EDWARD HERON-ALLEN AND THE CLARE ISLAND SURVEY, 1909-1911

Edited by

Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker

TALKS DELIVERED AT THE SYMPOSIUM ON EDWARD HERON-ALLEN AND THE CLARE ISLAND SURVEY, 1909-1911, AT THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, DUBLIN OCTOBER 2009

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Talks delivered by Timothy Collins, Timothy J. McCann,
and John E. Whittaker at the Symposium,
The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, October 2009.

This edition published by the Heron-Allen Society
c/o West Sussex Record Office, County Hall, Chichester,
West Sussex. PO19 1RN.

The Heron-Allen Society gratefully acknowledges the support
received from the Royal Irish Academy for this publication

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John E.Whittaker, together with the Heron-Allen Society.

Limited to 125 copies numbered 1-125

This is number

49

Cover: Edward Heron-Allen, in relaxed mood,
on a jaunting-car on Clare Island, 1911.

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THE SYMPOSIUM ON EDWARD HERON-ALLEN AND THE CLARE ISLAND SURVEY, 1909-1911, AT THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, DUBLIN

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN AND JOHN E. WHITTAKER

During the years 1909 to 1911, the most ambitious natural history project ever undertaken in Ireland, the Clare Island Survey, was carried out under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy. This was the first major biological survey of a specific area carried out anywhere in the world. The data collected during three years of field work on the island and its environs by more than one hundred scientists from Ireland, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland and Britain represent the most comprehensive inventory of nature in a single geographical location during the early part of the last century, and render Clare Island a unique site for further study. The whole project was planned and administered by Robert Lloyd Praeger, the Irish field botanist.

Praeger had two main objectives in mind: firstly, a detailed biological survey of the island and its immediate mainland area; and secondly, the examination of an insular area 'with a view to throwing light on the question of island life and the problem of dispersal'. The publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* 50 years earlier and the eruption of Krakatoa just 25 years previously posed two interesting questions to all the visiting scientists. Could evolutionary change between the County Mayo mainland and Clare Island be detected and how did the process of colonisation take place in a North European context. Praeger required each of the scientists to give their considered opinion of how and when the respective plant or animal group had colonised the island and whether this shed any light upon the evolutionary or dispersal question.

Edward Heron-Allen, together with his collaborator Arthur Earland, visited Clare Island in August 1911, at Praeger's invitation, to study the foraminifera. Their report, which came out

in 1913, formed Part 64 of the published survey. Heron-Allen and Earland collected from 37 stations from their bases at the Midland Great Western Hotel at Mulranny and later on the island itself, and described 14 species new to science and 32 new to the British Isles. The microscope slides the two men made of their material are now in the Natural History Museum in London, which also houses Heron-Allen's own copy of the report, bound together with all manner of other material including correspondence, maps, and invoices. Heron-Allen also wrote a personal daily diary of the fieldwork in the form of letters home, bound into a volume of his "Holiday Journal", together with postcards, photographs and ephemera, which as well as giving precious information about the working of the survey, provide a remarkable snapshot of rural Ireland at the time. This, happily, is still preserved in the family archive of his grandson, Ivor Jones.

The results of the survey in general, on all accounts, exceeded expectations with numerous species new to Ireland and to science, but Praeger had to admit to disappointment in finding that very many of the plants and animals were common to west Mayo. He also did not realise that an island flora is never static and that plant and animal species arrive and disappear over time, but what the Clare Island Survey provided was an incredible snapshot in time and an invaluable benchmark against which to compare new findings.

On October 2nd 2009 the Royal Irish Academy, in conjunction with the Heron-Allen Society, hosted a one-day seminar in the Academy's magnificent library in Dublin, on the theme of Edward Heron-Allen and the Clare Island Survey. The opportunity was also taken to bring over from the UK, for display, both Heron-Allen's own Holiday Journal, Volume XV, labelled "Clare Island Survey, August 1911", together with his bound copy of *"Foraminifera of the Clare Island District"* by E. Heron-Allen & A. Earland, Dublin 1913, replete with ephemera.

The three papers delivered at the seminar: by Timothy Collins, of the National University of Ireland, Galway, entitled "'The Results greatly exceeded the Expectations of the Promoters'. The Clare Island Survey of 1909-1911"; by Timothy J. McCann, formerly of West Sussex Record Office and Chairman of the Heron-Allen Society, entitled "The Singular Life of Edward Heron-Allen" and by John Whittaker of the Natural History Museum, London, entitled "The Foraminifera of Clare Island, Co Mayo, An Account of Heron-Allen and Earland's Fieldwork in Western Ireland, August 1911: A Scientific Expedition with Pretty Girls", are all printed in this *Opusculum*.

The Heron-Allen Society gratefully acknowledges the support received from the Royal Irish Academy for this publication. We are also grateful to Professor Martin Steer and the New Clare Island Survey Committee and to the Royal Irish Academy and especially to Siobhan Fitzpatrick, the Librarian and to members of the Library Staff, Petra Schnabel, her deputy, Gilly Clarke, our contact person, and to Roisin Jones for hosting the event and for making it such a fruitful and enjoyable co-operation. The illustrations used herein are largely the copyright of the Royal Irish Academy, the Clare Island Survey; Ivor Jones (Heron-Allen's grandson for the Clare Island Travel Journal) or the Natural History Museum, London. One of us (JEW) wishes to thank his son, Gregory Whittaker, for putting together his PowerPoint presentation and manipulating the figures for this subsequent publication. We are grateful to Clive Jones (Natural History Museum) for his help with the illustrations, and to Ray Box and Mandy Brown of Selsey Press.

'THE RESULTS GREATLY EXCEEDED THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE PROMOTERS'. THE CLARE ISLAND SURVEY OF 1909-1911

by TIMOTHY COLLINS

The Clare Island survey of 1909 – 1911 was the most ambitious collective undertaking of all up to this time and was the Jewel in the Crown of the Golden Age of Irish natural history. The importance of this survey at the time and subsequently as a template for similar biological surveys elsewhere is widely accepted.[1] The results of the three year survey, which began to appear in print in 1911 were quite startling and, to this day, are worthy of comment. In all, some 3,219 spp. of plants were collected and identified, 585 were new to Ireland (– an 18% increase in the known flora), with 11 spp. new to science, mostly algae and fungi. The total fauna listed came to

Fig. 1. Map showing Clare Island and the adjoining mainland, reproduced from Praeger's introduction to the results, some 67 papers which he edited and published as a special three-part volume of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* between 1911 and 1915.

5,269 spp., 1,253 were new to Ireland (- a 24% increase in the known fauna), with 109 spp. new to science. These additions were, not surprisingly, among the more obscure and less worked groups, such as mites, polychaetes, Foraminifera, Diptera and Hymenoptera. Almost one hundred workers from Ireland, Britain, Europe and America took part in the fieldwork, with a similar number working subsequently on identifying the material collected.

To understand how the Clare Island Survey evolved into such an organisational and scientific success, it is necessary to go back some years, looking at two particular strands in the development of island studies in Ireland. The publication by Charles Darwin of *On the origin of species* in 1859 resulted in something of a revolution in Irish natural history circles. For the first time botanists and zoologists were provoked into looking at individual species, not as fixed, unchanging entities, but as interlocking parts of a continuously evolving natural world. Hitherto, naturalists were content to collect, list, preserve and mount specimens for permanent display, as one would collect works of art. Now, more was demanded, as naturalists reacted to Darwinism in various ways, from extreme creationists to scientifically minded Darwinists, possessing a full spectrum of responses ranging from passionate rejection to equally passionate endorsement, and a large middle ground occupied by those striking a conciliatory balance between the claims of belief and the claims of science. For many, this could only be settled by going out into the field and seeing firsthand the complexities of nature, which leads logically to the second strand.

This second strand can be traced to the rise of the amateur naturalist in Ireland. Following the lead in Britain where, in an unexpected side effect of the Industrial Revolution, a monied middle class was now able to pursue leisure time interests, the first amateur naturalists' field club in Ireland was founded in Belfast in 1863. Within a few years, similar clubs had appeared in various cities and towns across the north and east of Ireland, with the Dublin Naturalists' Field Club being founded in 1886. These clubs attracted large numbers of gifted amateurs who, in spite of the fact that it was only a part-time pursuit consisting of

weekend outings or excursions in the summer months and regular public meetings during the winter, produced a significant corpus of original data based on local floral and faunal surveys.

Fig. 2. Robert Lloyd Praeger and his wife Hedwig (daughter of the renowned artist Christian Carl Magnusson of Schleswig Holstein), photographed about the time of their marriage in 1901. *(Royal Irish Academy).*

By the turn of the 20th century, the acknowledged leader of this nationwide grouping was Co. Down-born Robert Lloyd Praeger (1865-1953), who combined in one frame an unparalleled breadth of knowledge, organising skill, considerable literary gifts, a prolific output and an unwavering intellectual purpose, a rare combination. Praeger's impact on Irish natural history studies at this time can only be described as torrential. An engineer by qualification, a librarian by profession and a naturalist by inclination, Praeger was therefore classed as an amateur by those naturalists who had tenure in the universities and government departments. This, though, didn't deter him from completing major work on the geology and later the botany of the north east of Ireland before departing Belfast for Dublin in 1893 on his appointment as Assistant Librarian to the National Library of

Ireland. Already elected a Member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1891 for his geological and botanical work, Praeger was able to influence the collecting programmes of the Dublin Naturalists' Field Club using the assistance of the Royal Irish Academy which, along with the Royal Dublin Society, supported amateur naturalists by providing financial assistance in the form of grants, and by publishing the results of such work in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.[2]

For instance, from the 1880s onward the Royal Irish Academy had been providing grants to support the early deep sea dredging expeditions off the south and west coasts of Ireland on board the *Lord Bandon*, later renamed the *Flying Falcon*. Such support was formalised in 1893, at Praeger's instigation, with the setting up of the Fauna and Flora Committee which, to this day, supports fieldwork in Ireland by providing assistance to those carrying out floral and faunal surveys.

From start to finish, the initiative for a biological survey of an offshore island was largely Praeger's. During the fieldwork associated with his major work on the flora of Ireland, *Irish topographical botany*, published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1901, he had become very interested in the flora of Ireland's offshore islands, subsequently publishing short listings of the flora of Rathlin, the Aran Islands, Inishmurray, Achill, the Inishkea Islands, Inishturk, Inishbofin and, of course, Clare Island.

This interest in island floras and faunas received a considerable boost when, in 1903, the Hon. Cecil Baring, of the Baring Brothers merchant banking family, came to the National Library, seeking information from Praeger on the known flora, fauna and antiquities of Lambay, an island some six miles north east of Howth, Co. Dublin, which he had just bought. Cecil Baring was, arguably, one of the more attractively eccentric members of the family, representing the bank's interests in New York at the beginning of the twentieth century. At one point he had been engaged to marry the future Mrs Cornelius Vanderbilt Jr when he eloped with Maude Tailer, née Lorillard, the wife of one of his partners! In the

fallout from the resulting scandal, the bank decided that he should retire temporarily from public view. It was at this point he saw an advertisement in *The Field:* 'Irish island for sale'.[3]

Baring hired Sir Edward Lutyens to modernise the old castle on the island, dating from 1467, while Gertrude Jekyll was commissioned to landscape the grounds, but being something of an amateur naturalist, he became interested in the idea of drawing up a full list of the island's flora and fauna. At Praeger's suggestion, a total of 20 specialists visited the island singly and in small groups during the years 1905 – 1906, noting and collecting. In the resultant report published in 1907, nearly 90 species new to Ireland were noted, with five species new to science.[4] Besides Praeger, who reported on the flora, the survey team consisted of a blend of amateur and professional, which would form the core of all later surveys; R.F. Scharff, W.F. de Vismes Kane, A.W. Stelfox and J.N. Halbert, to name but a few. The unexpected success of this intensive investigation of a specific area by a group of specialists led to the idea of carrying out a more ambitious, scaled-up survey of an island off the west coast of Ireland.

Following suggestions from interested parties, various islands off the west coast ranging from Tory and Arranmore in the north, to the Blaskets and Valentia in the south were looked at. Following lengthy discussions, Clare Island was the agreed choice by virtue of its manageable size and relative ease of access and accommodation. It was also chosen because it was thought to be sufficiently remote from the mainland to possess slight species differentiation from mainland populations. The fact that, over three years, groups of fieldworkers numbering up to a dozen at a time arrived by train to Westport before spending a week or more on the island and its environs without a hitch, is testimony to Praeger's organisational abilities and powers of inspiration. The point has been made that the amazing response to Praeger's call for volunteer fieldworkers was because European naturalists, both amateur and professional, were fully aware by now of the benefits, and pleasures, of having botanists, geologists and zoologists working side by side in organised teams.

Clare Island lies across the entrance of Clew Bay, separated from the mainland by channels of c.three miles on the north and the south east. Most of the cultivated land was, and still is, found towards the eastern end of the island. The western side is bare and windswept with the crest of Knockmore (c.610m) dominating the northwest of the island. The island is almost totally cliffbound, varying in height from 5m to 15m in the south and east, to an average of 35m in the west and north. The inland side of Knockmore consisted of a steep heathery slope while the seaward side plunges into the Atlantic Ocean. This scarp was found to be the home of an alpine flora and a productive collecting ground for several other groups, such as terrestrial molluscs. The shallow waters around Clare Island possess many varied habitats of mud, sand and rock. For the purposes of the marine survey, the 50 fathom line was taken as the seaward limit. As well as Clare Island, the adjoining islands of Caher, Inishturk and Inishbofin were also surveyed, and the adjoining mainland eastward as far as Castlebar, to provide comparative data.

The fieldwork began formally with the arrival of the first group of nine workers, led by Praeger, on the island in April 1909. Professional expertise was supplied by personnel from the relevant government departments and bodies, such as the Dept of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, the Ordnance Survey, the Geological Survey, the National Museum and, of course, the National Library. Most enthusiastic, though, were the members of the amateur naturalists' field clubs, who had more experience of carrying out this kind of multidisciplinary fieldwork, gained from the many field club outings and excursions.

In the first of three progress reports, Praeger noted with some satisfaction that eight groups had visited the island between April and September 1909, while a large number visited the island and surrounding district singly right up to December.[5] Ornithologist Charles Patten actually spent Christmas and New Year on the island studying the winter avifauna. The arrival of the newly commissioned fisheries research ship *Helga II* in August 1909 under the command of Ernest William Lyons Holt

(1864-1922), meant that dredging under the direction of Rowland Southern commenced. Praeger was extremely fortunate in having the cooperation of the Fisheries Branch of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland and the friendship of the specialist staff, who saw the benefits of completing such a survey to fishery development in the region. The Director of the Fisheries Branch was the Rev. William Spotswood Green (1847-1919), an old friend of Praeger's, who had invited him to take part in the deep-sea dredging expeditions of the 1880s.

The *Helga II* is also worthy of mention. Built by the Dublin Dockyard Company and launched only in 1908 to specifications laid down by Green and Holt, she was a graceful, yet functional, vessel, fully electrified, possessing refrigeration and a continuous-wave radio installed by Marconi himself, all novel features for the time. Twin screw powered, with a length of 155ft and a weight of 323 tons gross, the *Helga II* was reckoned to be the fastest vessel of her type in British waters at this time. Remarkably, for those who worked on board there was main deck accommodation available for the scientific staff, leading into the main saloon which was fully fitted out as a laboratory. This was unusual in that, up to now, scientific staff who came on board research ships

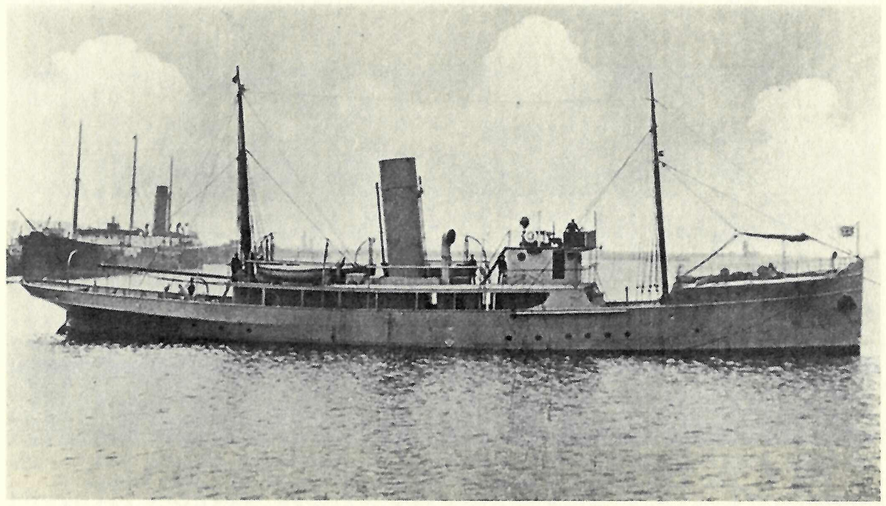

Fig. 3. The TSS *Helga II* in pristine condition shortly after her launching in Dublin in 1908. *(Author's Collection).*

were expected to share crew's quarters, frequently having to 'hot bunk' when overcrowding was a problem. Almost certainly Edward Heron-Allen and Arthur Earland approved of the facilities when they came on board to commence their dredging programme in August 1911, in the company of Praeger, Rowland Southern, George Farran, Arthur Cotton, and Colin Selbie, backed by a full crew complement.[6]

The fieldwork commenced in earnest again in April 1910 and continued until November. Praeger himself made five lengthy visits, collecting, working on his vegetation map and assisting others, both on the shore and inland. When the *Helga II* arrived in August, he went aboard to assist with the sorting of material being dredged up. Having completed his vegetation map, Praeger also assisted A.W. Stelfox, Thomas Westropp and George Fogerty with their work on Caher Island and Inishbofin. Praeger's last visit of the year was in

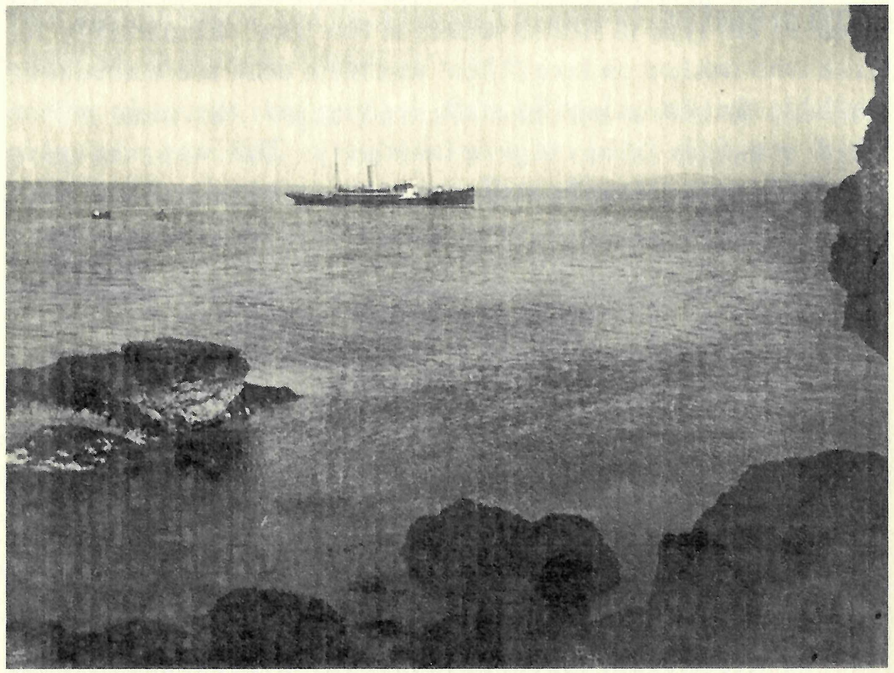

Fig. 4. The TSS *Helga II* hove to off the east coast of Clare Island in August 1911, about the time Heron-Allen and Earland were on board, with dredging being undertaken from the ship's boat, just visible on the left. *(Royal Irish Academy).*

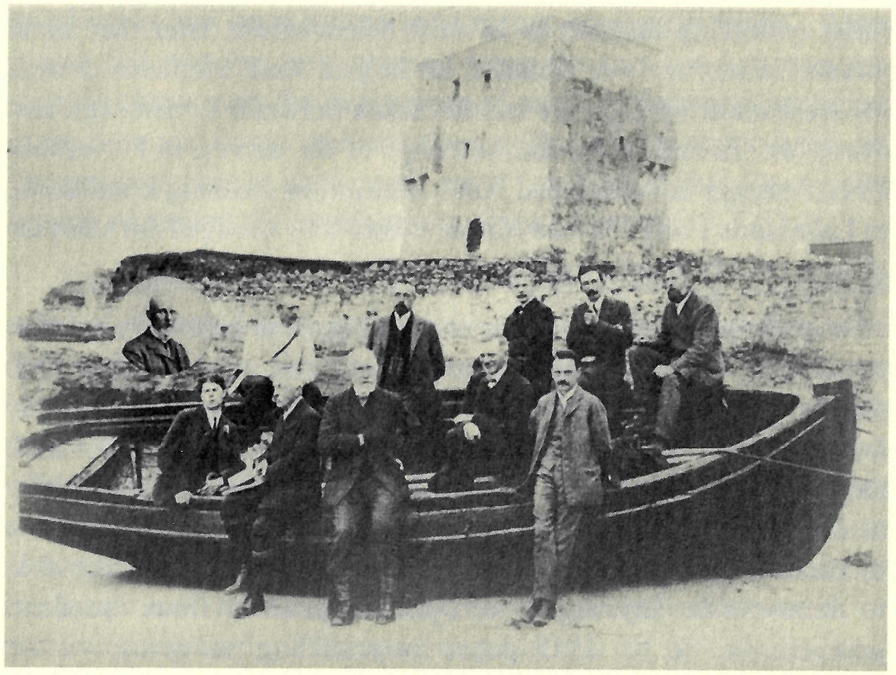

Fig. 5. Members of the ninth party to visit Clare Island in June 1910, posing on a fishing boat in front of Granuaile's Castle: listed with their specialist areas of research, front left to right: Thomas Greer (Lepidoptera), W.F. de Vismes Kane (Lepidoptera), R.J. Ussher (Birds), P. Kuckuck (Marine algae), H. Wallis Kew (Pseudoscorpiones); back left to right: Nevin Foster (inset, Birds), R. Ll. Praeger (Botany), Carl Lindner (Birds), A.D. Cotton (Marine algae), W.J. Lyons (Meteorology), R.J. Welch (Mollusca, Photography). *(Royal Irish Academy).*

December, when he accompanied mycologist Carleton Rea, whose 'fungus foray' was hampered by snow, a rare occurrence on Clare Island. Bad weather was a continuing problem throughout the whole of the survey, and there are many accounts of how the various individual workers coped with the inclement conditions.

The third and final season's fieldwork followed the same pattern as previous years, commencing at Easter with parties collecting on the island and its environs, individuals arriving at all times, and the *Helga II* continuing to dredge the surrounding waters. Throughout 1911 Praeger provided assistance to others whenever he was available. In October he again accompanied Carleton Rea on his

fungi collecting excursions in west Mayo while, later that same month, in stormy wet weather, he helped Jane Stephens dredge for freshwater sponges in various lakes between Louisburgh and Westport. In one of the last fieldtrips of the survey, in November 1911, Praeger accompanied A.W. Stelfox, in freezing conditions, to Lakelands Lough in east Mayo, where they dredged for samples of lake bottom marls, looking for mollusc shells.

As already mentioned, the results began to appear in print in April 1911, even as many workers were continuing with their final season's collecting. Published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* in a special three-part volume, the speed with which they were sent to press is yet another example of Praeger's skills as an editor. Although the published papers show a remarkable biodiversity for an island flora and fauna, Praeger was not able to demonstrate any degree of species variation from mainland populations. In his 1915 paper summarising the results of the survey,[7] he had to admit his failure to note any variation, which he postulated was due to Clare Island's proximity to the mainland,

Fig. 6. An evocative photograph taken by R.J. Welch of rainclouds clearing from Knockmore, the highest point of Clare Island, 1910. *(Royal Irish Academy).*

to which it had been joined until recent geological times. Also, it was felt that the time elapsed since the last Ice Age was too short to show even the beginnings of such evolutionary variation in the flora and fauna. Nevertheless, with masterly understatement Praeger was able to state, with some satisfaction that 'the results greatly exceeded the expectations of the promoters'.

The naming of the new taxa, while following recognised rules of nomenclature, gave great scope to the naturalists who discovered them. Several of the names, not all of which are currently valid, reflect the Irish origin of the organisms to which they apply. *Chaetosoma hibernicum* (a nematode), *Macrobiotus hibernicus* (a tardigrade) and *Apseudes hibernicus* (a polychaete) as well as *Sabatiera celtica* (a nematode), *Halolaelaps celticus* (a watermite) illustrate this. Still more were closely related to the location of their original discovery, especially if it was in, or near, Clare Island. *Planispirina cliarensis* (a foraminifer, one of 14 species new to science identified and named by Edward Heron-Allen and Arthur Earland),[8] *Leucandra cliarensis* (a marine sponge) and *Lyngbya cliarensis* (a freshwater alga) are examples, as are *Chaetozone killariensis* (a polychaete) and *Closterium eboracense* var. *achillense* (a freshwater alga). Grace O'Malley, or Granuaile, the sixteenth century pirate queen of Clare Island was commemorated by Rowland Southern in the naming of a new genus and species of oligochaete worm, *Grania maricola*. Many of the naturalists who took part in the survey had new species named after them by appreciative colleagues. Praeger received frequent attention, *Discorbina praegeri* (a foraminifer, so named by Edward Heron-Allen) and *Canthocamptus praegeri* (a freshwater entomostracan) being just two examples. Southern even named a new genus of polychaete worm after him, *Praegeria remota* being the first species named. Others following this pattern were *Frontipoda carpenteri* (a water mite), *Stenolaimus marioni* (a nematode), *Discorbina chasteri* (another foraminifer) named by Heron-Allen in honour of his friend George Chaster's work on mollusca, and *Ogma murrayi* (a nematode) named by Southern in memory of James Murray, who perished in 1914 on the ill-fated

Canadian *Karluk* expedition to the Arctic in 1914 before his work on Clare Island was published. Southern's major contribution did not go unnoticed either. J.N. Halbert named a new species of mite, *Halacarus southerni*, in his honour.

And so the members of the great team of volunteers assembled by circular in 1908 and held together by Praeger's management skills over the intervening years went their separate ways as they completed the fieldwork and submitted their results for publication. The experience gained was later to stand most of them in good stead elsewhere.

Sadly, by the time the last paper, Praeger's summary, was published in 1915, such work had been superseded by global events, as World War I gained momentum. The advent of war had direct consequences for many of those who took part in the Survey. For instance, Colin Selbie, one of the younger members who worked as an assistant in the National Museum and specialised in crustacea, enlisted in 1914 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Scots Rifles, before dying in the Battle of the Somme in 1916.

Because of her special abilities, the *Helga II* was requisitioned by the admiralty on the outbreak of war and renamed HMS *Helga* (The suffix *'II'* being dropped at this time), and became an anti-submarine patrol ship in the Irish Sea. Armed with two naval 12 pounder guns fore and aft as well as depth charges, HMS *Helga* played an active role in subduing Republican resistance in Dublin by shellfire during the Easter Rising in April 1916, by steaming up the Liffey as far as Liberty Hall. She was also credited with the sinking of a U-boat by depth charging off the Chicken Rocks, the southernmost tip of the Isle of Man in February 1918, and sported a star on her funnel for the rest of her days in recognition of her feat. In October 1918, just days before the Armistice, HMS *Helga* played a humanitarian role in rescuing some 90 survivors from the water following the torpedoing of the Irish Sea ferry *Leinster* near the Kish Bank, close to the Irish coast. This atrocity, with a loss of more than 600 civilian lives, still ranks as one of the worst in Irish maritime history.

Following the termination of hostilities, HMS *Helga* was decommissioned and returned to the Fisheries Branch in Dublin, before being requisitioned once again by the fledgling Free State government in 1922 and renamed the *Muirchú* (Gaelic for 'Seahound'). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, she completed a considerable amount of survey work under the direction of Rowland Southern and George Farran. During World War II, the *Muirchú* was again used as a patrol ship, clearing mines and escorting Irish Sea ferries before becoming the first ship commissioned into the newly created Irish Naval Service in 1947. By this time visibly ageing, the L.E. *Muirchú* was sold for scrap later that same year, but sank while on her way from Cork to the Hammond Lane foundry in Dublin. It has been said that she was deliberately scuttled, as this truly historic ship is sitting upright in excellent condition off the Saltee Islands near Wexford in relatively shallow water and is regularly visited by divers.

As mentioned, major changes occurred in Ireland following the beginning of World War I. The Easter Rising of 1916 was followed by the War of Independence. The subsequent creation of the Irish Free State and the partition of Ireland in 1922 was inevitably followed by the Civil War. As a result it was just not possible for groups of people to pursue fieldwork in the countryside or on the seashore in safety. Research in all disciplines suffered in the 1920s and 1930s, while the 1940s brought another world war. The 1950s saw postwar depression and emigration and it was not until the mid 1960s that a trickle of funding resulted in the commencement of small scale ecological surveys.

Like history repeating itself, work published through the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated once again the value of multidisciplinary surveys. Because there was such a wide groundswell of support from amateur and professional groups and individuals in favour of a new multidisciplinary survey of Clare Island, the Royal Irish Academy agreed to organise and supervise a new survey. To date, the fieldwork for the New Survey of Clare Island, which commenced in 1992, has resulted in some 48 separate studies being completed on the flora, fauna and archaeology of the island,

using the original survey results as a baseline. Six volumes of results have so far been published by the Royal Irish Academy: Volume 1 on the history of the original survey and the cultural landscape; Volume 2 detailing the geology; Volume 3 detailing the intertidal zoology; Volume 4 on the history and archaeology of the Abbey; Volume 5 on the archaeology of the island; Volume 6 on the freshwater and terrestial algae, with a further seven volumes on the flora and fauna, both marine, freshwater and terrestrial still to follow. It would appear that both Clare Island and the original Clare Island Survey will continue to play a pivotal role in floral and faunal studies for many years to come.

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THE SINGULAR LIFE OF EDWARD HERON-ALLEN

by TIMOTHY J. McCANN

In the summer of 1991 I took a cottage at Kuggar on the Lizard in Cornwall with my wife and son. On the day we arrived, I read *The Times* as usual, and noticed in the *Saturday Review* an article by Jan Morris, the celebrated travel writer, on her favourite books and, in particular, on the messages of previous owners written inside them. She concluded:

'Nevertheless, the most thoroughly personalised book in the library, and the one that will give most pleasure to my great-grandchildren, I do not doubt, is nothing to do with me. It is the copy of Augustus Hare's *Venice* which Edward and Marianna Heron-Allen bought during their visit to Venice in the Spring of 1895. When they came home again they had this volume grangerised - rebound, that is, to incorporate photographs and mementos of their own - and so made of it a sweet and permanent encapsulation of their delight. The tout from the Testolini glassworks gave them a map when they got off the train, so they bound that in at the beginning. They found two four-leaved clovers somewhere, and pressed them opposite page 99. A snapshot of a disconsolate man sitting on the steps of a bridge is wittily captioned, "my wife is shopping". A boatload of flowery-hatted ladies and boatered gents pulls alongside at "Our Steps". There is a photograph of a Temperance Drink Stall on the Riva degli Schiavoni, and to make up for it one of a drunk flat out at the feet of the Goldoni statue . Best of all, there are the pictures that the couple took of each other, Mr. H-A suave with his pipe, cane and rakish hat on the steps of the Piazza flagstaff, Mrs. H-A windswept and demure on the Lido sands, or draped more elegantly over the balustrade of our Terrace.

I love the book. I bless the Heron-Allen's whoever they were, for projecting the pleasure of their days in Venice so intimately through

this medium down to me and my progeny. I bought it in Brighton, I see, in 1959, for 15 shillings (slight foxing in end-papers)'.[1]

Well, in Cornwall I was away from my books, but nonetheless I wrote to Jan Morris immediately, telling her who Edward and Marianne Heron-Allen were. Anyone who described his recreations in *Who's Who* as: 'Persian literature, Marine Zoology; Meteorology; Heraldry; Bibliography; Occasional Essays and Scientific Romances; Auricula and Asparagus Culture' and boasted the telephone number: Selsey 1,[2] was surely worth being remembered. In 1991 I had already been working in the County Record Office in Chichester for nearly twenty-five years, and during all that time I had been familiar with our collection of Heron-Allen material grangerised or rebound in those dark red volumes, which had been a staple diet for local historians. For when Heron-Allen chose Selsey as his country retreat for the good of his daughter's health, and designed and built Large Acres, his family home, in 1906 and 7, he immediately began collecting everything he came across relating to his chosen parish.

Vyvyan Holland, Oscar Wilde's younger son, who often stayed at Large Acres, wrote that what most attracted him to Heron-Allen was 'his love of collecting things. Apart from his collection of books, which interested him most, he also collected old English silver, glass, china, musical instruments, seals, walking sticks, precious stones and stamps'.[3] To that we can add books, scientific literature, scarabs, Tibetan Gods and even an Egyptian Mummy.[4] Heron-Allen wrote to Joseph Cushman, the American foraminiferist, to say that he 'collected stamps, but only Egypt and current English'.[5] Finally we can add local history ephemera. The seven books of Selseyana, beautifully bound in a reddy-brown cloth, with the bookplate of Heron-Allen and Edith his second wife, contain for the years 1906 to 1937 a rich collection of newspaper cuttings, posters, programmes, sale particulars, catalogues, annual reports, notices, time-tables, postcards, photographs, railway tickets, and invitations.[6] They not only chronicle the history of Selsey and its people but also tell us a great deal about Heron-Allen himself and his life in the community.

One of the first things Heron-Allen did when he started to develop his property at Large Acres, just off the High Street in Selsey, was to set up a meteorological station, and the meteorological records he kept from 1908 to 1923 are also among the collection in the Record Office.[7] He then set about writing the history of Selsey. In this he was greatly helped by the researches of then vicar of Selsey, John Cavis-Brown, who had been collecting material for several years and intended to write a history of the whole peninsula. Heron-Allen had already promised to co-operate with Cavis-Brown on the scientific and pre-historic part of the history, and when the Vicar died in 1909, Mrs. Cavis-Bown presented his unfinished work and all the material her husband had collected to Heron-Allen. Co-ordinating his own researches, Cavis-Brown's notes and Mary Salmon's researches in the British Library and the Public Record Office, Heron-Allen published his monumental 400 page *Selsey Bill: Historic and Prehistoric* in 1911.[8] Concerned that his erudition might get in the way of the popular reception of his book, Heron-Allen wrote that: 'I have borne in mind the "horrible example" of the schoolmaster who, when he wished to say to the boys, "do not laugh quite so loudly", remarked with simple eloquence, "Young gentlemen, when inclined to risibility, let your cachinnation be like the coruscations of aestival electricity - lambent, but innocuous'.

Six volumes of miscellanea relating to his history of Selsey, compiled by Heron-Allen, and containing his notes, photographs of many of the documents and artifacts that he used; his correspondence with fellow scientists, archaeologists and antiquarians, and another fine selection of postcards, were presented to the Record Office by Lindsay Fleming in 1957.[9] Lindsay Fleming, a fellow antiquarian and the historian of Pagham had purchased them at the sale of Heron-Allen's library in 1957.

His interest in the archaeology and history of Selsey, as well as its foraminifera, was to last for the rest of Heron-Allen's life. Foraminifera are small shells, which are not molluscs, but made by single-celled organisms. They have a single or multi-

chambered shell usually made of calcite or of mineral grains cemented together by the organism. They are often highly ornamented and possess one or more apertures, through which the cytoplasm emerges for locomotion, catching food, shell-building and reproduction. They are often beautiful and have a long fossil record (at least 600 million years). They are useful for reconstructing their environments and dating sedimentary rocks and are therefore much used in the oil industry.

In the years immediately following the publication of his magnum opus he published a lecture on *Nature and History at Selsey Bill*,[10] which he delivered in Chichester and in London; and the *Visitors Map and Guide to Selsey*.[11] Then, in the 1930's, he published his *Guide to the Parish Church of St. Peter on Selsey Bill*.[12] In 1912 he became the local secretary of the Sussex Archaeological Society and in the pages of its transactions he published articles on some Roman imperial Coins found at Selsey in 1909, and a series of other finds over the next thirty years; most notably the celebrated Selsey hoard in 1932, the Selsey map of 1672, and the Selsey Volunteers. Towards the end of his life in partnership with Harriet James he published articles in *Sussex County Magazine* on subjects as various as Treasure Trove in Selsey, the Sussex Martlets, the Long Man of Wilmington, Ecclesioclasm in Sussex and the early Chichester Guide books. But he was not just a writer on archaeological subjects. Together with Claude Bishop of Norton Priory and L.F. Salzman, the editor of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Heron-Allen took part in the excavations of the Mound at Church Norton and correctly maintained until the end of his life that it was the real site of Selsey Cathedral.

Heron-Allen was not just the chronicler of the history and archaeology of Selsey, he also played an active role in his local community. He was a major shareholder in, and for many years Chairman of the Hundred of Manhood and Selsey Tramway Company, popularly known as 'The Selsey Tram'. In 1911 he became Commissioner of Boy Scouts for West Sussex at the request

of Sir Robert Baden-Powell, (and by special permission of Baden-Powell he was allowed to wear his trade-mark black uniform) and continued to hold the post until the end of the First World War. At the outbreak of war in 1914 he organised Scout Patrols of the Sussex coast and raised and equipped a large troop from Selsey. In 1917 he also became a District Commissioner for National Service for South-West Sussex. His detailed diaries of life in Selsey during the first world war were edited by Professor Brian Harvey and published as *From Sussex Shore to Flanders Field: Journal of the Great War*, by the Sussex Record Society in 2002.[13]

As well as knowing the local history material in the Record Office, which, over the years, I had produced for numerous researchers, I was aware of some other of Heron-Allen's interests. I had read his letters to Oscar Wilde in the collected edition of Wilde's correspondence, recently edited by Merlin Holland, Oscar Wilde's grandson, and understood that he practiced palmistry. I had seen some of his articles on the foraminifera of the Selsey sea-shore in the Record Office Library. I knew of his translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, from my own knowledge of Baron Corvo. And I understood that he was an authority on the violin and violinists. Only a couple of years before, I had been approached by Richard Hodgkinson of the Natural History Museum in Cromwell Road, who was writing an article on the fruits of the 25-year scientific partnership between Heron-Allen and Arthur Earland, the type slide collection of foraminifera. Heron-Allen presented the collection to the Natural History Museum between 1926 and his death in 1943. Richard Hodgkinson's article in the *Journal of Micropalaentology* in December 1989[14] describes the collection and assesses its importance as a national collection, and, for the first time, alerted me to Heron-Allen's importance in the scientific rather than the historical, literary or musical world.

Thus Heron-Allen was fresh in my mind when I read Jan Morris's article, because only a fortnight earlier I had been asked to deliver a lecture on eighteenth-century printing in Chichester at the British Book Trade Index 9th Annual Seminar held at the

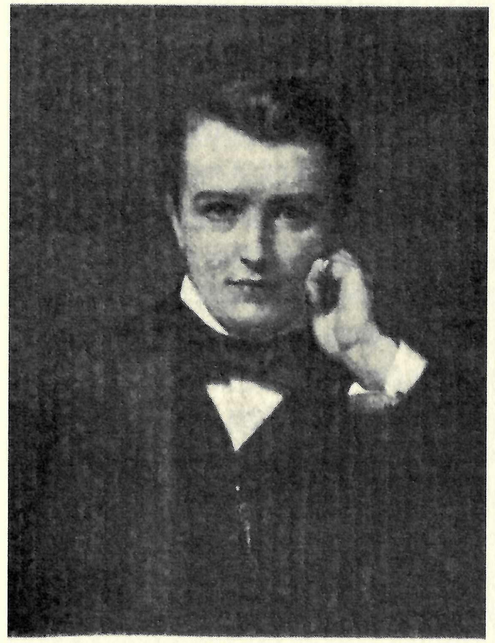
University of Reading. In my preparation for the lecture I had read the article Heron-Allen wrote together with Harriet James on the early Chichester Guides in *Sussex County Magazine* of 1940[15], and I had read his correspondence on the subject with his fellow antiquarian Captain A.W.F. Fuller, that we have in the Record Office[16]. Later on, I discovered the extent of Heron-Allen's interest in the subject when I read his correspondence with John Johnstone of the Oxford University Press now in the Bodleian Library.[17] Johnstone was trying to set up a Museum of printing history in the Clarendon Building and Heron-Allen sent him bus tickets, stamps, uncut quills, fruit papers and various albums from his collection at Large Acres.[18] Truly Heron-Allen was a magpie of extraordinary thoroughness.

So I sat down in our cottage in Kuggar and wrote to Jan Morris to tell her who I thought Heron Allen and his wife Marianna were. I didn't really expect to hear anything, and for several weeks there was silence. Then a letter arrived at our house in Havant from Jan Morris. She had initially replied to our holiday cottage and the letter had been returned to her. Eventually she wrote to my home address and told me that 'heaps of people had written to her about different aspects of the polymathic Heron-Allen and his family, but nobody else has told me that he grangerised most of his books. How lavish!.[19] This reminded me of Vyvyan Holland's story that Heron-Allen had 'built a large library on to the existing house' at Large Acres, and 'he was inordinately proud of his library, but he had fallen into the trap which so many book lovers fall into and had all his first editions expensively bound in leather, thereby ruining their value as first editions'.[20]

So who exactly was Edward Heron Allen, and why is he worth celebrating? Brian Harvey, who wrote the article on Heron-Allen in the new *Dictionary of National Biography*, described him as having 'the odd distinction of being a household name in certain disparate and esoteric fields some sixty years after his death, but virtually unknown to the general public'.[21] He was born in 1861, the son of a London solicitor with a well-established practice in

Soho, who was Parish Clerk of St. Anne's Soho. After some years at Harrow School, he did not go on to University, but entered his father's firm of Allen & Sons, Solicitors, established in 1788, as an articled clerk in 1879. However, before commencing serious legal practice he went on an extended tour of America in 1886, mostly lecturing on cheiromancy with great artistic and financial success.[22] While there he found time to write a daily diary in which he recounted his adventures and gave his impressions of American life and manners. He described evenings out with Bram Stoker, and General Sherman, listening to Stanley lecturing and Henry Ward Beecher preaching, and his visit to the first performance of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. However, he also found time to publish the first three of a number of short novels or stories of an early science fiction type which have become collector's items, romance the singer and actress Selina Dolaro, and apparently to perform as a bare-back rider in the circus in Chicago. On the death of his elder brother in 1889, he had to give up his bohemian life and fledgling literary pursuits and return to London and the family firm.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Edward Heron-Allen, c.1889. Taken from Major J.B. Pond, *Eccentricities of Genius*, 1900.



MR. EDWARD HERON ALLEN.

Fig. 2. Portrait of Edward Heron-Allen, c.1898. Taken from J.H. Cardwell, *Two Centuries of Soho: Its Institutions, firms and amusements*, 1898.

He succeeded his father as Parish Clerk of St. Anne's, Soho, and was a successful divorce lawyer. In 1901 the firm of Allen & Sons, of which he had become Senior Partner, was appointed Solicitors and Parliamentary Agents to the City of Westminster and he took charge of the Parliamentary practice of the city. He married Marianna Lehmann, daughter of the artist Rudolph Lehmann and sister of the composer Liza, who wrote 'In a Persian Garden', which gave him an entry to London's literary, artistic and musical life. Heron-Allen found time to act on the West End stage, to compose songs, to found and edit the *Violin Times*, to found an orchestra (The Strolling Players Amateur Orchestral Society) , to write biographies of all the famous violinists for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and to translate works from the German together with his wife. No less a person than W.B. Yeats described his stage performance. Heron-Allen was performing in *An Sicilian Idyll* with Florence Farr. Yeats wrote that the producer 'had engaged several professional actors with a little reputation, but had given the chief woman's part to Florence Farr,

who had qualities no contemporary professional practice could have increased, the chief man's part to an amateur, Heron-Allen, solicitor, fiddler and popular writer on palmistry. Heron-Allen and Florence read poetry for their pleasure. While they were upon stage no one else could hold an eye or an ear. Their speech was music, the poetry acquired a nobility, a passionate austerity that made it akin for certain moments to the greatest poetry in the world. Heron-Allen, who had never spoken in public before except to lecture upon the violin, had the wisdom to reduce his acting to a series of poses, to be the stately shepherd with not more gesture than was needed to twitch his mantle blue and to let his grace be foil to Florence Farr's more impassioned delivery'.[23]

His first wife died, after a long illness in 1902. In the following year during a long holiday in Egypt he met Edith Pepler, whom he married in the next November. Edward and Edith Heron-Allen had two children - Ianthe Theodora (known as Itha) and Armorel Daphne.

Fig. 3. Portrait of Edward Heron-Allen, c.1910. Taken from an interleaved copy of Heron-Allen's *Selsey Bill* at West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, by courtesy of Ivor Jones.

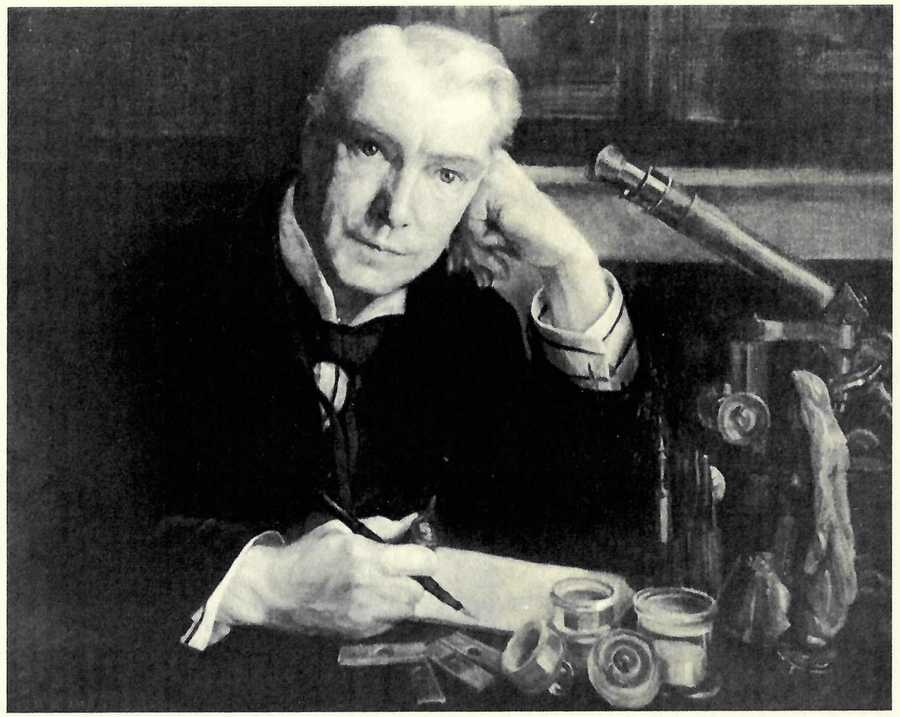


Fig. 4. Painting of Edward Heron-Allen in his library at Large Acres by Winifred E.B. Hardman, 1922. Taken from a photograph of the painting at the Natural History Museum, London.

Heron Allen retired from the law on his fiftieth birthday and spent the rest of his life in various scholarly and literary pursuits. In his recently published *Journal of the Great War*. He wrote: 'I am thankful that from my earliest years, while I was by profession a lawyer, I have always had some strongly pursued hobby, which occupied all my leisure hours, and have carried these hobbies to the point of minute study resulting in a considerable number of published volumes. I refer to the violin, the hand, Umar Khayyam, and the Foraminifera'.[24] So let us have a look at some of the multifarious interests of this true polymath.

Heron-Allen played the violin from the age of ten and as part of his study of the history of the instrument he devised a now universally accepted theory of the ancestry of the violin.[25] He founded an orchestra - the Strolling Players Amateur Orchestral Society - and was a pioneer in the encouragement of female

musicians. In 1885 he was appointed, on account of his work on the history of musical instruments and especially the violin, a special Commissioner for Italy, to collect ancient musical instruments and manuscripts for the historic loan collection in the music section of the Invention's Exhibition of that year. In the same year he joined the staff of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Leslie Stephen. By his own account, he wrote most of the articles on violinists, and indeed his biographies of Alexander Kennedy, the violin maker; Robert Cooke, the composer and organist and Nicholas Mori, the violinist have survived in the very latest edition. In 1894 he was elected an Honorary Academician of the Regia Academia di Santa Cecilia in Rome. He apprenticed himself to George Chanot, the celebrated violin-maker of Wardour Street, and made two violins himself which both survive[26]. He published *Violin Making as it was and is* in 1884,[27] which remains the standard work on the subject, and is the only complete treatment on the practical construction of the instrument. He also published in parts a bibliography of the violin, was the founder editor of the *Violin Times* and wrote the articles on violins and violinists for the second edition of Grove's *Dictionary*. He maintained his interest in music and in 1924 he assisted W.W. Cobbett in the foundation of his *Encyclopedia of Chamber Music*. Perhaps inevitably, he also wrote music, and the score of his song, 'The Ballade of my Lady's Glance' has recently been discovered,[28] as has an unpublished melody by Edward Heron-Allen arranged by Liza Lehrmann and Landon Ronald titled, "Song and Dance of Itha". A short piece that was purchased from Heron-Allen's estate by Henry Farmer, the well known musician. His musical collection is now at the Royal College of Music.[29]

Early in life he developed an interest in reading personality through a study of hand and finger formation, and, with Sir Victor Hoarsley in the scientific basis of Cheirosophy, and he first came to public prominence because of his interest in and expertise at palmistry. His first publication, in 1883, *Codicillis Chiromantiae*, was originally a lecture delivered to the Sette of Odd Volumes,[30]

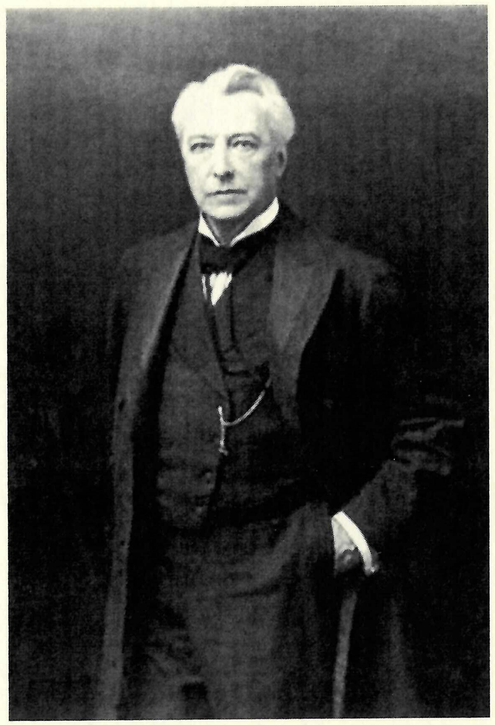


Fig. 5. Photograph of Edward Heron-Allen by Russell, 1927. The Photograph was taken for the National Portrait Gallery. A copy was sent to Joseph Cushman and this is taken from a copy of the photograph at the Cushman Library, US National Museum of Natural History, Washington DC, at the Natural History Museum, London.

an exclusive dining and literary society founded by the antiquarian bookseller Bernard Quaritch five years earlier. Heron-Allen joined the Sette in 1883, was eased out in 1893 after an internal quarrel, rejoined in 1924, and became President of the Sette in 1927. His original intention was to produce a series of little books on the Hand, but eventually he abandoned the idea and used much of the material in his *A Manual of Cheirosophy* published in 1885. That book, and his *The Science of the Hand*, published in 1886, went through many subsequent editions, and established his reputation in the field. It is clear from his personal diary of the time that he entertained in polite society by reading hands and by playing the violin. His reputation led to a request from Oscar Wilde for him to read the hands of his two children, and resulted in the subsequent friendship between the two families. Heron-Allen is thought to have provided Wilde with the palmistry plot, which focused on a cheiromantist, in Wilde's story *Lord Arthur Saville's Crime*, while his novel *Ashes of the Future (A Study of Mere Human Nature): The Suicide of Sylvester Gray* (1888), about the very

beautiful young man who commits suicide, was an important, if much overlooked influence on *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. It also led to an invitation from the celebrated agent, Major J.B. Pond, to go to the United States in 1886 on an extended lecture tour, the subject being cheirosophy. The tour was successful and remunerative and Heron-Allen spoke and demonstrated in New York, Boston, Chicago and many other American cities from his base at the Everett Hotel in New York. For a time he was involved in the Society of Psychical Research, of which he was one of the earliest members. He described himself as having, 'all his life, attended adult seances at intervals', but confessed that'he never witnessed any phenomena that he could not himself reproduce as "parlour tricks". In later years he rather played down his involvement with palmistry and it is thought to be the reason why later in his career some of his colleagues were inclined to belittle his scientific achievements.

He was a student of languages, with an interest in Persian and Turkish. In 1885 he began his study of the Persian language, largely attracted by Edward Fitzgerald's *Rubiayat of Omar Khayyam*, and learned the Turkish language colloquially from the Armenian Representative in London. Together with Prince Malcolm Khan, the Persian Minister in London, he developed an oriental alphabet capable of being cut and composed as a moveable type. As a Persian scholar he published, in 1898, a literal translation of the *Rubiayat of Omar Khayyam*, followed, in 1901, by a translation of *The Lament of Baba Tahir* from an almost unknown dialect of Persian known as Luri. The latter is still in print. From 1913 onwards he frequently delivered a lecture entitled 'on the Place of the Rubai in Persian Poetry' a feat of memory which required him to recite practically the whole of Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam. Heron-Allen's initial interest in the Rubiayat was aroused by the then burning question of how far Edward Fitzgerald's verses were faithful versions of Omar Khayyam's originals. His first book, published in 1897, which analysed all the quatrains and examined them against various manuscripts, concluded definitively in favour

of Fitzgerald. His second book, the following year, was a facsimile of the Bodleian manuscript of the quatrains with Heron-Allen's own literal translation of each verse. He bequeathed his entire collection of the works of or connected with Edward Fitzgerald and all translations and texts of Omar Khayyam, consisting of more than 300 books and portfolios to the London Library.[31]

But Heron-Allen would have regarded his most important interest as being the rewarding scientific career spanning almost fifty years working on the foraminifera, during which he obtained fellowships of several notable London learned societies, namely the Royal Microscopical Society, of which he was later President in 1915, the Linnean Society, the Geological Society, and the Zoological Society, culmination in his election to the Royal Society in 1919. The Royal Society's citation described him as 'distinguished as a Protozoologist, whose long-continued and wide-ranging original work upon Formainifera of all seas has advanced very greatly our systematic and faunistic knowledge of the group; both British and exotic forms, and have also made known to science many new and interesting data relating to their life-history, bionomics and occurrence in space and time of the most important sections of the Protozoa. Besides his discoveries in conjunction with their reproductive processes and their remarkable use of material for building, he has recently made known a curious species which bores into molluscan shells, and has found living a species known as the Cambrian fossil. It is well known to zoologists that Mr. Heron-Allen has been engaged for some years on a comprehensive memoir on the British Foraminifera, for which he has already accumulated a vast amount of material, descriptions and drawing'.[32]

In 1876, while still a schoolboy being tutored in Bognor Regis, he published his first article on 'The Geological formation of Bognor', in the *Bognor Observer*,[33] and he tells the story of giving a lecture on foraminifera to a group of thirteen year old boys when he was at Elstree school. In 1879 he joined the Quekett Microscopical Club and through the club was able to meet and

correspond with like-minded enthusiasts. In 1892 he obtained a Fellowship of the Linnean Society of London and in the same year was elected to the Royal Microscopical Society. By 1894 he had produced his first formal scientific publication, which became a practical guide to the prepration and study of fossil forms of the group. As a scientist, Heron-Allen published or co-published (usually in partnership with Arthur Earland) more than 70 papers, mostly on foraminifera.[35] Beginning their partnership with a detailed examination of the foraminifera of Selsey, over the following thirty years they published studies of the foraminifera of Selsey, Twyford, Cornwall and Plymouth in England, Clare Island off County Mayo in Ireland and West Scotland, Biarritz and La Rochelle in France, Nigeria and Kerimbo in Africa, as well as the Suez Canal, the Falkland Islands, The South Atlantic and the South Pacific. They worked together on the Challenger Collection and the foraminfera of the Discovery expedition. He was also wealthy enough to purchase the collections of other distinguished foraminiferists such as Siddall, Millett and Lister.

During the years 1909 to 1911, the most ambitious natural history project ever undertaken in Ireland, the Clare Island Survey, was carried out under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy. The whole project was planned and administered by Robert Lloyd Praeger, the Irish field botanist, Edward Heron-Allen and Arthur Earland took part in the survey and visited the Island in 1911. Their report on the foraminifera of Clare Island, published in 1913, formed part 64 of the published survey.[36] Heron-Allen and Earland collected from 37 stations from their bases at the Midland Great Western Hotel at Mulranny and later on the island itself, and described 14 species new to science and 32 new to the British Isles. The slides the two men made of their material are now in the Natural History Museum which also houses Heron-Allen's own copy of the report, bound together with all manner of other material including correspondence, maps, and invoices. Heron-Allen also wrote a personal daily diary of the fieldwork in the form of letters home, which are now bound into a volume, together with

postcards, photographs and ephemera, which as well as giving precious information about the working of the survey, provide a snapshot of rural Ireland at the time .

Fig. 6. Photograph of Edward and Edith Heron-Allen in front of Large Acres, Selsey, 1927. Taken from the Large Acres Visitors Book by courtesy of Ivor Jones.

One of Heron-Allen's passions was to collect all the references to foraminifera listed by S.D. Sherborn, the renowned bibliographer, and he had built a separate library adjoining Large Acres to house his expanding and expensively accumulated library. However by 1930 it was clear that the Library was damp, and so he presented his magnificent collections (800 faunal slides, each containing up to 120 species, all catalogued and indexed; 8000 species slides all catalogued and stored in mahogany cabinets; the libraries of most of the distinguished foraminiferists of his time; some 2000 reprints beautifully bound in volumes etc.) to the Natural History Museum in London. From then on Heron-Allen and his scientific partner Arthur Earland, worked in their own room at the Museum. His collections and library now form the celebrated Heron-Allen Library at the Natural History Museum.[37]

His literary output was considerable and varied. It includes short stories, notably *The Purple Sapphire* in 1921, *The Strange Papers of Christopher Blayre* in 1932 and *Some Women of the University* in 1934. Of these, *The Strange Papers of Christopher Blayre* and *Cheetah Girl*, once regarded as obscene, and perhaps because only twenty copies were printed, have become a much sought after treasure, and both have been recently reprinted by Ray Russell of Tartarus Press. It also included novels, such as *The Princess Daphne* and a number of extremely rare ones that he published in America in the 1880s, when under various pen-names he published a number of novels and stories of an early science fiction type, which have become collector's items, and reflect his fascination with the borderline between science and the occult. He also published poetry and archaeological and historical works, most notably his history of Selsey in 1911. Writing as Christopher Blayre in his *Notes upon the Literary, Scientific, and Artistic Activities of Edward Heron-Allen*, FRS, he claimed to have written and acted in a series of drawing-room duologues in 1895, some of which were published in magazines, and recently one of his compositions entitled: *A Birthday Present, a duologue for impromptu performance*, was discovered in *The Idler* in 1896.

The Story of the *Purple Sapphire* has recently brought Heron-Allen to public attention again. The story, originally published under the pseudonym of Christopher Blayre, and recently republished by the Heron-Allen Society,[38] tells the story of a precious stone which brought misfortune to everyone that owned it. More famous now, even than the story, is the original stone which gave rise to the story. The purple Sapphire, actually an amethyst, was brought to England by Colonel W. Ferris, a Bengal cavalryman, after being looted from the Temple of Indra in Kanpur during the Indian Mutiny in the 1850s. The Colonel quickly lost his money and his health, as did his son, when he inherited it. A family friend, who possessed it for a short time committed suicide. Heron-Allen accepted the stone in 1890 and was immediately beset by misfortune. He claimed to have seen an Indian spirit

digging at the floor of his library in Selsey, 'as if searching for it'. Two friends, to whom he gave the stone, suffered disasters. He claimed to have thrown the amethyst into Regents Canal, only to have it returned to him three months later by a dealer, who had purchased it from a dredger. In 1904 Heron-Allen gave up on the cursed amethyst, packed it into seven boxes and deposited in his bank. There it remained until a year after his death, when his surviving daughter presented it to the Natural History Museum. There the stone remained, almost forgotten, though we exhibited it at the first Heron-Allen Symposium in 2001, but last year it was exhibited in the new minerological exhibition in the Vault at the Natural History Museum, and the story of the cursed stone was picked up by several national newspapers, and the story was given a new lease of life.

The arrival of the internet has made many more sources of information available. The other day I did a search on the periodical *Notes and Queries*, and discovered that Heron-Allen had contributed no fewer than three hundred and twenty nine notes and short articles to its pages between 1901 and 1941: two hundred and ninety under his own name, thirty eight under the initials, 'EH-A'., and one under his most regular pseudonym 'Christopher Blayre'. His contributions discussed such subjects as ballads, bicycles and buses, Britannia, cats, Christian names, fashion, Literature, Shakespeare, Omar Khayyam, pens and ink, place-names, quotations and their origins, tobacco, tea, violinists, science and the origin of words.

During the 1st World War Heron-Allen became the commissioner for National service for West Sussex. As he recounts in his recently published War Journals he took an officer's course of training and signalling attached to the West Kent Regiment at Tunbridge Wells. He was gazetted a Lieutenant and then joined his foraminiferist friend Chalmers Mitchell in the Military Intelligence Department at the War Office, where he was seconded to MI7 (b), with its offices in the De Keyser Hotel overlooking Blackfriars Bridge.[39] There he edited the *Le Courrier de l'Air*.

As Heron-Allen wrote, 'Le Courrier de l'Air was as its title denotes, a propaganda newspaper, planned by Captain Chalmers Mitchell to be distributed over the parts of France occupied by the Germans, and over Belgium, with a view to giving the inhabitants of those areas accurate news of the progress of the war from the point of view of the Allies of the Entente. In addition to this, it contained extracts from German papers, which were suppressed by the government when they contained matters reflecting upon adverse conditions in Germany, and accounts of German defeats and losses. The average number of copies distributed weekly was 5,000'.[40] He edited the paper until the end of the war, and managed to visit the front, from where his reports make fascinating reading. His own paper lampooned him in a delightful description of his visit to France, writing that he 'arrived there in full ceremonial uniform, sword stick, gleaming metal helmet, the latest fashion in uniform, equipped with blindingly shiny gold buttons, and a waistcoat which could have, at a pinch, been used as a life belt. A strange blend of Beau Brummel of yore and of modern warrior!'.[41]

At the time, and bear in mind he was in his mid 50s at the time, he spent Monday to Friday at the War Office and Saturdays and Sundays as Platoon Commander of the Sussex Volunteers (which he had helped to found) in Selsey. Characteristically he had permission to line his uniform with silk for comfort.

Heron-Allen was not a particular enthusiast for athletic pursuits, but he did create a croquet lawn and a tennis court at Large Acres in Sussex, and was frequently photographed in the appropriate dress. There are tantalising accounts of his playing cricket with friends in some of the early Travel Journals, and of ice-skating in London in his Diary of 1885. In May 1890 he purchased a pair oared skiff and, during the next two years, he undertook a number of boating excursions on the Thames. In characteristic fashion, he dressed for the part and was photographed entirely in white, including a white headband; he was invariably accompanied by a, so far, unidentified young lady known as 'Seraphael', and he kept a detailed diary of his excursions, beautifully bound in three volumes and including maps, photographs, luncheon bills etc.[42]

His other interests included the Buddhist religion, which resulted in his collecting statues of Tibetan Gods and the publication of his book *The Gods of the Fourth World* in 1929. In 1917 he began his experiments in the culture of Asparagus which it took him 16 years to bring to a successful issue. He created a variety, which he named 'the Selsey Giant' in his pamphlet entitled *Asparagus as a Hobby for Amateurs and Epicures* in 1934. Such was the resultant demand for seeds that he had to hand over the distribution to Suttons of Reading. He also wrote on asparagus for the Wine and Food Society, and with his friends Vyvyan Holland, A.J.A Symons and Andre Simon, was involved in the early days of the Society.[43] He was President of the national Auricula Society, and, at one time owned the manuscript notes on auriculas by the legendary seventeenth-century expert Samuel Brewer. He even invented his own lotion for dealing with hypodermarikosyringophoroi. Apparently he invented this in 1931 and it was effective against horse flies, fleas, bee wasp and hornet stings and mosquitoes. He tested it on the Selsey locals. The lotion was called S'Kitakura. Heron-Allen gave the recipe to Mr. G.T. Mitchell, the dispensing chemist in High Street, Selsey and it was so successful that a private company was set up called S'Kitakura Ltd, which sold the lotion in Hong Kong, Nairobi, Calcutta, Cape Town and Czechoslovakia. The advertising slogan was:

It heals the bites and cures the stings
of things with legs and things with wings.[44]

Well, I think I have told you enough to justify my title of 'The Singular Life' and to make you understand why Edward Heron-Allen is well worth remembering.

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THE FORAMINIFERA OF CLARE ISLAND, CO MAYO. AN ACCOUNT OF HERON-ALLEN AND EARLAND'S FIELDWORK IN WESTERN IRELAND, AUGUST 1911: A SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION WITH PRETTY GIRLS

by JOHN E. WHITTAKER

Edward Heron-Allen kept an extensive series of Holiday journals. We are lucky that they are still preserved in his grandson, Ivor Jones', family archive. Of them, however, only two are devoted to what might be called "science" or scientific expeditions and which are of major interest to me. Volume XVII deals with Heron-Allen's visit to the IXth International Zoological Congress in Monaco in 1913 and his subsequent holiday on the French Riviera at Hyères; this was the subject of my talk at the 2009 Heron-Allen Society Annual Symposium and has been published recently in *Opusculum XIII* of the H-A Society. The second, Volume XV, relates to the Clare Island Survey of 1911 and is the subject of my talk here at the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin.

This presentation, in fact, draws on two major and two minor sources, the major sources I have brought over from the UK and they are on display at this meeting.

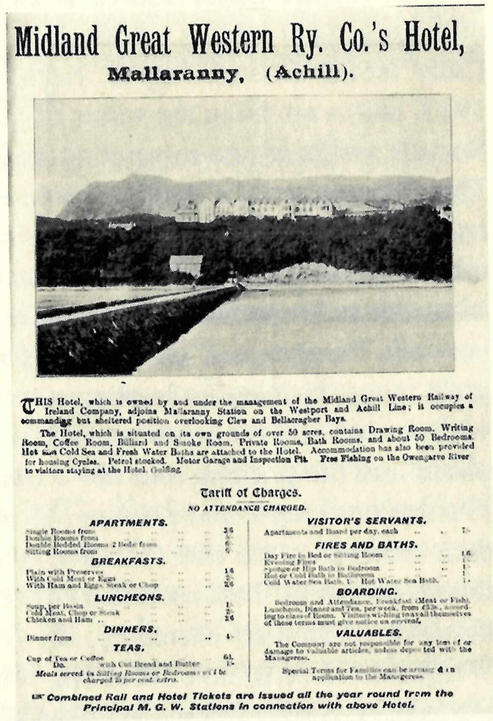
The first major source – as I have just mentioned, is Heron-Allen's *Holiday Journal Volume XV*, labelled *"Clare Island Survey August 1911"*. It comprises, as in all Heron-Allen's Holiday journals, a rather candid diary in the form of usually, daily letters (there are 12 in this case) addressed, to Mrs. Heron-Allen (his wife Edith, pet-name "Nour"), at his Sussex home "Large Acres", Selsey. These serve to record his activities between August 11th and 25th 1911. The fieldwork was undertaken with his collaborator Arthur Earland [they were introduced soon after H-A built his house in Selsey and moved there in 1907. Earland was a Senior Civil Servant and worked for the Post Office Savings Bank, finally rising to the position of Deputy Controller]. Their scientific collaboration lasted till 1933 when it foundered, sadly, in acrimony based on several factors: illness (H-A had gone to pieces after the death of his youngest daughter, Armorel), jealousy (on the part of Earland;

Heron-Allen had got an FRS for his work on the foraminifera and seemed, according to Earland, to get all the credit for their joint-work), and a woman, about which I will be discrete! At this time in 1911, however, the two collaborators were the best of friends and during their fieldwork they stayed initially at the rather fine Midland Great Western Railway Hotel, Mallaranny, between 11th and 16th August after which they transferred to Clare Island on 16th, to the Granuaile Hotel ('McCabe's'). A Clare Island boatman took them and their luggage over, and they came back to Mallaranny with the SY *Helga II* on 23rd August, after the completion of their dredging. Bound in with the letters are photographs taken with H-A's own camera, postcards (usually sent to his two daughters), maps, hotel brochures and bills. Also and importantly, are many letters from and between H-A and Robert Lloyd Praeger, addressed to and from the National Library of Ireland. Much of this correspondence being about arrangements for the fieldwork: equipment they will need and meeting up with the *Helga*.

The second major source is Heron-Allen's own bound copy of the results of all this labour. It is labelled *"Foraminifera of the Clare Island District"* by E. Heron-Allen & A. Earland, Dublin 1913, and is no. 64 in the series of publications of the Clare Island Survey, and bears the imprint of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. This appears to be a reprint, some of which H-A has cut up and re-structured (for instance, the bibliography) for ease of use. To this is added and glued-in, all manner of ephemera: the original instructions for authors, photographs, and correspondence - letters between Praeger and Earland (a few) and with Heron-Allen (a great many, proving an important record as they concern progress with the MS and the costs incurred). We have the estimates for the plates and the printing and the actual bills incurred - those of the illustrations, paper and printing, as we shall hear, H-A paid for in their entirety in the end. Finally, is what I shall call "fan mail" – letters of thanks from recipients of reprints (these include Praeger himself, Rhumbler, Fornasini, Sir John Murray, Pearcey, Joseph Wright, J.J. Lister, E.A. Minchin, Prof Thomson (Aberdeen), S.F. Harmer, A. Smith Woodward (BMNH) and his mother!).

The minor sources are two railway books: the first, *"The Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland. An Illustrated History"* by Ernie Shepherd (1994: Midland Publishing Company) and the second, *"Rails to Achill. A West of Ireland Branch Line"* by Jonathan Beaumont (2002: Oakwood Press). These, respectively, provide information on the railway services and rolling stock that H-A might have used to get there and the MGWR Hotel, Mallaranny, at which our scientists stayed.

The Clare Island Survey – what is it all about? This wide-ranging survey of the fauna, flora, archaeology, geology, meteorology, etc. of Clare Island, Co. Mayo, and the adjoining mainland of western Ireland was carried out by over one hundred scientists in the years 1909-1911. The Clare Island Survey was undertaken with the purpose of providing a detailed study of a typical area of the west coast of Ireland, a region which has some of the most interesting faunistic and floristic problems in Europe, as well as contributing to the study of island floras and faunas in general. Edward Heron-Allen and his collaborator, Arthur Earland, were asked to carry out a study of the foraminifera by their friend Robert Lloyd Praeger, Secretary of the Clare Island Survey Committee and of its sponsor, the Royal Irish Academy.



Midland Great Western Ry. Co.'s Hotel,
Mallaranny, (Achill).

THIS Hotel, which is owned by and under the management of the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland Company, adjoins Mallaranny Station on the Westport and Achill Line; it occupies a commanding but sheltered position overlooking Clew and Bellacragher Bays.

The Hotel, which is situated on its own grounds of over 50 acres, contains Drawing Room, Writing Room, Coffee Room, Billiard and Smoke Room, Private Rooms, Bath Rooms, and about 50 Bedrooms. Hot and Cold Sea and Fresh Water Baths are attached to the Hotel. Accommodation has also been provided for housing Cycles. Petrol stocked. Motor Garage and Inspection Pit. Free Fishing on the Owengarve River to visitors staying at the Hotel. Golfing.

Tariff of Charges.
NO ATTENDANCE CHARGED.

APARTMENTS.
Single Rooms from .. 3/6
Double Rooms from .. 5/-
Double Bedded Rooms 2 Beds from .. 6/-
Sitting Rooms from .. 6/-

BREAKFASTS.
Ham with Preserves .. 1/6
With Cold Meat or Eggs .. 2/-
With Ham and Eggs, Steak or Chop .. 2/6

LUNCHEONS.
Soup per Basin .. 1/-
Cold Meat, Chop or Steak .. 2/-
Chicken and Ham .. 2/6

DINNERS.
Dinner from .. 4/-

TEAS.
Cup of Tea or Coffee .. 6d.
Do. with Cut Bread and Butter .. 1/-
Meals served in Sitting Rooms or Bedrooms will be charged 25 per cent. extra.

VISITOR'S SERVANTS.
Apartments and Board per day, each .. 2/-

FIRES AND BATHS.
Day Fire in Bed or Sitting Room .. 1/6
Evening Fires .. 1/-
Sponge or Hip Bath in Bedroom .. 1/-
Hot or Cold Bath in Bathroom .. 1/-
Cold Water Sea Bath 1/- Hot Water Sea Bath .. 1/-

BOARDING.
Bedroom and Attendance, Breakfast (Meat or Fish), Luncheon, Dinner and Tea, per week, from £3 3s., according to class of Room. Visitors wishing to avail themselves of these terms must give notice on arrival.

VALUABLES.
The Company are not responsible for any loss of or damage to valuable articles, unless deposited with the Managress.

Special Terms for Families can be arranged on application to the Managress.

☞ Combined Rail and Hotel Tickets are issued all the year round from the Principal M. G. W. Stations in connection with above Hotel.

Fig. 1. Midland Great Western Railway Hotel, Mallaranny. Tariff of charges.

As I have already mentioned, Heron-Allen wrote a personal account of the fieldwork in the form of a daily diary, sent in a series of letters to his wife "Nour". These are bound within the Holiday Journal, together with postcards sent to his daughters (Itha and Armorel), some excellent photographs and all manner of ephemera.

During the sampling of the landward stations the scientists stayed at the luxurious Midland Great Western Hotel at Mulranny (or Mallaranny), which had opened in 1897 and a brochure, menus, wine-lists, and the hotel bills are all preserved in his Holiday Journal (Fig. 1). The travellers had come from Dublin having crossed by ferry from Holyhead. They caught the Tourist Express (which had a dining car for First Class passengers) and were seen off by Praeger himself at Broadstone… "with early and eager Milesian enthusiasm". The train went via Athlone, Claremorris, Castlebar and Westport and H-A's impressions of travelling across Ireland (in the rain) are worth the reading. The Westport – Mallaranny section of the railway line had only opened in 1894, and then on to Achill in 1895. Sadly, it was to close as early as 1937.

"Johnny Bob's" Boat. Mallaranny to Clare Island.

Fig. 2. Johnny Bob's boat between Mallaranny and Clare Island, with Johnny Bob (left) and Arthur Earland (right).

For the offshore sampling they used either a local small boat (Fig. 2) owned by a Clare Island boatman, one "Johnny Bob" (who appears to have been often at a wake and thus almost always drunk) or they had the assistance (through the good auspices of Praeger) of the Irish Fisheries' Steam Yacht *Helga II*, which was fitted with a trawl. Accompanying them on the *Helga* were other scientists engaged in the Clare Island Survey at the time, and these were or became quite famous: notably these included the botanist Arthur D. Cotton of Kew (and subsequently their Director) who was working on the marine algae, and George P. Farran and Rowland Southern, both prominent zoologists with the Irish Fisheries Board [A.D. Cotton was to publish Part 15 of the Clare Island Survey (Marine Algae), and G.P. Farran - parts 20 (Pisces and Cyclostomata), 21 (Tunicata and Hemichordata; with R. Southern), 40 (Decapoda; with W. Rankin), 46 Marine Entomostraca and 66 (note on Marine Plankton) while R. Southern was involved with parts 47 (Polychaeta and Archiannelida), 48 (Oligochaeta), 49 (Gephyrea), 50 (Hirudinea), 54 (Nemathelmia and Chaetognatha; with G.O.Sherrard), 55 (Nemertinea), 56 (Platyhelmia) and 67 (Summary of marine distribution)]. Much background information about Farran and Southern was published by Patrick Wyse Jackson, Robinson & Austin in the *Journal of Micropalaeontology* in 2002. Farran and Southern are much in evidence in photographs taken by Heron-Allen whilst on board the *Helga* (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. On board the Irish Fisheries' vessel *Helga II* with (left to right) George P. Farran, Arthur Earland and Rowland Southern.

Subsequently, Heron-Allen and Earland moved onto Clare Island itself and into the rather more mundane accommodation of the Granuaile Hotel ('McCabe's') [as an aside, Granuaile, sometimes known as Grace O'Malley, was the legendary Irish Pirate Queen of Elizabethan times]. Here the food was not at all to their liking, but Bed & Breakfast was only 5/- a day, less than a third of the tariff at the MGWR Hotel in Mallaranny, so what did they expect? Amusingly, on the last night on Clare Island H-A wrote in the visitor's book of the hotel… "under all the polite and fatuous remarks of other guests, the simple legend: 'Quoth the Raven, -------'". The missing word (from Edgar Allan Poe's poem) being… "nevermore". In other words, he was never, ever going back there again!

Fig. 4. Heron-Allen on a jaunting car, hired from a Patrick Scanlon ("Guide to all the Beauty Spots of Achill").

The Holiday Journal makes fascinating reading and offers scope for much further research in the future. More than anything it provides a snapshot of rural Ireland, pre-Great War (now almost 100 years ago) - a world long since gone. Today, I suppose, some of Heron-Allen's comments about the locals and their customs would appear very rude and almost colonial in tone, but this was another age. The photographs not only add great flavour to the science, but provide some quite atypical portraits of Heron-Allen in particular: one – a young looking and relaxed picture of the man (then aged 50) in a flat cap on a jaunting-car, is far from the usual rather austere portraits of him dressed formally in black and white (Fig. 4).

The Holiday Journal also contains some lovely photographs of two young ladies, named Inez and Muriel (Fig. 5). He refers to them as 'flappers', a very early use of the word, which in his terminology means 'intelligent, independent young ladies in their late teens and of some breeding' and not to be confused with

Fig. 5. Muriel (left) and Inez (right) outside the Laboratory which the Granuaile Hotel proprietor, McCabe, had built for the use of scientists on Clare Island.

the local Irish girls, who he always refers to as 'colleens'. [As a further aside, the term *flapper* first appears in an early *Sports Illustrated* magazine. It may be in reference to a young bird flapping its wings while learning to fly, or it may derive from an earlier use in northern England to mean "teenage girl" (whose hair is not yet put up). The term was already documented as in use in the United Kingdom as early as 1912 (much earlier than in the USA). From the 1910s into the 1920s, flapper was a term for any impetuous teenage girl, often including women under 30. Only in the 1920s did the term take on the meaning of the flapper-generation style and attitudes and of the "jazz-age"].

So who were these girls, named Inez and Muriel? Careful reading of the Holiday Journal reveals all. [Entry for the 16th August 1911]... "We share the Island with a party of nine, a man named Murray and his wife, friends of the Messels from Balcombe [a village in West Sussex, north of Haywards Heath] who have been here for a month for the last four years. Their daughter and niece, [are] splendid wild flappers of 16..." The entry for the following day elucidates further... "I was looked out by the Flappers (the most enthusiastic and rowdy of them, by name Inez, turns out to be a serious young person of nineteen who lets her hair down, calls herself sixteen and behaves as such when she gets over here), to start an aquarium for them". Later in the Holiday Journal there is a photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Murray and the two girls. To my mind the daughter is Muriel, as she appears the younger of the two and looks most like Mr. Murray (as daughters should), and thus Inez must be the niece. Heron-Allen seems to have befriended Mr. Murray who, amongst other things, was... "Secretary of the Empire League and an intelligent genial soul". Knowing the strict etiquette of the day, this explains why the girls were allowed to accompany our scientists (as they did everywhere); he clearly had given permission! The eldest of the two, Inez, is particularly striking with her large bonnet and doe-eyes. One cannot help thinking... whatever happened to her?

Scientifically, the fieldwork and the resulting foraminiferal study were a great success and *Clare Island Survey, Part 64,*

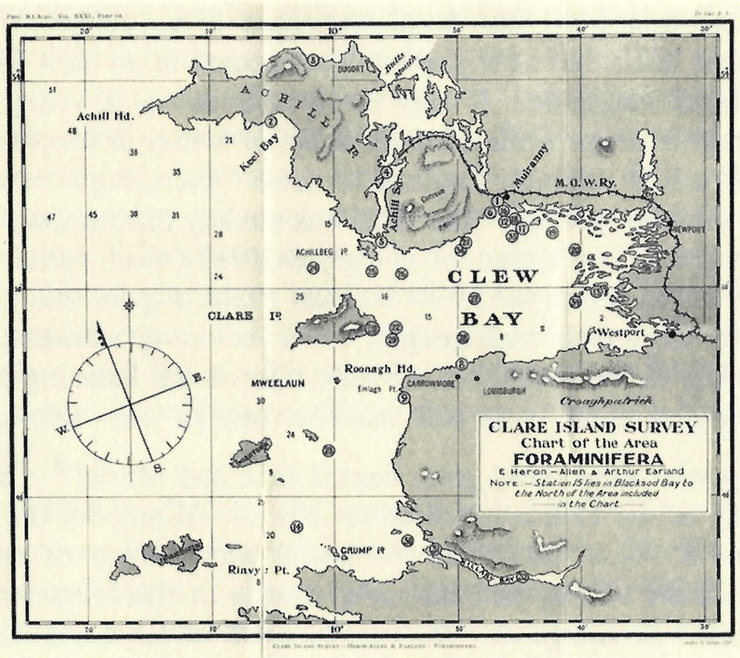


Fig. 6. Clare Island Survey - foraminiferal sampling stations.

Foraminifera by Heron-Allen & Earland, published by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, has become a classic within the genre. They collected from 37 stations (Fig. 6) and described no less than 14 species new to science and 32 new to Britain and Ireland. Fittingly, one of the new species was named *Discorbina praegeri*, after Praeger. Drawings of the foraminifera were meticulously made by a Miss A. R. Hammond. Not only is her original artwork still preserved in the Natural History Museum, London but also her carefully itimised costs for the drawings (which range from 2/6 to 5/- each). One such plate is reproduced here (Fig. 7), there being two points of interest – first, some very small species of <100 microns (some <50 microns) that they picked out and recorded (for example, see nos. 1-4, of *Rotaliella minutissima* and related forms); and second, nos. 7-9, being *Rotalia* (now *Aubignyna*) *perlucida*, a Lusitanian species, today only occurring in Britain in SW England and W Ireland – it is a useful warm indicator in Pleistocene deposits and it occurs in places like Kirmington, Lincs, almost monotypically, and at Boxgrove, etc. Today, the

foraminiferal faunal slides are housed in Heron-Allen & Earland's 'Type-slide Collection' at the Natural History Museum, London; the slides were specially made for Heron-Allen and with their colourful printed labels, are beautiful works of art in themselves (certainly in the eyes of microscopists).

Heron-Allen and Earland insisted that the Clare Island volume had a special dedication page inserted. It says... "To Joseph Wright of Belfast. We dedicate in affectionate esteem these results of our labours in a field with which his name must ever be honourably associated". Joseph Wight could be called the "doyen of Irish foraminiferology" and there is a fine tribute to him in a piece in the Belfast newspaper, *The Northern Whig*, for February 28th 1914, which doubles as a review of H-A & E's Clare Island paper. This, needless to say, is pasted into H-A's copy next to the dedication page. Wright was one of H-A's original mentors when he started in the field in the 1890's and on his death H-A tried to get the Natural History Museum, London, to buy his foraminiferal collection (as a way of helping his widow). However the Museum

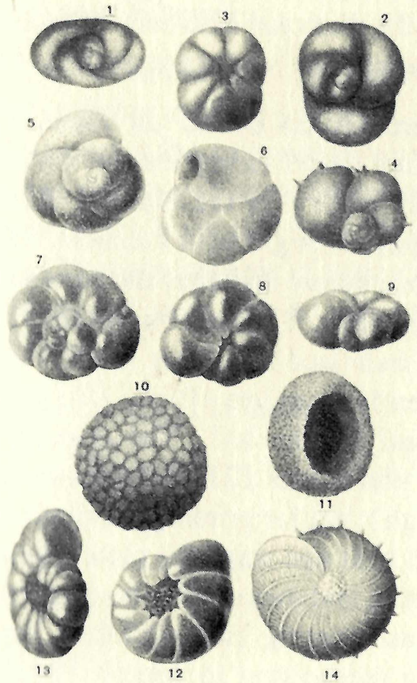
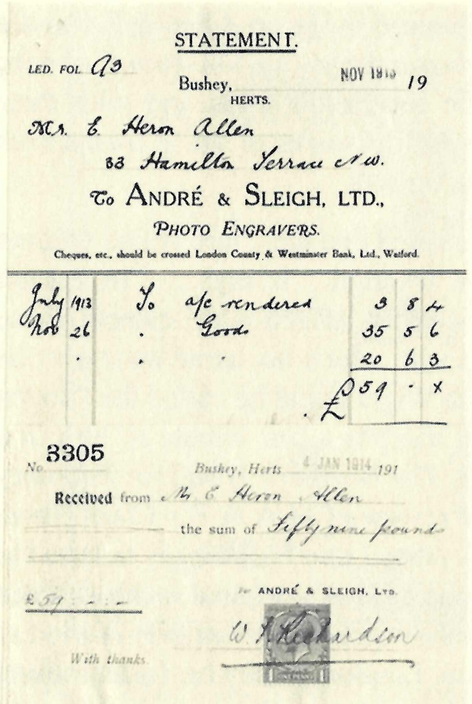


Fig. 7. Plate of foraminifera from Part 64 of the Clare Island Survey, by Heron-Allen & Earland, 1913 (nos. 1-4 show the extremely small species *Rotaliella minutissima* and its relative, <100 microns in diameter; whilst nos. 7-9 is *Aubignyna perlucida*).



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HERTS.

Mr. E. Heron Allen
33 Hamilton Terrace N.W.

To ANDRÉ & SLEIGH, LTD.,
PHOTO ENGRAVERS.

Cheques, etc., should be crossed London County & Westminster Bank, Ltd., Watford.

July 1913	To	a/c rendered	3	8	4
Nov 26	.	Goods	35	5	6
.	.	.	20	6	3
		£	59	.	x

No. 3305 Bushey, Herts 4 JAN 1914 191

Received from Mr E. Heron Allen
the sum of fifty nine pounds

£59 . . . For ANDRÉ & SLEIGH, LTD.

With thanks. W. H. Richardson

Fig. 8. André & Sleigh's invoice for £59/0/1 for engraving and printing the Clare Island foraminiferal plates (Heron-Allen seems subsequently to have been forgiven the odd penny!).

couldn't afford to pay the asking price at the time (much to H-A's annoyance) and it ended up in the National Museum of Ireland, here in Dublin. I think we will agree that's where it ought to be.

As already mentioned, Heron-Allen bound all manner of ephemera associated with the Clare Island survey into his personal copy, which is preserved in his library in the Natural History Museum, London, and which I have brought with me, here. Most of the ephemera is correspondence before and after the survey, but there are some invoices of great interest. The total bill for the Clare Island paper was £110.18.6, as indicated in a letter from Praeger to Heron-Allen (undated but clearly from late 1913). Ultimately, Heron-Allen seems to have paid for the lot! The cost of the foraminiferal drawings for the plates was £21.15.0 (drawn by a Miss Hammond), Andre & Sleigh's bill for printing the plates and for the paper (Fig. 8) was £59.0.1 (at one stage the plates seem to have been printed to the wrong size and these had to be corrected). Heron-Allen also paid for extras: printing Table (£9.0.0), key to *Discorbina* (£1.5.0), Title page (dedication to Joseph Wright – 13/6) and correction to proofs (£16.16.6). This still doesn't quite tally - it amounts to £108.6.1 - but perhaps other costs were not all kept. Whatever, this is a really an *enormous* sum for 1913. Not surprisingly, perhaps, Edward Heron-Allen was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy on March 16th 1914.

Recently, as we have heard, the Royal Irish Academy has initiated a Clare Island re-Survey. As part of it, one of our members, Dr Robin Edwards of Trinity College, Dublin, will undertake a new study of the foraminiferal faunas, almost 100 years since Heron-Allen & Earland made their collections. We wish him well.

Finally, I conclude with an item of special "fan-mail". I spoke earlier of letters of appreciation from eminent scientists after he had sent out the reprints. Perhaps the most heartfelt and original was the letter from his own mother…

St John's, 23 Putney Hill, SW
1st Dec 1913

Dearest Edward,

I have waited till I had thoroughly looked over your book before writing to thank you for it. I have examined every page and am amazed at the stupendous work of it and not a little proud but my dear boy – you must take care and not overwork your brain. I do hope the book will have all the success it deserves but there cannot be many capable of appreciating such a work. Take a good rest now and with love to you both and kisses to the dear little chickens.

Yours loving old mother,
C. Allen

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).

Opusculum VII *'Edward Heron-Allen FRS: Scientist': Proceedings of the 4th Heron-Allen Symposium, 2004*, edited by John E. Whitaker. Talks delivered at the fourth Heron-Allen Symposium, The Natural History Museum, London, July 2004, by Richard L. Hodgkinson, Michael A. Kaminski, Clive Jones and Andrew S. Henderson & John E. Whittaker (2005).

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 Lucy Wood, Pamela Thompson, Joann Fletcher and Peter T. Scott. (2009)

Opusculum XIII *'Edward Heron-Allen and 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 Pamela P. Mahoney and John E. Whittaker. (2009)

Opusculum XIV *Edward Heron-Allen and the Clare Island Survey, 1909-1911, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Symposium, 2009*, edited by Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. Talks delivered at the Symposium, The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, October 2009, by Timothy Collins, Timothy J. McCann and John E. Whittaker. (2010)

Copies of these Opuscula cost either £5 *(Opuscula 1-VI and VIII)* or £10 *(Opusculum VII and IX-XIV)* each from Ivor E. Jones, Treasurer of the Heron-Allen Society, Sweets Farmhouse, Stour Row, Shaftesbury, Dorset. SP7 OQH.

Printed by Selsey Press Ltd. 01243 605234