were handed over in good condition. In the summer vacation of 1887 I made an expensive journey through Cilicia, Cappadocia and Phrygia, using up most of the money I had managed to save in one way and another. The results of the journey I have been unable to finish until the present time. I have never spoken to anyone in this country about my former position and prospects in the U. S. but have followed what appeared to me

to be calls of Providence and without any words about salary except to Dr. Ward and to Dr. Peters. I have taken what parties chose to give me, without a question. With Dr. Ward, I fixed the compensation myself, after listening to Dr. Ward's frank statement. I did not commit myself to a fixed amount with Dr. Peters until we met in Constantinople. He then told me that Dr. Long said I ought to have more than the Wolfe Expedition paid me and that I ought to receive \$1,000. Dr. Long knows that I have never received, nor asked, so large a salary since coming to this country, and I suppose he did not stop to consider the amount very much but felt strongly I ought to be better paid. Beside he doubtless received the impression, as I certainly did, that everybody else except Noorian and myself were serving without salary and that I was really called upon to be content with a small salary. I was content to come one year for \$1,000. Soon, however, the real facts began to appear in a true light. I was made to understand that the funds were small and the strictest economy must be practiced. I took hold of the matter of expenses in downright earnest and in due time discovered that those whose expenses I had been bidden to reduce had been unwittingly encouraged to spend freely by higher authority. There were other respects in which I had been unnecessarily brought into antagonism with the party, but as I do not wish to complain of anything that is past, and am trying to develop only one point, I will say no more on that subject. The spirit of antagonism deminished though it never wholly died away I suppose. I could show you from the Ledger, that certain members of the party who were of little advantage to the expedition in any way have yet cost the expedition more money than I have cost it, and more than I shall have cost it, when my salary is paid; and I was compelled through certain infelicities unnecessarily provoked to be a drudge to the whole party in order to get the expedition into the field and make life in camp proceed without violent disruption. I feel as if I had borne the heat and toil of the day and taken the brunt of everything that was hard more than all the rest combined. When under such circumstances one sees the funds expended in ways not only useless but causing friction, it makes him feel as if he wants full compensation according to the nature of the service and the long years of preparation in fitting himself for the position, and I regard all these eight years as an apprenticeship, whether it was trying experiments in the laboratory of Robert College, or studying customs and character of the people, or making photographs, or struggling with finances, or following the road.

Now if I have ability to use this experience then my service is worth something: if not, let us agree to sever the existing connection as soon as we can, without inconvenience to you.

It would be cheaper for the expedition to pay two or three men, (and two are enough in my judgment,) large salaries than to multiply the number and have them all serve without salary. I would urge you again not to send out anyone because he comes without salary. One person might be managed, but two or more without salary are unmanageable. It proved so with the large Assos expedition (four regular members without salary, two with \$100. a month first year, \$200 per month second year). Dr. Diller (now of U. S. Coast Survey) and I were not regular members, and worked together in harmony with the expedition. Some of the unpaid members were better men than the leader, and all except the leader were a fine lot of enthusiastic young men. It was, however, necessary to withdraw the unpaid members.

I have worked hard and sacrificed much for long years to prepare for this work which I was impelled to do from a leading that I could not understand; but have referred to the guiding hand of Providence. So far my life has been devoted to others. If I remain in this country many years longer subject to hardship I shall need to have something to fall back upon for my robust health will break up pretty soon. Though it is yet fairly good, I feel the limits to endurance pretty frequently.

I had got so tired of the expedition last season that I wrote Dr. Ward asking him to see if private means could not be secured to carry on this consulate with view to making it contribute to Archaeology and of use in collecting antiquities, etc., etc., but as the interests are one, I am willing to stay for one more season, since I am here, for just what the Committee see fit to pay me; but longer than that I cannot stay without a liberal salary, that provides for the future, and I trust the Committee on its part will tell me as soon as possible, if it cannot pay such a salary, that I may make other plans. Don't think I grade the salary here by what I can get in the U. S. I want more to stay after next year than I should expect at home, where I can live in peace and safety. Please excuse this long discussion, but I wanted once for all to put before you the whole matter. I will not trouble you more about it.

In case Noorian and I should be left to carry on the work as well as we can next season, I have to propose this measure, viz.: to hire a native photographer of Baghdad, by the month while at work; to build a cabin costing a couple of liras for his use, and have him develop the plates and print the photographs ready to send you at once. The photographer prints very well indeed. His weakness is in development: but I could keep him out at first and put him on the track of doing good work also in development. He has picked the art up by himself. With some one to do all the drudgery of it, which is too much for me to undertake, I can promise you satisfactory work in that line. My trouble has long been that I could not give the time for good work in the dark room, and yet I can do good work when I have the time for it. What salary he would want I do not know, probably 8 or 10 liras a month – perhaps less. In that case, I should want glass plates to fit a camera 10 x 8 inches and grooved negative boxes (each box to contain 50 negatives) to keep the developed negative in – 30 dozen or 36 dozen would be enough. It would be well to send paper or ivory films for the roll holder to be ready for any tour. I should want the two cameras ordered by Dr. Peters. I think I should prefer glass plates and not paper films with the “Detective Camera”. The plates for the detective camera must be very rapid, while somewhat slower plates would be preferable for the large camera 10 x 8 inches. You will have means of selecting suitable goods, and I will say nothing about it.

If Noorian and I should be left alone, we should not care for all the tinned food ordered by Dr. Peters. If one other person should come out we should of course need more of each and perhaps need greater variety. Under the existing circumstances it will aid you much if I write out a list such as Noorian and I would like for ourselves, and leave the matter entirely to your judgment to make such additions as you see fit in view of increase in numbers or change by reducing quantity.

We do not care for tomatoes, pease, asparagus nor string beans, nor do we think it economy to pay freight on soup and baked beans, lugging the water across the desert by mules. We prefer to

import dry beans and a good oil stove to make our own soup and bake our own beans. We prefer a liberal supply of canned apples in lieu of tomatoes, pease, beans, corn and asparagus and soup. They are heavy and contain much water, but they are always relished, and supply needed acid in healthful and appetizing form, and suffer less deterioration than the articles named above.

Not having a copy of Dr. Peters' order, I cannot compare the accompanying list with it, and as I have not the time by this post to make out a more carefully prepared list, I shall be compelled to leave the comparison to your Committee, asking them to supply, from Dr. Peters' list, any necessary thing that has been forgotten in this.

We do not need tents nor saddles nor bedding. If a third party does not come out we do not want soup nor beans nor string beans nor pease nor corn nor asparagus. If a third party comes, add what you think best. Rubber blankets and boots will be very useful. Rubber overshoes for No. 9 boot, 2prs., really needed.

2 good halters and bridles (separate) desired. (best black leather). Russian oil from Batoum can be bought here. It is of poor quality and dear. It is therefore my opinion that it would pay to send 12 boxes of refined oil from New York. I believe it would cost about the same, or a trifle more than the poorer article here. It would, however, do much better for us. Perhaps our stove would then bake. At all events the Russian oil gives us great trouble, while it costs quite as much to carry it across country. If you conclude to send it please have two boxes – each box containing two tins – put into one strong box made expressly for them. This will make just half a mule load. Otherwise two boxes must be bound together by expensive rope. I ask you to box these oil boxes in the way described above, for three reasons.

1<sup>st</sup>. - It will save rope for binding, which will cost as much or more here as the box in the U. S. while the rope will be used up by the constant chafing.

2<sup>nd</sup>. – It will prevent waste of oil on the overland journey from Baghdad.

3<sup>rd</sup>. – The boxes will be worth two or three times what they cost, and we need all we can legitimately gather.

I would also recommend that all other boxes be treated in the same way. Let two or three or four boxes, according to weight and size, be put into one box made for them. This made-up box will be a half horse load, or a half mule load, and should weigh not more than 110 pounds for a half horse load and not more than 137½ pounds for a half mule load. The covers of every box should be fastened with screws; not a nail allowed to enter the cover.

The boxes in which kerosene is exported answers every purpose until they are loaded on to mules and carried two or three days' journey. Last year we lost much in this way from leakage; every box was unjointed and sometimes held together by the encircling ropes. I included half a barrel of flour in the list because it will save money to import it, and give us an incomparably better article.

We have now a good many things here in Baghdad that need not be taken away to the scene of excavations. I have felt compelled to buy some necessary articles of furniture and to improvise divans and lounges, according to the Oriental style of living. I have also bought a set of table china and a half dozen Vienna chairs – nothing, however, that is not absolutely necessary to maintain a house respectably among these English people. While the receiving rooms present a pleasing appearance it has been done with due regard to expenditure. I have not charged any of these things to the Expedition and shall not without your voluntary consent: but will sell them for what I can get afterwards. I can set a good looking table now and it is essential for such an Expedition as this purports to be, to live respectably, and I am trying hard to do that, and yet look well to the expense at the same time. What shall I do about expenses of furniture? I think the English community feel well toward us, and all show many courtesies.

I am making friends with the Turkish officials high in authority and who while they are subordinate to the Governor General, can effectually block or hasten matters in which they are biased. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of July I shall try to hold a reception as Consul, inviting foreign consuls and government officials. All this gives us influence and makes furniture necessary; but it comes to more than it costs. If the Expedition expects to continue for several years I recommend to rent a house in Baghdad by the year, thus getting it at the best advantage, say for 45 or 50 liras, taking the furniture I now own, and then a house is ready for us at any time, and necessary furniture is also ready. If anyone says this furniture is for my special use, I reply that Noorian shares and demands it, and that all the advantage coming out of it accrues to the Expedition if we are to continue the work in these parts and regard the people of influence among whom we live. I will keep the account separately and see what it costs to carry the household through to the end for this season. Of course living expenses the Expedition is bound to pay, and I shall charge them. I write now about the house in order that you may have ample time to think of it, and in this connection I cannot refrain from adding a word of warning which will prove to be unnecessary. It is this[:] That if the site of excavations is to be changed (and I believe the Government will compel us to choose some other site) there is little time in which to do it. It is a slow process at quickest. I hope the matter is already moving. I do not believe the presence of any agent other than our own Minister is required, with say Professor Millingen to keep it moving. A complimentary letter to Hamdi Bey written in English on official paper enclosed in an official envelope, addressed to “His Excellency, Hamdi Bey, Director of the Imperial Museum, Constantinople”, will tickle his vanity and help to win his heart, and will not at the same time cost much. It if were sent to Professor Millingen to be presented by him in person he (Prof. M.) would make a good job out of it. A Turk likes flattery above all things, unless it is backsheesh and when he has plenty to eat and drink flattery has the advantage.

I trust you will bear with me while I revive an old topic referring to weapons. During these 8 years of wandering life I have often been in danger, and while for that particular time I trusted in Providence and went boldly forward, each time I resolved to provide myself with suitable weapons believing that it was tempting Providence to continue certain risks against which it was plainly my duty to provide as far as possible and trust the rest to Providence. In one way and another I have been thwarted and so continue to go boldly on. But I believe it is wrong. If failure to provide

against probable contingencies passes into willful neglect I do not believe Providence will honor it. We must do our utmost to meet the known dangers and having done that we may safely trust all the rest to His care.

Last year I wrote fully about the matter of rifles and pistols. It was promised in a sweeping statement, but I, like Noorian, had not rifles. Dr. Graham, a Missionary of Aleppo, said to me: "I would not go without a rifle". I replied: "It is too late to back out now". Missionaries as a rule never tour without a repeating rifle and the show of it generally carries its owner safely through. No other part of the World respects force as does this country. Sanders, Missionary of [blank] had carried a Winchester for eight years of touring work without occasion to use it. Going on a short tour without his rifle through familiar regions with several native people he and all the party were robbed. It is probable that if he had had his rifle on his shoulder no robbers would have been seen and he would have reported the country safe. Sanders does not tour without his rifle now.

I wish to ask for a rifle (repeating) for Noorian, myself, and four trusty servants and for a large revolver (Colts Army) and a 38 caliber Smith and Wesson for each of us (Noorian and I). If another member comes out, treat him like Noorian and myself. We have two rifles here and may reasonably expect to recover Field's now in Alexandretta. Taken all in all I believe the carbines will be more serviceable than the full length of barrel. If we recover the rifle in Alexandretta we shall then have two carbines, and one rifle of full length barrel. Three more carbines and two large so-called-Army revolvers and two Smith and Wesson's 38 caliber revolvers, nickle plated, with plenty of ammunition for practice in a quiet and prudent way, would meet our wishes. Every additional member should have a carbine and the two pistols. If this question is brought up before certain persons it will be argued that our rifles were of no use to us anywhere last year, and were a cause of annoyance at Niffer. I will offer but one comment upon that. There was no need that the rifles should have caused the least friction or trouble at Niffer or anywhere else. I cannot go into details to convince you of my position, without saying some things that may seem like pointed criticisms of others. Any person of average conceit, who spends a few months in such a country as this, knowing neither language nor Oriental methods of thought: neither the customs nor the traditions of the people, nor the cringing difference, if such a term may be used, shown towards any physical advantage, such a person is liable to hasty generalization from insufficient data, and he finds supposed analogies, in which he is mistaken, confirming his position, which may also be wrong. I do not wish to explain further: but I repeat the request. Let us have the guns.

Whatever may be said by any person qualified or unqualified to judge, we need the guns. Though anyone should claim to speak with authority as well as experience and convince you and each member of the Committee that the guns will be unnecessary and my position is wrong; still I beg of you, and of each member of the Committee, to put aside your convictions for this once, thank the gentleman for his disinterested speech, and send the guns. I reiterate it again and again. We want them and we need them and do not think it wise to go without them. Please excuse me for saying so much about this matter. Once I have been cheated out of them after presenting all reasonable arguments and that fact accounts for the unreasonableness of these tiresome statements.

Dr. Peters will doubtless explain to your satisfaction the reasons which keep us in Baghdad. The consulate work keeps me here now, and will until Sept. or Oct. though under the existing circumstances it would have been quite impossible for us to have left Baghdad. The plans that had been presented had not been approved by the Committee, and the Director had been recalled. Everybody except Noorian and I had left. We knew not what was coming next. We only knew that you wanted us to remain. Harper was also asked to remain. His departure made against your instructions complicated matters still more. I had to bear the whole burden – a terribly heavy one – of getting off three members at war with each other and no one to ~~keep~~ help in the smallest matter. Noorian now takes hold pleasantly and bears part of the burden whenever there is anything to do. I think we shall get along well in future, if no disturbing element comes in to work mischief.

I will forward the statement of accounts in another envelope.

The weather continues hot. It will be quite impossible to develop the photographs in Baghdad until cooler weather. The French Consul takes photographs at all seasons so far as he is able: but has to put aside his work through the summer. He says the gelatine film dissolves in the solutions. The thermometer rises above 100 every day; has registered 112° in the shade. I dare not try to do anything with them. I wish they had gone with Dr. Peters. I do not like to trust them to be sent through Custom Houses and do not know what to do with them except to keep them [saf]ely here for the present. If you accept the above plan of hiring an assistant for next year photographs can be sent with the weekly or monthly reports as the case may be. However I scarcely see what better to do this year than I am doing, having missed the opportunity to send them by Dr. Peters.

Very sincerely yours

(Signed) John Henry Haynes.

[1889-06-30. Peters to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 79. L-977. HO]

Dresden, June 30/89

Dear Mr. Clark

Dr. Pepper's letter of June 11<sup>th</sup> received. Have taken passage on Saale from Bremen to New York July 3<sup>rd</sup>. This was best I could do without considerable extra expense, if even then I do not know where everybody is. Will you drop me a line at 99<sup>th</sup> St. & 10<sup>th</sup> Ave., New York, telling me when & where meeting will be, & what I am wanted to do beforehand, if I am wanted to do anything. I hope Haynes' financial report has arrived ere this. He has not sent it to me, & I have been bombarding him with letters to hurry him up, & am in despair, if he has not sent it to Phila.

Yours very truly John P. Peters.

[1889-07-03. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 84-85. L-1213. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I return the letters from Peters to you, and I also send letters just received from Straus and Hilprecht and Peters. I shall return to Philadelphia next week for 2 days, Wednesday and Thursday 10th and 11th. You will see from Peters letter to me that he does not expect to leave until the 2nd at the earliest. I presume it will be some days later. As he goes by Dresden, I fear we cannot count upon his arriving in Philadelphia before July 20th. However I am sure he will hurry forward as fast as he can. It seems impossible to me to apportion the trouble fairly between the different members. Professor Harper acknowledged to me, that his Brother was very hard to get on with, and that he thought he had behaved in a foolish and childish manner. I like the courage both Peters and Hilprecht shew, although quite naturally Peters was greatly crestfallen for a time. I am very hopeful myself that when we get all the facts before us, we shall find that our financial loss is the only serious one, and that we shall have a scientific basis for continuing the work on a comparatively inexpensive scale. Shall you be in town next week? I shall be very glad to see you, and will come down to your office either Wednesday or Thursday when most convenient to you.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.  
July 3rd 1889.

Wm. Pepper

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[1889-07-08. Haynes to E.W. Clark (1). UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 86-93. HO]

Baghdad July 8. 1889

My dear Mr Clark:

In a letter from Smyrna just received Dr Peters implies that either Mustapha or I are to be held responsible for the loss of the money in the Niffer fire. He inquires whose fault it was. Of course Dr Peters can hold no one but me responsible. Whether Mustapha was at all worthy of blame I will permit no one to inquire. The money was in my responsible keeping. I had no suitable provision for keeping it. I tried to do what I thought wisest and best. And until the fire everything went well. It was plain I could not keep money in my room which must necessarily be left unguarded for a considerable portion of each day. The money tied up in different bags was made into a strong parcel carefully bound with cord whose ends were sealed with wax, and the wax stamped. It was then put into one of the so-called "Houryes", enormous bags of leather, and the bag closed and kept in the kitchen with the food supplies. No one except Mustapha ever went to this bag. It was in his responsible care. He helped me open the money, always in secret, and helped me put it back again each pay-day. It was not opened oftener. The servants as a whole were bidden not to leave the kitchen unguarded. The cook in particular was specially instructed not to leave the kitchen without a responsible guard for a moment under any considerations. I believe they were faithful to their charge. Indeed no one but myself can realize the faithfulness of the servants in all important matters. The day after the robber was shot I paid off the workmen for the last time, and then when taking the necessary silver from the parcel I took out the bag of gold, fearing that some sudden disturbance might arise in which the kitchen stores might be plundered. In short I took it out, though no one else knows of it, in order that, if we should be driven away suddenly, we might have the gold if we could not save the silver. I had carried it on my person two days until my pantaloons would not sustain the heavy weight. Thurs. morning I carried it about with me in my saddle bags until after breakfast when I placed the bags on a raised spot at the far end of the kitchen, calling the attention of Mustapha and the cook to the bags. I then started for the water closet some distance away, feeling that the money was safer in the kitchen than with me, and so it would have been had not the destroying fire thrown everything into confusion. Our servants would not and did not allow Arabs to enter the kitchen where the money was. I told no one that there was money in my saddle bags, feeling it more prudent not to do so. One afterwards said that if I had told him that the bags contained money he would have kept it in his hand. Had I known the fire would break out does any one think I would have let it go from my own hands? It is easy to tell afterwards how it ought to have been done. In the confusion that followed no one knows what became of the bags. Very likely an Arab broke into the tent and took them as they took Dr Peters rifle and field glasses. Many Arabs were closely watching us, observed the most favorable moment for setting the fire, set it in different places and while our men were getting out the things, broke into the kitchen from the

rear. What became of the saddle bags neither I nor anyone else knows. Another time I should not incur the same risks.

I feel humiliated over the loss. No amount of humiliation will restore the loss. I must face the facts as they are. Blame me if you will. I blame myself. But I do not like to have Dr Peters blame me, especially as he will give me no credit for many a hard won success the credit of which he will claim to himself as if he had wrought it out by his own exertion. Without malice toward him I shall not reply to him in this matter. If you wish I will stand a part of the loss, to be taken out of my salary, though in that case I should not be willing to take the risks of handling the expeditions money against such odds in future. If trusted with money in future I will promise to do my best in every possible way to guard it; but I do not want to restore losses that are purely accidental, though the accident may result from some act of mine. I will not however be the less conscientious in keeping it safely. I should not be likely to be caught in the same way again, and yet I have lived long enough to avoid boasting in such matters. With what should seem extra care it might go quicker next time.

Allow me here to renew a special request made last year of Dr Peters. Will you not send out a kind of safe I have heard of, but never seen. It is described as an iron safe, portable, like a trunk in shape with handles, and light enough for two to remove from a burning house. If there be such a portable trunk safe provided with combination lock, will you not send out a small one? Inclose it in a wooden box and affix the lid with screws instead of nails. In size and shape the so-called Steamer trunk is perhaps the best for our purpose, though it might be smaller. I should then feel I had a place to keep money. In place of the safe Dr Peters extolled the merits of a tin trunk costing 15 shillings. The first day on a mule's back the seams opened, and the lock broke. He brought a small tin despatch box specially for cash, and then took it for his stationary and the expedition's postage stamps. I was disappointed beyond measure about the trunk safe as I was about the weapons. I tried however to make the best of it without grumbling or casting reflections on another. If you can show me a better way to keep the money I shall be convinced and thank you for it.

If you find in this any allusions to anyone that seem unfriendly I wish to add that I cherish no spirit of bitterness and have written what I have written not to criticize but to gain a point in future equipment or methods. I would gladly leave references and allusions out of written speech. I wish you could come out here and see with a business man's eyes the conditions and requirements of this kind of work for which an impracticable novice be he never so good a man for some other purposes, is unfitted. Dr Peters may be an excellent man for many kinds of work requiring such talents as he possesses. He would be a good compiler of Books, not an original investigator. You cannot afford to return him. Better give up the work than repeat last year's failures.

Very truly yours J.H. Haynes

[1889-07-08. Haynes to E.W. Clark (2). UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 94-99. HO]

Baghdad July 8. 1889

Mr E.W. Clark – Treas. of Bab. Ex. Fund. –

My Dear Sir:

In fulfillment of last weeks promise I send you by this week's post copies of the more important accounts taken from the ledger page by page. My apology for not copying each separate ledger account is the burning heat and inability to sleep well, confessions an active man does not like to make.

However the confession will win a grain of sympathy when I tell you that the temperature yesterday was 116° Fahr. in the shade, and has been about that for a full week. This is not the highest temperature. 120° Fahr. has already been measured in some places within the city, and perhaps the latter is the truer measurement. Lest 120 degrees may seem to you too strong a statement please accept the former statement as my official report. Toward evening and long after sunset the house walls, tables, books, ink stands, door knobs are uncomfortably hot to handle. My night shirt, that hangs two feet from the wall, gives me a burning sensation uncomfortable to bear. If [*sic*] might be pleasant with the thermometer 120° below zero; but is not conducive to rest with the thermometer 120° above zero.

A few words of explanation about the accounts not copied may be of service to you.

I will omit the personal accounts except Dr Peters and Field's, and will enumerate them in the order given in the "Trial Balance".

"Travelling Expenses" is not copied, partly because there is so much of it, and partly because the accompanying statement, will, I imagine, be more useful to the Committee as a basis for future appropriations than a copy of the ledger covering eleven pages.

"Provisions Board etc." is not copied, since I think it will make little difference to you what the items are, and I have not energy to copy all. This account includes all provisions, imported and native, not included in Travelling Expenses. It also includes fuel, lights, washing and what we may call general household expenses. From Aleppo to Baghdad our party numbered 7 members. 5 servants and generally two mounted guards. From Baghdad to Niffer. 6 members. 1 Turkish Commissioner. 5 servants and 6 to 10 zaptiehs or mounted guards. During the last month at Niffer we dispensed uncooked food to the soldiers sent to guard us, who were really ill fed and worse paid. Their regular wages, 80 piasters and a small quantity of wheat per month were six, seven, and eight months in arrears. The food dispensed would perhaps maintain 10 men 3 weeks or more. The last 3 days at Niffer we fed fully 100 men and for several days afterward we

provided for from six to thirty soldiers. If any fault be found with my action in feeding these destitute soldiers or if the statements in any small particular be decried, or if it be urged that it was unnecessary to furnish food; that the local governor expressly said "Give them nothing" etc. or if the action be disapproved I hope I may be allowed to explain. The responsibility was mine and I do not fear disapprobation from any reasonable man, who will try to understand the matter. Under this account the expenditure is large, but with a party constituted like ours I fail to see how the expense could have been reduced, without serious trouble. It is not my fault that the party was large and demanding.

"Horse Keeping" represent the cost of keeping the expedition's horses (six) the Turkish Commissioner's horse, and six government mules for the use of the six mounted zaptiehs sent as a guard to Niffer, – making seven horses & six mules. – The greater part of this sum was expended at Niffer.

"Bringing Water" 76 days @ 10 ps. = 760 to which must be added 63 ps. in Presents according to oriental customs. For 1 man; 2 women and 3 donkeys this is not dear.

Field owes expedition 326 piasters.

"Books & Stationary has but two items from J.P.P.

"Constantinople Deposit" is the 100 liras deposited at Constantinople as pledge money. Nominally this will be refunded: but in practice there will be difficulty in recovering it.

"Niffer Loss" represents the Cash deficit found after counting the remaining cash and comparison with the Cash Book.

"Cash" 8925 piasters = 89¼ liras is the sum for which I am responsible to you. This does not however represent the amount of cash now in hand since I have not yet charged our expenses for June. It will be difficult to keep good our credit until money can be sent by return mail and yet I shall be able to live in some way or other and not wholly destroy our credit. I trust you will be able to remit soon. My Consular fees amount to \$95. to date. Will the Committee chose to pay all necessary expenses of house-rent, furniture and the extra expenses made necessary by my official position and ask me to put the fees into the expedition purse, or will it prefer to pay those expenses necessary to our living here in a way to preserve health and make a respectable appearance in the midst of a well-to-do community, and make me pay from my fees the expenses belonging exclusively to the Consulate?

I have incurred no expense that does not in my judgement give to the expedition more than its costs if there is to be a future before it in this vicinity. I have made no expenditures that did not seem to me necessary either for our health or the good of the expedition in some other way, and yet I will pay all the expenses that anyone of your Committee object to. It is difficult to say how much money will be necessary to carry us to Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> or Nov. 1<sup>st</sup>. I like to have money enough in hand for emergencies that may arise. I would suggest £100 or even more promising to spend it as carefully

as if you should give me less. In this country it is sometimes more advantageous to have ready cash than it is in a country where credit is better and capital safer.

Our expenses are pretty large. The weather is very trying, and to fortify ourselves against the intense heat requires a good deal of expenditure that would otherwise be unnecessary. I trust the Committee will allow us to expend whatever is necessary here. We are steadily gaining influence with the governor general of Baghdad and what is quite as important are winning friendship among those who stand next to the governor-general, have a vote in the councils, and can block any business coming before the government or can hasten it with a degree of celerity unknown to constitutional methods. We are working quietly and slowly, but in a way that makes all the officials, so far as one can judge, feel friendly toward us. We have a warm friend in a certain Nasret Pasha, an old statesman retired on a salary of \$1760. 00 per month. This pasha received a present from President Lincoln that seems to make him like the "Americans". He had secured the arrest and punishment of the murderers of a certain missionary and in recognition of his service Lincoln sent him a fine large Album that the Sultan so coveted that His Majesty offered any some of money the Pasha might wish. This Pasha has great influence with the governor-general. On the "Fourth" inst. I gave a reception to which all prominent officials came. On that occasion Nasret Pasha and the governor general unitedly requested me to write to the U.S. for catalogues of large pumps to raise water from the Euphrates and Tigris for irrigation purposes. I promised them I would do all in my power to obtain for them all needed information. As I know no pump manufactures I take the liberty of asking you to request a large and responsible firm to send me their catalogue with descriptive letter etc etc. A large pump driven by steam with least possible consumption of coal is wanted to raise a great volume of water 10, 20, or 30 feet. Smaller pumps driven by wind power and horse power would probably sell. Will you then request different firms to send catalogues and descriptive letters to me of Steam pumps, wind mill and horse power pumps, giving the lowest cash price at which they will engage to introduce and send a man to put up and run for a reasonable time a pump of largest capacity, also full statements respecting other mills, price, quantity of water per minute or hour power required, consumption etc. of fuel. I will do my best to introduce a really good article, but I want it to be the very best article America can produce.

Very sincerely yours

John Henry Haynes.

[1889-07-08. Noorian to Ward. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 45-51. FC 5. TC]

U.S. Consulate Baghdad July 8th 1889

Dear Dr. Ward: –

Your letter of May 27th reached me day before yesterday. It was very good and interesting letter and I thank you for it. I also gathered from your letter that you have not had a very clear statement in regard to the fire and other affairs. I have sent you now a letter, which is more of a story, of 20 pages telling you exactly how everything came to pass. I have not endeavored to make my statement rhetorical or poetical but I trust your deep knowledge of things will make it out and get the sense of it. You also seem to think that our running away so soon was unnecessary and that we could have arranged to pay the price of the blood and gain thier friendship again. I must tell you something my dear Dr. Ward. I suppose if a man wanted to do a thing can do it very well, and if he knows how to do it he can do it with great ease; but if he does not know and those who know are muzzled and can't or dare to open their mouths and if they did thier advise was not accepted what can a person do in such case, then.

It will probably interest you to know the atonement law of the Affej Arabs. It would have been necessary for us, if we were to pay for the blood, shed, to give two women, over to the nearest reletives of the person killed and about ten liras in money. The idea of giving women over to them is to establish relation with them and be secure all your life and the money is to pay for the feast which they'll have; but we did not have such thing as women with us to give away. Who would have given his wife or daughter or sister to the wild Arabs We would have been glad, if we had wives, to keep them to ourselves. I suppose, however, we could have bought one or two women, for 20 liras each and little money extra would have settled matters in better shape.

Now that privilege can't be had and no use regreting over it. If there is anybody to be blamed for all this it is Dr. Peters. He made great show at first and exhibited his gun and pistol, as he came up from Diwaniah, to the sons of the chief Sheikh, and was not willing to give them what they wanted and not only that but he absolutely refused to keep Arab guard on the hill so as to hold them responsible for any damages or losses occured under their protection.

Another thing which speaks against him is he was, according to the Arab ideas, not hospitable enough and did not show them the proper respect of which they think great deal. Many other things are against him but there is no use in mentioning them. I don't want you, however, to think that I am set against Dr. Peters or, misrepresenting him maliciously. There is nothing of the sort. Whatever I say here in this letter or have said in the past I am the owner of it responsible for any time in the presence of all those who were and are connected with the Expedition. I simply report these things and facts to you that you might have a clear understanding and full comprehension of all things pretaining to our Expedition. Also when you know all these things Dr. Peters can't very well report things differently.

Now about Mr. Haynes' saddle bags.

If we are to tell and accept the truth, Mr. Haynes is to be blamed for the loss of the money.

Noone knew what Haynes's bag contained and if any one knew did not know how much they contained.

The only person who suspected there was money in it was I, but I did not know how much and of what description, money, it had in it.

Mr. Haynes, first of all, ought to have had the money on his person. Second, if it was too heavy for him to carry on his person he ought to have given it to one like Mustafa who is to be trusted great deal. Third if he did not trust any of the servants he ought to have intrusted his saddle bags to any of us, while he wanted to be away (telling us of what they contained). Fourth, If he did not wish to trust any of us it was his duty, then, to carry his bags on his shoulders where ever he went and not leaving them in the kitchen without telling one of the servants to take care of them while he was away.

I am sure [*underlined 4 times*] that if Mr. Haynes had committed his saddle bags to any [*underlined 3 times*] of the servants they would have been saved. For, we have as proof this. All the money (silver money) we had was left in a bag and committed into Mustafa's charge and when the fire took place that was saved first of all, else we would have had no money to return with. But now let us consider the question from its moral stand point. All that previous statement is what business men would hold as right but is it truly so? Did Mr. Haynes try to be careless purposely? Did he wish any ill of any sort to the Expedition and its interest? Has he not been over careful and economical with the money of the Expedition?

Did he foretell the danger coming and did not take proper precautions? Had he any pleasure in what happened at all? Would have, the University, advised him to have plunged himself into the fire and burn himself to death or run such foolish risk for £200 liras or more? The committee at home ought to be thankful to Providence and glad that they have only lost such a small sum which is not hardly worth mentioning, regarding the awful accident.

It is worth to them all the world that non of our lives is lost. What would they have done if the fire had taken place in the night and half of us if not all were roasted to death before we were awaked up? I hope My Dear Dr. Ward that if all of them are against him you will be for him. He can not afford to pay the losse of the Expedition and his own on top of it. He has not the means to do it if he wished to. I know him and you too know him well.

Do stand up for him. He is too innocent to be taken advantage of by Dr. Peters or any body else. Suppose if he or any other person had seen the Arab with the saddle bags and ran after him and finally in some gully the Arab had turned and shot him what could we have done, nothing whatever! This being the case I sincerely hope you will exert all your influence to protect him all you can.

You all wanted to know if our workmen did not stand up for us, they would if some other tribe had come upon us but as this was from their chief Shiekh they had (that is his party) to help him somewhat else the rest were very faithful to us. Another thing, Arabs are not to be trusted at all. Their best, when he has a chance, can be the worst.

As to the estate of affairs here in the hands of the government, there is no prospect of thier being of any use to us. The Wali tries, as he has tried from the first, to influence the central government that our fire was accidental and not intentional. Why he tries to prove that when it is not true, I do not know. Doubtless he has some purpose in acting so; and that does not speak in our favor and to our advantage. As far as I can see it is perfectly folly to entertain the idea of recovering our losse, and the Turks are not such fools as to go to work and inflict punishment upon the Arabs for our interest.

As to the Assyrian books we have nothing but Layards. It is too hot to study anything. I am trying my best, however, to improve my time all I can. I am now able to swim and cross the Tigris. Since my last letter to you I have bought 5 good cylinders for 7 liras. Dear but I wanted them. I wish I had some good sealing wax to take impressions and send to you

Today we had a letter from Dr. Peters from Constantinople planing for me some, what he called, important work. He wants me, under Haynes's super vision to go down as far as Abu-Shahrayn and Warka and all those places to learn the tribale relations there and what can be expected from the Arabs and report to him before he comes back. I shall be very sorry if I have to travel alone in this heat among thos unknown regions. It will mean death to me in this heat I know. I am well now and hope you are well too. Father and mother send kind regards.

Affectionately Yours,



D.Z.N.

Kind regards to Mrs. Dowden. Excuse the length of this letter, and all its imperfectness.

Write soon.

[*Written by Fisher:*] On 1 single (1-2) & 1 double sheet 3-6 – 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  ruled in blue with blue marginal line (w. marked G. F, K. + M. & lines.)

[1889-07-09. Frazier to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 100-101. L-1235. HO]

July 9/89

Dear Mr Clark,

I have read the letters wh. you kindly sent me, and have passed them over to Mr. Harrison. I enclose a letter wh. I have just received from Dr. Peters in response to the cable, wh. we sent to Dresden. Will there be a meeting of the Committee this week?

Yours truly

W.W. Frazier

E.W. Clark Esq.

I received yesterday a short note from Dr. Peters written from Constantinople to advise me that he expected to arrive in N.Y. about 7<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> inst.

[1889-07-09. Trumbull to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 103-104. L-1236. TO]

*The Sunday School Times.*

EDITORIAL ROOMS.

*1031 Walnut St., Philadelphia*

July 9th, 1889.

Mr. E. W. Clark,

School Lane, Germantown.

My dear Mr. Clark:

I regretted to learn, on calling at your office yesterday and to-day, that you have been detained at home by illness. I trust that you will soon be about again.

I called to say that Dean Bartlett received a note from Professor Peters, at Constantinople, saying that he should be in New York this week—July 10th to 17th—on a “flying visit”. Perhaps he is already there; although, indeed, a delay at Dresden in arranging to bring his family with him may have postponed the date of his arrival.

It is evident that he will be here very soon. I have heard from Dr. Hilprecht since he rejoined his wife at St. Blasien. He was surprised to find her very weak from the effect of a surgical operation which she had undergone without his knowledge. He thinks, however, that she is in a fair way to recovery.

It looks as if it would devolve upon you to disclose to Professor Peters the true state of things concerning the Expedition, which will doubtless be a decided surprise to him.

Yours sincerely,

H. Clay Trumbull

Dictated.

[1889-07-09. Ward to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 102. L-1263. TC]

The Independent, 251 Broadway, N. Y.

July 9th, 1889.

My dear Dr. Pepper,

I enclose you my two last letters from Mr. Haynes and Mr. Noorian. I shall make it clear to them how little personal influence I could hope to exert with Blaine. Whatever is done for the consulate must be through you, of course. I suppose it is hopeless to ask for more than a \$1500. salary. But I presume he will somehow survive, although the English and French and Russian consulates there are much more expensive affairs.

Mrs. Field writes me that she told you that Daniel Noorian spoke in a letter to me as if Mr. Haynes were not the man for the place. That is hardly so. He spoke of his lack of property, and also that he is a slow spoken man, and at a disadvantage, as a social swell, as compared with some others. It did not in the least affect his competence otherwise.

Please return when through with the letters. I shall be glad to hear of Dr. Peters' return. Of course we must all give him all the eclat we can.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Wm. Hayes Ward.

[1889-07-13. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 105-106. L-1214. TO]

Newport R.I. July 13th 1889.  
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Dear Mr Clark,

Unfortunately I was forced to go to Baltimore. I expected to return so as to reach you on Wednesday morning. I was greatly disappointed when I found that I could not do so, too late to telegraph you in time. I had nothing new to communicate excepting to tell you that I have an invoice and bill of lading for the antiquities shipped from London by Taylor and Sons. I have placed the latter in the hands of Mr Shultz 426 Library St, and yesterday I signed the necessary power of Attorney. The goods are on the Maryland, which sailed on the 19th and is due in 2 or 3 days. I shall be glad to hear of their safe arrival. I enclose you letters sent me by Dr Ward which have interested me considerably. I think we can readily bring influence enough upon Mr Blaine to have Mr Haynes' salary granted him, and we may thus be able to secure him as our loyal friend. I think we have better not move into the matter until we have seen Dr Peters, and determine upon our line of action. Pray don't trouble yourself to return these but keep them so that we can discuss them when we meet. I venture to express the hope that you are taking a real vacation yourself this Summer. I have had glimpses of your work, and of the steady strain to which you are subjected, and of the earnest and thorough way in which you treat everything you take hold of; and I am sure that you should give yourself a good long complete rest. Kindly tell me what your address will be so that if I hear from Peters I can at once communicate with you.

Yours sincerely,

E.W.Clark Esqr.  
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Wm. Pepper.

P.S.

I notice that Dr Ward wishes the letters returned. May I beg that you will have type written copies made of them, and will then send the originals back to him in New York?

[1889-07-15. Telegram, Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 107. L-1216. HO]

July 15 1889

Newport R.I.

Edward W. Clark Esq. School Lane

Germantown Pa

Good please notify Clarence Peters Trumbull Harrison Frazier Wood here.

William Pepper

[1889-07-18. Pepper to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 109-110. L-1217. HO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark

Will you kindly send me to 15 Greenough St Newport R.I. Dr Peters present address. I failed to get it today.

I feel we were led to the right decision – and that great good will come from our meeting today.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

July 18/89

[1889-07-18. Telegram, Pepper to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 111. L-1215]

July 18 1889

Newport R.I.

E.W. Clark

School Lane

No report from Haynes Wednesday bad day for meeting Frazier Harrison Engaged Can you make it half past ten Thursday morning

William Pepper

[1889-07-19. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.09, 113-114. TO+HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

May I beg that you will send at your early convenience to Professor W.R. Harper Chautauqua N.Y., the small amount due to him for the cablegram to London to his Brother.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

July 19th 1889.

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[*Added by hand:*]

I have yours : also a letter from Dr. Peters. I have seen Stuart Wood, who will subscribe : I hope \$1000. I will be responsible for Mr. Houston. I will have Peters come here for an interview – & will go over other names with him. I agree with you as to the importance of getting the amounts secured – but I know how widely people are scattered now; & I am very unwilling to have the mishaps of last year repeated – even party not ready to go to work as soon as the weather permits.

The other point – as to the accounts – seems to me even more important. It is highly desirable to see those accounts & to see them while Peters is here : but will it not be an immense sacrifice of time to wait for them? With \$11.000 secured : with uncertainty as to everything there until Peters reports on our present finds & on Niffer : it seems then on the whole, his best place is there, as soon as possible. He can readily wait until August 1 & should be able to accomplish somewhat in the way of money by that time. Mr. Hirsch may arrive by that time.

I should say – let Peters work hard for money until August 1<sup>st</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> : let us hope Hirsch will put in an appearance by that time : but do not keep him for the accounts.

Yours sincerely

William Pepper

In Maryland is [*ill.*] : I enclose Taylor's note – please send am't due him as per enclosed & charge to special fund advanced for purchase of antiquities.

[1889-07-20. Haynes to Pepper. HSN 2560. TC]

Baghdad July 20th 1889.

Provost Wm Pepper M.D.LL.D.

My dear Sir:

My brother-in-law Mr Charles S. Peach of North Adams, Mass, to whom I am now writing, will doubtless be ready, on receipt of this, to send a suit of Clothes and a few trifling articles of wear to me. I am asking him to communicate with you, thinking you will be able and willing to refer him to the party having in charge the packing and shipping of supplies for the Expedition, if there is to be one the coming season. In case the supplies shall not have been shipped on receipt of this or, which seems to me more probable, if the other supplies shall have been shipped and the Arms and Ammunition shall not have been sent with the other supplies, then I beg of you to secure the Arms and Ammunition according to the request made in my previous letter, except, I wish that request had been less modest and asked for six instead of three carbines. Perhaps you may still be induced to increase the number. I really do not think it extravagant. Of course a small party cannot handle as many guns as a large party. On the other hand I will take as many guns in the hands of attendants to protect two or three foreigners as it will to protect six. The practical working of last seasons methods was this. Whoever had a Gun considered it for his own selfish use. Those who would have known best when to shoot had no guns. I prefer to put rifles into the hands of faithful servants than to have them myself, if all cannot have them. At all events I want the faithful servants furnished with rifles, if I am to go into dangerous places. The people of this country including the Arabs fear repeating rifles more than any other weapons. If weapons have not been sent, will you not secure them at once and have the clothing from my Brother-in-law and the Arms and Ammunition securely packed in a strong, carefully, made box, as nearly square in shape as possible, and just large enough to receive the carbines diagonally. Empty spaces may be filled up with excelsior or any light and dry material. On no condition should the box be long and narrow, nor should it be labeled "Arms". At the time of writing you about the weapons no mention was made of any way to send them. I did not know then what course to pursue, and I did not want to cheat the government. Since that time I have made diligent enquiries, sought the best advice obtainable, and given much thought to the subject. The British, French, Russian and Persian Consuls have rifles on their premises for defense in case of possible emergency, which, in this hotbed of Moslem fanaticism may arise at any moment. The new Russian Consul brought into Baghdad several rifles for defense in time of possible need. I find that every consul here has such an equipment, and the Government tacitly recognizes the right. The Russian Consul recently brought in his rifles packed in ordinary boxes among clothing, bedding and other household goods. The guns were then considered part and parcel of his personal effects and official supplies both of which he has a recognized right to receive. I have an equal right to receive similar effects and supplies and intend to insist, if need be, on that right. It will however be yielded without hesitation. If only these six rifles, two large and two small pistols can be brought under the

following broad head "Personal effects and official supplies" and if the committee will send them according to directions to be given below I will get them into the country – barring accidents – without trouble or friction of any kind, and without defrauding the Turkish government in any way, but to bring them under the above mentioned head I ask that the committee, since they wish him to make journeys into dangerous places, to send to J.H. Haynes as United States Consul, for the defense of his person and residence, both of which are inviolable, a suitable supply of weapons and ammunition as above described, in order that he may travel with safety in the interests of archaeological science, whenever he shall obtain permission from the Department of State to do so, and furthermore, for the defense of the U. S. Consulate, whenever such defense is needed either to protect himself or to offer protection to members of any future expedition to be sent out under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania etc.

This sounds as if there was no other protection than force of arms in my code. This is Turkey and as Consul I have a moral right far transcending any written law of the land, universally recognized here. I will engage to put to the use of any expedition you may send out these weapons, or rather let me say will offer protection so far as possible to parties hereafter sent out, and so far as my government will permit me to do, and whenever my term of office shall expire I will hand them over to my successor or hold them at your disposal with the exception that they shall never be sold nor presented to any native of the country, and thus compromise the good faith virtually pledged in getting them into the country. There will be no objection to selling them or presenting them to the local government when they shall no longer be needed. If subject to my control, I can get them in in good faith and with clear conscience. I believe much will be said against sending these weapons by a certain-class?-, but I beg of you for Noorian and myself to send them all if you wish us either alone, or in company with others, to make future journeys into places of danger and risk. All journeys into Southern Mesopotamia are and must be attended with more or less danger. It is not necessary that the rifles be a cause of friction. If wisely managed they will always produce a wholesome impression, and inspire that kind and degree of physical dread, which in a rude people, becomes the basis of moral respect. We can go anywhere you wish us to go, and will undertake to do so if you will put at our disposal these weapons and allow me to maintain a body guard and let us keep a somewhat larger number of servants than last year. The so called body guard would render service of other kinds and make a good impression wherever we might go; would be more under our own control than the soldiers and cause less friction than the soldiers. I should make these men responsible for property keeping a guard over hidden money without revealing its whereabouts. I will promise not to be extravagant nor to keep up useless show.

Birdie, Sheik of El Hemsah from the region of Niffer has been staying here as our guest for six days. We have entertained him hospitably, and I believe he feels friendly to us and profoundly sorry for the troubles of last April. If we return to Niffer his visit here will undoubtedly result in untold good to us. I wish I had the money in hand to make him a good present, and thus send him homeward rejoicing. The Arabs highly prize presents from friends. He seems to regard it a distinguished honor to be entertained in the house of a Consul, whose influence and authority he greatly magnifies, and he will want me to maintain a good deal of dignity and do much among the Arabs to stimulate a show of respect-which was utterly wanting last year.

Perhaps you will weary of this, if so pardon me. I thought that this free conversational style of writing might aid you in forming clear pictures of what I believe essential to the highest success among the Arabs, with their patriarchal views of life etc. etc. There was no thought of magnifying my office, though I want to say that it will be the safest means of winning respect and influence and security to life and property. No member of last years party had the means of judging of the merits of this question, and I refuse to submit it to them. I still hold the same impression opinion as I stated to Dr Peters more than a year ago. Last year I urged Dr Peters to bring out a kind of Iron trunk-safe in which money and small valuables can be stored. I would now renew the request, and urge you to send it if such safes can be had. I have never seen them, but they are described as movable safes with trunk handles designed for use in dwelling houses, and light enough to be carried by two men in case of fire. It should be enclosed in a strong box whose cover is fastened with screws. I wrote to Mr Clark about this as it relates to safe keeping of money. A size not larger than the so called "Steamer Trunk" will be best to transport on pack animals.

If I may refer again to photographic supplies let me call your attention to the enclosed advertisements. If the supplies should not have been purchased before receiving this letter will you not have some competent person inquire into the merits of the "Ivory Films" of the Scoville and Adams Co or of the "Celluloid" films of John Carbutt. If equally good in all respects as glass plates, then of course there is great advantage in choosing these in preference to glass, which is both breakable and heavy to transport I would much prefer them to anything else if they meet all the requirements claimed for them. I would like a few bottles of the "Ivory varnish" called "Kristalnie" say a half dozen bottles (4 oz) or more.

The Scoville double level would be desirable and useful, but I can, as I always have got along without it. The heat continues steady. If we could sleep very well I think we should get along very well. The Thermometer rises above 110° Fahr every day. 120° is the highest reported. We have no thermometer but I judge from reports that the average daily maximum temperature for nearly three weeks is 112°- too hot to accomplish much work.

Very sincerely yours

(signed) John Henry Haynes.

[1889-07-22. Noorian to Ward. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 52-55, FC 5. TC]

U.S. Consulate Baghdad, July 22, 1889.

My dear Dr. Ward:

I was expecting a letter from you by this mail but it seems that you are always busy and most of the time away. I had a letter from Miss Hetta but she did not seem to know what has been done in Philadelphia. You know I depend on you for all informations of that sort. Last Wednesday we had a telegram from Dr. Peters and heard of his arrival. Perhaps you will be interested to know, that "Berdie" the Sheikh of one of the five divisions of the Affej subtribe of El Hamzah, has been here for nearly a week with three other persons with him. He came to make us a friendly visit and we were glad to have him. We have treated him very respectfully and his men with him. I gave him my travelling bedstead to sleep on and he sleeps on roof with us. I suppose we'll have to give him his travelling expenses to and fro. He assures us that going back to Niffer is perfectly safe. He also spoke to me, privately, that it will be better for us, if we gave little money to the poor family of the dead or killed person. He also says that we ought to be infinitely thankful that no person (that is of us) was killed.

We came very nearly to be swept away from the face of the earth and all our property would have been taken by spoil and our camp set on fire that very night if I had not sent for him and he had not come so promptly. He said as the news went to him he went up on top of his castle to hear if the Said Arabs were disturbed and, he said, he heard them shout for war and getting ready to attack us that night so he hastened and sent the cousins of the murdered person (whom he had in his camp and living on him) to tell them that if they attempted to do any harm to us they will be chastened from the Affej territory and all thier houses and tents be burned up, and so we were saved that night.

Affairs are the same now as they were two months ago. Dr. Peters might think that the Mutesarif of Hillah has been to Diwaniah for our case, but nothing has been done. The Mutesarif stayed in Diwaniah and sent some one else to enquire about the matter and according to the instruction and wish of the Wali that it should be so made the papers (that is, reported) that the fire was accidental nothing else has been done ever since. The Affej did not run away from thier place at all and no fighting was done either. I tell you of these because I see that Peters twist every thing the other way to suit himself and his reports. A thing that is nothing, he makes a big thing, of. Mr. Haynes has not done his duty to the Wali as it ought be, I think. He has not called on him but twice since we have been here. No letters of encouragement from the committee yet. O' don't I wish you were here. We could have had more than two loads of antiquities sent to Philadelphia this summer. Birdi is ready, at any time, to carry on secret excavation for me but it needs some one who has a loose not tied manly heart and money to have it done. He can do it, and the government can not know of it. And he would have brought, every thing found, to us, I know. It is perfectly madning

to let such opportunities go by. Haynes is good but O' how slow in action. Now I understand why he stayed so long in Turkey and could achieve something himself.

I believe in risking something some times. If I had known the University would not feel badly about it, I would have had excavation going on all the while for myself, but of course I can't do such things of myself. No news from Philadelphia to give us any idea of affairs there.

I am well only I have suffered quite good deal from my left eye. Last night it was badly swollen and could not use it at all this morning. I don't know the cause of it but I think it is from the bad smell of the stable next to our sitting room.

Mr. Haynes has a horse and wants to have him with him in the house and when the sun shines on the dung it is perfectly awful to sit and work. The smell is so strong. He did the same in Niffer and the result was his sickness. However I shall bear all these things and hope that some day they'll have an end.

Ever your affectionate,

Daniel.

Two pages on a single sheet  $8 \frac{1}{8}'' \times 10 \frac{1}{2}''$  ruled blue lines with blue margin lines. Page 3 – 4 on  $5 \frac{5}{16} \times 8 \frac{5}{32}$  ruled vertically + horizontally.

[1889-07-23. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 112. L-335.5. HO]

Newport R.I.

To

Messrs. E.W. Clark & Co,

Dear Sirs,

As Chairman of Executive Committee of Babylonian Exploration Fund, I write to request you to issue a credit of £1000 to Rev. Jno. P. Peters – the subscription to said Fund, which cover the amount, being responsible for said advance.

Yours respectfully

Wm. Pepper.

July 23/89

[1889-07-24. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 123-126. L-335.8. TO]

Newport, R. I.  
1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

Dr Peters has just left me. He kindly came on to Newport, and we had a prolonged interview about the affairs of the Expedition. We seem to have covered all the points in our Conference in Philadelphia, and I think the matter is now in very good shape. I think I told you I saw Mr Stewart Wood, who will subscribe. The amount not yet specified. But I hope it will be a thousand dollars. I am sure there will be no difficulty in making up the sum of \$16,000, or even a larger sum by a little exertion in the fall. The more I think of it, the more I am opposed to isolated effort at present. I think that when Hilprecht has had time to arrange the collections we have, and when the financial statement is in good shape, and when Dr Peters has sent the fuller report which he promises to write on the Steamer to Germany, that we should call a meeting of all the subscribers, so that they may know just what has been done, and just what it is proposed to do. I think then we will arouse so much interest, that we can form a collecting Committee, bringing in some new men, and can largely extend our basis of financial support. My own judgment is, instead of being a benefit to have Dr Peters stay and devote himself to calling upon individuals now, it will rather prejudice our future success. However he and I have made out a list of about a dozen probable givers, to whom he will apply during the next few days. If the result is good, the amount will be made up. If the result is bad, it will prove the truth of the above. I recognize the importance of seeing Haynes financial statement, and doubt not that it will be important to have Dr Peters revise it, so as to explain details; but I feel sure from what we know of Mr Haynes dilatory business habits, that the report was mailed hurriedly in consequence of Dr Peters cablegram. I have no idea that it was mailed one hour before the cablegram reached Baghdad. Of course I may be quite wrong, and it may be already 3 or 4 weeks upon its way. But even then there would still be 3 or 4 weeks more of delay, and I should feel that our chance of work resuming work [*sic*] promptly at the opening of the season at Niffer, or at Ur, was very greatly compromised by having detained Dr Peters so long in America. I should like him to meet Minister Hirsch, provided that the latter is to be in America in a few days, but I don't think it would be worth waiting for. Upon the whole therefore, I am decidedly of the opinion that Dr Peters should get back to Constantinople without delay, and should devote himself to learning what division of finds can be secured, and also what is the actual position at Niffer, and should cable or write us fully at the earliest possible moment. This intelligence would reach us before the middle of September, by which time everything should be in shape to enter upon a campaign for enlarging our financial resources. This seems to me the wisest programme. I hope you will approve of it, for of course Dr Peters will await your sanction before leaving. I wish you would write me a line in reply, and also wire him to his New York address. I have advised him to secure passage not later than Wednesday of next week, July 31st. Even then he

will not be ready to leave Baghdad for the field of work one hour too soon, under the most favorable conditions at Constantinople. I enclose you a letter authorizing and requesting you to give Dr Peters credit of one thousand sterling, and it will of course be necessary for him to have a small sum in cash. He thinks three hundred will be sufficient. Will you have the kindness to tell your people to give him that amount. I have already made approaches to Mr Blaine in regard to a salary for Mr Haynes. I have written to Mr Haynes fully. I have gone over the whole subject fully with Dr Peters, and I am sure he starts with a definite and well arranged plan as regards Haynes and Noorian, which will avoid any possibility of misunderstanding or trouble in the future. I have impressed upon Dr Peters the necessity of having our Committee protected and strengthened by regular monthly financial statements; by periodic reports of progress, and by every evidence that all members of the party are straining every nerve to secure the earliest and largest success possible.

Yours faithfully

Wm. Pepper

Chairman.

E.W.Clark Esqr.

July 24th 1889.

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[1889-07-25. Pepper to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 121. L-335.1. HO]

**West Island Club,**  
Post Office Box 770,  
**Newport, R. I.**

Th. Evg 7/25/89 [added by Clark]

My dear Mr. Clark,

Haynes report is here: I have wired you & Peters: have had it copied & have sent original to Peters & send copy to you. It may not be complete – but seems to look better than we feared.

It is right to deduct

Piast

49.076 for antiquities

10.000 Constant. deposit

5.800 Emergency ?

64.876 @ 4<sup>60</sup> per 100 = 2854.54

& 15.324.36 less 2854.54 = 12.469.02

Further it is scarcely fair to charge in legitimate expenses the item for Fire at Niffer = Piast 19.329.

Altogether it seems favorable. I have asked Peters at once to send you the original with full comments & explanations.

——— I also enclose a letter I had ready to go to Haynes. It must be modified somewhat.

But I wish you would read it carefully & favor me with your criticism.

Yours very truly  
Wm Pepper

[1889-07-28. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 120. L-335.3. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I enclose you a letter just received from Mrs. Field. Please note particularly Dr Ward's opinion in regard to Professor Price. It may be of service to us in the future. It was manifestly right for us to allow Dr Peters to have another chance, since it is impossible to say how much of the trouble arose from his defects and how much from the unfortunate composition of the party. I have written both Mr Harrison and Mr Frazier as you suggested. Mr Wood is thoroughly in accord. I hope to have a meeting with Mr Hirsch on Friday, and have asked Dr Peters to wait until that day if possible before starting. Kindly return Mrs Fields letter.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

July 28th 1889.

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[1889-07-29. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.09, 121-122. L-335.2. TO]

Newport R.I. July 29th 1889.

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My dear Mr Clark,

As I had not the items as clearly in my head as you have, I failed to appreciate fully the serious gaps in Haynes statement. I have added a postscript in accordance with your suggestions. I have written Dr Peters to write you as fully as possible, though I fear you were entirely right in saying that he cannot give much light upon the statement, since it is as seriously defective as you point out. I agree with you entirely that we should require Dr Peters to provide for him out of his new credit. I have therefore written to Dr Peters to this effect, reminding him that Haynes cabled that 'money would be needed soon', but that we proposed henceforward to hold him, as Director, directly responsible for every item of expenditure, and that we wished him to provide for Haynes now, and later when he reaches Constantinople. My own impression is that Peters will be at Constantinople soon enough, and we need not send the money until he gets there. I expect to detain Peters until Saturday in case Mr Blaine wires me that he has sent instructions to Mr Hirsch, so that we can see him on Friday in New York. I will see that Peters is not kept later than that day.

Is not the air of Nantucket delicious? I trust that you are enjoying yourself thoroughly and getting well rested.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

July 29th 1889.

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[1889-08-01. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 1. L-335.6. TO]

Newport R.I.

Dear Mr Clark,

Dr Peters will not sail until Saturday. I go to New York on Friday, and am trying to arrange a meeting with Mr Hirsch for that evening. I will inform you of the result. As soon as we get our exhibits in good shape, I think we shall be able to run up a good list of annual subscribers, such as the Egyptian Exploration Fund has. We ought to be able to get \$ 10 or \$ 15 a year from a considerable number of people, not necessarily limited to Philadelphia. I wish you could find out what are the precise fixed charges of the Egyptian Exploration. I think it would help our work to have those facts at our disposal. I do not see why we should not be able to conduct our operation quite as inexpensively as anyone else can do. I am in hopes that Mr Stuart Wood will go to Constantinople. When he gets there I hope the infection will seize him, and that he will go to Niffer for the Winter. If not, it will be of great advantage to us to have him in Constantinople so that Dr Peters could go directly ahead to Baghdad.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

August 1st 1889.

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[1889-08-03. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 2-3. L-362. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I went to New York last evening, and had long and frank and satisfactory interviews with Dr Peters and Minister Hirsch. The latter kindly returned from Washington on purpose to meet me, although he was somewhat indisposed. I am inclined to think that after the defeat of Cleveland last November when Mr Straus saw that his post at Constantinople was gone he lost interest in us, and that we suffered in consequence. Of course Mr Hirsch did not say a word tending in this direction. But a number of things have come to my knowledge which confirm the suspicion. Hirsch was very frank and friendly, and promises to give both time and attention and effort to help us in all ways. I have means of keeping up pressure upon him and shall do so. Dr Peters sailed today in Fulda. I had further very blunt conversations with him, and if he blunders again it is not for want of knowing the situation, and having the landmarks clearly shewn him. I have great hopes of much larger successes. I have a letter from Harper withdrawing his resignation, and a cable message saying he will return to America unless ordered otherwise. I cabled him at once, stating that the official notice of the acceptance of his resignation had been forwarded some days ago. I secured from Dr Peters a written statement of the circumstances connected with his resignation, so as to forestall any possible claims he may be disposed to make upon us. It was most fortunate we decided to call Peters home. It would have been impossible to come to a satisfactory understanding without these personal interviews. So now all is started again, and we shall hear nothing for some time, when I trust the news will be good.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

August 3rd 1889.

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[1889-08-09. *Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 4. HO*]

Aug 9/89

GREENOUGH PLACE

Dear Mr. Clark,

Here is a big wad from Haynes. I do not see that there is anything to reply to at present. I propose to send it immediately to Peters at Constantinople. He must work out his salvation this time. I shall write briefly in acknowledgement to Haynes.

The communication he refers to as having been sent previously was a letter of great length and vague in terms, all about his consulate & salary. I read it to Peters. It is in Phila. I think I sent it to you first. No – I sent it to Dr. Ward. I will shew it to you as soon as I can get it.

Yours sincerely  
Wm. Pepper

I saw Trumbull in Phila. Tuesday 8/6; and Hilprecht was expected that day.

[1889-08-11. *Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 6-7. L-361. HO*]

15 Greenough Place

Dear Mr. Clark –

I am glad you are coming here.

21 August! – bad luck to it, I shall be 46 years old on that day. So little done & so little time left to do much in. But I shall see you on that day. You will be near us in Kay Str. I will call on you after breakfast. I am sure your Son will win laurels here also. I trust the weather will be all right. I have sent Haynes' letter to Mr. Frazier, asking him to have it type written. I will send copy to Peters.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

Aug. 11/89

E.W.Clark Esq.

[1889-08-14. *Pepper to Clark. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.10, 8. HO*]

Aug. 14/89

Newport R. I.

Dear Mr. Clark,

I have not examined enclosed, but send it at once – and we can speak of it on the 21<sup>st</sup>.

I have a letter from Miss Pendleton. I have written her that for the present it is better not to have any articles published – but that all interest awakened in other quarters will be most valuable. You need not return her note until I meet you next week.

Yours sincerely  
Wm. Pepper

[1889-08-18. Noorian to Ward. UPMAA\_Nippur\_20.02, 56-71. FC 5. TC]

U.S. Consulate, Baghdad, Aug. 18th, 1889

My dear Dr. Ward:

There is nothing pleasanter than the recollection of the happy hours, past.

Today a year ago, exactly a year, is the day when I left the happy West for the, once, glorious East; I remember, very well, the last, heavenly sweet, hours I had with you all. And to commemorate the day I shall devote it for writing you a brief report of the Expedition with which I am connected; and in order to have it complete, I must begin from the beginning.

I left the haven of N.Y. by the steamer "City of New York," had an easy + comfortable passage across the Atlantic + arrived in Liverpool on Monday morning at about 8 A.M. August 27th. Had our luggage hurriedly examined and by Mid Land R.R. hastened on to the metropolis of England. Arrived in London at 2.30 P.M.

I will not attempt to say anything about the impression I had of the immensity, beauty + quaintness of the city, nor of the enjoyable time I had with my companion till we were separated, for I can't do them credit enough only to say I regretted, very much, my leaving London so soon after I had been there.

I had expected a letter from Dr. Peters awaiting me in London but found non. I communicated my arrival to him at once + he telegraphed back to wait for a letter of information. The letter informed me of the delay of the affairs and, that I was to be in Alexandretta, sometime between the 20th + 25th of September.

I arranged accordingly + was ready to leave Europe on the 14th of that month.

While in London I made the acquaintance of Dr. Harper + it resulted into our leaving London for Paris, together. We left the former on the night of the 11th, via New Haven & Dieppe R.R. and arrived in the later the next morning at about 9.30 o'clock.

Mr. Field met us there + we stayed in Paris about two days visiting the Louvre, bought my ticket, etc. etc.

I left Paris the night of the 13th with great regret not having seen enough of the beautiful city, + arrived in Marseilles the next day at 10 A.M.

The steamer for the Medeteranian coast was to leave that afternoon at 3 o'clock. I did not have the time to go around + see the city except for a few hours.

As the time approached for me to leave I was accompanied by Harper + Field to the steamer + soon, I was on board the Saïd bound for Egypt an[d] Syria. I left Marseilles with a crowd of monks

+ a few pretty sisters of charity going to Alexandria. The sea was very calm + the voyage altogether an easy one; the most enjoyable part of it being the passage through the strait of Messina.

We would have arrived in Alexandria two days earlier if it had not been for the machinery breaking down. Reached + anchored in the outside harbor of Alexandria + in the morning we entered in, being Wednesday, Aug. 18th.

As the Messageries steamer could not continue the voyage we were transferred into one of the Khedeviah steamers that was to leave that same morning at 10 o'clock. I was exceedingly sorry not to have some time in Egypt. As the steamer was to wait in Alexandria two days + then go on I had planned to take the train to Cairo, visit the Bulak museum then the pyramids down to Suez + pick up the boat at Port Saïd, but as I said very sorry did [*not*] accomplish my wish.

I had some trouble with the French company resulted from my not knowing French but regardless of the troubles + expenses pressed on till I reached Iskenderoon + on the 24th of September I landed in Syria.

I had expected a letter from Dr. P. awaiting me in Alex<sup>ttā</sup>, but found non. I telegraphed to Constantinople announcing my arrival but received no reply till 5 days later.

It was understood that Prof. Hilprecht, Harper + Field were to leave Marseilles a week after I left, following up the northern coast of the Medeteranian (touching at Athens, Smyrna to Alexandretta.

At that time Mr. Haynes was in Constantinople arranging with Dr. Peters for the future affairs of the great Babylonian Expedition. One day I had a telegram from him saying he was leaving the port by French steamer. In Smyrna, he met the rest and they all came together, Mr. Lee of Marash being with them.

They left Smyrna on Saturday the 28th. Unfortunately, on Sunday night thier boat ran aground at the isle of Sarmus and were there two days till the company sent a Turkish steamer for their rescue.

No life was lost, however, but the steamer was badly injured. They were taken to Smyrna again + were there on the next Saturday. At that time they were separated. Hilprecht, Haynes + Lee came by an English cargo boat, while Harper + Field waited for the Russian. On the 12th of Oct. the first party arrived at Alex<sup>ttā</sup>, and went straight to Beylan while I watched for the rest to come. The next day Harper + Field also arrived and the others had come to take them along. At that day Dr. Hilprecht received a letter from Dr. Peters asking him to go to Beyroût + work up the inscriptions of Neher-el-Kelb + others. Dr. Hilprecht thought it unnecessary but went down that same day + bought his ticket on the English steamer. He was left, however, till the next week, thus I was left alone again. Dr. Hilprecht was gone about a month. According to a letter received from him he was to come to Alexandretta by land, but to my surprise, one day I saw him standing in the custom house of Alex<sup>ttā</sup>.

He came to me in the most deplorable condition without a hat, without money, hungry, wet all over, empty from within + without. He found his lodging with me + had everything done to his comfort. He soon made up his mind to stay with me + not go + be with the rest in Aintab or Aleppo.

We remained together till Dr. Peters + Mr. Prince came from Constantinople (and by the way we made a trip to Antioch + back, which we enjoyed greatly).

On Saturday Dec. 8th Dr. Peters + Mr. Prince arrived. Haynes had come to meet them + take them right up. Dr. Peters had a letter from Constantinople for the director of custom house at Alex<sup>ta</sup> to deliver up the cartridges + other things he had seized but the letter was a mere identification + was no good at the least. He threatened him by telegraphing to the Grand Vizier to put him out of his office + I was fool enough to translate that kind of trash to the Turk but he only smiled + handed a cigarette to Dr. Peters as if to say smoke this before you do any thing further. Finally; after I had the guns he had brought with him, through the custom house and that in daytime, too we started for Aleppo each of us mounting on top of a load till we reached Beylan. At Beylan we had our horses + took the last view of the sea + proceeded to Murad-Pasha Khan.

Because of our starting late from Alexandretta we arrived very late (after 10 in the night) + the loads at 12 o'clock. The next day we were in "Turmanin" + Monday Dec. 10th reached Aleppo about 12 noontime.

Many interesting events took place while we were in Aleppo, kept by the torrent rains.

We left the dirty city of Aleppo on Thursday afternoon Dec. 13 with a caravan of about 40 mules and came to Jebreen, one of the cone villages  The next day we went to Dir Hafer, one of the same type + past many ruined mounds on our way. The third day we were at Meskine where we struck the Euphrates. We spent our Sunday at Meskine in the soldiers station + rested all we could.

On Monday morning Dec. 17th we started as early as we could + continued our journey, having visited the old Meskine (Barlealissus) on the way. We followed the river down + by the end of that hard week we found ourselves at El-Dir. The second, we were at A'anah عانة and the third at Kalat Felujah.

On the way we visited Halahbiah – Chalabiah, Khan Kalasi and A'nbar. At the later place we spent almost the whole day, Sunday.

The next morning or, rather in the night about 12 o'clock I left the party + with Mustapha + a zaptiah started for Baghdad. The guide lost his way several times in the dark + not only that but he took severe cold + fell down from his horse + could not go ahead + there I was in the dark not knowing where I was. I had the same feeling afterwards, and I tell you it was violent enough but I tried to stick to my saddle all I could.

At last a very heavy fog surrounded us + we could not see each other ten feet apart, still I had to be in Baghdad that day. We moved on, wrong or right, till morning and after having crossed unlimited number of canal beds I found myself in the sight of the magnificent minarets of el Kathum shooting out their golden spires from the midst of the beautiful green + majestic palm trees.

About two hours later I arrived in the city of Salam, as it is called in Arabic, the glorious Baghdad.

The purpose of my coming to Baghdad ahead of the rest was, to secure a house for the party + place for the horses + so I did.

The next day noon the Expedition arrived + the solemn ceremonial procession of the Babylonian Expedition headed by the immortal leader, in whose front the British consul general, armed body guard, were marching through the rich bazars of Baghdad, while he was sitting on the horse like a big melon, announced the coming of the venerable Dr. John P. Peters.

The Turkish commissioner, Bedry Bey, had been in Baghdad long before we had arrived + as he had a house for himself could not very well join us in Baghdad (I mean to live with us). However, he joined us as soon as we were out of Baghdad.

He was not very courteously treated to begin with + the old Turk noticed it plainly. As much as Dr. Peters tried to have things done quickly they would work the other way. It seemed as if every body was against our cause. The Vali had a very bad rheumatism + his teeth ached so he could not attend to affairs for some time. The result was we stayed in Baghdad till the 23rd of Jan. 1889.

I am sorry to say that because of the improper care taken of all of us after the hard journey we had, Mr. Prince being more delicate than the rest of us, fell sick, and, the Expedition ought to be profoundly thankful to the kind Maj. + Mrs. Talbot who invited Prince to stay with them + cared for him while he was sick. We left Baghdad without him + we missed him very much. We were glad as we heard of his being well again + on his way to his home.

The day of our leaving Baghdad for Hillah was a very cold + damp day. Our caravan was considerably large one. We were escorted by half doz. Zaptiahs to accompany us during our absence.

The first day we came to Khan Mahmudiah where the old A'has who was with us four years ago welcomed us + was very happy to see us.

As I was the first one who spoke to him and he recognized me. Kissed my hand + feet + began to thank God for my being, safely, brought back. I invited him to come + see me, after I had rested. Toward the night he came + told me that he had bought him a wife with the money the old Beg had given him four years ago. He talked so much about you + wanted to know if you were alive + well. I told him all about you and your ribs. The poor fellow almost cried. He said Wallah,

he was a very good Bey and better than our learned men + governors. He remembered how he was set free from the prison of Hillah, etc.

I saw the poor chap was really in earnest I gave him some dates, figs, pomegranates + a coin of money which did not make him displeased at all + told him to take the things to his wife, who was bought with our money.

Our plan for the next morning was to go to Abu Haba. We had the same guide who went with us four years ago. On account of the dense fog + continual rain, we lost our way twice before we reached the mound. After the curiosity of the fresh comers was satisfied we returned back + directed our course Mahaweel-ward. Dr. Hilprecht + I were left behind + it was very, dark, late in the night, when we arrived. We rested all we could that night + the next morning we found ourselves exploring the great ruin of Babylon, the mighty city. Toward the afternoon when everybody else went to Hillah, I remained at Jimjimah trying to engage few workmen to take with us to Niffer. I asked the Sheikh and he called the most experienced workmen, who had worked for Mr. Rassam but I was not satisfied with thier looks + so, did not make any agreement with them that day. I announced, however, that whosoever wish to be employed, let him come to Hillah the next day, and left.

We stayed in Hillah two days during which I had selected my men + were ready. Some of the others visited Birs-Nimrûd. After having paid our respects to the Mutassarif of Hillah, we left the town with a cavarán of 101 animals + more than thirty men.

We went that night to Khegan + from Khegan to Kal<sup>at</sup>-enn-Karhûl. The Arabs whose only reasoning power depend on what they see thought that our tomato boxes were full of silver + gold and that we were taking these treasures out of the ruined hills.

The next morning we though[t] we'll start early but the rain prevented us. As soon as the great cloud parted + like a curtain drew aside our large caravan started marching through the desert wide.

Many Arab encampments were disturbed, seeing us from afar, thinking we were plunderers, + they would shout + shrill + lift up the sign of war until our guide would signify to them by the sign of peace + they would stop. About two hours from our last camping place we came in sight of the old, long, low + lonely mound of Niffer. We fixed our eyes on the place of our future hope + success as if on a price set before us + it is to be obtained by no one else but us.

As I gazed round about me at the wild waste of the country + the children of the desert + then, thought of our intending to live on top of that heap of dirt, which, for many centuries, has been the habitation of wild beasts + evil spirits, could not help but feel we were in a dangerous place.

Two hours later we reached the hill, Jan. 30th. We selected the highest spot on the largest hill for our encampments.

As we could not do much work of anything that day we only pitched our tents in a circular form + heaped all our luggage in the center to be guarded by the Zaptiahs. Dr. Hilprecht was disappointed by the looks of the pottery on the hill + thought it was an Arabic city, like Anbar. The very first thing I found was a Hebrew bowl.

The next day we were surrounded by the Arabs + made fun of, and laughed at. By + by we became friends. After sunset Dr. Peters + Harper came from Diwaniah escorted by the two sons of Hadji Tarfah + thier force of armed warriors.

As we had no place to accomedate any guests, yet we had to send them to the neighboring camps to be entertained. The next day they came up again expecting to receive presents, + squatted down almost all day.

Every body in those first days was as busy as he could be. Field was working on his map to send to the Vali so as to obtain the permission of commencing excavations. The three Assyriologists (as Dr. P. called them, he himself being one) were examining the mound + decided about where to have the trenches opened. Mr. Haynes + myself were working hard to have some huts put up + superintend the workmen.

The first hut we put up was a kitchen for the cook. Next the stable for the horses + a dinning room. We had the huts built in the form of a circle + the tents in the center. During these few days I had a hard time to keep the wild Arabs quiet attending to thier work. Different hostile subtribe would come or happen to be on the mound and would dance against each other the war dances + raise up the, old harry. The bloody brutes would not fear or mind anything. Very often they would drop thier work + go for a savage "Hossah" (war dance).

Last of all the map was finished on the night of the 5th of Feb. and sent to Baghdad and excavations were commenced on the morning of Feb. 6th, 1889.

The first trench was opened in the big hill near our encampment. Our discovery that day consisted of three coffins   in one of which were found some beads. We started with thirty workmen + kept increasing them until we had 305. The workmen would go to thier homes once in a week the rest of the time were with us. Taking us, the Arabs + the soldiers sent from Divaniah all together, we made up quite a village on top of the mound.

The most interesting part of the excavations was the temple which I believe it is worth finishing up. Abundance of Sassanian graves were found at all depths, some of which, were very interesting. Lots of pottery was discovered, which might be ascribed to any other period but Babylonian. Interesting objects were found in the graves but not of real importance.

A large number of tablets were found mostly fragments. Some of the whole ones were very good.

All the while we were at Niffer we enjoyed the climate very much except once (for a few days), had a terrible + severe wind + sand storm to that degree, that our tent poles were broken to

pieces + tents pulled down. The sunsets were generally glorious + the view from Niffer, all around was not an unpleasant one. The desert although barren yet not tiresome, when beholden.

Our night friends (the jackals) visited us, very faithfully, every night + with their hideous yells pierced our ears. The blasted creatures use to jump on the roof of my hut + shake the dust into my eyes. I use to get mad but they did not care a cent for me. Many pleasant days + nights we spend with the Arabs, at Niffer + I had began to like the place + the people, and if it was not for the fire + killing the Arab I would have liked to be there to the end. The Hor of the 'Affej was green + full of water (running water) from the Euphrates also lots of pretty birds (water birds).

The Bedauwin tribes began to come nearer to Niffer and [we] had many pleasant visits from the different Sheikhs. The last two weeks many young gazelles were brought to us of which I had five, but non, now.

After the Arab was killed we ended the work, and as that awful last accident befell us, we left Niffer on the 18th of April + came to Baghdad. And now as we are here alive again we are indebted to God for his mercies + care taken of us, while there, and if we are bound to go back in order to finish the work intrusted to us, may He be with us + lead us through it all safely, and at the close bring us to our loved ones again.

Daniel Z. Noorian

P.S.

After I read it over I found that I have not mentioned every thing as it ought to and have made great many mistakes in the composition of the letter, but I hope you excuse all that + add all the improvements you see fit, to it.

D.

[*Written by Fisher:*] This letter on 4 db. pages, ruled paper, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ "  $\times$  10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (blue margin line on left)

[1889-09-01. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMMA\_Nippur\_01.10, 28-29. L-335.9. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

E. W. Clark Esq.

Dear Sir,

Important letter from Haynes about supplies.

Interesting letter from Field. I fear to send them as I do not know your present movements. Will it suit you to have a meeting of Ex. Comm. at your office Tuesday Sept. 10 at 1, o'clock? If so, will you kindly notify me at once & I'll have notices sent out. Talcott Williams is at home. I think it w'd be well to have Hilprecht present.

I have just rec'd from Haynes a telegram as follows: "Have you received satisfactory accounts". Shall I cable "Yes".

Yours sincerely

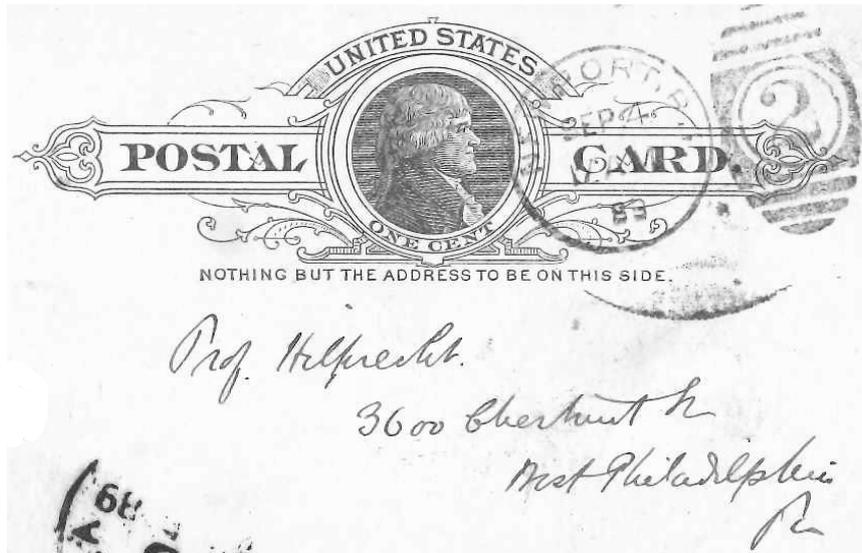
Wm. Pepper

Sept 1/89

I shall reach Phila Monday 9/9 at 10<sup>am</sup>.

E. W. Clark Esq.

[1889-09-04. Pepper to Hilprecht. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 40-41. L-1437.10. HO]



Newport R.I.

Dear Professor Hilprecht,

Kindly call a meeting of Executive Committee of the Babylonian Exploration Fund at the office of E. W. Clark Esq. next Tuesday Sept 10<sup>th</sup> at 1 o'clock. Send notices out at once. Say "Business of great importance".

- Send to Mr. Talcott Williams 1831 Spruce St.
- Dr Trumbull
- E. W. Clark Esq / Bullitt Building
- C. H. Clark Esq /
- St. Wood Esq. 400 Chestnut S.
- C. C. Harrison Esq / 101. S. Front Str
- W. W. Frazier Esq / 1010. [ill]
- & to myself

yours truly

Wm. Pepper.

[1889-09-04. Straus to Pepper. HSN 2559. TC]

42 Warren St

New York, Septr 4th 1889.

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Dear Dr Pepper,

We arrived home on the 10th ult after a most enjoyable voyage, and are really happy to be home again. Our life at Constantinople was entirely satisfactory and although I could not afford to remain for another term, I am no less sensible and thankful for your kind interest.

I hear Dr Peters has returned to his old field of labor and trust he will be more successful. But for the fact he was so pressed for time, I could have secured greater privileges, especially as the Sultan personally consented to move, and the Grand Vizier promised more. Herewith I send you three coins, Phillip and Alexander, both very good, and a beautiful female head, Greek but I forget the history. You will easily learn all about this last from a Greek coin book or from one of your archaeologists. You will please accept these as souvenir from my orient experiences and life.

I trust you are well and when you visit New York will be pleased to see you.

Sincerely yours

(signed) O.S. Straus

N.B. Has the plaster cast of the Jerusalem Stele arrived, it should have reached long ago, it was shipped packed etc by the American Bible House and all expenses prepaid by me.

O.S.S

[on the back]:

Jan 17/89 1 [encircled]

[1889-09-05. Haynes to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 42-47. L-1431.11. HO]

Baghdad Sept. 5<sup>th</sup> 1889

My dear Dr. Pepper:

Your letter of July 24<sup>th</sup> reached me just as our weekly post was leaving Baghdad, too late for a reply.

You will scarce believe that I appreciate your disappointment over the long delay of the financial report, and yet I do appreciate the difficulties that beset the committee, and regret beyond power to express the unfortunate circumstances attending it all.

It was my intention to have the reports in your hands before Dr. Peters arrival in Philadelphia.

Had my head been good you would doubtless have received them in amble form for your deliberations and plans for the coming season.

I do not wish to make any defense nor to enter complaint against the severe judgement brought upon myself by delay of the reports.

It is however reasonable that you should know the facts. Until recently I have been suffering all the summer from insomnia and a generally run down condition of health. The sleepless nights began before Dr. Peters left Baghdad and until about the first of Aug. the difficulty more and more felt each day.

Until Dr Peters departure the weather had been comfortable. The third day after his departure on Sunday May 5<sup>th</sup> summer began. From that date the temperature steadily increased with no comfortable days intervening, until on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May the temperature reached 112° Fahr. in the shade. In the month of June the highest temperature was 120° Fahr. in the shade. May, June, July, Aug. and these beginning days of Sept. have been uninterruptedly hot. Old residents say that the season has been remarkable for the short spring and the long trying summer not broken as usual by cooler days now and then.

The long continued and intense strain of the land journey from Aleppo to Niffer with no one to lend a helping hand; but many to annoy and add unnecessary burdens; the peculiarly aggravating circumstances of trying to do what was right by the expedition, while trying as much as possible to regard everyone's wish during our last days in Baghdad brought on a general collapse after the party left and the excitement was over. The insomnia settled with a somewhat chronic state, became worse in spite of all I could do, and I was incapable of close application of any kind. The nights were short and hot. We have to sleep on the housetops and rise before the sun. I could not take the usual midday siesta as everybody here depends upon, to supply the shortened rest of the

night. Of course I grew weaker day by day. About the 1<sup>st</sup> of Aug. I applied to Dr Bowman who gave strong tonics, which helped me. Aug. 16 the cholera first appeared in Baghdad and found me illy prepared to resist its attacks. In the first days of its course two victims of a European family died in the house next to ours. Dr Bowman advised me to go with the British India Steamer – a sort of man of war – up the river on the 22<sup>nd</sup> to get away from Baghdad. By invitation of British resident and Capt. Daugherty I accepted the invitation messing with the Capt. and paying my share of expenses.

Noorian and Mustapha were also getting nervous about the cholera and complaining of bad feelings. Accordingly I had the household leave the city, go to the place where the steamer lay at anchor some six miles up the river. They went out on the 26<sup>th</sup> of Aug. Today we all returned together. We are all feeling better now and the fury of the cholera is abating. I am getting stronger and more able to apply myself though the weather is still hot. The nights are longer and the days shorter. As soon as the weather becomes cool I shall be myself again no doubt. Long accustomed to disregard my ill feelings and less disposed to complain I have not perhaps given you a correct idea of my prostrate condition during the summer. You may say that I should have compelled myself to do this necessary work and I admit it.

I have joined the expedition but partly recruited from previous overwork, and had the burden of getting the expedition with the field under circumstances more aggravating than any member of the expedition can ever know, much less can anyone else comprehend it. Others may criticize; but they can never know the conditions, and if ever I place myself under the same conditions it will be after my reason is lost.

If I go with the expedition this season I will do all in my power to bring success to the expedition and will not refuse to do more than my share; but I think I ought not to be asked to do more, than one man can do while in the field.

At present the cholera is raging about Niffer and Birs Nimrud. It is abating in Baghdad. How long it will continue to rage about the swamps of Afaj no one can tell. It has stopped at Nasriye near Mugheir only because the entire population ran away. It is the general opinion among physicians that the disease will return to these places already visited and rage with increased fury. I am keeping Dr Peters as well posted as possible. You may also like to know that Sheikh Birdie from near Niffer made a pilgrimage to the sacred shrines around Baghdad in July and made his home here in this house for several days. He seemed deeply impressed by what he saw and I am sure he will do all he can for us if we return. As far as the Arabs are concerned the way is open. Whether the government will think it prudent to allow the expedition to return or not I do not know. I have not pressed the government to recover the losses at Niffer, thinking that such a course would ruin the prospects of returning at all.

Sept. 6<sup>th</sup>. Your cablegram just arrived by which I understand you received the fuller statement of account. For the coming year if you want me or some one else to send itemized accounts to you, will you allow me to suggest that you send out a quantity of suitable paper properly ruled for the

copying of such accounts? I think it should be thin and light and written only at one side, sufficient for at least 60 to 75 pages. Suitable paper cannot be obtained here and it takes a good deal of time to rule it in a respectable manner. As to this summers expenses I had thought it best to await Dr. Peters arrival that he may accept such of the expenses as he thinks fit. Such as he rejects will be no further annoyance to the expedition. At present I have entered everything in a note book subject to such revision as Dr Peters may give or you may direct. After such revision I had thought of transferring the accepted items to the Cash Book – for all the transactions are cash transactions – and then I can copy the Dr side of the Cash Bk. as receipts and the Credit side as expenses if that is what you desire. You will thus have all the items in the order of their dates without any attempt at grouping under the heads of accounts in the ledger. The posting can be done later.

Or do you wish me to first post into the ledger and then copy each account under its proper head? I think the former will suit you better. If your treasurer will give me definite instructions I will try to follow them.

This letter will reach you sometime in October. You will then know whether Dr Peters is succeeding in the permissions he asks at Constantinople or whether he fails. Not long after that, you will also hear something of the deadly cholera which is now fast spreading from the South throughout Mesopotamia and the adjacent low plains.

I beg you will as early as possible decide what you will do another year and let me, I may say us though I have no authority to speak for Noorian – know what plan so far as we are concerned you wish to adopt. Noorian's two terms of service will expire next spring. Though I will gladly serve you one season more for what you chose to pay provided I can get home again in good shape, I think I shall be fairly entitled to leave the expedition next spring unless it can make better terms and offer brighter prospects for the future. I cannot stay on indefinitely and fritter away my best days without greater encouragement than the present offers. If I were to stay here as consul it would be with the hope of getting permission from the Dept. of State in winter when there is no business to travel and then getting, also with the special indulgence of the Dept. money to make little excursions of a few weeks or three months in winter. I fear it will be too late to define my wants from the Dept. but since you have so kindly taken up the matter I will simply state those wants. It is that the State Dept. should appropriate for salary. The Consul in Sivas received \$1500. So far I have signed 79 invoices bringing in \$197.50 Sivas has no trade only a few missionary families to protect. Then I would ask for rent of office \$220. Something for an interpreter and as much as they will allow for cavasses which are a necessity her \$300. for cavasses is little here. I could live in some way for this, but I do not want it unless those can be found who will help me to make some journeys and investigations in these rich fields of ancient history. I trust I may know something about both the prospects both for appropriation for the consulate and the plans of the Committee that I may shape my own plans according to some well defined method and quit this aimless floating about in the interests of parties that leave me poorer and poorer at each change. I have sacrificed much to come here, and now I want to see someone interested in archaeological work established here as U.S. Consul. Our rich government might well enough afford this much to encourage scientific investigation in these lands. It should be understood and permitted at the Dept.

of State that such consul should be indulged – not to interfere with his official duties – for the sake of American scholarship and research. If the Dept. will not do it the matter must drop. Very truly yours John Henry Haynes

[*In the margin of p. 1:*] I have just obtained official report of meteorological observations kept at British consulate. Maximum average temperature for July = 114° and Aug. has been a little hotter I judge.

[1889-09-17. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 53-56. L-403. HO]

14 rue St Guillaume

Paris le 17 7bre 1889

To Dr. William Pepper.

Dear Sir.

I have just received a letter from Dr Peters saying that he has sent you a letter I wrote him in regard to a relief of Niffer which I wish made if you think it wise. Since writing Dr Peters I have seen Muret who made the relief of Tello where de Sarsac excavated and now at the exposition also the relief of Susa at the Louvre. He asks 2000 fcs for making a relief of Niffer 1/500 scale or 1200 fcs for a relief at 1/1000 scale. Tello and Susa are at 1/500 and Muret says that savants can compare better our work at Niffer if it is the same scale as Tello & Susa. The heights at Tello are considerably exaggerated it would be wise to do the same with Niffer or even more. Muret is out of town but returns to Paris on Oct. first when he promised to begin at once on Niffer if I desired. The work would take two months. He would need my assistance for about 6 weeks after which he could go on alone. I think a relief would give the committee a better notion of our work than anything I could present them. I should of course put in all the trenches. And as Dr Peters has with him no one this year who can survey there would be little to add another year while his reports would be much more easily comprehended by the committee if there were a relief to refer to. M. de Saulinges who was with de Sarsac in the same capacity that I was with Dr Peters strongly urges the making of a relief. As he is a friend of mine I could count on his advice throughout the work. I hope that you will think favorably of the matter.

Dr Peters has asked me to see Hamdi Bey for him. He is in Paris now. My last letters from Baghdad tell me that Mr Haynes is somewhat unwell owing to lack of sleep &c. He thinks that the so-called cholera is a pestilential fever owing to the low lands in that neighborhood.

Believe me

Very faithfully yours

Perez Hastings Field

[1889-09-24. Pepper to Haynes. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 62. HC 26. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Sir,

Referring to the weapons, which by order of the Executive Committee I have forwarded to you, I desire to make the following statement:

“Since they wish you to make journeys into dangerous places, it seemed proper to send to you as United States Consul, for the defense of your person and residence, both of which are inviolable, a suitable supply of weapons and ammunition as herewith forwarded, in order that you may travel with safety in the interests of Archaeological science, whenever you shall obtain permission from the Department of State to do so, and furthermore, for the defense of the U.S. Consulate, whenever such defense is needed either to protect yourself or to offer protection to members of any future Expedition to be sent out under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania etc”.

I have the honor, Sir, to remain

Yours respectfully

John Henry Haynes Esqr.

William Pepper

U.S.Consul,Baghdad,Turkey.  
Pennsylvania

Provost University of

September 24th 1889.

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[1889-10-00. Haynes to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 72. HO]

My dear Dr Pepper:

Since I do not know Mr Clarks address may I trouble you to send this letter enclosed to him.

Oct. 1<sup>st</sup> the weather changed to cooler, for which we are profoundly thankful. The cholera still lingers in the city but is everywhere diminishing. If it does not return with the rainy season we have little to fear until hot weather returns next summer.

Dr Peters has left Cosple as you have doubtless heard by cable. & we shall be ready to receive him as soon as he can make the journey.

Very truly J.H. Haynes

[1889-10-01. Telegram, Peters to Haynes. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 64]

10/1 1889

10/1 1889

Consple Bagdad 111 6 9 4 20 S America Minister Consple

arrived yesterday – Peters +

[1889-10-05. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 73. L-1221. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

I return bill approved. I have wired Peters, and am very glad to have the opinions of Mr Frazier, your Brother and yourself. My message to Peters was simply "Postpone. Proceed."

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

October 5th 1889.

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[1889-10-09. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 76. L-1222. TO]

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr Clark,

I should have sooner acknowledged the receipt of the book and letters. Many thanks. I return you Dr Peters letter, and I also send you two letters which I have received. I have sent for Hilprecht, and have given him a tremendous blowing up in regard to his indiscretion. I have told him to secure from Harper immediately the tablets and the report. Please note also the suggestion as to telegraphing Field. Will you consult your Brother and Mr Frazier about it? I think we have better cable him "Yes" for the larger scale, since it is clear that we are going to complete Niffer satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely

E.W.Clark Esqr.

Wm. Pepper

October 9th 1889.

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[1889-10-12. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 95-96. L-1430.4. HO]

14 rue St Guillaume

Paris le 12 octobre 1889

My dear Dr Pepper

Your despatch came this afternoon. I went at once to see Muret. He will be free on Wednesday next when I shall have my first conference. The relief ought to be ready by the middle of decembre. Mr Haynes photographs of Niffer would be of great use in making the cast. I have been handicaped several times by not having them to refer to, especially in regard to our trip to Djebel S[*ill.*] near Aleppo. I cannot hurry him up very well and I fear any pushing coming from Dr Peters whould [*sic*] have an opposite effect. The photographs are on films which after being developed keep safely any length of time. Could not Mr Haynes send the devoled fillms [*sic*] by English post to Philadelphia and you have them transfered to geletine and the prints made there

What with his duties as consul and the cholra I doubt whether Mr Haynes has accomplished much with the photography this summer. There cannot be more that [*sic:than*] half a dozen views of Niffer. If I could have them before leaving Paris they would be of great service. I only want those giving something of the topography of the mound.

Muret made the models of the port of Rouen, le Havre, Boulogne, Calais & Dunquerque of the expositions.

They are excellent and I feel assured that he will make us something good.

I have been delayed in my work on the report owing to a touch of fever and a cold combined.

I am Very faithfully yours

Perez Hastings Field.

[1889-10-12. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 94. L-1228. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

I have cabled Field "Yes, larger scale". I have a cable from Peters "Starting".

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

October 12th 1889.

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[1889-10-14. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 97. L-1227. TO]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST.

Dear Mr Clark,

My hands are free now to enter upon a collecting trip for our Babylonian Fund. In view of the certainty of being able to make splendid purchases, as well as to continue work at Niffer we ought to have \$25,000. Shall we not make out a list, and then agree to call upon the different persons? Would it not be well to have with us 3 or 4 small fine pieces which Hilprecht could select, which would be eloquent arguments in our behalf? I will see Mr Houston and Mr Gibson promptly, but I think we ought to get a good many more interested in our work, now that it is fully under way again.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

October 14th 1889.

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[1889-10-16. R.F. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 98-100. L-992. HO]

New Haven, Conn.,

P.O. Drawer, 15,

Oct. 16<sup>th</sup>/1889.

Provost Dr. Pepper:

My dear Sir:—

I take the liberty of writing to you on a point of business, which should have been arranged before this. I have been back in America six weeks, but my work at Yale and on Hebraica has taken the whole of my time.

I gave as an estimate for my return trip from the coast to New York the sum of \$385. D<sup>r</sup>. Peters at first regarded this sum as too high, but afterwards became of my opinion. His estimate at first was \$300. In Baghdad he gave me \$325 and asked me to get the rest from the committee after my return, as the stealing of the money by the Arabs had taken what he had arranged for travelling. In Alexandretta he gave me an additional 90 francs to pay the extra fare via Alexandria rather than via Smyrna. This trip was necessary. Otherwise I would have been compelled to have remained in Alexandretta more than a week. This leaves me a balance of \$60 on my return trip money. I believe that D<sup>r</sup>. Hilprecht was placed in the same condition and that he had to draw in Germany for his return fare to America.

Again I was in London from June 14<sup>th</sup> – Aug. 8<sup>th</sup> before my resignation was accepted. Legally I am inclined to think that I could ask for all my expenses (i.e. at a certain fixed rate – it was £5 per week during the summer of 1888, as arranged by D<sup>r</sup>. Peters) up to the time of the letter announcing the acceptance of my resignation. I do not, however, care to ask for the whole of my expenses during this time. As D<sup>r</sup>. Hilprecht and Stuart Wood, who called on me in London, know, I was simply writing to hear from the committee whether I was to return to the Orient or whether my resignation was to be accepted. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of Aug., I learned that I was released by the committee and I took the first S.S. to America, which I could get, viz. on Aug. 17<sup>th</sup>.

Before this date I had been appointed Instructor in Semitics at Yale, but could not accept until I heard from you. Hence my cablegram to you.

My expenses in London during this time were large, as I had the fever for four whole weeks, as the result of living in the Niffer swamps. My medicine and doctor's bill was \$32. At the rate of £5 per wk., for nine weeks, my expenses would be \$225 not including the doctor's bill. I would be entirely satisfied, if the committee would pay the half of this, viz: \$125. I might say that I was

obliged to borrow from Mr. Shemtob for my running expenses, as I did not know how long I was to stay in London and hence I could not secure money from my brother.

I hope that this arrangement of financial matters will meet with your favor and that I may receive at your earliest convenience a cheque for \$185, as my note given to Mr. Shemtob falls due Nov. 1<sup>st</sup>.

I would be glad to hear what D<sup>r</sup>. Peters is doing. I will send you my report by Nov. 1<sup>st</sup>, also the two tablets of Ašûr-ital-ilani. If at any time, I can be of any service to you or the expedition, you are at liberty to command me.

Very respectfully yours,

Robert Francis Harper.

[1889-10-19. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 74-75. L-1225. TO + HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

Mr Gibson authorizes me to tell you to put down his name for \$1,000 for next year for the Babylonian Fund. I enclose a letter from Dr Harper. I am beginning to fear this is his characteristic style. I presume we will have to settle his account. I will send you word about Mr Houston in a few days.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper.

E.W.Clark Esqr.

October 19th 1889.

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P.S. I also send a letter just received from Mr Haynes, which please shew to Mr Frazier & ask him to return.

Hilprecht is getting our collections into very good shape. They make a fine showing.

And the Library Building which is almost finished is very fine. I hope you can find time to arrange a meeting there ere long with your Brother & me. WP

[1889-10-19. Pepper to Talcott Williams. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 101. L-1437.16. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Williams,

Please enter Mr H.C. Gibson as a member of the Executive Committee of our Babylonian Exploration Fund, and invite him to all meetings.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

Talcott Williams Esqr.

October 19th 1889.

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[1889-10-21. Haynes to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 103-105. L-983. HO]

Baghdad Oct 21. 1889

My dear Mr. Clark:

Since writing you I have received a draft from Dr Peters on Brown Shipley & Co for £50.

I regret having sent you the statement of his failure to remit.

Then he had refused and I could not know that at that moment a draft was on the way to me. I shall not be obliged to borrow now except to keep until Dr. Peters arrival the money already borrowed from Noorian and expended.

I now forgive Dr. Peters for his delay and shall soon forget the inconvenience suffered, and hence forth will try to give due credit in a spirit of charity for all his good acts, and purposes.

If you have heard the names of the chief actors in the exciting drama played at Niffer last April you may be interested in the latest news from that vicinity.

MeGotta acting Sheikh or chief of the Afej subtribe died of cholera, and his nobler father Haji Tarfa Sheikh of all the Afej Arabs (six subtribes) has returned to Souk-el-Afej, his capital, and now holds the reins of government over the Afej subtribe.

Birdie was murdered in his own house or hut by an uncle who will pay the full penalty of his crime as soon as a favorable opportunity presents itself.

A twelve year old brother of Birdie succeeds his diseased brother ruling with satisfaction and moderation, not without some wisdom and firmness, so say the reports. Let us see!

The Said subtribe it is clearly shown will be fully appeased by payment of blood money to the surviving members of the slain robbers family.

It also appears that the Arabs are ready to give and take pledges guaranteeing the partys safety, if it return to Niffer.

There is good reason to believe that the force of the cholera is well spent in the regions round about Niffer but I will venture no authorized statement.

The disease is now revisiting Kerbella, and the best medical authority, Dr. Bowman anticipates its return to places already visited either when the autumnal rains visit us or next summer.

With the exception of Kerbella and the vicinity of Shusta (ancient Susa) the cholera has well nigh [*sic*] disappeared from the Vilayet of Baghdad but is raging fiercely in the Vilayet or province of Mosul, and is just now devastating the old battlefield of Alexander and Darius at Arbella now called Erbil.

I believe it also rages on the Euphrates but just what progress northward it has made I am unable to say, as the sanitary department makes no mention of these places in its daily bulletin, which is still regularly issued to foreign consuls. Dr. Peters may meet the disease in his descent along the Euphrates but I think he can dodge it by going around the few villages that are scattered at long intervals along its banks.

The weather is comfortable now, like early September with you.

Very truly yours

John Henry Haynes

[1889-10-21. Pepper to Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 102. L-1226. HO]

OFFICE HOURS: { 8 to 10 A. M.  
2.30 to 4 P. M.

1811 SPRUCE STREET,  
PHILADELPHIA.

Dear Mr. Clark

Here is a rather good letter.

How would it do to have a meeting of the Committee over at the University in Hilprecht's room? Mr. Gibson is very favorable to more purchases. He could then examine the Library Building & speak of the room in it for the Semitic Collections.

Please return Peters' note.

Yours sincerely  
Wm. Pepper

I will read it at Comm. meeting – so it need not go to all now.

Oct 21/89

[1889-10-26. Haynes to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.10, 106-111. L-61. HO]

Baghdad, Oct. 26, 1889

My dear Dr Pepper:

Your kind letter of Sept. 16<sup>th</sup> is just received, and I desire to express my hearty thanks to the committee for their generous supply of arms and more especially to you for your more active part in the matter.

According to Dr Hilprechts directions I have this day shipped his trunk containing his personal effects which he left in my charge.

I found by repacking that I could safely put in the trunk the exposed but undeveloped paper films or negatives which represent my photographic work en route to Niffer and at Niffer and some antiquities purchased by Mr. Noorian by money left for that purpose by Mr Prince as his donation to the University of Penn.

I took the liberty of sending both antiquities and photographs in this way thinking it the only safe way to send them.

I am writing to Hilprecht in explanation knowing he will approve my action since he gets some antiquities by the means.

I intended to develop these negatives myself; but as you already know the weather became suddenly hot on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May and continued hot without interruption until the first day of Oct. The average maximum temperature for July 114° Fahr. Aug. was somewhat hotter.

The highest temperature geletine films will stand is 80° while being developed. It was impossible to find any place for developing the pictures where the temperature could be kept much below 100. and always rising, both from the natural heat of human bodies and the dark lamp. In high temperatures the geletine film adhering to glass or paper dissolves or melts and of course the possible picture is forever destroyed.

One can add Alum to certain developing solutions or he may treat the film with alum before developement to harden it then after washing thoroughly develope it at a temperature somewhat above 80°, but the soluble substratum of geletine, which when treated with hot water allows the transparent film of geletine containing the undeveloped image to slip off easily, by the action of alum becomes insoluble and therefore renders it impossible to "strip" the transparent film from its thick background of semi-translucent paper intended only to give support to the delicate film until exposure and developement shall have been completed.

After the hot weather began I had no choice except to keep the films until they could be safely developed or sent away.

Depending upon the native photographer for rooms and appliances and other assistance it has only just now become possible to begin the work. The cholera has kept the photographer out of town until a few days ago. It has been quite impossible for me to develop the pictures until the present time and now my time and attention are required for other work to get things in order for a speedy return to Niffer whenever Dr Peters shall arrive on the scene of action.

I am loth to trust these pictures to the native photographer here and have therefore concluded to send them thinking that you will receive the printed photographs quicker from a well equipped establishment in Philadelphia than if I try to develop and print them under the many disadvantages which attend my labors when there is plenty of work to fully occupy my time and there will be all I can do until Dr Peters comes.

As it has turned out I am sorry not to have sent these films with Dr Peters, but the simple truth is I feared to let them go through so many custom houses. They are now safely stowed away on an English steamer and are moving down the Tigris. They are shipped direct to N.Y. and can suffer no harm unless they are opened at the New York custom house which I do not think will happen. To obviate such difficulty I have inclosed in the trunk an open letter (unofficial) to the collector of customs and will send one to Dr Hilprecht which he can forward to his agent to use before opening the trunk if such a paper will be of use, as no doubt it will avail something.

In every package containing a roll or spool of exposed film is a carefully prepared descriptive list of the 24 exposures contained in that roll or spool, giving all the conditions of light and exposure the operator [*will*] need to know in developement of the same.

I send you a sample which I copied from the notes inclosed with the negatives, that you may understand how my notes were kept.

Such a table of notes accompanies each roll so that as the photographer opens his roll he will in every case find a similar table wrapped around each roll within the outer wrapper of brown paper.

Many of the exposures were made under circumstances that gave me no hope for good pictures but as it was a choice of getting a bad picture or none at all I exposed the film with all the chances against a good picture, with full knowledge of all the disadvantages and at the same time a hope that the scientific interest or value of the picture might justify the attempt. I had no idea that others would make proper allowance for the difficulties under which they were taken. They will be judged by the standard of studio pictures and of course severely condemned.

Such pictures I dislike to let go out of my hands before developement and yet I have chosen to send them on to you and suffer the consequences in order that you get them as quickly as possible. When you come to pass criticism please bear in mind that some were exposed in the rain; some in gales of wind; some with the lens turned toward the sun; some with moving objects in the field and other obstacles sufficient to spoil the picture.

Travelling photographers who do successful work wait for the proper conditions, while I must risk my reputation on a picture which no professional would attempt to take under the circumstances.

I am sending you a parcel of 14 prints of my own taking – all were taken upon journeys, and were therefore exposed under disadvantages. These prints were made from beginning to end by my own hands and are just as they came out of the last washing water without touching or finishing of any kind. Some of them might have been more pleasant in tone or color if they had been longer in the gold-bath. The slight imperfections around the borders of the pictures result from injuries to the glass plates in carrying several hundred miles on pack animals. Other plates suffered more; some not at all.

With many thanks for all your good offices toward me

I remain

Very truly yours

John Henry Haynes

[1889-11-06. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_10.04, 15. HO]

Provost Dr. W<sup>m</sup>. Pepper.

I do not think it necessary to add much to the Catalogues of objects found at Niffer during the excavations from Feb. 1<sup>st</sup> – April 10<sup>th</sup> 1889. The greater part of the tablets is of little value. The three dated in the reign of Ašûritilâni [*sic*] and the one of Amelu-Marduk are the most valuable. The marble astronomical tablet is also of great value. None of the rest are of any particular importance.

Your obedient servant,

Robert Francis Harper.

New Haven,

383 George - St.

November 6<sup>th</sup>.

[1889-11-09. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 9. L-991. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

I promised to send you this memorandum. Put to credit of Peters on my account £50.

Open a credit with Brown Shipley and Company, for Hon William Reed Lewis, U.S. Consul, Tangier on my account £100.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

November 9th 1889.

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[1889-11-18. Hirsch to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 22-23. L-62. HO]

HOTEL VICTORIA  
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE.  
LONDON, W.C.

November 18. 1889.

Doctor William Pepper

Provost University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

My dear Sir

I am thus far on my way to my post in Turkey.

In looking through my memorandums made from time to time I note the Conversation [I] had with you at Hoffmann House New York in relation to the work in Asia which your University is carrying on.

Inasmuch as I hope soon to reach Constantinople I would be glad to receive such information in relation to your interests there as you can furnish me at your earliest convenience as I am very desirous to render you all the assistance in my power.

Hoping your Representatives there are meeting with deserved success in their very praiseworthy undertaking.

With personal Regards

I Remain

Very truly yours

Solomon Hirsch

U.S. Minister to Turkey

[1889-11-18. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 33. L-987. HO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear M<sup>r</sup> Clark,

I enclose you a letter just received from Dr. Peters. It seems quite satisfactory.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper.

E.W. Clark Esqr.

Nov. 18/89

[1889-11-22. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 24-25. L-403. HO]

14 rue St Guillaume

Paris le 22 9bre 1889

[*Added by Hilprecht:*] Nippur relief Sent to Constantinople HVH

My dear Dr Pepper

I received a letter from Dr Peters to day from Damascus saying that he wants a second relief of Niffer to be sent to Hamdi Bey but does not want to pay more than 500 francs. Muret asks 700 francs for the second cast. This does not include boxing and freight to Constantinople. I telegraphed Dr Peters at Beirout but he must have left before the message arrived. I hardly know whether to order the relief or not. Do you think Dr Peters would give the extra amount. He says he has promised a relief to Hamdi Bey. It would cost as much to make a relief at a smaller scale which Dr Peters first wanted. He tells me Mr Haynes has sent negatives to you. I feel badly over the reported deaths of Mustapha & Berdi.

I am very truly yours

Perez Hastings Field.

[1889-11-22. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 26. L-986. TO]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST.

Dear Mr Clark,

I am rather relieved to say that I think nothing will come of the attempt to make an arrangement between the Drexel Institute, the Pennsylvania Institute and our new Museum. It would throw additional labor upon us, and I am sure it is better for us to develop independently. Of course this Babylonian work is expensive, but it will not last for ever, and the other fields of exploration which will then be opened to us can be prosecuted at comparatively little cost. We will be ready by the end of next week to have a series of conferences in a large room at the University, where we will have the collections displayed. It is proposed to invite 50 or 75 men and Women at a time to come there of an afternoon at 4 o'clock, and to spend some time in examining the collection and hear some little account of our work. If you approve I would suggest waiting until after this before making our effort to secure funds. I believe we can then easily run it up to the figure desired. Colonel Potts is I think mistaken as to the sum named. I believe it was \$30,000. But I will search for the paper. I fear it may have been lost in the mass of material which has been turned in upon me in regard to that subject.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

November 22nd 1889.

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[1889-11-25. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 27. L-975. HO]

Palmyra, Nov. 25/89

Dear Mr. Clark

A line to report progress. So far the journey has been slow, but Mohammed professes to be able to shorten the route from here on, & take me in part at least over new ground. The maps as usual are very incorrect so far. The cold has been severe, the water freezing in the water skins. This is to be sent from here to Damascus by kindness of the Mudir of this place, & then mailed by kindness of our Consular Agent.

Yours very truly

John P. Peters.

[1889-12-01. Peters to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 29-30. L-1123. HO]

Dec. 1<sup>st</sup>/89

Deir-es-Sor

Dear Mr. Clark

A line to show you that we are on our way. I wrote to you from Palmyra, but whether you will receive the letter I do not know. There it was supposed that the road was safe. The mudir sent a zaptiyeh with us, but as we wished to take a route a little different from the ordinary, on which there are not zaptiyeh stations at all points, by the advice of our contractor, Mohammed, we discharged him at a station which we passed before the close of the day. Hardly had we done so than we found ourselves among the Anazeh Arabs. That night Mohammed urged me to adopt the Arab dress, & so since then I have worn an Arabic kefiyeh on my head, & my body is enveloped in a long Abbah. Mohammed's men in answer to questions say that I am a Turkish official. The next night we had to go to [water](#), & found ourselves in the very midst of the Anazeh. The Shammar Arabs had been making a ghazu, & the whole country was up in arms. Blackmail was politely hinted at to the extent of 2 liras. There [*ill.*] a Turkish post by [*ill.*] with a half dozen zaptiyehs, a [*ill.*] the strength of a last year's [buy woulter](#) I demanded escort, at first it was refused, & we spent an anxious night. At last by threats & backsheesh combined (2½ piastres), I got the escort, & refused blackmail. I had taken advantage of the situation by the way to visit the Anazeh camp, & photograph our four [*ill.*]wares. About noon of the day we left the Anazeh camp we were suddenly surrounded by armed Arabs. We were hopelessly outnumbered, but one man showed pluck, & got ready for action. Here the zaptiyeh proved his [*ill.*], & we came through unmolested after a brief parly. We also carried with us three Shammar who had been taken prisoners by the Anazeh. The march from Palmyra has been very hard, & against my will I have been obliged to stop here one day for repairs.

Yours truly

John P. Peters.

[1889-12-04. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 34. L-987. TO]

1811 Spruce Street.

Dear Mr Clark,

Thanks for the opportunity of seeing the letters from Haynes. I have sent you several. Everything shews cordial relations and I think offers better hopes. I have a pleasant letter from Minister Hirsch spontaneously offering to do all in his power.

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

December 4th 1889.

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[1889-12-05. Adee, Dept. of State to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 31-32. L-63. HO]

Department of State,

3

Washington, December 5, 1889.

Dr William Pepper,

University of Pennsylvania,

Philadelphia

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 19, in which you express the hope "that a suitable salary for Mr. John Henry Haynes, our Consul at Bagdad, may be included in the estimates of this Department".

In reply, I have to say that the office in question was created principally for the purposes of aiding in explorations in the East, and that at the present time M<sup>r</sup> Haynes is away from his post, having joined the expedition to which you allude in your letter. Under the circumstances the Department did not deem it advisable to ask for an appropriation for salary at Bagdad, in the estimate already submitted, but should the office in question develop importance, promotion may come in due time.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Alvey A. Adee

Second Assistant Secretary.

[1889-12-10. Pepper to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 35. L-979. TO + HO]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST.

1811 Spruce Street.

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Dear Sir,

You doubtless noticed Dr Peters allusion to having written Field in regard to the latter going out. I think of writing both Mrs. Field and her Son, reminding them that we should be entirely unable to contribute anything towards his expenses for him to do so. Don't you think this would be judicious?

Yours sincerely

Wm. Pepper

E.W.Clark Esqr.

December 10th 1889.

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Pray bring Mrs. Clark to the Univ. on Friday.  
It is so important we shall have a good  
audience.

Please secure a good lot with these cards.

[1889-12-28. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.11, 38-41. L-1430.3. HO]

14 rue St Guillaume

Paris Dec. 28 1889

My dear Dr Pepper.

Yours of Dec. 13 at hand. I have already written you that I received a telegram from Dr Peters from Baghdad, saying that he wanted a relief of Niffer for Hamdi Bay at 700 francs, the price that I telegraphed him. I have consequently [*ill.*] a duplicate. The 700 francs does not include cost of packing and express to Constantinople. I fancy the cheapest way is by boat from Marseille. Will see the agent here and let you know.

Have written Dr Peters and look for a letter from him soon. Had two letters from Baghdad today, one from Haynes before Dr Peters arrival.

In regard to my returning to Niffer I have not thought of going back this year as I felt sure it would not be wise. But I confess that I hope if the expedition returns next year that the committee will consider my candidature. I feel that having been in the country and studied somewhat here since my return renders me more likely to be of service than a novice. I am interested in the work and desire to continue it and to return to Turkey.

As you probably know I have been commissioned by a committee of the University to see M. Nicaise in regard to the purchase of his collection of prehistoric remains. I saw him yesterday. The collection is of great value and would be sure to attract special students to Philadelphia were it to be purchased by the University. I hope to write a long letter of explanation to the committee in a few days. In February I hope to go to Chalous for a few days at the invitation of M. Nicaise to excavate some Gallic tombs [*ill.*] there and see his method of work. He has been very successful.

Very faithfully yours

Perez Hastings Field.

[1890-01-30. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.12, 11-12. L-1124. HO]

6 rue Commeille

Paris le 30 janvier 1890

My dear Dr Pepper.

Both of the reliefs, for Philadelphia & Constantinople are in plaster awaiting the coloring and final work which will occupy about a month. There has been some delay owing to the sickness from influenza of some of the workmen. There is a panel reserved for the [name](#) & explications. I shall begin it as follows.

Expedition to Babylonia from the University of Pennsylvania. (Rev John P. Peters, Ph. d., Director). Plan in relief of the site of Niffer (Turkey in Asia). Adding scale. Muret's name & *[ill.]*. ect. ect. Have you received the photographs from Haynes? Had a letter from Dr Peters saying they left Baghdad December 31.

I have had letters from M. Nicaise wanting to know the decision of the committee as to his collection. As I have heard nothing from Mr Sommerville I could not give him a definite reply.

Very faithfully yours

Perez Hastings Field

Address care of Drexel Hayes et Cie boul. Haussmann 31

[1890-02-02. Harper to Hilprecht. HSN 780F, 1-2. HO]

383, George-Street,

New-Haven, Conn.,

Feb. 2<sup>d</sup>/1890.

My dear Hilprecht: –

I was glad to hear the news about the Expedition. I had already hear[d] of poor Berdi's death, but did not know that Maḳotar had given in to the cholera. I am sorry about the former, but, as for Maḳotar, I have no such feeling. Peters is in a bad fix. It will be impossible for him to accomplish anything this year again. It is too bad! He seems to be very unlucky.

In regard to the tablets, I am very sorry to say that I can give you little aid. I would have answered sooner, but I have been making a thorough search among my papers and baggage to see if I could not find some of my old notes. There are none to be had.

My work on the catalogues was done very hurriedly and in the following way. I picked out the best tablets, found out to the best of my ability their contents, numbered them and put them in glass boxes with a corresponding number and a short description. After I had finished a collection (e.g. the Shemtob) I simply copied from the boxes and the few notes which I had made – and this was the catalogue. At the last – on account of the purchase of the Khabaza collection so soon before my departure from London – I was very much rushed and hence I made only one copy of the catalogues. This I sent to Dr. Peters. He had them copied by Prince, and sent the originals to Phila., as I understand. Peters has a copy of both catalogues in his baggage. I saw this copy in Baghdad or in Niffer. I remember when he asked me to write a little of something about the Kh. collection, that I was compelled to ask him for his copies of the catalogues.

In regard to the no. of pieces in each collection, I cannot say anything definite. Jastrow's numbers must be pretty nearly correct. I think that there were about 425 pieces in the catalogues.

The box containing the numerous fragments – all in a heap – belongs to the Kh. lot. I think that there was only one tear bottle in the J. S. – perhaps two. All the rest are of the Kh. Most of the fragments put 1 – 5 together in one box belong to Kh.

If I could see the stuff, I could identify almost all of it, but it is hard to give any data by which you can arrange the collections.

I am very sorry that I can't send you full catalogues. I should have made duplicates, but did not have the time.

Can't you imagine where the catalogues have gone? It seems very strange that they should be lost. Don't you think so?

If I could only find the time to run down to Phila. for a day or two, we could get things into some kind of order without the catalogues. At present I am very much pressed.

I was very much pleased to hear today that you are coming up to Yale to speak to the Semitic Club. Our students will be glad to meet and to hear you, and I will speak of nothing else than our old times on Turkish soil. It was not such a bad life after all. I would like to make the trip over again – under different circumstances. I hope to make your trip up here a pleasant one.

It is rather late, but nevertheless, I wish you a Happy New-Year and a great many of them.

I will say again that I am sorry not to be able to help you. If I ever find any notes I will send them to you at once.

With kindest regards,

Ever yours,

R. F. Harper

N.B. I only know Provost Pepper by correspondence and reputation, but I wish that you would pay him my respects when you meet him.

[1890-02-02. *Prince to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.12, 13-14. L-64. HO*]

Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1890.



My dear Dr. Pepper,

I received Dr. Peters' letter and music, which you so kindly forwarded me, and, according to his request, have written a short Article on my observations of Turkish Music, for the final Report of the Expedition.

I hardly think the subject will be of interest to those who have not studied Music scientifically, as the melodies are very unattractive to our ears.

I unfortunately left the notes, I took during my trip last year, behind in New York, and therefore fear that my report is not a very full one. Trusting however, it may be of some use to you, and with kind remembrances from Mrs. Prince, I am,

Yours very sincerely

J. Dyneley Prince.

Friedrich Str. 203<sup>III</sup>

Berlin.

[1890-02-14. Field to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.12, 30-35. L-1430.5. HO]

6 rue de Commaille

Paris le 14 fevrier 1890.

My dear Dr. Pepper.

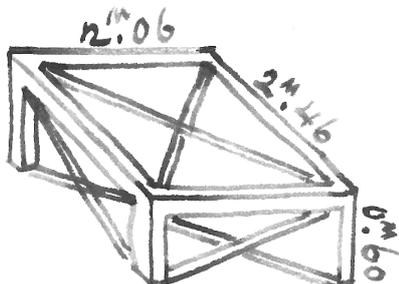
The reliefs are about finished, they await color only. I hope to send one to Constantinople and one to Philadelphia early in March, when I shall have to pay Muret.

First relief [ <i>ill.</i> ] payment	1000.f00
Second relief	700.00
Changes in relief	50.00
Boxing each relief 70.	140.00
Freight to Phil.	90.45
" Constantinople	<u>60.00</u>
Francs	2040.45

2040f.45 = [*blank*]

\$ = [*blank*]

The rate of freight to Constantinople is 30 francs 100 kilogrammes. I estimate the weight of the case will be about 200 kilos possibly more or less. To Philadelphia we rate is 38. f. 50 the metre cube. The case will be about 2<sup>m<sup>c</sup></sup>. 35 which makes 90 f. 45. As the relief is rather large and the most interesting excavations are difficult to see Muret has cast a small bit of the model in plaster that can be put one side so that one may examine the temple hill more readily. I assumed the responsibility of ordering them and shall send one to Constantinople with the relief. I pay Muret 100 francs for them. The University is not at all obliged to pay for them unless after seeing them in Philadelphia they wish to. If the University does not want them I shall be most glad to keep them myself. The only other expense I have had is in engaging a topographical draughtsman to help me in making the map for Kiepert and the one of Niffer. I have payed him 200 francs. When you see the maps you will tell me whether you think I am justified in asking to be reimbursed for my outlay. The relief will need some kind of support or framework on which to rest. It would be wise to have it ready before unpacking the relief. It should be like this



after there may be added a moulding going around and joining these frameworks and the relief, which I will see to when I arrive.

I shall see the consul before sending the relief and try to have him arrange so that the case need not be opened till it reaches Philadelphia. Perhaps you can give me some advise or perhaps the University has the right to enter things for its use without examination.

I have had a letter from Dr Peters from Diwanye just before leaving for Niffer to join Haynes. Seems to be in excellent spirits. Some drawings that I sent seem to have been lost. I have sent others. Is there any possibility of my getting the photographs of Niffer before the end of the month? They would be a great help, especially if they come before the coloring is begun. Can you tell me whether Mr. Sommerville received my letter relating to the Nicaise collection. I have heard nothing and M. Nicaise is impatient. It would be a pity to let the collection slip into other hands. Very faithfully

Perez Hastings Field.

[1890-03-14. Frazier to E.W. Clark. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.12, 40-41. L-1098. HO]

March 14<sup>th</sup> 1890

Dear Mr Clark,

I have your favor of 11<sup>th</sup> inst enclosing a copy of your Babylon a/c for the first year, which is very clearly stated.

Peters & Haynes should, of course, have furnished vouchers for their payments, but I don't think that it is worth while to insist upon their production; except that I think that they should show receipts from payments to members of the expedition made by them.

Yours truly

W.W. Frazier

EWClark Esq

[1890-08-23. *Peters to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.13, 105-106. L-1113. HO*]

Jerusalem, Aug. 23<sup>d</sup>/90

Dear Dr. Pepper

Yours, undated, from Hague, received on my return a day or two since from a tour through Philistia. Nothing to report. Am in correspondence with Hamdi on one side, & Haynes on other, & working at both ends to pull & push those things to Constantinople. You would think it easy to do, but it is really a complicated job. I do not see that there is anything to be gained by my being in Constantinople at present. It might be better for me to be there, it may be better for me to be out of reach & moderately indifferent. Allah only knows, for the working of the Turkish mind is outside of natural law. This much I do know, that if I were there I should be spending the Expedition's money, & wasting my own time, neither of which I am now doing. In the meantime, following the footsteps of Prof. Hilprecht Dr. Harper is trying hard to injure our chances of division by injudicious & false publications. Hilprecht's went all over the European papers, & I fear went to Hamdi; & now Harper's is likely to do the same. The poor miserable 80 or 90 tablets we found the first year are magnified in their statements to thousands, a number which would include every dirty, good-for-nothing fragment as big as your thumb nail, & these are all represented as valuable. Of course Hamdi will say, if these are so valuable that you are boasting about them all over the world, I must keep them for my Museum. And he is likely, too, to say, Where are all those tablets, have you stolen them. I have, I am sorry to say, seen some evidence that Hilprecht's wild & silly statements did reach the Turks, & are affecting them. I have written a friendly note to Prof. Harper begging him to keep his brother quiet, & representing the danger of such utterances. I hope that the fact that Harper is braying will not set Hilprecht off again. Pardon the metaphor, but if you were living in my present camp you would see its force, & pardon the apparent malice, which is not really intended.

I must tell you frankly that the English & Germans have been very badly treated by Hamdi this year, which is not a good omen for us. However I shall hope. Haynes seems to have made satisfactory arrangements for getting out the ten cases. If you should be in Zürich Mrs. Peters is there, & can show you some beautiful tablets from Yokha. But on calculation I see that you must be in America by the time this reaches you. I will try to remember the stamps.

Yours sincerely

John P. Peters.

Harper's publication was lecture at Chautauqua. Cf. NY Tribune July 19. Telegram dated July 18.

[1890-12-05. Pepper to Haynes. UPMAA\_Nippur\_02.01, 34. L-1440.1. TC]

(Copy)

1811 Spruce Street.

December 5th 1890.

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Consul Haynes

Baghdad.

Press resignation. Cannot continue your employment beyond March 15th.

[1891-02-11. R.F. Harper to Pepper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_02.02, 37-38. L-1429.4. HO]

102, North = College,

New = Haven Feb. 11<sup>th</sup>/91.

Provost William Pepper,

My dear Sir:—

My brother tells me that your conservation [*sic*] yesterday was, for the most part, about the two Ašûritilîlâni tablets now in my possession. I am very sorry that there has been a misunderstanding about these tablets. I cannot quite see how any misunderstanding could arise.

Prof. Hilprecht knew at the time that Bedri=Bey had given these tablets to me. I wrote both to him and to you in April or May of last year telling you that the tablets were safe in my possession, that I desired to publish the text and that I would then present them to the Univ. of Penn. I made this statement in public at the meeting of the Amer. Orient. Society at Boston, in May 1890, and in Hebraica.

I wrote to you again after returning from my Summer Vacation, telling you that I had not yet published the texts of these tablets, but that I hoped to do so soon. I also told you that from a legal standpoint I considered the tablets my own personal property, because they had been presented to me by Bedri=Bey after they had passed out of the hands of the expedition. I admitted, however, that the Univ. of Penn. had a moral right to them, because I was under appointment from it at the time. These are all the facts in the case.

Prof. Peters, in a conversation with my brother last evening, accused me with the theft of these tablets. This is rather strong language. I could not expect anything else from him, however. I have been tempted to assert my legal rights to these tablets, because of this and other remarks, and to keep them or to present them to Yale or the Univ. of Chicago. I would do this if I were dealing with Prof. Peters.

I think that you have understood my position from the beginning. You have always treated me with great kindness and consideration, and hence I place these tablets at your immediate disposal. Because of my trouble and far-sight in getting these – the most valuable tablets in the collection – out of Turkey, I had hoped to have the privilege of publishing them. I waive the right now. Be kind enough to communicate these facts to your committee, and believe me,

Your obedient servant,

Robert Francis Harper.

N.B. I enclose a copy of a letter which I send to Prof. Peters by this same mail. It will explain itself. It is plain. I meant it to be so. I hope for his sake and that of the expedition that he will keep quiet. If not the fight must be opened all along the line and the other members will act in unison. In this case, everything must be aired.

[1891-02-11. R.F. Harper to Peters. UPMAA\_Nippur\_02.02, 39-40. L-1429.5. HC]

102, North = College

New Haven, Conn.

Feb. 11<sup>th</sup>, 1891.

Professor John P. Peters.

My dear Sir:—

I am very sorry that you felt obliged to use the language which you did in your conversation with my brother yesterday. I am ready at any time to defend myself in regard to these charges, and I am also ready and fully prepared to make at least six countercharges against you.

I had hoped — (and do hope) — for your sake and that of the expedition that you would take your ignominious failure — a failure which you acknowledged to the members of the expedition in Baghdad — in good part, and that you would refrain from personalities. It would seem from last night's conversation that you are not disposed to do this.

The committee — the expedition cannot afford to have even the impersonal affairs of the expedition come before the general public. It is far from my intention to threaten, but I must say — and you will see the force of what I say — that not only I but also all the other members of the expedition will be obliged to defend ourselves and to reveal everything personal and impersonal to the public. It must necessarily be a fight all along the line and to the death. If this is what you desire, very well. I only await the firing of the first gun.

I have written to Provost Pepper at length in regard to the tablets. I also send him a copy of this letter.

Very truly yours

Robert Francis Harper.

[A copy of a letter mailed to Prof. Peters on Feb. 11<sup>th</sup>, 1891]

[1891-02-12. Pepper to R.F. Harper. UPMAA\_Nippur\_02.02, 44. L-1437.5. TC]

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.  
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST.

1811 Spruce Street.  
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Professor Robert Francis Harper.

My dear Professor Harper,

I have your letter of February 11th with enclosed copy of a letter to Dr Peters. I have earnestly hoped that all personal feelings had entirely subsided and passed away. I have not of course seen Dr Peters since his interview with your Brother. He has been very ill, and has suffered a great deal in mind and body. I think that the course you suggest about the tablets is the wisest one, and that you should sent [*sic*] them to me personally with a note accompanying simply expressing in such language as you see fit the transference or return of the tablets to the University, and your desire to publish the texts. I think it is only natural that the Commission should be anxious to have all the objects available for the purpose of classification and arrangement, because there is I am sorry to say a heavy load of deficit to be made up, and then I think we are very anxious that the work of exploration in Babylonia should go on either in connection with the University of Pennsylvania alone or by some combination of American Colleges provided that the Turk will only treat us with reasonable fairness. Kindly send the tablets therefore directly to the above address.

Yours sincerely

[*blank*]

February 12th 1891.  
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[1894-08-18. Haynes to Haji Hassan Pasha. UPMAA\_Nippur\_05.02, 24-27. PC]

To

His Excellency  
Haji Hassan Pasha  
Governor-General of the Vilayet of Baghdad

Dear Sir:

I beg leave [*to*] inform your Excellency that Daoud Effendi, the recently appointed commissioner to Niffer, has reported against Saleh Effendi and myself certain charges and insinuations of theft of antiquities from Niffer.

These charges are wholly false, and do greatly hinder our work.

Neither Saleh Effendi nor myself, either separately or together, have ever, at any time, or in any way, or manner, stolen, or caused to be stolen, or wrongly taken away from Niffer, any article, great or small, that could properly be considered an antiquity.

I do therefore most humbly and earnestly entreat your Excellency to cause an impartial investigation to be made into the facts, and if the charges can be proven by competent witnesses, I will gladly make or submit to any act of reparation, that your Excellency may propose for me; but if an investigation shall establish our innocency, as it must do, then do I beg of your Excellency to report this fact to the proper authorities at Constantinople to the end that we may not longer suffer injustice, and that our hitherto pleasant relations may continue for many years to come.

I also beg leave to state that Daoud Effendi has made but six short visits in twenty four days to the scene of excavations.

I do therefore beg that your Excellency will cause Daoud Effendi to be instructed to be present at the scene of excavations during the hours of daily work in the trenches, or so much of the time as may be necessary to dispel all reasonable doubt of any wrong doing on our part, or if the present incumbent of the honorable office of commissioner is unable to do this, then I would entreat your Excellency to appoint a suitable commissioner to succeed Daoud Effendi, who shall be able and willing to do his work well, and a man of such integrity and honor that no suspicion may henceforth rest on him or me in any act of his or mine.

With kind regards and the highest esteem for your Excellency at all times I beg to remain

now and always

Your most humble and obedient Servant  
John Henry Haynes  
Director of Expedition to Niffer

Niffer 18 August 1894

[I. Exp. Un-00-00. Unknown to Washburn. UPMAA\_Nippur\_01.01, 13-14. L-1440.10. HO]

1833 SPRUCE STREET

PHILADELPHIA

Dear Dr. Washburn,

As you may imagine the members of the Executive Committee of the Babylonian Exploration Fund have been most anxious over the slow progress of the steps towards a permit. Familiar as I am with Turkey, my only surprise has been that the Iradé permitting excavation has ever been obtained but the delay has greatly disorganized the expedition, scattered the members and reduced its resources. They remain large enough for work this year and for resuming operations on a limited scale next year. I am, in Dr. Peters absence Secretary of the Executive Committee and I have been asked not officially but personally to get your opinion as to the future of the Expedition. What I should like to get and will treat with such confidence as you may direct is your fullest advice as to the best plan to pursue. You can know better than I can say what the Committee here need to know. Is there for instance a likelihood or the contrary that the work of excavation will now be permitted to go on or will there be another such delay next year in renewing the permit. Do you see any objection to reducing the expedition next year to one or two persons, Dr. Peters or one more and continuing the work of exploration. Your services as a member of the local Committee are keenly appreciated by the Committee here and are spoken of in the strongest language by Dr. Peters and I feel that you can probably advise better what should be done in any direction, any deficiencies which may have developed in the difficult work of contact with Orientals by the members of the expedition

[*the rest is blank*]