

Leadership and Legacy of Gertrude Bell: Mother of Nations

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Among the photographs taken to commemorate the 1921 Cairo Conference is an image of a group of people on camels, with the pyramids and Sphinx of Egypt in the background. Among the figures is Winston Churchill and T.E Lawrence (aka Lawrence of Arabia) (Image 1). However, the eye is immediately drawn to one individual, Gertrude Lowthian Bell (1868-1926). She was an “English writer, traveler, political officer, administrator, archaeologist and spy who explored, mapped, and became highly influential to British imperial policy-making...”¹ She was the first woman to graduate from Oxford with high honors, the most famous travel writer on the Middle East, and the first woman to join British Intelligence.² She was fluent in Farsi, Hebrew, Arabic, and Turkish. She also tackled Hindi, while traveling through India, and even Japanese.³ Bell’s expertise in the Middle East led her to be a major figure in the creation of modern Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan, and as advisor to Iraq’s first king.⁴ Bell had traveled the globe, but nothing could compare to her love of the East. Her passion for Iraq’s ancient past led to the creation of the Iraq Museum in 1923. The overall aim is to retrace the leadership and legacy of Gertrude Bell, who was instrumental in the establishment of the Iraqi monarchy and state.

¹Bell, G. (1927). *Gertrude Bell: Complete letters* (F. Bell, Comp.). Middletown.

² Hitchens, C. (n.d.). The woman who made Iraq Gertrude Bell scaled the Alps, mapped Arabia, and midwifed the modern Middle East. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from The Atlantic website: <http://TheWomanWhoMadeIraqGertrudeBellscaledtheAlps,mappedArabia,andmidwifedthemodernMiddleEast>.

³ Monroe, E. (1980). Gertrude Bell (1868-1926). *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 7(1), 3-23. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13530198008705279>

⁴ Hitchens.

Bell was the most powerful woman of her time, that is from the Victorian era and into the 1920s. She facilitated a breakthrough in education against the sexist prejudices of her time which inspired her to prove herself an extraordinary woman. She broke new ground in several fields. She was a leader in women's history,⁵ through her discoveries, travels, and writing in the Middle East. Bell was a translator of the 14th century Persian poet Hafiz, and she drew some of the first detailed maps of the Middle East. Bell created a bridge between Western and Eastern culture.⁶ Finally, Bell had a significant role in the Arab Revolt, and the post-war formation of the state of Iraq, a legacy that continues to affect political events to the present day.

At the age of 11, she picked up John Richard Green's *History of the English*, then flitted through volumes of letters and biographies of Mozart, Macaulay, etc.⁷ It was no surprise that she went on to study at Oxford among the nation's most privileged. Girls of Bell's class were tutored at home until the age of seventeen, then introduced to the Queen. Within three seasons of being introduced to society, these girls were expected to find a husband.⁸ In Victorian England, few women attended a university, or even aspired to. Women were raised after Britain's greatest role model, Queen Victoria. Bell would have been taught to be a "good wife, good mother and a good woman."⁹ The queen followed her responsibilities of motherhood, and she was devoted to

⁵ Bell, 1927a, 7.

⁶ Workman, N. V. (n.d.). Gertrude Bell and the poetics of translation: The divan of Hafez. Retrieved from Project MUSE database.

⁷ Wallach, J. (1996). *Desert queen: The extraordinary life of Gertrude Bell: Adventurer, advisor to kings, ally of Lawrence of Arabia*. Doubleday: Random House, 15.

⁸ Wallach, 15.

⁹ Wallach, 9

her husband.¹⁰ During Bell's time, women were excluded from many subjects, and lectures at Oxford were segregated to prevent women from poisoning the environment.^{11, 12} However, when Bell turned fifteen in 1883, she left her home for London and entered Queen's College. The history lecturer there advised Bell's stepmother, Florence, to allow her further education at the Modern History School of Oxford at Lady Margaret Hall. Oxford's theologian, Henry Liddon, commented, "[Lady Margaret Hall was] an educational development that runs counter to the wisdom and experience of all the centuries of Christendom."¹³ Yet with all of the negativity directed towards her and her peers, she was determined to prove them wrong. During her time at Oxford, she excelled. History was her favorite subject. The history teacher at Lady Margaret Hall said, "She was the only girl I have ever known who took her work for the schools and her examination in a gay way."¹⁴

After her death, an old peer of hers wrote that, "Gertrude Lowthian Bell, the most brilliant student we ever had at [Oxford]... at the end of two years she won... a First Class in the School of Modern History..."¹⁵

¹⁰ Wallach, 9.

¹¹ Wallach, 21.

¹² Bell's contemporaries also had medical theories. One of which was "anorexia scolastica," meaning women could grow deathly underweight from too much mental stimulus, especially during menstruation. Educated women, allegedly, had a higher chance of being barren.

¹³ Women's access to higher education: An overview (1860-1948). (n.d.). Retrieved January 25, 2015, from HerStoria: History that puts woman in her place website: <http://herstoria.com/?p=535>

¹⁴ Bell, 1927a, 7.

¹⁵ Bell, 1927a, 7.

After Oxford, Bell was sent to live with her aunt and uncle over the winter. Sir Frank Lascelles, her uncle, was appointed minister to Bucharest, Romania at the time. Bell often dined with important statesmen and discussed politics with them. Then in 1892 Lascelles was sent to work in Tehran, Persia (modern-day Iran). Bell followed. Though she was bound to that city, she explored. There she wrote “forming extremely vivid impressions, whether of places or of human beings.”¹⁶ She wrote and published *Safah Nameh*, “Persian Pictures,” in 1894, the first of six travel narratives on the East she would publish. During her time in Persia, she studied Farsi and studied the Persian poet, Hafiz, which would lead her to be one of his first English translators. Hafiz was born in 14th century Shiraz, Persia; he was the court poet of Abu Ishak. His work is highly revered by Iranians.¹⁷ Bell’s translation was one of the most noteworthy translations of Hafiz that was “markedly different from earlier translators since it addresses three key critical issues—purpose, audience and aesthetic value—differently.” Professor Nancy V. Workman opined, “Her translation serves as an indirect rebellion against familiar strictures—also against British colonial prejudices... This early work established her credibility as a linguist and interpreter of Middle-Eastern culture.”¹⁸

Bell was the most renowned European travel writer in the Middle East. She fearlessly journeyed through the deserts of Arabia replete with disease and looters. She published her

¹⁶ Bell, 1927a, 13.

¹⁷ Hafez. (n.d.). Retrieved January 15, 2015, from Poetry Foundation website: <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/hafez>

¹⁸ Workman, N. V. (n.d.). Gertrude Bell and the poetics of translation: The divan of Hafez. Retrieved from Project MUSE database. 185.

reports, “as an account of the people whom I met...and to show what the world is like in which they live and how it appears to them.”¹⁹ She was dubbed “daughter of the desert” by Arab sheiks and was, surprisingly, highly respected; they had never met such a worldly woman.²⁰ Her writing described how the Ottoman Empire ruled over its subjects and Middle Eastern culture. With this knowledge, she was a part of the team that would carve out the modern borders of the Middle East. And now Bell’s travel narrative on Byzantine architecture (between the 5th and the middle of 11th centuries) *The Thousand and One Churches* (1909) is regularly referred to by archaeological scholars.²¹ The piece was co-authored with Sir William M. Ramsay, who claimed that he wrote parts 1 and 4. Scholars claim that Bell wrote most of the text; Ramsay was characterized as a “chaotic” traveler.²²

Bell mapped out the Middle East when prior European maps depicted a vast blank space.²³ By this time, few Europeans knew or cared what happened there. Maybe a few Armenian massacres by Turks aroused anger in the West, but it quickly ceased.²⁴ *The Desert and the Sown* (1907), her first travel narrative through Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, described pre-war Middle East. Most Western colonials assumed that Arabs were a cohesive body²⁵ but in *The Desert and*

¹⁹Bell, G. (2008). *The desert and the sown* (Dover ed.). Dover: W. Heinemann.

²⁰ Calder, C. (2004, March 26). Gertrude Bell and the birth of Iraq. Retrieved December 22, 2014, from Anderson Valley Advertisers website:

<http://www.theava.com/04/0526-gertrude-bell.html>

²¹ Workman, a , 9.

²²Workman, a, 9.

²³ Calder.

²⁴ Fromkin, D. (n.d.). *A peace to end all peace: The fall of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the modern Middle East* (2009 ed., Vol. 1). 1989: Henry Holt and Company, 25.

²⁵ Wilson, J. (1989). *Lawrence of Arabia*. London: William Heinemann, 240.

the Sown, she detailed their government as “...less fettered by artificial chains, and a wider tolerance born of greater diversity... Society is divided by caste and sect and tribe into an infinite number of groups each one of which is following a law of its own.”²⁶ Brigands roamed at will, and there was little to no Turkish presence. Only 5 percent of taxes were collected on the eve of the First World War.²⁷

The Museum of Iraq stands as proof of Bell’s legacy. Although Bell identified herself as an “antiquarian” she established and became the first curator of Iraq’s first museum.²⁸ “Its collections are considered among the most important in the world and the museum has... collections featuring the 5,000 year long history of Mesopotamia in its 28 galleries.”²⁹ In April, 2003, during the Gulf War, the museum was looted. It was a massive loss to humanity. The thieves had stolen over 170,000 priceless items. Now stolen items have been restored, some reappearing on museum shelves.³⁰ “The National Museum of Iraq today has beautifully renovated galleries...and security systems run by a staff that still consists of a core of

²⁶ Bell, 2008b, 2.

²⁷ Fromkin, 36.

²⁸ Lewis, E. (2010). Gertrude bell and archaeology in Iraq; From World War I to the 'War on Terror'. *The Post Hole*, 1(9), 16-20. Retrieved from <http://theposthole.org/read/issue/9>
This is a journal on archaeology and archaeology history,7.

²⁹ About the museum. (n.d.). Retrieved January 24, 2015, from The Iraq Museum website: <http://www.iraqmuseum.org/pages/about-the-museum/>

³⁰ Poole, R. M. (n.d.). Looting Iraq. Retrieved January 25, 2015, from Smithsonian.com website: <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/making-a-difference/looting-iraq-16813540/?no-ist>

underfunded but dedicated curators.”³¹ Safe from attack, the museum has been fully opened to the public. Since March 2015.³² In post-war Iraq Sir Percy Cox and T.E. Lawrence tried to transfer artifacts found before the war to the British Museum. In response, Bell wrote the Law of Excavations, which was ratified in 1922. Bell brought an end to an era of, “self-taught amateurs and treasure hunters,” new methods of excavation were developed, and Iraq’s archaeology is now in the hands of the Iraqis.³³

Bell was the first woman to join the Secret Intelligence Service, making her a pioneer in women’s history. Since Bell was one of few European experts on the East, she was called upon to join British Intelligence in Basra. In June of 1916, known as “Major Miss Bell”³⁴ she was appointed official Correspondent to Cairo.³⁵ She contributed by producing “intelligence summaries; countless memos on the sheikhs in and around Mesopotamia...; a translation and codification of the Shia Traditions; reports on Syria and Mesopotamia... [and she] took on the editorship of the official Arabic newspaper *Al Arab*.”³⁶ Relying on her experience in the desert

³¹ Lawler, A. (n.d.). National Museum, Baghdad: 10 years later. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from Archaeology: a Publication of the Archaeology Institute of America website: http://www.archaeology.org/exclusives/articles/779-national-museum-baghdad-looting-iraq#art_page2

³² Knight, C. (2015, March 1). *Baghdad's National Museum of Iraq reopens in rebuke to Islamic State* [White paper]. Retrieved March 9, 2015, from LA Times website: <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/culture/la-et-cm-national-museum-iraq-opens-20150301-column.html>

³³ Lewis, 17.

³⁴ Hitchens.

³⁵ Bell, 1926a, 143.

³⁶ Jankiewicz, S. (2012). Orientalists in love: Intimacy, empire, and cross-cultural knowledge. *Journal of World History*, 23(2), 345-373, 335.

she consulted a myriad of sheiks and religious leaders, discovering their views for the future of the country.³⁷

Bell worked with T.E Lawrence to coordinate and instigate the Arab Revolt. Their colleagues debated whether *Al Iraq*³⁸ should have strictly imperial authority, British government with Arab advisors, or an Arab government with British advisors. Bell and Lawrence (see image 4) convinced London to install the latter. After a profitable search Bell found Faisal, the new puppet leader of Iraq.³⁹ She believed that Faisal could be easily manipulated by the British, which was proven true, but he was also the most eligible ruler because he was a *sayyid*,⁴⁰ which was acceptable to the populace in dominantly Shia Iraq. Bell was close to the new king (some historians theorize that they had a romantic affair); her influence over the new ruler would be the foundation of her identity in Iraq. In 1922 the king tried to assert his independence. He disagreed with negotiations of a potential treaty alliance between Iraq and England. The government frequently ignored the people's interests, inducing anti-treaty protest meetings and disturbances in the Shiite, mid-Euphrates regions.⁴¹ The argument led high commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, "to

³⁷ Hitchens, 2.

³⁸ This term was taken from the southern region of Mesopotamia. Al Iraq literally means "to be deeply rooted."

Howell, G. (2008). [Preface]. In *Gertrude bell: Queen of the desert, shaper of nations*. New York: Sarah Crichton Books.

³⁹ Hitchens, C. (n.d.). The woman who made Iraq Gertrude Bell scaled the Alps, mapped Arabia, and midwifed the modern Middle East. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from The Atlantic website: <http://The Woman Who Made Iraq Gertrude Bell scaled the Alps, mapped Arabia, and midwifed the modern Middle East>.

⁴⁰ A Sayyid is the title of a male of direct descent of the Prophet Muhammad. Sayyids still rule parts of the Middle East, including Jordan. Shias (the then majority of Iraq) believed that the leader of Islam should be a descendant from Muhammad.

⁴¹ Jankiewicz, 356.

impose direct rule, suppressing the most radical parties and newspaper, banishing a number of opposition politicians and ordering the bombings of tribal insurgents in the mid-Euphrates.” Bell persuaded Faisal to accept the treaty. After seventeen years the constitutional monarchy was deposed by a military coup.⁴² Today Iraqis have faced an invasion parallel to the then British imperialists, who possess the same problems with controlling the Shias. “The past lives with us today,” mused Professor Beeman.⁴³

Some may argue that Gertrude Bell’s legacy is hanging by a thread or is now nonexistent. ISIL or ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) militants are seeking to erase the borders between Iraq and Syria that Bell had helped establish. ISIS’s desire is an all Sunni Islamic State ruled under a Caliph, ruled strictly by the Koran. This rebellion is also seen as a “bold rejection of the colonial arrogance that Sykes-Picot has long embodied for so many — secular Arab nationalist and Islamists alike.”⁴⁴ Moreover, the Iraqi monarchy that she encouraged is long gone. Some people believe that Bell’s chronicle of the East is untrustworthy because of the romanticization by a nationalist Orientalist whose “...shadows may have obscured a thousand other significant relations” but “they were in a critical position to magnify, consolidate, shift, or even undermine the actual functioning of imperial power.”⁴⁵

⁴² Jankiewicz, 356.

⁴³ Cook, G. (n.d.). Gertrude Bell & The birth of modern Iraq. Retrieved January 29, 2015, from the Levant News website: <http://the-levant.com/gertrude-bell-birth-modern-iraq/>

⁴⁴ Sennott, C. M. (2014, June 17). How ISIS is tearing up the century old map. Retrieved January 30, 2015, from MintPress News website: <http://www.mintpressnews.com/how-isis-is-tearing-up-the-century-old-map-of-the-middle-east/192553/>

⁴⁵ Jankiewicz, 353.

Bell's attempt to unify the disparate ethnic and religious groups to form a modern Iraqi state has parallels in the efforts of the U.S. to form a post-Saddam government, which makes it even more important to analyze her. Professor Beeman claims that her letters are being dispersed throughout the Pentagon; military leaders are finding her writings insightful.⁴⁶ Overall, Bell is not given the credit she deserves as a pioneering woman and is often hidden in the shadow of her male counterparts. In the 1996 movie *The English Patient*, a group of soldiers analyze a map. One soldier asks, "But can we get through those mountains?" Another replies, "The Bell maps show a way." Then another says, "I hope *he* was right." They were referring to Bell's map, maybe the uneducated writer assumed that it could only have been a man who navigated Arabia.

Bell died in 1926, but her legacy still resonates today through her writings that are vital to the United States and other foreign powers. In Iraq she has given Iraqis nationalism through the National Museum of Iraq. The Hashemite Dynasty she helped to create still rules over Jordan. Gertrude Bell is an example of an influential woman, and will forever be remembered for her impression on women's history.

⁴⁶ Wertheimer, L. (2004, May 15). Profile: Gertrude Bell who helped establish Iraq. *Weekend All Things Considered (NPR)*, p. 1.

Appendix



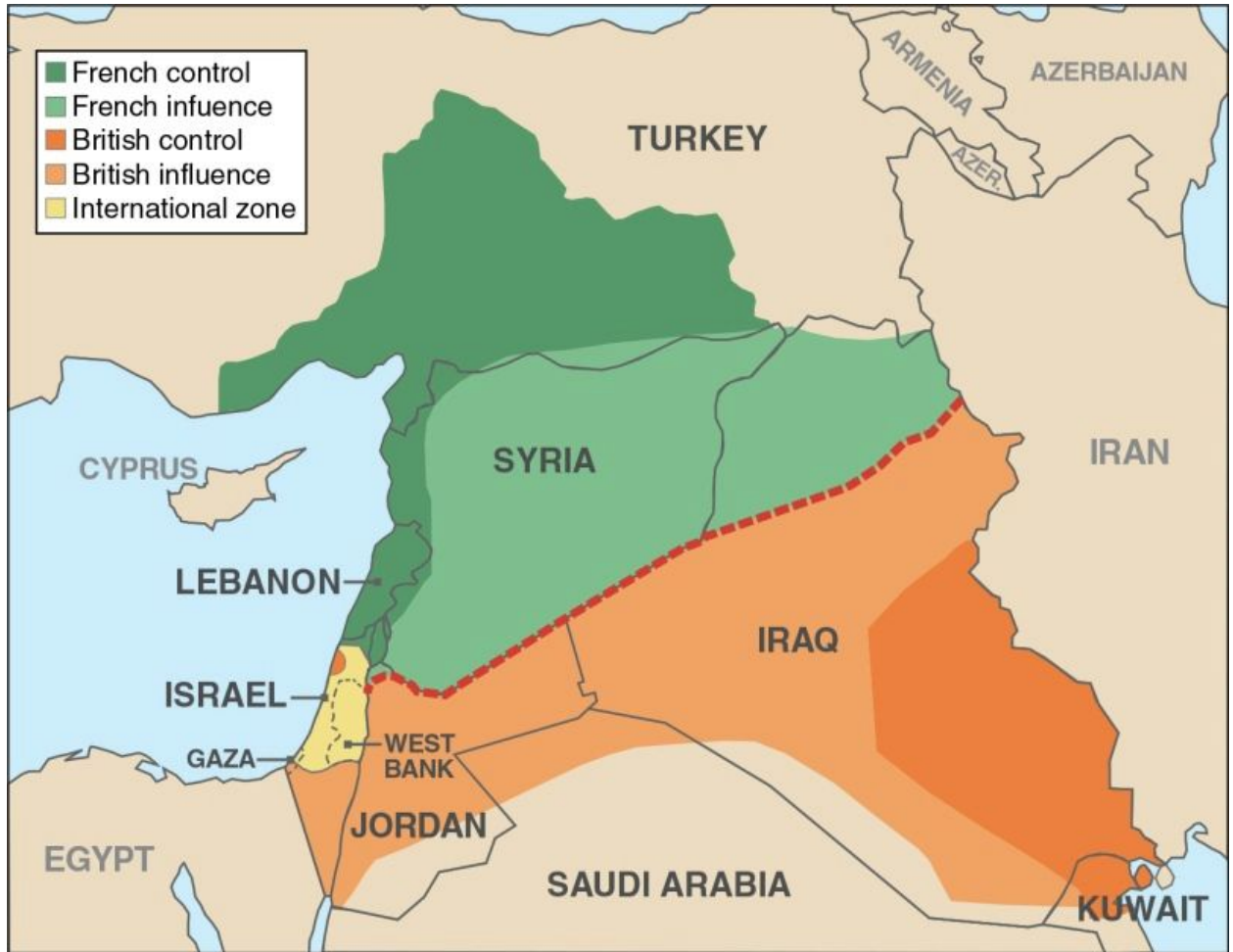
(Image 1) Bell is third to the left, flanked by Winston Churchill and T.E Lawrence.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Arango, T. (n.d.). For British spy in Iraq, affection is strong but legacy is unfulfilled. Retrieved January 30, 2015, from The New York Times website: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/27/world/middleeast/gertrude-bell-sought-to-stabilize-iraq-after-world-war-i.html?action=click&contentCollection=Europe&module=RelatedCoverage&ion=Marginalia&pgtype=article&_r=0
(Image 1)



(Image 2) Bell's camp in 1913-1914 in Khabra Masawid to Nugrat al Hamra, in Saudi Arabia.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Newcastle University. (n.d.). Retrieved January 25, 2015, from Gertrude Bell website: http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/photo_details.php?photo_id=6563



(Image 3) The Sykes Picot Agreement.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Lekic, S. (n.d.). Sykes-Picot Agreement: Line in the sand still shapes Middle East. Retrieved January 30, 2015, from Stars and Stripes website: <http://www.stripes.com/news/sykes-picot-agreement-line-in-the-sand-still-shapes-middle-east-1.289723#> (Image 2)



(Image 4) Gertrude Bell and T.E Lawrence at the Cairo Conference.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Cairo Conference - 1921 - and T.E. Lawrence. (n.d.). Retrieved January 25, 2015, from Cairo Conference - 1921 - and T.E. Lawrence website: <http://www.cliohistory.org/thomas-lawrence/cairo/>

References

Primary Sources

About Gertrude Bell [E-mail to the author]. (2015, January 5).

A Gertrude Bell is the best translation of Hafez, according to a professional on this topic.

About the museum. (n.d.). Retrieved January 24, 2015, from The Iraq Museum website: <http://www.iraqmuseum.org/pages/about-the-museum/>

The source is from the National Museum of Iraq. They write about how their museum has evolved since its first inauguration and curator.

Bell, G. (1927). *Gertrude Bell: Complete letters* (F. Bell, Comp.). Middletown.

These are letters written by Bell, which gives indication of how she would have been like. It describes her qualities and how daily life was.

Bell, G. (2008). *The desert and the sown* (Dover ed.). Dover: W. Heinemann.

This is one of Bell's travel narratives which describes what it was like to travel through Arabia.

Courtney, J. E. (1926). Gertrude Bell. *The North American Review*, 223, 656-663.

Retrieved from JSTOR database.

This was an article written recently after Bell died. Courtney hints to what people thought of her then. They thought that she was no ordinary woman and admired her for her achievements in the East.

Gertrude Bell question [E-mail to William O. Beeman]. (2014, December 30).

Despite her extraordinary knowledge of Arabic and the Arab peoples of Iraq, for which she continually expressed high regard, she still had a tendency to see the British as superior. She manipulated the king and saw the British rule as a pathway to eventual self-determination. She might have done much more to stabilize the Iraqi state.

Hogarth, D. G. (1927). Gertrude Bell's Journey to Hayil. *The Royal Geographical Society*, 70(1), 1-17. Retrieved from JSTOR database.

This source was written by an acquaintance of Bell. He describes her journey to Hayil, Saudi Arabia.

Iraq A global controversy: The U.S. invasion of Iraq. (n.d.). Retrieved January 30, 2015, from The Choices Program website:

<http://choices.edu/resources/detail.php?id=200>

The author compares the two invasions of Iraq and their similarities, for example both tried to control a foreign people.

Knight, C. (2015, March 1). *Baghdad's National Museum of Iraq reopens in rebuke to Islamic State* [White paper]. Retrieved March 9, 2015, from LA Times website:

<http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/culture/la-et-cm-national-museum-iraq-opens-20150301-column.html>

This source details the date of the reopening of the museum, and how devastated the world was at this loss, and on the recent looting of another museum in Iraq.

Lawler, A. (n.d.). National museum, Baghdad: 10 years later. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from Archaeology: a Publication of the Archaeology Institute of America website:

http://www.archaeology.org/exclusives/articles/779-national-museum-baghdad-looting-iraq#art_page2

The source details how the Iraq Museum is funded by foreign countries and how it is protected.

Newcastle University. (n.d.). Retrieved January 25, 2015, from Gertrude Bell website: http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/photo_details.php?photo_id=6563

This source has a large collection of Gertrude Bell's photographs that gives a hint to what life was like traveling through Arabia and meeting people.

Philby, J. B. (2015). Obituary Notices: Gertrude Bell. In *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Vol. 4, pp. 804-806). Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (Original work published 1926)

This was Bell's obituary from said journal, which was written by a contemporary of hers. This displays how people of her time viewed her.

Poole, R. M. (n.d.). Looting Iraq. Retrieved January 25, 2015, from Smithsonian.com website:

<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/making-a-difference/looting-iraq-16813540/?no-ist>

The source recorded the looting of the Iraq Museum and how it has improved since.

Sennott, C. M. (2014, June 17). How ISIS is tearing up the century old map. Retrieved January 30, 2015, from MintPress News website:

<http://www.mintpressnews.com/how-isis-is-tearing-up-the-century-old-map-of-the-middle-east/192553/>

The article suggests what the future of the borders between Iraq and Syria may be like.

Workman, N. V. (n.d.). Gertrude Bell and the poetics of translation: The divan of Hafez. Retrieved from Project MUSE database.

Workman analyzes Bell's translation of Hafez and its historical context. Bell's translations had created a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures. While Hafez is well-known in Persia it was unknown to Westerners.

Secondary Sources

Arango, T. (n.d.). For British spy in Iraq, affection is strong but legacy is unfulfilled. Retrieved January 30, 2015, from The New York Times website:

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/27/world/middleeast/gertrude-bell-sought-to-stabilize-iraq-after-world-war-i.html?action=click&contentCollection=Europe&module=RelatedCoverage®ion=Marginalia&pgtype=article&_r=0

(Image 1) This is the photograph that was taken at the Cairo Conference, 1921. The photo is compromised with powerful political leaders during this time in the East, such as Gertrude Bell, Lawrence of Arabia and Winston Churchill.

Cairo Conference - 1921 - and T.E. Lawrence. (n.d.). Retrieved January 25, 2015, from Cairo Conference - 1921 - and T.E. Lawrence website:

<http://www.cliohistory.org/thomas-lawrence/cairo/>

This is a photo which was taken during the Cairo Conference. Seated in this photograph is Bell and Lawrence.

Calder, C. (2004, March 26). Gertrude Bell and the birth of Iraq. Retrieved December 22, 2014, from Anderson Valley Advertisers website:

<http://www.theava.com/04/0526-gertrude-bell.html>

This source is a biography of Bell which goes into detail on her involvement in the founding of Iraq's government.

Chamberlain, M. E. (1972). Lord Cromer's 'ancient and modern imperialism': A proconsular view of empire. *Journal of British Studies*, 12(1), 61-85.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/385634>

Chamberlain gives more context of what Bell and her colleague's views of imperialism may have been. She promoted British involvement in the East.

Cook, G. (n.d.). Gertrude Bell & The birth of modern Iraq. Retrieved January 29, 2015, from The Levant News website:

<http://the-levant.com/gertrude-bell-birth-modern-iraq/>

The author also describes Bell's work in Iraq. She was an advisor to the king of Iraq, but she also had a part in the establishment of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and drawing the borders of other Middle Eastern countries.

Fontana, G. (2010). Creating nations, establishing states: Ethno-religious heterogeneity and the British creation of Iraq in 1919-23. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 46(1), 1-16. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263200902760535>

This article illustrates why and how the allies created Iraq. The author describes why the borders were drawn in such obscure ways that give the impression that the colonialists were clueless about ethno-religious groups.

Fromkin, D. (n.d.). *A peace to end all peace: The fall of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the modern Middle East* (2009 ed., Vol. 1). 1989: Henry Holt and Company.

Fromkin chronicles the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the current countries in the Middle East.

Ghaderi, F., & Wan Yahya, W. R. (2014). *Exoticism in Gertrude Bell's Persian Pictures* (Vol. 42). Cambridge University Press.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1060150313000247>

This was about Bell's Victorian exoticism in her books. This thought may have influenced the way she thought of the Arabs and her political life.

Hafez. (n.d.). Retrieved January 15, 2015, from Poetry Foundation website:

<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/hafez>

This is a brief biography of Hafez and his significance to Iranians today. He is considered one of the most important Persian poets.

Hitchens, C. (n.d.). The woman who made Iraq Gertrude Bell scaled the Alps, mapped Arabia, and midwived the modern Middle East. Retrieved January 24, 2015, from The Atlantic website: <http://The Woman Who Made Iraq Gertrude Bell scaled the Alps, mapped Arabia, and midwived the modern Middle East>.

Hitchens lists all of Bell's achievements in women's history. She was the most influential woman of her time. She accomplished more than what most people would do in their lifetime. She was an archaeologist, scholar, mountaineer, political officer, a museum curator and so on.

Howell, G. (2008). [Preface]. In *Gertrude bell: Queen of the desert, shaper of nations*. New York: Sarah Crichton Books.

This is a biography of Bell which gave a detailed description of her career and personal life.

Jankiewicz, S. (2012). Orientalists in love: Intimacy, empire, and cross-cultural knowledge. *Journal of World History*, 23(2), 345-373.

This represented Orientalism and how that may have influenced Bell's opinion of the East.

Lekic, S. (n.d.). Sykes-Picot agreement: Line in the sand still shapes middle east. Retrieved January 30, 2015, from Stars and Stripes website:

<http://www.stripes.com/news/sykes-picot-agreement-line-in-the-sand-still-shapes-middle-east-1.289723#>

(Image 3) This is a simple political map of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which is appears to be very similar to how Iraq and Syria looks today.

Lewis, E. (2010). Gertrude Bell and archaeology in Iraq; From World War I to the 'War on Terror'. *The Post Hole*, 1(9), 16-20. Retrieved from <http://theposthole.org/read/issue/9>

This is a journal on archaeology and archaeology history. It gives context to how important Bell's contribution to archaeology was since she founded one of the world's most important archaeology museum.

Monroe, E. (1980). Gertrude Bell (1868-1926). *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 7(1), 3-23. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13530198008705279>

This was a source that gave information about her personal life. Bell had always been a determined, skeptical woman which became a cornerstone to her character.

Podeh, E. (n.d.). From indifference to obsession: The role of national state celebrations in Iraq. *British Journal of Middle East Studies*, 179-206.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13530191003794731>

The article describes the invasions of Iraq by Britain, and later the United States, which was very similar. Both were very unwelcome and effected the conflicts of today. It expresses how vital it is for us to study history.

[Review *Gertrude Bell. The Arabian diaries*, by D. A. Agius, edited by R. O'Brien]. (2001). *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 28(2), 240-241.

The author chronicles Bell's life, especially her travels throughout Arabia and Islam.

Simon, R. S. (1974). The Hashemite 'conspiracy': Hashemite unity attempts, 1921-1958. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 5(3), 314-327.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0020743800034966>

The source articulates how the Arab countries turned out after the Allies carved it out almost a century ago.

Wallach, J. (1996). *Desert queen: The extraordinary life of Gertrude Bell: Adventurer, advisor to kings, ally of Lawrence of Arabia*. Doubleday: Random House.

Wallach's biography of Bell that goes more in-depth in all aspects of Bell's life and contemporaries.

Wertheimer, L. (2004, May 15). Profile: Gertrude Bell who helped establish Iraq. *Weekend All Things Considered (NPR)*, p. 1.

This contained the opinions of many professionals from in and outside of the Middle East and how she influences the world today.

Wilson, J. (1989). *Lawrence of Arabia*. London: William Heinemann.

Lawrence of Arabia is Bell's male counterpart. I used this source to compare the two.

Women's access to higher education: An overview (1860-1948). (n.d.). Retrieved January 25, 2015, from HerStoria: History that puts woman in her place website: <http://herstoria.com/?p=535>

This site, which is dedicated to women's history, gave me the context of Bell's achievement in women's education in Victorian England.

Workman, N. V. (1997). *Women Travel Writers: Dictionary of literary biography* (Vol. 174) (B. Brothers & J. Gergits, Eds.). Gale Research International Limited.

This is another brief biography that has a focus on Bell's travel narratives. Workman describes how Bell wrote her travel narratives and her lifestyle in Arabia. This source also recounts her rivals and traveling companions.

