'EDWARD HERON-ALLEN ON LITERATURE AND LEISURE': PROCEEDINGS OF THE 9th HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM, 2009

Edited by

Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker

TALKS DELIVERED AT THE
NINTH HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM,
AT THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, LONDON,
JULY 2009

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BARBARA P. MAHONEY AND JOHN E. WHITTAKER

Lord Bateman as he appeared previous to
his embarkation.

Opusculum XIII
Heron-Allen Society

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'Edward Heron-Allen on Literature and Leisure': Proceedings of the 9th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2009: Talks delivered by Timothy J. McCann, Joan Navarre, Garry Garrard, John P. Mahoney, Barbara P. Mahoney and John E. Whittaker at the Ninth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Natural History Museum, London, July 2009.

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Timothy J. McCann

Limited to 125 copies numbered 1-125
Signed by the editors for members
of the Heron-Allen Society.

This is number

38

Cover: Lord Bateman as he appeared previous to his embarkation. George Cruickshank's illustration from *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman.*

THIS OPUSCULUM IS DEDICATED TO DOMINIC JAMES HOLMAN WOOD 1958-2008

Dominic James Holman Wood was born on 14th May 1958 in Plymouth. He was educated at Chaffyn Grove Preparatory school in Salisbury and Kings School, Bruton. He was always a very social little boy starting with being found sitting beside a tramp before he spoke an intelligible language. He enjoyed school but found examinations difficult. His time in the choir was perpetuated through the rest of his life with his enjoyment of singing. On leaving Bruton he went to Brockenhurst Sixth Form College from where he got only one "A" level instead of the three required to be a Vet. He adamantly decided he would not sit any exams again and he would work with and for the Vets at DEFRA's main Veterinary Laboratories at Weybridge. He obtained the required certificates and worked for 31 years in various departments, making many friends. He loved the New Forest so much so he continued to live there commuting every day to Weybridge, a 14 hour day. His depth of knowledge of Forest and animal lore was legendary. He loved hunting but only rode to hounds once. He was a whipper-in for the New Forest Beagles and hunted hounds on numerous occasions. He could be heard practising his hunting horn in many parts of the Forest! He always took Annual Leave for the New Forest Agricultural Show where he stewarded for the sheep and cattle sections. The Show has agreed a perpetual Challenge Cup in his name for the Dexter Reserve Champion - something of which Dominic would have been very proud. As proud as when he was asked to take on the Secretaryship of the Heron-Allen Society in which he became passionately immersed in his Great-Grandfather's life and works. He needs to be remembered as a Man with many friends - over 500 people went to his Memorial Service in Brockenhurst - a proud Man with great love of all things Family with a big heart. He will be sorely missed.

Liza Wood

Dominic was a lively and welcome presence at our first eight Symposia, and was an appropriate choice as the second Honorary Secretary of the Society. He proved to be a most useful, enthusiastic and entertaining member of the committee as well as an efficient Secretary. He quickly put some order into our business by providing us with agendas and somehow made coherent minutes from our rambling and wide-ranging conversations. He helped to organise the smooth running of day conferences, collected all the money and cheerfully fired off letters and enquiries on our behalf. But most of all he was a charming companion and a good friend. At the extraordinary funeral which was such a tribute to the affection in which he was held, Dominic was rightly described as 'a true gentleman and a gentle man'.

Tim McCann

Fig. 1. Dominic Wood (1958-2008).

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THE NINTH ANNUAL HERON-ALLEN SYMPOSIUM AT THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, LONDON

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN AND JOHN E. WHITTAKER

The theme of the Society's 9th Annual Symposium, held on Saturday 4th July 2009, at the Natural History Museum in London, was 'Edward Heron-Allen on Literature and Leisure'

The first talk by Timothy McCann examined the *Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman* and discussed Heron-Allen's attempt to discover the history and authorship of the ballad, and the collection of copies that he formed at Large Acres in Selsey. Joan Navarre, in our second talk, introduced us to EH-A's visit to Chicago, Illinois and an essay on 'Chicago and Palmistry', written in 1887 by Eugene Field, the celebrated poet, which sheds light on it. Garry Garrard then continued the story of his researches into EH-A and the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, by showing how EH-A unwillingly became implicated in a literary fraud, telling us of the translation of the Rubaiyat by Robert Graves and Omar Ali-Shah which, far from being based on a newly discovered manuscript, was based on EH-A's own work!

John Mahoney was not able to be present at the symposium, so Peter Wilkinson, with the assistance of Ivor Jones, read the talk that John and Barbara Mahoney had prepared on the extraordinary story of the row at the Sette of Odd Volumes between EH-A and Richard Le Gallienne, which led to Heron-Allen's resignation from the Sette, and his departure from the society for more than thirty years. Finally, John Whittaker entertained us with an account of EH-A's attendance at the International Zoological Congress at Monaco in 1913, based largely on his Holiday Journal of the event; however, there was clearly much more "leisure" involved than science! Both these talks were richly illustrated.

Attendees were able to visit the Heron-Allen Library in the Department of Palaeontology at the Museum, and members enjoyed an excellent lunch at Pierino's Italian Restaurant, in South Kensington, before gathering again for the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

Especial thanks are due to Clive Jones and Giles Miller (of the Natural History Museum) for the smooth running of the event and the efficiency of the projection facilities.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN'S BALLAD OF LORD BATEMAN

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN

Increasingly Edward Heron-Allen is becoming known as a great collector. His interest in and writings on such varied subjects as micropalaeontology, music, Persian literature and local history and archaeology are celebrated in his collections at The Natural History Museum[1], the Royal College of Music[2] and The London Library[3] in London and the West Sussex Record Office[4] at Chichester in West Sussex. The theme of today's symposium is 'Edward Heron-Allen on Literature and Leisure', and it seems fitting to begin by discussing one of his literary collections, albeit one that is little known and has now been completely dispersed.

The Internet plays an increasing part in the life of the Heron-Allen Society, and two of its features have certainly stimulated subjects of my own researches. One of the many enquiries that we received through our website, encouraged me to find out more about the mysterious 'Mistress C.M.F..., at C…H…, E…' and led to my article on Constance Mary Foy and Edward Heron-Allen[5] in the H-A Society Newsletter no. 12 in the Spring of last year. Among several items recently offered for sale on e-Bay was what was described as Edward Heron-Allen's *Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*, which led me on to another research project: to document Heron-Allen's interest in the ballad, and to attempt to trace one of his literary collections.

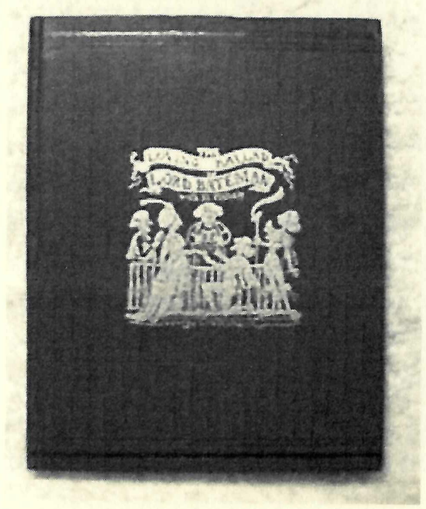

Fig. 2. The cover of Edward Heron-Allen's copy of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman.*

The relevant lot on e-Bay was a copy of the 1887 edition of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*, illustrated by George Cruickshank, and published in London by George Bell and Sons[6].

The volume was bound in dark green buckram and the front cover was decorated with an elaborate gilt illustration by George Cruikshank. It contained 40 pages and the size was 5½" by 4". The volume had the bookplate of Edward and Marianna Heron-Allen 1900 pasted to the front pastedown and the subsequent bookplate of Albert M. Ramsay-Cohn and Constance his wife tipped in to the front endpaper, and was offered for sale by Lazarus Books.

The accompanying description was of particular interest. It did not mention Dickens, Thackeray or Cruikshank, the supposed authors and illustrator of the volume, but only Heron-Allen, the one-time owner of it - perhaps an indication of the way the market is moving - and rather than concentrating on Heron-Allen's scientific, musical or literary achievements, it detailed his interest in asparagus cultivation. Drawing heavily on Joan Navarre's recent article in *Wine and Food* [7] it discussed his various writings and experiments on asparagus culture, mentioned his friendship with Oscar Wilde and listed his relationships with the Wine and Food Society, the first Edition Club and the Sette of Odd Volumes, while giving a brief resume of his career and other interests.

Once alerted to the sale on e-Bay, I quickly looked in my copy of the catalogue of Heron-Allen's library that was sold at Sotheby's in October 1944[8] and discovered that this volume must have been one of Heron-Allen's collection of copies of The Ballad, of which twenty four copies were listed in the catalogue. I also discovered that as well as collecting various editions of The Ballad, Heron-Allen wrote several pieces about it in *Notes and Queries* [9] and elsewhere, and notably a series of articles in the *Sunday Times* [10] and that his interest was clearly of long-standing, since his writings on the subject of The Ballad dated from 1904 until 1940. Or so I was led to believe, for this paper recounts my abortive attempt to trace the results of Heron-Allen's interest in The Ballad, the collection of relevant material that he formed, and his writings on the subject.

There were two quite separate questions raised by the publication of The Ballad in the nineteenth century, both of which would have aroused Heron-Allen's customary curiosity, and appealed to his thirst for discovery. The first was the identity of the editor of the nineteenth-century published editions of The Ballad, and the second, the discovery of the origin of The Ballad itself.

The Cruickshank edition of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman* was first published in 1839[11]. This adaptation of the traditional ballad was variously ascribed to Thackeray, Dickens, and Cruikshank. The text is generally attributed to Thackeray or Cruikshank, the introduction and notes to Dickens.

At the conclusion of the introduction to the 1839 edition, Cruikshank explicitly denied being its author. 'The above is not in my writing', he wrote: 'nor the notes either".

The Ballad, in the form of its 1839 publication, consists of 21 verses of eight lines each, and tells the story of Lord Bateman, who sailed to Turkey and was imprisoned there, chained to a tree until he was near to death. The Turk's beautiful daughter stole her father's keys and offered to set Lord Bateman free. Lord

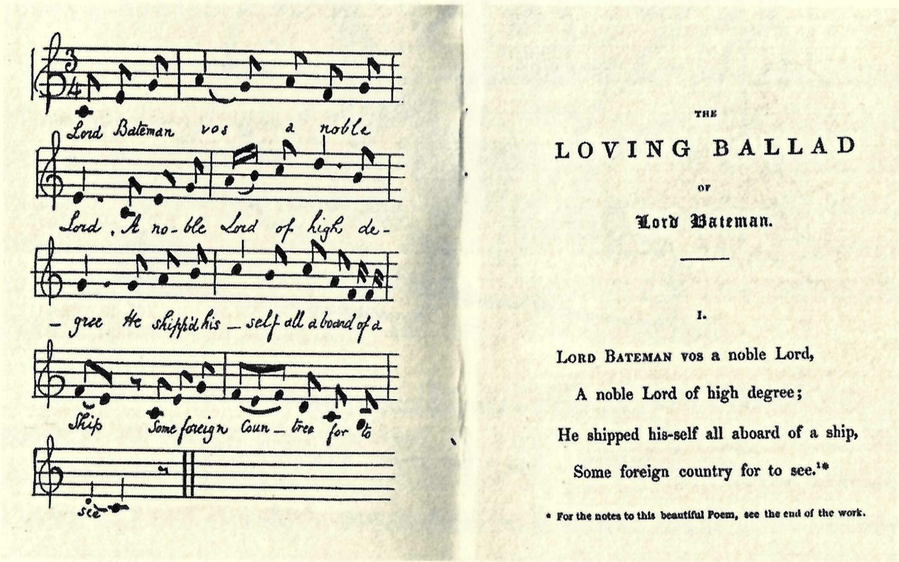

Fig. 3. The first verse and the music of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman.*

Bateman claimed to have lands and livings in Northumberland and promised them to the Turk's daughter in exchange for his freedom. She released him, gave him wine to drink and together they made a vow for seven years: 'if you will wed no other woman then I will wed no other man'. She freed him and gave him a ship to sail home in. Seven years later she decided to visit Lord Bateman, and she arrived at his castle, only to find that he had just taken a bride. She gave a message to the porter and when he told his master of the arrival of a beautiful woman, Lord Bateman said that if his Sophia had crossed the sea, he would put aside his new wife and marry her.

Fig. 4. George Cruikshank's illustration of Lord Bateman, his Sophia and the Porter.

The notes published together with The Ballad state that it is also known as *'Lord Beichan'* and is listed in Francis J. Child's *Ballads* [12]. The earliest printed version of The Ballad appeared in Jamieson's *Popular Ballads* [13] in 1783, but a broadside of *Lord Bateman* was registered with the Stationer's Company on 14 December 1643. They also remarked that there is an ancient legend of St. Thomas A'Becket's father, Gilbert Becket that suggests the story of the tune.

The story of Gilbert Beckett and Susha Pye as told in the song 'Young Beckie' has a similar story to Lord Bateman, though Beckie was a knight rather than a Lord, and he went to France to serve in the King's court rather than to Turkey, where he fell in love with the King's daughter. Similarly in Young Bicham, the hero is a prince from London, rather than Northumberland, goes to a strange country and is captured by the Moors, where he is rescued by Shusy Pie. Again she crosses the sea to interrupt his wedding and becomes his bride. Clearly these similar versions of the story have been merged with the legend of the Saracen's daughter being baptised when she reached England and being given a christian name.

It is perhaps not surprising to find that these colourful stories attracted the attention of Edward Heron-Allen, and it is clear that just as he did in the case of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, he quickly began a collection of copies of the work and burlesques, translations, broadsides and illustrations as well. And, as always with Heron-Allen, he was not just a collector, but he also undertook detailed research to identify the origins of the Ballad.

His first publication on the subject of the Ballad was a request in *Notes and Queries* in February 1904, in which he sought information about the author of the Grand Series Comic Opera in Lord Bateman and his Sophia, and he made four further contributions to the subject in the periodical between 1933 and 1940. He also claimed to have published a number of articles in a national newspaper on the origins of the Ballad.

The pages of *Notes and Queries* also provoked Heron-Allen's final publications relating to the Ballad. On 13 May 1933 an anonymous enquirer, who signed himself 'S', asked for 'the date, author, and reference to an authentic and complete text' of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman.* F.C. Morgan, a librarian from Hereford and a frequent contributor to the periodical, answered a fortnight later, that the Ballad was by Thackeray, published anonymously in 1839, reprinted by Bell and Daldy in 1871 and illustrated by George Cruikshank, and mentioned that there was a copy in his library.

On the same date, A.C. Hunter went into more detail. 'Lord Bateman is in The *Oxford Book of Ballads* edited by Sir Arthur Quiller Couch', he wrote. *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*, illustrated by Cruikshank was published in 1839 by Charles Tilt, Fleet Street; see Blanchard Jerrold's *Life of George Cruickshank.* It was attested by Cruikshank that he 'heard the song sung one night by an itinerant musician outside a public house near Battle Bridge (now King's Cross), and that he subsequently chanted the ditty to Charles Dickens who was so delighted with it that he persuaded Cruickshank to publish it adorned with copper plates... Thakeray, in all probability revised the words... Dickens furnished humorous notes. The authorship of the ballad is involved in mystery'. The music was published with the words of the Ballad and Hunter added: 'I can recall the melody, which fits the words admirably, but do not know by whom the music was published', and added that 'Cruickshank's humorous illustrations of the ballad are excellent'.

Hunter was summarising the generally accepted view of the history of the Ballad, and to this day editions of the ballad are reprinted attributed either to Dickens or to Thackeray. Dickens's authorship of the Ballad was finally disproved in a letter to *The Times* in 1931. In an obituary of the then Lord Bateman in *The Times*, Vicary Gibbs had stated that the Ballad was supposed to have been written by Thackeray. Arthur Humhreys, in a letter to *The Times* dated 9 November 1931, argued that Dickens was not the author but that he was largely responsible for inducing

Cruikshank to bring out his volume. He quoted a letter written by Henry Burnett, Dickens's brother-in-law to a friend in Bath saying: 'I know Lord Bateman is not written by Dickens. I was at his house when Cruikshank first sang it after supper. Dickens was pleased at the effect produced by the singer and we laughed much. It was often sung after, and one evening Dickens said: Cruikshank, why don't you publish that, and illustrate it and let Burnett write out the tune as you sing it to him'.

This particular question was finally answered in 1939, in an article by Anne Lyon Haight, "Charles Dickens tries to remain anonymous: notes on The loving ballad of Lord Bateman" in *The Colophon*, New Graphic Series, No.1 (1939), p. [39-66]. 'Now at last the authorship of this famous jeu d'esprit has been proved beyond a doubt by the discovery of a packet of letters from Dickens to George Cruikshank', she wrote: '...They prove unquestionably that he was the sole writer of the Preface and the Notes and that he altered the verses of the ballad as set down by Cruikshank, and wrote the last verse. The letters, which speak for themselves, were published in the Spring number of *The Dickensian*, 1938, and have been included in *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, published by the Nonesuch Press, 1938'.

It was almost six weeks before Heron-Allen entered the discussion in *Notes and Queries*. His answer was published in the edition of 24 June 1933, and his magisterial reply ended the correspondence. 'I think I exhausted the subject in '*Notes and Queries*' and '*The Sunday Times*' in 1904', he wrote. 'See N & Q 10s 1, 27 February 1904, Sunday Times, 27 January, 3 February, 17 February, 2 March 1904. The original source was a very rare broadside, entitled 'Young Baker' a facsimile of which was published in Tragaski's Catalogue shortly after, and was priced £48 - it was dated *c.*1790. See also Sotheby's catalogue of a sale on 3 July 1924'. He then went on to ask if any reader could tell him of any edition of the Ballad issued between the 1851 edition of David Bogue and the first of the George Bell editions of 1879. In typical style, Heron-Allen was seeking information and, no doubt, looking to add to his own collection.

His piece in *Notes and Queries* of 1904 to which he referred concerns 'Lord Bateman and his Sophia' and is a discussion of a one act burlesque, one of the many burlesques on the theme of the Ballad published in the middle of the nineteenth-century. The particular one he discussed - includes a collection of translations of the Ballad into Greek and Latin elegies, and into French, and into Italian verse.

The series of four articles in *The Sunday Times* spread over January, February and March 1904 have proved more difficult to find. Two visits to the British Library Newspaper Library at Colindale have led to nothing but frustration. 1904 was a leap year and the dates that Heron-Allen gave in his *Notes and Queries* article in 1933 - 27 January, 3 February, 17 February and 2 March 1904 - all fell on Wednesdays. A search of the pages of *The Sunday Times* for the first six months of 1904 did not reveal any articles by Heron-Allen. The only nearby year on which at least three of those dates fell on a Sunday was 1907. Once again, a search of the pages of *The Sunday Times* for the first six months of 1907 revealed nothing by Heron-Allen. So where did he publish these articles, and when did he publish them? Heron-Allen is quite specific about the dates, and they only fall on the same day of the week in a Leap Year. 1904, the year that he specified, was indeed a Leap Year, but the dates he gave were for Wednesdays and *The Sunday Times* was not published on a Wednesday. Heron-Allen was a meticulous man, and unless we assume that he was deliberately misleading his readers, the evidence suggests that he did not publish these articles in *The Sunday Times.* A search through the following years of *Notes and Queries* shows that none of his readers seems to have followed up his references, or, if they did, none of them pointed out his errors to the periodical.

He continued to contribute pieces to *Notes and Queries* about the Ballad, which suggests that he was still interested in its origin and still adding to his own collection. In November 1933 he asked for the origin of a quotation by G.A. Sala in Jerrold's *Life of George Cruikshank*, which began, 'the authorship of the Ballad itself, which has furnished the basis for no less than three theatrical

burlesques... is involved in mystery'. In March 1934, he asked for details of Broadsides of the Ballad printed by Pitts, Jackson, Hoggett and Durham, referred to in a note by Cecil Sharp. In March 1940, in a final contribution, he joined in a discussion about the illustrations to the Ballad by William Makepeace Thackeray, published in *Harper's Magazine* in December 1892. He revealed that he possessed photographic reproductions of Thackeray's original drawings made around the poem cut from the Catnach Broadside given by Mrs. Ritchie, Thackeray's daughter, to Charles Plumtree Johnson in 1892-3 and by Johnson to Heron-Allen in 1933. And that he also had photostats of the pages in *Harper's Magazine* which gave the 'revised' drawings. But in none of these later queries did he refer to his supposed articles in *The Sunday Times*.

At the moment, I am unable to find the articles in which Heron-Allen claimed to 'exhaust the subject' of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*. It would seem that the collection of material relating to the Ballad that Heron-Allen put together in his library at Large Acres in Selsey has been dispersed beyond recall. But it is clear that the Ballad attracted his interest both as a scholar and a collector for more than forty years, and that the library at Large Acres should be remembered as holding Heron-Allen's collection of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman* as well as his collection of items relating to Edward Fitzgerald's translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, now in the London Library, and his collection of pornography labelled 'Case A', which is thought to have been sold by Vyvyan Holland, his executor.

Sotheby's described Heron-Allen's library as 'an extensive collection of Elzeviers; publications of the Sette of Odd Volumes and the Bibliographical Society; works on Archaeology, English History and Literature, Islam and Occult Sciences; Illustrated Books; French works and a few letters and manuscripts'. At the time, it also included his collection of *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*.

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"CHICAGO PALMISTRY": EUGENE FIELD'S PORTRAIT OF EDWARD HERON-ALLEN IN AMERICA

by JOAN NAVARRE

The story of EH-A in America (1886-1889) begins and ends in New York City. However, EH-A visited other cities. As Christopher Blayre records in *Notes Upon the Literary, Scientific, and Artistic Activities of Edward Heron-Allen, FRS*, when EH-A lectured on palmistry, "He had an extraordinary success both financially and otherwise, in New York, Boston, Chicago and other American cities."[1] I have addressed EH-A's adventures in New York City before.[2] Today I wish to focus on EH-A's visit to Chicago, Illinois. Documentation about Heron-Allen's visit to Chicago is difficult to find; however, pieces to the puzzle exist. One piece is an essay entitled "Chicago Palmistry." Written and published in 1887 by Eugene Field, "Chicago Palmistry" sheds light on EH-A's appearance in the largest city in Midwestern America. Field shows that EH-A was popular and successful.

Before addressing Field's portrait of EH-A, some background information is helpful.

EH-A visited Chicago in June 1887, late in his lecture tour. Chicago was a new city, rising from the ashes of the Great Fire of 1871. In 1887 the skyline in Chicago was changing dramatically as the first skyscrapers began to appear. Canals and railroads created a solid infrastructure. EH-A would have seen and used Union Station, the Clapham Junction of the Midwest. Financial markets were strong, and baseball was in full swing. The Chicago White Stockings were national champions. Industries, especially meat packing and steel, were booming. The slaughterhouses and meat packing plants earned Chicago the name of "Porkopolis."

EH-A arrived in Chicago as a celebrated lecturer on palmistry. He had made his name first in London and then in American cities such as New York and Boston. EH-A single-handedly ignited the palmistry craze of the late 1880s.[3]

One of the few known photographs of EH-A in America is owned by Ivor E. Jones. This photograph was taken while EH-A was in Chicago.

Fig. 5. Edward Heron-Allen in Chicago (1887).

EH-A's American travel diary does not record his time in Chicago except for one letter to his mother. On June 13, 1887 EH-A wrote to his mother from Hotel Richelieu. He states:

> I told you that in future I proposed only to write at length when things exciting or interesting occurred and as we have been both excited and interested I set me down to give you an account of what they do in a Hotel Fire in this amazing country. There is no doubt about it, I am having a rare collection of experiences and yet I am neither grey, bald or wrinkled but well, happy, successful and having a good time.[4]

EH-A records that he was sitting in his room when alerted to the blazing fire. He lit the longest cigar he had and then left his room. He met "a gigantic fire-man, dripping wet and black… hauling a hose upstairs"; later, he encountered three excited ladies on the top floor, wailing for the elevator boy who seemed to have deserted them. EH-A gave the fireman a hand and escorted the women down to the ground floor. Then he returned to the upper floors. According to EH-A, "running an elevator is an accomplishment that I early acquired in case of such emergencies."

He followed the smoke and shouts until he reached the banqueting hall. It was "full of valuable pictures - about 70,000 dollars worth," and "the proprietor was standing in agony about his art-treasures." EH-A once again helped. He showed them how to breathe: "how to fill their lungs and make a rush for it." It took them half an hour to save all but three or four of the valuable canvasses by carrying them downstairs. EH-A continues:

> Then as the ceiling threatened to fall in I climbed out on to the roof and helped the fire-men to cut away the beams; it was real exciting and was a most impressive sight. The flames were put out in about an hour and as, by that time I was as black as a coal heaver and wet through with water and perspiration, I came down and had a bath and dressed over again.

He concludes: "I'm very glad to have seen it all, without being damaged myself save a rap on the head from a piece of ceiling."

EH-A sent his mother a couple of newspaper reports. Those have not survived. However, the fire made the front page of at least two major American newspapers. *The Chicago Tribune* of Monday, June 13, 1887 recorded: "A Sodden Banquet-Hall. Threatening Blaze at the Hotel Richelieu Yesterday... Thousands of Dollar's Worth of Costly Paintings in Danger... Remarkable Coolness of the Employees and Guests of the Hotel."[5] *The New York Times* proclaimed: "THE PICTURES ALL SAVED."[6]

The Hotel Richelieu, built in 1885, was a luxury hotel. It occupied Nos. 187-88 Michigan Boulevard and maintained an art gallery.[7]

The hotel fire was extinguished, but EH-A could not escape the heat. Chicago sizzled. On the 17th of June Chicago hit record-setting temperatures. At 4 p.m. it was 97 degrees on a shady side of the street.[8]

Newspaper advertisements document EH-A's visit to Chicago. On June 12, 1887 an advertisement in *The Chicago Tribune* announced his lecture on Practical Chirosophy, "a condensation of the history, science, and practice of chirosophy."[9] On June 19th, one day before the lecture, another advertisement appeared:

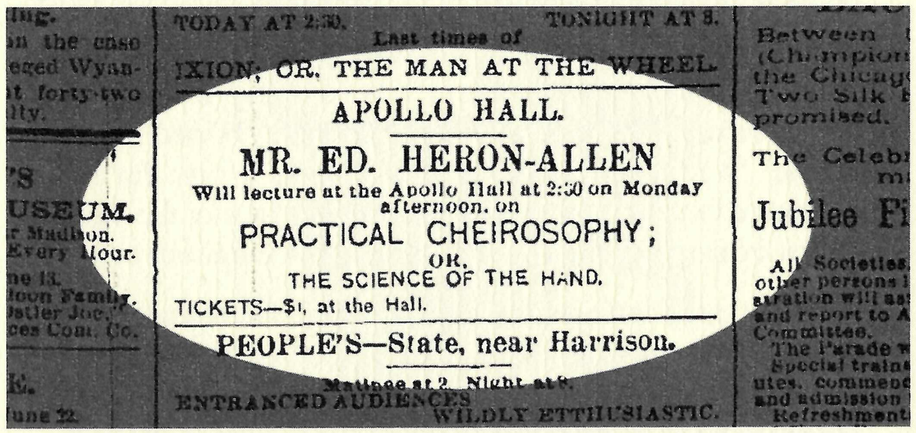
TODAY AT 2:30. TONIGHT AT 8.
Last times of
IXION; OR, THE MAN AT THE WHEEL.
APOLLO HALL.
MR. ED. HERON-ALLEN
Will lecture at the Apollo Hall at 2:30 on Monday afternoon, on
PRACTICAL CHEIROSOPHY;
OR,
THE SCIENCE OF THE HAND.
TICKETS—$1, at the Hall.
PEOPLE'S—State, near Harrison.
Matinee at 2. Night at 8.
ENTRANCED AUDIENCES WILDLY ETTHUSIASTIC.

Fig. 6. The Chicago Tribune Sunday, June 19, 1887.

Apollo Hall was located in the Central Music Hall Building, on State and Randolph Streets. The hall was a small auditorium, used mainly for rehearsals and private concerts. It seated four hundred.[11]

Fig. 7. Central Music Hall (Apollo Hall within).

On the 20th of June EH-A lectured at Apollo Hall. The next day a review appeared in *The Chicago Tribune*: "ED HERON-ALLEN'S LECTURE. The Distinguished Chiromancist Entertains a Small Audience." EH-A lectured to a fashionable audience of about fifty ladies and three or four men. The writer describes how the stage looked and how EH-A was dressed:

> The centre of the little amphitheatre of Apollo Hall contained two tables and a dainty little blackboard in an oak frame and covered with an elegant dark-blue velvet curtain with Mr. Heron-Allen's monogram worked on it in gold. One of the tables was covered with charts ready for use and the other with an assortment of the distinguished lecturer's works on chirosophy.
>
> The chiromancist himself appeared a little before 3 o'clock, attired in a black Prince Albert coat, a pair of dark green trousers, and... snuff-colored gloves. The last-named were evidently put on simply to add to the grace and effect of his entrance, for they were removed the moment he came into the room.... He is one of the men to whom the adjective "pretty" perfectly applies.[12]

It is not known whether Eugene Field (1850-1895), the American poet, journalist, and humorist, was in the audience that afternoon. However, Field's "Chicago Palmistry" shows that he was aware of EH-A's visit to Chicago, his topic, and lecture format.

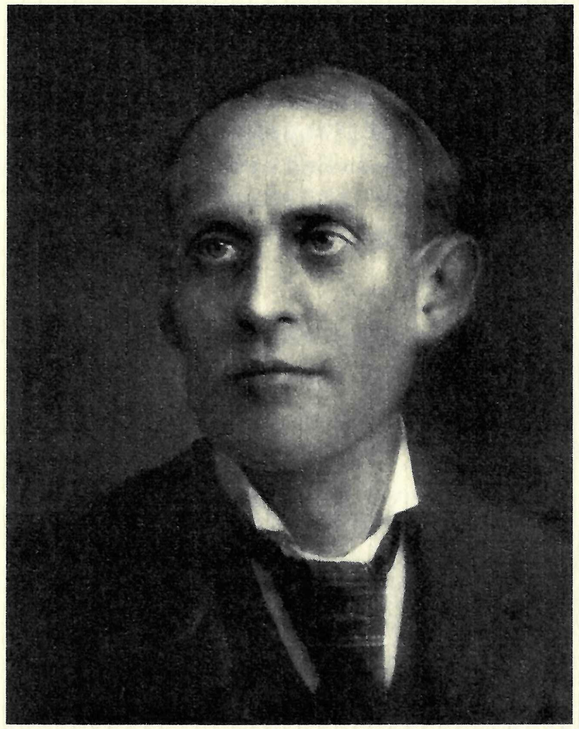

Fig. 8. Eugene Field (1850-1895).

Field was a best-selling author and beloved by an entire generation of American parents and children. "Little Boy Blue" (1888) and "Wynken, Blynken, and Nod" (1889) are two of his most famous poems.

His work as a journalist and humorist earned him early fame. In the early 1880s he lived in Denver, Colorado, and he was the managing editor of the *Denver Tribune*. He was in Denver when Oscar Wilde arrived in April 1882 to lecture on the aesthetic movement. Field decided that the self-proclaimed Apostle of Beauty needed a little puncturing. He impersonated Wilde. Wilde's train was delayed, so Field used this as an opportunity to appear as Wilde. He changed into aesthetic attire, donned a wig and hat, and arrived on the next train. Field spent the morning duping the people of Denver. He greeted the crowd at the platform at Denver's

Union Station and then rode in an open carriage. When the real Oscar Wilde appeared at the station hours later, he had a miserable turnout. According to Richard Ellmann, Wilde's biographer, when Wilde learned about the stunt, he remarked that Field provided a "splendid advertisement."[13]

Field moved to Chicago in 1883 and wrote a daily column in the Chicago *Daily News* called "Sharps and Flats." He mingled seriousness and humor. Field was a well-known writer when EH-A visited Chicago.

"Chicago Palmistry" appears in *Culture's Garland: Being Memoranda of the Gradual Rise of Literature, Art, Music and Society in Chicago and Other Western Ganglia* (1887), Field's first book. There is an introduction by Julian Hawthorne (1846-1934), son of Nathaniel Hawthorne and friend to EH-A.

As an aside, EH-A met Julian Hawthorne on November 12, 1886; he described Hawthorne as "a handsome, melancholy looking man with an absent manner & a chronic stoop."[14] EH-A included Hawthorne's hand in his album with diagrams of the lines of the hands of famous people.[15] Hawthorne championed his writing, calling EH-A one of the ablest of the many young writers competing for the attention of American readers.[16]

Field's "Chicago Palmistry" shows a keen understanding of EH-A, his lecturing method, and his success. The piece begins:

> MR. HERON-ALLEN, the handsome and talented young hand-reader, is making a barrel of money in Chicago. Our most distinguished society leaders are consulting him, and are delighted with the flattering pictures which he finds in their dainty palms.
>
> It is understood that the enterprising young professor - who is as ingenious as he is learned - has found it necessary to invent a system particularly adapted to the requirements of the average Chicago hand.[17]

According to Field, "the Chicago hand is the ideal one - the realization of the poetic dreams of the palmister...."[18]

Field provides examples of how EH-A invented a system particularly adapted to the average Chicago hand. A diagram is included, and this is in keeping with EH-A's lecture format.

EH-A's scientific approach to palmistry addressed both chirognomy (shape of the hand) and chiromancy (lines on the hand). Field, however, focuses on the latter - chiromancy, or the lines of the hand.

Three lines - M shaped - are heart, head and life. Field turns these into the art line (heart), literary line (head) and pork-line (life).

He begins with the pork-line (life line). He states: "The line marked A in this accurate exhibit is what Mr. Heron-Allen most felicitously terms the pork-line. In every Chicago hand, it is distinct and long."[19] According to Field, the line marked C is the intellectual or literary line (previously known as the head line): "It is this demarcation, broad and distinct, that causes the wearer to take pleasure in literature, to join literary clubs, to inquire into the mysteries of summer philosophy, to subscribe for the local trade weeklies, to buy handsome wall-paper, and to have the seaside novels rebound in half-calf."[20]

For Field, the heart line - line D - is common to the Chicago hand: "it argues a fondness for the fine arts, for music, and for all articles of vertoo... Of late this art-line has got so deep in a great many Chicago hands, that it had to be sewed by a doctor."[21]

Field paints a literary portrait of EH-A: handsome, talented and a financial success. At the same time, Field comments on Chicago residents. While many aspired to appreciate art, literature and culture, they lived in a city full of slaughterhouses and meat packing plants.[22] He pokes fun at people in the Porkopolis. An illustration in his book depicts "A Chicago Literary Circle": a garland of sausages.

Field was delighted when *Culture's Garland* was published in 1887, and he knew how to laugh at himself: he crowned himself The Chicago Dante.

However, later in life his attitude changed and he tried to destroy all available copies of *Culture's Garland.* It is fortunate that he did not succeed.

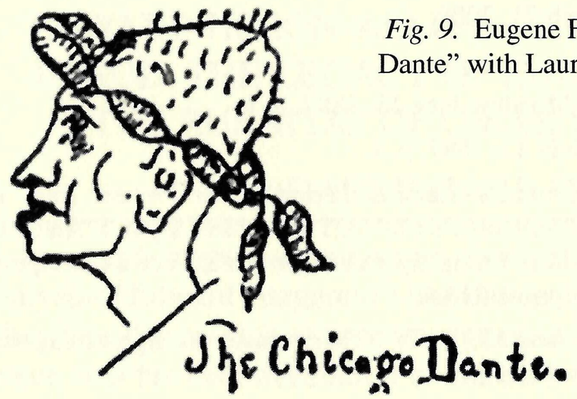

Fig. 9. Eugene Field as "The Chicago Dante" with Laurel Wreath (sausages).

Field died in 1895, at the age of 45; he left a wife, children and books. He was a bibliophile; he collected books and he wrote about book collecting.

In 1923, Anderson Galleries of New York sold The Library of the Late Eugene Field. Lot 339 offers another clue about Field and EH-A:

> Lot 339: HERON-ALLEN (EDWARD) *Ashes of the Future. The Suicide of Sylvester Gray*. 8 vo, wrappers (back worn). Chicago, 1888. Inscribed on wrapper. "Compliments of the Author." With autograph of Eugene Field.

The story of EH-A in America includes a "rare collection of experiences" and a colorful cast of characters. His visit to Chicago included thrilling adventures. Eugene Field, the self-appointed Chicago Dante, shows that EH-A was the talk of the town.

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Indiana. Monday, March 31, 2008.

[4] July 13, 1887 (Vol. I)

[5] *The Chicago Tribune,* Monday, June 13, 1887, p. 1.

[6] *The New York Times*, July 13, 1887, p. 1.

[7] *History of Chicago. From the Earliest Period to the Present Time. In Three Volumes. Vol. 3. From the Fire of 1871 until 1885.* By A.T. Andreas. Chicago: The A.T. Andreas Company, Publishers, 1886. For a description of the art galleries, see pages 423-4.

[8] *The Chicago Tribune*, June 17, 1887: "Thermometer as high as has ever been known in Chicago."

[9] "MR. E. HERON-ALLEN WILL DELIVER HIS lecture on 'Practical Chirosophy', which is a condensation of the history, science, and practice of chirosophy, at Central Music-Hall a week from to-morrow afternoon." *The Chicago Tribune*, Sunday, June 12, 1887, p. 16.

[10] Sunday, June 19, 1887, p. 15.

[11] *Commercial and Architectural Chicago*. Chicago: G.W. Orear, 1887.

[12] *The Chicago Tribune*, Tuesday, June 21, 1887, p. 8.

[13] Ellmann, Richard. *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), p. 191.

[14] June 12, 1886 (Vol. I)

[15] I describe this album in "EH-A in America" (second Heron-Allen Symposium of 7 July 2002).

[16] Advertisement for EH-A' *Kisses of Fate* (*Bella-Demonia: A Dramatic Story* by Selina Dolaro, Belford, Clarke & Co.,1889): "Julian Hawthorne compliments Mr. Allen as being the ablest of the many young writers competing for the American readers' favor."

[17] p. 21

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] p. 23

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Day, Robert A. "The Birth and Death of a Satirist: Eugene Field and Chicago's Growing Pains." *American Literature*, Vol. 22, No. 4. (Jan. 1951): 466-478. Day addresses "Chicago Palmistry", pp. 468-69.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The photograph of EH-A and his journal entries are reproduced by permission of Ivor E. Jones and the Heron-Allen Estate.

EDWARD HERON-ALLEN - ACCOMPLICE TO FRAUD. THE LEGACY OF EH-A'S WORK ON THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM

by GARRY GARRARD

A couple of years ago, I wrote about EH-A's ground-breaking analysis of Edward Fitzgerald's translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. He published his conclusions in two books: the first of which was his own translation of Ouseley 140, the manuscript in the Bodleian Library that had started the entire Omar Khayyam craze. The 1000 copies that were printed sold out very quickly and a second edition was quickly produced. The second book contained EH-A's detailed analysis of the sources for Fitzgerald's translation and this time there was no mistake on quantities; 2000 copies were printed for England and a further 500 for America.

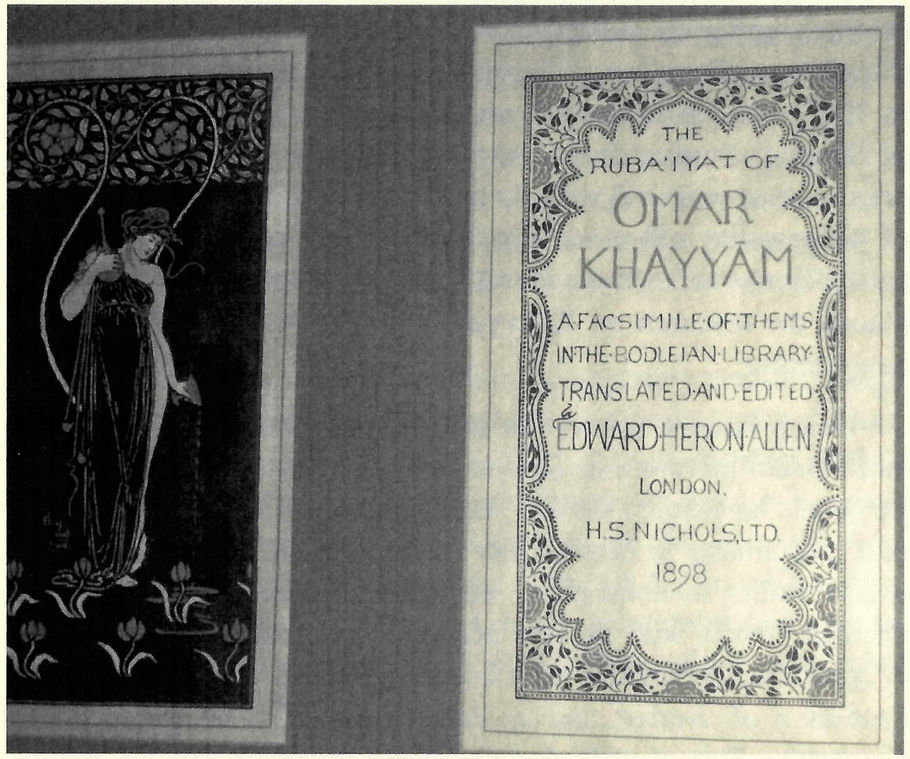

Fig. 10. The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyam. Translated, with an introduction and notes and a bibliography, by Edward Heron-Allen, 1898.

EH-A's *magnum opus* was evaluated in 1899 by Edward Singleton Holden, a notable astronomer, sometime President of the University of California and eventually Librarian at the US Military Academy at Westpoint. He wrote "We may pause a moment to note the exceeding industry and patience of Mr. Allen's [*sic*] research." He continued "Mr. Heron-Allen's books are indispensable to anyone who wishes thoroughly to understand and enjoy the poems of Omar and of Fitzgerald... we are indebted to the two books of Mr. Heron-Allen."

EH-A's analysis settled the argument about the accuracy of the translation once and for all; after the publication of the second book, discussions no longer focused on the accuracy of Fitzgerald's work, but on whether Omar Khayyam had actually written the verses in the first place. If anyone has any lingering doubts about the work's importance, Denison Ross, one of EH-A's original supporters in Persian studies, is perhaps the best person to dispel them. Ross's autobiography was published posthumously in 1943, after he had built up the London University's School of Oriental Studies from almost nothing to a highly respected organisation with 100 staff. In his autobiography, with the benefit of 40 years to reflect on his co-operation with the project, he called Heron-Allen's books on Khayyam "epoch making"; they placed the research on Khayyam and FitzGerald on an entirely new footing.

Heron-Allen's interest in the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, and Persian literature in general, by no means ended after he had published his results. He was not, of course, an academic, let alone one specialising in Persian, but as they say, he knew a man who was or, rather, he knew plenty of men who were. He corresponded on equal terms with notable academic orientalists including not only his friend Denison Ross but also Edward Granville Browne, Professor of Arabic and a Persian expert who founded the Cambridge School of Living Oriental Languages and, of course, Professor Edward Cowell, Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge, as well as numerous other amateur luminaries.

Several years after his work on Omar Khayyam, he published a literal translation of the *Lament of Baba Taher*, written originally not even in "straightforward" Persian but in an unusual dialect. He even questioned precisely which dialect Baba Taher uses: he states that while many believe that the quatrains are written in the Lori (Luri) dialect, it appears that "they are written in the Raji (or Rey) dialect."

This was a decidedly unorthodox choice for EH-A's further investigation of Persian poetry and, on the face of it, quite puzzling. Only recently did we discover that it arose from advice given to EH-A in a letter from Edward Granville Browne in 1898, who EH-A asked for his guidance about the best way to continue his Persian studies. The reply EH-A received from Browne was quite definite in direction if not specific on a choice of topic:

> "If you will not think it impertinence on my part, I would earnestly counsel you, should you continue your work in the field of Persian Literature, to take one of the many regions thereof which have not yet been explored and work that. Work done on a ground must always be judged to a severer standard than that which opens new fields – and this must specially apply in the case of a writer who receives so much attention from so many distinguished people as Omar Khayyam."

In spite of this advice, EH-A didn't completely abandon Omar Khayyam, and in 1908 he published his third book on the subject, this time analysing the longer second edition of FitzGerald's verses. For the rest of his life, he continued to collect editions of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam that interested him. About 80% of his collection of 328 books about the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, that he bequeathed to the London Library, were published after he had completed his analysis in 1899; the final edition was dated only a year before he died.

Edward Heron-Allen's translations of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam were used as the basis for new English renditions of Omar's verses by several aspiring poets, for example, C.S. Tute,

Tommaso Cannizaro, and Vittorio Gottardi. There were others who translated EH-A's work into European languages. EH-A was also asked to write forewords to several new editions of Omar's Rubaiyat. He always did this task generously; in 1924 he even managed to find some kind words to say about a new illustrated edition of the rather strange version that Baron Corvo translated from the French of J.B. Nicholas. I will give you just one sample of his somewhat odd rendition, but there are many more such bizarre examples. Consider FitzGerald's verse:

> Dreaming when Dawn's Left Hand was in the sky
> I heard a voice within the Tavern cry
> "Awake little ones and fill the Cup
> Before Life's Liquor in its Cup be dry."

Baron Corvo renders this as:

> Lo, Phosphor! And a Voice from the Tavern crieth, Enter, hilarious Philopots, hybrist youths; enter and fill yet one more cup of Wine, before that fate shall brimful your cup of life.

EH-A must have required considerable ingenuity to find kind words to say about this bizarre rendition!

****

Now I would like you to mentally skip a couple of decades after the death of Edward Heron-Allen. On a moonlit August night on a secluded Majorcan beach in 1964, a fire of driftwood is blazing, sending its sparks skywards. By the flickering light of the flames we can see three figures; two men, one older than the other but both completely naked, are embracing and they seem to be smeared with blood. The third person, a younger girl, is beating out a rhythm on a little drum, and chanting as she dances round the blaze. The two men are Robert Graves, the renowned poet and one of the grandest old men of modern English letters, and Idries Shah, a self-professed Sufi mystic. The girl was Aemilia Laracuen, known familiarly as Cindy, the latest in a succession of young inamoratos that Graves had affairs with in his later years.

The two men had met in 1961, when Shah introduced himself, and they soon became close friends. The bizarre ritual, designed by Cindy, was intended to confirm Graves and Shah as lifelong blood-brothers (although the only blood had been spilt by an unfortunate rabbit). Graves had gradually become more and more dependent on Shah, treating him as a fount of all wisdom, seeking spiritual justification for his lifestyle, readily accepting advice on his personal life, and encouraging his friends to do the same. In the 1960s and 1970s a willing audience of westerners was thirsty for any of the secrets of eastern mysticism - it was in 1968 that the Beatles made their famous trip to India to see the Maharishee. Idries Shah had his own enthusiastic band of followers; the most notable of them was Doris Lessing, who publicly supported him for 20 years. Deia, the village on Majorca where Graves had his home, was a magnet for hippies, artists and poets, as well as downright layabouts; Graves' home near the village was a magnet for numerous celebrities including Michael Caine and Bob Dylan.

Not long after their ritual, Idries introduced Graves to his brother, Omar Ali-Shah, who said he was a Sufi poet and a Persian scholar. Once Omar was settled in at Graves' villa, the two brothers told Graves that their family, which originated in Afghanistan, owned the oldest and most authoritative manuscript of the Rubáiyát of Omar Kháyyám in existence, dating from AD 1153, less than 20 years after Omar Kháyyám's death. This was indeed an astonishing claim, the document must be the Holy Grail of Rubaiyat enthusiasts: the oldest known manuscript up to that time dated from 330 years after Omar's death and academics had been searching for years to find an older version. The Shahs had a request to make to Graves, in effect a proposition. If Omar Ali Shah provided Graves with a literal translation of this manuscript, with annotated notes, would Graves use his famous poetic skill to transform it into verses good enough to do justice to the original? Graves was certainly an admirable choice for such a delicate task. He had first become well-known as a poet during the First World War but, as well as writing and publishing popular poetry ever since, he had studied poetry academically and had been Professor of Poetry at Oxford for the previous five years. He wrote later that he regarded Shah's invitation as the greatest compliment he had ever been paid,

far more important to him than his many formal poetry awards. He readily agreed to the proposal and did much of the work, in close consultation with Ali-Shah, during a three-week convalescence in St Thomas's Hospital after an operation. In November 1967, Cassell & Company published the results of the joint venture - *The Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayaam, a New Translation with Critical Commentaries* by Robert Graves and Omar Ali-Shah. Apart from translations of 111 quatrains, the book included a stinging attack on FitzGerald as well as repeated assertions that Omar Kháyyám had been a Sufi mystic. Nearly everyone, they maintained, had been completely mistaken about the true meaning of the quatrains.

Reaction to the new version was lukewarm at best. In *The Listener*, Martin Dodsworth called it a "prosy New English Bible sort of Kháyyám", and described the verse form adopted as "ripples in a sea of sludge". John Charles Edward Bowen, himself a well-known translator of Persian poetry in general and Omar's Rubáiyát in particular, reviewed it for the *Times*. He noticed some anomalies in the new translation, and highlighted them in a column pointedly titled *The Rubáiyát of Graves*. In his introduction, Graves asserted that the original Persian quatrains formed a single long poem. It was apparent that he did not appreciate the Persian convention that each four-line Rubá'i was independent; it was not affected by any other one nor did it affect any others itself. It was odd too, Bowen thought, that the total of 111 quatrains was just one different from the number of verses in FitzGerald's second edition. By an even stranger coincidence, eight of the first 12 quatrains were in exactly the same position as those in FitzGerald's first edition. Persian manuscripts of Rubaiyat were conventionally arranged in a version of an alphabetical order, and no 12th century scribe could have foreseen even an approximate order that would be used by a translator 700 years later. The only possible conclusion was that the manuscript on which the translation was based could not be authentic. Bowen was well accustomed to forged manuscripts of the Rubaiyat; several of them had been revealed in the early 1960s and were bought for high sums by respected libraries, including Cambridge University and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. It later proved to be the case that Bowen's own translation had unfortunately been based on one of the forgeries.

A few weeks after Bowen's review was published in *The Times*, he was contacted by a former colleague whom he had known in Tehran during the war, when they both worked in military intelligence. Laurence Elwell-Sutton, another Persian scholar, was on the same trail as Bowen. He had discovered somehow that the "literal translation" provided by Omar Ali-Shah had been copied faithfully from Edward Heron-Allen's 1899 work that identified FitzGerald's Persian sources. Even the errors were repeated, and the quatrains from FitzGerald's introduction and notes, grouped together at the end of Heron-Allen's work purely for convenience, remained in that arbitrary order, making a total of exactly 111 verses. Even faced with this evidence, Graves remained defiant. By now, the translation had been widely condemned by experts in Iran and the USA, as well as in Britain. Graves and Ali-Shah reacted angrily in a joint effort to rebut the criticism. They each wrote to *The Times*, in vain attempts to justify the anomalies identified by Bowen and refute the allegations. In the *Daily Telegraph* of 25th March 1968, Graves even labelled FitzGerald "a dilettante faggot trying to pretend he was a scholar". To anyone who knew anything about the subject, Graves and Ali-Shah were in a hole and digging themselves deeper. Elwell-Sutton published his account of the hoax, *The Omar Kháyyám Puzzle*, in the *Royal Central Asiatic Review* of June 1968. As far as experts in Persian poetry were concerned, the translation was thoroughly discredited.

However, unfortunately, the majority of readers were most definitely not experts in Persian poetry, and Graves continued to maintain the authenticity of the manuscript which, he said, was owned by an elderly prince in the Hindu Kush. In *Life Magazine* he wrote "I understand that it will not be long before the Royal owner of the A.D. 1153 document satisfies the World's appetite for the truth: whereupon any English Persicologist who cannot face the facts will either have to resign his lectureship or consult a psychiatrist." It became obvious to Bowen that such strong views prominently expressed by an eminent, and popular, poet could easily convince readers that the true manuscript really did exist in some far-off valley in Afghanistan; they were certainly far more convincing to the public at large than the opinions of an unknown

amateur Persian enthusiast, however correct he might be. Graves continued to receive active support from Ali-Shah, who maintained that he had actually seen the original document and was satisfied that it was genuine, and that he could not produce it because the old man who owned it would be upset to be "challenged by imbeciles."

Bowen was as determined as he was resourceful and he realised that if he were to make the truth absolutely irrefutable, he would have to investigate himself and prove his case. In the spring of 1969, he made the long and arduous overland journey to Afghanistan. In Kabul, he recruited a couple of friendly and co-operative local journalist experts who were not only fascinated by the controversy, they were prepared to help. The editor of the local *Karavan* newspaper sent his own car 50 miles to Paghman, the remote village where Omar Ali-Shah's family had originated. The car brought back the 85 year-old patriarch of the family who was "bright, courteous and co-operative". He cheerfully admitted that he had no ancient manuscript at all in his possession, he had never seen one, and he had never even heard of Omar Kháyyám.

When Penguin published a new edition of the Graves/Ali-Shah travesty of a "translation" in 1972, Bowen was moved to publish a summary of the entire sorry episode in a long letter to *The Listener,* published on 3rd August. His letter was greeted by a "deafening silence" from Graves, Ali-Shah and their publishers in Britain and the USA. At last, Bowen had put the final nail in the coffin of one of the greatest literary hoaxes of all time. Just to make sure, the following year Bowen published *"Translation or Travesty"*, a small book that contained an expanded exposé of the entire story. To make doubly sure, he repeated a similar account in *Iran: Journal of Persian Studies.*

Graves is often seen as one of the villains of this sorry tale, but it is safe to assume that he knew nothing of the dubious background of the Shahs, and was an unwitting dupe. When his version of the Rubáiyát came under attack, Graves' blustering defence is not unnatural; who would not robustly defend something told to him by such a trusted friend? The blood brother ritual had served

its purpose. And if Graves had a fault, it was not only the depth of the loyalty he showed to those he considered his friends, but the unquestioning trust that he placed in them. Although Graves continued to bluster in public, privately he wrote to Idries Shah imploring him to produce the manuscript, or at least some concrete evidence of its existence. He was met only by evasion and mention of the need for trust between friends. Eventually Shah wrote that he wouldn't produce the manuscript under any circumstances. In 1970, Graves wrote back "Your decision, for reasons of family pride, not to submit to scrutiny under any circumstances seems difficult to reconcile with either our personal or family friendship." Shah sent back only a brief, abrupt business-like letter in reply. It was the end of a beautiful friendship, and a sad lesson for Robert Graves.

It would have been no compensation at all if Graves had realised that his exploitation was well and truly in the sorry tradition of the Shah family. Idries Shah spent 25 years writing books about pseudo-Sufism, and pedalling the subject to anyone who would listen. True Sufis studiously ignored him, but he encouraged the view that he was descended from Mohammed and the last Sasanid kings, that he had attended several Western and Eastern universities and that he had dedicated his life to the study of Sufi mysticism. In fact, although he was indeed born in India, he was brought to England with his brother Omar when he was very young indeed. The two boys grew up quietly in Sutton, Surrey and his limited education was completed by a few mediocre years at Oxford High School. Their father, Ikbal Ali-Shah, was a failed medical student and serial fantasist of whom the Foreign Office once wrote "there was hardly a word of truth in his writings", and whom the British ambassador to Argentina dubbed "a swindler" after a South American scam involving *halal* meat. Idries had played a central role in his father's deception.

It transpired that Graves was the most serious victim of the plot, and not only because his trust had been so cruelly abused. When the Poet Laureate, John Masefield, died in 1967 Graves was asked to deliver his memorial address at Westminster Abbey,

conventionally a sure sign that he could expect the succession. However, with the emergence of the potential scandal hanging over his head, it became impossible to offer such a public position to Graves, and it went instead to C. Day-Lewis. It wasn't just Graves' translation of the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam that had been put in doubt; it was his very reputation and his entire canon of historical writing that were at stake; he reported a noticeable drop in his royalties. Sympathy for a gullible old man is a natural reaction, but for Rubaiyat enthusiasts, that sympathy must inevitably be tempered by the unnecessary and gratuitous abuse that Graves continually directed at Edward FitzGerald, who was in no position to defend himself after more than 80 years below the cold clay of Boulge Churchyard.

The ill-conceived translation that caused all the controversy was published regularly throughout the 1990s, mainly by several US-based "Sufi" organisations, but Robert Graves name mercifully disappeared from the accreditation which now cites Omar Ali-Shah as the sole translator.

Perhaps the final irony is the fact that, while the manuscript may not have existed, the *rubaiyat* that Graves put into English verse were completely genuine; they were the very same verses for which Edward Heron-Allen had published literal translations. If Graves had simply declared that his own verses were based on EH-A's literal translation, his poetry would have been judged solely on its own merit, almost certainly more kindly. That was an approach taken by several would-be poets who were inspired by Omar but who didn't read Persian; it was and is regarded as a perfectly valid artistic approach. Unfortunately for Graves, that simple fact was concealed from him.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Joan Navarre, whose excellent article on EH-A in *Encyclopedia Iranica* (on-line) I have shamelessly used for information on Denison Ross, and Venetia Jones, who identified and voluntarily transcribed a critical letter.

A RESPONSE TO HIS ODDSHIPP THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE SETTE OF ODD VOLUMES: "LE GALLIENNE VERSUS HERON-ALLEN"

by JOHN P. MAHONEY AND BARBARA P. MAHONEY

In our review of the life of Edward Heron-Allen, we were perplexed at two major events in his 80+ years of life: the events of the 1892-1893 "incident" involving the Sette of Odd Volumes and the 1932 breakup of his long scientific partnership with Arthur Earland involving the Discovery Reports on foraminifera.[1,2]. We were inexplicably drawn to these volcanic events hoping to understand his sudden abrupt severance of long term and productive synergistic relationships. Perhaps there was our subliminal desire to learn and hopefully avoid suffering a similar trauma of lost opportunities and friendships. We narrowed our review to the "incident" at the Sette because it reinforced how life can quickly change despite one's exemplary life. This incident shows us a human side of Heron-Allen who made a very minor private uncomplimentary comment, suffered the loss of fellowship through treachery, and endured months of public doubt and scorn. History records how he dealt with these issues and the incredible spectrum of long term human responses to short term adversity. "To become a deeper man is the privilege of those who have suffered" [Oscar Wilde].[3]

LE GALLIENNE VERSUS HERON-ALLEN

By the tender age of 26, poet Robert Le Gallienne was nearing the top of his game in the London cultural and literary scene. Recently married and employed with the Bodley Head publishing firm as one of their high profile "readers", he was in high demand as a poet and literary lecturer[4]. He was a founding member of the Rhymers' Club - a poetry society - in 1890[5]. He was a member of the inner circle of Oscar Wilde. Both his social web and his publisher, John Lane, had enticed him into the sphere of many of the desirable London private clubs and proposed him for membership

in the Sette of Odd Volumes [translation: individual "matchless" members who, as a whole, form a perfect club]. This Sette was a prestigious private London literary dining and bibliophiles' club[5,6]. Members of the Sette were clearly interested in him both as lecturer, poet and potential member as early as 1890[5]. Membership in the Sette followed a strict selection process. The names of potential members were submitted to the general membership for comment. There would be a formal vote with only the member with the highest vote tally being offered membership for that monthly meeting. Le Gallienne was originally proposed for membership on June 3rd 1892 by Lane, but Heron-Allen's candidate won election. Heron-Allen invited another, poet Oscar Wilde, to be his guest during this same period. With the encouragement of Sette members, on October 7th 1892, Le Gallienne again assented to placing his name on the ballot for membership. Heron-Allen was in open support of another candidate. A third candidate, Max Pemberton won election on January 13th 1893. With a third nomination, both men's world changed and the Sette was in deep turmoil[7].

Grounds for objection to Le Gallienne's membership selection began to percolate in the proverbial grapevine of the Sette. According to his printed letter to the Sette, Le Gallienne was aghast at both the review process and a Sette member whom he considered the agent of a vicious whisper campaign against him[1]. In September 1892, Heron-Allen "heard" from a Past-President James Brown that Le Gallienne was aware of an alleged "infamous slander" and that the statement was directly attributable to Heron-Allen[8]. In a hand-written letter dated February 10th 1893, Heron-Allen wrote directly to Le Gallienne in an attempt to state his version of the truth and apologize for his separate unflattering private comments[9]. On February 14th Le Gallienne's attorneys responded that the letter contained an insufficient apology for "the grave injury that you have done him" and proposed an alternative letter[10]. John Lane and two other members of the Sette were participants at that meeting which outlined the language of an acceptable apology[11]. Heron Allen writes a hand-written letter to Le Gallienne[12]:

"Dear Sir 15th February 1893

I have since writing to Messrs. Withalls yesterday had the opportunity of conferring further with my friends on the subject of their letter.

I feel that my retraction has not been so full as it should have been. I again emphatically deny having made such a charge against you as is suggested. But, I did unfortunately make observations (privately as I believed) which have apparently reached your ears, & have been made to bear a construction never, as I repeat, intended by me. I now unhesitatingly withdraw my remarks & tender to you my sincere apologies, & desire to express my regret for any pain & annoyance which I may have caused you.

Yours obediently
Edward Heron-Allen"

What Heron-Allen exactly said in the privacy of his home and what was the public interpretation of his private comments are unknown. "Whenever a man does a thoroughly stupid thing, it is always from the noblest of motives" [Oscar Wilde].[3] Heron-Allen wrote to Le Gallienne's attorney[8]:

To Messrs Withalls & Belton 14 February 1893

Dear Sirs:

I am in receipt of your letter of yesterday's date which is evidently written under very grave misapprehension of the facts. My letter to Mr. Le Gallienne was drafted in September 1892 & was sent on the suggestion of Messrs Venables & Brown who stated that it was all that was necessary to terminate this very unpleasant incident. I am conscious of having made uncomplimentary remarks about your client's personal appearance and manner, but that I have ever in any way imputed to him the commission of unnatural offences, I most emphatically & utterly deny. I think you will agree with me that I have a right to know on whose authority such a statement is made. Your client has been (mislead) through the animosity borne towards me by one of his friends. I fully realize and I should be only too glad to do anything in my power to remove any impression which has been conveyed apparently on my authority. Under these circumstances I shall be

happy to call & discuss the matter with you if you will write me with an appointment for tomorrow or Thursday morning.

Yours Faithfully
Edward Heron-Allen

[Messrs T.C. Vernable and James R. Brown mentioned in the letter were Past-Presidents of the Sette.]

Gallienne's attorneys wrote to Heron-Allen the following response[13]:

Dear Sir 17 Feb 1893

Our client has forwarded us your letter of apology dated the 15th (of February) which with view to ending this unpleasant matter, he is willing to accept.

Yours faithfully
Withalls & Belton

What were the "uncomplimentary remarks" about Le Gallienne? Heron-Allen was a man of considerable wit and literary skills demonstrable in many public and private venues. Clarence R. Decker, a contemporary author of Le Gallienne's centenary memoir and an admirer of this poet wrote[14]:

"He acquired a scarlet-lined Inverness cape to drape his slight figure, and cultivated a mop of flowing dark locks to frame his 'delicate almost girl-like, profile... dreamy eyes and pale brow' as he (Le Gallienne) portrayed himself." ! [our emphasis added]

Fig. 11. Richard Le Gallienne.

If Heron-Allen used a similar composition of Le Gallienne's own words to describe Le Gallienne's "personal appearance and manner" at a private dinner party at his own home, this would be dubiously considered to be even an uncomplimentary comment.

And what in the Le Gallienne's historical record might be relevant to this "incident"? Le Gallienne was a well recognized member of the circle of Oscar Wilde and other perceived "decadent" groups such as the Rhymers' Club. Some contemporary writers have suggested that the poet and the married Oscar Wilde had a casual homosexual liaison. Wilde presented him with a manuscript inscribed, " to Richard Le Gallienne, poet and lover..." Le Gallienne responded with a poem entitled, "With Oscar Wilde, A Summer-Day in June '88", and he inscribed, "This copy of verse I have made for my friend Oscar Wilde, as a love-token, and in secret memory of a summer day in June '88." If true, did Le Gallienne regret his "secret memory"?[15] The mere threat of a homosexual scandal to a now married Le Gallienne and especially John Lane would have galvanized an aggressive rebuttal campaign. The 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act concerning homosexual activity was well known. We are unaware of any alleged "secret memory" liaisons in his subsequent years. The speculation of this single "Wilde" liaison only became public in the 20th century with the discovery of these manuscripts. Richard Le Gallienne married three women and fathered two daughters and historically was considered to be a "womanizer"[16].

From the content of subsequent letters, it becomes obvious that John Lane and/or Le Gallienne had verbally provided Heron-Allen and friends the name of their star witness. The gauntlet had now been thrown down by Heron-Allen and the noose seemed to begin to tighten around the neck of a suspected treacherous Odd Volume. Heron-Allen wrote a hand-written letter to a "dear" colleague[17]:

Private Confidential 20 February 1893

My dear Haité:

I think you ought to stop Lane, friend (of) shortly to-be Brother Gallienne, (from) traducing you. He (Lane) states authoritatively that it was you that he obtained his evidence of what was said at my

dinner-table, & further that you announced your intention of getting up & leaving the house if another word was said. Of course, I do not believe one syllable of this. You pledged your word of honour to the Council that it was not so & that is enough for me, but he has made the statement to Davies, & I think you should prevent his carrying it further. Of course, regard being had to Lane's power & dictation, we must elect Gallienne, but I confess, I tremble for the future if we are to be kept in a constant turmoil by bad blood being engendered between O.V.s [Odd Volumes] in this way. Davies is of course surprised, but I assure I don't, & won't believe that it is true.

Yours ever
E.HA
(P.S.) I should like you to call me afternoon here & have a chat.

[John Lane was Le Gallienne's publisher and a member of the Sette. Alfred J. Davies was a Past-president of the Sette]

George Charles Haité (Sette name "Art Critic"), a very well known English watercolor artist by trade, was a Past President of the Sette in 1891-1892 when Heron-Allen was Vice President-Elect[7]. Haité joined the Sette in 1883, the same year as Heron-Allen. We have found no historical association of Haite with Le Gallienne or John Lane. Haité responded to Heron-Allen's letter[18]:

Dear Bro. Allen 21 Feb 93

...I have little inclination & less time to go into the matter you write about. As it is, I have arrived at the conclusion that Odd Volumes affairs make too serious a demand upon my time, pocket and temper. Anyway, I shall vixen what to do in my own interest. I have no doubt if Mr. Le Gallienne has stated what you say, his election would be simply an impossibility. As you say he has mentioned this to Bro. Davies, will you show Davies this & ask him to write me.

Yours...
Geo. C. Haité

Heron-Allen obviously sensed that Haité was in denial concerning the gravity of the allegation and wanted to give Haité every opportunity to clear his name. He writes him again[19]:

Private 22 Feb 1893

My Dear Haité:

Will you come & see me, one afternoon? I showed your letter to Davies who conferred with Brown, Vernables & Holme & they all uphold their (suspicions) of course. It is a serious matter rather, as their contention is, constructively, that you have caused the whole of this sickening business. I should much like to confer with you on the whole position. I am sick of the whole damned Sette & all belonging to it.

Yours ever
Ed. HA

[Charles Holme was a Past-President of the Sette, 1890-1891 just before Haité's Presidency]

Haité promptly responded[20]:

My Dear Allen: 24 Feb 93

By all means, have the letters back. Here they are enclosed. There appears to be absolutely nothing in them in any way to injure yourself. I have already proved the truth of your statement, as far as Lane is concerned & it is now solely a matter between Lane and myself. From all I hear, the incident as far as it affects yourself is closed.

I really have not been near your place or even in London before last evening. Had it been in your interest to have asked me to call, I would no doubt have done so. But it is a matter affecting myself alone. And as I said before, apart from the want of time & really being very busy with my work..., I am really getting so tired of the whole thing. I can only assure you again that I did not impart to anyone what transpired at your house. I did not mention your name. It appears to me to be intentional deductive inference on Lane's part, and as to having had anything imparted to him, from what I can gather, he cannot form any actual charge now.

Of course I will come and see you if you still wish it or you can come down here on Sunday evening & I will get Bro. Davies here and we will discuss it, but only if you really think it necessary. I am seriously overdue with one very important work.

Best wishes, Yours
Geo. C. Haité

Heron-Allen had now identified the treacherous Odd Volume. He wrote back to his dear friend[21] :

My Dear Haité 25th February 1893

Thanks for yours of yesterday date. To recapitulate my two private letters to you, the facts are simply these: Lane and our new brother, Gallienne, told Davies at their recent conference that you had informed him (Gallienne) & others that I had accused him of unnatural offenses at my own dinner table at a private dinner of O.V. friends, & that you had moreover said you would get up & leave the house if such a thing were repeated. In face of your pledge to the Council & myself, the fact that the other men present witnessed no incident of the kind, I thought it only right to tell you of this. I assure you that I rely on your word, and would not believe either Lane or his friend on their version after your assurance that it was not so. It was, in fact, an electioneering lie and I am very sorry to see the rapid & forced growth of a party in the Sette that can resort to the methods recently adopted for settling personal differences & enforcing the election of new members. The Sette is very properly afraid of Mr. Lane, he has certainly shown a remarkable talent for engendering bad blood between O.V. friends.

Yours ever
Edward Heron-Allen

Following Heron-Allen's urging, Haité confronted Le Gallienne with his suspicions[22]:

24 Feb. 1893
Ormsby Lodge
The Avenue
Bedford Park

Dear. Mr. Le Gallienne,

You may have heard, or you will hear, of the position affairs have taken between Mr. Lane & myself.

I was given to understand that both Mr. Lane & yourself had repeated a conversation which I had with you at the *Authors' Club* on Monday, 6th of this month.

I find this, as far as Mr. Lane is concerned, is correct; but

he has embellished the same with deductive inferences, I can understand your recollection of what took place, being coloured by possibilities, for you were much worried & smarting under a sense of injustice, & it was moreover, of direct personal importance to yourself. But this of course cannot apply to Mr. Lane, & I am afraid I must make this a question for the Sette, for the reason that if we are expected to be indignant at one of our body reflecting upon a gentleman outside the Sette, I think it is quite as necessary when one member misrepresents another.

I shall regret if the action I am compelled to take affects your interests, as I am writing now to ask if you will furnish me with as near as you can, the actual words I used on the occasion; may I add, (without offence to yourself) without discussion or council with Mr. Lane. I remember I informed you in Mr. Lane's presence that "your interests had been least consulted by Mr. Lane, & that any inconvenience that you experience was due to his petty quarrels."

Finally, I may say I'm in no way complain of use having been made of anything I said - although you will do me the justice that I did not desire to discuss the matter at all - but I can under no circumstances permit a personal construction on my remarks to be given as emanating from me.

Yours very truly
Geo. C. Haité

Mr. Le Gallienne apparently wrote a letter to Haité. George Haité rapidly responded to Le Gallienne's defense[23]:

27 Feb 93

R. Le Gallienne Esq.

Dear Sir:

Your answer to my letter of the 24th just in hand. I did not ask for your impression - I asked you to state the words you alleged I used in the short conversation I had with you at the *Authors' Club.*

I may here state that at the time I wrote you, I had not seen Mr. Davies & therefore knew nothing as to the gravity of your statement to him. Had I been cognizant of that, I should not have written you in the strain that I did - if at all! I deny the possibility

of any such construction upon what I said!

The misstatements in your letter I will refute elsewhere. I did not mention any name, or the word, dinner, or any conversation which might have taken place; neither did I imply or suggest name, place or thing in anyway. I could not moreover, make such implication or suggestion, for as far as I know they exist only in your imagination. It has been left for you of all men, to put into shape & words the most horrible accusations.

Your friend, Mr. Lane, I deal with on Friday. I may find it necessary to deal with the matter - as it affronts you - later.

In the mean time, I count it fortunate that the incident - unpleasant though it is, should have arisen, so that I am in a position to place the matter before the society you are desirous of joining.

Yours very truly
Geo. C. Haité

A last letter dated from February 27th 1898 from Haité secured the meeting date of February 28 with Heron-Allen, Haité and the current President of the Sette, William Murrell, M.D.[24].

Heron-Allen was in total agreement with Haité that Sette member John Lane was the provocateur who purposely embellished and promoted the "Incident" for his own personal gain and drew in his own employee, Richard Le Gallienne, as co-conspirator. Le Gallienne personalized, shaped and "put a public face" on the fabricated horrible charges against Heron-Allen. Haité was Lane's "unintentional source" of some of these disjointed facts and tidbits (perhaps with an added artistic embellishment). Heron-Allen believed Haité's theory that Lane, a skilled publisher, had the deductive intuitive abilities to spin a creative confabulation, to make an "Incident". Le Gallienne was of prime importance to Lane. The poet was the principal reader/reviewer to Lane's publishing empire. Le Gallienne had an incredible talent for discovering new talent and middlemen for the new reading public which contributed to the publisher's growing power and financial success [16, 20, 21]. But a recently rediscovered letter from Le Gallienne to Lane sheds new insights regarding Le Gallienne's active involvement in the "Incident". Le Gallienne writes to Lane [25]:

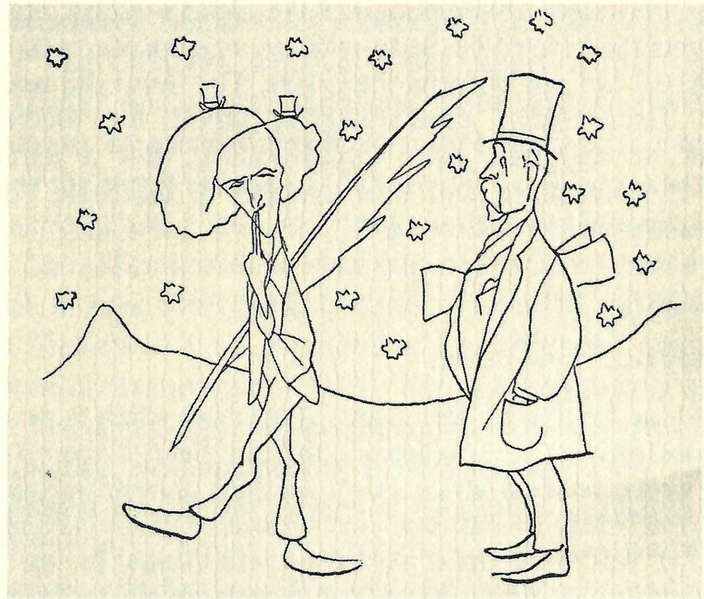

Fig. 12. Cartoon of Richard Le Gallienne and John Lane.

25 Jan. '93'

My dear Johnny,

Don't be too unhappy about Heron-Allen. He is, I haven't the least doubt, all you say. But, I assure you, I care little for what he may say about me: except in so far as it may be disagreeable to you. Really, truly I am not over-anxious to join the O.V.s, though you must think that, in saying so, I am ungrateful for your goodness in this matter. But, I mean that I don't think that it matters much now for either of us...

Rich. LeG.

In Le Gallienne's only known existing handwritten letter about the "incident", he seemed to imply that he was resigned to the fact that both he and Lane would lose this battle because of the power of the Sette's Council. A letter from Haité to Heron-Allen dated February 28 1893 confirmed that the Council's considered an aggressive response to both Lane and Gallienne [26]. We also sensed from his letter that Le Gallienne may not have been the sole source of the passionate outrage portrayed in his professionally printed epistle and his attorneys' letters.

After February 1893, many of the Sette's recent leadership simply vanished from the Sette with no written account. Edward Heron-Allen did not become President. The Sette did not record whether Heron-Allen unsuccessfully stood for election for President or withdrew from consideration. But a letter from Charles P. Johnson, a 1891 new member of the Sette, to Heron Allen documents the following[27]:

27th Feb. 1893

My dear Heron-Allen,

I have heard with great regret of the news which is pending especially that re: - Le Gallienne -; and as a friend of yours, I now have to give unasked advice. Don't you think it would be right for you next Friday to state that your opposition to Le Gallienne's election was based upon erroneous information & that you consequently withdrew it? I hear that you will not be President this year & that Gervis is. Moreover, I am asked to be his V.P. and don't see how I can refuse. Now, I can well refuse. How is it that I have heard nothing from you about these doings? Why I might have been Lane for all you have said true!

I hope things may go smoothly on Friday - that you will take my advice, and that we may (successfully) elect you to the chair next year.

Yours sincerely,
Chars. P. Johnson

[Frederick H. Gervis had never served in a Sette leadership position]

There is no record of Heron-Allen attending any Sette meetings from March 1893 to November 1894. Interestingly, Haité did not resign, but stayed in the Sette and continued to write and paint landscape scenes for the Sette's monthly menus. Douglas H. Gordon, the Remembrancer, resigned. The immediate Past-President, William Murrell resigned. The newly elected member, Max Pemberton resigned. The Historiographer, W. Mort Thomson, failed to explain in his yearly 1892-1893 summary report any explanation or justification for such events. A member of the Sette, Past-Vice President-1890, Alexander Hollingsworth, was installed as his Oddship without explanation in April 1893. This was a stunning turn of events for the Sette.

Unfortunately, Heron-Allen's letter of regret did not resolve the "incident". Le Gallienne stated in a later printed letter, "I may add that the slander was not only circulated at the meeting aforesaid, but it has come to my attention that it has since been diligently repeated". He named the repeat offender as Edward Heron-Allen and suggested that future legal action may still "have for him a somewhat stringent moral" [1]. La Gallienne continued to be invited to attend meetings of the Sette, and, in June 1893, publicly spoke of topics of mutual interest[7]. W. Mort Thompson was a supporter of Le Gallienne's membership. Thompson stated as an aside in 1894, "it is necessary merely to say that certain differences of opinion, long chronic, eventually became acute, thereby causing the retirement of several members." [28] Thompson was renowned for his own allegedly slanderous printed comments about other existing "younger" members in a published account of the Sette's yearly activities in 1889-1890. But, Thompson was in a legal quagmire over his published comments which necessitated the Sette attempting to "suppress" the original published yearly volume and issue a corrected edition in 1891[29].

Le Gallienne's tempest finally erupted when he reported to the Sette membership in a printed letter that the Sette's Attorney-General, Alfred J. Davies called upon him in September 1893 "at the request of the Council, to express regret for the wrong that had been done to me, but to make the astonishing addendum in the form of a request that I should consent to have my candidature withdrawn!" To say that Le Gallienne was infuriated, staggered and stupefied by this "infamous request" would be a "Wilde" understatement. The poet responded, "Certainly it seemed incredible that a club of men should thus willfully choose to repudiate the slandered and harbour the slanderer." The Sette's Council had seriously underestimated this poet's and his publisher's resolve[1].

On October 6th 1893, Le Gallienne decided to educate the members of the Sette by issuing his plea in a printed numbered limited edition, "A Letter to his Oddship the President, and Members of the Sette of Odd Volumes". "...the Sette was ignorant of the fact that I had received the following letter from Mr. Allen". The Heron-Allen letter was printed in its entirety. He told them that

now they had all the facts and were now informed of the injustice of the council's request that he withdraw his candidacy. He entrusted his reputation to the honor and integrity of the Sette's membership. The poet ended his statement with a dagger aimed directly at Heron-Allen, "It is impossible to think they will impassively allow one of their own body to commit so base and cowardly a slander with impunity." [1] The letter was a brilliant, bold and cunning move by the poet and his supporters. On November 3rd 1893, at a short and private meeting of members, "the resignations of two brethren, the Necromancer (Edward Heron-Allen) and the Vagabond (Herbert

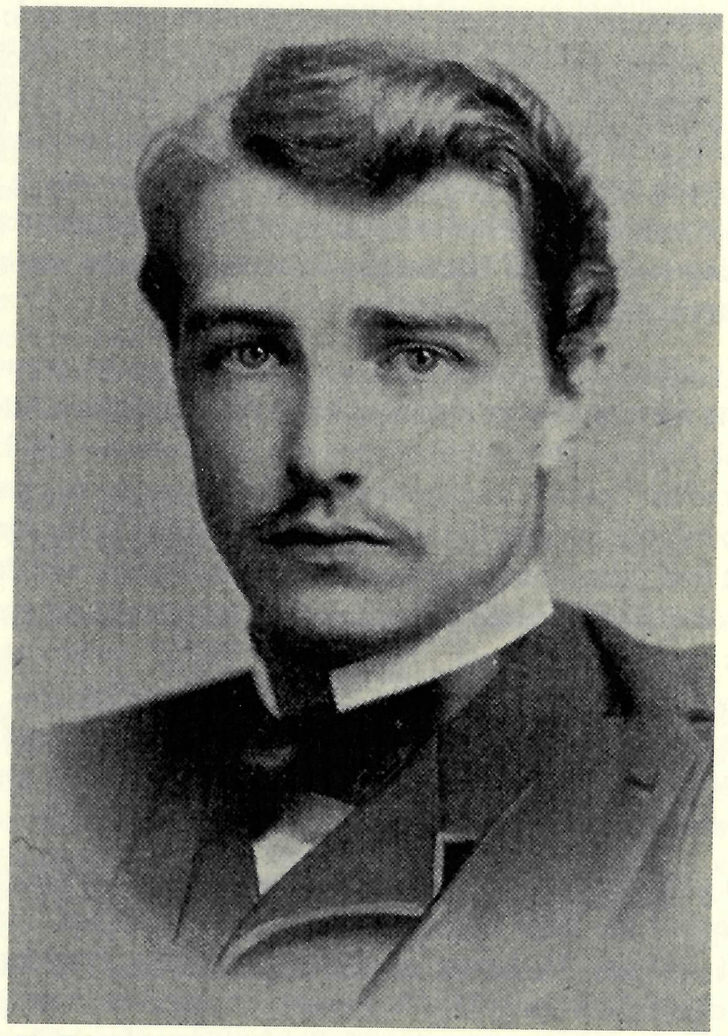

Fig. 13. Edward Heron-Allen.

Ward) were regretfully accepted". Le Gallienne was then formally received and welcomed into the Sette having been elected at the October meeting and received the Sette name, "Rhymer" [30].

Richard Le Gallienne had an interesting and volatile career. In the 1890s, he rarely attended Sette meetings due to the burden of his business, the births of his two daughters and death of his first wife to Typhoid fever. By 1903, he was deep in debt, divorced from his second wife and desiring new literary prospects. He left for America and had already resigned from the Sette. His next 25 years in America were marked with modest financial and literary success and a third wife. His last years were spent in France, persecuted by the Nazis during the occupation. He died in 1947 leaving a wealth of eighty-one years of literary experience and the authorship of more than 50 books. He lived the life of the Golden Boy, famous men praised him, women loved the poet, and he them[16].

We found no other public or private independent documents directly accusing Edward Heron-Allen of participating in a public campaign of alleged slander against Le Gallienne. From the public record, it would appear that he voluntarily resigned from the Sette. One can only conclude that Heron-Allen resigned in disgust with the Sette and its members and that a significant number of members chose to give the benefit of the doubt to Le Gallienne over Haité and Heron-Allen. His resignation must have still been personally painful since his long term involvement with the Sette became the vehicle via his mentor and original Sette sponsor, Bernard Quaritch, for "What I am... in Literature and Bibliography to-day, I owe to Bernard Quaritch" [31]. "Misfortunes one can endure - they come from outside, they are accidents. But to suffer for one's own faults - ah!- there is the sting of life" [Oscar Wilde] [3]. History has proven that he never looked back and grew in stature with future literary and scientific recognitions. With John Lane still a member, Heron-Allen was elected to the Sette in 1924.

John Lane died the week following Heron-Allen's induction into the Sette. Heron-Allen became Sette's President in 1927-1928 and remained a most respected member of the Sette until his death in 1943.

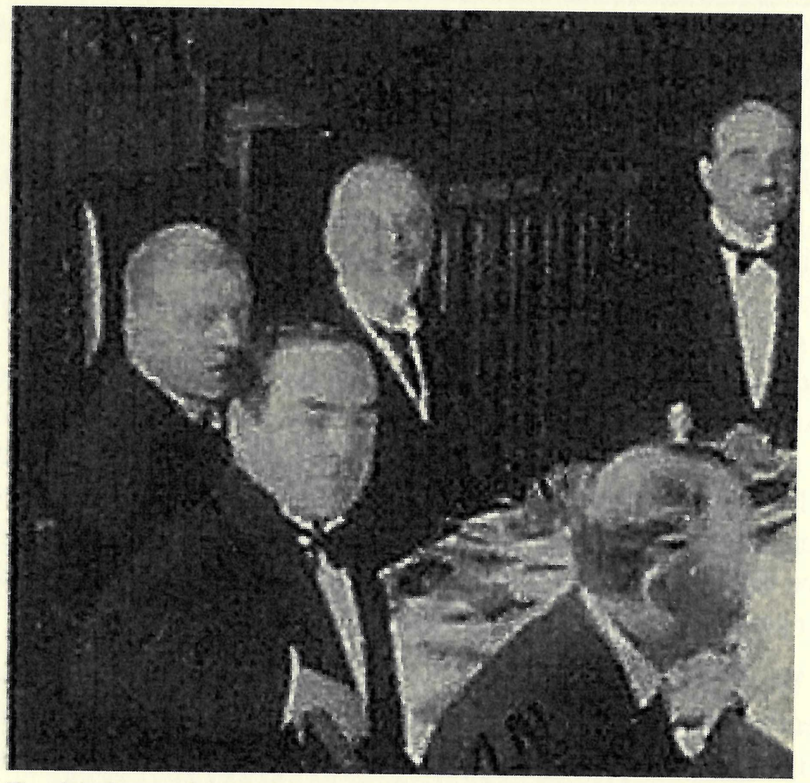

Fig. 14. Sette of Odd Volumes dinner party, 1924, with Edward Heron-Allen.

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[31] *Sette of Odd Volumes: The Year=Boke of the Odd Volumes, 1927-1928*, p.13

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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HERON-ALLEN'S HOLIDAY JOURNAL ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO THE IXTH INTERNATIONAL ZOOLOGICAL CONGRESS, MONACO 1913

by JOHN E. WHITTAKER

We are thankful that the family, through Ivor Jones, still retains parts of Heron-Allen's once extensive library, although sadly most of it was sold off following his death. Amongst the surviving part are a remarkable series of Holiday Journals. Only two of these touch on what might be called "scientific expeditions", in which I am interested. One of them dealing with Heron-Allen's account of his visit to western Ireland in 1911 with his collaborator, Arthur Earland, (the Clare Island Survey) was described by Henderson & Whittaker in *Opusculum VII* of the Heron-Allen Society in 2005. The second, the subject of this paper, is contained in Volume XVII of his Holiday Journal, labelled "Monaco-Hyères, March-April, 1913" and deals with Heron-Allen's visit to the IXth International Zoological Congress and subsequent holiday with his wife Edith ("Nour").

As with the style of these volumes it contains a diary, in the form of letters addressed to himself, which he posted home daily, and accompanying them and pasted in, all manner of ephemera: including brochures, postcards (Figs 15-17, 19), hotel bills and restaurant menus (Fig. 18), train and tram tickets, etc.; he kept literally everything. The whole serves to give a remarkable insight into a world of almost a century ago, and is a ripe source of much future research.

An International Zoological Congress is a prestigious event, a meeting where the world's foremost scientists deliberate; it is also the venue where the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature meets, which codifies the rules under which animals, alive and fossil, are named. It is, naturally, by invitation only. How Heron-Allen came to be invited is not recorded in the Holiday Journal, but it may be that his great friend and mentor Sir Ray Lankester (lately Director of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington) was otherwise engaged and recommended him.

The enclosed discourse is based on 14 letters addressed to himself, some c/o Miss FitzGibbon (his "secretary"), The Knap Cottage, Selsey, Sussex (nos. 1-10). Nos. 11-14, on the other hand, are addressed to 33 Hamilton Terrace, London. NW, which he still kept as his London home at the time. Nos. 1-11 (dated between 20th March and 7th April 1913) are written from the Grand Hotel Prince de Galles, Monte Carlo. The date of the Congress was between the 25th and 29th March. Subsequently he then travelled for a holiday with Nour to Hyères, France, some 75 miles to the west near Toulon, where he stayed at Le Golf Hotel, and from which the remaining letters (nos. 11-14) were sent.

The Heron-Allens left England on March 20th 1913. Perhaps they were not good sailors as that day there was a "nice fresh breeze"... " which filled us with alarm and apprehension", he wrote. They would, however, be travelling in the heights of luxury. The fare to Monte Carlo was £12/6/3 (£12.31) return (each) and included reservation of seats from Victoria to Dover by Pullman Car, a Private Cabin on the Channel steamer and reservation of a Sleeping Car on the "Calais-Mediterranean Express". Looking at the brochure, preserved in his Holiday Journal, fills one with envy! The train left from London Victoria station at 11.00 a.m.

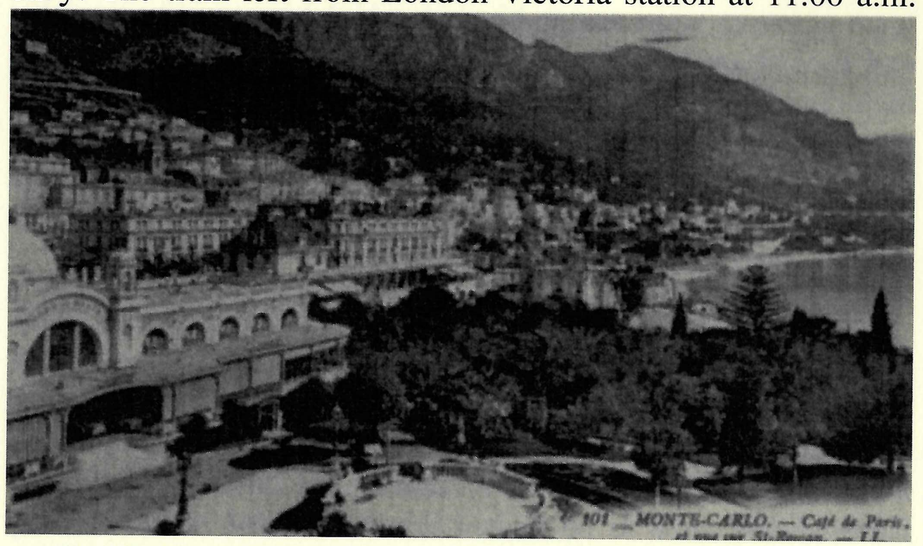

Fig. 15. View of Monte Carlo. According to the bills pasted in his Holiday Journal, Heron-Allen frequently dined at the Café de Paris shown in the left foreground.

"The crowd of people going away was huge, but we got our luggage through comfortably (for 18/6) and met Prince[1] at the station". "Took dose of *Mothersill,* Betty's mal de mer nostrum and prepared for the worst on the boat which sailed from Dover". However, in the end they were both "quite comfortable" and got to Calais safely by 2.30 p.m.

The luxurious International Wagon-Lits train reached Monte Carlo at 11.15 a.m. the following day, dead on time. On arrival at the Prince of Wales Grand Hotel the room was not ready and the luggage had been sent elsewhere. "I faced the world with 2 pairs of silk socks, 3 handkerchiefs and 1 collar". It was found "somewhere down the line in the afternoon". Things evidently have not changed over the years!

Once in Monte Carlo the Heron-Allens seem to have been immediately attracted to the Casino. First impressions of the public gaming room were not good, however. There was a... "hot and seething mob in a hideous atmosphere playing the dullest possible games". "We threw away a few 'pieces' to prove to ourselves that it is not worth bothering about except as a spectacle and I am not sorry that we lost everything we put on". Instead, they next headed for the International Sporting Club which is "the establishment to belong to" and where..."all the highest gambling and lowest ethics are to be found inextricably mixed up"... "They admit any member of a first-rate Club in London, on being identified". H-A was a member of the Garrick Club (his card is preserved in the Journal) and he quickly signed up for himself and Nour. They went back to the Sporting Club many times during their stay in Monte Carlo and even managed to win enough to buy some gold pieces as presents and an investment for their children.

On March 25th the Congress began and EH-A went down to the Secretariat to sign in, whereupon he ran into Lord Walsingham[2]. The opening was a splendid affair in the Oceanographic Institute and Museum (Fig. 16) which Monaco's Prince Albert I[3] had inaugurated in 1910. This was no doubt the reason for the IXth Congress being sighted in Monaco in the first place. "Then we had to get into evening dress to be at the Solemn inauguration of the

Congress at Monaco at 6 p.m. – awful, especially as the wind was blowing a hurricane and Nour, having no hat, got blown to bits getting out of the carriage. The Salle de Conferences of the Musée Océanographique is a perfectly gorgeous place, and all done in the most perfect taste. The end behind the dais is one huge picture of the prince's yacht, the *Princess Alice,* in mid-ocean, and the lamps on either side are high pale blue globes with the continents of the two worlds on them in white. The chandeliers are moulded waves of massive glass in seaweed baskets of gilt bronze with bronze gulls on them, the bulbs being inside the waves, a really wonderful effect. Monaco makes up for its size in the splendour of its uniforms and decorations. Some of the men were simply 'chamarrés' with orders from the neck to the waist on both sides. Walsingham in his Household uniform and plain sword and feathered hat looked quite the most distinguished person there – they made him Vice-President for England, which pleases but perturbs him. A lot of Congresseurs were in mufti and even in jackets, which made us look a ragged crew, but almost everyone was more or less decoré except the English who even hide the little enamelled Insignia of Delegacy under the lapels of their coats instead of wearing them on the top. Some of the great ladies were remarkably gorgeous – from every point of view – particularly sideways. The Prince (in the uniform of the l'Institut de France) made a very charming address, opening the congress, which was replied to at inordinate length by Edmond Perrier, the Academician and Director of the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle [Paris]...".

Heron-Allen does not record whether he actually spoke at any of the sessions but he attended quite a few. His entry for 26th March gives some indication of the "action" as well as mentioning other UK participants. "I didn't get to Monaco till 8.30 (through pouring rain in a fiacre) where I found the session on Nomenclature in full swing. It *was* Babel, speaker followed speaker in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Walter Rothschild[4] made two speeches one in the French and the other in the German of Stratford-atte-Bowe, and Walsingham did us great credit; so did Arthur Bather[5], whose speech, contrary to his usual assertic and dogmatic style, was admirably clear, well delivered and in perfect taste".

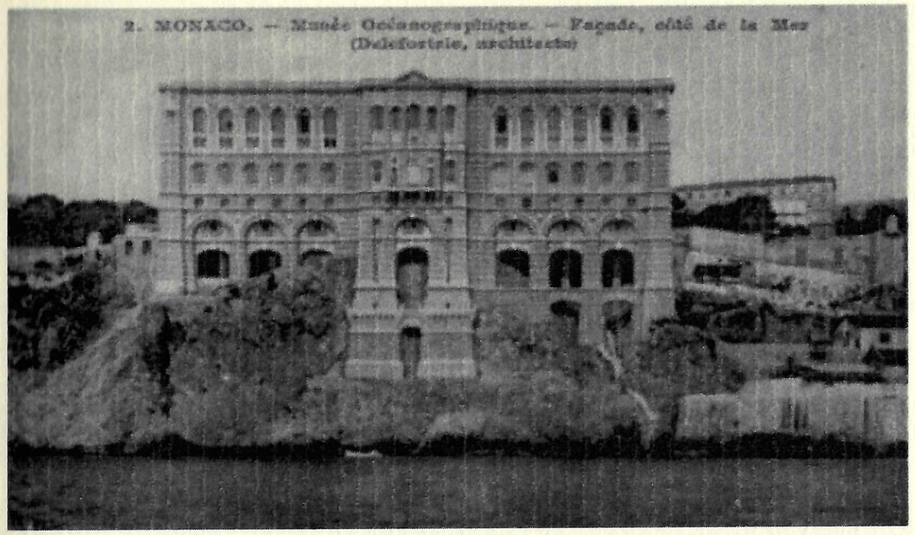

Fig. 16. The impressive facade of the Institut et Musée Océanographique, Monaco, inaugurated in 1910 by Prince Albert I. It towers nearly 280' over a sheer cliff face.

H-A also used the occasion to undertake some work at the Musée Océanographique where he spent serious time looking through British records of sea-bottom samples collected by the *Princess Alice* (Prince Albert's private oceanographic survey yacht) and in bibliographic work. On the 28th March he went on the one-and-only organised fieldtrip to the Grimaldi Caves and actually did some collecting, including fossil nummulites (coin-sized larger foraminifera).

Nevertheless one gets a distinct impression from his diaries that science may have been subsidiary to "cultural activities", although some of the latter, it is true, were part of the Congress programme. The evenings of March 26th-28th saw, respectively, a fireworks display (Grand Fête de Nuit), the Congress dinner at the Hotel Métropole, and the Opera de Monte Carlo. The programmes, invitations and menus from these events are all preserved in the Holiday Journal.

On 29th March the Congress was closed by the Hereditary Prince Louis[6]. H-A's account makes interesting and as usual, amusing reading, especially his impressions of some of the "foreign" contingent. "The function was not half as splendid as the opening, no-one being in uniform and the cold afternoon had brought the smartest people out in dark clothes and furs. Prince Louis is a large, fat, dull, ugly man,

a wonderful contrast to the little, keen, sea-wolf that his father is. After the closure there was a great leave taking and farewelling in the hall, everyone expressing the hope that they would meet again and promising to write to one another and come and see one another and not allow this charming acquaintance to drop and pressing their cards up on one another, and knowing perfectly well that we shall never think of them again after we have burnt their cards on our return home".

An alternative and rather less jaundiced summary of the Congress comes from the editorial of the issue of the scientific journal *Nature* for April 17th 1913...

> "...The Ninth International Congress of Zoology has terminated its session under the presidency of his Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco at Monaco on Saturday, March 29. Altogether, the meeting was an unqualified success, not only on account of its numbers, which, as already stated, were greater than on any previous occasion, but also for the general interest of the contributions, which, although no single one can be selected as absolutely outstanding, were all of very high quality, and demonstrated the result of much serious and useful work by zoologists during the past three years. The beauties of the Cote d'Azur doubtlessly attracted many from northern lands, and although the weather was not all that could be expected for the Riviera at this season, yet the rather copious rainfall settled and washed away the dust and refreshed the herbage, which was the more brilliant during the intermittent periods of bright sunshine".

The Congress over, the rest of the Heron-Allens' time in Monaco was spent hob-knobbing with the "great and the good", dining with their friends, sightseeing and visits to the International Sporting Club. During the morning of the 30th March they took a trip to the old village of La Turbie (behind Monte Carlo) on the rack railway and one of the exquisite postcards (Fig. 18) from this excursion, preserved in the Holiday Journal, is shown here. Sadly this railway closed in the 1930's after a fatal accident. Incidentally, stone for the building of the Monaco's Oceanographic Instutute and Museum also came from quarries at La Turbie. In the evening the Heron-Allens

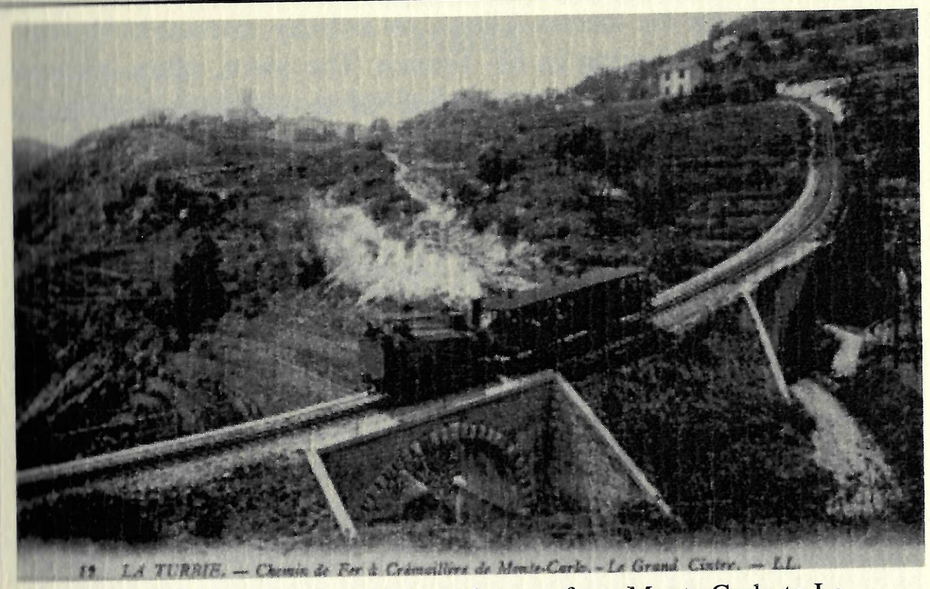

Fig. 17. The rack railway that used to run from Monte Carlo to La Turbie. The Heron-Allens travelled on it on a sightseeing trip, 30th March 1913.

threw a lavish dinner party for their friends at Ciro's and the Menu card, signed by the Heron-Allens, the Walsinghams, the Shillington Scales[7], Blanche la Primandage and her "beautiful" sister" Idonea, is shown here (Fig. 18). "We had a very nice dinner", wrote EH-A, "and everyone seemed to enjoy it, and the bill was quite up to the reputation of Ciro's as the most expensive restaurant in the world".

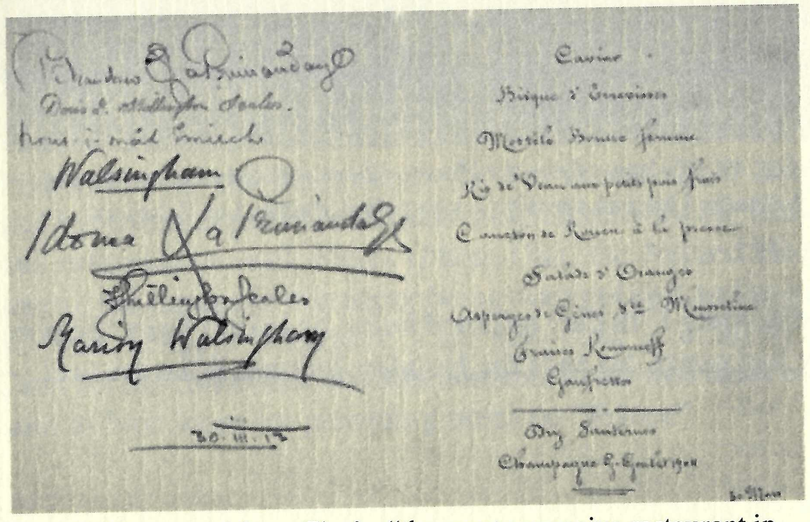

Fig. 18. Menu card from Ciro's, "the most expensive restaurant in the world", signed by Heron-Allen's dinner party, 30th March 1913.

On April 7th the Heron-Allens, on holiday, moved to Hyères, 10 miles east of Toulon in SE France. The town, often referred to as Hyères Les Palmiers, because of its cultivation of palm trees (Fig. 19) seems to have a been a favourite for the British since the late 18th Century. At the time of H-A's visit the British influence was so strong that that shop signs were said to be in both French and English; there was an English butcher, a chemist, two banks, two golf courses and two English churches. They stayed at Le Golf Hotel (which now seems to have been turned into an International School). Did Heron-Allen play golf? He doesn't record it. I suspect it was just the most luxurious hotel in the town at the time!

Fig. 19. Hyères, where the Heron-Allens holidayed after leaving Monaco. One can see why it was called Hyères Les Palmiers.

On April 17th they returned home by luxury train, the way that they had come. So ends the Holiday Journal. What leisure!

NOTES

1 "Prince" – real name, Gabrielle Enthoven, friend of the Heron-Allens. Had a unique collection of playbills, mainly Shakespearean which she donated to the Victorian & Albert Museum and on whose collections the Theatre Museum was founded in 1924.

2 Thomas de Grey, 6th Baron Walsingham F.R.S. (1843-1919). One time politician, famed entomologist and old scientific friend of EH-A, who would have been at the time of the Congress a serving Trustee of the Natural History Museum, to which he subsequently donated his vast collection of butterflies and moths, and magnificent library.

3 His Serene Highness Albert I, Prince of Monaco, reigned 1889-1922. Famed oceanographer and archaeologist. Founded the Institut Océanographique 1910, with its aquarium, museum and fine library.

4 Walter Rothschild, 2nd Baron Rothschild (1868-1937). Famous zoologist, as well as a banker and politician. Was a Trustee for many years of the Natural History Museum. Formed his own private Zoological Museum (now the Natural History Museum, Tring).

5 Francis Arthur Bather F.R.S. (1863-1934). Palaeontologist; subsequently Keeper of Geology at the Natural History Museum, 1924-1928.

6 Succeeded Albert I, his father, as His Serene Highness Louis II, Prince of Monaco, reigned 1922-1949.

7 F. Shillington Scales (1866-1927). Microscopist (Fellow of the Royal Microscopical Society, and its Curator, Honorary Secretary and sometime Vice-President). Subsequently an eminent radiologist, University of Cambridge.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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HERON-ALLEN SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Opusculum I *Notes upon the Literary, Scientific, and Artistic Activities of Edward Heron-Allen, F.R.S.* Extracted from his Diaries and other Documents by Christopher Blayre (2000).

Opusculum II *Edward Heron-Allen.* A Talk delivered by his grandson Ivor E. Jones at the first Heron-Allen Symposium, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, July 2001 (2001).

Opusculum III *The Quest for the Heron-Allen Society.* A Talk delivered at the first Heron-Allen Symposium, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, July 2001, by Timothy J. McCann (2002).

Opusculum IV *"The Beauty and Mystery of the Foraminifera". The Foraminiferal Research of Edward Heron-Allen FRS, with an Assessment of his Scientific Career.* Based on a talk delivered on the beach at West Street, Selsey, to members of the Heron-Allen Society and guests of the West Sussex County Council, following the unveiling of a plaque in honour of Edward Heron-Allen by Ivor Jones, 15 July 2002, by Richard L. Hodgkinson and John E. Whittaker (2003).

Opusculum V *Reflections on Heron-Allen's War Journal.* Talks delivered at the second Heron-Allen Symposium, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, July 2002, by Brian W. Harvey and Carol Fitzgerald (2003).

Opusculum VI *'Portraits and Persia: Bookplates and Bognor': Proceedings of the 3rd Heron-Allen Symposium, 2003,* edited by Timothy J. McCann. Talks delivered at the third Heron-Allen Symposium, The Allen Room, Dean Street, London, July 2003 by Bryan Burrough, Claire Powell, Peter Allpress and Timothy J. McCann. (2004).

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Opusculum VIII *'Edward Heron-Allen and Friends': Proceedings of the 5th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2005,* edited by Timothy J. McCann. Talks delivered at the fifth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Allen Room, Dean Street, London, July 2005, by Timothy J. McCann, Joann Fletcher and Richard L. Hodgkinson (2005).

Opusculum IX *'Edward Heron-Allen and Music': Proceedings of the 6th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2006*, edited by Peter Horton. Talks delivered at the sixth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Royal College of Music, London, July 2006, by Brian Harvey, Pamela Thompson, Peter Horton, Joan Navarre and Garry Garrard (2007)

Opusculum X *'The Purple Sapphire', by Edward Heron-Allen*. First published under the pseudonym Christopher Blayre in 1921 and republished with additional material by Timothy J. McCann and Steve Farrer, to celebrate the Natural History Museum's exhibition 'The Vault', 2007 (2008).

Opusculum XI *'Armorel Heron-Allen and Oxford': Proceedings of the 7th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2007,* edited by Timothy J. McCann. Talks delivered at the seventh Heron-Allen Symposium, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, July 2007, by Ivor Jones, Joan Navarre, Alethea Pitt, Brian Hulan and Timothy J. McCann. (2008).

Opusculum XII *'Treasures: Decorative, Egyptian and Musical: More from Heron-Allen's Collections': Proceedings of the 8th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2008.* edited by Timothy J. McCann. Talks delivered at the eighth Heron-Allen Symposium, the Natural History Museum, London, July 2008, by Pamela Thompson, Joann Fletcher and Peter T. Scott. (2009)

Opusculum XIII *'Edward Heron-Allen on Literature and Leisure', Proceedings of the 9th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2009,* edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the ninth Heron-Allen Symposium, the Natural History Museum, London, July 2009, by Timothy J. McCann, Joan Navarre, Garry Garrard, John P. and Barbara P. Mahoney, and John E. Whittaker. (2009)

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