Imperial Complicity and Gender Ambiguities in the Egyptian Archeological Travelogues of Amelia Edwards*

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Abstract
The article examines the Egyptian travelogues of Amelia Edwards, projecting them on to the backdrop of Victorian knowledge-processing apparatus, in which archaeology, with its racist assumptions, played a crucial role in delineating the evolutionary paradigms to be applied to Mediterranean civilisations. The first professional female Egyptologist in England, Edwards was also engaged in the campaign for women's right to vote. However, her discourse on archaeology and Egyptology, aligned as it is with the dominant male colonial perspective and the normalising regimes of power, such as the patriarchal nation-state itself, is not free from racist implications or gender and class ambiguities. Edwards's travelogues represent a conflicting intersection of dominant discourses, especially the colonial discourse, the discourse of archaeological Egyptology, and the discourse of liberal, middle-class feminism. Edwards's Egyptian archaeological writings are thus examined as an ideologically multilayered genre, highlighting both their specific imperial complicity and their gender and class ambiguities.

Amelia Ann Blandford Edwards (1831-1892) was already an acclaimed novelist in England when she published her Egyptian travelogues: *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* and *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*. When *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* came out in 1877, it was an immediate bestseller and it came complete with over seventy illustrations reproduced from the author's own sketches and water-

* This article is the first publication from a broader project whose contributors include: Valentina Castagna (women and Neo-Victorian Studies); Sabina D'Alessandro (Egypt in contemporary literature); Ester Gendusa (the appropriation processes of extra-European cultures). My reading of Amelia Edwards, "The Social and Political Position of Woman in Ancient Egypt", is partly indebted to O'Neill 2005. Quotes from *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* and from *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* refer to the Dodo Press editions.

colours (O'Neill 1997; 2001). The text is a combination of diary, essay and refined guidebook. It appeared at a time when Egypt was at the height of its popularity – and not only as a destination for amateur archaeologists, antiquarians and tourists from different backgrounds. In fact during the nineteenth century, as a result of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign and the study of ancient Egyptian history and culture it inspired, Egypt's magical allure fascinated intellectuals as well as the general European public, bringing about a vogue for Egypt in all the arts. This fascination also extended to a certain Gothicism and a taste for mystery (which can be noted in Edwards's fiction and in that of authors such as Edward Bulwer Lytton, Henry Rider Haggard or Bram Stoker), but in particular in the craze for *mummy fiction*. This literary combination of romantic passion and archaeological knowledge was a sign of increasing popularity for the new science of Egyptology (Deane 2008). Because of the political events taking place at that time, British archaeology almost began to identify itself with Egyptology (Schnapp 1997).

Edwards had already travelled around Italy and then France and had found her niche in travel writing, describing her tour of the Dolomite valleys in her 1872 book *Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys*, a work which achieved considerable success. In accordance with the tradition of travel writing, Edwards here alternates descriptions of landscape (still imbued with the semantics of the sublime and the picturesque) with anecdotes and colourful descriptions of simple local folk, whom she systematically portrays against a backdrop of majestic scenery. Thus, the text is constructed in accordance with a contrasting cliché (place-people) which had already been partly propagated by the Grand Tour but which, in the nineteenth-century's portrayal of Southern European countries, became sharper and more divisive, especially when compared to Northern Europe and in particular Britain and the British (Cherry 2002; O'Connor 2003; Corona 2011).

We find the very same attributes of *incapacity* and *inadequacy* in Edwards's descriptions of the inhabitants of modern Egypt and the same opposition between a glorious cultural tradition and the backwardness of the present in her Egyptian travelogues (Mitchell 1991; Soueif 2004; D'Alessandro 2008). The same clichés thus recur in a number of her works, and they are those clichés which, in the nineteenth century, gradually came

to be applied by male as well as feminist travellers to the local populations, especially women, of Southern Europe countries as well as North African and Middle Eastern areas. These images end up grouping together, in a single Orientalist allegory, all the countries and peoples associated with the opposing shores of the Mediterranean (Pfister 1996; Cassano 2009; Cazzato 2008; Di Piazza 2008; Polezzi 2007: 11-16).

Edwards was also involved in women's politics at the time, being an active member of the *National Union for Women's Suffrage*. She shared, among other things, the ambiguity of the suffragettes' patriotism, which was tinged with gendered racism (Fletcher *et al.* 2002; Nym Mayhall 2002; O'Day 2000; Burton 1992). These attitudes are clearly shown in the semantics of her travelogues.

In the winter of 1873 she left for Egypt and was immediately fascinated by it. After a visit to Cairo, she travelled a long way south along the Nile. She devoted herself to the exploration of the archaeological sites, using her findings to *colonise* with her studies the history and culture of Egypt under the Pharaohs. After her trip to Egypt, Edwards channelled her energy and all her activities into Egyptology, becoming the first professional female archaeologist and creating a space for herself in what was a totally male-dominated scientific environment[1]. Between 1889 and 1890 she travelled to the United States and gave several lectures (thus far underappreciated, though rather controversial), some of which dealt with the social status of the queens of Ancient Egypt. Some of these were later published in *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (O'Neill 2005; Rees 1998; Peukert 2005).

Edwards's travelogues, with their descriptions of archaeological sites and their studies of Ancient Egypt, became an instrument of her self-affirmation as a Victorian intellectual; she achieved her authority not so much through her fame as a novelist but through her status as professional scholar. The interest in these texts lies precisely in their specific function as archaeological female travel-writing, yet it is also this newly-acquired scientific female authority that today renders

[1] Recent works such as *The Genesis of British Egyptology* (1971), by John David Wortham, while acknowledging Edwards's merits, dispute the title of "first woman Egyptologist", describing her, instead, as "a dedicated amateur Egyptologist" (108-109).

rather questionable both the ambivalence of Edwards's stereotyped rhetoric about the unifying allegory of Mediterranean men and women as naturally inadequate, and her complicity with colonial scientific discourse, which is evident in the scientific register of her texts, which are laced, as we will see later, with gendered racism.

This complicity is particularly evident in the forms of promotion of Egyptology chosen by Edwards and in her representation of Egypt as a rhetorically elaborated location in the two texts that will be examined below. In light of Hall's theories, as well as the perspectives put forward by Mitchell, Colla and Lidchi, Edwards's justification of Egyptology as a disinterested discipline and an ethically pure practice is revealed, in fact, as premised on the need to protect archaeological findings. That need was based on the archaeologist's stock accusation against Egyptians (charged with having been "thieves for generations"), and justified the practice of removing artefacts from the sites[2] and transporting them to England with the aim of exhibiting them in museums which, in turn, supported a colonial-nationalist education of the British public on the subject of the history of nations (Hall 2011b; 2011c). With specific reference to archaeology in Egypt, Hall (2011c) and Lidchi (2011), backed up by Colla (2007) and Mitchell (1991), stress that a right of ownership was thus acquired with regard to the artefacts uncovered and, consequently, possession was taken of that civilisation's sublime past, in a sort of *possession of eternity*, establishing a relationship between property and power.

Amelia Edwards's travelogues came out in a crucial period for the British Empire, with the occupation of Egypt after the seizure of the Suez Canal. This was also a time of vigorous demands in Britain for British women's rights. *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* came out in London in 1877. In 1891 this was followed by *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, which was the first work to include Edwards's lectures on this subject, given during her visit to the United States (1889-90).

In 1882, after the bombardment of Alexandria, the British had occupied Egypt in order to control the Suez Canal. However, the English interest in the enterprise had already manifested itself after

[2] This was done according to practices which, in the words of Colla, led to "control over the antiquities' sites", and "to later forms of colonial discourse about managing *all* the resources of modern Egypt" (2007: 28).

the canal was opened by the French in 1869, with the purchase of the Khedive's shares of the Suez Canal company in 1875, which resulted in Anglo-French control over Egypt[3]. Occupation in 1882 allowed British archaeologists to broaden their horizons, even outdoing their French predecessors, who had dominated excavations in Egypt since the time of Napoleon. "Egyptologists", in Deane's words, "repaid the favour to the political system that enabled their work by colonising Egypt's history as the object of ever more precise scientific scrutiny, developing a form of knowledge which [...] buttressed the British understanding of their own imperial power" (2008: 388).

In 1883 Edwards played a prominent role in setting up in England the Egypt Exploration Fund (from 1914 the Egypt Exploration Society) together with Reginald Stuart Poole, and helped establish the first teaching position in Egyptology at University College London.

Edwards's travelogues bear the mark of these converging moments in history, representing a conflicting intersection of dominant *discourses*, especially the colonial discourse with its implied racism, the discourse of archaeological Egyptology with its bombastic claims about protection, and the discourse of liberal, middle-class feminism, with the rhetorical idea of British women's moral mission (in their homeland as well as in the colonies) and their commitment to nation-building. Many studies have emphasised this specific complicity of middle-class British feminism with the imperial enterprise, stressing their many shared assumptions such as the ambiguity of the suffragettes' *patriotism* tinged with gendered racism (Mills 1994; Cherry 2002; Burton 1992; 2002). Edwards's Egyptian writings can be examined as an ideologically multilayered genre not only in terms of their specific forms of imperial complicity (primitivistic allegory of Mediterranean countries, place-people contrast in their representations, examination of semi-colonial Egypt merely in the light of its glorious Pharaonic past), but also in terms of their internal gender ambiguities, as regards both Edwards's colonial racist representation of present day Egyptian women and

[3] In spite of the formal independence obtained by Egypt in 1932, having been British protectorate at the start of the First World War, the British occupation actually continued until 1954.

her attitude to the British women of the time. In the American seminars, for instance, she notably omits to compare the condition of ancient Egyptian women of higher ranks with the subaltern status of British middle-class women (O'Neill 2005).

Thus Edwards's Egyptian travelogues certainly signpost a particular moment of transition in travel writing by British middle-class women as regards the use of the text as a form of professional self-affirmation (O'Neill 2001: 165 and Harper 2001). However, her discourse on archaeology and her representation of ancient and present Egypt, aligned as they are to the dominant male colonial perspective (Vitale 2009; Carter 1987), are not free from racist implications or gender and class ambiguities. In Chapter 3 of *Pharaohs*, for example, Edwards digresses, on the one hand, on "the four races of men: the typical Syrian, the typical Egyptian, the typical Libyan, and the typical Ethiopian" and, on the other, on the "close resemblance of the ancient Greeks and Romans to the people of modern Europe and America". She also stresses the "unchanged racial types of Egypt, Nubia and Palestine", and highlights the "persistence of Ancient Egyptian types" and the blackness of their slaves, rendering natural a hierarchical relationship between black race and social role (Edwards 1891: 'Contents', pages not numbered).

Edwards's works also display a link to an equivocal rhetorical and lexical articulation, in terms of gender, race and class, of the attributes and position of the people of Egypt, especially its women, in the relationship between the Egypt of the Pharaohs and modern Egypt. As a result, we find generalising descriptions, such as the following: "Not being a well favoured race [...] this defect [ophthalmia] added the last touch of repulsiveness to faces already sullen, ignorant and unfriendly [...] a more unprepossessing population I would never wish to see [...] the men half stealthy half insolent, the women bold and fierce, children filthy sickly and stolid". She also stresses the predominance of "ignorance" and "superstition" and the fact that the local populations have been thieves for countless generations. In her conclusion she states: "I began systematically to avoid going about the native towns" (Edwards 1877: 86-87).

An interesting aspect of the transition in her travel writing towards the scientific report (and the essay) is her taking on the role

of the explorer. In so doing, not only does she take possession of the *male qualities* of scientific knowledge and power, but she also shares the same racist and colonialist attitudes of this traditionally male figure, whose role made it one of the principal professions of the Empire. Edwards fuses the figure of the explorer with that of the Egyptologist (she positions herself "in the great field of archaeological exploration"), but then extends its roles to cover those of scientist, cataloguer, linguist, writer, as well as also hunter: "The explorer must be [...] a competent Greek scholar [...] sufficiently conversant with ancient Egyptian language [...] but above all a good 'all round' archaeologist", and "he classifies and catalogues the objects discovered [...] draws plans, makes up his account and so forth […]. In the evening he writes reports, journals and letters". Edwards adds: "The mummied generations are everywhere in the bowels of the mountains […] exploration in such a land as this is a kind of chase [...]. The explorer has need of all his wits, and he learns to use them with the keenness of a North American Indian" (Edwards 1891: 9-12, 17-20). Her lexis reflects clearly the predatory relationship which the fiction of the time so eminently represented, displaying, in Deane's words, "the potential guilt of an archaeological enterprise that was in total collusion with the [...] reality of British imperial influence" on Egyptian territory, and "that could never quite free itself of the subtle taints of imperial coercion or sordid tomb-robbing" (Deane 2008: 389; Mitchell 1991).

The specific perspective of Amelia Edwards, both as an archeologist and a liberal middle-class feminist, in the representation of Egypt, shows various forms of complicity with imperial discourse in her racist, evolutionary representation of Mediterranean countries and of their class and gender ambiguities. These considerations should also be projected onto the backdrop of the Victorian apparatus of knowledge-processing, within which archaeology, a highly politically charged discipline, played a crucial role (Young 1995; Mitchell 1991; Leask 2004; Bernal 1991), producing a representation of the history and culture of Egypt which took the form of an epistemic colonisation. Edwards herself prefers to describe archaeology as an "aggregate of sciences" (1891: 20) and, in its characteristics and functions, groups it with ethnography and history (cardinal disciplines for the classification of civilisations and

races in imperial discourse). The aim of these forms of knowledge was to confirm, against the evolutionary backdrop of civilisations and the contemporary historical one of wisdom and sovereignty, the superiority of European, and especially British, civilisations. This knowledge apparatus gave rise in the nineteenth century to a hierarchical taxonomy characterised by an evolutionary structure ("from barbarity to civilization" writes Edwards in *Pharaohs*) within which certain races and cultures (those of the near and far East as well as European) were classified on the basis of the presumed supremacy of the British Empire over the civilisations of the Mediterranean. Further, internal hierarchies were then constructed between southern European, Middle-eastern and black African cultures (Fulford *et al.* 1998; Pfister 1996). On this subject, Leask stresses that while Egyptian culture is inscribed in an evolutionary framework that undermines the exclusivity of Greek and Christian-Judaic culture, "the outlandish emblems of Egyptian antiquity" are now in the hands of the British, having been seized from "French competitors", as "synecdoches for an Orient rapidly falling under the flag of the British imperial power" (Leask 2004: 226-7; Said 1985: 72, 239).

Edwards's travel writing highlights the effects of these taxonomies on her perception of herself as well as of local otherness. Her sense of superiority was enhanced by the position of cultural authority and control described above (see also Peukert 2005; O'Neill 2005), as well as by the perspective produced by dominant forms of representation, that is as both a product and a tool of the cognitive and discursive network which underlies the constitution of identity, whether it be based on notions of nationality, class, race or gender (Hall 2011b). Edwards's perspective leads to the crystallising archaisation of Egyptian culture: "things and people are much less changed in Egypt than we of present day are wont to suppose. I believe that the physique and life of modern Fellah is almost identical with the physique and the life of the ancient Egyptian labourer whom we know so well in the wall paintings of the tombs" (Edwards 1877: 2-8). Her descriptions shift continuously from a representation of the past civilisation to the inactivity, backwardness and corruption of the living Egyptians, reproducing the widespread Orientalist (and, arguably, Meridionist; see Pfister 1996 and Cazzato 2008) clichés of "incapacity". The latter have

been effectively analysed by McClintock (1994: 253-55) in terms of the colonial discourse which proclaimed the inadequacy of natives with regard to labour (and civic practices), and the consequent need for tutelage in the economic and political life of their own country.

Apropos of Egyptian modernity, Colla specifically discusses the "logic of colonial reports that describe present-day Egypt in terms of decline" (McClintock 1994: 253-55) and stresses the use of a particular image of the past as an element of comparison with which to assess modernity – something that is clearly exemplified in Edward's texts. Rather than constructing it as innovation – writes Colla – this might make modernisation seem a return to an ancient level of civilisation (in accordance with colonial logic), whilst still considering European and British civilisation, in particular, as a benchmark. This in turn allowed colonial powers to avoid assessing civilisation in terms of the specific characteristics of the culture (Mitchell 1991; Colla 2007: 240-1).

Edwards's texts, accompanied as they were by illustrations, also raise the issue of the role of visual documentation in the rhetoric of otherness within Victorian travel writing. This too can be read in accordance with Hall's analysis of the concept of representation (Vitale 2009; Hall 2011a: 3-4; Hall 2011b: 61). It is also linked to the effects of exhibiting otherness and showcasing it in museums, and this, in turn, connects to some of the specific problems that Edwards's two travelogues throw up regarding the relationship that is rhetorically established between knowledge and power. This is a particularly crucial link for imperial British travel writing and for the specific role carried out in the nineteenth century by archaeology, a science understood in Victorian times (as exemplified by Edwards's texts) as producing processes of "freezing of history in museums" and creating, at the same time, forms of "eternal property" (Mitchell 1991; Young 1995; Deane 2008: 380-8). It is particularly useful, in examining Edwards's texts, to dwell on this specific phase of exhibiting Egyptian artefacts and on the particular educational role carried out by museums, placed in ethical contraposition to the privatisation of artefacts. Hall emphasises the role of images and exhibitions in creating a national identity and culture, while also determining "fantasies of the racialized other" (Hall 2011a: 8-12; see also Nochlin 1989: 36-60). He stresses the importance of analysing the "meanings"

produced by images and their association with power relations, especially between who is exhibiting and what is being exhibited. He also emphasises the fact that the exhibition itself is a system (i.e. "a practice of representation"). In the case of imperial archaeology, the representations forge (as they do in Edwards's texts) connections not only between knowledge and power but also between ownership and power. Edwards's references and contributions to the concept of the museum exhibition were significant and we should remember that, when analysing this concept, it is important to examine which preceding discourses (scientific, political, literary and travel-related) underpin the ways in which specific forms of exhibition are chosen, as well as the evolutionary model of historic distance within which the specific places and cultures exhibited are accommodated.

The problems connected with the process of exhibiting are also inter-linked with those relating to the practice of textualising *place* and its culture. Here, according to Vitale (2009: 131), Carter reiterates the same belief held by Williams (1958; 1967) in the discursive nature of cultural processes taking place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: "the ordinary social subject when looking at the surrounding environment does not simply take in what is there as purely visual data, but is located with that place in a cultural horizon, that is, the simply observed place is a cultural palimpsest" (Carter 1987: 174-5). Talking about his experience in Egypt, Petrie, for instance, said that it was "like walking through the smashings of the vase-room of the British Museum" (Edwards 1891: 23).

The colonial appropriation of cultures is therefore not only theorised by Victorian specialists according to new evolutionary paradigms of civilisations underpinned by racist assumptions. That same process of appropriation was also implemented at the time of the British occupation through the textualisation of Egyptian territory, which, in Edwards's case, is presented as frozen in time and described as a place "from the past": "all Egypt is but the façade of an immense sepulchre" (Edwards 1891). In the words of Carter, quoted by Vitale,

> [...] space becomes place through the process of textuality. Mapping, naming, fictional and non-fictional narratives create multiple and sometimes conflicting accretions which become the dense text that

constitutes place. […] the naming by which imperial discourse brings the colonized space 'into being', the subsequent rewritings and overwritings, […] all […] constitute the contemporary place observed by the subject. (Vitale 2009: 130)

In this way, the representation/colonisation of cultures, via the appropriation of artefacts, takes the place (in the eyes of the onlooker) of the history and culture of the actual country, inserting it, at the same time, in the new taxonomic framework of museums and exhibitions (Hall 2011c; Colla 2007: 2-3; Mitchell 1991: 27-9). At a certain point in the process, that representation becomes more real than the actual territory from which the artefacts originate, as is evident from the analysis of Mitchell and Colla with regard to the Egyptian Hall and the great French and British exhibitions. "The Valley of the Nile is in short, one great museum" states William Flinders Petrie (quoted by Edwards 1891: 9).

A further point worthy of mention here is the subject of the lectures given by Edwards in the United States (lectures which remained unpublished in the nineteenth century). Here discourses of archaeology, liberal, middle-class feminism, and imperialism intermingle (Edwards 2005; O'Neill 2005; Rees 1998). Talking about "Queens and princesses and royalties of all ranks", and about "the social and political position of woman in the middle class of life", Edwards writes in "The Social and Political Position of Woman in Ancient Egypt": "Here again we find the same equity subsisting between woman and man as between man and man; and here again the evidence is entirely documentary" (2005: 857). The theme of the lecture is an examination (carried out through an analysis of the scrolls of papyrus regarding marital contracts) of the conditions of parity of Egyptian women, at the royal, religious, military and conjugal levels (Edwards 2005: 848). However, on closer examination, we note that the status of ancient Egyptian women is not shown in direct and radical contrast with the subordinated social status of their Victorian counterparts. Quite the contrary, the female audience is invited not to feel "a retrospective envy", as Edwards stresses that "the excessive rights of women led to many abuses [...] later still the woman is altogether effaced and [...] she becomes the abject, ignorant, and secluded slave which we pity today in the Hareems of Modern Egypt" (Edwards 2005: 856).

Besides stressing the racist attitude of colonial Britain towards modern Egyptian women, Edwards thus seems to connect the degeneration of the female condition in modern Egypt to the excessive rights exercised by the women of the past. In this way, she ends up aligning herself with the arguments that dominated the anti-suffrage propaganda of the time in England (arguments which were shared by male intellectuals and artists alike), according to which the attribution of the vote to women carried the potential risk of dramatic changes in the British social system (Burton 2002; O'Neill 2005)[4]. Moreover it was clear that most of the anti-suffrage positions were based not only on the risks of destabilising effects in the homeland, but above all on their consequences for "colonial authority" (Newman 1985; Harrison 1978; O'Neill 2005).

On the other hand, in Edwards's choice of vocabulary ("secluded slave") the cross-reference to the general conditions of slavery suffered by oppressed groups (white women/ Muslin women/ black American women as well as other slaves) remains ambivalent. This theme was subsequently exploited (in support of the moral dimension of middle-class women's struggle) by British suffragette propaganda, which nevertheless was clearly 'polluted', both inside and outside national borders, by class prejudice as well as by the racist assumptions of imperial discourse (Burton 2002). In fact, wherever the notion of slavery of the oppressed was directly applied to the status of the peoples in the colonies or in semi-colonial Mediterranean countries (in our case, to the women of the lower classes and the women who lived in the harems of Egypt), it was conditioned by the racist stereotyping typical of the colonial discourse with regard to the natives, who remained "stolid [...] bold [...] thieves" (Edwards 1877: 86-87).

Mention should certainly be made here of critical writing that interprets Edwards's detached tone with regard to the specific issue of gender (lacking "revolutionary action" or "ideological confrontation" with the status of Victorian women) as an intentional "strategy to de-gender her narrative to gain authority for her archeological interests" in British androcentric scientific circles (O'Neill 2005: 846; Melman 1992: 263). Nowadays, her "de-

[4] This risk was also transferred in narrative form to important dystopic works of the age, such as *The Coming Race*, by Edward Bulwer Lytton.

genderisation" might nevertheless appear as equivocally conniving with the British patriarchal system, marking her acquisition of professional authority in the realm of travel writing as a question of personal self-realisation rather than an instrument for the promotion of female emancipation.

It has already been emphasised, however, that (as noted by O'Neill 2005, harking back to Newman 1985) in England the dominant debate about suffrage, education, biology and marriage tended to generalise the notion of "woman" and to avoid contemplation of the "specific historical conditions of women" (in the British homeland and the colonies alike). Class differences among British women and among those in the colonies were disregarded, whilst the ambiguities of racial prejudice towards women from different ethnic backgrounds made any process of emancipation particularly arduous for these groups (as a result of their alleged natural incapacity). The image of Egyptian women was frozen in a backwardness from which they could only emerge under the tutelage of the British (Cherry 2002; O' Connor 2003).

On the one hand, therefore, the forms of complicity with normalising regimes of power like the patriarchal nation-state which characterised the middle-class, liberal feminism of the period, remain rather evident in Edwards's travelogues, where they are expressed in terms of class as well as racial prejudice. On the other hand, as regards the primitivistic allegory of Mediterranean countries and particularly the racist, stereotypical colonial representations of modern Egypt (Mitchell 1991; Soueif 2004; D'Alessandro 2008) and its women (often contrasted with the Pharaonic past), the semantics of Edwards's travel writing reveals the historically specific intersections, if not the actual equivocal adherence, of the discourse of liberal feminism with that of Britain's patriarchal colonial policy and imperial expansion (Fletcher *et al.* 2002; Burton 2002; Levine 1987).

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